

CALENDAR
OF THE
STATE PAPERS
RELATING TO
SCOTLAND
AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS
1547-1603

PRESERVED IN THE
PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM

VOL. XII
A.D. 1595-1597

EDITED BY
M. S. GIUSEPPI, I.S.O., F.S.A.

ISSUED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF
HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE KEEPER OF THE RECORDS OF SCOTLAND

EDINBURGH
PUBLISHED BY HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1952

DA
757
G72
v.12

NOTE.—Although the sheets were printed in 1941, this volume was not completed and published until 1952 owing to delays resulting from the war.

CROWN COPYRIGHT RESERVED

PUBLISHED BY HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

To be purchased from

13a Castle Street, EDINBURGH, 2	York House, Kingsway, LONDON, W.C.2
423 Oxford Street, LONDON, W.1	1 St. Andrew's Crescent, CARDIFF
39 King Street, MANCHESTER, 2	Tower Lane, BRISTOL, 1
2 Edmund Street, BIRMINGHAM, 3	80 Chichester Street, BELFAST

or from any Bookseller

1952

Price £4 4s 0d net

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

S.O. Code No. 44-6011-12

Puls of Gouts
Pur
Sotheran
1-10-53

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	v
TEXT	3-568
INDEX	569-658

INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume of the Calendar of Scottish State Papers covers the period from September 1595 to the end of May 1597, a period of one year and nine months, consisting of 568 pages of text only, considerably less than the 706 pages of the preceding volume which covered a period of a little more than two and a half years.

The original documents with the exception of the material in the British Museum, the references to which are indicated in the text, are contained in Vols. lvii to lx of the State Papers Scotland (S.P.52) in the Public Record Office together with the entries for the period in the Scottish letter book of Sir Robert Cecil (Vol. lii in the same series) which extends from October 1593 to April 1599 and a document of special Scottish interest (No. 217, pp. 257-261) in the series of Domestic State Papers in the same office.

In the following introduction the editor does not propose to discuss at length the historical import of the documents contained in this volume but rather to call the attention of future historians to the principal matters of interest with which the documents are concerned. At the beginning of the period, Robert Bowes, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Scotland, was still away from his post in England and did not return to Edinburgh until 20th February 1595-6. During his absence we are mainly indebted here for the news of what was passing in Scotland to his many correspondents in that kingdom including his faithful secretary George Nicolson, John Colville, King James's English friend Roger Aston, Dr. James MacCartney and others. Of these the numerous letters from Colville have already been printed in *Colville's Letters* and are only briefly summarised here. The necessity of Bowes's early return to Scotland is urged by most of his correspondents and King James is reported to think himself neglected that no resident ambassador from England is with him (p. 120). Aston writes that Elizabeth's service is greatly hindered that some one of credit should not be in Scotland "in these perilous times" (p. 119). After his return Bowes remains in Scotland for the rest of the period covered here though it is evident that his health was beginning to break down. On 21st December 1596 he writes to Burghley that the decay of his health disabling his spirit and body should be made known to

Elizabeth that seasonable provision might be made for the best advancement of her service (p. 400). On 6th January following Cecil writes that he has moved the Queen for his return and further relief while he tarries (p. 419). This resulted in his nephew Sir William Bowes, one of the English commissioners for the Borders, being instructed to act with him in his conferences with James.

The most important event in Scotland in the early part of the Calendar was the death of the Chancellor, Lord Thirlestane, on 3rd October 1595 (p. 34). It is evident that the King had resented the high-handed manner in which the late Chancellor had acted and when he was advised of his illness was said to have whispered to one of his noblemen. "It would be but a small matter albeit he were hanged" (p. 10). He was in no hurry to fill the vacancy for he said he could have none but in short time they would presume to be equal with himself (p. 41). On the formation of the Octavians he said he would no more use Chancellor or other great men in his causes but such as he might convict and were hangable (p. 117).

The Octavians or Lords of the Exchequer who for a time take over the management of the affairs of the realm arose out of the suggestion of James's Queen who told the King of the savings her Council had effected and commended it as fittest to guide also his affairs for his living and house charges (p. 112). She gave him 600 fine pound pieces out of a thousand with which her Council had presented her on New Year's day. James fell in with her suggestion and the Prior of Pluscardine and Messrs. John Lindsay, James Elphinstone and Thomas Hamilton of her Council were sworn in as Lords of the Exchequer, to whom were added of the King's appointment, Walter Stewart the Prior of Blantyre and Messrs. John Skene, David Carnegie of Colluthy and Peter Young of Seton (pp. 113, 115). On 16th January, Nicolson writes to Bowes that they intended to augment the King's living by 100,000*l.* a year (p. 122). In May the commission and authority given to the eight lords of the King's Council were ratified by that of the Convention held at Holyroodhouse (p. 237). In June Bowes writing to Burghley thought the Earl of Mar was like to be Chancellor but that some of the Octavians were gaping for that office (p. 240). Roger Aston on 28th July following announced to Cecil that Blantyre was now advanced in the chief place of credit for he occupied the place of Treasurer and Chancellor (p. 289). But it is evident that the Octavians were not popular with the Kirk party who suspected most of them to be of the Roman religion and their unpopularity not only with the Kirk but with some of the court party and the King's own domestics led to the "tumult" in Edinburgh on 17th December 1596 which will be dealt with

later. In January 1596-7 they were willing to surrender their offices though Bowes reported Argyll as saying that they had taken the offices by Act registered for their lives and with ordinance that if any of them died the rest only should have power to fill the vacancy. However it was ordered that thirteen others should be named to assist them, including the Duke of Lennox and the Earls of Crawford, Montrose and Mar (p. 425). The acceptance by Blantyre who seems to have been much put at by four of his fellow Octavians of the offices of Comptroller and Collector together with the Treasurership had defeated the expectation of the other Octavians in the distribution of those offices and that of the Chancellor amongst themselves (p. 429).

Matters of religion naturally form a large part in one way or another of the material of the present volume. The return of the Catholic Earls, Huntly, Errol and Angus, to Scotland in 1596, although for some months apparently only a matter of surmise, is ultimately confirmed and in August at the Convention at Falkland the King put forward Huntly's offers of submission to him and the Church for discussion (p. 305). The question of the admission of Huntly and the other Earls and their absolution from their excommunication came up regularly at the subsequent General Assemblies and in May 1597 they gave in their answers to the various heads of inquiry put to them and acknowledged the reformed Kirk of Scotland (pp. 550-2). This has been already printed in Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Vol. v, pp. 633-640). Huntly expressed his grief for the slaughter of the Earl of Moray and his readiness to give satisfaction for the same.

Much of the information as to the alleged negotiations of King James with Pope Clement VIII in 1596 is here derived from manuscripts in the British Museum (pp. 225-233). They were carried on by Pury Ogilvy who alleged that he had come with commission from the King to conclude a reciprocal alliance with the King of Spain (p. 257). A long account of the proceedings is given in the notes out of Father John Cecil's book attacking Father William Crichton for his alleged forgeries which have been printed here from the two copies in the Domestic State Papers (pp. 257-261). Of all these matters Queen Elizabeth had obtained perfect knowledge but assured herself that they had not grown from the King of Scots himself (pp. 267, 268, 294). Ogilvy had approached the King of Spain through his ambassador at Rome, the Duke of Sessa, and Sessa's letters to the King and Don John de Idiaquez setting out the negotiations (pp. 270-8) were intercepted at sea near Marseilles and sent to the King of France who sent copies to James (p. 270). It is evident that for various reasons here stated Ogilvy's proceedings had created suspicion

and on 21st November (1st December N.S.) we hear that he was being detained at Barcelona until it was known whether the King of Scots had given him his commission (p. 366).

Whatever James's own feelings might have been towards the various religious parties in his kingdom it is obvious that with his hopes of eventual succession to the throne of England he could not afford to be tempted by the Catholics to throw in his lot with them. In his conversations with Bowes he acknowledged that gold sent to him by the Pope through the papist earls had been provided to draw him to the course of Spain but that he would not hearken to any such motion or touch the present offered (pp. 147, 215). Later he told Bowes that in his care to preserve Elizabeth's goodwill he had lost the French King, refused the liberal offers of other princes and digested many hard things but that he would always apply himself to keep the amity with her (pp. 541, 542).

Nevertheless he resented much the too dictatorial methods adopted by the ministry of the Kirk, especially in Edinburgh, and friction between them led to the "tumult" in that town, which has been mentioned above. An account of this on 17th December 1596 is given in a manuscript in the British Museum (pp. 393, 394) and in Bowes's own account in his letter to Cecil of that date (pp. 394-8). On the date mentioned when the King was in Council in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh with the Octavians and some of his nobility the ministers with the provost, bailies and chief inhabitants of the town and a number of peers and others assembled in the Little or New Kirk where "a most seditious sermon" was preached by Master Walter Balcanquhal. It was thereupon resolved to send commissioners to the King in the Tolbooth to report the petition of the convention wherein amongst other matters his Majesty was urged to remove from his Council those of the Octavians accused of papacy, to rescind the acts passed in the recent months against the liberties of the Kirk and to permit those of the commissioners of the Kirk who had been banished to return. The proceedings were adjudged to be treason by Act of Council and the King rode to Linlithgow, resolved to withdraw from Edinburgh not only his presence and Court but also the Session and the repair of all noblemen and gentlemen (p. 400). A few days later the town sent to the King nine commissioners, so discreet and well chosen as they were well accepted. Their commission was to present to him the humble submission of all the inhabitants and to offer such particular satisfaction of the tumult as should please him to accept (p. 408). The King noted the offer as over general and that especial amends should be tendered and left the commissioners in calm terms to their own considerations and to give proof of their

loyalty and obedience to him. On 4th January 1596-7 Bowes writes that the town had returned their commissioners to the King and Council at Linlithgow making new offers which are reported as mitigating the King's wrath against the town (p. 415); so much so that on 1st January he had entered Edinburgh where the officers presented him with the silver and gilt keys of the ports. On 6th January we have the report of the proceedings of the Privy Council at Holyroodhouse dealing with the tumult (pp. 417-9) as they have already been printed in the *Register of the Privy Council* and the *Acts of the Scottish Parliament*. Some of the Acts passed were thought to be too severe against the town of Edinburgh and the ministers and Bowes writes on 10th January that it was intended to mitigate them (p. 421). But various questions and difficulties arising out of the troubles keep coming up. The ministers' houses in Edinburgh had been seized for the King and the wives and children put out. Queen Anne had offered to be a mean to restore the wives to their houses but before the offer the wives had dispersed their children and could not without great charge remove (p. 429). The commissioners of Edinburgh appointed for the examination and trial of the tumult presented the King and Council with many depositions proving the matter to have been rather accidental and stirred up by some rash and base persons rather than to have been plotted by the noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers charged therewith (p. 453). Bowes on 20th February reports that although the King had sought to prove manifest intended treasons and conspiracies against him by those assembled in the Little Kirk on 17th December his desire had not hitherto been affected and by many wise it was thought that he sought "a knot in a bulrush" (p. 465). The King had been admonished quietly that his subjects were deeply wounded with the sight of the proceedings deemed to be against justice and termed by sundry tyrannical. But Bowes concludes his letter with the statement that the King's wrath against Edinburgh could not yet be pacified (p. 467). On 26th February Bowes writes that many of the principal officers and others of quality in Edinburgh had been dealt with to put themselves in the King's will but could not be drawn to give satisfaction in this manner to him and the Council. Their request to be discharged from their entry in ward at Perth had been rejected. Twelve burgesses had been appointed by the town to have answered the matter but with few exceptions all had been refused by the King who had commanded others to endure the burden and charge at Perth (pp. 475, 476). At the convention at Perth on 28th February further attempts to induce the town to put itself in the King's will failed and the whole town on 10th March was "discerned" to be put to the horn (pp. 484, 485). But after much negotiation the King on 21st March accepted

the submission of the town upon conditions here set out (p. 494) and on the following day an Act was passed discharging the provost and others of the burgh from all actions, criminal or civil, which he may have intended against them for their offences on 17th December but left it to be always understood that he might lawfully pursue any particular person or persons, inhabitants of the burgh, who might have been guilty of the crime committed on that day (p. 495). The trouble with the ministers of the Kirk still continues and this volume concludes with the decision arrived at in the Assembly of the Kirk at Dundee in May to appoint fourteen learned and discreet ministers to plant ministers in the Church of Edinburgh and generally in all other churches void of incumbents. The four ministers of Edinburgh who had lately been at horn appeared before the Assembly but it was doubtful whether the fourteen commissioned ministers could restore them to their former functions and places without the King's consent which Robert and Sir William Bowes thought was not like to be readily granted (pp. 567, 568).

With further reference to James's dealings with the presbyterian ministers of his realm and his efforts to preserve Elizabeth's goodwill brief notice may here be made of his proceedings against Mr. David Black, minister of St. Andrews, who in his sermons had accused the Queen of being an atheist and the religion professed in England but a show of religion guided by the Bishops' injunctions (p. 353). Bowes was evidently asked to lay the matter before Elizabeth and in his instructions on 14th December 1596 to Nicolson, whom he was sending to London, includes a full account of the matter (pp. 383-6). Black was convicted of treason and put in ward (p. 398). In his trial he denied the King to be a competent judge in matters ecclesiastical, whence, says Roger Aston, "arises the question that brings in all these matters" (p. 404). The further proceedings against him are not very clear here but on 12th March 1596-7 he appears to have obeyed the King's censure (p. 486). Queen Elizabeth in her letter to James of that month appears to refer to Black as "the frantic man" whom she disdains to make mention of but refers his punishment to the King's best disposing (p. 497). We finally hear of him here as set at liberty (p. 568).

On 19th August 1596 King James's daughter was born (p. 306). It was decided in order that the princess might be patronised with Queen Elizabeth's favour that she should be given that Queen's name and Bowes was asked to write praying Elizabeth's acceptance of the dedication of the princess to her (p. 336). Bowes writes to the Queen on 10th November reporting that he had told the King how she held it a great argument of his love to

her that he had presented to her a jewel so dear to himself and that her Majesty wished as well to the princess as if she was her own (p. 355). The baptism took place on 28th November at Holyroodhouse, Bowes carrying her to the font in the name of Queen Elizabeth, the only godmother (p. 387). No present from the Queen had arrived at the baptism and Cecil writes to Bowes on 6th January 1596-7 that he is sure that Nicolson who was then in England was angry with him that he did not dispatch him with a present (p. 419). What form if any the present may have taken we do not hear for on 23rd March Sheperson on behalf of his master Bowes was petitioning Burghley that Nicolson might be speedily dispatched with the present for the child (p. 495).

Dealing further with the personal relations between the two sovereigns there is a good deal of correspondence regarding the annual gratuity which James had been accustomed to receive from Elizabeth and the reduction in the amount which it had been thought good to make in it. David Foulis who had been sent on an embassy to England returned to Scotland in October 1596 greatly discontented that he could receive no more than 3000*l.* of it (p. 346), but he imputed the cause of the reduction to Burghley and Cecil rather than of any disposition of the Queen (p. 349). Both Bowes and Aston report that many of the discontented at the Scottish Court were of opinion that it should not be honourable for the King to seek the gratuity any longer.

With regard to the Borders there is a considerable amount of material here supplementary to what has appeared in the *Calendar of Border Papers*. Much of this is derived from Cotton MS. Caligula D ii in the British Museum which evidently consists of the private papers of Sir William Bowes, one of the leading English commissioners for the Borders, and contains, besides letters written to him, drafts or copies of his own letters many of which have already been calendared. Unfortunately the manuscript has suffered very badly from the fire of the Cottonian Library but transcripts, not always very accurate, had been made of most if not all of its contents before the fire in Harleian MS. 4648.

The most important event in the history of the Borders which occurs in these pages was the forcible taking out of the castle of Carlisle of William Armstrong, known usually as Will of Kinmont, a prisoner there, by the Laird of Buccleuch, one of the Scottish wardens of the Marches, on 13th April 1596 (pp. 191, 244). This bold stroke caused great resentment in England and the repercussions of it continue throughout the volume. The reduction in the annual gratuity to James just mentioned appears to

have been largely due to this cause (p. 236). Elizabeth rejected the proposal of James that commissioners should be appointed on both sides to inquire into the matter (pp. 239, 250). She was ceaseless in her demands through her ambassador for the delivery of Buccleuch to England for justice, but James who was evidently guided by the strong feelings of his own subjects who held that Kinmont had been most unjustly taken prisoner by Lord Scrope within the realm of Scotland (pp. 223, 253), though he had shown Bowes a very good disposition to give Elizabeth particular satisfaction and redress against Buccleuch (p. 214), was persistent in his refusal to deliver him to England. The delivery of Sir Robert Kerr, the Laird of Cessford, another Scottish warden, accused of many acts of invasion against England, was similarly demanded by Elizabeth and similarly refused by James and his Council. The arguments on both sides come up for frequent discussion and are finally reported here by Robert and Sir William Bowes in their letter to Cecil of 30th May 1597 (pp. 559-566). James in answer to the ambassadors' pressing requests ending with threats of breach of the amity "desired earnestly that he might travail with the Queen for remitting his two wardens to his own punishment."

Although Elizabeth would not agree to Buccleuch's case being referred to commissioners of the two nations, she was willing that commissioners should be appointed to consider the general affairs of the Borders and the arrangements for their appointment both by Elizabeth and James are described by Robert Bowes in his two letters to Burghley of 5th September 1596 (pp. 309-313). The subsequent proceedings of the commissioners are frequently referred to in these pages. Elizabeth resented their delay seeing the proposition regarding them first came from James and felt she was being trifled with. She thought it very strange that the Scottish commissioners should require the first meeting to be held in Scotland (p. 374). Later this meeting was fixed for 12th January 1596-7, first at Foulden near Berwick and after at such place as the commissioners should accord (p. 386). The meeting is described in Sir William Bowes's letters to Burghley and Cecil of 19th January (pp. 432-5), which have been briefly summarised in the *Calendar of Border Papers*. Sir William's project for the speedy and safe finishing of the treaty between the commissioners dated at Carlisle, 30th April 1597, is printed from his papers in the British Museum on pp. 524, 525 and several copies of the actual treaty of 5th May are noted on pp. 530, 531.

There are numerous references throughout the present volume to affairs in Ireland. Bowes's chief correspondents in these

are Lauchlan MacLean of Duart, a relative of the Earl of Argyll, from whom offers to assist Elizabeth against the rebels Tyrone and O'Donnell are frequently made, and MacLean's servant John Auchinross. Cecil writing to Bowes on 18th February 1595-6 says that the Queen was now resolved to use their services (p. 144) but fears that whilst the offers from MacLean at first grew of his own motion if it should now appear that the Queen newly seeks him the matter would prove more chargeable. Bowes was therefore to be particularly cautious in his inquiries of MacLean and was to make him think that he had not received any settled resolution from the Queen in the matter, though Bowes was privately informed that she was resolved to entertain such a number of three or four thousand as might be likely to do her service.

Another person who advised the assistance of the Scots to Elizabeth in Ireland was Dioness Campbell, the Dean of Limerick, who was in Scotland in April 1596 to confer with the Earl of Argyll (p. 181). Bowes advised him in his conference to give general occasion of speech of Irish matters (p. 185) and find out how the Earl was disposed to enter into the action for the Queen against Tyrone and the rebels. This the Dean undertook and commended his eldest brother, the provost of Kilmun, to have the government of the forces to be employed against the rebels or at least of Argyll's people but Bowes referred the election to Argyll and commended MacLean to be general and the provost to be colonel of Argyll's companies (p. 186). On 30th April Bowes wrote to Burghley that the Dean had drawn Argyll to agree to levy and employ his forces with the King's licence to serve Elizabeth in Ireland providing that in chargeable matters he should be supported. It was thought that Argyll's forces would do especial services to her as few of the Isles in Scotland or in the frontiers in Ireland towards Argyle would fight and draw blood against the Campbells (p. 198).

At a later date, 24th January 1596-7, Nicolson writing to Burghley sets out the reasons for employing the forces of Argyll and MacLean. The English soldiers, albeit better and more valiant than the Irish, were not able to endure the hardness that the Irish lived in and more had died by thousands from the cold and hard diet than by the hands of the rebels. The "Scottish-Irish" on the other hand were of like kind and bringing up in hardness as the Irish and the worthiest of them were in deadly feud with Tyrone (pp. 436, 437). Nicolson thought that James would willingly agree to the course proposed as he had seemed to him for more than two years past to be most willing to pleasure her Majesty against the Irish rebels.

The expectations of the rebels of help from Spain seem to

have persisted and rumours of the landing of Spanish forces and arms in the island occur now and then but Bowes on 12th November 1596 thought there was little truth in such rumours (p. 360). Similarly a later report that two Spanish ships with 500 soldiers, weapons and money had arrived in Ireland for the aid of O'Donnell, although believed by many, was not credited by Bowes (p. 507).

In conclusion attention may be drawn to a few matters and events of special interest which occur in this volume.

The question of the custody of the young Prince Henry was of particular importance to Queen Elizabeth and her Council in view of the fears that the Pope and the Catholics might endeavour to draw him from the Protestant religion. The reported attempts of Queen Anne to have him removed from the custody of his guardian the Earl of Mar (p. 47) were disturbing to Elizabeth who thought it strange the Scottish Queen had not imparted her mind to her in the matter and Bowes was instructed to inform her that Elizabeth had good cause to think she was abused by those who had provoked her to her attempts (pp. 140, 141). As to King James his efforts appear to have been mainly aimed in the interests of economy to move Mar to reduce the number of "dependars" of the prince and to discharge the superfluous to the number of 70 persons (p. 136).

The curious verses and anagrams in Latin, English, French and Italian which are printed on pp. 80-6 and attributed to Walter Quin an Irishman, seem to have particularly pleased King James (p. 79), so much so that Quin was given honourable entertainment in the royal household (pp. 112, 120).

The Earl of Bothwell puts in a very shadowy appearance from time to time. Various rumours regarding his whereabouts occur and it is impossible from the information contained here to say where he was at any particular time. In August 1596 he was reported to have died in Paris (p. 303), but shortly afterwards it is rumoured that he had covertly returned to Scotland (p. 311). In January 1596-7 Elizabeth was alleged to have sent for him (p. 422) and in March there was an idea that he was "wittingly and willingly" suffered to remain in England against the Queen's proclamations to the contrary (p. 499). Archibald Douglas in May 1597 alleged that Elizabeth had only been stayed in interceding for him with James because he had remained charged with practising against the King's person but that that blot was now removed by James's consent and her Majesty might without scruple proceed in her intercession for the remainder of his doings "as proceeding from necessity and an earnest desire to recover his good grace" (p. 558).

In September 1595 the scholars of the High School in Edinburgh barred out their master and one of the bailiffs who came to pull the master out was killed by a pistol shot, it was alleged by one Sinclair the son of the Earl of Caithness's uncle (p. 19). Amongst the scholars who were called into the Tolbooth to have assise for the slaughter Nicolson mentions one English boy, son of Richard Forster, but Lord Hume got him set at liberty upon caution to be answerable, which none other of the children could procure. Hume, says Nicolson, was very earnest with the King declaring that it stood upon his honour to save the boy, being an English boy and a stranger, supposing all the rest should die (p. 33).

Another matter in which the two kingdoms were concerned affecting a subject of one of them was the imprisonment of a young Scot, John MacNeill, at Exeter, for the slaughter in self defence of a gentleman, "a captain better than himself" (p. 35). Lauchlan MacLean, with one of whose "dependars" MacNeill was closely related, pleads earnestly for his life, writing that if Queen Elizabeth "have to do with our service in Ireland, her grace shall think that young man's life worthy to be spared" (p. 36). Cecil on bringing the matter before the Queen wrote of her abhorrence of the crime of murder which she had never pardoned since her accession, but in view of MacLean's earnest labours had commanded him to speak with her judges to consider how possibly MacNeill's life might be saved and Cecil had written to the Justices of Assize to reprieve him till the next assizes (p. 145). What finally happened to him we do not hear in these pages but MacLean seems very grateful for the favour shown him (p. 171), though so late as 24th May 1596 he writes that he had not yet been freed (p. 223) and Bowes in the following month earnestly presses his release in his letters to Burghley and Cecil (pp. 240, 242).

The publication in 1596 of the second part of Spenser's *Færie Queen* with its references to Mary Queen of Scots gave great offence to James who banned the sale of the book in Scotland (p. 354) and desired that the poet might be duly tried and punished (pp. 359, 360).

On the last page of this volume we learn of the negotiations of the Laird of Ladyland with the King of Spain and the Pope and his banding with various Scottish papists to surprise and take the island of Ailsa in the Clyde. But precautions against this plot had been taken by Mr. Andrew Knox, minister at Paisley, who had before this performed especial good offices for the common cause of religion and the amity between the two crowns (p. 568).

Finally attention should be called to the letter, No. 112 (pp. 131, 132) from Roger Aston to James Hudson which on the authority of Thorpe's *Calendar* was dated 20th January [? 1595-6]. A closer study of its contents makes it practically certain that

the letter belongs to the year 1597-8 and it should be reprinted or fully abstracted when that year is reached in this Calendar. It is unfortunate that the printing of the present volume had proceeded too far to enable the entry to be deleted when the error was discovered but to avoid confusion the contents of the letter have not been included in the present index.

M. S. GIUSEPPI.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND)

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND)

JAMES VI.

James VI. 1. MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

1595.

[?Sept.] 1.

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 177

We look here for his Majesty the 4th hereof and from thence to Falkland. The Chancellor should come there for the errand mentioned in my former but I hear the bruit that he is sick which tastes of some excuse and Sir George Hume is his for life and will labour to fluster over all matters.

But even yesterday I am credibly informed that the Chancellor's faction has some enterprise in hand which is either particularly against Marr or against the King and all, and one of Marr's is riding to him this night to advertise him. What these things may breed the Lord knoweth.

I find by your two several letters myself frustrate there altogether, whereof I marvel. I fear my Mecenas and other friends be offended with me but it shall be causeless, if so be. Neither shall it in any case alter former resolutions. Indeed, had I never hoped for favour my displeasure and hurt had been the less as Mr. Prymerose knows. Always now I see no remedy but if it were Mr. Bowes's pleasure to allege he furnished so much to Mr. Colville and to write to the King, at least to Sir George Hume, regretting that he should be so used and his handwriting so called in question. Surely I have had great displeasure, but a greater in "gear" I never had. But I will trouble you no more with these melancolies. The Lord always preserve gracious Avdin, Mecenas and yourself with all the estate. This first of October 1595. *Unsigned.*

1 p. *In John Colville's hand. Endorsed by Bowes: "Primo Octobr [struck through and "7 tember" written over], Lond' vij^o Septembr' 1595." Names in cipher deciphered.*

Sept. 1. 2. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES, TREASURER OF BERWICK.

According to my last I rode towards Inchmurrin (Inchemeren) on Tuesday last and there on Wednesday I delivered her Majesty's letter to the King, who after he had read it said unto me that he knew not of any such matters, neither had any complaint made to him since I complained of the imprisonment of Rutledge, whom he said he then delivered, as he said I knew; which I confessed and thanked his Majesty for. Further he said that he had given good order for the quietness of the Borders and of his own nature so far disallowed of such misrules and

James VI.

1595.

deeds certified in her Majesty's letter, as he cannot like they should be committed against any persons, suppose he never liked the persons so evil, much less can he like that they should be done against her Majesty's subjects, being in good friendship with her. And so falling from those words he said that the wardens needed not to have complained or suffered her Majesty to be troubled with these causes, considering they see and find always his willingness to remedy such faults, and wherein, therefore, he looked they should first have called to him for justice, which he would have seen done. And so he concluded, willing me to write to you for the particularities of the things her Majesty writes; and for better speed therein he also willed me to write to the wardens for their particular complaints, that he may thereon give satisfaction to her Majesty, which I assure you I find him very willing to do. But what should I say? You know he will give order good enough but it will be but slackly performed without the countenance of an ambassador to look to and call for the execution. Always I have advertised the wardens hereof, wishing them either to procure the presence of such a person or to solicit by their own.

On Thursday I saw his Majesty give good countenance to MacLean (M^clayne) and receive him to his favour, being presented to the King by the Earl of Argyll. Sir George Hume willed me to note and to advertise your worship that the King said he forgave and received MacLean to his favour for the good service he did to his lieutenant, the Earl of Argyll, against Huntly, which words the King said indeed. And soon after the King took his horse and fell to hawking, and Argyll and MacLean went to Argyll's house, a mean house which for the time of the King's hunting he lodged in. I spoke with my Lord of Argyll praying him to employ that gentleman or any other he pleased for Irish matters, which my Lord said was done and should be cared for, and which Mr. Geo: has written in, and will do further as there shall be any occasion. And so I took my leave of my Lord not seeming to have dealing with Patt [M^cKlaine], whose mind and also Fluors [Achinross] appear in their letters to your worship, and which I send as also 10 [Argyle] mind certified by Plaine's [Mr. Geo. Erskyn's] letter, to which I commend all those matters; saving that I hear Tyrone has one army and O'Donnell (Odonell) another and that by little and little and at their own times more will leap out. O'Donnell's secretary in great trust told one that the ancient blood of Ireland would in time, as they saw cause, aid Tyrone and that this rebellion has been these 7 years in preparing and will have success in the end to their likings. This winter they intend to burn the corns of them that serve and stand true to the Queen. Patt [Mac-klayne] has much in his head for taming them and both 10 [Argyle] and he rest upon your return thereon to resolve of some course. Patt [M^cKlayne] would have no lingering war but a speedy overthrow of them, and without all doubt can and will do much, for he is much feared among them. He thinks if they should seek any respite and time of sufferance that it would be to A [her Majesty's] advantage and the saving of the corns, and that in the spring it were good to overthrow them. These Islesmen saving M^cCoy Harrisse are returned but with shame and grief suppose the due advantage was not taken on them, and having received

James VI.

1595. our rebel's "geir" intend yet to do him service, first for his advancement and next by his help for their own. But if all purposes hold, 10 [Argyle] and Patt [M^eKlayne] will either persuade or force their stay and make a war on them. But the token to Patt [Macklayne] and comfort to 10 [Argyle] is long in coming and the resolutions too long driven over, as I pray God it "kithe" not. For qui [Spain] is looked to send to Es [the Q.] as the rebels do hasten it all they can, but this is to them that know more and to the letters desiring to be acquitted in these things, which I am not able to conceive or deal in.

Now the King is at Hamilton. At Inchmurrin my Lord was with the King and had good countenance and when my Lord was gone Johnstone came to the King and had the like. Sir Geo: tells me that all will be well here, howsoever any advertise, and so he willed me to certify you. Yet many are then deceived, for they say 4 [the K.] and E [Q.] and 21 [Mar] and 51 [Chancellor] and the rest wait but their opportunities. And Sir Geo: willed me to do his commendations to you and to show you that he will do his best for the amity and religion as he promised to you. He told me that at Falkland, hearing that some were purposed to break the Borders not for hatred of England but for getting them overseen in other causes, he told the King thereof, who thereon wrote and charged the Chancellor to look to those matters, whereon the Chancellor wrote to Borderers and has given the King assurance of good rule. But I find a coldness between Sir Geo: and 21 [Marr] and I see 21 [Marr] honest to B [the K.] however B [the K.] be to him. On Saturday advertisement went by Tho: Home to my Lord of Mar that 51 [the Chancellor's] side was on foot and had some enterprise, and that night there was a watch kept at Stirling. Yet I hear no more thereof. And yet as time serves you hear news.

I hear my Lord of Huntly's tenants have taken new tack of my Lady and given her money, and that M^eIntosh (M^eEntoish) and almost all holders of the Earl have done so.

My Lord of Angus's friends are still busy to devise for his good but my Lord of Morton never sees him, neither comes he where my Lord is, and yet he will see that house preserved.

Atholl is dead or near dead and his wife brought in bed of a daughter. So as for want of an heir male that earldom (so much as was not conquest) is at the King's gift.

By Mr. Roger's letter you will see he takes care and yet speeds not well anent the men of Trebayne, such favour have they of the town of Glasgow. The proclamation grieves them much and I can assure you but for that, 500*l.* sterling worth of armour and weapon had gone to the Earl; for he has money in this country for such uses. In the west there is nothing but hope of the Earl's success, which they say had not so evil proceeded with the rebels if any other than Sir William Russell had been there, who handles them hotter than they looked for. At Edenb[urgh], 1 September 1595. *Signed*: Geo.: Nicolson.

Postscript.—For God's cause be plain and see what will be done in the matters for Ireland and anent the stay of the Islesmen who for certain would make for Ireland again if they were not dealt with. And let me know that I may carry and cast off dealings in that matter with some honesty.

James VI.
1595.

3 pp. *Holograph. Addressed and endorsed: "Edenbr. j^{mo} Sept. London vij^o ejusdem, 1595."* The deciphered names in brackets inserted by another hand.

Sept. 4. 3. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received yours of 18 August as also understand the contents of her Majesty's letter to the King whom I find most willing to satisfy her Majesty in giving redress to such of her Highness's subjects as shall have just cause to plaint. Because I know your servant George Nicolson (Neccolson) has acquainted him with his Majesty's answer I will not insist further. I doubt not upon the particular in giving of the wrongs that have been attempted there shall be a present remedy found as well for that that is past as in times to come. I am assured it is sore against his will that anything be attempted that may be offensive either to her Majesty or any of her subjects and for that cause [he] has given very strict order both to Buccleuch (Buclouke) and Cessford (Sesford) that they should give another means than the ordinary course of the Border lieges that they by the peace so long kept might be maintained for I assured him the King is truly resolved to maintain the amity so long as it shall please God that her Majesty and he shall live. This is his common saying "I will never offend the Queen of England nor mar her estate, let her do to me as she pleases. Neither shall it lie in the power of any to sunder that which has been so long kept." I am very glad that her Majesty has dealt so well with the King. It will work good effects and your presence here will encourage good men and terrify such as "has" had vile and pernicious practices in head, which I hope shall be prevented by the King's Majesty's dealing, who is made further acquainted with their intents than before. The progress begins to draw to an end. Thereafter the King will settle himself. The Queen is in St. Johnstone (Senjonston) abiding the King's return. From thence they come both to Stirling and from thence to Linlithgow [Lethcoo], where they will remain most part of all this winter. Our "faccaneres" [factioners] will not get such access as they had in Edinburgh. The Queen frames herself to follow the King's will in all things. All these things I have sufficiently set down in my former. We looked there should have been a mutual friendship made at the King's being in Hamilton between the Chancellor and the Earl of Mar but God has visited the Chancellor with deadly sickness. It is advertised the King that he will not live, whereupon he wrote a very loving and kind letter to comfort him. It were a great loss of him; although he has his imperfections, yet he is one of the best among them. I doubt not but you are advertised of the death of the Earl of Atholl, which earldom is fallen in the King's hand. The ancient living is not great. The purchased lands fall to the daughters. There is suitors enough but it is advertised the King by the Prior of Blantyre that he be not sudden in "dessponning" without good "avisement." The Prior's intent is to press by all means that some brave man of the name may be placed there for the better service of his Majesty and upholding of the surname. I have brought the matter for Ochiltree (Occoltry) and have this day sent for him. If it fall that way her Majesty shall be assured of him. I have been at Glasgow where I apprehended some wine and aqua

James VI.

1595. vitæ (accavity) going to Tyrone's country, also the factor with some of the town, whom I caused to be examined by the Prior of Blantyre and his brother the laird of Minto (Mentoo). They denied the transport of any goods to any of her Majesty's rebels but by the contrary their trade was to her Majesty's good subjects. I have them under bond to be answerable upon further trial and for their doings in times to come not only to them but to the whole town, and for the better execution I have secret men in the town.

I am advertised you are to be returned hither very shortly and for that cause I have taken the occasion to regret my poor and weak estate to you whose conscience I appeal as witness of my actions. Therefore I am the more bolder most earnestly to request you to move Sir Robert Cecil (Sesel) to be a means to her Majesty that I may be comforted by her gracious goodness towards me that thereby I may be the better enabled to serve her. You know my estate and the means here is not to help it, although the King I know be willing to help me, yet he has not the means. If her Majesty will help me at this time I shall, God willing, never beg again and hazard my life and all I have for her service. However it be, I shall never omit any jot of my duty either to her Majesty or my country. I assure myself of Sir Robert's favour whereof I thank my God that hath given me so honourable a friend, whose kind dealing I shall never forget if it were to the hazard of my life. From Linlithgow the 4 of September. Signed : Roger Aston.

Postscript.—This last night I came hither from Hamilton to see my wife who has been in great danger by the bearing of a daughter. I thank God she is growing strong again and has her heartily commended to you.

2½ pp. *Holograph.* Addressed : "To my L. embastor." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Lythquo iiij^o Sept. London xvj^o ejusdem, 1595."

Sept. 8. 4. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO LORD BURGHELY.

Together with this enclosed I received letters from Mr. Richard Douglass declaring that the occasion of his stay so long time to come hither did proceed from the advice contained in a letter that I sent to him bearing date 2 August.

In the letters that I have received is contained that according thereunto he has dealt with the Earl of Angus not only to withdraw himself from the society that he was entered into with the Earls of Huntly and Errol (Arrolle) but also to seek means to be agreed with his sovereign and received in his favour and to reveal to her Majesty of this realm the said Earls' whole proceedings whereby her Highness might the better be moved to intercede for him, at least to withdraw any hard conceit imprinted by sinister information in mind against him.

The said Earl has asked that he can be contented not only to leave them but also to cause all such as are dependary friends or followers of his house and family to forsake them, in case they will not be contented to abandon their practising with foreigners for the disquieting of the present state. And as appears he has founded this his resolution upon this ground and by reasons that the said two Earls did agree with the King anent their

James VI.

1595.

departure forth of the realm without his privity and contrary to their promise, making no mention of him in their capitulation, as also has affirmed to his Highness that he was the only instrument that caused them enter into agreement with the Earl Bothwell, which is the chiefest quarrel that now is objected against him. And presently they are "tempering" to draw him where they are and affirming that they will satisfy him herein, which he minds not to do, at least until he may receive further information.

Besides all this he has opined that by such letters as he has received from those parts he understands that sundry practices are intended against her Majesty and this realm which he would be contented to reveal unto her Highness's self upon certain conditions tedious to be set down in writing. The letter that I received from Mr. Richard by reason it is "prolexed" and full of particular discourses concerning myself I have retained with me unto such time as also your lordship's self or the right honourable Sir Robert your son shall have occasion to come to this town to whom they shall be shown. In this mid time I have thought it expedient to make your lordship acquainted with thus far to the end that her Majesty may make choice, if it shall be agreeable to her good pleasure which of these two courses her Highness shall best like of: whether the Earl of Angus shall entertain further friendship with the said two Earls and with the Earl Bothwell to the end that he may understand all their doings and from time to time make her Majesty acquainted therewith, or if he shall presently leave them and to reveal such practices as they have in hand already come to his knowledge. To either of these two or to both I believe he may [be] induced to yield. As it shall please her Majesty or your lordship to give me direction, so shall I be contented to proceed or leave off.

In like manner I would be glad to understand your lordship's opinion anent the contents of this withenclosed letter. The party is to your lordship's knowing and may be employed to draw the Earl Bothwell whither you will have him. If any of these courses shall be liked, of necessary it will be that the Lord Scrope should have "doubles" to cause letters come surely to your lordship's hands, but all these matters I leave to your lordship's most grave consideration. And so craving pardon for my tedious letter, whereof your lordship should not have been troubled in the time of your sickness if otherwise I could have done, I take my leave this 8 of September. *Signed*: A. Douglas.

2 pp. Holograph, also address. Part of seal. Endorsed.

Sept. 9. **5. ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

I have received your friendly and loving letter as also your well acceptation of my simple token. Wherein you should have no cause of want, if your delights be in those pleasures in times coming I shall prepare that your Honour shall not be destitute. I am not so glad of the good acceptation of my unworthy present as I am sorry your Honour should have such a thought in your mind as to find my token either too apt or unwise. The charge you have already been at is far more than reason, therefore I beseech your Honour "desolve" that resolution or other ways

James VI.

1595. I will think you esteem not of me nor of that I sent. I have written to Mr. Bowes to move your Honour to be a means to her Majesty for me in respect of my long service and the great charge I have been at by her Majesty's own commandment. I entertained an intelligence with Sir Thomas Heneage (Hennig) a long time till my letters were intercepted in England and sent back hither of purpose to have overthrown me here, which they had done if I had not had the better means. I was appointed to keep a note of my packets, as well those I sent as such as came to me, to the end I might have allowance according. I cannot deny her Majesty has been more gracious to me than I can merit and yet necessity compels me once again to be a beggar at her Highness's hand, whereby my weak estate may be relieved and I enabled to serve her Majesty in times to come. Stirling, 9 September. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

1½ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 9. 6. [MR. GEORGE ERSKINE] TO [GEORGE NICOLSON].

Imprimis, the Earl of Argyll has directed new message to Ireland to the tutor of MacLeod (M^ccloyd) of Harris (the Heariche) for to retire him thence.

Item, that new message is the third time to be directed from the said Earl with some galleys to make his retreat if the foresaid tutor will condescend thereunto.

Item, that Captain Thornton anchored in the Sound of Mull before the castle of Duart (Doward) upon Sunday the last of August.

Item, the said captain directed a messenger to Argyll to the palace of Inveraray that MacLean (M^cclean) was with the Earl of Argyll, desiring the said MacLean to retire himself home to Duart that he might confer with him in such particulars as concerns the state of Ireland being commanded by the Deputy of Ireland so to do, who has his warrant from Robert Cecil from England.

Now it rests to be understood whether her Majesty is settled sufficiently in her affairs of Ireland or if the Earl of Argyll's employment shall continue any longer, which is doubtful to the said Earl, in respect the coldness of her Majesty's proceeding with him and the employment of others is set abroad already. *Unsigned.*

1 p. *In Erskine's handwriting. Endorsed*: "Playnes note, 9 Sept. 1595 at Sterlinge."

Sept. 10. 7. MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 178.

The ordinary intelligence I have sent as I use by the ordinary form. Only at this time being somewhat more "strated" nor I looked for as one compelled to his "azill" I seek to your protection and refuge. For hoping by his Majesty's recommendations there to have been helped in a matter which alway her gracious Majesty was to "deburs," I omitted other expedients whereby I had well enough gotten relief. Now both failing, I solicit you for your usual and undeserved kindness in such form as my friend, Mr. Primrose (if so be your pleasure) shall inform, acknowledging your bypast benefices to merit more nor all the service my mean

James VI.

1595. endeavours can acquit so long as I live. Yet however I be respected at this time I shall never alter my former resolution which I had rather by deed nor words utter. This 10 of September 1595 from Stirling. *Signed* : Jo. Colville.

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

Sept. 10. 8. [DR. MACCARTNEY] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Since my last letter matters are growing to a greater height for some of the spirituality are sinistrously procurers for Angus (ye may easily guess who). He has agreed with the Duke of Lennox for his rents and I hear under "thowme" that not only he, but also the rest of that troop, have secret favour.

For instantly the Countess of Errol (Arroll) is busy and tolerated to repair the castle of Slains (Slayins), that was demolished by the King; and if masons might be had the like would be done at Strathbogie.

If it shall please God that the Chancellor obtain health there will be great matters divulged on his part, if he keep promise as he has made to the preachers of this town. But I fear the effect of the Italian proverb, *Passato il periculo, gabato il santo*.

My uncle, Mr. John Hamilton, has written to his brother here of Priestfield (Preistisfeild) declaring that there is an army from Flanders to pass toward Paris and that he will pass with them and shall advertise him of further proceedings as they may happen out.

Although the King was dolefully advertised of the Chancellor's sickness by the Secretary (a new married man to the Lord Sinclair's daughter), he took but little care and whispered in a certain nobleman's lug that night before even "It would be but a small matter albeit he were hanged," and indeed as affairs have gone this long while there were many pretences and plots for that purpose and the rather more by Mr. J. Colvill.

The Countess of Bothwell is received to favour at Hamilton with the proviso that she shall not aid her husband by counsel or support in any ways.

The Lord Home was busy with the King to have the ward and marriage of the Chancellor's son when it shall fall and the Chancellor has "grudgit" something thereat under "thowme."

Johnstone has obtained a great "respute" of the King lately for him and all his, saving Wastraw [Westerhall], and the King presently burdens the Maxwells for truce, but they have not condescended as yet. The Queen travails for Johnstone.

To conclude, nothing goes well and I fear all the Borders shall be "cassin" loose, for Buccleuch (Baclewch) fears banishment and in the meantime he has composed all controversies in his bounds. He is crafty but I fear his proud pretences, if any surmise shall be devised against the Chancellor or him, for beforehand the Chancellor had made all the Borders for him, except the Maxwells, and therefore this Commonweal has great "mister" of some controller from your court, the evidence whereof may be considered by the small regard of punishment of our Islandish men against your subjects of Ireland and of some fugitives of yours from these parts who have had residence in this town.

James VI.

1595.

I can do no more but thank for the last word of my petitions sent by G[eorge] N[icolson]. Praying God to keep you in good health and send you good success of your affairs. 10 September '95. "Yo^r awin man on the auld maner." *Signed with a trefoil.**

1½ pp. *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Mackatneye (?) † ptembr', London xvj^o ejusdem [Sept.], 1595."

Sept. 10. 9. [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 179.

The 11 hereof his Majesty rides to Falkland where the Chancellor should come for revealing matters as I before wrote. He has pretended all this sickness to "evit" that matter for he was not sick indeed but of a fit of an ague.

The King abides here and in Linlithgow all winter to the Queen's great displeasure; and the hatred betwix Mar and the Chancellor increases.

The Lady Bothwell on the 4th came to Glasgow to his Majesty complaining on her son; which was purposely done to make his Majesty think her son very sincere in obeying his commandments against his own mother but it is seen to be a coloured matter for we think Bothwell is sent for.

Cessford with his brother-in-law Hume and all our neighbours have their folk upon an hour's warning, whereof Mar is advertised and one has promised to forewarn him 24 hours before they can rise. They think themselves so strong that they will not spare to show themselves, howsoever the King think of it or wheresoever they be. But I hope in God they shall spoil sport against Mar.

Offers are made by the killers of Da. Foster to Mar which he will not hear till once a day of law be to know the guilty by the innocent.

Great stir is betwixt the Lord Claud and his son. The young man, in respect of his father's alleged lunacy, seeking to have him interdicted from disposing or setting of any title or security. My own particular wherein I am there so undeservedly crossed I refer to the relation of Mr. Primrose and your favourable credit, not doubting my honourable Mecnas will now extend his usual and accustomed kindness. But be as it will, gracious Avdin (her Majesty) shall have Mr. Colville's heart and service more nor any other. And it may be to some fruit and utility more nor yet I can write. Mr. Colville does his service to Mr. Bowes committing him to God's protection this 10 of September 1595.

Sundry travails, chiefly Sir Geo. Hume, that the King should go to visit the Chancellor and thinking to draw him thither, the Chancellor still pretended sickness. Junior (young Laws) desires to know if the sending over an Irish captain to bide in the Lord of Tyrone's company for her Majesty's service privately or in service with 500 with her subjects be thought meet, being ready to find out one that he shall be answerable for as if he were their vassal. Hereof let Mr. Colville have answer.

We hear that the Duke's brother should get the earldom of Atholl and that he should marry the oldest daughter. *Unsigned.*

* For the decipherment of this symbol see Vol. XI, p. 632.

† The outside page is slightly mutilated here.

James VI.

1595.

2 pp. *In Colville's handwriting. Names and words in cipher deciphered.*

Sept. 11. **10. DUNCAN MACDOUGALL TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Having the commodity of the galleon that came to the Sound of Mull of the Queen's Majesty to speak MacLean, I thought best to "vissie" your Excellency with these few lines. If your lordship were in Edinburgh making resident as I have seen I would have advertised you of such news as were in these parts and of the news of the Isles from time to time as occasion were offered. And in case your Excellency come not to Court you may send your letter to a friend of mine in Edinburgh called John Dougall, merchant and burgess there, who immediately after the receipt of it will direct the same to me to these parts. There is no pleasure that I may do as you please to burden me with but the same shall be done. How so on I receive any letters of your Excellency I shall write again to Edinburgh my answer at more length nor my "lauser" [? leisure] requires at this present. This letter I directed with the master that was on her Highness's galleon. My hearty commendation being made to your bed-fellow with whom I have made my acquaintance in St. Giles's church, I am very desirous to hear of your welfare and hers. From Dunolly (Dunollis) in Lorne, the 11 day of September, 1595.

The zeal and fervency that I know to be in your Excellency concerning God's religion which we profess move me above all to do what lies in my power for you. *Signed* : Duncan M'Dougall off Dunollycht.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address* : "To my verray guid lord maister Bowis imbassatour to the qine Majestie in Scotland." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Dunolleys in Lorne xj^o September. London xiiij^o [sic, ? xviiij^o] ejusdem, 1595."

Sept. 11. **11. [DR. MACCARTNEY] TO [ROBERT BOWES].**

The King has now sent the Abbot of Holyroodhouse to talk with a certain man that has a message from the Catholic lords.

Mr. David Fowlis has grudged at the small service that should be received for the King at London and has said to a friend of his that, if it would please the King, he should learn him a wile to get as "mekle" and more from that part. The man replied that if he would tell that to the King he would get thanks for it. But he said he would not tell it by himself but by a greater.

The Borders are now extreme loose and no man spared and I doubt not you shall hear of a great incursion in Scotland by the Graymes of Esk who have lately received a great wrong of the Scots. Edinburgh, 11 September '95. *Signed with a trefoil.*

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenb' xj^o Septembr', London xviiij^o ejusdem, 1595."

Sept. 12. **12. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

You may now see for certain that MacLean (McLaine) is gone to Captain Thornton and is by this I think returned to my Lord of Argyll

James VI.

1595.

with such matter as the Captain shall declare to him ; for so at his departure he said he would. So soon as I know how things stand, which surely I shall by God's grace do within these few days, you shall be advertised whether this manner of carriage of this matter have hurt or not. Always Argyll and MacLean are too long delayed I fear. It is still confirmed that Angus MacConnell's (McOnell's) son is in Ireland with 500 men and the tutor of Harris, both assisting the rebels, and that Donald Gorme, Angus and the rest (turned back by the overthrow which Captain Thornton gave them) are still aminded some way to deserve the "geir" that they have had of the rebels. And their delivery of false pledges are arguments of false meanings. I pray God it be not so.

In the margin in Nicolson's hand: The 1 of this month Patt (MacLean), Playne (Mr. Geo. Erskine) and Fluor's (John Auchinross's) letters were sent in my packet.

As to the Borders here it is said there is but evil rule and like to be worse. But those matters to the wardens' reports, from whom I hear nothing.

My Lord Chancellor is not yet out on his bed but is past the danger as his servants tell me.

Yesternight the King and Queen met both at Linlithgow, there to remain some time and go to Stirling as the Queen shall please.

This day a gentleman of my Lady Atholl's told me that my Lady had gotten a perfect state of all the lands to herself for her life and the inheritance of that earldom and lands was to come to her daughters, the eldest of whom is ten years ; and that my Lady had as many friends and would do as much as the Earl could have done, and that they all should be as Mr. Bowes should advise and for her Majesty's service.

I perceive my Lord of Mewtus has been with the King complaining of Cessford anent Andrew Ker of Newhall's leading of his tythes by Cessford strength, that the King has promised him remedy and for effecting thereof has sent for Cessford. Many great ones, friends to Mewtus, stomach this matter : but they are so far from him as they will make little help unless the King do it.

My Lady Errol is brought in bed and the Abbot of Holyroodhouse to be employed from the King into those parts, some say to christen the child for his Majesty. At Edinburgh, 12 Sept. 1595. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

At the closing hereup I received my Lord Scrope's complaints which I shall show to the King and I am sure to have his good order for redress : but without the countenance of an Ambassador to see the execution little will be done and that the wardens know well. And however it be thought, it will be found needful to look to the Borders lest the disorders come to too great a height.

67 (Mr. Jo. Colville) will be found to do good offices to A (her Majesty) in case there should be matters of moment in Ler (Scotland) concerning Pa (England). And therefore help if you can anent that which 4 (the King) appointed him, for he has great need.

All others to Mr. John's letter to me.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes:* "Edenbr' xij° Sept., London xvij° ejusdem, 1595." *Names, etc., in cipher deciphered.*

James VI.

1595.

Sept. 12.

13. LAUCLAN MACLEAN OF DOWART TO ROBERT BOWES.

Being in Argyll with my Lord thereof, partly in my own affairs and partly for such of her Majesty's business as by her own letters she has committed to the friendship of my Lord of Argyll, there came to me a messenger directed by George Thorntoun, one of her Majesty's captains, from anchor before my house of Doward earnestly desiring to meet with me and to confer with me upon these same particulars which my Lord of Argyll had "abefoir" [formerly] imparted to me. I satisfied his desire and here at length communicated to him my opinion, as heretofore I did write to your lordship, that her Majesty first confirm my Lord of Argyll in friendship towards herself; then to set down with his lordship and with me, his second in this action, a settled course whereby such enormous storms may be dissolved as have already threatened your jurisdiction. The like or greater may be expected if in time there be not a remedy provided. The neighbours of mine here in the Isles are returned home as I did write to your lordship of late and delivered to your servant George. After my presenting his Majesty at the hunting in Inchmurrin (Inschemyrrein) "dois" [? he does] think long for the answer thereof, seeing in this action I have been diligent and have nought spared to "letir" [? write letters] thereon, since our first "urgitting" to others. Your lordship's honour I have respected herein. That token which I understand by your letter appointed by her Majesty to me, in my letters to your lordship I have desired the same to be sent to your servant George and he to repair to me therewith to Dumbarton or otherways to deliver the same to my servant John Auchinross (Achinros), as I will appoint after knowledge of the sending thereof. I am to return to my Lord his writing with Thorntoun to Sir Robert Cecil, my good friend, to my Lord Deputy and to the Marshal of Ireland. In Sir Robert's letter I have written of my writing to you of late. I have committed the circumstance of all to the same. Your presence here is very necessary and I think the same would do much good. Therefore it is given that your lordship for sundry respects would come to Scotland. My neighbours think they have escaped well and are busy with me to contract peace between us. I will continue as I began with you. I should have occupied Thorntoun if any need were and would not stand on the "vant" of the token. Doward, 12 Sept. 1595. Signed: Lauchlane M'Lane off Doward.

1 p. *In the handwriting of Auchinross. Wafer seal of arms. Addressed:* "To my verry guid Lord my Lord Bowes lait ambassadour." *Endorsed by Bowes:* "Doward xij Septembr', London xiiij^o Octobr' 1595."

Sept. 12. 14. LAUCLAN MACLEAN OF DOWART TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Being in Argyll with my cousin the Earl thereof there came to me a messenger directed by George Thorntoun desiring to meet with me (by virtue of your lordship's direction and letters to my Lord Deputy of Ireland). I satisfied his desire and have at length communicated to him my opinion (as heretofore I did write to my Lord Bowes late ambassador), which in few words is this.

[The foregoing and the continuation of the letter are in very similar terms

James VI.

1595. *to those in the letter to Bowes of the same date down to the words "a remedy provided.""]*

The which allowedly may be by her Majesty's own mean and my Lord of Argyll's employment, whose good will is fervent enough and his power sufficient to perform the same, as experience with time shall make known to everyone. I think that by the report of my Lord Bowes your lordship has heard of my good will herein who have not spared to hinder that Earl of Tyrone (Teireone) and "appone" myself against his assisters and well willers here of Scotland, as upon progress of time her Majesty may have me in Ireland to "appone myself in that dedis contrair." Thus referring every particular to Captain Thorntoun's memory whom I desire to be joined with me in her Majesty's service if occasion be offered. Doward, 12 Sept. 1595.

That Earl of Tyrone has the favour and goodwill of my neighbours here in the Isles, yet they do not pleasure him without a further security of my goodwill nor as yet they have. Presently [we] are in travailing to have peace contracted between us, which will continue. And since there was nothing to do here in this action worthy to stay Captain Thorntoun for, [I] have thought good that he should return home. *Signed*: Lauchlane M' Lane off Doward.

Postscript.—By letters from my lord Bowes I am advertised that her Majesty has ordained an honourable token to be sent to me and in my late letters to him have desired the same token to be sent to George Nicolson and he to travel therewith to me to Dumbarton, or to deliver the same to my servant John Auchinross as I shall appoint him, in case leisure may not serve me to repair there. I am now to return from meeting with Thorntoun to the Earl of Argyll. I will remain there twenty days. By my mean I stayed nine hundred from Ireland of our Islands. [I] have of them as yet in "yrnes" [irons], and also by my mean the rest that passed to Ireland were constrained to return, as was written to my lord Bowes at length. I have done my part and as I will be employed, God willing, shall do the rest to change the style and name of that Earl of Tyrone to an inferior style and name. "Vranguslie" has he received that name and most "vranguslie" and "unhonestlie" has he lost it.

1 p. *In the handwriting of Auchinross, also address. Wafer seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 19. 15. JOHN AUCHINROSS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Immediately after our departing in Glasgow there came a boy in haste to me from my master to show me of the coming of Captain George Thorntoun to his place of Doward, who directed a special man to my master being here "to" the time with the Earl of Argyll at whose desire in haste he returned home. I made diligence till I was there. The coming of Captain Thorntoun was by letters directed by Sir Robert to my Lord Deputy of Ireland, who commanded him to this voyage. And since all they that were in Ireland are returned by our mean, as I did write after, seeing the pledges given to Thorntoun are nothing worth, they may remain till the next spring, except the number of four or five hundred better men who have nothing but themselves that are of mind to go over to

James VI.

1595.

Ireland, whereof we were advertised within these two nights. My master is in doubt whether he shall stay them or not. I have persuaded him to stay them till the return of new answer from my lord your master and so as he will be employed, so shall he do. He marvels of the stay of the token. Therefore if the same be coming ye shall travel therewith to Glasgow and direct my boy to me and, without great occasion stay my master here, ye will see him quietly, and in his absence ye will see me with his power. If it be not coming, cause haste the same, for with Thorntoun we have written to my lord your master for the same and also have written to Sir Robert to that effect.

In Ireland there is great slaughter made on your nation and also on the Earl's partakers, but your part, as is reported, has gotten the worst. Angus MacConnell has a son there named Angus under whose charge there is six hundred men as they are. We hear that some of the best of them are slain. The knight marshal has gotten great "skaith." Your side are losers, yet we have no doubt with the grace of God to perform all our "writtis." Therefore the coming of my lord your master to Scotland is very necessary if the doing of the Earl touch you any way. The coming of Thorntoun to my master will put him in a "frey." Angus MacConnell comes here without doubt the morn which is Saturday, 20 September, to speak the Earl of Argyll and my master, as I show you ever. We may compel them of the Isles to come our way or else to pleasure none that is in our "contrair." Haste my boy to me and, since that I am diligent in this action and have advised my master to refuse great offers, give him not occasion to call me over diligent in this action, as he will do if his travail and vowing be for nought; which his friends marvel upon what pretence he should refuse great offers that are made to him, and the Earl is to send to him. I am "placid" with zeal in all our doing and so shall continue honest and true to the end. Without my master be acknowledged he will be persuaded by this way. But all his friends will not persuade him if he see honest dealing and to win an earldom he will not leave this action without the occasion be on your side.

I have not answered the desire of our brother John's letter through the occasion ye "vait" of, for neither has my master nor myself written in his favours to Sir Robert nor to your master, and the excuse thereof by my letter is that, seeing others are acknowledged who can do nothing in this action and not I, it is so with me that I will do no further herein to pleasure others that do no pleasure to me, not meaning John nor none other. If he desire you to write in his favours and I hear that he get any favour, [I] assure you I will hinder the greater action. Keep this to yourself for he did to me the thing that I would not do to him for 40*l.* of profit. Inveraray, Friday 19 Sept. 1595. *Signed*: Johne Achinros.

I think good that ye send this letter to my lord your master with this other directed to his lordship by my master.

1 *p.* *Holograph. Wafer seal of arms of MacLean. Addressed*: To my loving brother George Nycolson "and below the address": "Keep all secret that is betwixt you and me. The one of these two letters that is directed to my lord your master is directed from me. My master has some recommendation to you. I am diligent (seeing the Earl triumphs) that if he be employed to make the other "stark reddy" for his

James VI.

1595. pursuit and we doubt not with God's g[race] to do honest service to your honour and ours." *Endorsed* : " Inverarye 19, Edenb[urgh] 24 Septemb' 1595."

Sept. 19. **16. LAUCLAN MACLEAN OF DOWART TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Being in Argyll with my Lord and cousin, Captain George Thorntoun arrived at Doward, sent his servant here to me desiring that he might have conference with me. I took journey towards him and at length conferred. Seeing no occasion worthy to stay him [I] thought good that he should return home, as he did the 15 of this instant. In somewhat I have written to your lordship, to Sir Robert, to my Lord Deputy of Ireland and to the Knight Marshal thereof, I think good and desire that the token commanded by her Majesty be sent to your lordship's servitor, George Nicolson, wheresoever I or my servant, John Achinros, shall receive the same upon his advertisement. It is well known here in Scotland how I have hindered those that made them to the aid of the Earl of Tyrone and have not spared to "wair" [*i.e.* lay out] expenses thereon. And as ye think good I will not fail to venture myself and friends in her Majesty's service against that new Earl of Tyrone, and with the grace of God have no doubt to be victorious over him, for all his high conceit and present doing against you, wherein I hear of his great diligence and "skaith" done in your "contrair." He is busy in using of mean to have my favour which I mind never to give to him though he would render to me the half of his earldom. If that token be not as yet come to Scotland, haste the same to me for I have vowed that and "mekle" more in this action, if the Earl trouble you. My counsel is that your lordship come to Scotland, where, with the grace of God, the order and mean shall be set down to make that Earl to perish. And further I understand her Majesty "wairs" yearly great sums on service in Ireland more nor her Highness profits thereby. If my Lord Earl of Argyll be employed herein and I, for both our actions will be one, I put no doubt with the grace of God to make her Majesty to have well paid to her yearly from Ireland great sums of money; also to have many men sustained to her Majesty. And in this my counsel being heard and "samekill" as your lordship thinks worthy thereof to be taken, [I] shall pledge my life and lands the same shall take effect.

The same day that Captain Thorntoun made sail I returned here to my cousin of Argyll, whose lordship will not want my company this long time. Angus MacConnell will be here the morn "at" us. Your lordship shall find me making provision for performing of all that was written to you by me. In case her Majesty need service, let this letter have my duty of humble service remembered to her and commendations to Sir Robert. If occasion of my service be offered I mind to visit your court sometime. Inveraray in Argyll, 19 Sept. 1595. *Signed* : Lauchlane M'Lane off Doward.

Postscript.—There is the number of four or five hundred "bair" men that have no good in going to Ireland. If ye like I shall stay them, for since the principals are stayed by me, so shall I the rest.

By Captain Thorntoun I perceive that our Scottishmen have done

James VI.

1595. craftily till they escaped his danger and so their selves report. For they were in his danger and he gave confidence to their fair letters and pledges of no "valour." Yet Thorntoun would be "oversein" upon hope of good service for he is best acquainted on the coast(?) and finding him deceived by them has the greater desire to their pursuit. For further causes your lordship shall credit no man but that letter which my servant John Auchinross writes with his hand subscribed by me or himself. Neither shall your lordship credit any other creature by word.

1 p. *In the handwriting of Auchinross and addressed by him. Endorsed by Bowes: "Inverrary in Argyle 19 Sept., London primo Octobr. 1595."*

Sept. 19. 17. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I delivered to the King at Falkland my Lord Scrope's complaints of the "Attemptats" done since the Lord Herries's (Harris's) entrance to the wardenship and by them of his lordship's wardenry. The King told me he looked the complaints should have come against Buccleugh (Baucleughe) because her Majesty in her letter touched Buccleugh's actions. And apparently he and others marvel that those complaints against him and Cessford (Sesfurthe) come not. Always for execution of justice in these complaints the King has earnestly by letter commended the Lord Herries to give redress, which I am assured the Lord Herries's power will not serve to perform accordingly without the King's especial help.

The next day after my last, viz. 13 hereof, the Lord Chancellor fell very sick and continued, insomuch as my Lady Thirlestane (Thirleston) wrote to Mr. Robert Bruce on Sunday by 4 hours in the morn to come to comfort her husband, which that day he did. They found my Lord as they thought greatly touched in conscience. And he brake out in plain speeches to them, confessing that he had negligently heard the word and omitted to do that good to the Kirk and Commonweal which he might and ought to have done, protesting, if God gave him life, to make amends and do better offices to both; which humble confession of his errors and earnest protestations of amends have won many of the ministers' hearts to him. For there was no sparing for sending for many and of the best of the ministry to him from sundry parts. Now he is mending again and past danger. But some of Res (the Kirk) think him to be troubled in mind with some matter of displeasure or grief.

The Earl of Mar at his being at Falkland had no good countenance of the Queen. She would not look to that side of the chamber that he stood at. And she says she is not aminded to go to Stirling for fear they give her a "possitt," but makes motion to go to Dundee to make her interest there, all to defer her going never to Stirling. Yet the King intends within 4 days to go to and take her to Linlithgow, and from thence to Stirling, as by my former you do understand and as I hear.

Buccleugh, Cessford and the Chancellor have had and have their agents with the Queen, so as certainly it is meant to follow out their "platt" as they can have opportunity. Great persuasion is used to the King to go to the Chancellor, who has had great comfort by the Kirk as

James VI.

1595.

they say and would have now by the King if the King would go to them. If the King go it is thought the Chancellor's side will execute there their "platt" and Sir George Hume has been with the King and now is here at secret and quiet trists, for what purpose God knows.

I also hear that Buccleugh and Cessford are both doing great justice to Pa (England) and also still making sundry "agreances," as well for avoiding of complaints in this stormy time threatened to them, as to be strong in case they be put at as they look for ; in which you know enough.

Mr. Richard Douglas is at Falkland as I hear travelling for the Earl of Angus in such sort as first favour must come by his travails from England, which, if it be, you will better understand by Mr. Richard if he come where you are, as I look he shall.

On Monday last the scholars of the High School here barring out their master as they were wont and the bailiffs here coming to pull them out, the scholars "shotting" killed John Macmorren, one of the bailiffs, with the shot of a pistol. Thereon the rest of the bailiffs took out the scholars that were in the school and put them in the Tolbooth, bringing the next day one of them called Sinclair, the Earl of Caithness's uncle's son, to the assise to have had a trial, because they charge him to have shot that shot. But the boy's friends having procured the King's letter for the stay of the trial or dealing in that matter till to-morrow, the provost and bailiffs and Council yielded to the King's request and the next day went to Falkland to call to the King for justice therein. After long reasoning that day and yesterday before the King by the provost and townsmen against the child and by the Lord Sinclair and Master of Ogleby, the boy's cousin german, in favour of the child, it is agreed that to-morrow the boy shall be brought to the bar and put himself in the King's will and be saved, by reason he is not 14 years and that the town being party against him cannot judge on him and have "emitted" their judgment in the 24 hours after the fact, in which it was in their powers. The Crafts hold it as a judgment of God for his transporting of corns out of the country and therefore were the more cold in pursuit of the boy. Edinburgh, 19 Sept. 1595. *Signed* : Geo. Nicolson.

2 pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr xix^o Sept., London xxvij^o ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

Sept. 20. 18. JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

At our meeting with Captain Thorntoun I marvelled that he had not your lordship's letters directed to my master. He came by direction of my Lord Deputy of Ireland at the desire of Sir Robert in her Majesty's name, and since nothing waited to do here thought good that he should return home. Who made sail from Doward on Monday, 15th instant, which was the day of our taking of journey here to Argyll. My master has written with him to your lordship, to Sir Robert, to my Lord Deputy of Ireland and to the Knight Marshal thereof.

The Earl is busy with us to have my master's favours but that I think he shall never have. My master is such a man that he can burden no man, though he press himself never so much. [I] assure your lordship

James VI.

1595. he has vowed largely in this action hoping to be employed and with the grace of God has no doubt of sufficient mean and power to do her Majesty's service. As he has written he is busy and makes provision for service in case he be employed.

Angus MacConnell comes here and all others of the Isles may follow and join them with our cousin of Argyll and my master to follow them and their way. Yet they will never get credit of any matter of importance tending to my Lord's honour or my master's if the token ordained by her Majesty be not coming to Scotland. Your lordship shall cause haste the same to your servant, George Nicolson, and he to make us advertisement thereof as is written to him that either my master or I having his commission may receive the same. I wot well my master has done his part very honestly heretofore and will follow the same so long as your lordship will desire him in this action, if you desire her Majesty shall have a diligent agent of me and one true to the end of this action.

The coming of Captain Thorntoun to my master will put that Earl Tyrone to a great fear for he takes great fear of my master and would fain have his good will, at the least his oversight, which is the tenor of his commission to us. We are advertised that the Earl has lately done great "skaith" to your men. For anything that we can see ye will never make Ireland obedient by pursuit on the one side, do what ye will do. And if they were pursued on both the sides as my master desires, shortly they should be so obedient to her Majesty there that during her time there should never be disobedience feared nor meant. I think the Earl will offer obedience, if the same be received of him. [I] assure your lordship, when he cannot be so well resisted as now he may, he shall begin where now he has left.

If my master be desired to the pursuit of the Earl it were very necessary that your lordship would come to Scotland that he might confer with you in this matter. Inveraray, 20 Sept. 1595. *Signed*: Johnne Achinros.

Postscript.—As my master desires your lordship shall credit no others in writ nor word, only my Master and myself excepted, and this for sundry causes. Otherways I will not "mell" in this service. I am plain and true and shall so continue to the end.

1 p. *Holograph*, also address: "To my speciall guid Lord, my Lord Bowes lait ambassadr." *Wafer seal of arms*. *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Inverrarey xx^o Sept., London primo Octobr' 1595."

Sept. 21. 19. [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 180.

Great travail was made for an assurance between Mar and his neighbours but it has taken no effect. The messengers were Cars and Drummond of Medop. The offers were three, honours to the Earl of Mar, to Garden, and 1000 marks to the wife and children of the defunct.

Now Livingstone (Leviston), Fleming, Elphinstone, Airth, Dunipace (Dunnipas), perceiving their offers refused, they are in the beginning of the next or latter end hereof to convene and remain for their safety (as they allege) at Falkirk where they think ordinarily to have 100 horse, and here again at Stirling if they make this provocation the Earl thinks to have Argyll (who is already come), Morton, Tullibardine (Tillibarn),

James VI.

1595. Glamis, Glenorchour and more nor 14 other barons; and about the latter end of October Mar thinks to have his day of law.

The Abbot of Melrose is gone to Langnewtoun for collection of his tithes and we hear that Cessford will resist, but certainty as yet is none.

Mr. John Colville goes this same day to his old friend, the Lord Jo: Hamilton, privately to speak with him, for what cause yet I know not.

Young Plessie was well treated with his Majesty and is presently here with Mar defrayed in all charges. 21 September, from London.*

1 *p.* In Colville's hand. Endorsed by Bowes: "Mr. John Colvill, Sterling 21 Sept., London 28 ejusdem, 1595." Names in cipher deciphered.

[c. Sept.
21].

20. MR. ALEXANDER DICKSON TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

If ye have anything to advertise me of, the bearer is my servant whom ye may employ. MacQuhirrie (Makwhirrie) the priest is come home again and come through your country, whereof you may advertise Mr. Robert advising him to cause writs be gotten to some sure friends in the north parts to wait upon him. And surely in my opinion in the absence of the Lords his apprehension might be easy if any men set a work thereanent. Neither is the matter to be contemned for he cannot be errandless. Signed: Alexr. Dicson.

Advertise me whether my Lord be to return in the country as the rumour is.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p.* Holograph, also address: "To his honourable friend George Nicolsoun servant to the Ambassador of England." Endorsed by Bowes: "Rec. London 28 Sept. 1595."

Sept. 22. 21. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

The cause I write no oftener is for want of matter. Since my last of the 10th I have had no occasion to write. This afternoon I came to this town going to visit the Chancellor, who was in great danger this last night. Yet this day I hear he is become better and likely to recover. The King takes great care for him.

Here is great matter to write of. The King and Queen are in Falkland. The King goes this week to St. Johnstone to take order with the country of Atholl, which is beginning to break since the Earl died. The Earl is buried the 11 of the next month in Dunkeld (Donkel). There is dealing of all hands for that earldom, the Duke and Mar suitors for the Duke's brother that is in France to marry the eldest daughter and so the whole earldom to come to the eldest and the rest to have their portion in money. The Countess is of another resolution. She thinks to bring the matter so about as the Earl of Mar shall give his earldom to his younger brother and he to marry the eldest sister and his brother the second and so the one to be Earl of Atholl and the other Earl of Mar. The third "platt" is for Ochiltree (Occultry) in respect of the necessity of that place which craves some worthy man to command the country craves him above all others. We are dealing underhand and the Queen is frank for him. He has been here but forced not that matter in respect that the King has

* A cipher for Stirling.

James VI.

1595. taken him to be "avist" (advised). In the meantime everyone does for their friend.

Mr. Richard Douglas has been at Falkland where he spake with the King by the "convoye" of the Lord Hume and the matter which he has now in hand he would have persuaded the King to have written to her Majesty to have sought leave for Mr. Archibald to have come home. The King inquired of him whether his purpose was to come home or whether he sought leave for a fashion sake. He confessed to the King his mind was not to come home but only to bring him in credit there that he might do the King the better service. He pressed many reasons to persuade the King that his uncle was altogether affected to his service and could do him such service as no man could do the like. The King inquired of him wherein. He answered in that he was so inward acquainted with the estate of England and was able to do him such friendship there as might greatly advantage him if he were employed by his Majesty, saying the disgrace he stood in was a great hindrance to his Majesty's service. The King has altogether refused either to write or to employ him, "seing" [saying] he would not abuse her Majesty to write to her in a matter that was neither thought nor meant "and for the service you say he can do me, when I see it in experience I shall tell you more of my mind." Mr. Richard would fain have some employment. He is preparing himself to come to his uncle. What business he has I know not. From the King he will get neither commission by word nor writ. I know there is (*sic*) some men of Edinburgh are labouring to purchase letters and to get him a commission to deal in some old matters of piracy that Adam Fullerton had in hand long since. They say they hold "decrites" of 8000*l.* sterling. I doubt not but he will get satisfaction presently seeing her Majesty has nothing to do with money. I know not whether he accept the commission or not. If he do I had rather he had than myself.

The King is minded to come to Linlithgow at his return from St. Johnstone where he has appointed some of the Council to meet him to determine upon his affairs. He is purposed to remain there and in Stirling all this winter. We hear no word of our Borderers. The Queen's evil will remain still to the Earl of Mar, notwithstanding they were agreed she speaks not to him. She entertains the King more lovingly than ever she did. Because I have set down my opinion in all those matters I will not touch them further for the present. As occasion serves you shall be advertised. I have written to you my own estate in my former which I doubt not you will have mind of. Edinburgh, 22 September. *Signed* : Roger Aston.

2½ pp. *Holograph, also address* : "To my L. Embastour." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' 22 Sept., London 28 ejusdem, 1595."

Sept. 22. 22. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

The King considering as I think how hard it will be for my Lord Herries to make redress for the complaints of my Lord Scrope and taking care to enable my Lord Herries therein for the execution of redress to her Majesty's contentment, has sent for the Lord of Newbattle (Newbottell) and the laird of Traquair (Trackquare) to confer with them and to give

James VI.

1595.

them order to give assistance to my Lord Herries in the same. And for this purpose they are gone to the King who is most careful to take good course therein.

My Lord Chancellor fell sick again on Friday night last and on Saturday very early Mr. Robert Bruce was sent for and rode to him and looked not to have found him living, and is not returned. Now by letter from Doctor Martin (who before had no hope of my lord's life) it is certified that my lord is at good ease and past danger as he hopes. There was message upon message sent to the Court of my lord's danger and there still wants no persuasion to move the King to go to him, some think for the benefit of that side. The ministers, in hope of especial good offices to the Kirk and Commonweal, do most earnestly pray to God to give him longer days. If he should chance to die it would make a strange metamorphosis here as you may well perceive.

MacQuhirrie (MacWhirrie) is come home as Mr. Dickson (Dixon) writes to me, to which I refer you.

For certain the Earl of Angus is sometimes open in the north in the Mearns. His wife is summoned by the Kirk there for the non coming to the kirk. And the Ladies of Huntly and Errol especially keep great houses and have great honour done them. And it is thought "the Crewe" are preparing for a new day.

From Ireland I now hear nothing of any certainty but look shortly to do, whereon you shall be advertised.

As to the matters between the Queen and Mar, and between the Chancellor and that side and Mar, and between him and the Livingstones (Levingstons), they hang as they did in the balance. Doubtful what shall come on them, which will appear in time. Edinburgh, 22 Sept. 1595. Signed: Geo: Nicolson.

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes: "Edenbr' 22 Septembr', London 28 ejusdem, 1595."*

Sept. 24. 23. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Now MacLean is returned from Dowart to Inveraray to my Lord of Argyll and Captain Thornton is also departed from Dowart with letters to Sir Robert Cecil, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Marshal there and to yourself, to the which I refer their dealings to be showed by the letters aforesaid. Always, so far as I can see, I will find the Earl of Argyll and MacLean (brother and sister children) in such natural love as the one will not be employed in those services without the other, so as both their contentments is very necessary, and in case her Majesty need will serve without all doubt her Highness's turn in Ireland, in case they be employed therein. It is certain the King's proclamations and utterance of himself enemy to the assisters of her Highness's rebels, and the sight of my dealings with the Earl of Argyll, and of his lordship's and MacLean's not only refusalment of the offers of the enemies, but their travails to stay their supports and aids, well "kythed" and seen here by their deeds, have not been a little discouragement to her Majesty's enemies and a help for the stay of their further aid, especially at this time when the enemies "gittes" not the other's aid from Spain, as is said they looked, and upon coming of

James VI.

1595.

whom suppose now our rebels (as is thought by some here) for the advantage of a better time for them shall yield to some ease, yet some affected to papistry [*in the margin* : Jo. Smallett] do look they shall stir in another manner of sort and with more numbers of Ireland. And therefore as well to prevent the worst as to be thankful to Argyll and MacLean and to keep them sure in my opinion a reasonable sum were well to be bestowed on both and it is nothing in comparison either to the preventing of such a mischief or the assured service of such worthy personages, for whose good I write not but chiefly for my duty to yourself that you may in time give this advice and service to her Majesty. For time is precious and apparently the enemies are labouring Argyll and MacLean and now they 2 will have power as you may perceive over all the men of those parts of Scotland, so as whosoever gets them will get another manner and number of men than was seen there. In regard whereof also I write thus, praying your worship to direct me no further to trouble or bear them in hand with or for anything other than which shall be either presently acknowledged or performed. For the token is too long delayed and Argyll too long unthanked, insomuch as I heard it was said by some, belike of no good mind, that England cares no further for any than the serving of their own turn. All these matters to the letters here enclosed and with Captain Thornton.

The Lord Chancellor amends now very well yet keeps Mr. Robert Bruce and other ministers still with him as comforted greatly by them. So as the sickness has gained him the ministers.

The Master of Glamis, Buccleugh and Cessford have had quiet meetings here and at Keith. Marshall and Dunipace and others of that side also have been with them as I hear, but I cannot yet learn what was among them. Always, if the King had come to the Chancellor, it was thought the King should have been stayed. But the King I hear only forbare to come by reason thereof and intends that the Queen shall not hastily come hither as before I wrote. All others to the letters of Mr. Colville who in case anything here shall come material to the service of her Majesty is like soonest to get knowledge and make advertisement thereof. Edinburgh, 24 Sept. 1595. *Signed* : Geo. Nicolson.

1½ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' xxiii^j Sept., London primo Octobr', 1595." *Names, etc., in cipher deciphered.*

Sept. 24. 24. [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 181.

There is no new thing since my last except that her Majesty is in the latter end of this month to receive her "intres" in Dundee and St. Andrews and about the middle of the next goes to Dunfermline and from thence to Linlithgow, and his Majesty to this town.

The Chancellor undoubtedly now is in great danger, whose death will breed some great matter. Sundry "pressis" to his office, but his kindness thereof he has left to Blantyre for all the apparent hatred was among them.

I cannot yet hear what is done betwixt Melrose and Cessford.

In the latter end of October a raid is instituted to take order in the West Border for they ride continually and even to the parts of Hamilton and about or before that time Mar intends to have his day of law.

James VI.
1595.

Mr. Colville had been with his old [friend] Lord Hamilton well and kindly used, and he is employed to travail the allia[nce] betwixt him and the Duke, but I fear the Duke will not consent, albeit he cannot in any other part bestow himself so well.

Mr. Colville's particular quondam (Mr. Primrose) will declare to your lordship wherein Mr. Colville's duty is rather to thank his loving S. (Mr. Bowes) nor to press him to any diligence.

To Mecenas Mr. Colville presented his "oblist" duty. This 24 of September 1595.

Let my faithful quondam (Mr. Primrose) see these occurrents for I have written but briefly to him. *Unsigned.*

1 p. *In John Colville's handwriting, also address: "To S." Endorsed by Bowes: Mr. John Colvill, xxiii^o Septembr', London primo Octobr' 1595." Names in cipher deciphered.*

Sept. 24. 25. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO THE LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND.

Your long absence from Court and continual dealing in more serious affairs may perhaps have been the occasion that you have not remembered on that which I delivered to your lordship at your last being in London. I have taken boldness by these few lines to pray you that I may know some part of your pleasure how to behave myself in that whole matter that concerns her Majesty's service, wherein I shall be ready to endeavour myself to do all the good offices that shall lie in my power to be performed.

By my cousin Ar^d. Douglas, son to the Earl of Morton, returned within these two days by the Low Countries from Italy I understand that the Earl of Errol (Arroll), brother-in-law to the said Archibald, is presently at Liège (Leidge) and gives it out that the Earl of Huntly does at this time remain at Dinant (Dynond), whether returned from Spain or yet not gone thither he cannot tell. The Jesuit, Mr. John Morton, that was prisoner in Scotland, is gone from Antwerp to Dinant.

The charges of Thomas Wilson, Scottishman detained prisoner by my occasion through the good will that I have ever borne to do her Majesty service, do daily increase; wherethrough I am forced to pray your lordship to remember his pitiful state. This 24 of September. *Signed: A. Douglas.*

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

Sept. 28. 26. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

The Queen continueth quarrel against Mar. Within these 8 days word was great everywhere that the Chancellor's life was despaired. And thereon the Queen solicited the King to have the Prior of Pluscarden, Lord President, made Chancellor. Contrarily the Duke and Mar persuaded the King for the Prior of Blantyre, Lord Privy Seal, to succeed in that room; whereat the Queen is not a little "crabed."

The Queen of England by her letter desires the King that if Chancellor Maitland (Mattland) depart this life the office be not rashly disposed without advice for the space of three months.

James VI.
1595.

The motives for Mar's solicitation for Blantyre are two : one, that he would have a condition of him that Mr. John Colville should be Keeper of the Great Seal ; the other, that if the Chancellor die the Secretary's place may be disposed at his devotion [*sic*] and that Colville may enter to that office or have both in choice.

The Queen of England is afraid lest the Lord President become Chancellor and the Catholic cause prevail, for he is a " suppost " of Rome indeed and has been a great friend in that matter.

Mar made great preparation to make incursion on Bruce and Livingstone but the King has forbidden him for the space of 45 days under pain of treason.

The Lord Treasurer, Buccleugh and Sir Robert Ker have been all privily in this town these 8 days bygone. Buccleugh hath secretly told an uncle of mine that he was informed by a gentleman in court that the King had directed commission privily to take himself and others and therefore he thought meet to keep himself secret ; as also that a motion was made to him by Glamis (who has been a man of practice in the like purpose) to convene their friends of the late faction and lay hands on the King to obtain what they list, for he was surely informed that the King was minded to come on this side the Forth to visit the Chancellor at his dwelling house. And this is easy for Hume, Scot and Ker to perform so near their own dominions. Herein Buccleugh required my uncle's advice, who dissuaded the same, alleging it neither to be lawful, profitable nor honest, and gave counsel to make friends rather in court who might promise in his name satisfaction for bygone offences and to make amends in things to come. Yet how this matter will be followed is secret amongst themselves, though Buccleugh promised to observe this counsel retiring himself to another lodging within the town.

Some suppose that the Chancellor shall now convalesce and great matters are looked for thereon. Edinburgh, 28 Sept. '95. *Unsigned*.

1½ pp.

Oct. 3. 27. SIR WILLIAM RUSSELL TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received by Captain Thorneaton certain offers made by the Lord of Argyll and Lo. MacLean (MacLaine), a copy whereof I send you enclosed as also the copy of the King's proclamation against those Scottish Irish rebels. I have written a letter to the Lo. MacLean to let me know how conveniently 2000 Scots may be spared to serve her Majesty against the Earl and the other northern rebels about the spring, for that our men are very many sick and weak. I have requested him to send his answer to you if conveniently he may soonest that way by Edinburgh : if not, such letters as he shall send to you this way I will see them conveyed with as much expedition as may be unto you. From her Majesty's castle of Dublin this 3 of October 1595. *Signed* : Wm. Russell.

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed* : " To my very loving friend Mr. Bowes her Majesty's ambassador with the Scottish King." *Endorsed by Bowes* : " Sir William Russell, L. Deputy of Ireland, Dublin 3^o Octobr', London 13^o ejusdem, 1595."

James VI.
1595.

First enclosure with the same.

(Captain Thornton's information.)

The Earl of Argyll and MacLean are both very forward to have revenge upon the Earl of Tyrone for the hanging of their kinsman Hugh Oneele.

The Earl of Argyll is Lord Lieutenant of all the Island and Out Isles of Scotland without whose consent MacLean can gather no forces.

MacLean offereth to save her Majesty against the rebels in Ireland with two or 3000 Scots of the Earl of Argyll's and his own, so that her Majesty write unto the said Earl to license MacLean to raise the forces for this service.

MacLean's request is that I with her Majesty's pinnaces under my charge or her Majesty's pinnaces under some other captain's charge may guard their galleys when they shall land with their forces in Ireland and defend them from spoil of the enemy in their absence.

There came with MacLean when he came from the Earl of Argyll to confer with me at his castle of Dowarde a minister of the Earl's whose name is Archibald Campbell, who informed me of the willingness of his Lord to farther this her Majesty's service so that her Highness would wish his assistance by letter. Also they must be compounded withal for her Majesty's pay.

The usual entertainment of the Irish Scots allowed them in the North of Ireland, viz.

Item every Scot that is to serve with long bow, long sword or halberd is to have by the quarter	10s. str.
---	-----------

Item every Scot that is to serve with a piece is to have by the quarter	20s. str.
---	-----------

Every man for his victuals by the month is to have 3 madders of butter and 6 madders of oatmeal and for want of this victuals	10s. str. by the month
---	------------------------

The pay of him that is no shot for his wages and victuals for a month of 30 days is	13s. 4d.
---	----------

The pay of a shot by the month	16s. 4d.
--------------------------------	----------

Signed : George Thornton.

1 $\frac{1}{3}$ pp. Endorsed : "Capt. Thorneton's informacion about the Scottishe Borderers."

Second enclosure with the same.

(Laughlan MacLean of Duart to the Lord Deputy of Ireland.)

I do perceive by the letters directed to your lordship from Sir Robert Cecil by her Majesty's direction your lordship appointed Captain Thornton to ply hither towards my castle of Doward with one of her Majesty's pinnaces to confer with me about the stay of my neighbours here in the Isles from the aid of the Earl of Tyrone now in actual rebellion against her Majesty. Thornton hath exonerated him very honestly of your lordship's commission, arrived here at our castle of Doward, at which time I was with my cousin, my Lord Earl of Argyll, partly in my own particulars and partly for such of her Majesty's business as by her Highness's own letters she hath committed to the friendship of my Lord of Argyll ; wherethrough he directed a messenger to me from anchor before my

James VI.

1595. house of Doward earnestly desiring to meet with me and to confer upon those same particulars which my Lord of Argyll had before imparted to me. I satisfied his desire and have at length communicated to him my opinion, which in few words is this: that her Majesty first confirm my Lord of Argyll in friendship towards herself; then to set down with his lordship a settled course whereby such enormous storms may be dissolved as have already threatened your jurisdictions. The like or greater may be expected if in time there be not a remedy provided, the which only must be by her Majesty's own mean and my Lord of Argyll's employment; whose good will is fervent enough and his power sufficient to perform the same, as experience in time shall make known to every one if her Majesty will set down a settled course with him in this action, wherein I understand I will be second if occasion of her Majesty's service be offered. I must have Captain Thorneton to be joined with me therein. These of the Islands which are bound to that Earl's aid have found my mean to their stay therein uncertain, if your lordship knows the same or have heard thereof. Doward, 12 September, 1595.

And seeing the stay of Captain Thorneton there is not requisite [I] thought good that he should return home.

1½ pp. Copy.

Oct. 3. 28. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

This day I came to this town to take my leave of Sir William Keith who takes his journey to-morrow. I found George ready to make his dispatch, by whom I thought to accompany with this first letter. We have no news. The King is presently at St. Johnstone and from thence comes to Stirling and so to Linlithgow where he will make his "randevose" all this winter. This day the word is certain come to this town the Chancellor will not live. This day Mr. Robert Bruce (Broues) is gone to him with divers others in great haste. He has been mightily troubled in his conscience. He has greatly repented his former life both to God and the King with many protestations that if God spared him at this time he should become a new man to them both. His continual prayer has been for the King with many promises to become a new man to him. By the judgment of all the wise men that have been with him it is conjectured that he knows many things that have not been revealed and [one?] of the wisest thinks the King had done well if he had gone to him when he was of good mind and remembrance. His death will make a great alteration in this estate. If he live, as I hear he will not, he will be at a great strait, for first he has promised to the Queen and contracted friendship with such as are of her faction which he dare not offend. On the other side he thinks s[h]ame to offend the King who has been so constant to him and thereupon would have retreated himself to the King, the rather when he saw their courses "veolett" [? violated]. He holds in with both at this present. All rest upon his life or death. The Queen thinks he has been the overthrow of all their courses and says he is a false knave in that he was the first deviser of that course and the first that disclosed the same. She protests before God it was never bred in her breast but laid down by the Chancellor and some others. She stands stiff at her mark

James VI.

1595. and thinks no better way to win the King than by fair entertainment, whereof there is no want of both sides. The King is not to be brought off his ground in that point and so matters passes [*sic*] over.

There has been a secret meeting lately in Edinburgh between the Master of Glamis, the Lord Hume, the lairds of Buccleuch and Cessford. They have been at sundry resolutions but can conclude nothing till they see what becomes of the Chancellor. If he die, they will steal away from their cause and Buccleuch is minded to pass off the country. If he live, they hope to "doble owtt" their course. The Earl of Mar and the Prior of Blantyre are surely advertised there is an intention against them. Whereupon they are determined to look the better to themselves. These 3 days bypast the Prior has been in Stirling to see what he could get done between the Earl and Dunipace (Donnypese) about the "sletter" [slaughter] of David Foster. The Earl thinks himself so far interested as he will do nothing in that matter, except they present the "ded doeres" [? deed doers] from Stirling. The Prior came to Linlithgow where we were merry and drank to you. The 20th instant the King has appointed his Council to come to Linlithgow where he will take order with his affairs. The death of the Chancellor will alter many things among us. Edinburgh, 3 October. *Signed* : Roger Aston.

3 pp. *Holograph, also address* : "To my L. Embastour." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr', 3 Octobr', London 9 ejusdem, 1595."

Oct. 3. 29. JOHN WEMYSS OF LOGIE TO —.

At my coming out of England I saw in Zeeland a sight of a letter that came from Antwerp written in cypher at that time as far as I could collect. It specified of some preparations making in Spain. I wrote my appearance to Mr. Hueston. Thereafter I wrote to him again from Hamburg upon my own imagination that I had mistaken the letter. Having after this passed somewhat farther up in the country [I] was altogether secluded from intelligence, so that I thought long and drew myself farther down, and of great accident encountered the same man that had written that letter which I saw at Zeeland. With whom after many circumstances I fell in talk of such a letter, who when he understood that I had seen the same showed me that there was a privy "surpress" ready of execution in England, which was of little or no importance but tended only to move them [to] think that the preparation that was making had no other issue but that which I hear is little done, thinking that they would look for no other and that Spain would take a great time to prepare anything else. In the meantime they have a new force and whether it intends towards Ireland, Scotland or England that could he not, at least he would not, tell. I hear they mind now to bend all their forces and see what they may do, and to stir up our King to "kythe" himself against that estate of yours. There is means to obviate that as I could show your lordship in case I could speak with yourself or yet had assurance that this writing would come to your hands safely. My Lord Huntly is not yet come down from Rome as he appointed, but I hear there is one passed to him with some commissions, what I cannot say. I hear that Colonel Stewart was in Denmark, thereafter with great expedition passed to Medlingburg [Mecklen-

James VI.

1595.

burg] and Brunswick, what to do of truth I can hardly imagine. The King of Denmark is presently in Brunswick, some say of purpose to see a gentlewoman, daughter to the Marquis of Brandenburg. Some suspect that which I am not feared for, that is to make some league, against whom I will not say, albeit I think if they be not moved very instantly by some other persons will be content to keep the old form of the country. I am sure you are advertised that things succeed very well with the Christians, which will profit your estate nothing for there is some of the Duke's here. The word is through all these parts that her Majesty was not only a mover of the Turk to these wars but likewise a privy "surmyser" (as they call it of her) with instruments of war for English ships taken with powder and "pulled" going toward the Turk's bounds, of the which many noblemen of these parts were very glad. At my coming to Keile in the land of Holst I met one called Anthony Ottorron, an Italian born, [who] married a Low Country woman, who has his maintenance of Hertzech of Anspach, brother "barnes" with the Marquis of Brandenburg. This has written to Scotland two packets; the one is directed by Zealand, the other by the King's secretary of Denmark to the King of Scotland. This is one very well travelled and lives upon intelligence, a man of good language who was in Scotland some 2 years since only for news, and what he can have to do with our King I could not learn, because I "behooved" to use an interpreter always. An your intelligence be no worse in Scotland nor then it was, ye will soon learn what was his negotiation in those parts. I intend by your grace to be shortly in Brussels, where perchance I may learn somewhat more, but above all I will beseech your lordship to let me be no way known but to such as ye are assured of, for their men will keep up from me that which otherwise they would speak, and by that bearing amongst them, it may imperil me very "mickle" presenting service to Sir Robert Cecil who shall find me readier to serve that estate nor he was to further my suit.

As I have the commodity of sure bearers I shall write more particularly to your lordship. The 3 of October. *Signed*: Weymes Logy.

1½ pp. *Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

Oct. 3. **30. GEORGE NICOLSON TO [ROBERT BOWES].**

Yesterday Mr. George Erskine being here told me that the same day he came from Inveraray MacLean returned to my Lord and told himself that the Captain was departed with MacLean's letters promising speedy delivery of them, so as I hope those letters are also come to our court and that according to my former it is made known thereby that, albeit MacLean be in agreement with those men by means of the Earl of Argyll, yet he will do her Majesty service so as my Lord of Argyll be dealt with to employ and join with him therein, but without my Lord's employment he cannot conveniently deal. And by Mr. George I find still that my Lord is ready to pleasure her Majesty upon her mean either for persuading an obedience in the Irish rebels to her upon conditions pleasing her and them, and herein to give his travail for her Majesty upon her mean or charges, in case it so stand in Ireland so that might pleasure her Highness; and upon not effecting of her pleasure with them that my Lord would make that his

James VI.

1595.

quarrel against the rebels, and at her pleasure and mean or charges to assist her Highness against them with his forces and his friends; his Majesty giving him leave as MacLean also says, and which his Majesty for pleasuring of her Highness would no doubt do but much more being moved therein. So as God be thanked all things here in this matter stand well and at her will and pleasure. Yet I perceive by Mr. George that my Lord and his ancestors being presently and having been in great friendship with O'Donnell and the rest think that he cannot nor will not break friendship with them without occasion of some quarrel (but performance of his duty to his Majesty I suppose together with good occasion at her Majesty's hands will be good cause of quarrel) against them. Of old my Lord had great tribute of them which was offered with the arrearages to him again with good surety for performance, but Mr. George says that for her Majesty's cause he had refused to accept the same or to renew any friendship with them, in hope of her friendship, and Mr. George wishes that this friendship of her Majesty's may be made with my Lord in time, lest O'Donnell and the rest make their offers again to his lordship and that he accept thereof, which once done he says my Lord will not afterwards break with them for anything. Always he says my Lord rests still at her Majesty's service to be either speedily employed or, with thanks for that which is done, advertised that there is no further cause of his employment. And, therefore, as the state of things stands best known by advertisements from her Majesty's officers in Ireland, so apparently this matter had need to be guided: but, however it be, 1000 angels or marks were not cast away to be bestowed on so fit a nobleman for her Majesty's service in those affairs at all occasions.

And Patt's (MacLean's) token of 1000 crowns which he expects because both Birr (John Cunningham) gave him word thereof and that he should have it, and that by direction of 83 (Sir Robert Cecil), and also that, since D (Mr. Bowes) caused word to be sent to him that it was ready to be sent and delivered where and to whom MacLean pleased, would be sent to him. For surely it is well deserved and will be better if there be greater cause and he employed. Always I write this in performance of duty, leaving the same to be used as shall be thought meetest.

Here it is said that the rebels have gotten armour and gold and look for some men daily out of Spain, and that still they do great hurt. But, because the truth is known best where you are, I leave these matters. Only it is still maintained that the Earl has the hands of the great ones in Ireland for the effecting of their plot in hand, and that these great ones await but their proper times to "kythe" themselves in, when the same may best serve their turns. The Earl is said to be much increased with horsemen, and he will not fight but, as Mr. George suspects, run into the south parts as my Lord Deputy goes northwards and so make a notable confusion there or adventure the taking and keeping of the south parts. I see no other but the employment of 10 (Argyll), and Patt (MacLean) at the first would have ere now broken the rebels' necks and ended that her Majesty's charge, and yet would do it soonest: for you may be bold upon agreement with these 2 to give assurance of especial good service and success.

As to the Borders: Cessford sent Sir Andrew Ker to the King to

James VI.

1595. complain of Mr. Henry Woddrington and of Sir John Forster for not doing, nay denying of him, justice, and to seek as it were the King's oversight to take revenge. But the King has flatly commanded that neither Cessford nor any of his should stir, threatening to lay to Cessford's own charge whatsoever should be done, and protesting to preserve the peace with her Majesty as by Mr. Aston's letter to you you will perceive. Whereupon I have written all to Sir John that he may do for the best. I hear they are now keeping days of truce. The matter between the laird of Mewross and him for his cousin is still put over for 10 days longer. [*In margin* : 69 (Buccleugh) I think shall travail indeed so soon as he can himself in peace to remove the suspicion which B (the King) has of him.] In the matter between the laird of Buccleugh and the Grames there would be some present order, and I find some stirs not accustomed rising on the East Marches and with the Mars. But all these to the wardens' reports, who know best how things stand and how agreements are proceeding between the 2 lairds and their "compeditors" who are a block in these great lairds' ways, which would be slightly removed and without discouragement to them, until further trial be seen of the 2 lairds' actions and in manner as shall preserve the peace. But if your worship return ye will have great power and interest in all persons to do good in these causes.

I must needs confirm the open being of Angus in the Mearns. It is so openly spoken, as also it is thought it is so far agreed unto by B (the King) as upon honourable motions to be made to him therein, Angus shall be remitted : for which cause the ministers look to be dealt with more plainly, and Mr. Richard Douglas is, as is thought, to procure means also from Pa (England) for the better warrant of 4 (the King) to deal friendly, and I think Mr. Archibald shall have credit quietly for advancement thereof in Pa (England). [*In margin* : but this to Mr. Richard's self who shortly will be in London.] But of these things I can give you no assurance, yet surely some of Res (the Kirk) look that whether they agree or not Angus shall find favour and that presently, as also that the papist Earls shall be at home in the end of this month, and for the plot of 2 (the King of Spain), to whom they can do no service unless they be in Ter (Scotland) to receive theirs to be sent to Scotland, and some of the Kirk have heard that 9 (Huntly) and 12 (Errol) have licence to return, and Res (the Kirk) expect nothing but troubles. Yet inasmuch as they are not sure of these things they keep quiet. 21 (Mar) is blamed to be the joiner with B (the King) in these things, which makes me think them to be rather devised to make Mar odious with the Kirk than to be true. Always I hear my Lady Huntly is coming to the Court.

On Monday the King rode to St. Johnstone, and on Wednesday the Queen went also thither. He is taking order with the Highlanders that depended on Atholl. That earldom is sought for by Invernethe, Ochiltre and by the Duke for his brother, but not yet gotten as I hear, neither is in the King's hands but in my Lady's and her 2 daughters', whom my Lady means to make great countesses by marrying the eldest to the Earl of Moray (Murray) and the younger to the Earl's brother, and to make Moray Atholl and his brother Moray. I hear Crawford has the grant of the abbacy of Coupar. The Master of Glamis sought it but the King said he had rather he were hanged.

James VI.
1595.

On Saturday the King and Queen return to Falkland, on Monday to Dunfermline and on or about Wednesday come over to Linlithgow, there to stay some 20 days, and after to go to Stirling if the Queen please. Then things will mend or be worse. My old Lady Mar I hear is now at Stirling : so as that cause will be wanting. The Livingstones have banished, as it were, 2 Livingstones and Airth has banished 3 Bruces, being all they say at Davy Forster's slaughter, and they have offered, as before I advertised, honours to Mar and Garden and 2000 marks to the wife, and will yet offer more, they say, so as I cannot see but it will agree. [*In margin* : 67 (Mr. Colville) is dealing to agree it.] I thought once, as I wrote, that it had been done.

The Lord Chancellor is fallen evil again and not like to live. This day the ministers were sent for to him and are ridden at 11 hours. If he die, here will be such a change as was not this 20 years. Blantyre has been said to have sought it and I think shall get [it] if he die. He is sore troubled in conscience and with fear that his dealings between 4 (the King) and 5 (Queen) should come out.

On Saturday the scholars were again called into the Tolbooth to have had assise for the slaughter of John Macmurrion, but the men of law for the scholars found such fault in the commission which the King had given the town for their warrant to deal in that matter as it was not found sufficient. So as the matter is put over till the 20th hereof, and in the meantime the town intend to get better commission. One English boy, son of Richard Forster, was in the school and put in the Tolbooth. But my Lord Hume has got him at liberty upon caution to be answerable, which none other of the children can procure. My Lord was very earnest with the King declaring that it stood upon the King's honour to save that boy, being an English boy and a stranger, suppose all the rest should die, for whom also he spoke as earnestly as my Lord Sinclair or any else did. I see the town very earnest to have this fact punished and it is meet to get some help by the boys' friends for building of some of the 4 churches now intended to be made here.

On Tuesday last the goodman of North Berwick was again chosen provost but as yet he refuses it. John Arnett and Nic. Udders was [*sic*] in "lite" with him. He is seen to the town to be wise and conformable to them and to have such favour at the King's hands as may stead the town, and therefore they chose him. William Smale, Clement Ker, Wm. Aulde and Hugh Browne are chosen bailiffs, John Jackson treasurer and Sanders Uddertes still dean of the Gill. The provost is ridden home not contented, but the town will call to the King to cause him execute his place. Edinburgh, 3 Oct. 1595. *Signed* : George Nicolson.

3 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. No address or endorsement. Names in cipher deciphered.*

Oct. 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ * 31. ROBERT GODFREY TO ROBERT BOWES.

"Brother, I haif vrettin tua sindrie letters to zou, quhairof as zit I have resavit no advertisement from zou if zou haif resavit any of yaime,

* Godfrey appears to date his letters in the new style. Cp. the letter of 15/25 Jan. 1595-6 below.

James VI.

1595.

quhairthroch have takin occasione as be my last, heirby, that ze vald honor me w^t zour letter quhairby I askit, and do ask, that if zou haif any man in quhome ze haif hoep remaining in Orkney (Bruxilles) or thairby, ze vald mak me knaw him, if zou vil gif me that meikil trust, by quhome I micht have my cofferis direct to zou in suirte. For zour visdome may consider, if I be in companie w^t R (Huntley), I am not able to mak my avin dyet as I vil, quhilk is and hath beine a motion to a pairt of my stay in thir quarters, till I suld heir fra zou. Pleis thair hath beine ane querell tuixt R (Huntley) and P [Eroll] laitle and Malchus (the Bishop of Ross), Samson (Mr. Ja: Gordon) v^t Patersone (Father Creighton) ver present, quhair, as I haif leirnit, it is concludit that R (Huntley) sall go to Turkie (Scotland) and P (Erroll) remaine heir q^r he is till he be advertist fra his freinds. He quho gifis me this advertisement is not of sik credit as I vill . . . seil all his speichis. It is treu I knav be veray plaine evidence that he hath frequent access to the foirsaid persons. He vil haif me beleive that R (Huntley) hath pouer to go home quhan he vil, if any assurance Thomas (the King of Scottes) may gif him be sufficient. He sayis that the honestest men in Turkie (Scotland) ar sin[cer]e and assured freinds to R (Huntley) and his sort. I gif it no credit. I am promiseit to find ane honest man fra quhome I have haid ordinarie intelligens sence my first cuming to thir pairts at Lin (Antwarp) the xxviii of this instant heirfoir. I pray zou w^t the same schip if no sooner let me heir frome zou touching the receipt of my letters. I must intreit zou that it vill pleis zou vreit to the man conservator quho is in thir quarters for Thomas (the King of Scottes) a letter of zour courtesie not touching any thing of me, bot desyring him yat he vald mak zou acqueint w^t his ordinarie occurrentes, and assuring him that if he do so ze vill not forgzet his courtesie in that doing. In mein tyme I vill assuir zou that he is a verray ambidexter as I sall mak zou knov moir plainlie be my nixt letter, for I have leirnit of him self a pairt of y^t gifis me this assurance, and know forder than for the present I may vreit. Alway I pray zou, S^r, vreit to him for amongs the rest of his discourses he hath said to me that he vreit ains to zou and resavit no ansur. It if may not displeis zou I must request that no thing be hard of this, for it may stand me on my heid. Not that I compt for him bot that I feir he go betuixt my mouth and the cup as I go to R (Huntley). I remit that quhairin I vischit zou to remember me to zour auin courtesie and favor, I vreit to zou that ze suld be a good menagier becas I am plaine contrair in thir pairts, quhair I am." "Coupar (Middleburghe) this 13 of Oct." *Signed*: Robert Godfrey.

2 pp. *Holograph, the deciphered names inserted in another hand.* *Addressed*: "To the richt honorable Thomas Bell, gif this to Mr. Bouis in hand." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Coupar xiiij^o Octobr', London xviiij^o ejusdem, 1595." *Slightly mutilated in parts.*

Oct. 4. **32. GEORGE NICOLSON TO [ROBERT BOWES].**

Yesternight at 9 hours the Lord Chancellor died, so as there is like to be a general change in all things. The Master of Glamis and the 2 lairds will now do the best for themselves they can, and the whole blame will be laid on the Chancellor for moving the Queen to her motion anent the

James VI.

1595. young prince and some speeches she has used already to cast the blame on him. But yet she will not give it over ; neither look I that that side shall now by policy (wanting their chief credit with the King and deviser) any longer stay to effect desires, but by force attempt it to the rising of present troubles here. For all their friends are under warning, I think rather for taking advantage here than for causes of the Borders. I hope my Lord Hume shall get the wardship. But all things thus to come I leave to the sight of them as they shall come, commending for the present this matter to your knowledge as a matter of greatest moment in the choice of another Chancellor, which I look shall be good Blantyre. Edinburgh, 4 Oct. 1595. Signed : Geo: Nicolson.

For certain you will hear strange matters now opened of his dealings. And 67 (Mr. Colville) I hope shall now do well and for these parts be able to do good service to Pa (England), which surely he will.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. No address or endorsement. Names in cipher deciphered.*

Oct. 5*. **33. LAUCHLAN MACLEAN OF DOWART TO GEORGE NICOLSON.**

The space of 15 years since or thereby an honest man of the realm of England named William Nycoll (who has his dwelling in the parish of Northam, his ship lay at Bascavill on the river of Brisco) came to my lands and in friendly manner had home with him a child named John McNeill, a special kinsman to McNeill of Barray, who as my "dependar" serves me in time of trouble with three hundred men. This young boy now come to the perfection of a man, well entertained in the bounds of England, never made his friends to know of his estate, wherethrough it seemed to them that he was departed this life till now that he has written to me and to his friends from Exeter in Devonshire, where he is committed to prison in her Majesty's castle, showing that since his departing this realm he has had good success in his traffics by sea till now that by fortune in his own defence in single combat he has slain a gentleman, a captain better than himself, for the which he is committed to prison. Sundry gentlemen of those bounds have done for him but in special a gentleman named George Cary, who has also written to me from Clovelly desiring me to use mean with his Majesty of Scotland to write to her Majesty for his pardon. And although I have been in his Majesty's presence of late, yet we have not made end with his grace anent some particular. [I] have continued my mean with his grace, having a trust and hope to receive grace and pardon at her Majesty's hands, and to that effect have written to my lord your master to use mean with Sir Robert Cecil and others of the Council so that by his and their travailing with her Majesty my "kindly" man may obtain his pardon, for the which I will think me "gretumly" obliged to her Majesty, to your lord and master and to all those that aid him herein. Ye shall receive the letter that George Cary has sent to me, which has been long by the way. If her Majesty will be so gracious to him as to let him have his life, I shall make him do her good service

* This letter is dated Oct. 1 in Thorpe's *Calendar* but the date appears to be the same as that of MacLean's letter (No. 34) to Bowes, and both letters have been endorsed as written on Oct. 5.

James VI.

1595. in other parts, though he be banished England. But if he had liberty to repair there as he thought good it were better. I will request you most earnestly to insist with my lord your master to the perfecting hereof and to send my letters to the said George Cary and to John McNeill who is named there "Johnne Neill." The taking of his life is worth nothing, seeing he was compelled and forced to defend himself, and though the laws be strait yet the same ought to be considered. If her Majesty have to do with our service in Ireland, her Grace shall think that young man's life worthy to be spared. For besides my service and his friends with me, as they ever will be, the sparing of his life will cause them serve with great courage as they are indeed very able in any ground they chance on. As to the token ordained by her Majesty I look for the same as my lord your master did write. "From Inverrary the fyift of October 1595." *Signed* : Lauchlane McLane off Doward.

Postscript.—I send George Carye's letter to your master.

1 p. *In the handwriting of Auchinross, also address. Wafer seal of arms. Endorsed by Nicolson*: "Inverary 5, Edenb' 14 Octob. Per Fluor's servaitt."

Oct. 5. **34. LAUCLAN MACLEAN OF DOWART TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Seeing the Earl of Argyll will not want me out of his company here [I] thought good to be occupied in some affairs of importance in case occasion were offered. Angus MacConnell is come into the Earl to his place of Inveraray and on his knees asked mercy for his offences committed to his lordship. Donnald Gorm MacConnell is written for, who will come in and vow obedience in like manner. Seeing I have entered in her Majesty's service, now known by sundry through the coming of Thornton to my place, her Majesty may be assured of me as an honourable true gentleman to do her service to the uttermost of my power. Albeit I have presented his Majesty and have gotten presence of his Highness, yet in some particular we are not appointed for making the "convoy" thereof; [I] will request your lordship that by you and the mean of Sir Robert her Majesty write to his Highness [and] therein make mention that her Majesty desires his Highness to command me to her service; another letter to the Prior of Blantyre therein makes mention that her Majesty has to do with my service, and seeing I have to do with his Highness concerning some lands possessed by me that he see her Majesty's desire make me to receive favour and end my advice with his Highness in such form that I may make her Majesty acquainted with such courtesy as I received through her letter. These letters I desire and request your lordship most earnestly to obtain and to direct them to your servant George Nicolson that they be not presented till my servant see them. Or [ere] now I looked for the token ordained by her Majesty to me, desired the same to be sent to your servant George and the same to be delivered by him to myself or to my servant John Auchinross. I marvel of the stay thereof seeing it is long since you wrote to me of the same. Let me know now with the first what I may look for.

I am informed by a young gentleman of my lands born, named John McNeill with us, and with you in England John Neill, whose friends are

James VI.

1595. my servants and "dependaris" [and] furnish me three hundred men in time of trouble, the principal man of whom is named McNeill of Barray, this John McNeill departed from Scotland the space of 15 years since or thereby, being a young boy, in company of one named William Nycoll in the parish of Northam at Bascavill in England. We thought that he was not "on lyif" till now that he being in her Majesty's castle of Exeter in Devonshire lets me to know how he has used himself in affairs of sea since his departing, wherein he had good luck till now of late being compelled and forced by a captain, a gentleman, to enter in single combat; whom by fortune he has killed, and though the same be honest in his own defence, yet your laws are strait as George Cary, a gentleman who has done "mekill" for him, has written to me from Clovelly; which letter your lordship shall receive for further information.

Through some occasions, as perhaps your lordship will hear of hereafter, my cousin of Argyll would not write to his Majesty for his request to her Majesty. Yet I would not leave my honest turn undone if I might, but would use all mean. [I] have written to Thomas Erskine (Areskeyn) hereanent, who will proceed as his wisdom thinks good, and being uncertain what he will do have taken the boldness through the honesty of the cause to request your lordship most earnestly that ye with Sir Robert Cecil and others of your acquaintance let her Majesty know of this young man named John Neill there, my "kyndly" man, and most humbly to request her Majesty for his liberty and pardon. If her Majesty will be so gracious to me, her humble servitor, as to grant him his life, I hope in God to acquit the same favour as my service do or may; and if the party be strong there that he may not live in those parts, let him be banished with his life, seeing his part is honest in his own defence, and I shall make him to serve her Majesty in other parts. My suit herein is very honest seeing he is the honest man and therefore do esteem of him as I would of my son if he were in that danger. [I] will in this request your lordship and her Majesty's Council "all so much" as I would in my son's action. No further herein can I write and therefore under God commit the life of my servant and "kyndly" man to her Majesty and Council, who has done nothing but in his own defence as is notorious known. Therefore seeing my part through my "kyndlie" man is honest I look for grace and mercy of her Majesty, my mistress's hands. These other letters directed to George Cary and my servant John Neill in those bounds, I request your lordship that for my honour and their comfort you cause [to] be delivered to them, my duty of humble service being remembered to her Majesty and commendations to Sir Robert Cecil, my friend and companion as I hope in God to use. "From Inverrarray, the fyift of October 1595."

Postscript.—As your lordship prospers in the liberty of my servant and "kyndly" man, John McNeill, write your comfortable letters to him in prison where he lies in the castle of Exeter and also write thereof to his tender friend George Cary, whom to I hold myself much "addettit."

In my former letters to you I wrote that I should make all the men of the Isles here render obedience to my cousin of Argyll, which now shall be performed. And as I wrote against your new made Earl of Tyrone I doubt not being employed by her Majesty, after my landing in Ireland to

James VI.

1595. change him shortly from that name. In all our doings credit no creature except George Nicolson and John Auchinross. *Signed* : Lauchlan McLane off Doward.

2 pp. *Seal. In the handwriting of Auchinross, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : " Inverrarye v^o Octobr', Char' xxj^o ejusdem, 1595."

Oct. 5. **35. CHARLES EGGARTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Having certain advertisements here that the traitor, the Earl of Tyrone, has very lately dispatched one Francis Moumford, an Englishman, with letters from him into Spain for the practising and drawing of Spanish forces into this realm of Ireland against her Majesty and that the said Moumford is now in Scotland in the Earl Huntly's country hoping from thence to have shipping into Spain ; upon whose arrival there the said Earl of Tyrone expects the speedy repair of forces from thence this winter ; I have thought good to signify thus much unto your worship and withal to set down what manner of man the said Moumford is for his better apprehension. He is of middle stature ; of age about thirty years ; little or no hair of his face and is learned and apparelled English like. It is thought where he can get first shipping for Spain, he will repair thereunto. From Knockfargus, 5 Oct. 1595. *Signed* : Charles Eggarton.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : " Knockfargus v^{to} Octobr'. Richmonde 9 Novembr', 1595."

Oct. 7. **36. CHARLES EGGARTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Having at this instant met with a friend that has promised me to see my letters safely sent unto you and having written from advertisements unto my Lord Treasurer, I have presumed to crave your favour in sending this my letter unto my Lord Treasurer here enclosed amongst your own the next post. Wherein, besides your former friendship towards me upon my wife's troublesome letter unto you, I shall during my life acknowledge myself greatly bound unto you. From Knockfargus, 7 Oct. 1595. *Signed* : Charles Eggarton.

Postscript.—My wife is a daughter of Sir Henry Gates, who has her with great thanks most heartily commended unto yourself and your good bedfellow.

The passage before this I sent you advertisements of one Francis Moumford [*whose business is again set out as in No. 35*]. If he miss of direct shipping for Spain he will pass for France. He is [*description as in No. 35*] a seminary by profession and apparelled English like. God send you may light right upon him. *Signed* : Charles Eggarton.

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : " Knockfargus 7 Octobr', Richmond 9 Novembr', 1595." *In another hand* (? Nicolson's) *below the address is written* : " One Cuming of Urwyn had this out of Ireland as he sends me word by the partie he sent to me with this packett, who I have well payde ere it wold be delivered to me."

James VI.

1595.

Oct. 7.

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 182.**37. [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].**

All particulars I refer to Mr. Primrose, protesting however things fail me there yet to them shall Mr. Colville never fail, God willing.

Their Majesties are to be to-morrow as I hear at Dunfermline and this day from St. Johnstone coming to Falkland.

On Friday night 9 hours the [3rd] hereof the Chancellor died. Thus his faction is headless. What course they shall take is yet uncertain, some supposing that Cessford and Buccleuch will crave licence and depart the realm, albeit Glamis had lately been in Edinburgh fearing his death to comfort and keep together the society.

Upon his death must follow unexpected matters and Colville hoped in God now the door shall be no more barred on him.

The matter of the tithes betwixt Melrose and Cessford is concluded for 10 days.

Mr. Richard Douglas is to come thither. I think it be to procure benevolence for Angus who is like here also to find favour with the Church and so I fear with time shall the rest.

Mar is marvellously pressed to assure with his neighbours but will not hearken and now I fear he shall be more bent "nor" of before.

Colville labours still to knit up the marriage betwixt the Duke and Hamilton but he feared that the Duke's mind be some other way.

This beseeching the Lord daily for the felicity of Avdin and Mecnas and yourself I do my humble service. The 7 of October. *Unsigned.*

1 *p.* In John Colville's handwriting, also address: "To S." *Endorsed by Bowes:* "Mr. John Colvill, vij^o Octobr', London, xvj^o ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

Oct. 8. 38. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Upon my Lord Scrope's complaints and letter the King has written twice to my Lord Herries (Harris) commanding him to keep meetings and do justice with my Lord Scrope. And by Sir George Hume (who I assure you is a very good instrument for the peace and amity and so "kieths" himself) his Majesty willed me to give my Lord Scrope word hereof and to will him to send to Herries therein and to advertise me that I might show his Majesty if my Lord Herries should not keep meetings and administer justice accordingly, as also to will my Lord Scrope to send his particular complaints against the Johnstones and he should cause Johnstone or others to make redress for the same. [*In margin:* Johnstone is exempt from Herries's charge by reason of their feud.] And for the execution of justice and preservation of the peace his Majesty is shortly to have Buccleugh, Cessford and the rest of the chief of his Borders to come to him that he may take effectual order with them therein. All which I have herewith advertised my Lord Scrope of that his lordship may do as shall appertain. And Sir George is directed by his Majesty to charge Cessford to be quiet and to warn him that in case any of his do stir that the King will take him to Cessford only for the same. So as I account there dare not no great attempts be done. Yet Buccleugh thinks long, and lately on Monday last has also had a muster and meeting of his men and friends. Always I

James VI.

1595. am glad that I have kept matters from extremity on the west Borders and between others and Buccleugh thus long and until they are out of my hands.

Licence is gotten as some say that for 40 days my Lord of Angus may be conferred with by some of the ministers for his conversion, that afterwards he may be received. And the synodal assemblies of Angus, Mearns and Fife have agreed thereunto, providing that the presbyteries here shall also agree thereunto, and for which cause they have sent to know the resolution of the assemblies here, and withal the laird of Whittingham and many other of Angus's friends are soliciting and travailing for the furtherance.

This day the synodal assembly after long reasoning referred it to Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Pollogg and some other choice persons. Mr. Bruce came not among them. The rest had long conference and some among them showed that by a letter out of the Low Countries from a privy friend it was advertised that there was dealings betwixt her Majesty and Huntly and Errol as her Majesty would deal for them ; and it was also showed among them that Mr. Archibald Douglas had written that, if Huntly and Errol got favour, it would be by her Majesty's means. It was also remembered among them that the King had said that, if the ministers should deal with Angus, he would the next day deal with Huntly and Errol ; and also by letter from a courtier as much was in effect meant. So as in regard of the contrarieties hereof these chief ministers have thought best that the presbyteries of the Kirk of Lothian, Fife, Angus and Mearns shall each of them send 2 commissioners all together to know the King's mind before they give answer therein ; and in the meantime with the King's leave to send some to confer with Angus to try and see what hope is to be had of him. So as this matter is now set "on brotche." But to-morrow the Assembly sits again and, if they shall find any better course, then they will do accordingly. Otherways they will go and know the King's pleasure. 58 (Sir George Hume) seemed to me to note a strange dealing in Res (the Kirk) thus to be dealing for 8 (Angus). So as it seems to me that B (the King) lies upon advantage to hold himself excused if this matter be otherways taken than well. I write something plain, beseeching your worship to keep all quiet, lest the factors for 8 (Angus) with you, whereof I gave some touch before, get knowledge hereof.

I heard that Huntly and Errol were to come home, but Sir George assures me not for certain, so as I do believe him. I told him also that I heard that Spott and he were under terms for agreement, but he assured me there was no such motion made to him. So as I am partly in opinion 58 (Sir George) likes not the dealings for Angus. Also he says there is no such thing as my Lady Huntly to come to the Court.

The Chancellor was asked what advice he would leave to the King for the managing of his estate. The Chancellor said it was too late "spered," for his thoughts were upon another world. And for certain he has made a very godly end. I think Sir George is gone also to comfort my Lady Thirlestane (Thurlston) from his Majesty. His place is not like hastily to be "disponit" upon. Yet it is thought that the Duke shall keep the seal and Blantyre supply the place until the King be further

James VI.

1595. advised. The King has said he will well ken who [*sic*] he chooses for that place, adding that he can have none but in short time they will presume to be equal with himself. And some favourers of the Chancellor note that his Majesty takes little care for the loss of the Chancellor.

On Monday Mr. Robert Bruce and some of this town rode to North Berwick to persuade the good man to accept the office, but still he excuses the same. Yet he came hither this day about a trist but is not yet contented to deal with the provostship. So as the town intend to send commissioners to desire his Majesty to cause him to execute the office.

I see appearance of a separation between my Lord Home and my Lady who has taken the plate and best stuffs at Dunglas and carried with her to Fife to her "liseing" there of the Master of Oliphant's, her husband's (*sic*). The Earl Marischal (Marshall) and his wife for a fault in the Earl were at parting, yet now agreed as I hear.

Here is word that Rothouse is dead.

From Ireland I hear nothing certain nor good. Edinburgh, 8 Oct. 1595. *Signed*: George Nicolson.

Postscript.—To-morrow his Majesty and the Queen come from Dunfermline whither they came but on Monday last from St. Johnstone to Linlithgow, where he will have the Borderers to come to him about the quieting thereof.

As yet all things by reason of the Chancellor's death are loose, not yet come to any heads . . . factions, but shortly will do I think. I have not spoken with any yet that can tell me what 57 (the Master of Glamis), 69 (Buccleugh) and 70 (Cessford) concluded, but I hear no more than still to stick together in all occasions. When friends come hither you shall know more. Always, I look now, force as well as policy shall guide them.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr' viij^o Octobr', London xvj^o ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

Oct. 9. **39. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

It may please your Honour to receive these letters addressed by George Nicolson and others to me, and to pardon mine absence at this time in regard that this day I have gathered some of my learned counsel to confer and resolve in my cause in question in law and to be heard very shortly. London, 9 Oct. 1595. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *In the hand of Bowes's clerk, also address. Endorsed.*

Oct. 9. **40. JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.**

I have not been negligent in anything enterprised by your lordship for my master. You may be assured that the Earl of Tyrone has lost all that he "vairit"* on our Scottishmen for, through my master's being with the Earl of Argyll his cousin, all those that are in the Isles must come to his lordship, seeing my master is over strong an officer to charge them in case they refuse. Tyrone is very earnest by sundry means to procure my master's favour always continued. And so, good lord, presently there rests "mekill" in his hands. For if he aid the Earl there will be a strong

* Wared, expended.

James VI.

1595.

match against her Majesty in Ireland. On the other part, if he be employed in her Majesty's service he may make her Highness to have good payment of a great rent from Ireland, where as heretofore in time of most peace her Majesty "vairit" there in Ireland great rent from England, beside all the duty of Ireland. Not only the Earl has used means with my master, but also by the knowledge of merchants from Glasgow has willed me as servant to my master to stand his friend and sent a token to me which through my own truth and honesty I presented to my master. The same was delivered to the bearer with this excuse that I would not take his "geir" till my master were his friend, and in case the bearer would neglect his duty [I] have written with Angus MacConnell of the redelivery thereof. Betwixt this and the first of November answer will be sent to the Earl. All my master's friends rage and are at wrath with him for refusing of "sik" offers as is made to him. And the tenants find great fault that he detains five hundred men daily in "coynze" named by us and with us in the "Lauland" named Beltit, when soldiers are on tenants' furnishing, when he may send them to the wars. The young men tire and yet they must attend as he commands. For he holds no fewer under wage and retinue now nor he had in greatest time of most trouble and wars. He marvels of the stay of the token which is dear bought by him, but yet he has honour which he respects "mekill" and yet I "vair" well he would "vair als mekill" of his own beside the venturing of his person and friends to "dismak" the Earl of Tyrone. Dumbarton, 9 Oct. 1595. Signed: Johnne Achinros.

1 p. *Holograph. Wafer seal of MacLean. Addressed*; "My Lord Bowes lait ambassitour." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Dunberton 9 Octobr', Char' xxjº ejusdem, 1595."

Oct. 11. **41. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO THE LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND.**

My nephew Mr. Richard Douglas came yesternight to this town. He brings letter with some other directions from the King my sovereign to me. I would be glad to know your lordship's pleasure if I shall repair to your Honour and at what time your Honour's leisure will best serve. This 11 of October. Signed: A. Douglas.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 15. **42. ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

My wife has received most willingly from George Nicolson by your Honour's direction 20 yards of fine black velvet which she will wear for your sake. She has most earnestly requested me to render you her most humble thanks. I am sorry your Honour should have been at so great charge seeing our inability so unable to recompense the same. Accept my good will as the Emperor did the hatful of water that was presented to him, saying if he had better he would have given it. Your honourable dealing towards me has not only bound me to serve you but also to pray for you, both myself, my wife and children. I know your Honour has a care

James VI.

1595. of me and am assured when opportunity serves you will have me in your good remembrance, upon which I shall attend, endeavouring myself to do all the good offices that any way attend to her Majesty's service. Linlithgow the 15 of October. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "12 [*sic*] Oct. 1595."

Oct. 15. **43. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

I doubt not but you are sufficiently informed of the death of the Chancellor, who is regretted here with many, not so much for any love they bore him but that there is not a qualified man to supply his place, neither so wise nor so learned. Because there has passed some "broutes" [bruits] here both of his death and of some other to be chosen in his place, it has been said here he should have been poisoned but there is no such matter. He was consumed in all his inner parts which has satisfied all men and for any to succeed in his place I see no such appearance. I find the King not minded to be hasty in that matter. Upon a letter I received from the Prior of Blantyre presently after the death of the Chancellor, wherein he set down his own opinion concerning the present estate, desiring me to communicate the same to his Majesty, which I did according to his desire and received this resolution with commandment to certify the same to the said Prior; first, concerning the making of a new Chancellor, he would be very well advised at leisure in respect he could not see a man worthy, although he had been moved by sundry to make some nobleman Chancellor; which was no ways his intent and that for sundry respects, chiefly the greatness of the place which carried the leading of the realm; chiefly being a great man and Chancellor and withal a courtier as of necessity he must be would be better attended upon than the King himself; and to make a mean man Chancellor the King thinks he will ever maintain one faction or other to make himself strong. And for the keeping of the great seal the King thinks it is as good as Chancellor. In effect the Duke has been a suitor for it but refused and that for these reasons, first, in that it was not fitting in his person, and next, if the King hereafter should make choice of a man to be Chancellor, no man would accept it with the Duke's evil will. The Duke being refused of this sought the profit of the seal which the King has taken to be used till the meeting of the Council, which will be the 24th instant. In the meantime he that kept the seal under the late Chancellor keeps it still as matters rest here till the convening of the Council. We hear no "den" [? din] of our late faction. It is thought the death of this Chancellor will alter many things. Our two great "campyones" have had here their "agoustes" that no complaints came of them. It appears they are afraid to be put at. What course they will now take is not yet discovered. The Earl of Caithness has sent hither 3 witches out of Caithness that dealt with the Earl Bothwell (Bodwel) at his being there. All other things I leave till the next occasion, wishing that we might have now your presence here which I know would greatly attend to her Majesty's service and settling of quietness between the two countries. Your being here would do great good and comfort the well-affected. You will find the King of a sound resolution and some that he

James VI.

1595.

will best affect I shall be answerable for, so that your being here "commensed" [*sic*] by her Majesty with the good disposition of the King all matters will you well. I have sent you an "epethar" * here enclosed which the King made this day upon the death of the Chancellor. With my hearty commendations to my "cummer," your bedfellow, who I hear is come to London. The [*blank*] of October. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

2 pp. *Holograph*. *Addressed*: "To my L. Ambastar dated the xv." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Lythquo [*blank*] Octobr', Char' xxj° ejusdem, 1595."

Oct. 15. 44. [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 183.

Since the death of the Chancellor no talk is but who should be preferred to that place. By all appearance the lot will fall on Mar or on the other mentioned in Mr. Primrose's letter but the King says he will not be sudden. The Duke seeks the seal but not granted, and the Duke has given peremptory answer in fair terms that he cannot end with Hamilton. Mar's convention is to be at Linlithgow the 24 hereof, when we look that great matters shall be in hand. Mr. Colville is put in good hope to find favour at that time.

The Master of Glamis, Cessford and Buccleugh are very busy. All their care is to have Mar new patron in the vacant office and the Queen is "steared" to insist therein.

Presenting my humble service to my honourable Mecenaz and yourself. Stirling, 15 Oct. 1595. *Signed*: Y.

Postscript.—I do my humble commendations to my lady your bedfellow.

The Chancellor as I hear has died very penitently and has repented many wrongs done by him, specially his partial information against John Knox and other good men. Your servant knows the verity hereof better nor Mr. Colville does.

Knowing your lordship's earnestness for me I am ashamed to solicit, referring all to your accustomed kindness and travail with my Mecenaz, wishing you shall insist with Thomas Fowles to have the 300*l*. of the first money as he would have you to travail in this next suit.

1 p. *Holograph*, also address: "To S." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Mr. John Colvill, Ster' xv° Octobr', Char' xxj° ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered*.

Oct. 15. 45. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your last of the 6 hereof and am dealing to have conference with MacCondochy (McKondoquhy) as you have directed, and wherein if I deal there shall be that secrecy used that is meet, and other good dealings for her Majesty's service, or none at all that way broached. But I cannot think that Mar's promise without some comfort will draw that party to that matter: for you know those people will not play for nothing but will have something in hand. Always simply I shall do

* No copy of the epitaph exists in the State Papers, but the one referred to is perhaps that printed in Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, ii, pp. 172, 173.

James VI.

1595. as you have directed me, if I can by apt means without suspicion get speech of him.

As to Ireland I leave you to the letters of MacLean and John Auchinross and to the occurrents. MacLean is suitor for one John McNeill for whose relief it is meant to procure the King's letters to her Majesty. But it would do much good with MacLean that his own suits should be regarded so much as the relief of that gentleman comes unto ; which, as also his token looked for and the contentment of 10 (Argyll) would certainly do much good for A (her Majesty's) "adoies" [affairs] in Eb (Ireland), I leave to better consideration than mine.

All matters here are like still to put over ; what will be at the Convention I cannot tell. Now that the commodity of the coining is shortly to cease, whereby the 1000 marks weekly paid for the King's house charges shall then want, it is to be counselled and advised how to furnish that sum still to the King's house. And the disposition of the Seal and deputation of a Chancellor against the Sessions is thought shall be deliberated upon at this Convention. Whereto I leave all matters to their success then. The Borderers are also to come to his Majesty that he may take order for the quietness thereof with his own here as with ours. Matters are so hot between the Maxwells and the laird of Drumlanrig of one side and the Johnstones on the other as I cannot tell what will come thereof.

The next day after the date of my last the matter for Angus came to the reasoning and votes of the Assembly, who flatly have refused to give their consents that the ministry of Fife or other places should have conference with the Earl before the General Assembly should allow thereof, in regard that Angus held not his excommunication lawful till the General Assembly had done it, and that they would not have such a preparative for Huntly and Errol. Thus he is dashed I assure your worship. Yet think not as I wrote long ago that so great a house can here be wrecked. Now that he has missed of this plot the tutors for his son (having served inhibitions of the living) look to recover it to his son by a state made and subscribed by the King, as I also long ago wrote to your worship. Which state certainly will be good to the next in blood to the Earl saving to them of Glenbervy, which the Earl's friends account not the child to be of ; suppose his grandfather was laird thereof before he was Earl, because the Earl's brother is now of Glenbarvy and not the Earl nor his son. But these matters to them where your worship is that can better tell it than I.

The Queen came not with the King from St. Johnstone but stayed behind and came but from thence as is said on Monday and is but this night at the soonest to be at Linlithgow. For certain she continues her purpose anent Mar and so do that side ; which matter suppose it drive over, yet in the end it will be dangerous.

The Chancellor is to be buried the 7 of the next at Haddington and my Lady intends to have the Lords of the Sessions and many there, and Mr. Robert Bruce to make the sermon, that he may both signify the good end of my Lord Chancellor and acquit the Chancellor of sundry "scanderouse" reports made of him in his sickness. His children shall be ward to none ; he has made such provision I hear for certain ; and his office is to rest in the King's hands to help the house charges. Rothouse is not dead. Edinburgh, 15 Oct. 1595. *Signed* : Geo: Nicolson.

James VI.

1595.

Postscript.—On Friday next the Provost is [to] accept the office.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph.* Addressed : " Mr. Robert Bowes, esquire, Thr'er of Barwick at London." *Endorsed by Bowes* : " Edenbr' xv^o Octobr', Char' xxj^o ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

Oct. 20. 46. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

By my last of the 15 I acquainted you with such things as occurred here. I have nothing for the present worthy only to keep me in your good remembrance. Your servant George Nicolson has been here with her Majesty's letter which he has delivered, and shall receive answer upon the convening of the Council, which will be within 3 or 4 days. Her Majesty will be satisfied in all the contents of her letter. As chiefly from the exemptions of the 3 wardens there is no cause of complaint except on the West March, which the King will reform by placing an indifferent warden on that March. For the Middle March there is none exempt but Fernihirst (Fernehères) who is very careful to do justice and none has cause to complain of him. As matters rest here to the meeting of the Council thereafter you shall be advertised. I have heard since my last that there is travelling to make the Earl of Mar Chancellor and the Earl of Montrose Treasurer. This is not yet spoken of to the King, yet it is a course laid down. I wrote to you the King's mind by my last, which I believe will not be altered. All the officers of estate are written for except the Master of Glamis, who [*sic*] the King has no good liking of, esteeming him to be the " leur " of all the former causes. The Queen gives herself altogether to please the King and there was never greater love than at this time. The lairds of Buccleugh and Cessford are seeking by all means possible to obtain the King's favour and for that cause have dealt with Sir George Hume, who has met with them on the Borders ; " the of al " [?] they offer all] that his Majesty will command ; they are to be here presently. The King is minded to pass to the Borders so soon as he has taken order with the Council for his private affairs. As I wrote in my last for your return so do I confirm it by this. I would wish you here but not except you were so enabled as you might do her Majesty service. Linlithgow (Lethcoo), the 20 of October. *Signed* : Roger Aston.

Postscript.—I would most earnestly desire you to provide me her Majesty's picture in the best manner, either her whole length or otherways from the waist up and that it may be ready with speed.

2 pp. *Holograph, also address* : " To my L. Ambastour." *Endorsed by Bowes* : " Lythgoo 20 Octobr', Char' 29 ejusdem, 1595."

Oct. 20. 47. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Saturday I received your worship's last with her Majesty's enclosed in your worship's packet to the King, and that night I rode to Linlithgow where Mr. Aston moved his Majesty for my delivery of the said letter. But his Majesty being weary with his pastime abroad deferred the receipt of the letter till the next day. Yesterday morn, by Mr. Aston's means, I got to deliver the letter before his Majesty went to the church, and after his Majesty had read it he told me that her Majesty knew not

James VI.

1595.

well the state of the Borders ; as I conceived in advising that none should be exempted from the wardens but the 3 wardens made answerable for all, he told me also that I should have present answer. Yet by Mr. Aston (who I find helpful in all things for her Majesty's causes) he sent me word that my Lord Herries and Johnstone who are content to yield obedience to an indifferent officer should have an officer over them for her Majesty's contentment ; and that (no complaints coming against Fernihirst) there needed no such course to be taken for the Middle March ; willing me to come to his Majesty again at this Convention and he should with advice of his Council take order and give answer to her Majesty in the matters contained in her letter.

His Majesty, finding no fault but well allowing of her Majesty's choice of my L. Urye [Eure], said that that house of old had had particulars against this nation. Whereon I told his Majesty that there had been indeed some thing and quarrel between them and the laird of Grange but not otherways.

On Wednesday last I hear the Maxwells and Douglasses of Drumlanrig met and that one of the provost of Lincluden's (Lynclowden's) servants, James Douglas, and others of both sides are slain. His Majesty had, as I wrote, commanded their appearance before him the 15th instant, but their excuses were allowed and Johnstone was then from home and was with the King complaining. Now they are to "comper" the 1 of the next month. Buccleugh was very near getting to the skirmish but came short, yet has plainly "kythed" himself party with Johnstone. These troubles are great and for pacifying of them and quieting of his Borders and keeping the peace with us, the King intends to go in person to the Borders.

Cessford and Buccleugh are shortly to be with the King and intend to purge themselves of all matters. Sir George has spoken with them and in their favours written to the King this much and that they are and will be at his Majesty's commandment every way.

What effects this Convention shall bring out is uncertain but some think Montrose shall be Treasurer and the Master of Glamis "put at" and blamed for the matters anent the Queen's intention for taking the young Prince from Mar. But I see no appearance that the Master takes care hereof but intends to come and lie here within 14 days. Neither think I that he and the 2 lairds and the Livingstones and their friends shall be found without purpose to take opportunity to effect the "plattes" ; and the rather because it is thought either that Mar or the Prior shall get or have the use of the Chancellorship. And it is judged Mar shall now shoot for it. But that place the King accounts his companion as before I wrote and therefore will be well advised how to bestow it. Yet some must have it and therefore it [is] wished that such as should have it might be beholden to her Majesty for her furtherance to be given and so bound to be thankful that way. And if you come before that office be disposed you will find your favour laboured for by divers, and perhaps if matters do still drive over such as are now hated may aim at that mark.

For certain the King and the Queen are in very kind terms and countenance together, either of them so pleasing others as either of their factions (as they are termed here) chiefly the King's side doubt their meanings. For I heard that Blantyre had sent his excuse and meant not

James VI.

1595. to have come now. Whereon the King wrote again to him and looks for his coming. Always I leave all things to the Convention.

This day the children was [*sic*] called again before Provost and town and an assise offered them. Yet it is put over till this day eight days of purpose to see if the children's friends shall either come to agreement with the party or that the children shall come in the King's will. Edinburgh, 20 Oct. 1595. *Signed* : George Nicolson.

2 pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' 20 Octobr', Char' 29 ejusdem, 1595."

Oct. 24. 48. KING JAMES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Right high right excellent and mighty Princesse, our dearest sister and cousine, in our hartiest maner we recommend ws unto you. Having ressavit your letter of requeist desyreing the reformatioun of sum wrangis done to your subjectis by ouris inhabiting the merches of our realme, albeit we dout nocht of the assuurances ye have by manie and dyverse experiences of our good dispositioun and cair tane in doing justice with favoure to whomesoevir of your subjectis hes had to ws any just occasioun of complaint, yet we have thocht meit heirby that ye sould be farther certifeit that our awin honour and quietnes of our cuntrie having alreddy movit ws to sie redressit quhatsumevir thingis hes bene done amiss specialie in thais pairtis of our realme that your desyre in that point wilbe schortlie satisfeit with charge to oure wardains and officaris quhatsumevir that nathing salbe in thame manqing to the intertenement of ane good correspondence for the farther incres of the peace and amitie betuix oure two crounes, sua being the lyke conformitie may be had of youris at all occasiounes. And as concerning the exemptionis ye crave to be removit, seing it tuiches ane pairt of the municipall law of oure realme, we ar of mynd to satisfie thairin zoure servand Robert Bowes at his cuning, quha is sufficientlie acquentit with the particularis of oure estait in thais boundes. As in that and all uther materis tending to our honour and your quietnes we wilbe maist earnest ever to deserve youre best affectioun towardis ws. And so right high right excellent and mightie princesse oure dearest sister and cousine We commit you to the protectioun of the Almichtie God from our palice of Lynlythgow the twentie foure of October 1595 and of our raigne the xxix zeir."

At foot in the King's handwriting : "Youre most louing and affectionate brother and cousin. James R."

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Seal missing. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 25. 49. [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 184.

This Convention appointed the 29 hereof is delayed to the first of the next, at which we look that an ordinary Council to remain with his Majesty, an Exchequer and some order shall be set down for quieting of the deadly feuds betwixt Maxwell and Johnstone, who the 17 hereof have met in Annandale, Johnstone's bounds. For the Lord he lies with, Drumlanrig, accompanied with near 2000 ran a foray in Annandale and took away a great booty of goods which are restored and some pricking was,

James VI.

1595. but small "skayth." Yet it is like to grow to worse. At this Convention we look that the Chancellery shall fall to some one or other, albeit his Majesty as yet thinks not hastily to bestow it. Many "brignes" [? bargains] for it, James Stewart, old Chancellor, amidst others but I trust the bolt shall fall on a [Mar*].

Upon the event of this next Convention depends all our estate. Their Majesties are presently at Linlithgow and his grace is to be here the 27 hereof or 29 hereof, but no certainty of her Majesty's hither coming. The matter betwixt Mar and his neighbours is not like to "reconsell" but his lordship and his are like to agree. The 25 of October 1595. *Signed* : "Your awin Y."

1 p. *Holograph, also address* : "To S." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "xxv° Octobr', Richmonde 2 Novembr' 1595."

[Oct. 25]. **50. ROGER ASTON TO GEORGE NICOLSON.**

You shall receive from Mr. David Fowles the answer of her Majesty's letter. Because the time was long till the Convention I moved the King to make that dispatch sooner. The Borderers are to be here the first of the next, at which time the King has promised to satisfy her Majesty in all things. I would wish you to be here with such complaints as are to be given in by her Majesty's Borderers. At your master's coming the King is purposed by his advice to take assured course with the Borderers. Mr. David has the letter signed and is gone to Mr. John Long to get the seal or else I had sent it you myself. Make your dispatch ready and send these letters away presently. Mr. David will be with you this night. Linlithgow this Saturday morning. *Signed* : Roger Aston.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed* : "To his loving frend Georg Neccolson servatt to my L. Embastor Mr. Bowes." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Lithgow Saterdy. Rec. in Geo. Nichol[son's] packet. Edenbr' 26 Octobr', Richmond 2 Novembr' 1595."†

Oct. 26. **51. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

By mine of the 15th you may perceive the resolution that was taken upon the death of the Chancellor. The resolution of all matters was referred till the Convention which should have been the 24 but the coming hither of the Prior upon a meeting between him and the Earl of Mar for the agreeing of the deadly feud between the laird of Lawe[r]s and the MacFarlanes (Macfermlenes) which is taken up and referred to friends. You shall see by this the resolution that is taken for the present. The Earl of Mar and the Prior being the only men that the late faction sought out who kept no continual suspicion between the late Chancellor and them by which they thought to attain to their intent, that occasion being now taken away by the death of the said Chancellor everyone is doing for himself. Such as builded upon the Chancellor's credit are now seeking to reconcile themselves and to prevent an inconvenience which they

* Deciphered in another hand.

† This note has been written on the dorse but struck through : "Chr. Dagger, ij s. vj d. Mr. Skrigges, iiij s. viij d. Capt. Selby, xvij s."

James VI.

1595.

suppose is to come upon them. The Earl of Mar and the Prior, finding the time prosper and their chief competitor away, and their credit to be such as may weigh the balance, they have thought rather to take their time than to be "sercomvend" [? circumvented] by their own negligence by such as may be a greater peril to them than before. Although the King be resolved not to make a Chancellor yet, they fear in their absence he may be persuaded upon some motion or other to make choice of such one as may be to their great hurt. Whereupon they have very earnestly dealt with the King to understand his mind in this point and thereafter to follow forth that course that might best be for their own sureties. Finding him resolved not to make a Chancellor as yet they have taken his faithful promise that none shall be made without their advice, which he has faithfully promised. The Duke "commenses" this course and is altogether for Mar.

The Convention should have been the 24th but now it is continued till the first of the next month, at which time the Borderers are summoned to be here for taking of order with the daily enormities that are committed chiefly between the Maxwells and the Johnstones. If they "comper" not as they are charged the King passes presently to the Borders and to that effect has written to all the gentlemen of the country to meet him. He is minded at this time to settle his estate and to doubt all factions and to try out the substance of that which has been in practice. He is minded to make some new councillors and that by the advice of the Duke, the Earl of Mar and the Prior, to whose counsel he will subject himself, and that certain of them shall always attend upon him. Mar and the Prior have led this ground. They acquainted the Duke with their course to commence the cause. I perceive they are purposed to draw in some of the nobility to be of this new Council for their better surety. Montrose is dealing underhand to be Chancellor but he works another way than by Mar and the Prior. He deals by Sir George but he will not come speed that way. Yet I see he will be Treasurer for these folks will draw him in only for ill will of the Master of Glamis and to make their faction stronger by nobility. The Master is like to be disgraced for the King has a great ill will against him and is seeking matter to be to his charge. I know there is a course led to make the President Chancellor and that by the Queen's mean. She continues her evil will both to Mar and the Prior and has given the Prior hard language at this time. As I wrote before in my former concerning your coming hither I do confirm by this. I would wish you here now in the settling of this estate; for her Majesty's service many ways your presence here would do great good in furthering such as have been good instruments in the good cause. My chief care is that matters may be so settled as there be no peril either in religion or in the amity which cannot stand the one without the other. If the course intended be followed forth, as I hope it shall, all will be well. You know the Prior is both wise, godly and honest and has always been in a good course. I have secret credit with him which, God willing, I shall employ for her Majesty's service. I hope you and I shall work some good offices, if need require. As I wish you here, so would I wish you to come with her Majesty's good countenance and comfort to the King and yourself able to carry the countenance if you please thereafter. I hope you shall see

James VI.

1595. assured course now, the King being of a good disposition and such as have the "mannesing" of the affairs well affected and yourself to be here to encourage the good and by your presence to foresee the practices that may circumvent a good course, and thereby to discourage them in due time. There will be no danger I hope. All shall be well. The King has answered her Majesty's letter and will give her satisfaction according to her desire. He is desirous to have you here that by your advice that know the state of the Borders assured order may be taken. Linlithgow, the 26 of October. *Signed* : Roger Aston.

3½ pp. Holograph. Addressed : "To my L. Ambastor." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Lithquo 26 Octobr', Richmonde 2 Novembr', 1595."

Oct. 26. **52. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

The Convention is continued till the first of the next month with order to the Officers of Estate (saving to the Master of Glamis and Comptroller who were not nor are not yet written for) to be ready either to come or stay at that time as it shall then hold or not hold. For the King rests upon going to the West Borders if Herries, Drumlanrig and Johnstone should not come as they are written for, as by my last your worship may perceive. On Friday last I think those Borderers met again and I look to hear that Buccleugh shall be with Johnstone and great mischief amongst them, which will be better advertised from the west.

This Convention should have been as is meant to be for taking order with the King's affairs, for trying the matter intended as was suspected against the Prior of Blantyre, Thomas Erskine and Michael Elphinstone by the 2 lairds, who look not to suffer themselves to be charged with that matter or the greater anent their "plattes" towards his Majesty. Always his Majesty has said those matters shall not die with the Chancellor, the chief of that faction. And this Convention is to resolve of the meetest place of the King's abode this winter.

The Prior of Blantyre came with a great back and he and Mar and that side are afraid that the Queen should get the opportunity to draw the King to make the Prior of Pluscarden Chancellor or the Master of Glamis, in case she could once get the King's malice removed from him. And a privy councillor has told me that the King has promised to look to that. On the other side the other faction are afraid that Blantyre, Mar or some "unfrende" shall get that place, and the Queen and that side are busy and I know in hope to prevent it. And for a third party it is openly here said that Montrose aspires to it and will either get it or the Treasurership. And the King because he will offend none intends yet to keep the Chancellor's place void, until he may have a sound advice and a frank party to stand by his choice. But I look not but these matters will bring hasty troubles or else a general agreement upon sight of the inconveniences ; for all sides are making friends and presume of their own strength. And some think [*in margin* : Mor (Nicolson*) fears it also] that the party of 69 (Buccleugh*) and 70 (Cessford*) shall shoot at 21 (Mar*)'s life. The young Lady Mar came now to Linlithgow but was kept at the Queen's chamber door a long hour. And the Queen has given

* Deciphered in another hand.

James VI.

1595. no good words or countenance to any of that side, arguing plainly she is in the same mind and course she was.

The matters between the laird of Luce and the MacFarlanes is put to "comprement" [*sic*, ? *compromit*] by the means of Blantyre. The Lord Hamilton has quietly and with one man met in the fields between Linlithgow and Kenele my Lord of Mar and Tullybarne with only one man with them, and have had quiet conference. Yet I cannot tell what was among them. It may be to keep Hamilton to them or for the motion with the Duke and Hamilton's daughter.

This week it is looked the King and Queen shall go both to Stirling. And the King as seems to me is yet aminded to pass on the sudden to the Borders. Now I send you enclosed his Majesty's answer to her Highness's last letter to him, which Mr. Aston has procured.* As you may perceive by his notes to me which I send enclosed I perceive that his Majesty intends her Majesty's contentment by taking order in his own person on the Borders for peace and justice to be kept and done with her Highness's officers, and certainly he is careful therein. But the municipal laws and the state of his Borders and Borderers considered, I find the King cannot well devise how to keep his Borders in quietness without exempting one "feaded" great man from the commandment of another in "feade" with him. And I know it will be found a hard thing indeed to subject one great man to another in "feade" with him that by authority may under colour of justice oppress him; a matter not "comportable" with such men and clans as be on the Borders. Yet his Majesty's purpose is to see justice only administered with her Majesty's officers. All others to the other letters herewith enclosed. Edinburgh, 26 Oct. 1595. *Signed*: Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—That great man or clan that is under the rule of his enemy will suffer no venture to do all secret harms he can that thereby his enemy may have the more to answer and that way come in displeasure, which is not good for our Borderers. This I know has been and that way will be practised.

2 pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr' 26 Octobr', Richmond 2^o Novembr', 1595."

Nov. 5. **53.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 285.

At this Convention in Linlithgow beginning the 2nd instant I trust such matters shall be resolved upon as shall be worthy of advertisement, as a resident Council with his Majesty, an Exchequer, and order with the Borders which be marvellously disordered, and nomination of a new Chancellor, albeit such as think with time to draw it to their self persuade a delay thereof. Great instance is made to the Earl Mar for assurance with his neighbours but no speed and his Majesty is content that day of law be at Edinburgh 20 December, peremptorily.

Your "unfriendes" here think that France and Spain are accorded to your prejudice and you are already in their conceit devoured, but I hope in the Lord your Debora shall yet prevail over all her idolatrous foes.

This is all for the present that I can signify. Lamenting that you

* No doubt the letter of 24th Oct. above (No. 48).

James VI.

1595. should be so burthened for me as you are and Mr. Primrose so frustrate but that shall never change Mr. Colville's mind. The first of November from Stirling. *Unsigned.*

1 p. *In John Colville's handwriting, also address: "To S." Endorsed by Bowes: "Mr. John Colvill, Primo Novembr', Richmond 9 ejusdem, 1595." Names in cipher deciphered.*

Nov. 2. **54.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [ROBERT BOWES].

I only write these presents for address of the letters herewith enclosed unto you, referring all matters here to the deliberation of this Convention now at Linlithgow, whither by God's grace I shall ride to learn the conclusion of all things there. Cessford has been with the King and given him good contentment anent the Borders and all things and is gone home well pleased. Mr. David Foulis is appointed to gather the tithe in question between the Abbot of Melrose (Mewrosse) and Andrew Ker and the same is so sequestered for avoiding of those troubles. Buccleugh will also shortly come to the King and give and receive like contentment. So as everything is so quietly passed over with the King as it may be these matters shall be long time ere they come to hurt. The Maxwells and Johnstones have not met again as they were gathered to have done, but have obeyed the King's order and are at Linlithgow, Herries and Drumlangrig as I hear to obey the King's order. So that matter is like to be drifted also. I hear that Cessford will give up with Buccleugh if he party Johnstone against Drumlangrig. But Sanquhar (as much behind with Johnstone almost as much as any and cousin germane to Drumlangrig) is under severance with Johnstone. All others to my next and return from Linlithgow. Edinburgh, 2 Nov. 1595. *Signed: George Nicolson.*

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

Nov. 3. **55.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Your late letter I received and have directed the same to my master for comforting him with your goodwill in the relief of John McNeill, his "kyndly" servant. Angus MacConnell has received no answer to the Earl of Tyrone. We hear that the Earl is to direct a servant of his own to my master. This man a Neil (?) did serve Hugh O'Neill. It is reported that your men there are treating with the Earl for an abstinence, and it appears that the same shall be since our Scottishmen stay. As yet there is none passed over except three hundred by Angus MacConnell's directing. Angus came to Glasgow [and] passed to Hamilton on purpose to come with his lordship to Court for doing of sundry his affairs in Court being well provided with the Earl of Tyrone's "anoyntment." Understanding that if he would prevail here in Court he would hinder my master, though I had no commission of my master, [I] have come here to behold the matter and to hinder Angus as I best may. I think in this voyage he shall not further for all his mean. From Court at Linlithgow, the third of November 1595. *Signed: Johnne Achinros.*

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

James VI.

1595.

Nov. 5.

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 184.**56.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Because I had no leisure please your excellency that this also serve for Mr. Primrose.

At this Convention was never a nobleman but the Duke and Mar. Nothing in effect is concluded but all continued to the 24th instant at Edinburgh.

Her Majesty is reconciled with Mar and his lordship is also to be reconciled at the day foresaid with Glamis, Cessford [and] Buccleuch. So there will be nothing but concord here.

His Majesty "beis" in Stirling the next week but tarries not.

Io* assures me on their part from the next Convention the office of Chancellor shall be "full" with one or other for inconvenience is seen by delay thereof. In the mid time my Lord Duke shall name one for keeping the Great Seal.

Mr. Colville's matters are all put off to the same time and he had better hope "nor of before."

Of the late slaughter betwixt Maxwell and Johnstone the first hereof, wherein the Johnstones have prevailed, ere now your lordship has heard. This 5 of November 1595. *Unsigned*.

1 p. In *John Colville's handwriting*, also address: "To S." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Mr. John Colvill, v^o Novembr', Char' xiiij^o ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered*.

Nov. 6. **57.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Albeit that it was for certain here reported that Herries and Drumlanrig were come to Linlithgow at the writing of my last, yet on Monday in my way to Linlithgow I got sure word that they were not there; but that the Lord Herries and sundry Maxwells had met with the Johnstones and received an overthrow with the loss of 26 of the Maxwells' side, as otherwise I hope is advertised.

On Monday in the afternoon the Convention of the Council met and entered into counsel with his Majesty, who for the first agreed the Queen and Mar in presence of the Council. The Queen alleged that Mar had malice to [the] Master of Glamis and the 2 lairds for her service, wishing him to give it over. Mar said there was no great favour between him and the Master but rather disfavour before her Majesty liked or used Glamis's service. So as for her service there was no quarrel. And as to the 2 lairds he said that the last time he saw them there was no quarrel but fair terms between him and them; and when they should meet, they doing their duties, he should do his. Whereon the King has a purpose of an agreement amongst them for pleasing the Queen.

Few matters of moment were dealt in, saving that the Great Seal is committed to David Moyse's custody, order taken for obtaining of the escheats of the Dunybirsselds for the late Earl of Moray's sisters, and other small matters. And all things together with the Convention of the Council again continued till 24 hereof and to be here; at what time Mar is to be reconciled with Glamis and the 2 lairds and all those matters once

* Deciphered by the editor of Colville's *Letters* as the Prior of Blantyre.

James VI.

1595.

to be well again ; Herries and those men and other Borders to meet for the pacifying of those troubles, as also for choosing of another indifferent warden better to order and pacify that country and do justice to us. [*In margin* : I hope Sir John Carmichael, if he will, as I think he will not, accept it because of the great troubles.] But as to the Chancellor's place the King in plain terms told the Council all that he saw none worthy of that place. So as the Queen is still thought to be fair to prevail with him in the end, and in the meantime to be a drifter of time to win his favour to such as she likes of, Master of Glamis or Prior of Pluscarden. Yet the Prior of Blantyre has most credit and (the Lord Ross being dead upon the hurt of the breach of his gun) has gotten the ward and marriage of the Lord Ross, and the King has said that without Mar's advice and his he will not choose any. This he has said I hear to Mar.

B (the King) has said to 21 (Mar) that suppose he make all well towards 57 (the Master of Glamis), 69 (Buccleugh) and 70 (Cessford), yet he will neither have the service of 57 (Glamis) nor the company of 69 (Buccleugh) and 70 (Cessford). And yet he has written I am sure for 57 (Glamis) and employed a gentleman to 69 (Buccleugh) to the end he may show them his good purpose of agreements. 4 (the King) still continues an indifferent person desirous to prevent the worst as seems. But all these matters to the Convention, assuring your worship I see nothing but drifts for order of Border causes, wiles and circumvening each of others here, pleasure in the news of the appearance of the agreement between France and Spain [*in margin* : as by my former note], because they think (I mean some practisers) that England shall thereby be forced to do better to Scotland, and a general fear of troubles here ; I mean the Kirk fears it and that by the Papists, as by former letters your worship may perceive and see it is time to look to this "geare." On Saturday the King comes hither or Monday and all must be made well here to please the Queen, Glamis and the Comptroller and the 2 lairds also on the 24 hereof.

The burial of the Chancellor is very great. Livingstone, Fleming and almost the whole Session are to be there. Livingstone, Fleming and Bruces are upon their guards and not under agreement now with Mar, so as I cannot say what will be amongst them. Edinburgh, 6 Nov. 1595. *Signed* : Geo. Nicolson.

I met Jo: Smallett, the Duke's servant, at Linlithgow. He tells me the rebels in Ireland, being in fear of Argyll and especially of MacLean, are come to yield to abstinence of hostility ; and to get out of the government of the English will make fair offers, because thereby they may be rulers and challenge for themselves when they will. If you were here and these things proceed, you might have many instruments to do good for many services.

2 pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' 6 Novembr', Char' xiiij^e ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

Nov. 6. **58. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

By my last of the 25th I advertised you of such things as occurred here. For the present all our affairs at that time were referred to the meeting of the Council the first of this instant ; who according to the

James VI.

1595. appointment has been here and great matters looked to have been done. But the jealousies conceived between the Queen and the Earl of Mar have so occupied the time as without the taking away of those suspicions no assurance of quietness could be looked for. Whereupon the President was employed to the Queen to be a mediator in the matter ; who for the pleasure of the King was content to receive the said Earl in favour upon condition that he should agree with such as he had borne at evil will for her cause, meaning the Master of Glamis [and] the lairds of Buccleugh and Cessford. All which he was content to do and so the Queen and he were agreed. What effect it will take, God knows, for as far as I can see there is no great trust among them to the end that all occasions of jealousies may be removed. For the better settling of the estate it was thought convenient that another meeting should be appointed at Edinburgh the 24th instant, where the King and the whole Council should meet and there all jealousies and suspicion between the two factions should be removed and thereafter a solid course to be set down for the government of the estate. It has been in great question whether the late practice should be brought to a trial or passed over with silence. Seeing the party suspected stands upon their trial and no just proof to be had against them, in the end it was concluded for the better quietness of the estate that all matters should be packed up among them, which is looked shall be done at the meeting in Edinburgh. What effect these matters will take, God knows. Every man speaks as he "fantesy" [fancies]. Some say all will be well. Others say it will be worse than ever it was. This far I know Mar and the Prior are advertised that their course is as high as ever it was, and yet they seem as though they would soon be in rest. God grant that such as would fain live in quietness and "menes" uprightly be not "sercumvend" [circumvented].

There will be no Chancellor as yet. David Mossye [Moysie] has gotten the keeping of the Great Seal. The Duke shall have the profit of it but no commandment. The Border affairs with all other are continued till the 24th, at which time there shall be another warden appointed for the West March.

Upon Friday the last of October the Lord Herries accompanied with the town of Dumfries passed to Johnstone's bounds with 300 horse and 200 foot thinking to have done some enterprise against Johnstone or his friends, but the others being advertised met him and gave him the charge, where the said Lord took the flight and escaped very narrowly. There is of his company slain 21 and 40 taken prisoners, sundry deadly hurt. There is no man of name slain except the laird of Poke [Pollok] of surname Maxfield [Maxwell]. Of Johnstone's side not one slain. Drumlanrig (Domlanrike) should have been there but could not be ready. That was his excuse. They were charged to have been here but none of them came except the provost of Lincluden (Clencluden).

Sir George Hume was suspected to be over great a favourer of the Master of Glamis and that faction but now thoroughly reconciled with Mar and the others. All the whole Council has been here except the Master of Glamis and the Controller who were not sent for. Few of the nobility were here at this time except the Duke and the Earl of Mar. Montrose was looked for but came not. It appears he finds not his time as yet.

James VI.
1595.

The slaughter of David Foster is like to bring a great "unconveny-entt." The lairds of Livingstone (Leveston) and Flemming with the rest of their friends, Dunipace (Donnypase), Airth and others have sent their offers to the Earl of Mar, who will not hear of them by no persuasion that can be just except they would deliver the "commetteres," which they will not do, so that both parties stand upon their own guard.

The President begins to creep in credit with the King and for the Queen she will advance him as far as she may. He "soutes" at the Chancellorship but I hope he shall get a stumbling block in his way. There is an intention that neither he, the Master of Glamis nor Montrose shall have it.

I have in my late letters wished your return hither, which I yet do wish only for the service of her Majesty. I know there is some here that occupies [*sic*] their heads in high matters. It is here constantly confirmed that there is an abstinence taken between France and Spain only for evil will of England and that now the King may make his profit. Although the King be of good intention and some good men that wish the religion and the amity to stand, yet there is others that "blose the cole" [blow the coal] which by your presence may be prevented. Therefore I think in my own opinion it is a fit time for you to be here. Linlithgow, 6 November. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

Postscript.—"Mr. Jhon Colve[ll?] hath been here and thought to have gotten the King's presence but cannot obtain to it."

3 pp. *Holograph, also address*: "To my L. Embastour." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Lythgoo vj^{to} Novembr', Char' xiiij^o ejusdem, 1595."

Nov. 14. 59. JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

I came here for doing of sundry my master's affairs, specially he being "foirfaltit" to have him rehabilitated and restored, as also to appoint with his Majesty for some of his Highness's lands in our possession pertaining to his grace in purparty, which suit takes effect. "Mary" the Prior of Blantyre may help the same, if occasion of sending here be offered to your lordship to have him requested to this effect, as my master in his late letters desired. To perfecting hereof my master is to come here within a month or thereby, which will be very "sumptuous" and chargeable to him. I think 16 or 18,000 marks shall do no more nor to make his expenses and do his turns; to assist the which it would do him great pleasure the receipt of the token ordained by her Majesty as your lordship's letter purported and as John Cunningham showed. Therefore, if it would please her Majesty to cause the same be sent here to my master it would do him good. I assure your lordship he has spent "mekle mair" nor that token since March last in her Majesty's service and for doing of honour to her grace only. To this present I "vair" well he has done his part very honourably and will not fail to follow out the rest as her Majesty will charge him in her grace's service to the perfecting of all contained in his letters directed to, your lordship. Her Majesty shall find him as constant and honest to her Majesty as any gentleman that ever served her. Do herein as your lordship thinks good, for I know my master looks for this to pleasure him at this time. We have continued answer giving to Angus MacConnell of his suit in the Earl's name. Hearing there is a servant to

James VI.

1595. come from the Earl, Angus MacConnell has placed his next lawful son named Angus in his lands lying in Ireland. This young man returns to the Earl whensoever he come of late, for Angus has made the manner of agreement betwixt this young man and his other son being a bastard, James MacConnell, eldest lawful son to the said Angus, through collusion betwixt him and his father, makes him as malcontent with his father and passes to Ireland to O'Donnell with so many men as he may furnish. Send to my master for support as your lordship may please. By this other's letter, the Earl of Argyll being very desirous to have Huntly's men in Lochaber under subjection moved my master to appone him in their "contrair" without they rendered obedience to his lordship. The matter is so well conveyed with foresight and wisdom that the space of ten days since without doing of harm in Lochaber he is returned with the two lairds in Lochaber their eldest sons as pledges for satisfying his lordship, according as my master has "iniwait" to them, of whom he detains the one being his cousin and the other is with his lordship. These men of Lochaber are men of activity and therefore his lordship has received the greater honour through my master as he did heretofore in other his turns. My master looks that his servant and "kyndly" man, John Neill, committed in prison in Exeter shall receive favour for his request looks for your lordship's answer in all this, seeing he has written to your lordship hereanent. Edinburgh, 14 November, 1595. *Signed* : Johnne Achinros.

Postscript.—If the token comes here let the same be delivered to your lordship's servitor, George Nicolson, upon whose advertisement my master or I will receive the same.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address* : "My Lord Bowes lait Ambassitour."
Endorsed by Bowes : "Edenbr' xiiij^o Novembr', Char' xxv^{to} ejusdem, 1595."

Nov. 15. **60. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

As to the state of Ireland I hear now very little other than you may perceive. Angus MacConnell (McOnell) was at Linlithgow with the King and got good countenance and sought to have had the King's grant of certain lands in fee, which appertain to MacLean who is the "kyndely" tenant thereof. And Angus dealt very earnestly with the King that he might be suffered to invade the Isle of Man to force it to the King's obedience. But the King said he should not meddle therewith, saying he would have his service when time served. But Angus would have had the King now doing it, seeing that time may yet be long. Whereupon the King commanded him to be a good instrument to preserve the quietness with her Majesty's subjects and bounds. Under these terms he is parted and gone, so as you may see what trust is to be given to such an "Ethnick." This in effect I heard at divers hands which made me to inquire the truth thereof of good Mr. Aston, who not only told me there was such a matter but also grieved thereat and did and will do his honest part to foresee things.

On Monday last the King came hither to show himself in the Sessions and for establishing of the courses of the law as the want of a Chancellor may be borne with and justice proceed until he [be] better resolved whom to place in that office. The Prior of Pluscarden has here the greatest credit

James VI.
1595.

and is dealing very earnestly to be Chancellor and to have the Great Seal which is in David Moyse's custody till the 24th hereof that further order be taken therein. The President feasts the Duke for his favour therein. The King came also hither to have met Herries, Drumlanrig and Johnstone. Drumlanrig is here, but Herries sent to excuse his coming alleging he could not leave the country by reason of the stirs there ; so as on the 24th hereof he is by commandment to come in and Johnstone to keep peace for that time and Drumlanrig not to depart hence but upon caution then to appear that the King may pacify those troubles. And this day the King is returned to Linlithgow and I think he and the Queen to go to Stirling and to return hither before the 24th hereof.

The Master [of] Glamis was written for to meet the King here but has excused his coming at this time, as Buccleugh has done also. The Lady Chancellor is here and yesterday had good words of the King.

Mr. Robert Bruce upon the advertisements given him that some letters were to come hither has made such diligent inquiry and search as he has put them in the King's hands, who says the most of the letters are from one Maxwell of small effects, and that there is mention made of the receipt of my Lord Herries's letters to Crichton, Holt and others, who by these letters have willed my Lord to send his son to them in the next spring. And hereon the King has now given order that all suspicious packets coming from beyond the sea shall be brought to the President, the Provost here, Sir Robert Melville, Mr. David Lindsay and Mr. Robert Bruce or to any two of them with power to them to make search for such letters that they may as they take them give or send them to the King to open. But Res (the Kirk here*) do fear great practices and the return of Crewe (the Papist Earls*).

The Earl of Argyll has by MacLean's means gotten the laird of Lochaber's (Loughquhaber's) son and MacRanald's son in surety of their coming to Argyll and giving of their obedience to the Earl in such things as shall be agreed on betwixt the Earl and them, and which the Earl will strive to have for their leaving of Huntly. Argyll sent 2000 men by land and employed MacLean by sea, who having care of Lochaber and MacRanald caused them to render their pledges to him and thereafter stayed the Earl's army without hurt of either side. Thus MacLean makes the Earl more honoured and friended. And I hear that the Earl is making another army, some think to revenge the death of Caddell. But he will never give over pursuit of Huntly. Edinburgh, 15 November, 1595. Signed: Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—If Huntly be to come home, as is said here, he will find that he has a great loss of the laird of Lochaber (Lochquaber) who was a great strength for him against Argyll, to whom now MacLean is to draw him. MacLean has his cousin's son, a boy of 3 quarters old and his "norce" in pledge with him. And Argyll has the other's child and his "norce" in pledge to him for their father's coming to the Earl within 20 days and agreement with the Earl who makes much of MacLean and keeps him with him to do him such turns. It is thought if MacLean had not been, they had now "donge" † Argyll's forces again.

* Deciphered in another hand.

† (?) dong, past tense of ding, to cast down.

James VI.
1595.

I looked and stayed these presents since Friday noon for the coming of Mr. Aston's letters, who belike either sends by Sir John Selby or will not write till there be greater matters. Edinburgh, 16 November.

2 pp. *Holograph, also address* : " Mr. Robert Bowes, esquire, Thr'er of Berrick." *Endorsed by Bowes* : " Edenbr' xvj Novembr', Char' xxv° ejusdem, 1595."

Nov. 16. **61. GEORGE STRACHAN TO GEORGE NICOLSON.**

" I pray zow mak this berar foirsyne and knawin quhatt ze haiff lernitt off Mr. Andersone off Newe Castell, and gyff ze haiff no^{tt} as zeitt resawitt ansow^r tak the pains and wrett ageyn thatt I may knawe his mynd. Aleso as towards the noitt ze dyssayritt me to wrett ther is money blythe heir quho lowikes for strangeris, bo^{tt} gyff gowid ordow^r wer, they sowld no^{tt} be sowifferitt to abayd their comming bo^{tt} be powllitt ow^{tt}. In fyn, refferrying the pertycowller tyle ow^r metting committis zow to the Lord. From Aberd'n 16 November 1595." *Signed* : George Strathachin.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address* : " To his werey well belowiffitt Frynd and Brother George Nyholesone in Edynbowche." *Endorsed by Bowes*.

Nov. 16. **62. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Since my last of the 5th I have had no oc[cas]ion (?) to write, neither have as yet any great matter, only to accompany your other letters and discharge my duty.

The resolution taken at Linlithgow for the meeting in Edinburgh the 24th continues according to the appointment, at which time many things is [*sic*] expected to be done. The cause of the King coming to this town at this time was upon some particular courses between parties in league, chiefly between Carmichael (Kermygel) and Ennerwike, as also to see the estate of the Session now that the Chancellor is gone.

The Master of Glamis was sent for and should have met the King there but when the day came that he should have been there he sent his excuses and came not. The way should have been prepared for the agreement. How it will be now I know not.

There is another matter that troubles us more. The President begins to aspire ; he is working all the means he may to be Chancellor. He is not so busy on the one side but others are as busy to cross him, not without good reason and cause for if that man should prevail there were nothing to be looked for but a peril to the good cause. It is foreseen and I doubt not shall be prevented. Sundry good men have great marvel that her Majesty has not one here that might " commense " the good and help to hold out the evil affected, by whose preferment may breed a peril both to religion and amity. Although it may be thought these matters are of small moment it may breed a greater inconvenience than every one believes. God is my judge the respect that I have is for her Majesty's service and for no other cause. Upon the staying of the Master, Buccleugh and Cessford have also sent in their excuses. It appears they will do nothing before they see what the Master does, so that all things rest till the next meeting.

James VI.
1595.

Angus MacConnell has been at the King presented by the Lord Hamilton who is surety for his good behaviour in times coming. His suit was to the King that he would give him leave to harry the Isle of Man. The King's answer was that he would not only restrain him from that but [from] all other whatsoever [that] might be offensive to her Majesty, seeing he would never offend her so long as she lived but if God should call her he would employ him and others as occasion served. The other answered and said it was overlongsome to abide. This was the substance of all the purpose between the King and him which I heard myself.

It is the King's resolution to take the Queen shortly to Stirling. Edinburgh, 16 November. *Signed* : Roger Aston.

2 pp. *Holograph*, also address : "To my L. Embastour." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' xvj^o Novembr', Char' xxvii^o ejusdem, 1595."

Nov. 16. **63.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 185.

The 9th hereof his Majesty came to Edinburgh and this same day returned to Linlithgow. Nothing was done here but his Majesty was present at the Session to let the people see no appearance of alteration, notwithstanding the death of the Chancellor, but all to stand as of before till his pleasure were to nominate another ; which we hope shall be this 24th appointed for the next meeting of Council at this town. At which time concord shall be made betwixt Mar, Glamis, Cessford [and] Buccleuch and both their Majesties to winter here at Edinburgh for the most part.

There is no assurance like to be betwixt Mar and his neighbours but the day of law to proceed the 20th of the next, which cannot but breed some inconveniences which I pray the Lord divert. Within this two days letters from Pater* Crichton and one Maxwell are intercepted coming from Flanders to the Lord Herries which be kept secret till the 24th aforesaid. I hear the said Crichton would persuade the Lord Herries to deal with his Majesty "tymuslie" to enter in friendship with Spain, because this spring such power is to come from thence as neither he, England nor all the protestants elsewhere can resist. But with God's help *parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus*. This 16 of November, from Edinburgh, 1595. *Unsigned*.

1¼ pp. *In John Colville's handwriting*, also address : "S." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Mr. John Colvill, Edenbr' xvj^o Novembr', Char' xxv^o ejusdem, 1595."

Nov. 19. **64.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

These letters of Mr. Aston's coming to me after the dispatch of my last to your worship, I have thought good to address them to you, suppose I have no other matter worthy advertisement.

I hear nothing of the King going to Stirling (as was meant) before his return, neither of the Queen's return hither so soon as was looked for ; neither yet of any sure appearance of the holding of these meetings, 24th hereof, for the agreement of Mar with the Master of Glamis and 2 lairds, but must therefore leave them to the Convention.

* The editor of Colville's *Letters* deciphers this name as Dunipace, but it is possibly to be translated Father.

James VI.
1595.

For certain Huntly and Errol's friends in the north are blithe looking for foreign forces, as you may see by a letter from an honest man to me, the particulars whereof is [*sic*] deferred till his coming hither. And generally in the north the Earl of Argyll is looked to invade them again. Edinburgh, 19 November 1595. *Signed* : Geo: Nicolson.

Postscript.—The lairds of Enderwick and Carmichael are at great suit about Fenton and commission raising to examine witnesses in England for trial of that matter, and for favour wherein both parties have spoken to me. The King stands fast to Sir John Carmichael.

The Duke of Florence's servant here has delivered letters from the King of Pole and the Duke and is like to [have] good end in his suit. The Duke has entered into hard dealings with Savoy and intends to do the like with the Spaniards : for which cause the King said he loved the Duke better.

1 *p*. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : " Edenbr' xix^o Novembr', Char' xxviii^o ejusdem, 1595."

Nov. 20. **65.** THOMAS NICOLSONE TO ROBERT BOWES.

" The courtesies I haif seine zour l. schav to the hail sort of our contrey men haif giffin me assurance that I may be bauld as ane quho sall remaine disposit to serve zour l. In recompence of yis lyttill favor quhilk heirby I must crave " . . . " is to direct this lyttill masse of letters to ye ry^t hand. In doing zour l. sal haif pouer to injoin me the service of zour l. in a veichtier matier." " At Foy yis 20 of November 1595 Stilo veteri." *Signed* : To Nicolsone.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p*. *Holograph, also address* : " My Lord Bouis Embassadeur for hir Ma^{tie} in Scotland." *Endorsed by Bowes* : " Thomas Nycolson. Foy 20 Novembr', Char' 28 ejusdem, 1595."

Nov. 27. **66.** [GEORGE NICOLSON] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

This evening [25 hereof*] an Englishman naming himself Tusser came to me demanding if I were your servant and employed in her Majesty's service or no, and what furtherance I could and would give to the same. I answered I was your servant employed in her Majesty's service and could and would give furtherance to the same either at his Majesty's hands or at other inferiors'. Then he asked me if I would send him a letter to her Majesty and my Lord of Buckhurst (Buchurst) and in what time he could have answer. I said I would not refuse that service and that he might have answer in 14 days. But he said that would not serve for he must have answer in 9 days or else some way of himself do the service, saying if he had 6 " shott " to himself and commission to employ a ship that is here of Hull he durst venture to do it. I said I could presently get him here so many Englishmen if I were sure of the matter and that they would serve the turn for effecting of her Majesty's service, or I should in such a case get as many choice men out of Berwick to come to be merry here with me and employ them in that service so it were sure, casting all the doubts I had of such a course as seemed to me it was he had in hand, viz. for

* Inserted above the line.

James VI.

1595.

taking and carrying into England a ship belike fraught with little good to our estate as he se . . . * But he left me "wayding" no further nor discovering no more than after this sort in parables to me and so we parted, I leaving him near unto Leith where he lodges, and he telling me he would send the letters to me, which this night he has sent at [blank] of the clock. Thus I have sent the letters, presuming they cannot be evil or at the least evil employed coming to so grave a councillor as my Lord of Buckhurst.

Thus much I had written looking for his letters and prepared a carrier for them : but that night he wrote this note to me deferring his writing till further resolution, coming yesterday again to me and conferring afar off with me as before. Whereon I told him Mr. Governor of Berwick might make him best help. He resolved to go to him and break the matter at more length to him, and for this purpose prayed me to cause a horse and a guide [to] be provided for him ; which I did and in purpose of riding he and his horse were at Leith "wynde foote." But there he took resolution to stay and to send his letters. If he had gone I had written to Mr. Governor as you may see. This day he has given me these letters directed to my Lord Treasurer and my Lord of Buckhurst, which I send enclosed, assuring what effects soever they contain their lordships will do for the best.

This day when I looked he should have taken horse for Berwick I asked him what was the name of the young gentleman here with him, whose name before he had not told me, suppose I demanded it. He told me that his name is Wade and that there is great store of silver in this ship and a Spaniard, but precisely where the ship was he would not tell me. Even now James Vernon and the men of the ship came to your worship's house to ask for our 2 countrymen and James told me that the ship was "leck" at Leith in caulking and amending ; that there was above 1000*l.* sterling worth of cloth cast overboard out of her and that she came from London and was to go to Hamburg but driven hither by storm ; that the men of the ship are of Lubeck and that these 2 Englishmen came in to them at London. The young man seems as if he were a musician and had served Mr. Noell and would be content to stay here.

Yet the suspiciousness of this time and the change of Mr. Tusser's purposes give me to think that he may thus clasp with me to keep himself from troubles here and to go away when the wind serves, and so do either good or bad offices as he is employed for. I gave him sight of some letters directed to me that he might trust me, requiring the like of him. And he said he had none for fear of searching and hindering of his great affairs for the service. These respects do make me doubt and to prevent the worst I have this day broken the matter to M (Roger Aston), who is sure to A (her Majesty) and of my opinion, and I am loth to suffer myself to be thus circumvened and they to pass by such wiles, and be found dishonest to # (her Majesty) : and so is 74 (Roger Aston). So as I cannot yet say what we shall, but in our conceits whatever we do shall be for the best by God's grace, in case there be need by their departure to do anything. But the wind is like to keep them here a wh . . . † I expect speedy advertisement from your worship what to do herein. 27 November, 1595.

* The paper is torn here.

† The paper is worn here by folding.

James VI.
1595.

Mr. Tusser prays that his letters may be delivered with speed and my Lord of Buckhurst's first delivered.

This Tusser is like to Doctor Haukins that was here with my Lord of Sussex. *Unsigned.*

2 pp. *In the handwriting of Nicolson. No address. Endorsed by Bowes: "Georg Nycolson. Inclosed in his letters, Edenbr' 27 Novembr', Char' 4 Decembr', 1595." Names in cipher deciphered.*

Nov. 27. **67. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

On Monday last the King came hither having before his coming written kind letters for the stay of Buccleuch and Cessford coming at this time. Yet now he has written to Buccleuch to come in without any numbers or companies of his friends and also he sent for Cessford, both [of] whom were here and are still "darne" [?] drawn] to behold the proceedings of his Majesty. Glamis appears daily [*in margin*: Glamis has good countenance of the King], and yet does for any matter of agreement with Mar or concerning that cause nothing without the lairds' advices nightly by conference given him. The particulars whereof I cannot certainly tell you but apparently I see nothing but "plattin'" on both sides, each for the overthrow of others. Mar and the Prior is [*sic*] very strong here and are judged to move the King thus to charge Buccleuch to come in; who doubting of the meaning is like to use his own pleasure. Yet the King by advice given him pretends to wish general agreements here for concurrency to withstand the Spaniard.

Mar has caused summon Dunipace and young Airth (Arthe) who have given surety I hear to answer the law, the 20th of the next. Yet it is looked for the common cause that agreement shall be made and Airth is offering fair.

Advertisements is [*sic*] still gotten that the Spaniards are ready to come to land in England and Scotland and that treasure is carried to Huntly and Errol to furnish them for Spain's adoes by one Lambe, who has written to his brother here to larger effects, and like advertisements is from the west of the Spaniards' purposes, Sir Walter Lindsay's preferment and returning with Prince Cardinal, of the Prince of Orange restoring to his honours and livings, etc., and of the French King's doings and agreement with the Pope, all for the invading of England and Scotland by several armies. And it is said to me that the Isle of Man was to have been taken by Spaniards within these few days, if the Spaniards had not had advertisements for their stay. And some think that new troubles are arising in Ireland. But in these things our estate is better advertised than they here, so as I leave all to the truth of the advertisements to our estate. Always the ministers have in regard of some of these moved his Majesty to prepare by musters and furnishing of dangerous places for landing and strengths, by imprisoning of suspected papists, and by agreeing of feuds for the avoiding of all inconveniences. Whereon his Majesty has given order for musters and furnishing of strengths and landing places, for imprisonment and removing of papists and suspected persons, and is endeavouring to agree feuds.

Yesterday I spoke to his Majesty showing him as my Lord Scrope

James VI.

1595.

had directed me that the disorders on the Borders were such as if they continued they would be past the remedy of the wardens and of commissioners, moving his Majesty to give leave to my Lord to redress the men oppressed at the malefactors' hands ; adding that necessity was the reason of his lordship's design. Thereon he answered me that now Herries was here and he would take order therein, as also that Cessford and Fernihurst were agreeing, and other warden to be chosen for the West. So as he should now satisfy her Majesty concerning the reducing of the Borders to the wardens without exemption. And in which I cannot yet tell what order is perfected, but shall within few days upon final order to be taken therein advertise your worship. Always Johnstone has had privy conference with and partly pleased the King and yesternight departed homewards. Herries and Drumlanrig are to be warded for preserving peace and until they shall give pledges for the same. And it is told me that there is some oversight to be between Johnstone and them 2.

Motion has been made to the King to send at this time to her Majesty : but partly malcontently he refused, saying he was neglected in his suits ; and yet protesting he would do what he could for her Majesty and esteem no prince to her. Secret offers have been to him of 50,000 ducats and more is to be offered. Yet he seems he had rather have any reasonable dealing at her Majesty's hands with her favour than at any other hands, any greater matters whatsoever. And in Council openly he has said that he will be her Majesty's lieutenant against the Spaniards, albeit he has had great offers and persuasions to the contrary, and that he will perish with England, with many other words to like effects. Thus much for the present, referring your worship to the certainty of the other letters herewith. Edinburgh, 27 November 1595. *Signed* : Geo: Nicolson.

Postscript.—Here is such making of "cockelandes" and verses and such emulations as I fear still troubles, notwithstanding the intent of agreements. 4 (the King of Scots) is suspected to have made the verses of Mr. Wm. Fowler and was spoken to in it and does but laugh it over. The . . . [*paper torn*] quin seems to be very simple suppose his verses be not so.

2½ pp. *Holograph*, also address. *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' 27 Novembr', Char' iiij^o Decembr', 1595."

The Enclosure.

(Gilbert Lambe's letter.)

From Spain it is written for certain that the King's sister's son called Prince Cardinal shipped at Barcelona and passed to Rome ; from that back to Milan where he receives 6000 Italian soldiers and passes to Flanders accompanied with Prince Orange who is relieved and restored to his lands by King Philip upon promise to war for the league by all his force and mean. And to assist him thereunto the said Prince gets 15,000 ducats and 1000 monthly to entertain his men of war. The Spanish army is preparing at Biscay very diligently and their preparation is great. They intend to have 300 ship boats and galleys and out of Flanders 100 sail. They purpose to land their Spanish army at Milford in Wales in England and their Flemish in Scotland. Mr. Walter Lindsay is knighted and coming to Flanders on the way with the said Prince.

James VI.

1595.

My author says the preparations at Biskay was [*sic*] ready the 6th instant *stilo novo*. I have been earnestly dealt with to take upon me to be principal pilot, which I have refused, alleging my long imprisonment had made me forget and unable.

"This is the substance of the letter written by Gilbert Lambe out of Bordeaux, xv^o Novemb."

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Copy in Nicolson's handwriting.*

Nov. 27. 68. PROCLAMATION.

Printed in
*Register of Privy
Council*, v., 235-
236; inventoried
in *Tudor and
Stuart Proclama-
tions*, ii., 258.

Proclamation for a general wapenschaw and muster on Feb. 2 next against the threat of invasion. "Gevin under our signet at Halurrdhous the 27 day of November and of our Regnne the tuentie nyne zeir 1595. Per actum Secreti Consilii."

2 pp. *Endorsed by Nicolson*: "Copie of the Proclamacion made 27 November 1595 and proclaimed 1 Decemb. 1595."

Nov. 28. 69. [DR. MACCARTNEY] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

What flattering verses are given to the King by the composer himself, I have sent them word by word and because there is some purpose insert in the French that concerns my Lord Treasurer, "give" [if] ye please to show it I refer me, etc.

The King has written this other against Mr. William Fuller (Fwllar). There is another made against the Lord Treasurer of Scotland, the copy whereof was promised me but he failed. How soon I may get it I shall send the same.

If the ministers do speed in their petitions that the King hold hand to them to help, well it is, and better may be looked for, but I can understand of no appearance.

Since winter has shown his countenance here my bed [*sic*] has desired me to make a plaint in respect of "reddenes" that was advertised of "lang syne" and the small matters that I wrote for since that time.

The rest refers to the next opportunity. So God preserve your lordship in health and wealth. From Edinburgh in haste this 28 of November instant 1595. "Your awin man on the auld maner." *Signed with a trefoil.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr' 28 Novembr', Char' 4 Decembr', 1595."

Nov. 28. 70. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I thought good not to delay time in giving you advertisement of such things as occur here. First, you shall understand the King is come to this town according to the former appointment. Yesterday was the first of the convening of the Council and the first matter that was proponed was certain articles given in by the ministers concerning the punishment of papists and other necessary things to be foreseen in this dangerous time of the Spanish practice. The whole articles were condescended unto. They consist chiefly in two points: the one that there may be present musters through the whole country both on horse and foot that all men

James VI.

1595. may be in readiness against the invasion of the Spaniards who are preparing great forces to land here as by sundry advertisements are constantly confirmed; and next it is concluded that every presbytery shall give in the names of such as are suspected for papistry that order may be taken with them either by warding or removing from those parts where they dwell to such places as may be for the surety of the present estate. These things are to be put in execution with all expedition. Upon the conclusion of these articles the King took the occasion to speak something in presence of the whole Council touching the present estate and the imminent dangers which were like to ensue to the end they might all be thoroughly resolved what was his own resolution in that matter. Because I heard the same myself I thought good to set down so much as my memory would serve, although not word by word yet the substance of all. First he declares what advertisements he had gotten *concerning the preparation of Spain and what offers he had gotten for the "awising" of his title in England to the end that none of them should be ignorant what was his own disposition in that behalf. He thought good to declare his resolution by his own mouth to the end that none of them hereafter might persuade him of that ground which he had there set down.* First to arm himself *by all the means he could* against the practice of Spain and their invasion here, protesting by the great oath of a prince to hazard both his crown and life in that quarrel not only to defend his own realm but the realm of England which he esteemed more dearer to him than his own and saith he: Although I have had sufficient cause of quarrel and have been pressed to it both by foreign princes and my own subjects, yet when I considered my own estate and the way that *might lead me best to my intent was to allow and maintain the lawful succession and to keep my hands clean of practice and blood, that the people should have no cause to think that I meant by Scotland to conquer England but by the contrary by England to conquer Scotland and if the Queen will assist me I shall not only hazard my life for the defence of my own country but for her and her country and shall be ready as she shall appoint with what number she shall think convenient.*

Thus far I gathered of that which the King spoke Much more was spoken which "attended" altogether against the papists and the practice of Spain.

I hope all our affairs here shall go well. The King was never so well disposed as at this time. He has given good contentment to all good men and has promised to be no more a King of request but a King of commandment.

This day the Prior of Blantyre is made Vice-Chancellor and shall occupy the place in Council. The President has made great means to have had the place. He is now something aback. We have here two factions but God be praised the best prevails. Of the one side there is the Duke, the Earl of Mar, the Prior of Blantyre, Sir Robert Melvin, the Abbot of Newbattle, the provost of Lincluden, Sir John Carmichael, the laird of Traquair and Clerk Register. On the other side there is the Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis, the President, the Controller. The King is busy agreeing the Earl of Mar and the Master of Glamis and means to take away all the jealousies among them. Buccleuch and Cessford are sent for and shall be comprehended within the agreement.

James VI.
1595.

The King has made choice of 3 whose opinions he will follow in his particular affairs, that is the Prior, Sir Robert and the laird of Traquair. What proceeds further at this time you shall understand by my next.

Sundry advertisements have come hither, some from Flanders and some by merchants that are come out of Spain, of the great preparation that is making there, but that which I esteem of best credit is a letter that Gilbert Lamb (Lame) has sent home written the 26th of the last month. I have seen the letter and heard it read to the King by his brother Andrew Lamb. The substance of the letter I have set down here. The principal copy will be sent to confirm the King. He first declares the well receiving of Mr. Walter Lindsay and that he is made knight and is dispatched towards Flanders with all good contentment both to himself and the papist lords. He declares the coming to Flanders of the Prince Cardinal, for so he calls him, as also the Prince of Orange. He writes very confidently that there is two great armies preparing the one to land in Scotland and the other at Milford Haven. Where that is I know not but as I guess it is in Wales. He says he has been earnestly dealt with to be general pilot of the army and has offered him large sums for the same. He has excused himself by his long prisonment that he has forgotten his former skill. He writes this as a great secret, and desires he may not be discovered, for if he be he will be in worse state than ever he was. He has been in the "Holly house" about seven years. Mr. Walter Lindsay has gotten him relieved and hopes to come home shortly.

The King is busy in the Border affairs.

It is wished here by the best sort that there may be a more warmer kind of dealing between her Majesty and the King, that they may lay their heads together to prevent the imminent dangers which appears [*sic*] against both the realms. These and all other I leave to your consideration only for the discharge of my duty. What others write I know not for I shall never be inquisitive of other men's doings but wish that every man may be esteemed as he deserves. I cannot persuade myself that if there be so great danger as we esteem here her Majesty would have had some of hers here to see how these things might be best prevented.

[*In the margin* : The Earl of Montrose is one of this new society with the Duke and Mar.]

The King is informed that Mr. Archibald makes great accounting of the letter Mr. Richard brought him. I assure you there is no such cause. The letter was granted upon this consideration. Mr. Richard came to the King and "soutted" [sued for] his letter to her Majesty for his uncle's leave to come home. The King inquires of him whether his intention was to come home or not. His answer was he was not minded to come home but only to bring him in better credit there, whereby he might be the abler to do his Majesty service. This being denied, he declares that his uncle had sundry things of great importance to impart to his Majesty's great honour and praise, which could not be done by writ. Therefore, if his Majesty would write three or four lines to him and give credit to the bearer, he should bring him resolution in all things. The King to prove him signed the letter which he has "abouest" [abused] as you will see after; suppose the Chancellor be gone his credit will not be the better. It is told the King he is styled councillor which the King takes his pastime of.

James VI.

1595.

Because I shall have occasion to write shortly again I cease for the present, wishing your own affairs to take some good success. For myself I know you do your good will and if there had been any hope to be looked for I should have heard from you. However my doings be interpreted my meaning is good, for whether she have consideration or not I shall not neglect my duty, so with my hearty commendations to my "cummer" commits you both to God. Edinburgh, 28 November. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

$5\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph, also address*: "To my L. Embastour." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr' xxvii^o Novembr', Char' iii^o Decembr' 1595."

[*The sheets of the letter were probably disarranged in transit as at the head of the first page is written in Sir Robert Cecil's handwriting*: "Here ye l're beginns," and on the last page but one the writing is upside down. The passages printed in italics have been underlined by someone in the original.]

[1595.
Nov. 29].

71. JAMES COLVILL OF EAST WEMYSS TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL ?]

"As zour l. aduisit me by zour letter vithe my cousing I did adres my intelligence from tyme to tyme to maister Boues hoping at his cumming to hane resaut sik confort and satisfaction as vas mentionat in zour letter but finding no remembrance therof I mervelit from quhence the delay shuld cum and for that caus hes tain bauldnes again to remember zour l. hiropon to the end I may be incuragit and inhabelled to atend as I haue done hirtfor opon suche occasionis as may be seruiable to hir Majeste quheom I shal ewer study mair to deserue nor desyr neuer douting of hir Majesties accoustumit and vsual gratfulnes. Thus loking by zour nixt to haue spedy and direct ansur I remain alway redy to obey hir Hines directionis in al leiful maner referring the particularis of this estait to the relation of the ambassadeur quho shal alway know so muche as I can lerne." *Undated. Signed*: James Colvill of Estvemies.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

Nov. 29. 72. JAMES COLVILL OF EAST WEMYSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

"I haue lukit lang for zour heir cuming bot, being disparit, I haue send this present to haue my last ansur and not to lie farder in suspens quhilk I luik ze vil do sa mekil for me as to certifie me. I vas euer acoustumit quhen occation of strangeirs presentit to offre my seruice be Sir Francis Velshingham to hir Majestie, quhilk I haue doon now to Sir Robert Cicil, desyryng zou to know hir Majesties mynd and to lat me know it for hauing his Majestis leif and hir comand I shal do gudvil to haue the best fallouis in this cuntre to do hir Majestie faithfull seruice. I haue stayit to vrit to zou becaus I lukit dayly for zour heir cuming. I pray the Lord hir Majestie var as villing to do for my master as he makis preparation to asist hir and to haue mynd of it I remit my note to zou quherof I pray zou mak ane end that I be not farder in pain." Edinburgh 29 of November. *Signed*: James Colvill of Estvemies.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address*: "To the richt honorable mester Robert Boues ambassadeur for his Majeste in Scotland." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr' xxix^o Novembr', Char' ix^o Decembr', 1595."

James VI.

1595.

Nov. [29].

Cott. Calig. D. ii,
fol. 203.
Transcript in
Harl. MS. 4648,
p. 250. Original
calendared in
Border Papers,
ii, pp. 80, 81.

73. [SIR WILLIAM BOWES] TO [LORD BURGHELEY].

[By commandment of her Majesty's letters Mr. Slingsby, Dr. Colmore, Mr. Anderson and myself have conferred with Sir John Foster] at Alnwick upon the estate of the Middle M[arches, wh]erein such answer as was received from him in writing to th[e several a]rticles of instruction given unto us in that behalf by the right honourable the Lord Lieutenant in these parts, we have certified his lordship in writing accordingly.

We have also seen delivered by indenture between Sir John Foster and the Lord Eure all such rolls as we found to stand still in [force] beginning at the last treaty concluded by the Earl of Rutland, the former bills as Sir John affirms being cut off by the [said] treaty. I have since attended here at Newcastle upon the Lord Lieutenant, who has diligently looked into [the] estate of the Middle Marches, as well by exact muster of the horsemen, as also by travail in many particulars with the [gentlemen] for the better establishing of the Lord Eure in his office.

The certifying whereof as I must chiefly refer to his lordship's letter, so I humbly pray your lordship's accustomed favourable allowance if in inward zeal of conscience of faithfulness to the Queen's service and in special duty to you, I deliver my concept in [general] of the estate of this country.

True religion has taken very little place, not by the unwilling[ness of] the people to hear but by want of means, scant three [able] preachers being to be found in the whole country. False [and] disloyal religion has taken deep root and that in the best [houses] increasing daily by the number and diligence of the semin[aries] with more liberty resorting thither, being driven from oth[er] places of both the realms.

The course of justice common to the whole realm has very sma[ll] progress] in this country, either in sessions of peace, punishment [of tres]-passes or felonies, levying of forfeitures, accounting of [sheriffs] or such like ; partly by the power of the warden using a course of justice crossing or not furthering it, and partly [by other] private men challenging liberties and protecting "falters" for inc[reasing] their own strength.

Touching justice special to the place in March matters, it ap[pears] to be clean out of joint, whilst due proportion ordering part[icular] distribution in parts to good respect of conveniency in the whole [is not observed]. It seems the English spoil less and deliver mo[re than the] Scots. So do we also lose more and recover less by [delivery than they] ; whereupon ensues that by little and little our w[eakening is their] strength-ening ; yea and that is carried under the tit[le of justice]. For they offer us law but we cannot use it, [not by our] negligence but by their iniquity. For though their fa[ults be] evident, yet they drive us to prove it by avowry of a Scottis[hman] agreeable to the Treaty. And than being now amongst them [a matter of deadly feud with great difficulty the English get only some few of their bills filed because no avowers can be got].

Hereupon springs the unlawful [complots and combinations of the] English with the Scots to recover [somewhat by particular favour] where little can be had by public justice [and nothing at all by] reprisals albeit warranted by our statute law [in case of denial] or delay of justice heretofore usually pract[ised by private force].

James VI.
1595.

This inveterate evil having heretofore procured sund[ry commissions of both] the realms, to give remedy to it, does nevertheless [still proceed by] this evasion. First, the Scots, no doubt ([standing upon the] advantage mentioned) refused (as Sir John Foster [affirms] in] the last treaty at Berwick to "fyle" or clean [upon the wardens'] honour; being indeed the chief mean hitherto agre[ed upon for us] to avoid the aforerecited mischief in avowry. [Next the Scots] answer us by estoppel showing their bills amount[ing to as great] value as ours. That value in truth not arising out [of the loss of] their subjects, but out of the strict word of the t[reaty which] binds as guilty of the whole, for a part possessed. [So as in] the great emotions ordinary in their realm, some of our [English] possessing some trifling part of the spoil, we are [burdened and] billed for the whole, as in the great bill of Falkla[nd and such] like. But the treaty of amity between the pri[nces being rather] *Contractus bonæ fidei* than *stricti juris* I see not but that th[e interpretation] should be made so that neither realm profit by other's lo[ss, every trans]gressor against either delivered for his fault, at the least [being published], not to be protected or relieved by either of the princes [or their subjects] nor yet the goods of true men rest in the hands of thi[eves by composition]. But rather justice upholden by concurring in mutu[al indifferency] for the general, and in particular to restore the [spoiled to their] own, which cannot be if the cutting off by commissi[ons leave the gain] still remaining in the worst men's hands. Yet better [for them than] for us, because the chief strength of that realm [stands in their] Borderers and those enabled in sort aforesaid. [To the] causes impeaching March justice may be added, th[at the wardens] and opposite officers being ever chosen of Borderers [bred and inhabiting] there, they do continually cherish their favourite[s and strengthen] themselves by the worst disposed, to support the partialities [and factions common] in that nation. Also in the change which [often happens in] the officers made by the King for their [misdemeanours the new] ever refuses to satisfy for any attempts co[mmitted before his time. More]over the Middle March cannot be answe[red by Cessford the] warden for the whole but must [seek to Fernihurst for one part] and Buccleuch for Liddesdale. [Many execrable murders] are continually committed, whereof four [new complaints were] presented to the Lords during these few days [of their being here besides] three others this month in Athelston Moor. [And the gentlemen of the Middle March here presently attending do recount out of their memory near 200 Englishmen miserably murdered by the Scots since the 10th] year of her Majesty's reign. [For this] no redress at all has been made.

Concerning the ability and disposition of the people, Scottish [spoils], hard landlords, the hand of God in death of cattle and dearth of corn, have so impoverished this March that [of 2000] furnished horsemen certified in *anno* 1593 there are not f[ound in] this last more exact view 100 and those so dispersed as [they could not be gathered together for the necessity of the service occurring].* Besides that [men of] best judgment affirm constantly that their opposite neighbours of Liddesdale, East and West Teviotdale are four[fold above] in number of horses and strength.

* The copyist of Harl. MS. 4648 has apparently abbreviated this and the following sentences.

James VI.

1595. The gentlemen [affirm] vehemently that they have lost since the 26th year of h[er] Majesty's reign near the value of 20,000*l*.

Finally there appears a discontentment and dejection of mind amongst the people generally very great to see their ene[mies] triumphing in their blood and enriched by their losses, among the gentlemen a great distraction, partly by displeasures. . . . Lords have laboured to compound, but most by endeavouring . . . themselves by private partialities and their own several. . . .*

This contagion has touched and greatly impoverished the part [of the] bishopric next adjoining to Northumberland along parts of the rivers of Tees, Wear and Derwent. [And now] instantly one Simpson, an honest neighbour, remains pr[isoner] in Liddesdale taken out of his house near Durham [by the] Ellottes and 100*l*. demanded for his ransom, besides m[any] others taken in like manner, and sundry yet under bonds to p[ay their] ransoms. It is lamentable to hear to what tortures th[ey put] these poor men so taken to force them to agree to the pay[ment] of greater sums. In Richmondshire likewise [sundry] attempts have been committed by the Borderers and now near Richmond two wealthy men's houses assaulted, and [the one] of them spoiled by them, 70 miles from the Borders, [which] though the Lord Lieutenant by his great travail has [discovered] and intends to redress, yet it is a great disquiet and [terror to] the people.

[For] the new Lord Warden, he is thought to be straitly pressed [with these] difficulties : a strong enemy : a weak and dis[tracted country] : suspicion of privy practice to cross him : [a year of] scarcity and a place of abode unsafe [as] being [in the highway] of the greatest disorders.

[Th]us much I have presumed to certify unto your lordship, though [more ted]iously than I should, yet not so particularly as I would be ready to do, if it pleased you so to direct me.

Humbly [beseeching your lordship to receive also information hereof from some other no less tendering the needful sincerity of truth] and trusting [that you will cover my] name from the offence I deserve not, [I will pray that God] may long continue our sovereign's most [gracious days of power] and make you still a happy instrument [thereof to cure the aforesaid] gangrene thus noisomely molest[ing the foot of the] kingdom. Newcastle, [29] November, 1595. *Unsigned.*

3½ pp. *Copy. The document has suffered much from fire at the tops and sides of the pages. The portions in brackets have been supplied from the transcript in Harl. MS. 4648 which was made before the fire.*

Dec. 1. **74. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

As to the greatest matter now occupying the estate concerning the preparations of the Spaniards it is advertised by letters severally out of Spain, France and the Low Countries and by divers persons both by the east and west coasts all agreeing very near in one in effect to the contents of my last in this part. And the King has privy advertisement himself also of the purpose of the Spaniards for landing in England and here. The truth of all which advertisements I hope is better known to our estate,

* Harl. MS. 4648 omits the concluding part of this paragraph.

James VI.

1595.

I mean of the Spaniards' preparations and intentions, than to them here, as I think it should be needless to make curious inquiry and certificate of the reports and advertisements here. Always I hear his Majesty intends to send to her Majesty to declare his understanding and purpose in these matters and to show his goodwill to join with her against them and to solicit her favour to him in the great cause for his right as he terms it, all which I leave to the issue of his purpose therein ; assuring your worship that he is most frank to take such part and fortune with her Majesty against the Spaniards as shall please God to send, and daily and openly in Council in all the times they were to advise of the courses to withstand the Spaniards his Majesty solemnly protested to be enemy to the Spaniards or any other na[tion], to enter into actual deeds of service against any that any way should invade her Majesty, with many evil words of the Spaniards and exceeding good words of and towards her Majesty. Thus much I understand at honest councillors' hands. For withstanding the Spaniards the names of all fit places of landing and of castles and strengths near those places and about the coast are to be given in and earls, lords, barons, gentlemen and boroughs are to be [at] charges to keep their houses and dwellings in their castles and strengths upon those places, and such owners of such places are to be removed and others placed to keep them. Great reasoning has been about the fortifying of Leith especially and of Inchkeith and other places whether they were meet to be fortified or no ; some saying they would be fortified to keep out the Spaniards and of that opinion was his Majesty ; others saying they would not be fortified because the Spaniards might so surprise them and use the benefit of the fortifications for themselves and against the King and this estate. This borough is to be provided with spades, shovels, hacks and other necessities for the fortifying of Leith or other places as shall be thought good upon better deliberation ; and other towns are likewise to be so furnished for other places, and the ministers of every several presbytery are to give the names up to the King and Council of all the suspected in religion throughout all this land against the 2nd of February next, and the merchants are to [be] appointed to bring in corslets, pikes and other furnitures and the King will give order to take them off their hands to their honest profits ; and acts and proclamations and sundry other ordinances is [*sic*] made and to be made for musters and these things against 2nd Feb. aforesaid ; so as the King is very busy and careful to prevent the Spaniards, openly vowing to enter into action against them whether the Queen support him or no ; and for concurrency with his Majesty against Spain feuds are to [be] taken up or respited upon pain of rebellion. And yet there are not wanting men to persuade the King that these forces of Spain may be used and is [*sic*] meant to be employed for him and his advancement in England ; which course the King detests as also refuses the pistoles offered and all things offered that way, depending upon God and her Majesty therein. This I have from persons of quality of divers degrees and most sure in religion, who wish that her Majesty would in these times of danger and temptation entertain the King in good sort.

As to this estate the King has authorised the Prior of Blantyre to convene the Council and receive their votes as Chancellor in any matter

James VI.

1595.

of estate at his pleasure. But in matters of sessions he has no pre-eminence. David Moyses keeps still the Great Seal. The side of Mar account that the Chancellor's place shall be for a friend at such time as his Majesty shall be pleased to dispose thereof. The other side are in good hope it shall then fall to some of their friends. My Lord of Mar and the Prior are by the King agreed with the Master of Glamis and the laird of Buccleugh, I cannot say in a friendly manner, but in such sort only as both sides said they had no quarrel to others. The Master was agreed in the Tolbooth and the laird in the "kabinett." He came as it were in on Saturday last with 9 persons only; yet he had 100 of his best men here before and was upon his guard. That day and yesterday the Master, he and the Comptroller were required to leave the King and Council to themselves as for some particulars. The Master and Comptroller was [*sic*] often before so "wyled" and kept out of Council. Yesternight the laird by advice of the Master and upon their keeping out from the Council took his leave of the King and is this day before day ridden homewards. Yesternight Cessford came quietly in; some think he shall be drawn from that association by the Collector and Newbattle, and especially for Buccleugh's favouring of Johnstone as I advertised your worship before. Yet a sure friend assures me they are all yet fast together and do but thus yield to time, as also that as yet they have no purposes in hand. My Lord Hume favours them as friends but depends on the King altogether. He told me he was to have gone to England but was stayed by Mr. Governor till my Lord Chamberlain's pleasure be known, to whom he said he had written and looked for licence. He uses sometimes into England but only for hounds and hunting but not for any state matter, wherein he might be made, I would not doubt, a very good member, for he has friends and mean as good as any man in Scotland. All is well between him and my Lady and presently she is at Hume; which I have thought to amend in regard of my last error herein.

The laird of Wemyss (Wemes) offers if her Majesty need and the Spaniards assault her realm to serve her Highness with himself and a band of gentlemen his friends of good action. What should I say here is nothing here so much feared as the Spaniards and extreme dearth of victuals, the like whereof was never heard nor felt here, God of His mercy help us.

To-morrow the King rides to Linlithgow with purpose upon declaring to the Queen (as I hear it conceived) his agreements which he has made here between Mar, Blantyre and the others to get her to go to Stirling to see the young Prince and after to bring her hither to stay here this winter. On Monday next the King is to be here again for staying here and further deliberation of all his other affairs, which now have taken no determinate order. Only he sees his own estate to have been abused by his officers and himself kept bare and pretends to follow Blantyre's and other advices for the repairing thereof.

This morning at his going to "disjune" I let his Majesty understand that my Lord Scrope had sent his servant to remember me to procure now his Majesty's order for redress of the faults done and quietness on the West Borders. Whereon he told me he had committed to ward Herries and Drumlanrig [*in margin*: they were put in this castle on Friday last]

James VI.

1595. and had sent for Johnstone to "compere" here, the 9th instant, whom he meant to ward also, and thereon to choose a warden to be answerable for all things, and cause these men thus warded to answer to the warden for satisfying my Lord Scrope; adding he could do no more for the present and that he would see all Englishmen righted in those cases, whereof I have certified my Lord Scrope. And surely the King means nothing but well, thinking in the next week to take perfect order therewith. All others to the others herewith. Edinburgh, 1 Dec. 1595. *Signed*: Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—Mr. John Colville is busy about the marriage of his daughter and at Stirling, so as he writes not now. I see nothing but very want of money is now his hindrance, and I hold him undone unless he be holpen.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr' primo Dec., Char' ix^o ejusdem, 1595," and in another hand (? *Sir Robert Cecil's*): "Bodley."

Dec. 1. 75. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

By my last of the 28th I have acquainted you with all such matter as occurred here. For the present by this you shall perceive our orderly proceedings agreeable to that which I wrote before. The agreement is made between the Earl of Mar and the Master of Glamis. They have shaken hands, whether it be in heart or not it is doubted. There is neither appearance but this late faction shall be diverted. Buccleuch is come and yesterday was in the abbey where he and the Earl of Mar spake together and he and the Prior conferred long together. They have everyone promised to keep friendship to others.

Cessford is to be here to-morrow to follow that same order that the rest has done.

The blame of all is laid upon the late Chancellor as the ground and plot "leur" of all the purposes that was in head. The Queen speaks plainly and says the Chancellor was the only plot "leur" of that course and stirred her up to deal in the matter. She has been plain with the Prior of Blantyre with whom she is thoroughly reconciled. It is no other appearance for the present but all matters will settle. How long she will continue, God knows.

In the election of this new Council I know sundry malcontents, chiefly such as were councillors before and now left out, as the Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis, the Controller and others. In this last election there is none except the Duke who is made to "coummenes" the matter. There is [*sic*] the Earls of Mar and Montrose, the Prior, the Abbot of Newbattle, Sir Robert Melvin, Lincluden (Clencloden), Carmichael, Traquair and the Provost of Edinburgh. It is thought this will breed a new faction again and this agreement is but to put off an ill ere (?) the King begins to take matters stoutly upon himself and says he will be served with such as he thinks good. All matters frames [*sic*] well as yet. There is grounds laid for a more solid and constant government than was before.

James VI.
1595.

We are busy preparing against the Spaniard proclamation for musters, [for] which the King will see himself order taken, for the fortifying of Broughty (Broutty), Spynie and other parts of the sea coast. Edinburgh are [*sic*] commanded to have all things ready for the fortifying of Leith. They are thoroughly persuaded here that they will land in this country and that ere it be long. I will assure you the King is very forward in the matter, God send him good assistance.

They are in hand with the Border affairs. The Lord Herries and the laird of Drumlanrig are committed to the castle of Edinburgh. Johnstone is sent for and shall be committed. Thereafter there shall be an indifferent warden chosen. The Prior is like to bear the sway here. They that pretended to it are something aback. I hope they shall want their expectation.

The King goes to-morrow to Linlithgow and from thence takes the Queen with him to Stirling and from thence comes altogether to Edinburgh, where they are appointed to be the 10th instant, where there shall be order taken with all things.

I have sent you here-enclosed the copy of the letter by the King's commandment that I writ of in my last.

Here is an Irishman that has given to the King a little pamphlet in verse which I had drawn out to have sent you but that George told me he had sent it you before.

George and I have been in great doubt what we should do concerning two passengers that are driven in the shore and seem to be employed for her Majesty's service or other ways we had stayed them. Because I know George will certify you at more length I will not trouble you further in this matter. Edinburgh the first of December. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

Postscript.—I writ to you for her Majesty's picture which I pray you help me to. It is for myself. I would have it fair and large. Your "hakes" [hacks] are in readiness and shall come away as soon as we can get commodity to send them. They will not be well carried by land this time of the year. We purpose to send them by sea.

Notwithstanding I have set down to you a plain and solid course to be followed forth and I know the King is of the same mind, I am surely advertised that the Master of Glamis is of full purpose to work himself Chancellor. The Prior and others are foreseen of this and I doubt not but will cross it.

This day they have been at consultation to send someone of credit to her Majesty. It is laid to the Provost of Edinburgh's charge, who has utterly refused, so that they are to make choice of some other, which I believe will be Sir Robert. I have been inquisitive to understand the occasion of his sending, which as far as I can learn is to assure her Majesty of the King's resolution against the Spaniards, craving her advice in the premisses which so highly concern both their estates. This is in head but not concluded. I have sent you here-enclosed the copy of the letter I wrote of before this day. Proclamation is made that all men be in readiness upon the next advertisement.

4 pp. *Holograph, also address*: "To my L. Ambastour." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr' primo Dec., Char' ix^o ejusdem, 1595."

James VI.

1595. 76. PROCLAMATION.

Dec. 1.

Purport printed in *Register of the Privy Council*, v, 239-240: inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii, 258.

Proclamation against correspondence with foreigners "except it be betwixt merchant and merchant or matters concerning merchantes allanerly." "Given under our signeit at Halliroadhouse j^o Decemb^r An^o Regⁿ 29. 1595. Per actum Secreti Consellii."

1 p. *Endorsed.*

Dec. 2. 77. PROCLAMATION.

Purport printed in *Register of the Privy Council*, v, 242: inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii, 259.

Proclamation in similar terms to that of Nov. 27 for a general wapenschaw followed by instructions as to the towns within their respective sheriffdoms to which the lieges are to repair "to joyne with and supplie the fute forces" in resisting the threatened foreign invasion. "Givin under our signet at Halirudhous the second day of December and of our Regne the tuentie nyne zeir 1595. Per actum Secreti Consilii."

1 p. *The names of the sheriffdoms and towns are set out in the margin in another hand.*

Dec. 3. 78. THE LEVIES IN SCOTLAND.

The names of the several shires wherein forces are to be levied and the several towns whither the said forces are to repair by virtue of a proclamation given at Holyroodhouse, 3 December, 1595.

These are as set out in the foregoing proclamation.

1 p. *Endorsed.*

Dec. 5. 79. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Yesterday the ministers caused apprehend one Mr. Adam Kinge and one John Archbut, the bishop of Ross's servant, come but yesterday out of France. They have some packets which shortly are to be opened but thought to be matters of common and small effect. And yet they are both papists and professors of that sect. Upon their examinations and discovery of matters of moment I shall advertise your worship.

Enclosed I send you the copies of the proclamations proclaimed on Monday and on Tuesday, referring to your worship to think on them as ye shall see cause, for till I see you I cannot say much more. I trust it shall hinder no advertisements to your worship.

The Provost here is in, I may call it, doubt to be employed to England this evil weather and as I hear in some points for the causes certified by me before; all which I leave to the issue thereof. [*In margin*: the Provost is a dealer between Mar and Airth (Arthe) and I hope shall do good.] Some think that nevertheless some is first looked to come from England before they send thither.

Cessford is reconciled with my Lord of Mar and Blantyre. On Wednesday the King rode to Linlithgow and not before. I hear the King and Queen do this day go from thence with some few with them to Stirling; leaving their household at Linlithgow till their return thither again on Monday next, and on Tuesday they come hither to remain this winter. [*In margin*: I hear the Queen had no will to this journey to Stirling.]

James VI.
1595.

There is of late great preparation of horse, spears and lances made and sent into the North, which is in fear that my Lord of Argyll, who is at Stirling and whose wife is brought in bed of a daughter, should invade them ; and which may be a device to get that country on foot and in arms on all occasions at Huntly's pleasure, albeit Huntly and Errol both do still seem to depend to get their country by the King's favour only and no way to join with any strangers. For my Lady Huntly has made all the gentlemen in the North to think that she has Argyll's handwriting for the disposition of all the lands in the North to such as was with Argyll at the field ; which makes the barons, gentlemen, etc. to think they can have no assurance of their own in case Argyll come there and prevail, and for that cause to be against Argyll. And surely they account Huntly's overthrow given to Argyll their safety in these behalfs for their own livings. Yet my Lord Forbes (Forbisse) is here in no fear of these things.

The wind has indeed blown back Mr. Tusser and the Hamburg ship [*in margin*: Lubeckers] as I looked for and I hope to hear from your worship what shall be my Lord Treasurer's pleasure therein before their departure. For the wind and storm is still easterly.

John, Earl of Menteith (Muntethe) Graham, has prayed me to advertise your worship that he would pray her Majesty's licence to pass to London, there to stay till Whitsunday, and in the summer to pass to France to learn the language and fashions abroad. He would take with him 4 or 5 servants and honest friends, and he prays your worship to be means that he may have her Majesty's passport to be sent him with speed, and for which favour he and his friends will do her Majesty any service in their powers. Sir Robert Ker also entreats for this favour. The Earl is a young gentleman married to Glenorquhart's sister and can do by his friends good offices in Ireland bordering on the sea coast towards Ireland. Always it may please your worship to move this for his lordship and to return speedy answer. His mere love to England and his friends on the Borders makes him seek thus to pass through England and stay that time there, and he will have none but his 4 or 5 honest religious friends and servants with him. Thus much for the present, referring all others to the coming hither of his Majesty and sight of the issue of things then. Edinburgh, 5 December, 1595. *Signed*: Geo: Nicolson.

$1\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr' v^o Decembr', Richmond xiiij^o ejusdem, 1595."

Dec. 4 & 5. **80.** J. M. [DR. MACCARTNEY] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

It is decreed at this Convention held 24 November last that because deadly "feaddis" and incursions are great within the land, the King shall take upon him to compone the greatest controversies among the most noble personages or else the disobedient that will not receive measure shall be put in prison for year and day.

Item, for smaller controversies that are risen for debate of lands and blood followed thereon: It is decreed that the sheriff of each shire shall concur with the barons and ministers of each presbytery to "compone the grundis of pley" and to report their diligence to the King and his Council betwix and the first day of January next.

James VI.
1595.

Item, because there is certain and sure advertisement that the King of Spain is to send some forces of men and ships in this land, for what causes it is unknown, and because the said King and his subjects and confederates are in effect capital enemies to the Christian religion now presently embraced within this realm: It is therefore decreed that all persons adversaries to the same of what degree they be of shall be put "in strang and strait preason," how soon their names and evidences of trafficking and dealing shall be known and put in bill by the Ministry.

Item, that it shall be "lesun" [lawful] and power presently granted to the ministers of each presbytery to convene the people in armour at their first call to resist the incursions of the Spaniard or of any other papist in Scotland that may be moved to defend the cause of a contrary religion.

Item, that against the first day of February next a general muster shall be held through all Scotland, that each man be provided in armour as he will answer to God and the King for defence of the true religion and maintaining the liberties of the Commonwealth against the enemies to the same.

The Lord Herries and Drumlanrig are incarcerated within the castle of Edinburgh. Johnstone was then here but was "demittit." Many honest gentlemen do grudge at this, what may follow thereon God knows.

Buccleuch and Sir Robert Ker are received in Court again and the Countess of Bothwell lately banished the first day of this month.

An ambassador is to be elected to pass in England to know the Queen's mind anent the landing of the Spaniard in Scotland.

There is another great Convention to hold here the 24th instant of all estates under the pain of treason to those that shall not "compeir."

The day of justice betwixt Mar and the Lord Livingstone is to hold the day before. There is great preparation of weapons for both sides: and nobody "supponis" good to follow. The rest to the next opportunity and so I pray God have your lordship in his perpetual protection. From Edinburgh in haste this 4 day of December instant. "Your Honour's awin man, J. M."

There is an Irish gentleman lately arrived here. He has spoken the King divers times and at last delivered unto him this treatise of poesie which I have sent to your Honour with the bearer. He is learned and courtly and well travelled. The King has given him to my Lord Secretary to be maintained by him. The name of the man is Gualterus Quinnus Hybernus. Since these verses were exhibited to the King, what with speaking with the man and what by reading of the verses, and the bruit "arrysit" [*sic*] of the Spaniard, the King is become incredibly rejoiced.

By reading of the French discourse in the end your Honour shall find some matter of weight: and indeed the King himself has made a little commentary thereupon, but I would no ways have the copy of it so suddenly.

This night late there is a young man taken prisoner lately come from France landed at Leith. He has been in Brittany with the Spanish companies this whole year bygone. When he is examined I shall attend upon the copy of his confession and send it with such other occurrences

James VI.

1595. as may happen against the coming of the next messenger. Written the 5 of December late, '95. J. M.

1½ pp. *Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

Enclosure with the preceding* :—

A small book of verses in Latin, Italian, English and French entitled “Anagrammata in nomen Jacobi Sexti, serenissimi Scotorum Regis, variis linguis inventa atque etiam earundem linguarum versibus et metris expressa. A Gualtero Quinno Hiberno, qui hoc devotissimi animi et obsequii sui pignus eidem Pio, Invicto et Clementissimo Principi summa animi demissione dedicat et consecrat.”

“Ad eundem Regem serenissimum epigramma.
Cum superis reges communi jure fruuntur :
Regibus, ut superis, numen inesse solet.
Numina magna velut superiorum nomina produnt :
Omina sic Regum nomina sæpe ferunt.
Hinc tibi tam felix in nomine volvitur omen,
Cœlitus o Regnis pluribus orta salus.
Quod variis linguis ex nomine ducitur arte
Omen te superis innuit esse parem.
Ergo bonis avibus, tua quo te gloria ducit,
J. Rex sic ratum nominis omen erit.”

“Anagramma Latinum,
Carolus Jacobus Steuartus
Victor, Salvus, Carus Stabo
VICTOR ovans, collis domitis virtute superbis,
Clara trophæa feram, sceptrâ perenne decus.
SALVUS, et incolumis superabo pericula mille,
Exortus variis gentibus ipse salus.
CARUS ero superis, carus mortalibus : ipsi
Victorem victi me facilemque colent.
STABO cardinibus virtutum innixus et astra
Sublimi feriam vertice victor ovans.”

“Anagramma Italicum.
Carlo Giacomo Stuarle
Ama L'Accorto, Giusto Re

Sonetto.

L'ACCORTO, GIUSTO RE AMA, o Inghilterra,
Che ti vien' da cieli benigni offerto,
Re tuo per dritto di sangué, e per merto
Degno desserlo piu d'ogn' alter in terra.
E gli ti sarà sempre e'n pace, e'n guerra,

* A pencilled note in a modern handwriting suggests that the following was the copy sent by James Hudson in his letter to Sir Robert Cecil of 16 Dec. 1600. But a copy was evidently enclosed in the foregoing letter and the date on the endorsement supports the conclusion that this was the actual copy.

James VI.
1595.

Padre benigno, Guardian' fido, e certo ;
E ti reggerà qual Nocchier' isperto,
Che la naue in buon porto e guida e serra.

Ma s'alcun tuo, non già figlio amante,
An Ti traditor' disleale e ingiusto
Vorrà impedirlo, a se dara impacci.

Ch'a domarlo magnanimo, e bastante.
Proveràllo, non men' CH' ACCORTO, E GIUSTO :
Ma felice te, se l'ami, e l'abbracci."

" Anagramma Anglicum.
Charles James Stuart
Claimes Arthur's Seat.

Sonet.

A worthie peerles Prince claymes Arthur's seat,
Borne to the same by heavinlie providence.
No force, no sleight, no wayne clame or pretence
This woorthie wight can of his right defeat.

For with his right, he is of might so great,
Through Godis especiall favour and defence,
As he can chastise treacherous offence,
And down the pryde of foes, and rebels beat.

In his just claym none els will him resist,
Save basse and wicked wretches, deadly foes
To vertu, honour, peace and unitie.

But God, and kingdomes, who will him assist,
With his own vertu, will in spite of thoes
Him raise to Arthur's seat and Monarchy."

" Aliud anagramma Anglicum.
Charles James Stuart
Ceass letts, I am Arthur.

A Sonet.

Ceas lets Arthur I am, of Britain King,
Comme by good right to clayme my seat, and throne,
My kingdomes severed to rejoyne in one,
To mend quhat is amiss in everie thing.

To roote out discord, whence much wo doth spring,
To renew Chevalry almost forgone,
To releve vertu, which for want doth mone,
All former blisse to this my land to bring.

Who doth me overthwart, not holding me
For Arthur, my name let him turne, and spell :
The truthe heirof then shall he sone espie.

But better this by tryall men shall see :
Arthur in bountie, who deserveth weill,
In courage Arthur my foes shall me try."

“ Anagramma Gallicum.
Charles Iaques Stuart
Qui est la ? Cesar, Arthus

Sonet.

Qui est la ? Cesar Arthus princes de grand honeur,
Desquels l'un de l'estat des Romains se fait maistre,
Et en Bretagne vint ses trophées a mettre,
Et l'autre fut des Rois de Bretagne la fleur.

Ces deux se sont conjoins en un Prince plein d'heur,
Lequel Dieu a voulu Roy de Bretagne naistre,
Et l'ornant des vertuz Royales l'a fait estre
Digne de ce Royaume, et de toute grandeur.

Que si quelque mutin poussé d'envie, et rage,
A luy s'ose opposer, d'un CESAR le courage
Et l'heur esprouvera, mais a son grand malheur.

Et ceux, qui volontiers luy presteront homage,
Exempts de tout peril, d'encombre, et de damage,
D'un Arthus gouteront la clemence, et douceur.”

“ Discours

Sur le mesme Anagramme, en forme de Dialogue enter un Zelateur
du bien public et une Dame laquelle represente le Royaume d'Angleterre.

- Zel.* Toy Dame en tous endroits du monde renommée,
Vainqueresse jadis, et Princesse nominée
Non seulement des eaux et Isles du Ponent ;
Mais du Roiaulme aussi des fleurs se coronant,
De ton Palais Roial fai qu'on ouvre la porte
Au Roy, qui l'heur ancien, et honeur te rapporte.
- D.* Qui est ce Roy di moy. Qui est la ? *Z.* Cesar Arthus.
- D.* Noms des princes priséz pour leurs rares vertus,
Et qui par leurs beaux faits ont acquis tant de gloire,
Que, sans flestrir jamais, fleurira leur memoire :
Desquels l'un me vainquit, et meit en desarroy ;
Et l'autre fut du tout mon grand Monarque, et Roy.
Mais comment peuvent ilz en ce lieu ci se rendre,
Si tant de temps passe leurs corps furent en cendre
Reduits, et leurs esprits, montez la haut aux cieux,
Triomfent immortels, changez en Demi-Dieux ?
- Z.* Certes ilz n'i sont pas en propre corps et forme,
Ni comme ceux, lesquelz, suivans l'erreur enorme
D'un vieil resueur, passer les esprits des humains
Faisoient de corps en corps, assignans aux plus sains,
Et parfaits en vertu, venant leur tour et heure
De retourner en corps, la plus noble demeure.
Que s'il estoit ainsi, deviner on pourroit,
Qu'avec ARTHUS, CESAR ici se trouveroit.

James VI.
1595.

- Mais en ce Prince seul tous deux au-vif se monstrent
Au nom, heur, et vertu duquel ilz se rencontrent.
- D. Le presage me plait : mais aussi je le crains
Car la memoire jest d'iceluy, qui des freins
Tant des peuples brida, et entr'autres moimesme :
De quoi me souvenant deviens de frayeur blesme.
- Z. Trop vaine et ombrageuse, Angleterre, est ta peur.
Ce César est tout tien ; rassure toi le cœur.
Car en ceste Isle mesme il a prins sa naissance :
Joint qu'en luy se voit bien la naive ressemblance
D'ARTHUS, et d'autres Rois, ses tresnobles ayeulx,
Qui ont haussé ton nom et honeur jusqu'aux cieulx.
Allez, allez Renars, et nommez l'estranger,
Par quenouille cuidans l'estat soubz vous renger,
Quoi ? l'heritier plus proche, et certain, et virile,
Issu d'un pere Anglois, natif d'une mesme Isle,
Faut il qu'il soit par vous, pour estranger forclos,
Et que l'estat Roial soit dans voz parcs enclos ?
Jugez vous estranger le Roi d'une Isle mesme,
Jadis toute subjete a mesme Diademe ?
Estrange seroit il, que soubz un mesme chef
Ces deux membres unir se deussent derechef ?
Si vous vous fondrez sur Roiall ordonnance,
Ainsi que pretendez faut il pas qu'on balance
Toute ordonnance telle au poids de l'equité,
Du bon sens de l'autheur, et de sa volonté ?
Ou bien faut il tenir pour loy ce qu'en devise
Cil, qui a son butin, non au bien public vise ?
Qui soustiendrait qu'aucun des Heuris, et Eduars
Eust ordonné qu'au gré de ces loups et renars
Deussent estre forclos les lions de sa race,
Asne se monstreroit de tres mauvaise grace.
- Mais toi, tresnoble Dame, envers ton sang Roial
Aiant tousjours montré le cœur bon et loial,
Permettras tu qu'un tas des loups, renars et asnes,
Qu'on oit braire et hurler de leurs bouches prophanes
Contre droit et raison et toutes saintes lois,
Puissent a leur plaisir t'instituer des Rois ?
Non feras : car je scai que ta brave noblesse,
Qui n'a pas moindre los de foi que de prouesse,
A joug indigne d'eux ont ne sassera :
Ains parti bien plus seur, et louable eslira,
D'embrasser pour son Roi ce Prince magnanime,
Qui merite, que fleur de noblesse on l'estime
Ni ton bon peuple aussi, qui tousjours los avoit
En embrassant parti de s'accoster au droit,
Voudra guiter sa foi et loiauté ancienne
Pour suivre autre parti, ou cause, que la sienne :
Que si quelques mutins regimber oseront,
Et en sa juste cause a luy s'opposeront,

En luy esprouveront d'un CESAR la vaillance,
 Et l'heur en chastiant leur folle outrecuidance.
 Mais ses sujets loiaux, qui le reconnoistront,
 Et qui, sans regimber, a luy se soubmettront,
 Sentiront par effets d'un ARTHUS la clemence,
 La justice, le soin paternel, la prudence.
 Enfant il a sucé ces Roialles vertuz
 (Dont rarement on voit les princes revestuz)
 Du lait, et doux nectar des Muses et Minerve ;
 Et en a fait au cœur precieuse conserve ;
 Pour tousjours maintenir en santé et vigueur,
 Soimesme, et ses sujets, lesquels avec douceur,
 Comme membres et filz, estant leur chef et Pere,
 Traitera, les gardant de mal et vitupere,
 Et craindre ne faudra que nouvelle grandeur,
 Comme a d'autres feroit, luy face enfler le cœur,
 Qui est tresbien muni de vertu et constance
 Contre les vens legers d'une vaine arrogance.
 Joint aussi qu'il ne faut, que ce titre et pouvoir
 Luy face de nouveau apprendre son devoir.
 Car en l'art de regner il est desja grand Maistre,
 Puis qu'il vint a regner presqu'aussi tost qu'a naistre.
 Les peuples, que desja il gouverne, compris,
 Avec toi, Angleterre, en une mesme purpris,
 Soubz son sceptre Roial, et son obeissance
 Des fruits de sa vertu reçoivent jouissance :
 Vivans en tel repos, en biens si plantureux,
 Qu'oncques leurs devanciers n'ont esté plus heureux.
 Et bien que quelques uns poussez d'envie et rage
 En ses pais ont cuidé susciter maint orage :
 Si a il tellement renversé leurs desseins,
 Doment, et bridant ces furieux des freins,
 Qu'il en demeure a eux perte, malheur et honte ;
 A luy heur et honeur qui jusqu'aux Astres monte.

Aussi aux plus grans Rois et Princes d'outremer
 Ses merites le font tant priser et aimer ;
 Que d'eux il est jugé tresdigne d'estre Prince
 Non d'un Roiaume seul, mais de mainte Province.
 Et s'acquite envers tous si bien de son devoir,
 Qu'heureux, et triomfant souhaitent de le veoir.

Mais sur tous, Angleterre, il s'acquite et comporte
 Si bien envers les tiens, qu'a eux jamais la porte
 De sa grace et faveur ne se vient a boucher.
 Donc comme Pere, et Prince, il leur doit estre cher.
 Plusieurs preuves as eu par longue experience
 De sa grace envers toy, bonté et patience,
 Mais une seulement te veux rammentevoir
 (Jaçoit que souvenance en dois toimesme avoir)
 C'est que si proche estant de ton riche heritage,
 Et du sexe virile aians eu l'avantage,

James VI.
1595.

Contre ta Roine, ou toi il n'a rien attenté ;
Ains a benignement tousjours patienté,
Attendant le temps meur, auquel, sans prejudice
De ta Roine vivant, il puisse entrer en lice.
Et quoi qu'aucuns cerveaux bouillans et furieux
Taschoient de l'enaigrir, disans qu'injurieux
Envers luy quelques uns de tes ministres fussent,
Et que du tort receu porter la peine deussent :
Ils n'ont sceu toutesfois contre toy l'irriter,
Ni faire que comme eux vint a se despiter.
Ains lors qu'eux s'efforçoient d'esmouvoir un orage
Alencontre de toi, il empescha leur rage ;
Et comme medecin sage, doux, et benin,
T'appresta l'antidote encontre leur venin.
Quoy donc, tresnoble Dame, en oubli peux tu metre
Les merites si grans de ton bon Prince et Maistre ?
Scaurois tu souhaiter autre que luy pour Roy ;
Mesmes qu'a lui de droit tu doibs homage et foy ?
Si a autre qu'a luy presentois ta couronne
On te pourroit blasmer, comme ingrate et felonnie :
Et folle et malheureuse on te pourroit juger,
Pour vouloir sans mercy tes membres outrager.
Car si pour Roy voudrois autre que luy t'eslire,
De Dieu et des humains te pourchasserois l'ire,
Et sentirois l'effort de ce Prince irrité,
Se vengeant justement de ton iniquité,
Et lors, apres plusieurs massacres et carnages,
Desgusts, saccagemens, et infinis outrages,
De supporter le joug contrainte encor ferois :
De quoi avec raison plaindre ne te scaurois.
Et qui estre pouvois des autres la Maistresse,
Servante deviendrois en misere et distresse.
Et lors ces fins Renars, et ces terribles Loups,
Qui contre le lion t'animeroyent des coups,
Et bleçures de mort sauver ne te scauroient,
Ains de leurs propres peaux seulement soin auroient
Mais ia ne plaise a Dieu que leurs fiers appetits
Et desseins d'amasser thresor pour leurs petits
Te puissent onc induire a causer ta ruine,
Irritant contre toy la Justice Divine,
Et le juste desdain de ce Prince vaillant,
Contraint de maintenir son droit en bataillant.
Mais ton Dieu sentiras envers toi plus propice,
Si ne crois en CE CIL, qui poussé d'avarice,
Et desir d'aggrandir ses petits Renardeaux
Veut, comme fin Renard, rendre les autres veaux,
Taschant de les armer par parolles fardées
Contre le grand lion, comme bestes bardées.
Ne te laisse Angleterre a tel galant brider ;
Ainçois a gens d'honneur t'offre, pour te guider :

James VI.
1595.

Qui te conseilleront de te rendre et soubmettre.
De gaieté de coeur a ton vrai Prince et Maistre :
Soubz lequel heur, honeur, et pouvor te croistront ;
Et plusieurs pais aussi chef te reconnoistront.
Et n'i aura puissance au monde, tant soit grande,
Qui, sans se repentir, encontre toi se bande,
Donc ce Prince embrassant te jette entre ses bras.
Ce faisant ton estat ancien recouvriras
Ainçois l'augmenteras, et en biens plantureuse
Seras de tous prisée, et réputée heureuse.

D. Toi qui m'as mon estat et devoir remontré,
N'as qu'avec mon avis et desir rencontré.
J'ouy desja chanter de plusieurs les louanges
De ce Prince, approchant de la vertu des Anges
En continence, rare en tous, mais plus en grans,
Qui vont souvent sans bride apres Venus courans ;
Sa Prudence bien meure, Hardiesse et Vaillance ;
Sa Justice, tenant en main juste balance ;
Sa douceur envers tous, sa largesse et bonté ;
Envers Dieu eternal sa rare Pieté ;
Ses donc d'un rare esprite, sçavoir et eloquence,
Des quelz l'a enrichi le Ciel en affluence :
Avec tant d'autres los, que de les raconter
Seroit comme vouloir les estoilles conter.
Dont je ne m'esbahis, si son nom lui presage
De l'honneur de CESAR et d'ARTHUS le partage,
Et mon Roiaume aussi, par l'un d'eux conquis,
Et par l'autre de droit, comme heritage, acquis.

Parquoi non seulement a lui je me veux rendre ;
Mais le supplie aussi mon Sceptre vouloir prendre ;
Et regir mes Enfans avec grace et douceur,
Ainsi qu'il a fait ceux de l'Escosse, ma soeur,
Et ensemble avec nous bien fort lui recommande
Noz cousins, les enfans de nostre soeur Irlande.
Le priant, qu'il nous mete en Paix et Union ;
Retrenchant d'entre nous toute dissension,
Et tout occasion de haine et de rancune ;
Affin que devenions trois soubz un chef une :
Et soubz ce mesme chef d'un accord si heureux
Pussions cueillir les fruits tres doux et savoureux :
Rendans grace a Dieu qu'envers nous pitoiable
Il nous aie eslargi thresor si desirable.
Et le prions vouloir punir avec rigueur
Ceux, qui s'efforceront de nous troubler cest heur.
En fin le supplions qu'a louable Police
Il renge noz enfans par Prudence et Justice."

A book of 32 pp. of which 14 are blank. Endorsed, probably by Sir Robert Cecil's clerk: "1595. Gualterus Quinnus his Pamphlett delivered to the King of Scottes."

James VI.

1595. **81. ADVICES FROM EDINBURGH.**

Dec. 6.

This gives in somewhat similar terms the information in the preceding anonymous letter of Dec 4 and 5 down to the notice of the Convention to be held on Dec. 24, but omits the paragraphs relating to Lord Herries, etc. and the Earl of Mar, etc. It mentions also the apprehension at Leith of the young man from France. *Unsigned.*

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Endorsed* : " 6 Dec. 1595. Advises from Edinborowgh."

Dec. 7. **82. [JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].**

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 186.

These days past the marriage of my daughter shall excuse my silence. Now our present estate is this. No talk but of the Spaniard and proclamations made for " weapinschewing " and fortification of certain towns for resisting of their descent.

The 11th hereof at Edinburgh order is to be taken for settling this deadly feud on the West Border and establishing a new warden, which charge I think shall fall on Carmichael. Their Majesties are here and to remove this day or to-morrow and to winter in Edinburgh. Her Majesty has insisted with the Earl Mar for stay of this day of law but as yet has not prevailed and I fear this refusal shall breed more displeasure in her Majesty's heart against his lordship, notwithstanding the late reconciliation.

An Act is made for reconciling of all deadly feuds, under which is meant to accord the Earl of Mar and his neighbours, albeit the " narratyve " of the Act be provided upon the resisting of foreign enemies. 7 December 1595. *Unsigned.*

1 p. *No address. Endorsed by Bowes* : " Mr. John Colvill, vij^o Decembr', Char' xxij^o ejusdem, 1595."

Dec. 15. **83. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Yesterday I received your Honour's letter written from the Court the 6th hereof with the copy of yours to Mr. Cary containing good directions for the dealing in the matter discovered by Mr. Tusser. With which letters Mr. Cary, writing also therein to me, sent Captain Boyer, a very sufficient gentleman, who if the ship had not been gone should have done that matter, as by my long letter to my master your Honour will perceive and wherewith I beseech you to excuse me that therefore I am thus short herein.

For the comfort which you give me that her Majesty well allows of my master's leaving of me here I do with all humility yield you my full poor thanks, assuring you that I shall freely, if need be, offer my life to be found thankful to your Honour.

I have acquainted Mr. Aston with your letter that at my master's return his good will and endeavour will be requited ; wherewith he is the more comforted in that I showed him the same under your hand, on whom he so much depends. Edinburgh, 15 Dec. 1595, in haste. *Signed* : George Nicolson.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil's clerk.*

James VI.

1595.

Dec. 15.

84. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Tuesday last the King came from Linlithgow and on Thursday the Queen came from thence both hither, having been at Stirling seeing the young Prince, who is noted to be but a weak child. There the King and especially the Queen dealt very earnestly with my Lord of Mar for the staying of the day of law between him and the Livingstones and Bruces with purpose so to have had better time for taking up of that matter. But Mar has utterly refused to yield thereunto, saying that the Queen should command him for his life and living but this matter touching his honour and credit he could not dispense with, praying therefore the Queen to pardon him therein, and so utterly denied the request. Whereon she is beginning again to think much with my Lord of Mar. The King got him to promise to come in peaceable manner to this day of law and has also my Lord Livingstone's promise to do so. And proclamations are made to prohibit their coming in hostile manner and with more numbers than their own ordinary trains. Likewise the sessions are discharged and break up this day and sit not again until the 23rd hereof, of purpose that no convocations should be made by any of these parts friends to this town and at this time of the day of law [*in margin* : 20 hereof is this day [of] law under colour of (*sic*)] to the breach of the peace. And further his Majesty has written by Thomas Erskine to my Lord of Mar and to my Lord Livingstone by Richard Preston very earnestly to convene to that day in quiet and peaceable manner, directing these gentlemen also to persuade them thereunto by the King's reasons delivered to them. So as his Majesty is very careful to prevent all inconveniences and troubles. Nevertheless, how they shall come in I cannot tell : for both sides have written and sent especial persons to all their friends that will do for them to be here with them, and my Lord of Mar has written to Buccleugh (Baucleughe) to be here with him but he and Cessford (Sesfurth) apparently will lie off. My Lord of Mar, because the Prior of Bla[ntyre] had been often dealing with him before for taking up of this matter and that he thinks that the Prior set on the King, as others did the Queen, to move him to stay this day of law, has written so sharp and earnest a letter to the Prior of Blantyre charging him to be in his contrary in this matter, as some conceive that it is like these late settled troubles shall arise again between my Lord and the Prior. But they love so dearly as this writing of my Lord's is but in friendly anger and friends will watch that no displeasure come thereof. This at this length to the end you may see the state hereof as now it stands and the greatest matter now here, leaving the success till I see how it proves.

As to the proclamation certified and sent by my last and restraining any letters or advertisements to be sent to any out of this nation, as you may by the view thereof perceive, I told Mr. Aston thereof and that it was thought to be made especially to hinder intelligences to England, noting to him that I thought it strange, and others thought and would think so, that there should be no exception of places and persons in amity and intelligence with the King. Whereon Mr. Aston spoke with the King and the Prior, who said it was not meant towards England or my being here and that I should have an act or instrument thereof, if I pleased, under

James VI.

1595. his Majesty's and Council's hands, but that against it is my writing to Mr. Richard Douglas and others. Yet some tell me it is to trap some that writes [*sic*] by me and otherways to England [*in margin* : 67 (Mr. John Colville) is especially shot at], and that the King is resolved to see this proclamation executed and that it is meant to take my packet and I have honest warning hereof. And I hope in God, suppose they make more proclamations and great stir for my letters, your worship's friends will not suffer you [to] want intelligences, nor my letters fall in their hands ; neither doubt you hereof. But I blame not the King but others who are intending themselves to be busy in these matters.

On Wednesday and Thursday last the King and Council were busy about making of ordinances for help of this extreme and greatest dearth that ever was here and about apparel and other things. On Friday night the birth of this Queen was solemnised, the 21st [year] of her age, and on Thursday aforesaid, Friday and Saturday last the King had Council for quieting of the Borders and appointing of a warden to do justice to my Lord Scrope (Johnstone being committed and in ward in this castle also), the lairds of Lochinvar (Lochquhenvar), Bumbe, Lag, Closeburn (Closteburne) and other being here, and their advices taken herein. It was motioned in Council that Lochinvar with the assistance of his son should be warden, and sundry motions were made in those causes but none concluded, but is to be this week ; whereon I shall advertise all to my Lord Scrope that his lordship may call for justice as shall appertain. I think Sir John Carmichael shall be moved to take that charge in hand, and I have long told him so, but then and still he thinks that it shall be dangerous to him to enter to so broken a work. " Always " it is meant by his Majesty that these men in ward, Herries, Drumlanrig and Johnstone, shall be now compelled to be answerable to the warden that he may satisfy my Lord Scrope, and surely the King intends that my Lord shall be satisfied and the Borders quieted.

Colonel Stewart is come home and yesternight came to the King. This day morning at 9 hours I met him, who took me to his lodging, signifying that by sundry advertisements from his unkind and unfriendly countrymen he was given out in our Court to have his errands for Spanish causes and by the direction of the King also, and that it was certified that his errand to the Emperor and Princes of Germany was but a colour to his and the King's Majesty's Spanish courses, grieving that the King and he should be so unjustly charged and alleging that Mr. Andrew Hunter and others had forged letters in the Chancellor's and his name and deciphering and sending them into England to his and the King's disgrace ; alleging that he had the worst hope that ever man had to mean so well and by perverse dealings to be so crossed and defeated and protesting most earnestly, I assure you, that these and all other like advertisements against him written to our Court are indeed false and untrue, as also that in heart he reverences and honours and will serve her Majesty before all the princes under heaven, saving his natural prince ; and in plain terms tells me that he can do her Majesty at this time especial service, which I wished him to advertise. But he said it stood him first upon to have her Majesty satisfied towards him in these things and he requires you effectually to be means that his accusers may be given by name to him that they may give him their

James VI.

1595.

informers and as he may quit himself. Where I told him that I had heard that he had met in his travel with some matter of moment, wishing him to advertise the same, he said he had done and testified some things out of the Low Countries to James Hudson ; which if he had not done, knowing that which this morning he heard, he would not have done before he had been satisfied anent his accusers. But because he intends to write to James Hudson herein, I leave all others to his letters. More, hearing still these returns of advertisements, [he] is aminded, he tells me, to be more sparing hereafter and he says it stands him so upon.

If the Provost be sent to England he doubts the evilness of the weather and the season, being an old man, and is loth to be employed in any errand, unless pleasant to her Majesty and honourable to his sovereign ; [*in margin:* and so is Sir Robert Melvill who has been also dealt with for this journey.] But what is resolved herein I know not yet. This I hear at “alaventures” and not of certainty but by conjecture. Some think Mr. David Foulis shall “stay to” you with such as shall be sent and employed into England and remain there as leger for his Majesty. Others think, and I too, that he shall not stay thereon but be shortly employed for England.

[*In margin:* The Queen’s Council, viz. the Prior of Pluscarden, Elphinston, Mr. John Lindsey and Mr. Thomas Hamilton, are making means to be employed to better the King’s living, but thereby they look for chancellorship and other places. This will in time come to some height and fall again.]

By my former you will see that the Master of Glamis, Comptroller and some others have of late at the King’s last being here been by reason of particulars sometimes drawn and sometimes kept out of Council in matters private and of moment. Some hereon conceive that they are not of the Council : but I see no change nevertheless of the Council. What will be, I know not : but in dislike hereof the Master departed from hence on Sunday was eight days.

On Saturday last I received your worship’s letter of the 6th hereof with the copy of my Lord Treasurer, my Lord of Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue’s (Foskewe’s) letters subscribed by Mr. Wade to your worship and concerning the drawing of the ship to Berwick or else into other new parts of England to be searched for the things certified by Mr. Tusser. Wherewith presently I acquainted Mr. Tusser, certifying him also that their lordships had written to Mr. Governor to aid him therein, encouraging and wishing him therefore to dispose of the matter as it might be handled accordingly. Whereon then instantly Mr. Tusser departed from me with intention and hope, no assurance as he said, to stay the ship by device till he might go to Berwick and get aid of Mr. Cary for forcing the ship to Berwick or other place near thereunto in England, and wherein I told him I would write to Mr. Cary with him that he was the man discovering this matter and to be by Mr. Cary advised with therein. Yesterday morning he sent for me to come down to Leith and in my way to him and in Leith I met with James Vernon, who told me the ship was that morning sailed. I saw the ship then under sail, unless my marks failed me. At my then coming to Mr. Tusser I told him the ship was sailed (who then said that it was so) marvelling that he had not according to his assured hope by device stayed her, as also that he was not gone with the ship to have used his

James VI.

1595.

device and mine to have caused her land in England. But he answered he could not do it without me nor get over the water to Burntisland where the ship then lay to do it, as also that the ship was consorted with 3 others of those parts, well manned and furnished with great ordnance and not surpriseable without great force and good ship, as also that he cared not for the ship's passage and escape, seeing that by her fashions he could always give notice to the Lords of the Council of such like and better purchases in the Thames; adding also that by other means and his following of them that he would do greater matters for our State's cause, and also look and advertise further their dealings. Tusser says still that he is employed in great matters of moment and that for avoiding of troubles to him and the service he carries no script that may discover him, but that all is left to his own discretion; that he has of her Majesty's gift worth 600*l.* sterling per annum, which for 2 years he has encumbered as in the meantime he intends to travel and perform service to the Queen and his country. He says the ship came out of the Thames the 17th of the last, that at midnight packets were brought on board to the ship, that a Spaniard (who he noted to be but a boy upon some occasions of speech with him) was quietly kept in the ship, that one also was in the ship that used to carry horses out of England for Spain, and that the tempest rising dangerous to them and forcing them this way they were driven in hither, which only matter is true apparently, and that the extremity of the tempest being great they were driven to cast overboard above 1000*l.* worth of English cloths, and in such stirs with shifting of things in the ship he espied that they had good store of Spanish money [*in margin*: this money he says was packed up in barrels of corn covered over the top with pepper], seeming as if one John Hanford, a merchant of London, had reposed trust in Wade to see to these things [*in margin*: this Mr. Hanford is they say a young merchant that dwells near the Duke's house]. Which Wade, Tusser said at the first, had no knowledge of these his "concepts" nor doings in the ship, and yet in the end Tusser "semed" that some trust was reposed in Wade, with many other vain circumstances in my opinion. On my return from Leith from them yestermorn I met Robert Shawe's man who told me that a Captain of Berwick was come to speak with me, which I found to be Captain Boyer, a very sufficient gentleman indeed, and who [*sic*] Mr. Governor had sent to confer with Tusser and me and to execute that which should be meet in this behalf, and furnished with a commission to take any ship for that service, bringing me Sir Robert Cecil's letter with a copy of his Honour's to Mr. Governor, all well written for our carriage and handling of this matter; as also Mr. Governor's letter to like effect. Whereon Mr. Boyer and I went down with them to Leith and being persuaded by them that the ship was not gone (a change of their former opinions and speeches) the Captain sent over to Burntisland with them Thomas Lodesman to see and advertise the going of the ship and by virtue of the commission prepared Andrew Stewart's ship to have passed out of Leith to have awaited their passage if they had been "ungone" and with the sailors of that ship the captain meant (suppose he saw no more surety therein than myself did) with the company of Jerry Story, Thomas Lodesman, John Archibald and others here and such provisions as we would have made to have gone to the sea and taken the ship "anent" and put her into

James VI.

1595. Berwick, but Thomas Lodesman and they, viz. Tusser and Wade who says he is born at Dover, returned this day to us showing that the ship was yesterday departed as they and I heard. So as now they are here and the ship gone and the captain to return with this lost labour to Berwick. Since my last to you I have had all the Englishmen here almost in their companies all to discover them. One remembers that this Tusser was in the Gatehouse at Westminster in Lent last and for 5*l.*, but at whose suit he knows not but says his name is not Tusser; whereby I conceive he is some person of less credit and more craft than some may esteem him. Upon these suspicions, which I leave to your noting, we thus let the matter rest having no warrant to trouble our English 2 men aforesaid. [*In margin* : Wade plays very well on the lute and professes to be a musician, but now seems as if he were a merchant and I pray God he be not some merchant's man that has left his master.]

All others in this before to Captain Boyer and his sufficient advertisement to be made herewith. Yet I send another letter from Tusser to my Lord Treasurer. I pray pardon for my long abstinence in writing, being driven thereunto to see what would be the end hereof. Edinburgh, 15 Dec. 1595. *Signed* : Geo: Nicolson.

5½ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' xv^o Decembr', Char' xxiiij^o ejusdem, 1595."

Dec. 16. **85. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

I have no matter to write of for the present, only to entertain myself in your good remembrance and to excuse myself that I have not written this 13 days past, which proceeded rather by my absence than want of good will. We are now all come to this town to remain this winter.

All our great faction is dissolved and there is no other appearance but we shall be quiet for a time. That which is most likeliest to breed trouble is this day of law between the Earl of Mar, Dunipace (Dunypese) and Airth. It is appointed the 20th instant. The Queen has been very earnest with the Earl of Mar for continuation of the day but he has altogether refused, alleging it touches him so far in honour as he cannot satisfy her request, which she takes in very evil part, so that the agreement serves to small purpose. Mar thinks himself so far interested in honour as he will put all in peril rather than he "sett" with the shame he has gotten. Great parties are preparing to come to this town. The King has discharged all convocation except so many as are limited in either party. The session is discharged to sit for 10 days to the end that none shall have excuses to come to this town.

The King is daily occupied in his particular affairs, which consist chiefly in three points: first, the settling of the Borders, next the enormities of the country, chiefly murder and horning, and last the ordering of his patrimony and living. The Border affairs are presently in hand. The Lord Herries, the lairds of Johnstone and Drumlanrig (Dromlendrike) are in the castle of Edinburgh. All the rest of the barons of that country are here as Lochinvar, Garlies, Bomby, Closeburn, Lag and all the rest. The King is very earnest to have Lochinvar warden but he utterly refuses. It

James VI.
1595.

is not yet known who shall occupy that place. For such as are at the horn it is ordered that upon the complaint of such as are interested they shall have present redress. The Lord Borthwick (Bortike) is committed for the same "fackett" and the Master of Glamis is passed home for fear of committing, for there have been sundry complaints given in against him.

Concerning the King's patrimony which has been given out to his Majesty's great hurt, the Queen's Council has offered to make the King a sufficient rent to entertain his estate. The King's officers thinks [*sic*] they are interested in honour in that they should take upon them to deal in that which pertains to them. These matters are now in hand and what success they take you shall know.

The Provost of this town has now undertaken his journey to her Majesty. I have been inquisitive to understand the effect of his commission which, as far as I can learn, is to communicate to her Highness the King's knowledge of the Spanish practice and preparations against both their estates with his own resolution in that behalf, craving her Majesty's counsel and opinion, what way these imminent dangers may be prevented and that no sinister information may persuade her Highness to think other ways of him than by his actions he shall deserve.

To the end that no intelligence shall pass there is a proclamation set out discharging all men to write except such intelligence as passes between her Majesty and the King and their ministers, which the King allows and will maintain.

Colonel Stewart arrived here this day. I perceive all his desires are granted but neither money nor surety. The Emperor and the princes of Germany have very well accepted his offers and have promised that if they employ any in these parts it shall be himself, so that I cannot see that any man will be "lefted" [levied] here in haste. [*In margin*: He has got affair there from the Emperor.] He thinks he has been very evil dealt with by his enemies here, who have given out that his intention was to "left" [levy] men for the service of the King of Spain and that it should be informed (?) to her Majesty to his great grief. His actions and proceedings he has made known by his own letters. I find the man willing to serve her Majesty.

For the proceedings of Tusser I leave to George Nicolson. For my own part I thought him a cozener from the beginning and thinks [*sic*] so still. I have no further for the present but wish your honourable dispatch to these parts. Your coming is looked and wished for. Edinburgh, 16 December. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

Postscript—Here is a book come from the conservator printed in Amsterdam (Osterdame) set out by one Dolman. It is in English. It discourses of the "tyteleres" wherein he "deloudes" all except the "Enfantese" of Spain and the heirs of Darby, which he would prove to have best right.*

3 pp. *Holograph*. *Addressed*: "To my L. embastour." *Endorsed by Bowese*: "Edenbr' xvj^o December, Char' xxiiij^o ejusdem, 1595."

* The reference in the description of this letter in Thorpe's *Calendar* to the expected offers of Huntly and Errol has crept in erroneously from the description of Nicolson's letter of 21 Dec. below.

James VI.

[1595.]

Dec. 16.

86. FRANCIS TUSSEER TO LORD BUCKHURST.

Since my letters unto my Lord Treasurer the wind turned so as the ship I gave advertisement of being gone to sea there came warrants of assistance but one tide too late, wherein I have fully advertised my Lord. And now, sooth, since their going to sea, having had two days and one night a stormy wind so as they could carry no great sail, the wind being now turned, I doubt but of force they must back again or put into England. I have sufficiently described the parties unto my good Lord and likewise how it shall appear they are enemies to the state. Having been somewhat tedious unto his lordship in writing, I advertise your lordship whereby there may yet be great hope in staying this ship. Edinburgh, 16 December. *Signed* : Fra: Tusser.

Postscript.—I have written a description of the ship and parties to Mr. Deputy Governor of Berwick, If they come to Newcastle or thereabout myself will at my own charge ride the north coasts of Scotland, so we doubt not to miss them. If they be fallen to Lynn or Harwich my directions to my Lord will discover them.

1 p. *Holograph. Addressed.*

1595.

Dec. 20.

87. LAUCHLAN MACLEAN OF DUART TO ROBERT BOWES.

Upon good pretence of honest meeting I refused to aid the Earl of Tyrone and thereby great offers made to me in his name by divers persons, stayed all my own men and moved my cousin of Argyll to do the like from his assistance. As also [I] assure your Honour and all them that lives that by my doing only and by none of Ireland nor England, Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorm and all that come nigh were constrained to return from Ireland, fearing my pursuit here of their lands in Scotland, seeing I moved with the number of nine hundred that would to follow them. Which would not [be] done without great charges as it may be known, thus sustaining of three of their chosen principals and their "keeparis." And although your lordship in your letter and John Cunningham by his report declared that her Majesty ordained a token of one thousand crowns to be sent to me, I think the same is long of coming, whereof I marvel seeing my part has been honestly done and whereupon I vowed "mekill" more nor that token. The present is to request your Honour with diligence to let me know if that promise be kept or not. My commendations to Sir Robert. From Doward the 20 of December 1595. *Signed* : Lauchlane M^elane off Doward.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In the handwriting of Auchinross. Wafer seal. Addressed* : "To my verry good Lord my Lord Bowes lait Ambassitor." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Doward xx^o Decembris, Char' xxvj^o Januarii, 1595."

Dec. 20. 88. KING JAMES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"The greit and almaist universall failzie of the incres of peyis and beanis within our realme thro tua zeiris bigane, occasionit be the continuance of maist tempestuous and unseasonable wether fallin out with ws baith in the sawing and reaping tymes gritlie to the interest of the hail puir-anis of our land, confortid cheiflie be that sort of grayne, hes movit

James VI.

1595. ws to request zour favour to the releif and help of this necessitie, be spairing sum pairt of the greit store of the said grayne within zour Realme, and granting zour fre Licence to sic trustie servand as we ar to employ that erand, To by carie and transport fyve thousand quarteris thairrof, quhair maist commodiouslie they may be had to the said use. Quhairin ze sall baith greitlie benefite the puir ains of oure Realme, And sall alwayis finde ws the lyke affected to help zour subjectis distressit with anie sic necessitie, and careing the like request from zow." Holyroodhouse, 20 December, 1595. *Signed in James's handwriting*: "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin, James R."

1 p. *Addressed. Faint marks of signet.*

Dec. 21. 89. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Tuesday last the Earl of Argyll came hither for partying of the Earl of Mar in his action for David Forster's slaughter and the Earls Marischal (Marshall), Cassillis and sundry others were in their way hitherwards for assisting him, but were stayed by reason of the King's proclamation and charge forbidding any to assist in forcible manner either party. On Wednesday my Lord of Mar came and my Lord Livingstone but in several companies and in peaceable manner as the King had commanded, and yet both on [*sic*] them had their friends quiet in this town. The King still laboured from their coming for continuation of the day of law and the Queen most earnestly insisted therein, showing herself a party with Dunipace, and when she saw no appearance of my Lord of Mar's yielding to continue the day she had a writing written with her own hand, as I hear, which she would have had the King subscribed containing a commandment to my Lord of Mar to put over this day, a charge for assurance to be taken with my Lord of Mar and the Livingstones and Bruces, and a referring of the matter to her order, [*in margin*: The Queen said she would convene her friends for Dunipace and had done so indeed as some say and in such sort as he and young Airth would now have been quit.] and herein she was so earnest with his Majesty, as thereon on Saturday last when the town was in arms and all friends on both sides commanded by proclamation upon pain of death to keep their lodging and only 12 to come into the Tolbooth with the pursuer and 13 with the defenders, and the town at the Tolbooth door to suffer no more to come in, the King sent for my Lord of Mar and so earnestly dealt with him as the day of law is continued to new warning upon 15 days on the 3rd day of the Justice Ayre to be holden within the county at the pursuer's election, and in the meantime his Majesty has purpose to agree this matter. If it had holden great inconveniences to both parties had followed, whatever it do yet, for both parties were exceeding strong. The King took such order as both parties came not to him on the street at once, and yesternight the Provost entreated Dunipace and young Airth not to come to the church for the avoiding of troubles, and my Lord of Mar hopes his Majesty will not have them come near him till they be found innocent. The parties compeared and have taken witness for the discharge of the cautioners and stand bound again to answer as above is said. This to satisfy your worship knowing that you will be desirous to know what is

James VI.

1595.

proceeded at this time in this matter. Montrose was here by the King's appointment and gave countenance to Livingstone. Sundry gentlemen, "na" [yea] noblemen as Crawford, and others that are at the horn were quiet in this town for assisting these parties but durst not be seen by reason of the King's order taken anent all men at horn. This matter has been so troublesome to the King as no end is yet put to the Borders. Lochinvar, Garlies, Bumbe and those gentlemen come hither by the King's commandment to give their advice for the quieting of West Marches have advised and all for Lochinvar's excuse that he may not be forced to take the wardenship in hand, which he has refused with displeasure almost of the King that these men in ward may be offered the place of wardenship upon good pledges and caution, first that my Lord Herries may have it, then Drumlanrig if he refuse, then Sir John Carmichael if they refuse, as they 3 have all done in some sort, then lastly Johnstone who will not refuse but give caution and pledges for doing his duty therein. So as till they be resolved and at an end herein, I know not how to satisfy my Lord Scrope. But I shall daily solicit his Majesty for resolution herein.

As to the Provost's going up I cannot tell whether he shall now go or not ; but some, and surely Mr. David Foulis, is shortly to go up. Some say (but I cannot say) to advertise the intelligence his Majesty has of the Spaniards' purpose to invade this Isle and to assure his Majesty's good will to her Majesty against them, and something also concerning the Lady Lenox's lands, the truth whereof will appear and I leave to the coming of such ambassador, if there be any ambassador to come, as their daily change of purposes argues uncertainty therein.

Some are now again in conceit that Huntly and Errol's friends are to come hither openly to deal for and make offers to content the King and Kirk that they may come home again. Edinburgh, 21 Dec. 1595. *Signed* : Geo. Nicolson.

2 pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' xxj^o Decembr', Char' xxx^o ejusdem, 1595."

Dec. 22. **90. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Since my last of the 16th I have had no occasion to write, neither yet have, only to accompany your servant's letters with the discharge of my own duty. That which was most expected was the affair of this day of law which proceeded to the very point but being considered what inconvenience the extremity of that might breed, seeing the party ready to enter and the probation uncertain whether to "fyle or cleng" (?) besides the important suit of the Queen to the Earl for the continuation thereof. But the ground of all proceeded from the King who foresaw the inconvenience that might grow by severe dealing in this matter, thought rather to eschew the extremity by a cannier (?) dealing with the Earl which was to persuade him to pass over the matter for this time, not that he should be bound either to discharge the same in times coming or to give any assurance to the party but upon 15 days' warning to give new charges. By this [*sic*] doings he has both satisfied the King and Queen and remains with the party in the same estate he was before.

This being put to a point as aforesaid the King enters to his other

James VI.

1595.

affairs as, first, the settling of the Borders which is now in hand. The chiefest difficulty is to get a warden. Lochinvar will no ways accept it, so that of necessity it must fall in one of the four hands, the Lord Herries, the lairds of Drumlanrig, Johnstone or Carmichael. Herries and Drumlanrig have refused. Johnstone is content to accept the charge and to give in pledges for good order keeping both to England and Scotland. Carmichael is thought the meetest and most indifferent but he seeks so large allowance with so great advancement as I fear it will not be heard for anything that I can see. It will fall in Johnstone's hand and the others to give in good pledges or else to remain where they are.

The King is very earnest and careful both in this and all other his affairs chiefly with such as are at the horn. It is here expected by all men that he shall take another kind of dealing than he has done before. He begins very well. If he continues as it is hoped he shall, you will see this estate in better order than before. He says he finds many things otherwise than he looked for and thinks some that he has given credit unto have not done their duty; although he speaks not plain language it is the late Chancellor he means. As matters proceed you shall be advertised. Holyroodhouse, 22 December. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

It is "letten" the King to understand that Mr. Archibald is suiting part of the lands for the King that sometime "perted" [pertained] to my Lady Lennox and is very well heard. It is more than he has commission for, yet if he has that credit he will be heard here and yet it is looked he shall do nothing only to keep himself doing. He is like the greedy face that bites at a small lot, as may be seen by the King's letter that was sent him.

2½ pp. *Holograph, also address*: "To my L. Ambastour." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Hollyrod 22 Dec., Char' xxx° ejusdem, 1595."

Dec. 22.

91. [JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 186.

This day of law is turned to this issue. As the Earl of Mar was ready to have gone to accusation his Majesty sent for him and so by persuasion the day shall continue to the third day of the eyre, which is in effect a full deserting thereof; the criminals entered and took instruments of their appearance. Of this procedure every one speaks as they are affected but the most part thinks the Earl has got in a great disgrace. It is thought his Majesty shall accord the parties, at least make assurance among them, but I am full of fear that it shall turn from ill to worse.

The Lord Herries, the lairds Drumlanrig and Johnstone are yet in the castle till caution be found for keeping of good order and many think the office of wardenry shall fall on Johnstone or Carmichael.

Some talk was of the Provost of this town's sending thither but now not so much appearance. His errand you will hear from S. (Mr. Bowes*)'s servant.

I writ nothing to Quondam (Archibald Primrose*) because I fear he be on his journey. 22 December 1595. Y.

1 p. *In John Colville's handwriting. No address. Endorsed by Bowes*: "Mr. John Colvill, 22° Decembr', Char' xxx° ejusdem, 1595."

* Deciphered in another hand.

James VI.

1595.

Dec. 24.

92. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

It may please your Honour to receive these letters enclosed and which I both received yesternight and also showed all the same (except the letter addressed to yourself) to my Lord your father. These I had purposed to have delivered you by my own hand, but my old acquaintance and disease in my side has so suddenly and extraordinarily come upon me, as I am enforced to pray pardon for this time. At London, 24 Dec. 1595. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Addressed and endorsed.*

Dec. 28. 93. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 187.

My honourable good Lord and Mecnas. I can hear no overture tending to the service of that estate (namely proceeding from persons of "experimented" honesty as the gentleman bearer hereof is) but of duty I must present them to you, leaving the considerations of quality and circumstance thereof to your prudent discretion.

Indeed, all here that neither love religion nor the amity expect great matters this next year from your enemies. For intelligence whereof, if this gentleman's labour may avail, he is as of before as willing as if he were your born patriot; and for his sincerity the best affected here would answer in case his former actions in time [*sic*] more dangerous had not given sufficient proof. So with "unfenzzeit" heart wishing the felicity of that gracious Princess and estate by whom our gracious Sovereign and religion had been preserved and planted among us I humbly take my leave. 28 December, 1595. *Signed* : Jo. Colville.

1 p. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil's clerk.*

Dec. 29. 94. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

By reason your servant was to dispatch some letters to you and fearing you should think me unmindful of that duty which I have always been careful to discharge, [I] though[t] rather to communicate such matters as occurs [*sic*] though of small consequence than altogether to be silent. For the present estate of our affairs here they differ little from my last advertisements.

The King continues his former resolution both concerning his particular affairs as also foreign affairs. It is here confirmed by sundry means that the Spanish preparation is great and altogether intends to this Isle.

You will find the King frank, willing and ready to concur with her Majesty in all things that may intend to the preservation of her estate, crown and realm, which I doubt not but by his actions he will confirm. He is determined to send one of trust to her Majesty for the better confirmation of his resolution. The gentleman you know is religious and well affected to the amity and a sound man to the King. He has been very loth to undertake the journey, yet finding the King upon so good a resolution as thereby he hopes to give her Majesty such contentment as shall be acceptable to her and profitable to his master, upon which he is preparing himself, but not to be dispatched before your coming, which the

James VI.

1595. King is "letten" to understand will be very shortly; a thing which the best sort have long desired, either in your own person or some one of credit that may resolve them of her Majesty's resolution in this perilous time. Notwithstanding of the eminent dangers which is [*sic*] given out here to be great, yet many thinks it cannot be true in respect that none comes hither from her Majesty. For my own part I am not to give counsel, yet I persuade myself, if the estate of the world be as we esteem it is, it were necessary that some were here to concur in the common cause against the enemies of God and this Isle.

This far I thought good to set down not as an advertisement but a friendly discourse between you and me. Otherways it might be thought I writ rather by commandment than by affection to her Majesty's service. But God is my judge my intention is to deal faithfully not only to her Highness, to whom of all others I am most bound, but also to yourself as a loving friend.

Carmichael is appointed warden. He is to receive certain conditions for his entertainment.

The Controller and Collector have given over their offices; knowing they were to be taken from them prevented time.* The King thinks he has not been well dealt with in times past concerning the offices of the crown. He is now resolved to take another course than before. All things that was [*sic*] done by his mother or himself to the hurt of his patrimony is called back and the managing of his affairs is committed to the Prior of Blantyre as chief agent with the Queen's Council to correct the abuses that have been in times past. The King thinks he has been so evil served with his own officers that he will prove others. This discontents many, chiefly such officers as are displaced and such as may be hurt by this severe dealing, but they are but a few in respect of them that rejoice to see the King take such a course as he may live of his own and be served as a King, which will be if that be followed forth that is begun. Holyrood-house, 29 December. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

Postscript.—Mr. Richard Douglas this day spake with the King. The effect of all his discourse "attended" to please the King and to excuse his own behaviour concerning the letter he got from the King. He has assured the King that the Lady Arbella is become sick and not like to live.

3 pp. *Holograph, also address*: "To my L. Ambastour." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr', 29 Decemb., Char' v^{to} Januarii, 1595."

Dec. 29. 95. [JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 188.

Our estate presently is thus occupied. During the life of the late Chancellor his Majesty thought all well governed. Now he begins to think other ways, minding by using of his laws upon horners and such as stand in no fear of laws to make great profit to himself and contentment to his people; which order if it be prosecuted shall "effectuat" both.

The deadly feuds which so abound as no man can safely go a mile from his house his Majesty minds to accord generally with all, excepting only papists and actual murderers and the three deadly feuds which be

* Meaning apparently that they had forestalled in time their forcible deposition from office.

James VI.

1595. principal, viz. betwixt Maxwell and Johnstone, Montgomery* and Cunningham, the Earl Mar and Livingstone about the 16th of the next are to be pacified and whichsoever of the parties shall refuse to shall be the worse liked of his grace. But still I fear this matter of my Lord Mar work more and more mischief, for though the day of law be continued yet the hatred diminishes nothing on either side, which (being so near neighbours) is fearful.

Sir Robert Melvill, Sir George Hume and the Prior of Blantyre is [*sic*] the chief rulers and of the Prior I believe good service shall be wrought as by Mr. Bowes's servant you shall more hear. And indeed it is some comfort that (such as he is) religious and lovers of the amity are in credit. Concerning the Prior I beseech you think well of that your servant shall write, for it shall, God willing, work good effects with no cost to Avdin (her Majesty).

The Queen will rule all and I fear Mar go down.

There is a proclamation made against intelligence to foreign nations under pain of death, whereat we marvel that no exception is made of confederates. Therefore we must be the more circumspect.

Archibald Primrose is returned as you know which to Mr. Colville shall ever be all one, for he shall study to deserve and not desire. This 29 of December 1595.

Postscript.—The talk again of the sending the Provost of Edinburgh thither is renewed, wherein as we can hear more shall be sent.

If it should please Mr. Bowes in a line or two to his servant purposely to be showed to the Prior to make his loving commendations to him and to rejoice that so honest and religious a person is growing upon credit, it should bring on the service the more quickly and avail Mr. Bowes's servant much. *Unsigned.*

2½ pp. In John Colville's handwriting, also address: "S." Endorsed by Bowes: "Mr. John Colvill, xxix^o Decembr', Char' v^{to} Januarii, 1595." Names in cipher deciphered.

Dec. 29. 96. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I forgot by my last to have certified your worship of the receipt of the book which I disposed as you directed. Yet before the coming of the same the Conservator had sent one to the King. Some say, but I believe it not, that it came from Errol with a letter also. The King is much offended thereat accounting some practising Papist to have made it. Walter Quin, as I hear, judges that Henry Constable (Sir Robert's son) has made it for he says that Constable is a very great writer and that the book has his method and reasons. The King has given it to Mr. John Sharpe to answer. Within few days Mr. Robert Bruce will take better occasion to know more, whereon with speed you shall be advertised.

Francis Tusser and Wade are shipped and gone. I could not see but Tusser is very earnest by some service to deserve some reward and better his estate which here was very mean and bare. The Hamburg ship de-

* The editor of Colville's *Letters* reads Maguire, but the correct reading appears to be "Mongomerie." See Nicolson's letter of the same date and cf. *Register of the Privy Council*, v, 271.

James VI.

1595. parted and sailed clean away, as I advertised you, and was not put back with the easterly wind which continued but 12 hours and after came fair westerly again.

Upon your letter of the 18th hereof I took occasion to speak with Thomas Foulis, Mr. Robert Bruce, Clerk Register, [and] the Provost and entering into speech with them about the going of the Provost, which was on foot again and which the King was earnest in, and for which some order was given to Thomas Foulis to prepare money for the Provost's furnishing, I showed them that you were very shortly to be here, that till Candlemas our Christmas would hold in Court in such sort as all matters of moment would till that time be deferred, and as the Provost, if he should go before that time, should but till then lie at charges ; wishing afar off that your worship might be here before the Provost depart. And I find the Provost and the rest of opinion that it were best it should be so ; yet for more certainty I showed your letter to Mr. Aston who faithfully has dealt therein also to that effect and thinks to do good. But as I understand this embassage comes from the King only, who unless he be sure you come shortly will not stay the Provost any longer than some 14 days which time I account will but serve to furnish well the Provost, with whom Mr. David Foulis is to go, as by my former I wrote and do still hear.

On Wednesday last the Lord Livingstone with Montrose and his other friends rode away and on Saturday last my Lord of Mar with the Earl of Argyll and his other friends rode home to Stirling with greater malice in these parties' hearts than was before, albeit the day of law be so put off. My Lord of Mar's yielding to and putting over the day of law at the Queen's suit some think pleases her : [*in margin* : the Queen is thought to be with child.] others think not but that she thinks worse of Mar because he gives no assurance to Dunipace and so far as I can perceive that is and will be found true.

I spoke with Argyll of purpose to keep friendship, assuring him that if he "needed to her Majesty" he would find them thankful for his good will as also that Mr. Bowes to his power would in anything he should charge him with be his. Hereupon he gave many thanks, I assure you, with good words. But I durst not enter with him in matters of Ireland, seeing apparently those matters are left off towards these persons here. Yet I shall send the letters and write to MacLean so far as I am directed.

I hear no more of the Spaniards. The King for certain deeply protests to withstand them with all his power, whoever take their part, and Mr. Robert Bruce in pulpit declares the same, as also that by secret advertisement he heard that the King had rejected utterly the suits of Huntly and Errol's friends for their licensing to come home, and so gives good assurance of his Majesty's good meaning. And surely so far as I can learn his Majesty is well devoted to the good cause and to take such fortune with her Majesty against the common enemy as God shall give.

This day I spoke to his Majesty about justice to be done with my Lord Scrope. He said to me he was doing therein what he could and was dealing to cause Sir John Carmichael to take the wardenship upon him, who his Majesty accounts will best please my Lord Scrope and who indeed

James VI.

1595. will be very willing to advance justice. But Sir John alleges that without some men of war and the debt which the King owes him he cannot be able in this broken time to do that service that is meet, and I think it be true indeed. Yet the King is very careful to have all those parts quieted and my Lord Scrope pleased. I told his Majesty how much the country was troubled and charged with keeping of continual watch, as also that the soldiers of Berwick was [*sic*] forced to be sent thither to withstand the misrule, and his Majesty will hasten good remedy herein.

The King since the Chancellor's death has looked more nearly unto his estate and the country than he was wont. For he rested wholly therein upon the Chancellor who is very like to be far spoken on unless the Lady his wife procure new friendship in Court, and that within one half year ye will see it. And now his Majesty begins to be seen King and to reign and with the good Prior of Blantyre's advice to put in practice the good laws, viz. against pistols wearing, against horners; so as whosoever is [*sic*] at horn are to be taken by good towns when they come in them, or else the town stands charged for them, and if they refuse and be fugitives from the burghs, then the sheriffs are to take them or be charged for them; as also whoever "receitts" any at horn are charged to be answerable for them and the cause for which they are at horn. So as here is daily sending in to relieve the noblemen and others from horn and contenting and paying of debts that other ways would still have been drifted, for the King spares no man. And the King for taking up of feuds has good courses in hand. The 15th and the 17th of the next the Cunninghams and Montgomeries are to be here in peaceable manner, and at other diets the Maxwells and Johnstones. Mar and Livingstone and other parties at feud also to be here or agreed in the country. They must be forced to put their causes to "comprement" or committed to ward. 2 of the nobility, 2 of the Council and 2 of the ministers are to "compremett" these matters. And committers of slaughters are not to be "receipt" by any but upon pain that the "receitters" shall be answerable for them and their fact; with many good ordinances which the King will see performed.

Colonel Stewart put in his bill to the King and Council on Saturday last against Mr. Andrew Hunter; but Mr. Andrew being to depart shortly and making honest answer was with some sharp words of the King passed over.

67 (Mr. Colville) having had yesternight conference with 59 (the Prior of Blantyre) with whom he is great has not only found him of good mind to A. (her Majesty) but very frank in the good cause here and has persuaded him to enter into intelligence with Mor (Nicolson) who 59 (the Prior) says shall be welcome always to him. [*In margin* : 67 (Mr. Colville)'s 10 * is 59 (the Prior of Blantyre).] And 67 (Mr. Colville) thinks very meet that by letter you congratulate his arising credit with B. (the King) as a most honest person for so he is to good causes. And he will surely be great : for 57 (the Master of Glamis) is absent and 64 (the Collector) and 60 (the Provost of Edinburgh) and others are weary at this time of their places and like to be displaced. 67 (Mr. Colville) is at hard point that Quondam (Archibald Primrose) has not sped; yet I find always one mind and unalterable resolution in him still to be a servant to A. (her Majesty) and

* Not deciphered.

James VI.

1595. if occasion serve he will be found so indeed. Edinburgh, 29 December 1595. *Signed* : Geo. Nicolson.

3 pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' 29 Decembr', Char' v^{to} Januarii, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

[? 1595.] 97. OCCURRENCES.

Angus MacConnell having commission of the Earl of Tyrone has dealt very earnestly with MacLean for obtaining of his favour to the Earl, who alleges that he never offended MacLean save only for preservation of his own life he "schoitnit Hew Oneillis Dayis" who sought all means to have his life. And seeing the Queen's Majesty is to prefer a gentleman of England to the "bruiiking" of all those lands possessed by those who had the name of O'Neill and O'Donnell, it is MacLean's duty to remember that of old he is of the realm of Ireland, wherefore [he] ought not to see them perish so far as he may defend them. And where offence has been committed satisfaction shall be made to MacLean's contentment. Presently there shall be lands given to Hugh O'Neill's son and Art. O'Neill's son who are both young "chyildes" with MacLean. Their special friends shall be placed in those lands without any kind of duty paying except service, and whatsoever other thing MacLean will burden the Earl with, the same shall be obeyed. For keeping whereof as MacLean shall choose and name pledges they shall be rendered to him in his place of Doward. This was spoken by Angus in "qwyit" at his coming to Inveraray where he fell "of" his knees to the Earl of Argyll and asked his lord mercy. MacLean has answered that at his passing home he shall advise with his friends and thereafter send the answer to Angus MacConnell betwixt [this] and the first of November next.

Donald Gorm MacConell is written to come in to the Earl of Argyll and if he refuse MacLean is to go to his bounds for his convoy here to Argyll on his own expense. But I think Donald Gorm will not have MacLean to make travail in this office ; rather will come in and make the travail, seeing MacLean is overchargeable a messenger.

O'Donnell in Erse language wrote his letters to Argyll in his own name and in name of Tyrone, making mention that they were of mind to give their lands to his Majesty of Scotland as most native and "kyndlie" prince to them, to take them of his Highness and to pay a token yearly to his grace. With the which if his Majesty will "mell" and aid them, they shall "gar" many others do the like. Also desired that the Earl of Argyll should send them a ship with powder and lead, for the which they shall thankfully pay. This most friendly they crave of him for the friendship that has been afore betwixt their predecessors. This letter I saw and heard read.

Angus MacConnell is busy to have a thousand men conveyed to the Earl of Tyrone and they to be young men ; [he] minds to convoy them in perfect manner, 30 in company, 40 in company, the most number not to exceed a hundred in company. The Earl minds to be diligent against you in these long nights and makes his vantage thereof. He has new passed forward to the pursuit of your forces and to take your lands. [He] minds never to enter in battle against your forces ; will make his vantage by skirmishing and onsetting where vantage may be had.

James VI.
[c. 1595.]

Because there is a mean used to make contention betwixt Angus MacConnell's bastard son, who is eldest and a man of age and perfection, and his lawful sons who are but young "childer," the said Angus's second lawful eldest son named Angus who remained and six hundred men with him with the Earl has now left the Earl and is "in" coming home. You shall hear of "ane gyding" betwixt that "bairntym" gotten by a cruel "mvotherar [? mother]." *Undated.*

1 p. *In the handwriting of John Auchinross. Endorsed: "Newis from Scotland," and in another hand: "Occurrents sent to George Nicolson."*

[c. 1595.] **98. THE ESTABLISHING OF CATHOLICISM IN SCOTLAND.**

In wishing to induce the King of Scotland to declare himself a Catholic, or at least to make the conditions of Catholics in that realm better, every other way seems to me preferable to that of force and arms.

For this reducing him to the necessity of drawing himself closer to the heretics, his subjects, for defence and of recommending himself to the Queen of England, and therefore of persecuting all the Catholics in his realm and without, is a work wholly opposed to the above-mentioned intention.

Furthermore if our lord wished to attempt it neither the quantity, nor the readiness nor the nearness of his forces would warrant undertaking an enterprise of such difficulty. Nor could his Holiness by chance put together sufficient money for his needs. And if he thought in that to avail himself of the help and alliance of Spain, however powerful that might be, it would be equally slow and in many respects difficult and the very thing to raise up a much greater number of heretics in favour of the King of Scotland, inasmuch as the barons of the said realm, and not only those of them who are confirmed heretics, but even the indifferent and those, who at every slight breath of prosperity in Catholic affairs might be expected to appear as most Catholic [*in margin: or of Spain*] [would join him?]* and in the end it would force the Queen of England, the King of Denmark and the States of Holland to move in his defence, and so great a power has jealousy of one's own greatness and fear of another's that I do not know that the King of France and other more distant princes, though good Catholics, would stand aside.

Nor could reliance be placed upon the Catholics themselves, for the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Crawford, Morton, Cassillis, Sutherland and Caithness, the Barons of Home, Seton, Saccar [*sic? Sanquhar*], Herries, Livingstone, Fleming, Sempill and Gray (?) [*in margin: of the kingdom*], although they are entirely Catholic, also attend the sermons and religious exercises of the heretics, whence by the true Catholics they are commonly called lukewarm and in a word not only will they never take arms against the King, but depend upon his absolute will.

The Earls of Angus, of Errol and of Huntly remain who are truly and openly most Catholic: but of these, the first, although he is the principal lord of all Scotland, is at present in such disgrace with the King for having given welcome to the Earl of Bothwell, that, exiled and despoiled of all

* The verb has been omitted from this sentence.

James VI.

[c. 1595.] his estate and of everything else, he lives in extreme misery, nor does it seem to me that there can be any hope of his restitution.

Of the other two, although one is hereditary Constable of the realm and the other cousin and brother-in-law of the King, yet they also are exiles. But supposing they were restored as without doubt they will be, being only two, they would be of but little service in a matter of this kind.

The most direct way therefore would be that of gentleness and diplomacy guided by judgment and dexterity, in which the King's good disposition, most manifest by many signs, towards the Catholics would help greatly.

In the first place where simply by lending his consent he could have extirpated all the Catholics from his realm, he was not willing to do so, nay rather not only does he tolerate them continually, which he does not do with any sort of heretics save his own, but sees them and willingly hears them talk of the matters of their religion.

It has never been permitted with his will that any rigorous proceedings should be taken against them. Both the Bishop of Dunblane and Colonel Sempill and Fathers Oth (?) and Morton, Jesuits, and divers other Catholics, who have at various times been imprisoned from their exile onward have not suffered any other sort of vexation.

Still more he shows confidence in Catholics retaining in the offices of Lord President, of Master of the Household (*maggior domo*), of Captain of the Guard, in certain positions in the Chamber and other offices of the Court and of the realm persons either of the Catholic faith, or as above lukewarm adherents, and allows the Queen, who is a Lutheran and far removed from Calvinism to do the same in regard to the ladies and gentlemen of her household.

And the Duke of Lennox too was declared by him nearest to the Crown and his lieutenant general, although Lord Hamilton, a heretic, had the better right.

He conceded to the Earl of Huntly, while he resided in the royal palace, that he might have mass celebrated, albeit with closed doors, in his own apartments with the attendance of any he pleased and for the most part the Duke of Lennox himself was present, his wife's brother. She too is a most Catholic lady, to whom and to the wife of the Earl of Errol, notwithstanding their husbands' banishment and the vigorous opposition of the ministers was granted the enjoyment of all their goods and revenues; further more with the husbands themselves despite their contumacy, he has used and uses much kindness and has shown his intention of recalling them to their country in a short time and of causing the ministers to cease from persecuting them.

Towards these ministers the King has much ill will although like a good statesman he continually dissimulates it on account of the great devotion of the people towards them, but more because of the encouragement they receive from the Queen of England, whose protection renders them so insolent and arrogant that from being the men of low estate which they were, they have had the audacity to seize the reins of government, tyrannising almost over the King himself, who cannot easily show resentment at this, as a resident ambassador of the said Queen is perpetually at his side and he is surrounded on all hands by persons in her pay, to the

James VI.
[c. 1595.]

end that they may penetrate the thoughts and hinder the workings contrary to her service.

But without the above mentioned conjectures the interests and reasons of state are sufficient to persuade others that adhesion to the Catholic party will be for the King of Scotland's good.

[*In margin* : Reasons of State.] It is a matter of no doubt that he, being by common consent the most legitimate claimant and the nearest successor to the Crown of England, must contrive to strengthen himself ; so that whenever the Queen should die he shall not be in a position to lose an occasion of such importance through weakness.

He could not attain that by means of the heretics of his state, who are almost all of the people and unarmed and of a sect so opposed to those of England that they would more willingly submit to the Catholics themselves.

Of the others abroad, as the Dutch and the people of Denmark, it will not be possible to premise much, precisely on account of the diversity of sects ; and much less of the King of France, for now that he has become a Catholic he would not favour heretics unless it were against the King of Spain for reasons of state.

So that all his power is concentrated in the nobility of the realm, the greater and better part of which is, either manifestly Catholic or inclined to the Catholics ; but all with one accord full of hatred and ill-will towards the ministers, in such a way that, should the favour they have from the Queen of England cease through her death, if the King of Scotland were to resolve to remove them, and declare himself a Catholic, all his principal barons would be for him with as many vassals as they have, who whatever their religious views may be, are nevertheless in accordance with the custom of the country very much under the control of their lords and very faithful to them.

In addition, under such circumstances he would have the arm (*braccio*) and support of those Catholics who are in England, who are numerous in quantity, and in quality very fervent.

Nor could he be other* than hostile to the heretics of that Realm ; since their ministers were the source of his mother's imprisonment against the pledged word of the Queen of England and finally her death, which she suffered always most constant in the Religion ; nay rather the ministers themselves are always from hour to hour most inimical to him, fearing the just vengeance which he ought to bring down upon them.

Finally he holds (according to what persons who have spoken with the King himself say) the firm opinion, that the King of Spain has no more cherished idea than to weaken his rights to England by substituting himself and his daughter the Infanta with respect to that claim. And the King of Scotland professes to know many and various devices used by the Catholic King to that end, and among others, that he has already sent Hugh Ven an Englishman to Rome to induce, with the aid of Cardinal Allen, Pope Sixtus to declare him excommunicate, thus hoping to see him not only ineligible for the succession in England but to dishabilitate him also in Scotland itself ; thereafter, as in a realm conceded by the Holy See to the occupants seeking to possess himself of some port, and thence to penetrate into England, which will be impossible for him to do by another way.

* *fare di*—apparently from the sense for *fare a meno di*.

James VI.

[c. 1595.]

For these considerations he has so much fear of excommunication, that he will always take great account of the supreme Pontiff. These then among the many means that could be employed to win him over would seem to me neither the last nor the worst.

There are the two above mentioned Earls of Huntly and Errol, who it is confidently maintained, are to be recalled to the Court and the first through the affection which the King bears him is to have there, as he was wont, the greatest authority.

Then there is the Duke of Lennox above mentioned, loved and greatly esteemed by his Majesty, but above all the Lord President of Session, Alexander Seaton, a man of great spirit and of equal learning and experience, reputed in the country to be an excellent Catholic although he still seeks to inculcate the belief that he is indifferent. But the adornment of sound learning acquired by him at Rome, and the degree of Doctor at Bologna with the obligation, which binds him to the holy memory of Gregory XIII, who kept him at the University with the provision of ten ducats a month, and the remembrance of the conversation of the Italians (?) have sown in him seeds of perfect religion which (as far as one can advance by a very safe path) he still has the greatest desire to cause to bud and flower in Scotland and is only waiting for the opportunity.

By their intervention tolerance for Catholics might be procured in that realm and freedom of conscience, which would not perchance be difficult to obtain with licence at least in secret for all the Catholic religious exercises, especially if some offer of emolument in money were perhaps made to the King, as for instance of 10,000 or 12,000 *scudi* per annum or of some other benefit of service or of security in his affairs.

Furthermore the Earl of Huntly affirms that he knows from the King's own mouth that his Majesty would hold dear any pretext, even as it were of some threat of admonition or of something similar, so that under the cloak of hope or fear he might make the multitude of Catholics in the realm act as a counterpoise to the number and power of the heretics in his state, and at the same time to bring about the suppression of the insolence of the ministers; furthermore, he would even of his own free will resolve upon such a course by reason of his particular inclination towards our Religion.

That being obtained, it would be necessary by the industry of good priests and other convenient persons to watch continually that the number of Catholics already large might step by step be brought to a better state in respect of their affairs.

In which matter at present progress is made with so little zeal that in the whole of Scotland [not] more than four or five priests are to be found.

Nor can any be sent there from the Scottish College, which was founded in Lorraine and now after many transmigrations has found refuge at Louvain, for that place, because of its great poverty, has not the means of sustenance for more than seven or eight students.

Formerly the liberality of Gregory XIII was wont to grant a sufficient provision, which was not continued to them under his successor; if over and above some aid from the Catholic King it had not been for the great charity of Father Crichton a Scot, to whom in very truth all praise is due, it would not even have been possible to maintain it in the state wherein it

James VI.

[c. 1595.]

is at present. Wherefore it would be an excellent work to provide it with some revenue and that perchance could be conveniently done by dividing the burden of some pension among the divers very rich abbacies of those countries, or perchance with the voluntary consent won by gentle means from the present abbots or when they happened to fall vacant and the elect came for confirmation.

The English Colleges of Rome and Douai might also have many pupils to send into Scotland since one may go there and practise safely, nor are there the risks of tortures and most terrible deaths which one runs in England, where to-day there is a little more need of them.

But Father Gordon would be the best instrument of all for that, as one who, being most learned and of most exemplary life, is much loved and revered by the good and as much feared by the others through being the uncle of the above-mentioned Earl of Huntly, a man of spirit and vigilant, whose estates far from the Court, difficult in situation and with mayhap 10,000 vassals, cause him to lord it with great security and authority.

This kinship affords to the said father access and reputation among the barons of the realm, but is truly the source of as much harm to him in temporal business and the affairs of state, in which through his simplicity he is just as insufficient as he is most apt in spiritual matters, both for the confirmation and perfection of zeal in the leaders, and for winning over others from day to day.

And among the others he might make the great acquisition of the Earl of Mar, his nephew's brother-in-law and keeper by hereditary right of the castle of Stirling, where all the princes of Scotland are brought up, and guardian of the present Prince, and even he too might be won over easily in a short time with the example and teaching of his governor, whose wife is very well affected towards the Catholic Religion and the husband is not more inclined to one than to the other.

Then there is in the King, who although reared from his childhood in Calvinism has nevertheless never shown great fervour towards that sect, nay rather disagrees upon very many articles with the Calvinists, being a man of learning and particularly in theology, a capacity for reason and judgment able to discern the truth; wherefore if well affected persons of well ordered learning were to have credit and free access to enter into discussion with him there would be hope by the grace of our Lord God of much fruit within no long time, and perchance it would not be out of place to send a person of the above mentioned qualities on purpose to Scotland under colour of a desire to negotiate the above mentioned toleration and freedom of conscience and a mandate threatening the King with the excommunication mentioned above; which would serve him with the ministers as pretext for wishing to make concessions no less for his own interest than for the satisfaction of our lord by some condescension to the Catholics; and such a one should have a secret commission to move privily with the King the matter of his conversion, in which he would be helped by the above mentioned lords and specially by the Earl of Huntly who is a personage apt to cause such a one not only to have inviolable safety, but every sort of honour out of respect for his religion.

But the same effect might be wrought still more conveniently and

James VI.

[c. 1595.]

with greater safety by making the person appear here as though sent by the Duke of Lorraine, who as a kinsman is wont to visit the King from time to time, and exchange complimentary discourses with him and cause him under cover of some likely and open office to treat secretly of this point, for neither by the Jesuits, whom the King trusts but little holding them for suspect and dependent on the King of Spain, nor by others could it be by chance more discreetly negotiated nor with greater satisfaction to his Majesty. With regard to these Jesuits it would be an excellent thing as well in Scotland as in England if they were to refrain from meddling in affairs of State and in the concerns of princes, and attend solely to the winning of souls and the advancement of religion ; for applied to but one task they might perchance execute it with greater fruit and an end being made of the suspicion entertained of them in those parts, that ever under cloak of spiritual piety they cover other temporal aims, they would find more credence and would be held in due veneration, and in respect of that it must be admitted that between the said Jesuits and the pupils of the English Colleges there is raging a dispute fraught with much danger for that realm and for this of Scotland likewise.

Here the Jesuits by an acknowledged principle established among them and confirmed by the authority of Father Parsons hold that only by way of conquest won by arms could the Catholic Religion be restored in its former state ; seeing that the ecclesiastical goods and revenues divided among the heretics and having passed from hand to hand, could not be recovered by any other means, and for such an end they conclude no arms are fitted but those of Spain ; and such is the opinion impressed by their superiors upon as many as leave Rome to go to those parts.

On the other hand the above mentioned pupils naturally well disposed towards their native land and hostile to the innovations and inconveniences which the said foreigners would bring with them and to the laws of Spain and in favour of the King of Scotland, in that he has better right to the succession in England than Arabella or any other natural claimant of the throne, and desirous of the union of those two states, whereby an end would be made of expense and jealousies between them and under a single king they would enjoy the blessing of a happy life, constantly encourage all their kinsfolk by various means, inspiring them with the hope of glory and the profit of their native land.

Thence springs a tare (*zizania*) of bad example and worse consequence, against which provision can only be made by forbidding all such machinations constituting, if it seemed good, a head of the Jesuits in England, who should be a person of gravity and sincere intention and depending directly upon our lord, and he might withdraw to the confines of Scotland, where is a safe abode ; and this would certainly be a most useful expedient.

Another cause of discontent among the same pupils is that since the death of Cardinal Allen, the faculties have not been conferred on them any more by the Cardinal Protector, as he does on the Jesuits, and they desire that their Rector may have authority to confer them upon those who are going to England, which would not be the cause of any but very good results. And since we have passed from Scotland to England, and the affairs of those two realms are so closely linked together, I will suffer myself to be carried away by my boundless desire for the prosperity of

James VI.

[c. 1595.]

the Catholics of those parts and by my no less devotion towards his Holiness together with my debt of most humble service to lay before the consideration of your most illustrious lordship a thought which with time (even if we could not win over the Queen herself) might at least cause the Religion to advance so much in that state that not only the Catholics would grow in number, but many of the heretics themselves might be led to the good faith.

Whoever then by means of the King of France, a most efficacious instrument with the Queen of England, were to contrive to persuade her to cause so vigorous a persecution of the Catholics to cease and by the example of so many other sovereigns who tolerate different sects in their dominions to concede them a dwelling within her states with freedom of conscience and to suffer them to live in Catholic fashion within their homes, provided that they did not perform their religious exercises publicly perchance with the reasons to be touched upon hereafter as it were by choice, and by the use of many better ones which might be alleged, might be able lightly to lead her to agree thereunto.

Above all many of her Catholic rebels now in Flanders and elsewhere so unwillingly attach themselves to any plan however desperate on account of the state of necessity in respect of all things wherein they are kept by the promises of salaries which are scarcely ever paid them through the duplicity of the King of Spain's ministers, that there is no doubt, if they could return safely to their native land with a general pardon of all that is past, they would be very ready and willing, and passing the rest of their life there in peace would be bound to her by the strongest ties and be most loyal subjects.

In this manner the Catholic King would be robbed of so many means of penetrating all the Queen's secrets, the times, ways and places, where he could most readily injure her, and she would be freed from a thousand dangers and as many continual suspicions of insults and treachery, and moreover from infinite expense, which she is bound to incur for the safety of her state which is beyond measure coveted by the King of Spain, as she knows very well and has perceived by more than one proof.

Once assured of safety within her realm it would be very easy for her to defend herself against foreign forces, distant and therefore slow, and without doubt isolated, for she would find great power and good armies and everything ready and be always able to hope for help from other princes, which on account of jealousy of the greatness of Spain would never fail her especially as the above mentioned clemency towards the Catholics would render it lawful to aid her.

Nor will I even leave on one side the proposal, if it seem to the purpose, to make the resolve, as above, of showing her the intention of removing from that realm at least for some time the Jesuits, as those who are most vexatious to her and in the highest degree suspect, and also to think of securing her more perfectly against her rebellious subjects returned to their native land and of laying heavy penalties upon them, even of papal excommunication, if ever they should have the temerity to attempt aught against the Crown, or even to intermeddle with matters appertaining to the state and life of the commonwealth.

By such a way besides the daily winning of souls, the winning, multi-

James VI.

[c. 1595.] plication and increase of Catholics in that realm, whenever the case of the Queen's death may arise, it would render easier the accession of the King of Scotland, then perchance by divine favour a declared Catholic or at least brought through necessity, for the considerations mentioned above, to adhere more to the Catholics than to the heretics.

And in conclusion one day such great good might come of it, as neither by arms nor by any other violent means is to be hoped at any time, which may it please the Lord God to befall very soon for the glory and exaltation of his most holy faith, etc. *Unsigned.*

20 pp. *Italian. No endorsement.*

[?1595 or 1596.] **99. SECRET ADVICES.**

"That thair shuld discend in Irland sax thousande Spanizerdis, tuay Irysche gentilmen quha hes procurit the same ar to pas thurch this cuntry in semple veid. Thair is ane ambassadeur to go from Spain to Scotland. Father Haulte shuld have the distribution of sum tuay or thre hundrethe thousand crounis to be gifin to seminerie prestis and Jesuitis to be gifin amongis the papistis in this cuntry. The Pap vil gif no mony in Scotland ontil he have farder assurans of the King nor he hes haid hirtfor, albeit thair be redy thretty thousand crounis and four and twenty thousand be zeir having only the Kingis gudvil that he opon not himself to the papistis the petition set down in vret of that they ar to demand of the King and his Counsel. They desyr Mester Villiaum Balentyn ambassadeur in my L. of Glaskoz his roun becaus of his age and rather becaus he is the gretest enemy baithe to the religion and the estait of Ingland this day living. Sik thingis as shal be doun at Rom I shall knaw at al tymes in the premise."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Probably in the handwriting of James Colvill of East Wemyss. No address or endorsement.*

[? 1596.] **100. MEMORANDUM.**

"Georg Cuningham in the west port of Edinburgh. His name shalbe Master Alexander Scott. My name shalbe Rychard Combs in London."

? *In handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil. Endorsed:* "Alexander Scott Maclane."

1595-6.* **101. PROCLAMATION FOR DEFENCE OF THE REALM.**

Jan. 2.

Printed in extenso in Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, v, 389-393. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii, 259.

Forasmuch as the ambitious pretence of the King of Spain is to make conquest of the crown and kingdom of England and for that cause he has appointed this next summer for perfecting that great purpose; the imminent peril of which moved the King of late not only by public proclamation to command his subjects to give a general muster upon 2 Feb. next but besides that by giving order and pulling out by the root the whole disordered deadly "feides" and bloody enmities within his realm, a barbarity whereunto this only country has ever been miserably subject as an abuse not known in any other civil country of the world, to the end

* This printed proclamation and the MS. copy have been incorrectly dated in Thorpe's *Calendar* 1597 and bound in vol. lx (Nos. 1 and 2) of the Scottish State Papers.

James VI.

1595-6. that having once his whole kingdom brought fully under his obedience they might be the more able to resist the common enemy.

But because the nature of all people is such, and especially of the people of this realm, that, although they apprehend once never so deeply any imminent danger, yet long intermission of time cools their heat, and therefore the King has been moved of new again to waken them up by this proclamation, commanding them that on the one side they omit no kind of preparations by musters or other ways, and on the other part that they render due reverence and obedience unto the law, postponing their base and barbarous particular quarrels to the public cause.

And because the King of Spain among his other politic devices for advancing his enterprise has oftentimes by his "supposts buddit and practiquit" divers of James's unruly Borders under pretext of old enmities betwixt the two neighbour realms to make open incursions upon their neighbour country, his will is that they pass and in his name and authority command and charge, first in general all his subjects, inhabitants of his Borders, not only to cease from all violence against the "exposite" Borders of England but farther to maintain and increase by their loving behaviour towards them that happy amity inviolably continued betwixt the two princes during the whole of both their reigns as the nearness of blood betwixt their two persons, the uniformity in the true religion, and the likeness in language and manners most justly require; and in special that they command the wardens and officers of his whole Marches fore-anent England to take diligent care that quietness and good neighbourhead with England may be kept. "Given under our signet and subscribed with our hand at Holyroodhouse, the second day of January, and of our reign the 29 year, 1596* [sic]."

Broadsheet, printed by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the King's Majesty, Anno 1596.

Manuscript copy of the foregoing. 2 pp.

Cott. Calig. D.
ii, fol. 200.

Another printed copy, dated "... day of Januare: and of our Raigne the 29 zeir, 1595."

Broadsheet, imperfect.

Jan. 7. **102.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [ROBERT BOWES].

My last of the 29 of the last showed the estate of things here as then they stood as also so much as then I knew concerning the book and wherein Mr. Robert Bruce has not yet learned more. Quin has given another book to his Majesty and is entertained in the King's service as I hear.

On New Year's day the Queen's Council gave the Queen 1000 fine pound pieces in a purse. She told the King of it and gave him 600 of them, "spering" the King when his Council would give him so much; and thereon commending her Council to his Majesty as fittest to guide also his affairs for his living and house charges. On Saturday the Comptroller [*in margin*: Seton papist] and Collector [*in margin*: Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, protestant] subscribed their dismissal and are out of their

* Calderwood prints "1595, (according to the new accompt, 1596)."

James VI.

1595-6.

particular offices, retaining only places of Councillors and no more. Sir Robert Melvill said then to Sir George Home that he wished also to be discharged, to whom Sir George said "Nay Sir Robert say not so, nor think that it is meant that you shall be discharged; for the good will between your son and me shall be an assurance that I shall do for you what I can." But Sir Robert said he saw it was meant that he should be discharged and that therefore he was also ready to give up his office at his Majesty's pleasure. The same day the Prior of Blantyre and Clerk Register were sworn on the Queen's Council. [*In margin*: Queen's Council: Prior of Pluscarden, Mr. John Lindsay, Mr. James Elphinstone, Mr. Thomas Hamilton.] And they (it was agreed) should have ordered the King's revenues and household affairs, and the offices aforesaid with other offices of Clerk, etc. under those offices to cease, and the King and Queen's Council aforesaid to order all, and for this purpose the King was to have given commission to them in as ample sort as the Queen had given to her Council. [*In margin*: On Monday last the King put all out of the Tolbooth saving these 4 and the 2 sworn to them and gave Sir Robert Melvill evil words and Mr. David Foulis, the Justice Clerk and Lord Secretary and all were put out.] But his Majesty finding thereby that he should be tied to many inconveniences and the Prior finding it needful that there should be as many of the King's Council in commission with the Queen as the Queen had, viz. 4, the King would have 2 more chosen to them 2; and the Prior of Pluscarden being President in the Sessions thinks not meet to be under Blantyre who is President of the Checker and but an ordinary Lord of the Sessions, his Majesty and they all are "plundged" how to order this matter, which he would gladly have done as a matter being well ordered very like to prove much to his profit. [*In margin*: Blantyre is partly sick.] And thus as I hear and conceive stands this matter.

On Saturday the laird of Johnstone was set at liberty upon bond to give in his pledges the 26th hereof for keeping good rule in the country and to England and to be answerable for anything to be laid to his charge. Yesternight the King gave him charge to keep his own quiet and good "neighbourhead" with England, and by word has given power to Johnstone to take and hang any he shall find "revenging" or stealing until such time as he know more of the King's pleasure. [*In margin*: which the laird will take as a warrant.] This day I wished the laird to advertise my Lord Scrope of such commission as he had and to concur with him, so far as he might for quietness of my Lord's office, which he said he would do, as also for better performance thereof get the King's warrant for speaking and meeting with my Lord therein. I see he finds his Majesty so free to have justice and good rule kept with England and he seems to me to be so inclined thereunto of himself, as I look he shall make the same known to my Lord Scrope at the least, if not also to the best, which I leave to the sequel. As to Sir John Carmichael he desires to be cleared of this suit which Enderwick has against him for Fenton to have the money which the King owes him, the houses of Lochmaben and others, Maxwell's inheritance, a band of men for 2 months and liberty to keep justice courts in sundry of those parts, which is the cause that he is not warden and which I do not see but will in the end bring that office to Johnstone. Herries and Drumlanrig are still in ward and I think shall be committed to other

James VI.

1595-6. places of ward ; for they refuse to give the like caution upon like conditions that Johnstone does.

On Monday the proclamation enclosed was proclaimed very solemnly with 3 Lyon heralds in their coats armour, 5 trumpets, and the cross very well covered with tapestry. The contents thereof to the view of itself. The King penned it himself and is at this present earnestly bent to please her Majesty and country in all things in hope of pleasure again in some matter I conceive.

My Lord Provost's going is only prolonged and deferred for some small time to see if you come or not ; for the King I hear accounts he has such matters to open as for preciousness of time I will not long delay the sending of some to her Highness. [*In margin* : The Provost is loth to go till you come and better weather, but the King will needs have him come ; so as if you be not dispatched he cannot be stayed I fear.] In the meantime his Majesty is, as you may see, making all preparations for the concurrency and agreeing together of his subjects the better to withstand the Spaniards, having on Friday agreed my Lord Seton and Ormiston [*in margin in another hand* : Justice Clerk, Lord Chief Justice], and purposing to agree all others. But the laird of Carden's sons having "bett" one of the King's officers coming to Stirling in the Master of Elphinstone's cause against them and torn his writings, the Lord Livingstone and others coming and complaining to the King, his Majesty is angry thereat and at my Lord of Mar also, who has written his excuse. What this will breed I know not, but the King intends that no cause shall hinder his purpose of agreeing or taking up of feuds to the hindrance of concurrency against the Spaniards.

My Lord Hamilton is victualling Dumbarton to resist them and 7 (the Lord John Hamilton) looks for return of answer in his suit long ago presented and known to you.

Upon the putting off of the day of law for David Forster's slaughter, as I certified your worship, the ministers of that presbytery being earnest to have justice done therein and conceiving that justice was by that putting off of that day illuded at the least, have entered into the form of excommunication. Whereon the King convened some of the ministers here and caused them to write, as himself did also, to stay the same and not to proceed further therein until they have advice of this presbytery.

Yesterday one of my L. Borthwick's "brether" standing in John Harlawe's booth and some controversy arising between John and James Richinson, old enemies and sadlers both, and my Lord's brother being hurt, my Lord hearing of it came in great anger and thereon a craftsman was hurt. Whereon there was an uproar of the crafts who sought to have invaded the house where my Lord was, casting stones at the "shottes" and windows, insomuch as the Provost and 2 of the bailiffs came to stay the uproar and to try the matter, and finding the people in uproar against Borthwick my Lord Provost and bailiffs prayed and charged them to be quiet and to "scale" themselves and depart everyone to their own house, my Lord Provost assuring them he would be answerable that they should have justice, and so with much ado got them something drawn back ; which done my Lord Provost brought down my Lord Borthwick, who was no sooner in the street but the tumultuous people with swords and halberts offered to assault him. Whereon the Provost willed Borthwick to shift for

James VI.

1595-6.

himself, who thereon got away [*in margin* : into George Todrigg's house where he was quiet and unknown] and the Provost with his servants very stoutly presented themselves to the people with weapon to weapon withstanding them, and so by great courage and wisdom saved Borthwick and by little and little without any hurt pacified all. This day my Lord Borthwick showed himself in the streets and has given caution to answer all. If the King's good order had not barred pistols but that they had been in use this town had been in such blood as was never seen. For I have seen many stirs here but non like this. The King is angry at the tumult of the people, their disobedience and their assault made on the Provost and bailiffs, but what order he will take therewith I know not.

Cessford and Buccleuch are entered into great displeasure, as I hear, either preparing to annoy others, because that Buccleuch protects the Trunballs against Cessford. What other cause there is between them or what will come of it I cannot tell ; but they want the Chancellor to agree them, who longer time kept them friends than was looked was possible. Edinburgh, 7 January 1595. *Signed* : Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—The King of late has very often both openly and privately condemned all practisers against her Majesty, viz. the King of Spain and others, and protested in most solemn and earnest manner that he would not so much as wish or think her Majesty's hurt to advance him to that crown for all the honours and wealth in the world, swearing he would so far as he might party her against all her adversaries.

The ministers have mightily inveighed in pulpit against the writer of the book, calling him thief and traitor to both sovereigns and countries, and do deeply accuse the King of Spain for having such intention for the crown of England ; praying most earnestly for her Majesty and as would do you good to hear. So as this book does good here.

This day I understand by M. (Roger Aston) (for whose letters I have stayed these 2 days and who now cannot write) that the Prior of Blantyre is so laid on with the King to enter into dealings with the Queen's Council as he is content. Otherwise the King would have accounted him the hinderer of his profit. So as Colluthy and Mr. Peter Younge are to be joined with the Prior and Clerk Register to the Queen's Council and all to be joined in one and called not by the name of Queen's Councillors but Lords of the Exchequer. Even now Sir George is sent by the King to the Comptroller and Collector to will them to come down and show themselves contented with their discharge or to command them out of the town. This new joined Council of these 8 the Prior would have to be agreed by the 3 Estates but the President would only have the King's hand therein. So as till further order this matter will hang thus. M. (Roger Aston) says further 70 (Cessford) has been privately with B. (the King) and other gentlemen have been examined about 69 (Buccleuch) who 4 (the King) bearing evil will at 69 (Buccleuch) intends to charge to have dealings for 15 (Bothwell) and for that cause put at him, and has appointed him to be here on Sunday and 70 (Cessford) on Thursday. So as new troubles is [*sic*] arising. Thus much from M. (Mr. Aston) who commends him to you and prays pardon that now he cannot write. Surely he is very honest.

4 pp. *Holograph*. No address or endorsement. Names in cipher deciphered.

James VI.

1595-6. 103. [JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

[Jan.] 7.

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 189.The 7 of December [*sic*] 1595.

The King's Majesty yesterday put out a proclamation declaring his sincerity to religion and amity, all penned by himself and marvellously well done, which is one of these days to be printed.

This late seditious book made in favour of Spain has exasperated his Majesty not a little. He still holds forward straitly against all horners and is to compound all deadly feuds as in my former is mentioned.

This week pledges is [*sic*] to be taken of Maxwell, Drumlanrig [and] Johnstone for keeping good order and a warden to be nominated which I think shall be Carmichael.

Her Majesty on New Year day presented to his Majesty a purse of gold. His Majesty demanded how she had it. Her answer was that her Council (viz. the President, Messrs. John Lindsay, James Elphinstone and Thomas Hamilton) had preserved so much of her living to that use. Whereupon he much commended their managing and immediately commanded his Collector and Comptroller to "dimit" their offices, admitting the four foresaid to his Council, laying the administration of the said offices on them. And so they four shall have other four of his Majesty's conjoined with them (viz. Blantyre, Clerk Register, Colluthy and Mr. Peter Young), by whom all shall be governed. But some question is among them who shall be President of the Council, for the President of the Session thinks during vacance of the office of Chancellery that collection of votes and convocation of Council and proponing of matters there is due to him. Again Blantyre, Lord Privy Seal, thinks he should supply the vacance of the Broad Seal. But his Majesty will easily compone this.

By the beating of a pursuivant at Stirling by some of Carden's children his Majesty is much moved against the actors and thinks Mar offended in not apprehending them. But Mar I hope shall dutifully discharge himself. Thus I beseech the Lord preserve you.

The Provost of Edinburgh we think now shall undoubtedly come up, for his apparel is already made. His errand I can but guess at, trusting you shall hear thereof more by others. *Unsigned.*

2 pp. In John Colville's handwriting, also address: "S." Endorsed by Bowes: "Mr. John Colvill, 7 Decembr' [*sic*], Char' 15 Januarii, 1595."

Jan. 11. 104. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Thursday last in the afternoon one Ballyard, skipper of a ship of Hugh Browne's, coming from Bordeaux with wines, very honestly brought up and presented to the magistrates of this town an Irishman, who Mr. Butler had willed should be delivered to her Majesty's ships and for which Baillard should have had 5*l.* as he says and which he meant to have done if the extremity of the weather had not prevented him. This Irish at the first said he was a gardener and come only out of France; yet after confessed that he was a priest and come from Rome but denies to speak English, Italian, French or Spanish but only Irish and evil Latin. He had the rudiments of grammar written by Disputarius printed here, in the

James VI.

1595-6. cover whereof is found (no doubt only by God's providence) a letter to Tyrone, to the primate bishop of Ireland and another, I cannot yet learn to whom, and in his foul "shartes and trash" was other letters, and yet he denies that he knew either of the letters in the book covering or of the other, saying that if he had known of them he would not have taken or brought them. But as to the bulls and other things sent from Rome, whereof he has great store, he accounts them of no other moment than confirmations and grants of places and benefices in Ireland. He says he had the book and letters unknown to him in the cover of the book of 2 Irishmen who came out of Rome and in by Spain and who directed him to bring these things through Scotland to Ireland to them, saying they would pass as merchants through England. And then he pleads simplicity, standing to nothing but that he is a Catholic.

On Friday the King after he had in the Council chosen and sworn the President, Mr. John Lindsay, Mr. James Elphinstone, Mr. Thomas Hamilton, the Clerk Register, Colluthy and Mr. Peter Younge, undertaking himself for Blantyre who was sick and not there, subscribed their large commission for ordering of his whole living. Whereupon he was very merry, saying he would no more use Chancellor or other great men in those his causes but such as he might convict and were hangable; and nothing being permitted unto Sir Robert Melvill to do without the hands of 5 of the 8, which Sir Robert withstood as a matter that would be "fasshous" to him and all men to get at all needful occasions, until the President said that it would not be so for there should, he said, be ever so many in the town for these causes and that the King had ended other turns in Council, as the matter between the parson of Crawford and Thomas Foulis anent the mines in Crawford, and protested that he would no longer have his country and himself misused through trust in others, meaning the late Chancellor, but from henceforth amend those faults. After he had, I say, these things in Council he withdrew himself to his cabinet with only Mr. Robert Bruce, the Provost and Sir George and so called in the Irishman and examined him a little, breaking open the letters as I hear and keeping them secret to himself. But before he went to examine the Irishman I moved Sir George to move his Majesty that the letters concerning only her Majesty might be sent with speed to her Highness that no preventions might come by delay. He liked my motion, yet nothing coming thereof I moved him yesterday morn again, whereon he assured me his Majesty would use diligence in this matter. Yet I deferred still writing hereof in hope that Mr. Aston (gone on Thursday to Linlithgow and being to return, as he did, yesternight) might persuade the King to give the letters to me to send post, which I moved Mr. Aston to do and which this morning he told me he had done and gotten answer of the King that by the letters credit was referred to this Irishman and that the King would therefore "boote" and examine him fully and thereon send all with diligence. And Mr. Aston told me also that the King had commanded him to write something, for which he writes these letters herewith apparently. Always it seems to me that his Majesty reserves these things to furnish his Ambassador with more acceptable matter to her Majesty [*in margin* : the King keeps all secret to prevent fore advertisements as was wont of his Ambassador's errands], who (I must be plain, suppose I must beg secrecy)

James VI.

1595-6. the King thinks does either not trust or "lightly" [belittles] him, that at these dangerous times her Majesty does not communicate advertisements and intelligence with him of the advertisements she has of the enemy's intention, blaming hard and wrong informations of him as the cause thereof and protesting that his actions shall make all such advertisers liars; as also that suppose he agree to hear and know the devices of the enemy, yet he shall never consent to them nor change his religion and do as the French King has done to gain any kingdom or save his own or yet his own life. And thus much and more he has protested and sworn and given his hand upon to such as are honest and now dare swear for him and wish that he should not now when he is in this sound course be so neglected (as they term it) as he is. But these and other things now in hand are so great and far above my capacity as I would not be depended on for giving any light sufficient in so great causes.

Here is speech that Gilbert Lambe is come to London and has discovered all to her Majesty, which is true or else Gilbert has used a wile; for being in consort of ships of this nation's he said he was to do so.

Here is whispering speeches that Errol and Huntly are come home and Ledington also. But no certainty hereof.

Filius (Mr. John Archbald) assures me and bids you trust that Placed (Tyrone) and them of that side are giving gifts and getting friends for a greater stir to 25 (Ireland) than yet they have made.

69 (Buccleuch) is quiet here; yet I think shall to-morrow come abroad as he was written for. 70 (Cessford) is to be here as I wrote. What matters will break out among them I cannot tell. But 5 (the Queen) will be loth to see anything but good there.

The Queen apparently is with child. Edinburgh, 11 January 1595.
Signed: Geo. Nicolson.

2½ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes*: "Edenbr' xj° Januarii, Rychmonde xix° ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

Jan. 12. **105. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

You shall understand that upon Thursday the 8th instant here arrived certain ships out of France. Amongst the rest there was one of Anstroder [*sic*? Amsterdam] who had in his ship an Irishman as a passenger, who gave himself out as a scholar but the master of the ship being made acquainted with the conditions of the man at his embarking seemed to "mesknoo" all till his landing, at which time the said master dilated the matter to Mr. David Lindsay, who presently apprehended the man and presented him in sure keeping. The next day he was examined by the King himself in presence of Mr. Robert Bruce and the Provost of Edinburgh. It appears by his letters and commission that he is sent from some Ireland men that are in Rome and Spain. His chief letters he conveyed very cunningly and that in a covering of a book of parchment, which was through many hands and yet could not find out that secret till the book being of no account was given to a bairn, for it was a grammar. Being passed through sundry hands one perceives the covering to be very thick; sought further and there found the chief letters which, so far as I can learn and as the King himself has told me, are directed to the Earl of Tyrone and his adherents, willing

James VI.

1595-6. them to stand stiff at their purpose and they shall be assisted with all possible diligence and themselves will come with such aid as shall be sent to them. He has sundry bulls from the Pope to a bishop which they call primate of Ireland by these bulls. The Pope distributes many benefices in Ireland.

He has as yet confessed no further than that he had but the carrying of the letters given to him by two others that should have come through England but being afraid to carry the letters they delivered them to this man thinking this passage to be most safe. The others, as he says, are gone to England and are purposed to meet him in Ireland. If they have as great a stop in their passage as he has gotten in his they will not meet suddenly.

It appears this man has credit among them for he is commended to be the most sufficient that was sent this four year past. They make mention in their letters the last they sent did not his duty as was committed to his charge. This man is kept very strait. The King has said to me this day he shall be "hanled" [handled] with all severity and apprehends by all circumstances that he can declare many things which as yet he has not.

I moved the King to send away all his letters to her Majesty in respect it only concerned herself, which he has promised to do but first he would try further and thereafter to signify the whole to her Highness. This man comes from Rome. The chief cause of his taking at his embarking, there came an Englishman to the master of the ship and bade him deliver the same man in England as he passed along and he would be very well rewarded. The ship not coming near the coast and as the master himself says he thought the man might be as profitable to the King and thereupon gave him up. In these letters they style her Majesty the unlawful pretended queen.

There is great want of your being here in these matters of discovery. Her Majesty's service is greatly hindered that some one of credit should not be here in these perilous times.

You will find the King in another commandment than ever you saw him. Our lords of checker are now sworn and they have all the offices in their hands. Sir Robert enjoys the name but nothing to be "compeded" [? completed] without 5 of their hands.

The Queen is great with child and yet is not commonly known to many. Holyroodhouse, 12 January. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address*: "To my L. Embastour." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Halyrud, 12 Januarii, Richmond xix^o ejusdem, 1595."

Jan. 12. 106. [JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 191.

The 10th hereof the 8 mentioned in the other have accepted the commission of his Majesty's revenues and have given their oath thereupon. Comptroller and Collector shall be none hereafter and five shall be joined with Sir Robert Melvill to sign all gifts pertaining to his office; which in effect takes away from him the liberty of his said office.

His Majesty continues very earnest to compound all deadly feuds and to punish horners severely.

James VI.
1595-6.

The 10th also hereof an Ireland priest lately come home by sea was examined in his Majesty's cabinet, *presentibus* Mr. Robert Bruce, Sir George Hume and Provost of Edinburgh. His letters are taken which be all to the rebellious in Ireland, encouraging them and assuring them of sudden relief, but these be kept to furnish the Ambassador which is to come thither for his better credit.

There is also another Irishman here called Walter Quin, a fine scholar. He has presented at New Year day to his Majesty an oration touching his title which is well accepted and he placed at the Master [of the] Household's table and to be rewarded and kept. This oration is kept quiet, yet I had it about two hours and have extracted the substance thereof which shall be sent by my next.

But let good heed be taken that matters turn not back here again, for assuredly you have there some unnatural subjects that care not to hazard us if they may keep credit with q. (the King).

His Majesty thinks himself neglected in that no resident ambassador is here with whom he may keep intelligence and within this 8 days he has sundry times complained thereof.

Thus I commit S. (Bowes) to God's blessed protection. This 12 of January 1595. *Unsigned.*

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *In John Colvill's handwriting, also address: "To S." Endorsed by Bowes: "Mr. John Colvill, xij^o Januarii, Richmond xix^o ejusdem, 1595." Names in cipher deciphered.*

Jan. $\frac{15}{25}$.

107. ROBERT GODFREY TO THOMAS BELL.

"Brother Thomas, altho^t I haif not resavit any advertisement frome you of your resait of any of my letters sence the xixth of October, yet will I not pretermit the leist convenient occasione haiffing quhat to say. It sall than pleis you that sence my last letter of the xjth of this instant I have leirnit be sufficient advertisement that q^{lk} I nether will nor dar comit to this paper in respect of my incertaintie of the coming heiroy to yowr handes and of the regard (of deutie) I beare to the persone or persones quhome the pourpois doeth concerne, quhairin you must haif me excusit sence my perrell in this sould or rather micht be so gryt that hardlie sould I say the same being w^t yow, if it wer to go frome you to any wther [other]. You may judge to quhome I beare this respect for the matter. It concerneth the trouble of the guid caus of God, tho^t it haif ane better collorit mask. The man quhois letters I directit w^t my last paquet to yow wes apointed to haif gone in Turkie (Scotland) to Thomas (the King) be his auin procuring. He suld lykways haif haid the credit of sum breid (gold) *to sum of William (the King of Spain) his folkes,* quhilk wes to go thair. Bot his woyage is now in suspence throw the jelousie thay consave of his maners, so I think he sall not be imployit if E. (Errol) or Patersone (Father Crichton) be not the movers of the same. For he giffes him self haillele to E. (Errol) his patronage, and Patersone (Crichton) is his mothers oncle. Notw^tstanding he is estemit no meit poist to cary breid (gold). Pleis thair is ane Captaine Daniel Forester come fra Stevin (Bothwell) to Orkney (Brussels) this tuelft of January. Quhat he hath in comissione

* — * These words added in the margin.

James VI.
1595-6.

I am assurit to heir fra him self w^t the answer of my letter quhilk I haif sent to him fra this, quhairof as I heir sall mak yow lyk ways. Ramsay of quhome I wreit last to yow is not yit come. My brother, quhome I haif sent to RP (Huntly and Errol) fra this, doeth advertise me fra thair that he will bring me charge fra thaim to go in Ingland if I will hasard my self w^t comissione touardes of thair freindes. (As it cometh) yow sall aither heir fra me or sie mè, altho^t I wilbe loithe to be the instrument of the overthrow of any. Not that I will prefer the will or weill of any to the guid caus of God, as I hoip my labour sall gif sum lyttill prouff. Gibsone (Pury Ogleby) is suspect to be your freind amonges the people of RP (Huntly and Errol) and sall haif no credit moir than he hath haid. If my brother haid beine come bak fra RP (Huntly and Errol) I wald haif sent him w^t my letter to Mr. Haunger concerning that I dar not comit to this paper as I sall do w^t the first occasione efter his returne. I pray you do me the favour to let me heir fra you of the resait of my letters, quhairin you sall not do me small favor; quhilk expecting do leave you to Godes proteccione this xxv of January.

"If the auld ambassadeur of Turkie (Scotland) gif any letters at the Roiss and Tabert in Grace Church streit to be sent to me, you know quha may resave the same frome the M^r of the hous as if he wald send thaim to me. In meane tyme wisit the same for I have wrettin him ane letter quhilk I think sall move him to mak his address be me to the pairtes wnderstandes, always let the same thairefter come hither that thay may be deliverit quhairof you sall w^t the convenient occasione resave the answers and thairefter caus deliver the same. Thus repeting my comendations to your self and all our nichboores do comit you to God his cair. Coupar (Middleburgh) this 25 of January." *Signed*: "Your loving brother, Robert Godfrey."

1½ pp. *Holograph, the deciphered names and words in brackets being inserted by another (Bowes's ?) hand. Two seals. Addressed*: "To his werray loving brother Thomas Bel gif this present." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Robert Godfrey, Cowpar 25 Januarii novo stilo, Char' 26 ejusdem, 1595 antiquo."

Jan. 16. **108. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Where the King was resolved as I wrote to stay the sending of the Provost until such time as he might have certain word of your coming hither, and which the Provost still advises, I hear now the King distrusting your return or "any's els" from her Majesty, who he suspects does either "lightlye" [belittle] him or upon some hard and wrong information distrust him, and in which behalf I hear he wishes he might be plainly dealt with and charged that he might give contentment and satisfaction in any such doubts; he hears that his ambassador's errands should be aforehand in conceit known and his answer prepared and ready for him. But he smiles and partly frowns thereat, saying none but himself can tell what he will employ and instruct his ambassador in, and that he will hereafter as now provide that no foreknowledge shall be made to the "lighlyeng" of his own when they come, as he is persuaded has been heretofore. I say now the King is very earnest to hasten the ambassador's going and the rather

James VI.

1595-6.

because of the letters intercepted about the Irish causes, which at the furthest is to be sent with the ambassador, if not before, as is questionable. So as unless certain word come of your present journey and that by others than yourself, the Provost will but go home to dispose on his own affairs and thereafter return to receive his instructions and set forwards about the 1st of the next.

On Monday last the commission given to the 8 for ordering of the King's livings was proclaimed for a general knowledge and obedience of the King's pleasure therein. And now those 8 are reforming the inconveniences of needless charges in the King's house, ordering that none of the King's house shall have their ordinary diet there but in their quarter of waiting. Yet the King himself reserves Mr. Aston to be in ordinary, as well the quarters he is not tied to wait in as the quarter he serves in in his Majesty's chamber. And these lords are already dealing to make the King the just profit of his parks and others with avoidance of all needless fees. My Lord of Argyll is come to travail that he may not be charged with innovations or other duties for such things as he holds of the King than he answered before times, and sundry others are making friends for themselves in like cases. But this Council intend to hold hard to them all and to augment the King's living 100,000*l.* by year. There wants not malcontents enough that will say this is hard and not honourable for the King to interdict himself thus wholly to any Council. Yet they may do in those cases that which the King himself may not do without a great touch of honour as they term it. The ministers have moved and dealt that this commission and absolute power given to the 8 may not prejudice them or their authority and wherein they have good assurance and contentment.

The Master of Eglinton and Montgomeries should have been here yesterday and Glencairn to-morrow about the taking up of that "feade." But the Montgomeries have written their excuse, which the King will not allow of, but will have horning proceed against the Master for his not coming upon the King's charge, and will nevertheless supersede with him for 8 days that he and they in those 8 days may yet come. Upon refusal thereof the King will ride himself on them and take their houses and pursue them as horners, his rebels. And in this the King is very earnest because he thinks, if he pass over this his first order and suffer himself at the first to be disobeyed, he will find difficulties hereafter in others. Thus the King proceeds very constantly in those agreements for a general concurrence against the Spaniards who are taking up all the men they can in the Low Countries and increasing their navies to invade this Isle as is said here; as also that the King of France has dispatched Vele de Roy to Spain for agreement there, which the Low Countries are espied to be also desirous of, as is said here. The laird of Wemyss has had his boy at the King of France who is returned. But the laird is not come to the King since the boy came home but is to return shortly; whereon if there be any news I shall hear them. The King has himself willed the ministers to make a general fast before the musters for calling to God to assist them against the Spaniards and the miserable dearth here.

The laird of Buccleuch came not abroad but departed home on Sunday last sending his excuse to the King that he was at home and could not present himself to his Majesty until he were relaxed, which he said he

James VI.

1595-6. meant to get himself with all speed. Hereon the laird of Cessford is stayed also. I assure you there will be troubles between them ; for there is other matters then anent the Turnbells among them. [*In margin* : matters anent 5 (the Queen).] If Sir Robert Cary procure complaint to be made to his Majesty of Cessford's killing of Story I can do no more if I be directed but inform his Majesty and receive good answer. But in such a case my credit or perchance others can get little done, suppose the King direct never so well as he will ; for I still see these matters pass over.

The Earl of Mar is come hither with my Lord of Argyll to answer for the suffering as they charge him of the Forsters to escape when they hurt the King's officer. My Lord is Sheriff of Stirlingshire and therefore charged. But he was not guilty of their escape nor can be touched therewith. The Queen makes very much now on him indeed, as was plainly seen yesterday, for what cause I know not yet.

[*At foot of page* : The Countesses (of Huntly*) and Errol are returned to their wards for avoiding and preventing of troubles in the North. Enclosed I send you a note of French news.]

Here is still words of the Spaniards now that they are shipping horse and putting to the sea. That Fuente is drawn near with 30,000 † men for that purpose. And England will be now put at. And the Lord Hume has delivered a letter which Thomas Tyry has sent and containing advertisements that they are coming. And yesterday letters came to John Bogg, the King's porter, from a son of his with packets to some of Glasgow, etc., in them, which John Bogg gave to the King unopened that he might dispose of any matters therein concerning either King or Kirk. In them was a crucifix or like thing with a half piece of gold. The King is glad on them. Elphinstone the Jesuit is quietly returned with commission to his Majesty as I hear. And sundry other practisers are stolen in. Of all which the King I hear intends to inform her Majesty sincerely and truly and would have done it to you if you had been here, as other best devoted persons here would have advertised secrets which they dare not reveal to others. The King is angry and all men fearful at the return of advertisements hither. Yet the King knows not whom to charge therein, for if he knew he would and be even with them. You will find that some of this country beholden for favours in England, if they were thankful, are the greatest informers of his Majesty and imaginers of these suspicions the King has of the wrong advertisements he speaks on. These letters directed to Glasgow are apparently in my conceit for Ireland, which Fluor (Auchinross) says will stir again without all doubt. John Baillard came to me on Monday last telling me that at Newhaven (and not at Bordeaux as I wrote wrong last) the Irishman was commended to him by one Irshwilliam and sundry English priests there, that they requested him to set the priest safe on land quietly in Scotland and he should have 20 crowns ; that hereon he taking suspicion of the man and matter told John Butler of Newcastle of the matter and his suspicion ; that thereon John Butler dealt with him to deliver the priest to her Majesty's ships and promised they should give him 5*l.* for his pains, and for this purpose wrote a letter

* Inserted in another hand.

† The final 0 may be intended to be struck through.

James VI.

1595-6. to the rulers of her Majesty's ships, which letter the King also has. And at his coming hither very honestly he presented the priest and his things to the magistrates, as I wrote. The ministers seeing his honest dealing have moved the King to consider him, whereon the King has assigned him 100*l.* Scots ; yet, because the man took the priest with purpose to have delivered him to her Majesty's ships and that extremity of weather only prevented his purpose, he and others have moved that he may be considered for encouragement of him and others in like service. But I told them you were absent, I could say nothing thereunto. If the priest had had money (as he had none, whatever is become on that he had) the ministers meant he should have 5*l.* thereof. But since there is no money on him they wish the poor man to be otherwise holpen for this 5*l.* sterling ; which suppose I put over, yet I see not but you will be dealt with as you cannot deny it or some reward. Edinburgh, 16 January 1595. *Signed* : Geo: Nicolson.

Postscript.—Staying these for Mr. Aston's this day Dixon of Aberdeen, a traveller for Errol by sea, is taken with a Frenchman who has nothing found with him. But there is found on Dixon letters from Mr. James Lindsay and other practisers. The King was this day long with Mr. Robert Bruce and has so plainly dealt with him as Mr. Robert takes upon his conscience the King is free of all practice and wronged by wrong informations some way. He wishes that some were here D. (Bowes) to comfort and encourage him in his good meaning. Mr. Robert is the discoverer of all these practisers and has great intelligence. The King hears that the King of France is to send hither ; but he hears also that the French King honours and trusts Bothwell with a great charge ; which if he find true he will not then receive the French King's Ambassador. Some say that Bothwell is to be received in England and the King hears but trusts it not.

3 *pp.* *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' xvj^o Jan., Charing xxvj^o ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

Enclosure in the same.

The Pope's bull is newly come containing the absolving of the King with the apostolic blessing. By the same it is enjoined to his Majesty to cause instruct the petit Prince of Condé in the Roman religion and to cause build a monastery in every province of France, etc. Madame la Princesse de Condé is come to justify herself of the death of her late husband before the Court of Parliament. The reunion which is made of all the French prognosticates the peace with the Spaniard, for Monsieur de Mercure speaking with the deputies of the King and the good hope of issue. Mons^r. le Conte de Soissons is retired to his own house malcontent. Mons^r. de Nevers is dead. Mons^r. de Guise is remaining master of the Provance, for the Sieur de Pernon is in the end come to reason, seeing himself abandoned with as many towns as captains of war.

De Sansie is to go to England, Du Villeroy to Spain, Monsieur le Grand in Italy, Cardinal Toled into Flanders. And I hear some is to come to Ter. (Scotland) but B. (the King) will not receive them if 15 (Bothwell) be advanced to commandment of 4000 as is said he is to be.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p.* *In Nicolson's handwriting, the deciphered words being inserted by another hand.*

James VI.

1595-6.

Jan. 17.

Printed in
Colville's
Letters, p. 192.**109.** [JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

All matters here now are directed by the 8 mentioned in my former, specially concerning his Majesty's revenues. Yet this breeds after our usual fashion discontentment, some nobles and former officers of estate thinking they are unkindly handled and some zealous again in religion suspect somewhat that the most part of the 8 be of doubtful religion, which is not unknown to you.

We think "werely" here that you shall be swallowed up this summer in so much as the preparation of the Spaniard is held to be out of doubt; that the French King and Philip will accord, and the Estates of Holland also will return to him. So they think you shall have no friendship but from hence, which they say shall be effectual with this proviso that for our present help we have a present certainty of our place and possibility and I think this shall be the principal point of the Provost's commission if he come up.

According to my promise in my last I have sent herewith a minute of the oration presented by Walter Quin the Irishman who is jealously looked on, because the matter touched jealous Avdin (her Majesty) highly and + (the Lord Treasurer) whom I so honour I could not keep it up, wishing great secrecy for there be some there that be unnatural to nuperrime (England) which would be well adverted unto. For there was never a time more dangerous to your "advertiserates" nor that carries more necessity to advertise. Alway Y (Mr. Colvill) had laid his count that no danger here nor coldness there shall alter his inalterable zeal to the quatuor (service) of Avdin (her Majesty).

The late apprehended Irish priest is not very straitly handled. Alway what can be tried out of him is deferred to be brought up with the Provost for his better furnishing and credit.

The same day the Lord Sanquhar upon an old acquaintance betwixt us came unto me regretting that whereas he being in France somewhat diseased was desirous for his health to have come home by England and could not have that favour, desiring me to try if any ill opinion was conceived of him there, offering honestly to purge himself if any such thing were and to be a good instrument both at home and abroad; willing me also to labour in respect he is yet to go for his health back to Italy that some warrant might be sent to Sir John Cary for his passport, and he doubted not to satisfy S (Mr. Bowes) in anything can be objected against him. Which request I could not refuse, wishing to know in humility her Majesty's pleasure herein. 17 January, 1595.

Postscript.—At the closing whereof I was informed that a ship was arrived from Flanders wherein was one Elphinstone, Jesuit, brother to one of the 8 Councillors; having with him commission both from the Pope and Philip to deal with his Majesty and offer conditions so he will concur against her Majesty and "Hugonots." How this message will be accepted I know not. In like manner two other Jesuits have written home to his Majesty persuading his grace "tymusly" to enter in friendship with Spain, and Thomas Tyrie to the Lord Home showing that the King's Majesty by example of the King of France must either renounce his kingdom or else be a Catholic; showing that the French King and King Philip

James VI.

1595-6. are to agree and that Villeroy with some others are to meet the commissioners of Spain in the frontiers for that same effect. Surely all your friends think the presence of an ambassador here more "nor" needful and the estate showing such appearance of you to resist the common enemy would not be discouraged by that defect. Specially his Majesty is much grieved with that matter. 17 January. *Unsigned.*

3 pp. *In John Colville's handwriting, also address: "To S." Endorsed by Bowes: "Mr. John Colvill xvij^o Januarii, Char' xxvj^o ejusdem, 1595." Names and words in cipher deciphered.*

Jan 18. **110. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

I have nothing to write of but only in my own particular turns. I doubt not but you have extended your credit for me and as I perceive by your letter to George that nothing is done, which I impute to my own misfortune and not to my own deserts or want of care in you, whereof I have had good proof. And yet it comforts me that you have gotten some relief to yourself from me. I shall abide time and no ways cease to do that which may advance her Majesty's service, hoping she will have consideration of him that will give his life for her. I pray you advise what you think fit that I do. I am of opinion my own presence were best. If you get nothing done I mean to come in Lent if I be not otherways advised by you.

I have delivered to your servant Kester Londesdal a cast of "fere" goshawks and a gerfalcon, all whole and sound. The goshawks are intermewed and one of them is "fibying," The gerfalcon is red and not "labored." One of the goshawks I send to yourself and the other to my "commer" your wife with my hearty commendations. All other things I leave to George with whom I have communicated at length. What is discovered by this last Frenchman and the Ireland priest who is not yet examined more than at the first and all other things you shall be advertised by our next.

It is here reported that the Earl Bothwell (Bodwel) is either come to England or coming. I do not believe it to be true. It is his favours that gives [*sic*] it out. I am assured her Majesty will not suffer him to come there for many respects.

The King is highly offended at Dolman's book in so much as the ministers speaks [*sic*] of it in pulpit, persuading the people that that book makes the Spaniard the lawful successor of England, which may be said their intent is nothing but conquest. The ministers and the King were never so great. The King takes great pains and there is a good beginning that he will be rich shortly. These new Checker men begins [*sic*] very sharp. There is nothing so much feared as the making of Mr. John Lindsay Chancellor. It is in head and very forward. If it be not crossed, no doubt it [will] work mischief. Holyroodhouse, 18 January. *Signed: Roger Aston.*

2 pp. *Holograph, also address: "To my L. Embastor." Endorsed by Bowes: "Hollyr' xviii^o Ja., Char' xxvj^o ejusdem, 1595."*

James VI.

1595-6.

111. OFFICE OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Jan. 19*
—26.

Add. MSS.
24, 275, fol. 1.
Printed in
extenso in
Register of the
Privy Council
of Scotland,
v, 254-257.

Appointment of Alexander, Lord Urquhart, President of the College of Justice, Walter Commendator of Blantyre, Lord Privy Seal, Mr. David Carnegie of Colluthie, Mr. John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir, Mr. James Elphingstowne of Innernochtie, Mr. Thomas Hammiltowne of Drumcairnie, Mr. John Skein, clerk of registry, senators of the College of Justice, and Mr. Peter Young of Seatowne, to administer the whole rents, maills, duties, farms, "cayns," customs, fishings, "coallheuchs," casualties and profits of his Majesty, collecting of the superplus of the thirds of the benefices and new augmentations by the annexation of the temporalty of the Kirk to the Crown. And this said letter to be further extended in most ample form with all clauses needful. At Holyroodhouse, the 19 day of January 1595.

3¼ pp.

The aforesaid commission being so granted the King gave particular instructions and injunctions to them, which for information is thought necessary here to adjoin.

First that the said lords shall convene for putting order to his Majesty's affairs in some special place appointed to that effect as oft as occasion shall require and at least twice in the week enduring the time of the sitting of the Lords of Session.

Item, they shall take exact trial of the present number and qualities of the persons who have the present charge of the intromission and inbringing of his Majesty's rents and patrimony and set down such a convenient number as may commodiously bring in the same to his Majesty's use so that a great part thereof be not exhausted by a superfluous number of unprofitable officers. And for that effect they shall erect and choose the meetest and most qualified persons and shall appoint such reasonable fees and allowances whereby his Majesty may be well and profitably served.

Item, they shall retrench the superfluous number of servants in his Majesty's house as well of gentlemen as of officers and servants in all degrees . . . and shall reduce his household to the estate of the time of such of his noble progenitors as have been governed, and if the present officers be honest and careful they shall continue so many of them as shall be thought fit and necessary, they finding sufficient caution for their honest service, and shall discharge their supernumerary and undue servants that are not necessary and shall modify to them honest fees and allowances and shall take such order anent the premises which they shall cause to be kept and observed in time coming.

Item, they shall see and provide that his Majesty's house be stocked and served with his own victuals, wheat . . . herring and other "cayns" and customs so far as the same may extend and that none of them be sold or otherways "disponed" until his Majesty's house be first sufficiently served. And the superplus of victuals or others foresaid if any shall be resting shall be sold to the utter avail and for such prices as the like stuff shall give in the sheriffdom where they lie. And the said Auditors of Exchequer shall do their exact diligence that all sorts of provisions

* So dated here but the commission is entered in the P.C. register under date 9th January.

James VI.

1595-6. requisite for his Majesty's house shall be timeously provided and laid in store that his Majesty may be well and easily stocked.

Item, for the more easy entertainment of the house they shall foresee how his Majesty's parks and forests may be plenished with all kind of store convenient for them before "beltown" next to come.

Item, that his Majesty's brewsters and other officers accustomed to furnish his house shall give as much bread, drink and other furnishing of his wheat, beer and other stuff whereof they have the holding as other provident subjects within the realm accustomed to receive the stuff being of equal goodness.

Item, that weekly once or twice one of the said lords shall sit upon the audit of the house and diet book, shall mark and control the expenses and shall repair the abuses and reform the same as shall be found contrary to the order set down anent the householding.

Item, that all pensions, rewards, fees and "gratitudes" proceeding from his Majesty's liberality to any of his servants or others his subjects be no otherways admitted or allowed in Exchequer except they be reduced or allowed to a special liquidate sum of usual money of this realm. And if they be excessive to be reduced to such mediocrity as his Majesty's liberalities be not hurtful to his estate.

Item, that the said lords shall no ways consent to any licences for transporting of forbidden goods until first trial be taken if the inhabitants of the country being well stocked may spare the same; and they being well served next regard shall be had to his Majesty's commodities in compounding of the said licences as the weightiness of the cause shall require.

Item, that nothing shall pass the Treasurer's registry without consent of the said lords, at the least five of them convened in the Exchequer, and that they shall be compositors with the Treasurer in all things concerning his office and thereto none of the compositions be disposed without his advice and that they shall assist and concur with his Majesty's Treasurer and his depute in all things of his office which may redound to his Majesty's commodity.

Item, all compters of his Majesty's rents, property, casualty, collectory and others they being ordinary officers conform to the commission given to them they shall take diligent heed that no just charge be omitted nor unjust charge admitted but such as shall be necessary, lawful and instantly verified with present acquittances, so that his Majesty be not prejudged with any wrong "compt" and unreasonable allowance.

Item, that no "signatours," gifts nor dispositions whatsoever be given or granted but conform to the ordinance of the Lords of Council and Exchequer subscribed by his Majesty and publicly proclaimed at Mercate Cross of Edinburgh 25 March last bypast.

The aforesaid commissions, injunctions and instructions being presented to the Octavians together with a desire from the King to give their oaths solemnly for the due prosecution thereof, which commission and injunctions they having considered, they before they would accept the same did resolve to send some of their number to the King, showing that as they were ready to obey his Majesty's commands in the

James VI.

1595-6. prosecution of the foresaid commission, yet finding that they could not be able to answer his expectation therein, unless it would please him to condescend to several articles which was thought necessary for the strengthening of their hands in the prosecution of the said commission ; which articles being presented to the King and after consideration thereof was agreed unto.

Articles craved by his Majesty's Councillors whom he burdened with the commission of Exchequer to be promised and performed *in verbo principis*.

For the first it is desired by the said lords auditors that his Majesty for the better furtherance of his affairs will promise never to solicit nor request, "boast nor minasce" directly nor indirectly any of the said lords to do anything contrary to the tenor of the commission granted to them or the form of oath made by them in favour of any person to his own hurt and prejudice.

Item, that his Majesty will promise faithfully to subscribe nothing concerning the collectory, comptrollery nor treasury of augmentations until the same be first seen and found reasonable by the said lords sitting in Exchequer in ordinary number [*in margin*: (?) by the Treasurer] and hereafter presented to his Majesty by him having commission to his Majesty from the rest for that effect.

Item, his Majesty denudes himself at this time of the choosing and electing of any persons to be his Highness's advocate but shall give power to the said lords to elect and choose a qualified man to be his advocate in case of death or deprivation or admission [*sic*, ? *rectius* demission] of any of them who presently serves in the said office.

Item, that his Majesty shall approve and allow the order which shall be set down anent his house and "esquyrie," number of persons and measure of expenses, hearing and controlling of the diet book and nightly accounts and shall not for importunity of any particular person desire the same to be broken, and that his Majesty will cause my lord Duke of Lennox as chamberlain of Scotland to hold hand to the keeping of good order in the house and punishing of transgressors thereof as his lordship may goodly do the same and shall be requisite to that effect.

Item, seeing the property when it was in the best estate was not sufficient to sustain the charges of his Majesty's house but that there was yearly great sums of money taken forth of the Treasury for the entertainment thereof, as the profit of the "coynzie" [coinage] these two years bygone to the sum of 50,000 m[arks] yearly. That therefore his Majesty considering the wrecked condition of his property not able to sustain his house one quarter of a year will before the expiring of the profit of the "coynzie" house appoint certain subsidies out of the casualties or treasury of England, whereupon his Majesty's house must be holden.

Item, that all compositions of casualties be disposed to the sustentation of his Majesty's house and affairs.

Item, that the receiver of the annuity of England be appointed by advice and consent of the said lords and that no part thereof be disposed until his Majesty be first served and the residue be disposed with their consent on his Majesty's most necessary affairs and that the said sum be

James VI.

1595-6. brought home in usual money either in English or Scots ; and in case any part thereof be disposed otherways nor said is the Compter not to be discharged thereof.

Which articles being condescended upon the 25 day of January, 1595, and produced to the Octavians, they thereupon upon the 26 Jan. following did meet and the oath being presented to them they did solemnly swear it. Which oath in respect of the strictness thereof is thought necessary to be set down.

The form of the Oath taken by the Octavians, Commissioners of Exchequer.

Printed in *extenso* in Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, v, 257, 258.

Begins : We undersubscribers Councillors and Auditors of his Highness's Exchequer.

Ends : By these presents subscribed with our hands at Holyroodhouse the 9 day of January 1595. *Sic subscribitur* : Seatown, Urq^{rt}., Colluthie, minor [*sic*, ? Menmuir], Clericus Reg^{ti}, Blantyr, Elphingstowne, Mr. Thomas Hammiltown, P. Young of Seatown, Mr. Alliemosinar.

Directions set down to the Octavians.

Imprimis to give a charge to John Oliphant to pass nothing [*sic*] the seals except the same be subscribed by the Commissioners.

Item, that no inferior clerk, depute to the Clerk of the Registry or other, shall be present in time of Council but shall remain and wait upon the direction to be given to them according to their offices in the " Utter " house.

Item, that no clerk or other person keeper of our Registry, which may control any intromettor with the King's rents shall be intromettors or uptake any of the said rents or any part thereof but that the said offices shall be divided and severally possessed with divers persons to the effect the one may better control the other.

Item, that there be two under receivers and chamberlains of the King's rents of his property, collectory of the superplus of the thirds of benefices, temporality of kirk lands annexed to the Crown, the one upon the south side of the water of Forth, the other upon the north side thereof, who shall be qualified persons and shall find caution and surety in the burgh of Edinburgh of their faith and fidelity in the administration of their offices ; which office shall be given to them by the Lords Auditors of Exchequer for one year or such space of time as they shall think good and expedient *ad ipsorum bene placitum*.

Item, all chamberlains and receivers of the King's rents in time bygone be discharged of their offices in all time coming both heritable chamberlains and others removable and that none of them intromit with any of the King's rents without special command and commission of the Lords Auditors of Exchequer.

Item, that an Act be made by the Lords of Session and publication be made thereof because [*sic*, ? *rectius* bearing] that all and sundry the King's lands and rents shall make thankful payment to the King's Chamberlains of their farms, maills and duties yearly in Edinburgh and failing thereof in case two terms run in [*hiatus*] their " infetments," rents

That nothing pass the seals unless it be subscribed by the Exchequer.

That no clerk be present at the Exchequer but the Clerk of Process.

That no clerk intromit with the rents.

That two receivers be one for the north and another for the south and caution found in Edinburgh.

That all chamberlains as well heritable as others be discharged to intromit with the rent without special command and commission.

[C]auses irritant.

James VI.

1595-6. and rights to be null in such form and manner as if the said provision were expressly contained in their said "infettments" and rights in such sort that *ratione naturæ obligationis tantum seu non expressum in hoc casu tanti* [hiatus] *quantum expressum* in respect of the common law and practise observed in kirk lands whereof the superiority now pertains to the King and therefore "bruick and joyce the samen" being supreme head of this realm and having no peer in privilege or immunity within the same.

Item, that all "writters" to the King's officers [*sic*].

Item, that all copies of suspensions and others against the King be delivered to the Clerk of Registry that catalogue thereof may be made and given to the advocate to be called.

Item, the "decreits" of removing anent the King's parks be extracted and that John Jentown compeer before the Lords of Exchequer on Monday bringing with him the summons of removing against the possessors of the King's parks to the effect the deed may be extracted conform thereto and put to execution conform to the law.

Item, a missive to be written to Sir James Maxwell to know of him the names of all persons who promised to give any plenishing to the King's parks, how "meikle" was promised, what kind of cattle was granted and at what time the same should be delivered.

Item, that John Oliphant produce his register wherein he registered the signatures on Monday, that the same be visited and noted by the Clerk of Registry conform to the Act of Parliament.

Item, that John Robertstone, sheriff clerk of Lanark, compeer the twenty day of February and produce his books of hornings and suspensions since the year of God inclusive 1588 and the authentic double thereof subscribed by him to remain in the Registry. And that he shall find caution that day in Edinburgh to make his sheriff "compts" yearly and "sicklike" [likewise] to produce to the Exchequer the extract of all hornings each year during the time of his office.

6 pp. *Written in a nearly contemporary hand.**

[?1595-6]† 112. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

Jan. 20.

Since the direction of my other letters to Mr. Porter I have had no occasion to write, neither yet have, except that I would continue my former resolution to visit you as occasion may serve.

The King has daily attended to hear answer of his former letters to her Majesty which at length came and were delivered by George Nicolson about the 10th instant bearing date the 6th of the last month. The King was very well content with the letters in respect they agreed to deliver pledges for Buccleuch, although those that were delivered before could not be had, yet there might be others chosen in their places to the which the King does very well agree and thereafter will deliver pledges both for the West and Middle March.

We were something hot at the Parliament and many bruits was [*sic*]

* Addit. MS. 24,275 is a miscellaneous entry book containing entries ranging between 1596 and 1660.

† The letter is so dated in Thorpe's *Calendar*, but from its contents appears to belong to the year 1597-8.

James VI.

1595-6. spread here by such as are enemies to the religion and amity but now we are very well settled and all those bruits lie down. It is a full conclusion here and the King daily discourses when any purpose of England comes in. Speaking either in his chamber private or to such as he will be plain with he says his intention is never to attempt anything against her Majesty but to entertain the peace and if she will esteem of him he will follow her above all the world. If she will not he will seek his friends not to trouble her estate but to make himself able, if God should call her Majesty before him. That which I fear most is our papists is [*sic*] growing in credit. The Earl of Errol is become a great courtier and is lodging in the King's house. If Huntly durst abide here, he had been great. Mr. James Elveston [Elphinstone], a man suspected in religion, is made Secretary. The late Secretary has given over his office to him. The Earl of Angus has been here very great in credit and there is a great intelligence passes between sundry here and the L. Soyer (?). The Earl of Errol presses to be Chancellor. If that be, the most part of the offices of state are in papists' hands, except the Treasurer who demitted his office to Thomas Foulis, except only the name and the other to receive all and pay all, which he did 20 days. In that time finding himself not able to discharge the place, on Monday last [he] fell by his wits and has lain ever since in great extremity not like to live. The King lays the whole charge of that office to the Treasurer again, who has taken him to advise. For two days there is a plot laid to displace him, which he foresees and therefore will take the whole charge himself.

The Duke and the Lord Hamilton are agreed and the castle of Dumbarton shall be delivered to the Duke on Saturday next. The Duke is preparing himself to go to France. He shall have special commission from the King. He is purposed to come through England and would be employed there but that is not yet thought meet but rather to send some other nobleman thither. The Earl of Mar was thought meetest. Who will be resolved upon as yet is not known. It is here advertised that Sir Robert Cecil is going to France to stay the agreement between France and Spain or else to stir up the Protestants to take arms. This comes from Mr. Archibald Douglas as I am informed. It is advertised here from Denmark that her Majesty has sent powder and bullet to the Turk. The Lord Danywel being employed from the King of Poule [Poland] has gotten his answer with a chain of 300 crowns. He has gotten a commission for men to be employed to Sweden but has no money to "leftt" [levy?] them, neither is any willing to go there because the last that went were cruelly slain.

We look daily to hear that the gratuity should be paid which will stop the moves of many. If it be not, it will give occasion to all to speak their pleasures. Sir William Bowes is looked for here within three or four days. Thereafter we shall see how matters will frame. The King is now busy with the ministers in providing them stipends and is to place bishops in every diocese. Holyroodhouse, 20 January. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

3 pp. *Holograph*, also address: "To his loving brother Mr. James Hudson." *Seal*. *Endorsed*: "1595 (?), 20 Jan. Mr. Roger Aston to my Mr."

James VI.
1595-6.
Jan. 21.

113. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO THE LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND.

I received such letters as come from Scotland directed to your lordship for my brother bearing date 9 January, for which I give you most hearty thanks.

The contents of the said letters bear many particularities of the present state of that realm. Of the most part of them I believe your lordship may be informed by others, which makes me forbear to be tedious in the repetition of them.

The sum that concerns myself is that before the return of Mr. Richard Douglas Alexander Home (Howme) of North Berwick was made choice of to be sent in this realm and to her Majesty instructed for the most part even as was craved to be sent to the laird of Wemyss being in this country, together with some further demands. But now upon the said Mr. Richard's return all that matter is delayed unto such time as deliberation shall be taken whether commission shall be sent hither to me to deal alone in such matters as the King would have delivered to her Majesty or if the said Alexander shall hold forthwith his journey, and both to deal jointly in those matters. What is resolved in this matter I do not as yet understand. It may be that your lordship ere this time has received more certain information thereof by others by reason that these letters remained certain time at Berwick for that Captain Carvoll was absent at Carlisle to whom they were directed.

There is a gentleman to be sent from the King to France but what matter he shall carry I do not yet understand. But if he comes not through this country I look shortly to receive advertisement what instructions he shall have. The King of late has taken great pains to reform certain abuses and errors committed by others in his realm, wherein has his travail not a little already prevailed, in the doing whereof at this present he follows the counsel and advice of such as were elected councillors to the Queen his bedfellow.

Justice courts are to be holden on all the Marches of Scotland for punishing of such as do or have committed any misdemeanour in England. They have already taken beginning in the most by commission to the Lord Hume and to divers other gentlemen deputed judges for that effect.

If I had been in good state to travel I would have repaired to your lordship to have made you acquainted with more particulars which I am forced for some wants to forbear at this time and until your coming to this town. 21 January. *Signed* : A. Douglas.

1½ pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed : " 21 Jan. 1595."

Jan. 24. **114. JAMES VI TO JAMES HUDSON.**

As we have usually heretofore received courtesy of a licence to one of our subjects for transport and homebringing of certain drinking beer to the provision of our house, we have taken occasion hereby to desire you to travail and intercede by the accustomed mean for a licence of thirty tuns of beer to be brought here by this bearer,

James VI.

1595-6. George Smyt. From our palace of Holyroodhouse, 24 Jan. 1595. *Signed* : James R.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed* : " To our trusty servitor James Hudsoun, resident at London." *Endorsed*.

Jan. 25. 115. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Your last of the 15th hereof signifying her Majesty's goodness to you and your return : for the former, will do good in whatsoever you shall be here employed in ; and for the latter, it is likely to stay the coming to our Court of the Provost for some longer time till they see whether you come or not. Now upon a second advice the King has appointed Mr. David Lindsay to go with the Provost in hope that the things to be proponed shall be better regarded with her Majesty because Mr. David is of the Kirk whom they conceive her Majesty both favours and trusts. So as I trust if you come within these 14 days making advertisement still thereof, you shall come before the King's Ambassadors go. But as yet the matters they are to be employed [in] is [*sic*] kept close and quiet.

At your coming you will find Res. (the Church) suspicious of the 8 lords and 58 (Sir George Hume), 59 (Blantyre) and 62 (Clerk Register) also, and likewise 57 (Master of Glamis) and 69 (Buccleuch) malcontent and at their plottings. So as you will see shortly troubles arise hereon. 59 (Blantyre) said to Mor (Nicolson) that so long as he saw the 4 of the Queen's side run an upright course he would concur with them ; but if ever he saw them minded otherways he would give over all. He freely protests to be for the common cause and # quatuor (her Majesty's service) with his duty to 4 (the King). The Queen's 4 are judged shall seek the greatest offices. The Master of Glamis is quiet here, yet 26 (Hume) and 69 (Buccleuch) have been with him, for what cause I know not.

The matter stands so hard between the 2 lairds as friends dare not bring them together to move friendship between them for fear of mischief. Nicholas Kerncorse and Andrew Ker of Newbottle are under trysting for making of a friendship and they think it yet reconcilable, but Cessford has spoken so far as I believe it not reconcilable.

Glencairn sent excuse but the King in fury thereat would not allow thereon, but meant to ride on him and the Master of Eglinton also (who likewise made excuse) this next week. But these parties hearing thereof intend to compere and thereby pacify and stay the King's journey.

8 (Angus) was quiet here as I heard. He seemed to have errand to seek Res. (the Kirk) but dealt not therein. One afar off told this to Mor (Nicolson) saying he gave counsel 8 (Angus) should seek A. (her Majesty's) favour and help therein. What he did here or what the Crew (Papist Earls) is doing I cannot tell but you will know when you come.

The Earls papists are thought shall be aided with foreign forces to the number of 6000.

My Lady Huntly is coming to Stirling to her ward and the Duke gone to meet her.

You will find much privy speeches concerning the King's title. He has sundry times as I hear protested never to wish her Majesty's hurt for his advancement, nor to intend any hurt to any that were of the assise of

James VI.

1595-6.

his mother ; so as he find their favours when time serves, he says, etc. These I write as things not appertaining to me otherways than for your advertisement. You will find his Majesty also something angry with you as if you had now in our Court not been his friend. But these matters as are thought do arise of the hard informations of some of Ter (Scotland) [*In margin* : 65 (the Secretary), 75 (Mr. David Foulis) and others] that have found better favour in Pa. (England) and ought to have done better offices both towards you and better there. Yet your own presence will dash them and acquit yourself I suspect in such sort as these discontentments will not be once moved or showed to you. I assure you the very hearing now of your coming and the appearance thereof by making of our provisions already comforts the best sort to whom you will be welcomer than ever. The dearth is so extreme as you must either come with a very small number or be undone. Edinburgh, 25 January 1595. *Signed* : Geo: Nicolson.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr' xxv^o Ja., Char' primo Febr. 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

Jan. 28. **116. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.**

By a servant of ours of such trust as is this gentleman well known to you (whom now we do return to exercise of his charge of our Ambassador towards the King our good brother) we would not omit to salute you with assurance of the continuance of such kindness as we have always professed towards you, although the good intelligence heretofore offered on your part have of late passed under greater silence than we would have expected. And yet such is our inclination still to hold a firm correspondency with you upon all occasions whereby we may demonstrate our care either towards yourself or to the King our brother as we have given in charge to this our faithful servant sincerely affected to the preservation of perfect amity between both kingdoms both freely to impart with your Highness carefully to deliver over to us such things as you shall at any time think meet for our understanding, who never will be found behind with any offices of our kindness and affection. "At Richm[ond], 28 Ja."

Postscript of her Majesty's own hand.—Sister, I beseech you let a few of your own lines satisfy me in some one point that is boasted of against you, which this bearer shall tell you.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil's clerk* : "28 Jann. 1595. Copy of a letter to the Q. Scott. from her Majesty by Mr. Bowes."

Jan. 29. **117. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.**

On Tuesday last I received your worship's last of the 18th hereof directing me to renew your licence for your coming hither. Whereon I repaired to his Majesty moving him for the same, who saying it was but reason and should be done with good will willed me to go to the Secretary to get it made and it should be done ; which is done accordingly and which according to your direction I have sent herewith to Berwick to be there for your coming. It is large and free as you will perceive. Albeit this assures your coming hither with speed to the causing of the most to wish the stay

James VI.

1595-6.

of the Provost till your coming, yet I hear the King is now earnest to have his Ambassador gone, saying the things to be committed to his Ambassador's hands lie not in your way to do anything in, but in himself only to satisfy her Majesty towards him, as also that he knows the most of the matters you are to be directed in. This I hear, as likewise that about the 4th hereof [*sic*] the Provost must set forwards. Yet M (Mr. Aston) thinks they must yet stay longer, not for your coming but for provisions and it may be so. Yet because of the uncertainty hereof I shall still advertise your worship in this point, as I hear. G (Mr. David Lindsay) says the King is angry that they are not gone and has sent to North Berwick for the Provost to come hither that he may speedily dispatch them. So as if you desire to be here ere they take their journey, you must write me that you are in your journey and "furtherly" therein and I shall handle the matter as I may.

On Sunday last one Richard Peryman of Allbroughe [Aldborough], skipper of the *Hope Well* of Dunnage, came hither showing unto me that the Earl of Orkney had taken the ship and goods therein, viz. 58 lasts of wheat, 20 ship pounds of wax, a pack of cloth, with other things put at Melluyn in Daskin in the ship by Ric. Price, factor for Mr. Orfley [Offley] and others of London, and to have carried for London. I thereon carrying the skipper to his Majesty told his Majesty thereof, who says he shall see justice done and be "procutor" therein himself for the English and see they shall not want "a plack." And with this answer the skipper is to go soon as the wind serves to inform the owners of all things. But in as much as you will be here to help this matter, for it will need your help, I leave the rest with some secrets therein to your coming.

The King has sent James Read to my Lord of Mar to move my Lord to give note of all the "dependours" of the young Prince that the superfluous may be discharged as is in the King's house to the number 70 persons, as also to take and give assurance with the Livingstones and Bruces his neighbours. For the first, it will touch my Lord of Mar's entertainment for his helping of the young Prince; for the second, if he obey not at this request he must be commanded and forced to do it. The Earl of Glencairn delaying his coming is committed to ward and must be punished by the purse for his contempt and forced to give and take assurances with the Montgomeries for one whole year. The sheriffs of Aire, Calder, Sir James Sandelandes and Kerse are come in upon the King's charge for the feud between them, Montrose and Thornydikes, but Montrose excuses his coming by sickness. Whereon the King has written to him and sent him the assurance to subscribe, with charge to the Earl (if he subscribe not) to comper the 4th hereof, all excuses set apart. My Lord Herries has taken and given assurance with Johnstone and is at liberty, and so will Drumlanrig be shortly. My Lord Hamilton is written for to come to the King. His friends think it is to get him to deliver my Lord Maxwell to the Queen who would have him for some friend. The King is so resolute to all agreements of feuds against this time as they adventure to excuse but not deny their coming. At your coming your worship shall have catalogue of the diets appointed for the "feaders" to come in.

As to horners the King is as severe therein and begins to reign and rule like himself. The Master of Glamis is still quiet, not yet released from all

James VI.

1595-6. his hornings but agreeing with his creditors for the same. Cessford is also quiet here for like causes also. Glamis is very sorry for Buccleuch and Cessford's emulation but cannot yet help it for all his travails. If he could he would yet be in hope by the old faction to prevent his casting off, as he accounts he is now by this new course of the 8. I hear he will be at a point within 3 or 4 days for his hornings and go abroad. But suppose Buccleuch credit Glamis, Cessford does not, so as he can do no good yet between them. Yet I cannot see matters so clear but Glamis may arise and troubles also.

The Sessions are broken up for the musters and a general fast to be on Sunday and Tuesday next, the days before and after the muster.

As yet there is no warden appointed for the West, neither will be before yourself come and urge it. Whereon to satisfy her Majesty I think the King intends to go to Dumfries soon after your coming to quiet those parts. My Lord Sempill is come home and rather suspected to be a Bothweller than a papist. So the King thinks on him I hear. At your coming more will be opened to you and therefore seeing you are to be here shortly I write in many things sparingly. At Edinburgh, 29 January 1595. Signed : Geo: Nicolson.

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

Feb. 3. **118. ARTICLES FOR ROBERT BOWES.**

A note for the declaration of her Majesty's pleasure and directions to Robert Bowes in these heads following.

The King of Scots.

1. First, her Majesty's letter to be addressed to the King and instructions to be given in writing in all the affairs and matters to be negotiated with the King and estate in Scotland by Robert Bowes, to be employed and returned thither for her Majesty's service.

2. The journey of the Ambassadors preparing to be sent to her Majesty by the King may be deferred or broken. And that the motion of any of their errands (unfit for the present condition of this time and state of causes) may be dissuaded and stayed. The means and manner for the accomplishment of the effects to be directed.

3. If any question of her Majesty's knowledge or mind or other occasion of discourse touching Robert Doleman's book shall be offered by the King to Bowes, what answers shall be made to the same.

4. The effects of the advice to the King for the custody of the body of the Prince. And in whose hands the same shall remain or be commended.

5. What course shall be taken with the King upon the information or common bruits that he is tempted or inclining to enter into any confederacy or intelligence with the King of Spain or any other Catholic prince or person.

6. The answers to the King for his satisfaction in the contents of his letters and requests to her Majesty, namely for the 1000*l.* required to have been delivered for him to Thomas Foulis.

The Queen of Scots.

7. Her Majesty's letter to the Queen mentioning the receipt of the

James VI.

1595-6. Queen's letter to her Majesty and delivered by Bowes, with her Majesty's answer and compliments to the Queen's letter and to her requests.

8. Whether upon recount of her Majesty's love and kindness towards the Queen at the delivery of that letter, the same shall be accompanied with any advice or warning to beware to prefer or cherish any suspected in religion and to prevent the bruits and jealousies arising hereby, how far and in what manner the same shall be done.

9. If the Queen shall again seek to draw the Prince out of the keeping of Mar, whether covert or other means shall be sought to preserve the Prince still in Mar's custody. Her Majesty's pleasure to grant her picture to be given to the Queen agreeable to her earnest desire herein.

Argyll, MacLean and others.

10. What course shall be taken and holden with the Earl of Argyll, MacLean and their instruments. Whether they or any of them shall be further dealt with and entertained, either for any personal service against Tyrone or other of her Majesty's rebels in Ireland, or to restrain the repair of the Scottish men into Ireland to the aid of rebels there or for other service there. What especial service shall be demanded of him. What consideration shall be given severally to Argyll, MacLean or any for such services. And order to be provided for performance of all accords with them.

11. What shall be answered and done to them (namely to Argyll and MacLean) for their former kindness and good offices offered ; whether the gold chain in the hands of Bowes and to have been presented to MacLean shall be delivered to him ; or that he shall be further satisfied in his expectation of 1000 crowns looked for and oftentimes required by him. What answers shall be made to MacLean in his requests to her Majesty for her letters in his favour severally to the King and to the Prior of Blantyre and for her Majesty's grace to be showed at his suit for the life and liberty of John Neyle his kinsman and presently in the gaol of Exeter for the slaughter of an Englishman.

The papist lords.

12. Whether in her Majesty's name the King and religious in Scotland shall be stirred against Angus, Huntly, Errol and every of them ; how far it shall be laboured and proceeded to defeat them, their designs and practices, to intercept their letters and messages* in all places, to send them into England or otherwise to provide for their punishment as occasion shall best serve.

Bothwell.

13. Directions to be given to Bowes for his course touching Bothwell for the best contentment of the King, for breach of confederacy betwixt the papist Earls and Bothwell by the good means of his religion and loyal friends in Scotland, and for recovery of the King's grace towards him in due season and manner and with the King's own good liking.

14. The choice of the person to be preferred to the office of Chancellor specially in Mar, Blantyre and others well affected in religion and to the amity betwixt these two nations. And the means to be used as well to effect the same as also to bar the suspected.

15. What answer shall be given to the Lord John Hamilton

* " Messengers " in the copy.

James VI.

1595-6. (Hambleton) in his often requests for powder and some munition for defence of Dumbarton against the attempts of the Spaniards.

16. Orders for preservation of the peace of the Borders, for the meeting of wardens and officers to answer each other according to the ancient customs and treaties, or to agree with particular persons meeting at appointed trists for their particular redresses.

17. What courses shall be taken with Buccleuch and young Cessford for the attempts in England and namely by Cessford, how far and what manner redresses shall be demanded at the King's hands.

18. What answer shall be given by Bowes to Buccleuch in the contents of his former letters severally to the Earl of Essex, Sir Thomas Heneage (Henneag) and Bowes. Whether he and his devotion promised to her Majesty shall be still entertained with fair compliments or otherwise to be left to his own course.

19. Answers to be given to the laird of Wemyss expecting her Majesty's mind and resolution in his late suit to her Majesty and to be certified to him at Bowes's return into Scotland.

20. What course shall be taken with Mr. John Colville in regard of his good offices and readiness with protestation to continue the same for her Majesty's service to the uttermost of his power.

21. That Roger Aston in his great pains and services for her Majesty may be comforted and directed for continuance of his services and address of his advertisements.

22. What Bowes shall do to any Englishman or stranger in Scotland practising intelligence there and not known to have any allowance by her Majesty or any of her Council or officer authorised.

23. Finally : that directions required by Bowes in cases of difficulty (and for the best guiding of his proceedings) may be returned timely to him. And order to be given him to whom he shall address his letters and advertisements for her Majesty's service.

3½ pp. In the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil's clerk. Endorsed : " 3 Feb. 1595. Mr. Bowes articles."

Vol. lii, p. 111.

Copy of the foregoing articles, with note at head : " Mr. Bowes departed out of London the seventh of this month towards Scotland."

3¼ pp. A fair copy in the same handwriting as the foregoing.

Feb. 3. 119. ANSWERS TO MR. BOWES'S ARTICLES.

To the first : He is to have her Majesty's own letters to the King wherein, besides the credit to be given to him as her Majesty's Ambassador, some cause would be impressed of his long absence by reason of his private causes which had been hindered by his service in Scotland.

2. It would be understood by under hand upon what causes and for what matters the King has any meaning to send any special person to her Majesty and for stay thereof the ambassador may give advice privately to some of the Council that are privy thereof to spare the charge of sending of any, but rather to impart the same to the ambassador who may advertise her Majesty and procure answer. But if he shall perceive that it is meant to crave more money, he may say that he knows that her Majesty has

James VI.

1595-6. been so deeply charged with the help of the French King, without which he had not now possessed his crown, and with the charge about the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland stirred up by the King of Spain, beside her present charges in setting forth her navy with a great army to withstand the King of Spain who has in readiness a mightier army to come against England than he had in '88; so as he neither dare propound any such demand nor thinks that her Majesty can assent thereto.

3. If speech be used of that pernicious book named by one Robert Dolman he may truly say that the said name is but usurped for it has been compiled in Spain by one Persons [Parsons], an English traitor and a Jesuit, with the conferences of sundry other English traitors living of the King of Spain's pensions. And the King may manifestly see the whole scope of the book to prefer a colourable title to succeed to this crown of England after the Queen's Majesty; and the ambassador shall do well to incense the King there to take the King of Spain as his enemy and so to account all his subjects that have recourse to the King of Spain or to the Pope to have rebellious hearts against the King.

4. The ambassador finding the King's disposition not to remove the custody of the Prince from the Earl of Mar, by the practice of certain noblemen being not men well content to procure the Queen to press the same to satisfy such discontented noblemen, he may say that though the King has not imparted this matter to her Majesty, yet if he should desire her advice therein she would truly counsel him to persist in the custody of his son to remain where he may be most assured that none of his discontented noblemen should have power to make their advantage in withstanding of the King by getting into their possession the person of the Prince and thereby to cover their treasonable attempts against the King himself, as has been attempted heretofore both in that realm and here in England.

5. The ambassador may take knowledge of such rumours but her Majesty assures herself of the King's wisdom that he cannot be persuaded that the Spaniard ever intends any purpose by what colour soever he may give thereto but the end for his own advantage.

6. The ambassador need not take knowledge hereof.

7, 8. He is to have a letter from her Majesty to the King both of credit and otherwise as it may please her Majesty by her letter or by message to let the Queen understand that she has found it strange that considering the differences that she has heard to have of late time passed betwixt the King and her she has by no means imparted her mind to her Majesty, whereto her Majesty would have according to her professed amity, and had been agreeable for them both being Queens, have friendly given her advice: and as her [Majesty] understands by common report that she has been abused by some noblemen, that are not dutifully disposed to please the King, to press the King to assent to have the Prince removed where the King has of best trust committed him to be kept and colourably to move her to sue for the same against the King's will, who by likelihood justly conceives that this is but the practice of such as have stirred her thereto not with any sincerity of mind to have her long to possess her son, but to attain him to be at their commandment to be used to accomplish their undutiful purposes against the King, whereof she may be informed of like dangerous attempts attempted both in that realm and in this also.

James VI.

1595-6.

Beside this, the ambassador may inform the Queen that her Majesty has good cause to think that the Queen is abused by some of these that have provoked her to seek to remove the Prince from the place where the King has committed him, for that it is very certainly known to her Majesty that some of these have assured the Pope by their own speeches that they doubted not but to move the Queen to change her religion contrary to the King's mind. Yea, some of them have also secretly reported that the Queen has in her own heart changed her religion and that she is secretly reconciled to the Church of Rome, but to this latter report the Queen's Majesty is very loth to give that credit that she has cause to give to the former, and yet her Majesty cannot but for her professed friendship to her but to [*sic*] inform her hereof, considering she is in a strange country, though she be a Queen there, where there is no party of her blood or of convenient quality and degree to deal with her in such difficult matters as these are to show the fruits of true friendship.

9. The ambassador may by the former next answers understand how to behave himself without showing any open disposition to nourish the difference betwixt the King and Queen.

10, 11. He may forbear to deal herein until her Majesty shall understand further out of Ireland.

12. The ambassador needs not to make any question hereof but to do his best to deface and withstand all attempts of papists using the credit of the churchmen to provide for the same.

13. There shall be order taken how he may be relieved secretly and yet the ambassador shall not neglect any occasion that may be offered to him without offending of the King to procure his restitution.

14. The ambassador shall consider of the disposition of such as are eligible to the office and favour such as shall be best affected to religion and to the amity of the princes and the common peace of both realms.

15. He may declare the great expenses of her Majesty of all manner of munition both in France, the Low Countries and now in Ireland, where by way of complaint he may say that the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell have all this last year past had all their provision of powder from Glasgow.

16. The ambassador shall largely declare to the King the great disorders upon all the Borders, in some place for lack of wardens, in some other for want of any good disposition to do justice, and in some by their personal incursions committing not only robberies and burning of houses but of murdering of peaceable subjects, and for his larger information to make the complaints manifest the 3 wardens of England shall be commanded to send him the particularities of the disorder.

17, 18. Upon information given to the ambassador from the wardens opposite to Buccleuch and Cessford he may deal thereupon with the King and if he may have speech with them he may also expostulate with either of them and put young Cessford in remembrance of her Majesty's goodness to him to the safety of his life ; and he may tell Buccleuch that at his coming from Rome through England he made a firm promise to have demeaned himself in his office otherwise to her Majesty and her subjects than he has done ; and he may add thereto that, though there was cause to doubt him to have professed papistry at Rome, yet he voluntarily professed here in England the contrary ; but how he is now affected therein

James VI.

1595-6. her Majesty leaves it to his own conscience by his actions to make proof.

19. The ambassador may say he has heard no speech thereof.

20. He may also use some dilatory good speeches both to him and Wemyss without appearing to have any knowledge from her Majesty.

21. He shall be secretly relieved and would be comforted to continue his faithfulness.

22. He shall do well to advertise of any such and expect answer.

23. Her Majesty will appoint him to whom he shall address his letters.

5 pp. *In Lord Burghley's handwriting. Endorsed: "3 Jan. 1595" and below in Burghley's hand: "14 Janu. 1595. Answers to Mr. Boues articles."*

Vol. lii. p. 114.

Copy with slight verbal variations.

5 pp. *In the handwriting of Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

Feb. 7. 120. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I received yesternight your last of the 29th of the last certifying that [you] had gotten your dispatch and were to enter into your journey on Monday last, which I have showed to Sir George, Mr. Aston and others, whereby I think you shall come in good time and before the Provost take journey, in case you be here in the midst of next week. I see if they were sure of your coming they would stay some 3 or 4 days longer and perhaps until the 13th or 14th hereof. And therefore it will be good you write when you are on your journey, if you have not already done so. For thereon they will stand upon the stay of 4 or 5 days, albeit the King be earnest to have them forwards and thinks that your coming shall be little material in the errands he employs his own in. Yet Mr. Aston would have you here with what reasonable diligence you may. For he accounts the ambassador stays rather for a dispatch than for your coming. But the Provost does his best to stay your coming. You will find yourself more welcome than ever to the most and best, and I persuade me not charged unless friendly by the King for all the hard reports made to him of you. If you desire to come as quiet you may very well and with least charge, let me know that I may conceal the day of your coming, otherwise many will meet you.

The King I hear has punished Glencairn by the purse but it is kept quiet. Yesterday after the writing of my last he got out. And now he and the Montgomeries who lie at Seton and are to come hither must be assured or the King will be angry and punish the refusers.

This day the King is busy to prepare and draw the Lord Glamis and Master, to whom he gives good countenance, to agreement or assurance with Crawford who will be this night here with his friends for the agreement to be made to-morrow. Which, if it take not effect, will procure the Master the King's open displeasure, who in dislike of the Master gives now good countenance to Spina [Spynie] and will by little and little force the Master out of the town as a malcontent to his proceedings. David Collesse is stirred up to pursue the Master to the horn, only to bring the Master in contempt of the last proclamation, but the Master with fair words and devices stays him. Buccleuch, as Cessford hears, has had some

James VI.

1595-6. to watch and cut him off and Cessford thinks he escaped hardly as I hear. So as you will see matters between them grow quick. B. (the King)* is no pacifier hereof. I say no more. Nicholas Kerncorss [Cairncross] says he hears that it was the Trumballs and that Buccleuch has priority therewith, in case this report be true. And Buccleuch is gone home quietly again not having showed himself here. He is seeking to have inward friendship with Sir John Ker and Fernyherst and Cessford is doing the like and both making what friends they can.

As to Ireland matters I hear that Archibald, Angus MacConnell's eldest son and base son, Donald-Gorme and sundry of the Isles are preparing to go over to Tyrone at Patrickmas next about mid March, and that the Earl will then have either an agreement to his own liking or stir a new and greater trouble there. The truth whereof I cannot assure but I pray God shorten his wicked intentions. Edinburgh, 7 Feb. 1595. *Signed* : Geo: Nicolson.

1½ pp. *Holograph, also addressed* : " Robert Bowes esquier, Threasourour of Barwick. For her Majesty's affaires." *Endorsed by Bowes* : " Edenbr' 7 Febr', Wetherby xjº ejusdem at vj in the morning, 1595."

Feb. 11. **121. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

This morning at 6 of the clock at Wetherby I received the letter enclosed and sent to me by Nicolson my servant at Edinburgh, which I recommend to be disposed as your lordship shall think expedient.

Before my entry into my journey for Scotland I gave advertisement of the time of my entrance and since my coming forwards I have again certified that I was entered with purpose to hasten my repair thither with all the expedition which my weak and aged body (hurt with the fall of my horse and troubled with excessive bleeding) can yield. Yet I find the King so earnest to set forwards his ambassadors to her Majesty with errands wherein he likes not (as I am advised) to deal with me, as I fear the hasty departures of the ambassadors (commanded to take their journey immediately upon knowledge of my certain repair thither) shall prevent my labours and desires. For it is certified to me that the ambassadors are directed and be resolved to begin their journey from Edinburgh on Friday next, the 13th hereof. Before which day I cannot possibly be at Edinburgh to stay their journey. But if her Majesty's posts shall do their duties, then I trust that my letter lately addressed to Nicolson and certifying my coming to Ware in my way towards Scotland shall be with Nicolson and be made known to the King and his ambassadors before or near the time appointed for the departure of the ambassadors. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether the same shall stay their appointed journey.

That the Lord Eure may be advertised of the certain time of my being at Newcastle and passage to Berwick I have certified his lordship thereof by my letter sent with your packet of the 7th hereof and coming to me yesterday in the afternoon at Ferrybrigg. Wetherby, 11 February, 1595. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed* : " Rec. at London the xiiijth of the same with George Nicholson's letter to him of the vijth of Feb."

* Deciphered.

James VI.

1595-6.

Feb. 18.

122. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have forborne till this time to write any letter unto you, being uncertain where my letters should have arrived ; but now that this occasion presents itself which will admit no delay I have thought good to address unto you this dispatch whereof I desire answer with all possible speed. You shall understand that her Majesty is now resolved to use the service of the Scots in Ireland, for which purpose you are now in the place to consider how this may be done with her Majesty's least charge and best security, with greatest expedition and to best purpose. First, therefore, I pray you let these points be well observed and to them make that addition afterwards which shall seem to your own judgment most pertinent. The offers that have been made to the Queen from MacLean at the first grew by his own motion, where now, if it shall appear that the Queen newly seeks him, her bargain I doubt not will prove more chargeable. For remedy whereof, if he have not already sent to you, devise some means that he may open himself unto you again and make him think (whatsoever you do) that you have not received any settled resolution from the Queen in the matter ; but seem you, if he press you as I know he will, to desire to know what it is that you shall particularly offer from him ? What service he will do ? Where he would begin ? What numbers he will levy ? What charge it shall cost ? Whether he would receive it in gross or otherwise ? If in gross he would have it, then how the Queen shall be assured when he has the money in his hands that the service shall be done, and what course he will take for the doing of it ? For as I must tell you now that the Queen finds these traitors to grow more insolent every hour (though I would have him think the contrary) and therefore is resolved to prosecute them by this means. So if her Majesty shall be for this levy at as great charge this way with entertaining these as she should be with English, whereof she may be better assured, or if that which these men will do be not something to such purpose but that her Majesty must notwithstanding them be at as great charge as if she had no Scots in Ireland, surely then this course will not be profitable for her. But otherwise to you in private I speak it, her Majesty is resolved to entertain presently such a number of three or four thousand as may be likely to do her service, when of these points she may see such answer as may well satisfy her. Some other circumstances as they newly occur to my mind I will here let them fall from my pen. If the Queen must make suit to the King then will it be made dainty and costly more than one way, but I do think that, Argyll being dealt with, MacLean will not much stand upon the King's leave, who cannot in honour forbid it. If thereby will grow any charge I pray you inform me of your opinion what or why it should be so, more than some courtesy. Another doubt I have, if the Queen for money can procure Scots, why shall not the rebels procure some also having cows of their own and being likely to have crowns of others. Therefore how that must be stayed learn their opinion. Thus do you see that upon new cause and new directions I renew this project, but you shall do the Queen great service to make them seek you and in no sort you to seek them, but yet with such expedition also as may advance timely the matter, for a few days will now break square, a cessation between the Queen's forces and them being taken newly and to continue

James VI.
1595-6.

but till the last of March, in the neck of which either the Scots must be passed over or they will do no good. I pray you therefore immediately upon the receipt hereof advertise me that you have received it, and now that I have said as much to you as my poor discretion serves for I leave the rest to your better experience. For the matter of Neale make this answer I pray you, that the Queen since she came to the crown did never pardon a murder by what extraordinary manner soever it has been found, and yet because this is a stranger and that MacLean so earnestly has laboured for him her Majesty has commanded me to speak with her judges and to consider how possibly his life may be saved and yet she not seem to be acquainted with it, the name of murder being in her ear so abominable as if once she must set her hand to a paper of forgiveness where that word is written she has no power to abide it. What may be done otherwise shall be and I have written now to the Justices of Assize to reprieve him till the next assizes which will be till about August.

Since the writing of all this I think it very good to remember you if you could procure that some good wise Scot that knows both the north of Scotland and Ireland, towards MacLean and whom he will trust, might privately come up post hither with MacLean's instructions, by whom a man might know all particulars before touched, that if you could find such a one you shall not stick to send him to me that I may speak with him and conclude with him, but let him be such a one as is no stranger to these courses or else his coming will be in vain. Yet let him not be any man of great note for then he will look for some great reward, where otherwise for his own single charges I will take order according to such information as I shall receive from you, whose packet may be his passport to come post to me.

Sir, I thus conclude, all expedition must be used in this matter. Your discretion must remedy many of my former doubts and you must only be able to work this in form as I have said. For I am at the end of my questions and yet these and more must be cleared and resolved or ever the matter can be perfected, which makes me thus large because I consider the distance of the place and the shortness of time, which will not permit often sending to and fro. It must be known how the money shall be made over to him and what assurance the Queen shall have that those Scots are there, for it may be said that he carries thousands when there are but hundreds. I am ashamed of my confused letter and therefore for this time leave your further trouble. From the Court at Richmond the 18th of Feb. 1595. *Unsigned.*

3½ pp. *Draft or copy, with corrections in Sir R. Cecil's handwriting. Endorsed: "Copy of my master's letter to Mr. Bowes."*

Vol. lli. p. 119.

Copy of the foregoing letter with slight variations.

3½ pp. *In the handwriting of Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

1595-6. 123. THE EARL OF ERROL TO THOMAS NICOLSON.

Feb. 21.

March 2.

I received your letter the 1st instant, which I have considered. As for your brother I am sorry of his misfortune and that ye should have sent him in these parts so suspicious both to his own harm and the greater

James VI.

1595-6. danger of the laird of Logie, whose great misfortune is also heavy to me as any friend he has, albeit I was never acquainted with him afore his coming in these parts, at which time perceiving his complexion I advised him very oft that he should "mell" himself with nothing that might touch the state of the King of Spain's affairs here and that in his doings he should ever be upon his guard with Englishmen of whose soulless knavery I am heartily sorry he should have at this time so sure experience to his own damage. For assuredly he is [in ?] great danger as I advertised. Always I shall leave nothing undone for him that lies in [my] power, as also for your brother who I fear shall not be hastily relieved, and for his better surety it is most expedient and I think it altogether necessary that yourself come up to Liège by Holland with all such diligence as you can. For if ye come by Antwerp ye must have a passport which will not be easily granted to you for your brother's cause. Therefore the other way is both most sure and speedy for you. At your own coming if ye follow such direction as shall be given you and give such satisfaction as ye both may and can do, I hope ye shall get your brother free of danger, if not altogether put at liberty. At your coming to Liège "speir" at the College of the Jesuits for the Earl of Huntly in case I be not there, as I think to be. Always upon the Earl of Huntly's advertisement I shall come to him, for I remain ordinarily in a town six miles only from Liège within the country of Liège. It requires you to make all the diligence ye can as ye wish your brother well or would help Logie. All further I remit to your own coming. At St. Troud the second day of March 1596.* *Signed*: Errol.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph*. *Addressed*: "My guid freind Thomas Nicolsoune."

124. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.

Feb. 24.

On Friday last the 20th hereof I came hither to Edinburgh and on Sunday next following the King gave me access and audience. Whereupon, and after that I had excused the long delay of her Majesty's letters and of my return to him (with other requisite compliments) I delivered her Majesty's letter to him. And after the King's reading of the letter I both accompanied the delivery with report of the continual cares in her Majesty for his welfare and to warn him of the occurrents certified by other nations and touching the honours and safeties of her Majesty, himself, and their realms, and also opened to him the preparations and readiness of the great army and navy of the King of Spain against this Isle and Ireland and the subtle practices of that King enticing with fair and large offers many other princes and potentates to concur in the action with him. Wherein (leaving no seas unsailed) he and the Pope have not spared by their means and ministers to sound the affections and constancies of religious persons and, if credit may be given to some advertisements, it was laboured to tempt the King of Scots and others of special quality in this realm. The truth whereof (and touching himself and others here) I left to his own knowledge trusting that he had already disposed of those matters as best appertained for the preservation of religion the sovereigns and realms in

* This letter is dated by Thorpe 2 March 1596-7 and is placed in the volume of State Papers for that date (S.P. 52/60/40). Errol, however, is evidently using the new style as both he and Huntly were in Scotland in March 1596-7.

James VI.

1595-6.

this Isle, and would in due season acquaint her Majesty with the effects passed and with his purpose and course for the future managing of these causes to their common benefits. To this I added that her Majesty being a prince of long experience and perfect intelligence had espied their "ploytes" and progress therein, together with their intentions for further executions. Against all which she has found such grace and assistance always granted to her by God giving to her comfort and courage, power and strength to withstand their forces and malices, as her Majesty is not only sufficiently armed against them and with good hope prepared in all behalves, but also occasioned to stir up and encourage him to the like, commending highly in him his wise and princely care for his country, love to his neighbours and hate to his enemies well manifested by his present provisions and course taking to resist the Spaniards and their confederates, and wishing him well to proceed according to his good beginnings. All which I have delivered as near to her Majesty's commission by word and to the articles given in writing by your lordship to me, as my memory and power sufficed.

The King, appearing to be much delighted by her Majesty's letter to him, rendered great thanks to her for the evident signs of the continuance of her kind affection and care towards him and his prosperity, and rejoiced to find her Majesty thus minded and furnished against the pride and violence of the Spaniards, intending invasion against her, himself and their dominions. For the defence whereof (he said) that he had been ever careful, protesting very solemnly to be always ready and resolved to hazard for the same defence his life, crown and kingdom, acknowledging that by many and good intelligences he had been advised and discovered that the King of Spain purposed to employ this summer his army and navy amassed against her Majesty, this Isle and for Ireland, and that some of the King's forces in the Low Countries should be very shortly and in the next month sent from thence into this realm to enter into and begin the invasion with his traitorous subjects. Against whose force and arrival he had provided to arm himself and all his good subjects, being nevertheless much unable to do it in such sufficient sort as the necessity and weight of such cause required. Yet he still avows to proceed with all the power in him, hoping that her Majesty for this necessary use will favourably aid him, and promising that whatsoever she shall vouchsafe to bestow on him shall be defrayed for the advancement of the cause common to them both and to be defended by them. He acknowledges that the gold before sent by the Pope (whereof part was delivered to the papist Earls of this nation) was provided to have been employed to draw him to the course of Spain. That the whole sum thereof should have been offered to him, and that part of it being distributed amongst the Earls mentioned, the rest was reserved to have won and "lymed" him as with benefits to be tendered to him by some great personage of Italy favouring him and his case, and not in the names of the Pope or King of Spain. But finding that by the receipt of that gold and "propyne" in any sort he should grieve either his own conscience and dishonour himself in the eyes of the world, or else deceive and "trumpe" them against his word and promise, he would not hearken to any such motion or touch the present to be offered.

Moreover he called to remembrance the persuasions which the Lord

James VI.

1595-6. Zouch and myself had oftentimes made to him to enter into open action against the papist Earls here and confederate[s] with Spain, alleging that thereby he was drawn to make his personal journey into the North to wage soldiers beyond his power or the ability of his predecessors of greater riches and means than himself and to charge himself and subjects with heavy burthens, in hope that her Majesty in that common cause would have relieved him in more liberal manner than hitherto he has received ; and wherein he expects that his known deserts and long patience shall yet move her to have kind consideration of him, his estate and readiness both to perform the effects passed and also to employ himself and whole power with the especial aid from her Majesty and help of his other friends and whole subjects to resist the Spaniards and common enemies mentioned. Before this, and to carry forth this action, he had (he said) sent Colonel Stewart unto the States in the Low Countries to procure support for him. Wherein he found that he was chiefly crossed and hindered by letters from England far against his expectation and still hopes (as he says) that her Majesty of her own natural kindness to him and good considerations of the condition of present causes and of his estate and readiness to advance them to the mutual benefit of them both and their countries to the uttermost of his power will tender speedily his case, which he commends to her favourable consideration.

To these last allegations I laid before him the greatness of the charge lately sustained by her Majesty many ways and presently for France, Ireland and her navy prepared against the enemies, which I proved so truly and enlarged so plainly as he well admitted the same for a just cause to stay her further expenses. Yet he said that he and the causes to be protected by him and for her Majesty and himself ought to be regarded with the other great charges recited by me, trusting verily that her Majesty in respects rehearsed will at this time and for these matters kindly look upon and tender his estate.

Upon speech used of Robert Doleman's book he noted the same to have been written by some politic in England with pretended modesty to the parties interested, and yet with great malice towards them and their titles other than only to the King of Spain and his daughter. And albeit that I showed that book to have been compiled in Spain by one named Persons [Parsons], an English traitor and Jesuit, yet I found him not removed from his former opinion nor pleased with the contents of the book.

I moved him in Border matters and for restitution of the English ship and goods of Mr. Offley stayed at Kirkway in Orkney by the Earl of Orkney. The Border causes he has referred to my next audience, and having directed the Earl of Orkney to come to him with speed and to send hither the ship and goods thus stayed by him he promises justice and satisfaction.

He purposes to send to her Majesty Mr. David Foulis with advertisements as well of the effects of the confessions of some priests and suspected persons entered into this realm and come from Rome, Spain and the Low Countries as also of other discoveries and matters fit to be presented to her Majesty's knowledge and reserved to the report of his own servant to be sent with the same.

Having thus finished with the King I had audience with the Queen

James VI.

1595-6.

to whom I delivered her Majesty's letter and proceeded with such effects as is signified by my letter enclosed and immediately directed to her Majesty by occasions moved by the Queen of Scots.

The Irish priest apprehended here with 3 letters severally to the Earl of Tyrone, the Primate of Ireland and another private person there continues still in prison. It may please your lordship to direct me whether I shall for her Majesty call for the delivery of him, being her subject. The copies of the 2 letters written in Latin and addressed to Tyrone and the bishop I send enclosed, omitting to send the other in Irish as of small importance.

The King intends to draw the Isles of Scotland to his good obedience and for the accomplishment thereof to use the service of the Earl of Argyll, MacLean and MacKenzie as most fit and able instruments for the same and hereon the King has granted leave to MacLean to repair to his presence and to depart with safety. By the late marriage passed betwixt MacLean's eldest son and MacKenzie's sister they are of great power and estimation in the Isles and Highlands and many of the greatest quality there seek for their friendship. I am informed credibly that Tyrone and O'Donnell have lately made means to call to him and entertain many of the Islands who are preparing to be ready to pass into Ireland in the end of March next. Since my return hither I have not heard from MacLean, whereof I marvel and pray your lordship to be directed how I shall proceed with him.

By daily advertisement the King appears to be given to think that some of the Spanish forces in the Low Countries shall be sent in the next month into this realm or Ireland and many well affected by such intelligences expect the same. Hereupon motions have been made to arm and wage 6000 footmen to be maintained at the charge of 300 persons of best power for the same. Many other like overtures have been made in this behalf and for the resistance of the Spaniards; wherein the ministers and many religious persons of good quality now confide greatly in the sincerity of the King's intention and course. And now proclamation is published to command all men to be in readiness to impeach the entry and invasion of the Spaniards and their parties, for the which the King shows himself careful to provide armour and weapon to furnish his good subjects. Edinburgh, 24 February 1595. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

5 pp. *Addressed*. *Endorsed*: "Mr. Robert Bowes to my L. from Edensburgh after his first audience. Rec: at Richmonde the second of Marche."

Feb. 24. 125. ROBERT BOWES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Upon delivery of your Majesty's letter to the Queen of Scots, and after she had read the same, I entered first to confirm the assurance of your kindness professed towards her, with the continuance of your care for the welfare of the King and herself. And noting that the intelligence before offered on her part had not passed to your Majesty from her in frequent manner expected I tendered my readiness to convey to you such letters or advertisement as she liked at any time to address. Whereupon she yielded to your Majesty very hearty thanks, both acknowledging that by strait obligation she was bound above all others to you and also promising

James VI.

1595-6.

to hold correspondency in advertisements by letters or messages as occasion served, saying therewith that she would seek and follow your Majesty's especial advice as given by one whom she most honoured, loved and trusted.

Secondly, I proceeded to recount to her the effects of your message given me in charge, letting her understand that in the late differences betwixt the King and her for the custody of the body of the Prince her son, your Majesty found it strange that she had not imparted to you her mind that thereon by your great experience and affectionate love to her you might have advised and warned her to avoid the danger of subtle counsellors pressing her (for their own advantage) to sue to the King to remove the Prince from the keeping of persons best trusted by the King and authorised by Parliament, and to commit him to the hands of others at the appetites of those deceiving (?) counsellors possessed with no sincerity of mind or intention to please the King to preserve the Prince or to leave the custody of the Prince at the Queen's pleasure, but to be reserved for their practices and with dangers, as has been seen and put in experience in former time in sundry nations and most often and wickedly in Scotland. To this she answered that the matter was sudden and full of peril and she found no fit convoy to your Majesty. She acknowledged that the late Chancellor seeking to recover her favour towards him first brake this matter to her, laying before her such strong reasons proving it convenient not only for her to have the keeping and bringing up of her own child and Prince of the realm, but also very beneficial to her and son, as thereby he embarked her in the action with his friends and such as he commended to her. And albeit that the Chancellor craftily opened the cause to the King and covertly wrought with him to think that the remove of the Prince should endanger the King's person and estate, yet he dealt so betwixt the King and herself and with the persons interested herein as the surprise of the body of the King was plotted, practised and to have been effected at his coming to Edinburgh; which being discovered to her she warned and stayed the King and prevented this danger against him who otherwise (she said) had been captive and to have remained in captivity. These secrets she desired to be commended by my letters to your Majesty's only hands, view and secrecy and as none other should know the same. In which respect (and to accomplish her request and desire therein) I have presumed to trouble your Majesty with this immediate address.

Lastly, I laid before her that your Majesty had good cause to think that she is abused by some of these persons provoking her to seek the remove of the Prince from the persons and place appointed by the King. For it has been made certainly known to your Majesty that some of those persons have assured the Pope by their own speeches that they doubted not to move her to change her religion contrary to the King's mind. Further that some of them have also secretly reported that she has in her own heart changed her religion and is secretly reconciled to the Church of Rome. Wherein although your Majesty is loth to give that credit to this latter report as there is cause to be given to the former, yet to show the fruits of your true friendship to her and in regard that she is a stranger in this realm (albeit she be a Queen here) having no party of her own blood or of convenient quality to deal with her in such difficult matters, you could not but inform her likewise of the abuses remembered. To this she

James VI.

1595-6. said that some purpose was intended to have drawn her from the religion professed by her and this Church, and which still she holds with full resolution to persevere therein. But the matter was not prosecuted and she liked not to reveal the names of the practisers or practise any further, promising directly that if any person shall hereafter deal with or tempt her to any such change that she will acquaint your Majesty with all their attempts and of her own doings therein. In which promise and mind I left her with offer of my service to convoy with safety to your Majesty her letters or credit to be committed to me. Edinburgh, 24 February, 1595. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

2 pp. Seal. Addressed *Endorsed in Burghley's handwriting* : " 24 Febr. 1595. Mr. Bows ambass[ador] in Scotland. His spech w^t the Qu. of Scotts," and in another hand : " Rec. at Richemonde the seconde of Marche."

Feb. 24. **126.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Before the receipt of your last letter of the 18th hereof and delivered to me this day I had closed and made ready the packet with my letters severally to her Majesty and my Lord Treasurer, your father, to such effects as by the view thereof will be seen to you, and trusting the same shall come to your hands I refer the whole contents to the sight thereof.

Since my return hither none for or from Argyll or MacLean have resorted to me, notwithstanding that my coming hither was by George Nicolson made known to them long before mine access. By this (and other reasons) I am put in fear that they have checked at sight of the empty lure. And I find plainly that MacLean has been greatly laboured and tempted to party Tyrone and O'Donnell, to whose aid a new colony in the Isles and Highlands in Scotland are preparing and ready to pass into Ireland in the end of March next or near that time. MacLean has greatly increased his force by the late marriage solemnised betwixt his eldest son and the sister of MacKenzie (a person of great power and action in the Highlands in the north). In which respect the King intending to use the service and means of MacLean and MacKenzie to draw the Isles in Scotland to his obedience has called MacLean to be with him shortly and granted to him free pass and repass with full purpose to embrace, entertain and employ him. The delay to please this fit instrument has (I doubt) been over long used. Yet by all means in my power I shall endeavour to recover him and his services and to prevent the loss of the good offices before tendered by him.

Upon receipt of your letter I have taken order to send to MacLean speedily John Cunningham, burgess of this town and sufficiently known to you. I have directed him to travail effectually that by MacLean's means I may be perfectly informed as well of the proceedings of Tyrone and O'Donnell and their resolutions to seek and accept her Majesty's grace towards them upon their submission, as otherwise to go forwards in their rebellion, as also of the readiness of the Highlanders and Islanders amassing for the support of these rebels to pass into Ireland, together with the

James VI.

1595-6.

certainty of their leaders' numbers, armour, weapon and all other requisite circumstances in all the effects mentioned. I have "done" him to think that the timely discovery of these things will be accounted good service in myself, and enable me to do great pleasures and contentment to MacLean and his friends. For I have alleged (and Cunningham shall show to MacLean) that, if I shall be surely advertised that Tyrone and O'Donnell will not lay down their arms and submit, then I shall not only purchase thanks for my discovery but also be able so to commend MacLean's service in this action as I trust her Majesty shall be pleased upon my commendation and credit to embrace and employ him in such sort as hereafter I shall confer with him and for his good contentment. Further, in case the troubles in Ireland shall be now pacified (as there is good hope of the same), then I will have MacLean's former readiness and good offices for her Majesty in such memory and consideration as shall please him, and as he and his service for her Majesty may be reserved for new occasions, and that he shall have just cause to think himself to have been thankfully dealt with.

As the troubles in Ireland shall increase or cease, so I shall proceed with him in all the particularities of your last and good letter to me. And by the course and means thus devised and before specified at large for your information of my present doings and proceedings herein, I trust both to sound MacLean's mind, power and resolution in all the contents of your letter, and also to give you advertisement thereof with expedition, wishing that in the meantime (and with all convenient speed) I may be sufficiently furnished with full knowledge of her Majesty's pleasure and convenient portion of treasure in gold to advance all things for her best service and liking. Edinburgh in haste, 24 February, 1595. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : "Rec. at Richmonde the second of Marche."

[1595-6.] 127. ROBERT GODFREY TO THOMAS BELL.

Feb. 24.

March 5.

"I resavit your last coffers dated the 22 of Januarij a good space nowe passed, quhairof I did not ceiss to advertiss you throw negligence of quhat you gaif to my credit but lookeing everie day for the man (?) quho suld tak your marchandises frome myn handes in (?) this tyme delayt, altho^t as yet thay be not . . . lest you sould esteime me forgyetfull, I am feene (?) . . . you haif patience and assuir your self that I sould be (?) loith to lett any w^t the lyk guides mak moir profite than I sall do. Thair is assured aperaunce of ane guid marcat for R. (Huntlay) will buy at no man bot me and if he . . . any guides that be fit for your trade or quhousoever you sall haif the first sichte thairrof, if I be ane honest man. For I hoip you will not suffer me thairthrow to be a loiser, for you know, if I seil his guides to wther handes than he giffis charge, the same may turne to my wrak. Quhairfoir I must pray you that ye will haif alss cairful a regard of me in that as I hawe thairin a desyer to seik your content in the lyttill thing I can w^t out any regard of my self. You wreitt to me that yow haif resavit the haill number of the cofferris (letters) quhairof . . . to yow, quhilk giffis me matter to marvel in respect I comittit the credit of theis to no other handes than yow apoint, except ane quhilk I gaif

James VI.

1595-6. for the grytter saifty to ane skipper of this toune. Always heirefter I sall trust the convoy of none of your guides . . . wther hand bot your freindhis as I sall . . . all to woork your content, so do I hoip you . . . judge me throw negligence to suffer no profitable occasione to pas quhairin yow sall do me moir favor than I sall think my self able to acquytt. Thomas (King of Scottes) . . . man quha remains heir is a werray fals knawe as you sall w^t schort tyme leirne. I hoip ye will, haiffing cleir sicht of his knawerie, mak his maister to change a servant. If you knew of his procedinges I think yow suld esteme he wer not woorthy of his place, for he hath as I have sennez [since] hard a continuall dealing tho^t privat w^t his maister his on freindes and youres onlie seiking his gaine at quhoos handes he may haif the same w^t out regard of God or any good law. I think I have maid him loiss his credit w^t P (Errol), R (Huntley) and all quhome thay may move, bot that must not be the penitence of sik knawerie as I sall mak you see of him. With the last cofferis he sent to his maister quhilk come fra R P (Huntley Erroll) he sent a booke set foorth be ane cuntrieman of youres tracting agains his maister his richt to David (England) his heritage, quhairin he tho^t he did guid service to his maister. I reckene this for naine of his knaweries. Now efter all thir rables from propos, pleis for newis, tho^t no newis to yow. The laird of Logie your cuntrieman hath lyen in prisone meikill of tuo monthes at Bruselles for haifing wrettin fra Brabant to the Erle of Essex and otheres in England of the estait of thair affaires in Brabant. He wes betrahit be ane far fals Ingliss villaine quha wes sent to him of werray propos to try his mynd. He lyes in daunger of his lyfe if your Scottis erles mak not gryt travells for him. Thair is ane George Nicolsone moir laitlie takin at Antwerp going fra a brother of his, quha is in Wallar, bot he sayis that his errand wes to the Erle of Huntlie and so wes detenit becaus of a letter he haid to the said laird of Logie as he alledgis quhilk wes to crave him sum debt of his brotheres. Always he wes haldin quhair I resavit my last letter fra that, quhill the Erle of Huntlie suld come in the contrey quhair he is haldin, either [or ?] send assurance that he is his servant. Mr. Robert Bruce is in gryt strait as I leirne yet sum say he will not die. I haif laitlie giffin advertisment of the estait of thinges in Turkie (Scotland) to R (Huntley) boith concerning him selfe and wther commune affaires. He is myndfull as I heir to repair to Lin (Anwarpe) this 10 of Marche. If heir wer any thing woorthy your heiring I suld not forgzet the same. You desyre me be yor last letteres to mak you advertist of the . . . of your trade and quhat I have done in your . . . quhairof I can gif yow no grytter advertisment . . . the dispache of your guides. You desyre to . . . wayes of my estait and being befor . . . Turkie (Scotland), that you may thairthrow tak perfytt (?) . . . in your affaires and gif me contentment. My . . . and being ar not changit, for my contentment . . . travelles in your affaires breid your guid lyking . . . sall thairin find my self werray content. In . . . you lat me haif your guid directione to . . . my dulnes quhou to labo^r in your affaires quhill I sall follow as God will gif me grace. I desyrit be my last letter that you suld send me bak the gentilman his cofferis (letters) quhilkes I sent to you, quhilk yet I pray yow do, w^t sik comune occurences as I may impairt to R (Huntley)."

James VI.
1595-6.

"At Foy (Camphire) this 5 of Marche stilo novo."

Signed: "Your werray affectit brother, Robert Godfrey."

$2\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes*: "v^{to} Marcii 1595."
Names and words in cipher deciphered. Much faded at the edges by damp.

[1595-6.] **128. ROBERT GODFREY TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Feb. 24.

March 5.

"I am forcit to mak bauld w^t you in desyring that be your guid moyen this wther letter may be addressed w^t convenient speid to my brother Thomas Bell, quhairin you sall bind me to serve yow in quhat I can."
"Foy this 5 of Marche." *Signed*: Robert Godfrey.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed*: "To the Ry^t Woorshipfull M^r Robert Bowes embassadeur ordinarie for hir Ma^{tie} in Scotland." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Foy v^{to} Marcii, Edenbr' xj^o Marcii, 1595."

Feb. 25. **129. ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

I do by Mr. Bowes understand her Majesty's gracious favour and good consideration of me and my dutiful offices which, God willing, I shall ever employ to the hazard of my life and all I have for her Majesty's service, and crave no further consideration to be had of me than I shall by my actions "demerrett."

I have received from Mr. Bowes a hundred pounds for the which I beseech your Honour to give her Majesty most humble thanks. And as you have been the chief mean to her Highness for me that some order might be taken whereby I might be the better enabled to do her Majesty service and as your Honour has been careful of me in times past, so I hope you will be in times to come in retaining me in her gracious favour, which is the thing in the world I most desire.

For the discharge of my duty and offices here I shall from time to time communicate to Mr. Bowes all such matter as may concern her Majesty's service whereby it may be the better advanced and disposed upon as he shall think convenient. It is not unknown to your Honour that of late time I have been a persuader by my letters to draw Mr. Bowes into this country and now after long looking for he is come and very well received both with the King and Queen and all good men that fear God and wish the continuance of the amity to stand. I doubt not but by his own letters her Majesty will understand the King's resolute mind both towards herself as also towards the enemy to them both. It is thought here the time is very perilous and therefore most necessary that a sound man should be here to acquaint her Majesty with the estate of all matters, as also to draw between her and this King a warmer kind of dealing than heretofore there has been in respect of the greatness of the enemy, who seeks by all means he may to overthrow them both. As I have been a persuader of the King's resolute mind in this point, so I doubt not but it will be confirmed by them of better credit. Edinburgh, 25 February.
Signed: Roger Aston.

$1\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Holograph. Seal. Addressed. Endorsed*: "20 [sic] Feb. 1595."

James VI.
1595-6.
March 2.

130. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO LORD BURGHELEY.

There is here a young gentleman called Thomas Sinclair, laird of Hirdmeston, and with him one called James Richardson whose sister he has married. They both [have] been at Paris and hearing that I was to repair home to Scotland came hither to this town in company of Mr. Samuel Cockburn to have gone home with me.

Upon some occasion falling out concerning his own private affairs at home he is with convenient speed to repair to Scotland by post and has desired me to request your lordship that he may have passport with commission for four post horses and a guide for his sure passage thither; whose request I have taken boldness to recommend to your good favour.

Since my last unto your lordship I received this other letter within enclosed from my cousin the Lord Sanquhar. The man is so well known unto your Honour by the report of his dealing in foreign parts that I can neither write more of him than is already known to you, neither do I mind to excuse any his doings further than his own letter purports. Always so far as I can learn he is the man that is intended to be sent abroad and into France. What he carries as yet I know not and therefore am forced to leave to your more grave consideration. Whether it shall be best done to let him go this way to the effect that his errand may the better by inquiring be understood or no, as it shall be your lordship's pleasure to direct me so shall I give answer accordingly. This 2 of March. *Signed* : A. Douglas.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address* : "To my verray gud Lord, the Lord High Tresorer of England." *Endorsed* : "2 Martii 1595."

March 4.
Vol. lii. p. 123.

131. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

The Queen is wonderful well satisfied with your manner of proceeding both with the King and Queen and wills me to let you know so much. Her Majesty would have you in any wise to take from the King that opinion that into his country the Spaniards will make descent, for it is not Scotland they would begin with to win England but with England to win both. Her Majesty expects him assuredly in some of her dominions and would have him know what preparations she makes to resist his proud insolencies. If the King can bridle the traitorous Earls' parties by giving comfort and countenance to good patriots that are sound in religion and have not been limed with foreign baits, these are those who must serve him best. The other cannot be sound at heart and therefore not to be trusted. Neither is it held other than a mystery that traitorous subjects' wives and friends are so much countenanced in Court, seeing the King suspects them to be the inbringers of foreigners with them. Haply they may bring money with them to trouble the King at home when they come, but if Spanish power come into Scotland the King shall not need to mistrust help of the Queen more than she did when the French were settled, whom she extinguished. For MacLean I pray you hasten to bargain with him, and where he has had nothing for anything past, the Queen wills me to make over so much more money as will make the chain 500 French crowns. I

James VI.

1595-6. take it that is worth 300 and better. I will therefore send you 200 French crowns more and then do you but [*sic*, put] all into money and give it him. I pray you take it presently and write to me where to make it over to you. I will send you also another hundred crowns for some such of his ministers as you shall like and all for labours past. For the future I pray you remember my conditions and cautions and let us know what will be done that we may send to Ireland to have a correspondency kept there when they shall come in, for we have taken a truce till April begin, and if then they do not conclude with such submission as the Queen may in honour accept, the Queen will [send] 6000 men more into Ireland; but of that keep your counsel. Send me, Sir, I pray you, the reckoning of your money in a loose paper that I may show the Queen how you have ordered it. For anything now that they must do or shall do, let me know their reasonable demands and all shall go forward. Such occurrents as we have out of France I send you. From the Court at Richmond, 4 March 1595.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. Copy in the handwriting of Sir R. Cecil's clerk, headed: "A letter from my master to Mr. Robert Bowes."

[1595-6.] 132. LICENCE TO GEORGE CHALMER.

March 4.

Cott. Calig.,
D. ii. fol. 202.
Harl. MS. 4648,
p. 250.

Notwithstanding that George sometime Earl of Huntly being presently in the parts beyond seas amongst such evil disposed persons [as intend] to settle his heart in that pernicious and superstitious form of religion already begun in him, it may shortly fall forth that he become a contemner and despiser of all wholesome doctrine and true religion, except some well affectioned person be in society with him to dissuade him therefrom, we being informed of the good life and well disposed behaviour of our loved George Chalmer both in manners and religion, whom Henriett, Countess of Huntly, is of mind to send to the said sometime Earl for that effect, give and grant licence to the said George Chalmer to pass to whatsoever parts beyond seas, where the said Earl remains, and there to persuade him to cast off all heresies of religion, embrace the true religion presently professed within our realm, etc.

Given under our signet, Holyroodhouse the fourth day of M[arch].
James R.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. Copy in a late (18th century) handwriting with certification of Walter Robertson, notary, and Thomas Mollison. Damaged by fire.

1595-6.

March 6.

133. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

According to my former of 24th February last I have instructed and sent with all expedition John Cunningham with my letter to MacLean and to the effects appearing by the copies I send enclosed for your information in all my proceedings therein. MacLean is presently in the Isle of Terrye [Tiree] beyond Mula [Mull] and ten days' journey from Edinburgh by the incumbrance and passage of many ferries. Cunningham purposes to return hither before the 20th instant, hoping to bring with him MacLean's full resolutions in matters commended to his consideration and answer and expressed in the instructions to Cunningham.

James VI.
1595-6.

In conference with MacKenzie (whose sister is lately married to MacLean's eldest son) I found that MacLean had with MacKenzie written to me both pressing me greatly to send to him the token of 1000 crowns long expected (and now alleged to be costly bought and deserved by his large expenses defrayed and by the dangerous feuds contracted by his service done for her Majesty) and also to renew his former offers before motioned for the stay and repressing of the rebellious attempts in Ireland. Wherein, that I might follow the course pointed by your last letter to me, I have taken hold of that occasion ministered by himself and thereon grounded all my address to him as by those copies mentioned it will appear to you.

MacKenzie has credibly informed me that new forces in the Isles and Highlands of Scotland are preparing to pass again into Ireland to Tyrone and O'Donnell about the end of this instant month as before I have written to you. He will endeavour (and trusts) to stay MacLeod Harris (M^cKloyd Harrys) lately come from Ireland and ready to return thither with fresh power. MacKenzie and Cunningham are of firm opinion that MacLean shall willingly agree and undertake not only to stop the passage of the rest of these Scottish companies arming for Ireland but also in his own person and with sufficient numbers (with the aid of the Earl of Argyll) to invade the rebels in Ireland to their great hurt. And that for the execution of the effects he shall with Cunningham and John Auchinross, his secretary, certify to me his resolution, advice and power agreeable to the articles commended to his consideration. They wish that the King's allowance herein may be procured, which the King will (I trust) grant without difficulty. Yet I attend further occasion and fit opportunity to move him in the same.

At the coming hither of Cunningham and Auchinross I shall be mightily urged, as well to satisfy MacLean's desire in delivery of the thousand crowns thus demanded, as also to give resolute answer for the entrance and progress of the enterprise against the rebels in Ireland, according to MacLean's plot and order to be signified. Therefore I beseech I may be perfectly and seasonably directed and furnished how to proceed therein for the best accomplishment of her Majesty's pleasure and service. Albeit I intend (God willing) to send one of these messengers to you, yet I must in the meantime entertain MacLean and other fit instruments with some taste of pleasing matter further than verbal comfort or otherwise I fear that they shall so far range and soar from me as I cannot readily lure them again to me.

I have spoken with the Earl of Argyll and laboured with Mr. George Erskine to open the way for the employment and joining of the forces of Argyll and MacLean in this action for Ireland. Yet I have found the Earl so wholly occupied these five days past in the pursuit of Ardkinglass (Arkinlas) (taken and arraigned for the murder of the laird of Caddell) as hitherto time has not served to draw them to any resolution in this matter, which retains not (as partly appears) the accustomed sweetness in their stomachs, as also I find the like disposition in others nothing satisfied by my answers given with all good words without effectual feeling of the fruits expected to have been brought by me to them. By this occasion and drift of time with Argyll I have been driven to defer the dispatch

James VI.

1595-6. and address of these presents to you beyond due time and my own intention.

Mr. David Foulis (Fowles) is ready to enter on Monday next the 8th hereof into his journey with the King's letters to her Majesty, like as upon his more certain readiness I shall advertise my Lord Treasurer, your father, together with the other occurrents in this estate and realm. At Edinburgh, 6 March, 1595. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : "Received at London the 13th of the same."

First enclosure with the same.

Edinburgh, 26 Feb. 1595 [-6]. Memorial given to John Cunningham in matters to be communicated with the laird Lauchlan MacLean of Dowart.

Since my return to Edinburgh and in conference with MacKenzie I have understood that MacLean by his letter sent with MacKenzie to me has not only desired to hear timely from me in causes past but also declares himself and mind to be still ready effectually to proceed in the former offers and course before motioned by him for the stay and repressing of the rebellious attempts in Ireland. Wherein I have thought it expedient to give seasonable advertisement and good satisfaction to him ; and for the same purpose (and with the advice of MacKenzie) to send to him thus instructed John Cunningham both to signify to MacLean that his good will already showed and his friendly devotion and good offices now tendered and hereafter to be done upon new occasion of new troubles in Ireland shall be thankfully considered, and also to commend to his wise consideration and answer the effects hereafter specified, viz.—

First to search and try whether any new forces in the Isles and Highlands of Scotland are gathering and preparing to pass again with all expedition into Ireland to the aid of Tyrone or O'Donnell or to renew the rebellion there, now likely to be quenched by the submission offered by Tyrone and the abstinence of arms taken thereon. And that he will speedily advertise me with certainty as well of the readiness of those Scottish forces arming for this purpose, as also of all other circumstances proving the intention of the rebels in Ireland to proceed in their actual rebellion there.

Next that upon discovery or appearance of the progress of this rebellion (not expected) and according to his former offers and present readiness tendered it may please you to let me understand in writing with you his full resolution, course and power in these several points following :—

Whether and how he will and can stay the passage of the Scottish forces preparing for Ireland.

What personal services he will do to invade the rebels in Ireland with his own forces and with the assistance of the Earl of Argyll meet to be entertained in this enterprise and agreeable to MacLean's advice.

When he will enter into and begin the action to be enterprised by invasion against the rebels in Ireland and their complices.

What numbers he will levy and carry with him for this expedition, of what sort and country they shall be, and how they shall be furnished with armour, weapon and other necessities.

James VI.
1595-6.

What shall be the charge of all his regiment and companies.

Whether he will receive pay for the same in gross or otherwise. If in gross, then what assurance shall be given to her Majesty for the accomplishment of the services to be attempted.

What course he will take for the execution of this attempt.

Let him further know that upon receipt of advertisement of his full mind, determination and readiness in the parts and articles mentioned I shall so dispose and recommend the same as shall work (I trust) his best contentment, notwithstanding that hitherto I have not received any settled direction from her Majesty in these behalfs. Pray him to send speedily with you to me John Auchinross for such purposes and respects as I have committed to your credit.

Lastly, acquaint him with the state of John MacNeil continuing in prison at Exeter and nevertheless reprised against the next assizes there, and to be favoured further as you may declare.

2 pp. *In hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed.*

Second enclosure with the same.

(Robert Bowes to Lauchlan MacLean.)

After many impediments deferring my return into this realm far beyond my expectation it has pleased her Majesty to employ and send me again hither for her service here, where I have found and spoken with your lordship's good friend and ally MacKenzie. To whom (I perceive) you had delivered a letter addressed to myself and to effects signified by him to me; and whereby I understand your good will and readiness to proceed in former offers and course for the expedition of such good offices and matters as by you and your seasonable means may be executed; and wherein your friend mentioned has moved me to write unto you by this bearer, John Cunningham, so well known and trusted by you, as I have thought good therefore to send him to you with these presents, agreeable to your friend's desire, and to accomplish him with such further information and credit in all things, as by him shall be opened, and as (I trust) shall well like and content you. Albeit your friend had not here your letter to me, yet he has so fully satisfied me in the contents thereof, as has well sufficed for me and the cause, and as you shall (I trust) well accept thereof. The rest I refer to the report and sufficiency of this bearer named. At Edinburgh, 26 Feb. 1595 [-6]. *Unsigned.*

1 p. *In hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed:* "Copie of my l're to Loughlane McKlaine of Doward."

March 8. **134.** JOHN CUNNINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

"Thes Mounday the 8 off Marche I came to Deinoideill [*? Dunolly*] to the laird McCoilles pleis quair I comffaritt w^t him and openid my speikin w^t him. He send ane boitt w^t foure off hes speciaill serwandes to the Iayll off Iayllay [*? Isle of Islay*] to traye the sertane of all newes and of McConnaill's proseidences. I heir McOdeill voitt [*? with*] McConnaill and seik as will do for him is maikin the prepairaiton thay may for Ireland ry^t schortle abeit the end of thes monneithe of Marche, boit be God grayce at my retourne to Ed[inburgh] I sill breing sarttane

James VI.

1595-6. word wt me off quhatt aperiances thair is of all thair tournes. It is trewe that M^cclane is in Tarrei [Tiree] qlk will be sum staye to me boit wt all the poysabell gud deleigance I can o^r dell (?) do I sall speid well to Ed[inburgh]. I hoip yt the lard M^cCoill sall wreitt to yo^r lordship for he is ane man that yo^r lordship maye keipin to aid . . . [illegible] ye will off the gud caus for quhatt he wreittes will be found soure [sure] and trewe." "Off Deinoidleill [? Dunolly] in heist the 8 off March. I have tane boitt and hoip to be in Dowartt thes nyt." *Signed* : "Jhone Conynghame burges in Ed[inburgh]." "In greitt heist."

1 p. *Holograph*. *Addressed* : "To my guid Lord my Lord Bowes, my Lord Imbaseto^r." *Endorsed* : "Dunnolyt 8 Marcii, Edenb' xxv^o ejusdem, 1595."

March 9. **135. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Forasmuch as the King here has written unto her Majesty in the favour and for the advancement of this gentleman, Mr. George Montgomery, seeking to be denizened in England, wherein before this he has been in good hope of her gracious disposition to grant the same; and finding the King desirous to further him and his cause, as also his honourable friends to be ready with all good offices in their power to acknowledge her Majesty's favourable goodness towards themselves by the grace to be showed to their kinsman; I have presumed to accompany him with these presents and to recommend him and the expedition of his suit. Edinburgh, 9 March, 1595. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In G. Nicolson's handwriting, also address. Seal. Endorsed.*

March 10. **136. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

The former experience of the good devotion known in this bearer, Mr. David Foulis, presently employed and sent to her Majesty by the King his sovereign, and the fruits of the good offices done with present readiness to increase the same by his diligent endeavours in this service for the nourishment and augmentation of the loving kindness and happy amity betwixt her Majesty and the King have given me just occasion and boldness to recommend him and the expedition of his affairs to your goodness and furtherance. Edinburgh, 10 March, 1595. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : "10 Mar: 1595 . . . By Mr. Fowles. Received at Richmond the xxvth of the same."

March 10. **137. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELEY.**

The present calm in this estate after the late blasts and expectation of storms and affording few occurrents of importance and my daily occupation this while, with the feebleness of my body, unable as yet to endure my accustomed labours in writing by night, have this long stayed my letters from your lordship.

James VI.
1595-6.

The King, continuing in his good course for the advancement of religion, justice, peace and the increase of his own revenues, has put in readiness Mr. David Foulis (Fowles) to be employed and sent to her Majesty with such instructions as with great curiosity and care are reserved to be first presented to her knowledge, and before any part hereof shall be certified by others. Wherein the King has so uttered to myself his intention and desire as I have thought it meet to leave those discoveries, apologies and mysteries to the report of his own servant named and prepared to enter his journey to-morrow or the next day at the farthest.

By the view of her Majesty's letter to the Queen here the King perceived that in a postscript in the same written with her Majesty's own hand her Majesty had committed especial credit to be delivered to the Queen by me. The effects of which credit he desired to know of the Queen, who answered that I had not opened the same to her, giving me knowledge of the King's doings and her answer, praying me to confirm her speech past. Wherein I wished her be well advised with offer of my opinion for her instruction therein. Soon after the King (by Mr. David Foulis) let me understand that albeit by her Majesty's direction some particular credit should have been reported to the Queen here by me, yet I had not hitherto revealed the same to the Queen as herself had affirmed to the King; and that the Queen thereby could not by her letter to be sent to her Majesty sufficiently satisfy her, as well in the contents expressed in writing in her Majesty's letter, as also in the substance of credit commended by word. Therefore I was moved to acquaint the King with the sum of the credit mentioned. In this I made it strange to receive such motion and matter, adding that I could not contest with the Queen denying the receipt of any credit reported by me after so long audience given me. And for the next remedy I offered to recount to the Queen the effects of my speeches uttered upon delivery of her Majesty's letter to the Queen and therewith to satisfy her in relation of the credit, which course was allowed. And I so followed the same with my advice to the Queen as now all parties are pleased and the Queen's letter is prepared and to be sent with Mr. David Foulis for full return to her Majesty's letter and credit thus addressed to the Queen.

The other day a letter was secretly put into the King's hands with pretence that it was written by some about Mr. Archibald Douglas and partly (as it is supposed) with his privity, and directed to Patrick Thompson, apothecary in Edinburgh. The author did inveigh greatly and at large against Mr. David Foulis with reproachful terms and far condemning him and his sufficiency to be employed in this negotiation to her Majesty. Secondly, he warned and advised the King to think that your lordship and the Earl of Essex had inward intelligences and courses to the King's prejudice. And lastly, that Bothwell was sent for and to be covertly kept in England to be hounded out upon fit occasion and time to work the King's ruin. The King accounts this to proceed of envy against Mr. David and of subtle practice in the other two points without any ground. Whereupon he used deep protestations as well of his love and sincerity towards her Majesty (thinking himself (as he said) to be in some respects her subject) as also of his favour and good will to all her noblemen and councillors, without regard of things past.

In these 6 days last past the King's Council and officers of the crown

James VI.

1595-6.

have been daily occupied in the arraignment of the laird of Ardkinglass (Arkinlas) for the murder of the laird of Caddell. And albeit that the principal executioner of that fact with the arquebuse of Ardkinglass (and 3 others executed to death with him for it) have directly confessed that they did that murder at and by the instigation of Ardkinglass; and that he has likewise by his confession in writing acknowledged before the Earl of Argyll (who earnestly pursues him) to have been privy and assenting to it, yet his counsel learned have found and alleged such matters in law for his acquittal or at least for delay of his trial, as hitherto the assise (or inquest) cannot be taken to proceed to his trial. Large sums exceeding 50,000*l.* Scots have been offered for his life to the King's use and others. But the King nor Argyll will hearken thereunto, notwithstanding that many noblemen [and others *struck through*] are suitors herein, and that the chief barons of Argyll's blood labour earnestly for Ardkinglass, by whose death Argyll is like to be left without the accustomed assistance and support of his kindred. Albeit that the King and Argyll still insist against him, yet it is uncertain what the assise for his trial shall determine.

The Earl of Angus is quietly drawn near to Edinburgh seeking his peace. It is thought that he hopes by the means of the Lord Hume to obtain some favour at the King's coming to Dunglass, whereunto the King intends to ride on Saturday, the 13th hereof, and for his pastime in hunting to expend there some days and to hunt about Eyton and within few miles of Berwick.

Huntly and Errol's return into Scotland with some Spanish forces and gold is not expected to be with such speedy expedition as before my coming hither was credibly given out and believed by many. And by some good intelligence showed to me it is certified that they will be loth to come into this realm in any manner against the King's will and pleasure. Wherein some well affected have informed and travailed with the King who is likewise of opinion that they dare not adventure to return without his leave and allowance, which he solemnly protests shall not be given to them without the advice of the Estate and ministers. Their friends in the North have been lately in great comfort carrying in their guidons at the musters of the horsemen crosses beyond the accustomed manner. Gight (Gethe) and Cluny Gordon suspecting that the Countess of Huntly shall be drawn from her Catholic religion by her brother the Duke of Lennox are very curious to keep her from company. Yet the Duke undertakes to draw her to the religion or utterly to leave her. Whereupon her son shall be taken from her and be brought up in the school in Edinburgh in religion with Mr. Robert Rollock. In these behalves, touching the persons, possessions and practices of the papist Earls and other suspected, the next assembly of the Church appointed to meet and begin the 23rd hereof will present to the King and the Estate their petitions, as hereafter will be made further known to your lordship.

By the wants and impediments seen in the elder brother of the Earl of Errol (namely in his tongue and speech) the earldom was conveyed to the younger brother now Earl attainted and in the Low Countries, and a yearly pension was allotted to the elder, who with his pension was first kept by his brother and after his attainder and banishment was assigned to the laird of Lutwharne [? Ludquharne] who for recovery of this

James VI.

1595-6. pension (denied by direction of the Earl fearing that the earldom should have been restored to his elder brother) procured the King's letters and ordinary process which he sent with his servant to be executed. His servant was awaited by three several companies and by the laird of Towye Barkley [Barclay of Tolly] was met with and slain. For the which murder the ministers have earnestly moved the King to do justice on the offender.

The Master of Glamis has surrendered his office of the Lord Treasurer providing to be cleared of 6000*l*. Scots charged upon him. This office is now given by the King's own disposition to the Prior of Blantyre, wherewith Sir Robert Melvill has to the King showed himself not well contented, affirming that, albeit for sundry respects he served under the Master, yet he liked not to be thrust under Blantyre, with whom he thought himself equal and as worthy and fit for that office. The King answered that Blantyre sought not the office but that he laid it upon him as most apt to serve for his profit; and therefore willed Sir Robert to keep and do his duty in his office of Vice-Treasurer. Otherwise let him give it up into the King's hands and he would dispose it. The privy seal is given to Mr. John Lindsay. And it will shortly follow that the Secretary shall yield his office to Mr. Lindsay in exchange for the privy seal. The office of the Chancellor is still reserved in the King's hands.

The King has pressed the Earl of Mar with great earnestness to agree for the feud of the slaughter of David Forster. Mar hitherto was not content and has obtained 15 days to be advised with his friends with leave to repair for that time to Stirling. It was in Council debated and near to have been concluded to have committed him for this disobedience. And the Queen was not pleased that this favour and respect was given him. It is thought that he shall seek licence to depart this realm and travel into other nations, which taking effect the custody of the Prince now in Mar's hands must be provided for. What events shall follow hereon is very doubtful and dangerous.

It is credibly given out here that James Surleboye upon the escape of his younger brother out of prison is lately stayed and detained by some of her Majesty's officers in Ireland, and that thereon Angus MacConnell (McKonell) (cousin germane to James) is prepared to give aid to O'Donnell, to whose support Donald Gorm and other principal persons in the Isles of Scotland with their companies in great numbers are preparing to pass again into Ireland to party Tyrone and O'Donnell; wherein in short time I shall give your lordship further advertisement with better certainty. Edinburgh, 10 March 1595. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp*. *Addressed*. *Endorsed*: "Rec. at London the xvijth of the same [March 1595]."

March 12. 138. JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

This bearer, George Montgomery, a gentleman of honourable race and parentage, having spent ten or twelve years within your realm, his dutiful behaviour and desert has procured such favour and good will that the respect thereof with the virtue and pleasure to be reaped in that soil has animated and allured him (if therewith he can enjoy that preferment

James VI.

1595-6. expected) to continue his residence within the same. Whose good intention we have willingly accorded to further by this our recommendation, effectually requesting you to give order to "infrank and endenize" him with the accustomed immunities and liberty of such strangers inhabiting within your realm, whereby he may be capable of whatsoever preferment or benefit his good desert can acquire of yourself or any your subjects, and herewithal that by your mean and direction he may reap the favourable admission of the ecclesiastical governors to that whereunto he shall happen to be preferred. From our Palace of Holyroodhouse the twelfth day of March and of our reign the twenty-ninth year, 1595. *Signed* : " Youre most loving and affectionatte brother and cousin, James R."

Postscript (in the King's handwriting).—"The honest and goode conversation that I have noted in this gentleman during the tyme of his abode heir doth move me the more earnestlie to reccomende his suite unto you."

1 p. *Addressed and endorsed.*

March 13. **139.** DUNCAN MACDOUGALL OF DUNOLLY TO ROBERT BOWES.

John Cunningham, merchant and burgess in Edinburgh, came here from whom I received your lordship's "commendaounis." I wrote a letter to you with the Englishman that was at MacLean's in summer last, called Captain Tourany, which letter I know not if you received. "Always" John Cunningham requested me to get knowledge of the "estaittis" of Ireland and of the news of the Clandonalds who are partners and assisters of the Ireland men who are "contrair" the Queen's Majesty. And to the effect that I might have the perfect knowledge of the doings and news incontinent after John Cunningham's advertisement to me in your behalf, I directed my special servants toward the coast side of Ireland for certain news and "howschune" I get sure advertisement I shall direct word with John Cunningham to you of the news I can learn. I hear by report that the men of Ireland are banded together against her Majesty and that they hope for relief of Spaniards in these short days. Some of the Ireland men, and in special the Earl of Tyrone (Tirewin), have directed out of Ireland the first of this instant Thomas O'Burke (Obuirk), son to Richard William O'Burke (Obuirk), in Scotland to Angus MacDonald, lord of Kintyre, who has directed a servant with the said Thomas O'Burke to the north isles to MacDonald Gorme and to sundry others there for certain Highland men of war. I heard also by report that in case the said Thomas get no support of Scottishmen he pretends to pass forth out of Scotland to France and "syne" to Spain. I shall advertise you of further news with John Cunningham, who, as I understand, has written to you "as" will please you to write to me of your news and good estate. Let this present make my humble "commendaounis" to your lordship's bedfellow. From the place of Dunolly in Lorne, 13 March 1595. *Signed* : Duncan McDougall off Dunolly^t.

1 p. *Holograph, also address* : "To my maist speciall guid lord and freind my lord Ambassado^r." *Endorsed by Bowes* : "Dunoly^t xiiij^o Marcii, Edenb' xxv ejusdem, 1595."

James VI.

1595-6.

March 16.

140. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

On the 11th hereof I received your two letters both of the 4th of this month together with two other letters from Robert Godfrey, which two last I found so fast sealed as I think you have not read them and therefore I return them enclosed to you.

Expecting the coming hither of the Dean of Limerick (Limbrick) I have stayed the address of these presents to you until this time, hearing nothing as yet from him nor of the time of his repair hither. Whereupon I shall advertise you of the same and of all our proceedings. John Cunningham is not hitherto returned from MacLean nor any advertisement from him since his departure from Dumbarton, from whence he must pass on foot to the seaside near 100 miles in journey. I look for him in the end of this week or near thereabouts and with full resolutions from MacLean in all the instructions given by me and containing the grounds of the articles and cautions prescribed by your letters to me. I am put in good hope that MacLean shall be willing and ready to offer and undertake the services for her Majesty. And I am sure that if the token (long looked and called for) had been given him in season that thereon he would have served with sufficient forces and at reasonable conditions. The hindrance grown by this delay I shall redress by the best means in my power and provide that the 500 French crowns (appointed by your last for him) shall be in readiness and tendered to him, fearing nevertheless that the same shall not sufficiently satisfy his expectation and desire without the receipt of the whole sum of 1000 crowns thus oft and earnestly demanded by him. Which full gift shall (I think) work good effects for the advancement of the service with frankness and for composition of the conditions in measure, which I wholly leave to her Majesty's pleasure attending direction therein. And in the meantime I shall both entertain him and his ministers in the best contentment I can and speedily advertise you of John Cunningham's proceedings and success with MacLean, who entering personally into the service shall be (I trust) so well assisted with Argyll and others as MacConnell (M^cKonnell) shall little annoy him or his, abroad or at home, as by your last you seem to suspect.

After conference with Mr. George Erskine (greatly interested in the favour of the Earl of Argyll and especially devoted to her Majesty and her service) the Earl came to me at my lodging, acknowledging her Majesty's goodness to him and his house and offering all good offices to her for the same. Whereupon I entered to assure him of the continuance of her Majesty's good opinion and affection towards him and well witnessed as well by her kind letter to himself and readiness to pleasure him, as also by her good acceptation of his letter and good will thereby offered to her. And recounting some particularities of his kindness professed by that letter to her, I gave him thanks in her name for his former willingness to have stayed the Scottish forces then passing into Ireland to the aid of Tyrone and rebels there, praying him to hearken unto and inform me of the intentions of Tyrone, O'Donnell and others lately in rebellion in Ireland and now submitting themselves with pretence of such humility as some abstinence from arms is taken thereon. To this he said that those Scottish

James VI.

1595-6.

forces were so far proceeded in their voyage for Ireland before he was warned thereof as he could not then effect such restraint and stay of them as he desired and would have done in case the warning had been given him in time. Next that, albeit MacConnell and Donald Gorm were stayed afterwards and gave their pledges to Captain Thornton for their good behaviour towards her Majesty from thenceforth, yet their pledges were persons little worth (as MacConnell and others confessed to himself) and he perceived that they would not be quiet, neither did he look for quietness to be continued in Ireland, notwithstanding the submission of Tyrone. He promised to inquire diligently of the inward minds and purposes of Tyrone and others in these behalfs and thereof to give me speedy advertisement. Whereupon taking occasion to expostulate what he would do for her Majesty upon discovery of the plots to renew the rebellion in Ireland, he answered roundly and frankly that he would faithfully perform his former offers to her and with his whole power be ready to serve her as her Highness should think convenient, providing that the good will and assent of his master and sovereign might be obtained and granted in the same. Which answer and offer I have received promising to certify the same to her Majesty and shortly to return to him her acceptation and purpose to proceed in this matter. And that the King his master, seeing the progress of this rebellious action against the religion and to the common danger and prejudice of the sovereigns of these realms, would (I trusted) yield his consent and aid for the suppressing of that wicked enterprise and parties in the same. In which mind and resolution he departed from me and is returned home, expecting further advertisement from me. Wherein I attend timely directions, purposing to take the benefit of the labours and good offices of Mr. George Erskine for the furtherance of best effects. Therefore I wish that he may be thankfully regarded for the same. I have not opened to Argyll or Mr. George any part of my dealings with MacLean, for by the advice of MacLean's instruments I am moved to leave to his own course and resolution the manner and time of the discovery of this matter.

The young laird of Lawers (Laws) offers to procure MacCondochy (McKendoquhy) to do especial service for her Majesty in Ireland either personally with his own companies against the rebels there or else by secret policies and discoveries to give advantage to her Majesty's forces for the surprise of the rebels; and that for the accomplishment of the same with all sincerity MacCondochy will deliver his only son in hostage to young Lawers. Upon the execution of this service MacCondochy looks to be bountifully rewarded in regard that thereby he shall sell Ireland and all his friends therein and live in dangerous feud at home. How I shall entertain, accept or reject this offer it may please you to direct me speedily. Edinburgh, 16 March 1595. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The laird of Wemyss finding that I had not brought from her Majesty to him such comfort and satisfaction as he expected is greatly amazed and discomfited, notwithstanding that I have laid before him the greatness of her Majesty's charges at this present. He protests that the want of her relief, hoped to have supported him in this necessity and distress for the advancement of his two daughters newly married, shall work his disgrace and utter ruin, except it shall please her Majesty to have gracious

James VI.

1595-6. and timely regard of him and his services ; and anchoring himself and his estate upon her bountiful goodness he wholly rests thereon, heartily praying you to commend to her Majesty his distressed case, as further by his own letter enclosed will (I think) appear unto you.

2 pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : "Received at London the 22th of the same [March]."

March 16. **141. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.**

On Saturday last, the 13th hereof, the King rode to Dunglas purposing to recreate himself in hunting there (as before I wrote to your lordship) and on the 20th of this month to return to Holyroodhouse.

For the establishment of quietness in the West Borders and to appoint a warden for the same the King purposes to enter into his journey towards Dumfries on 2 April. The Lord Herries, Sir John Carmichael and the laird of Johnstone are in light for this office. Herries is holden unfit, Carmichael overcostly (yet very apt and serviceable for the place) and presently Johnstone is like to be preferred by the means of his friends in Court.

For the redress of all attempts done by Scottishmen in England the King shows himself very willing and ready to give justice with expedition agreeable to the treaties and laws of the Marches. For the perfect execution thereof in every particular he desires to have in writing the bills and complaints of her Majesty's wardens. In this I have written to the wardens trusting to receive speedily their returns, and as thereby some full order shall be taken and proceed by the ordinary powers of the wardens and officers of the Marches or by the extraordinary commissions to be awarded by the sovereigns to the wardens or to other persons as for the time and causes shall be found most expedient.

The restitution of Mr. Offley's ship and goods taken and detained by the Earl of Orkney at Kirkway in Orkney has been referred to the coming hither of the Earl, expected to have been here before this time. The King determinately answered that the Earl shall not be allowed to plead reprisal for his goods taken by Guync and other English pirates, but that justice with favour shall be administered in this case and as Edward Johnston and his co-partners have lately received by the order of her Majesty and Council.

It has been motioned to provide and bring hither from the Low Countries some armour and weapon for defence against the Spaniard. What shall further ensue hereof, it is not certain.

The Countess of Huntly coming to Stirling has been drawn hither to Court against the outward liking of the King and otherwise than by the well affected has been looked for, and as by my former to your lordship may partly appear. Her suit (as I hear) was to invest her son in the possession of his father, with some other errands suspected. She lodged in the Court at Holyroodhouse with her sister the Countess of Mar and had presence of the Queen without any good countenance showed openly by the King, who will not allow of her suit. She is now departed and in her return homewards.

The Earl of Angus being hereabouts quietly met (as I am informed) with Crawford, Sanquhar and Spynie on Sunday last the 14th hereof,

James VI.

1595-6.

and Angus alone riding on a grey horse near to Holyroodhouse, he labours much to be restored into the King's favour and bosom of the Church upon his submission. Wherein the next General Assembly meeting at Edinburgh the 23rd hereof, shall be (as it is thought) greatly "instanted" to receive him, Huntly and Errol upon humiliation and good caution for their good behaviours hereafter. Many wise and well affected are jealous in this matter, suspecting that the entertainment of these papist Earls (returning without Spanish forces yet with perilous practices) shall endanger the religion, the King and Estate.

The trial of Ardkinglass by assise is put over to new day, in regard that no assise could be found to pass thereon. The Lord Hamilton by messenger moved Mar to mitigate his passion against Ardkinglass and to entreat Argyll to do the like, otherwise Hamilton must think that Mar did not so friendly respect him and his request as he expected. Mar and Argyll are like still to proceed in their former courses against Ardkinglass, who still passes over these great storms against him.

Albeit that Sir Robert Melvill has surrendered his office for good consideration and his acquittal and discharge of 35,000*l.* Scots, yet the King purposes to have his service in Court in regard of his experience, or else to employ and send him to her Majesty with such commission as shall be given him to entertain and nourish the kindness and good affection betwixt her and the King. But Sir Robert, feeling the diseases of his old age, little embraces as yet that office.

The Earl of Crawford, protesting especial devotion to her Majesty and to be very desirous to see her and Court and expend there some time, prays her leave and safe conduct for his repair to London to the effects mentioned. He purposes (as he affirms) to make his abode most at London and Court in England, and after he has seen Holland some few days to return to Scotland, earnestly wishing that it may please her Majesty to take proof of him and his readiness to yield to her all good offices in his power.

The Lord Hume, thanking her Majesty greatly for her former favour showed in grant of a placard for 2 horses to have been provided for him in England, alleges that he bought and brought home the one thereof, but his servant having the placard in his custody was slain, the placard lost and he has not got the other horse. Therefore he prays her Majesty's goodness towards him and to grant to him another placard for 2 horses or geldings to be likewise provided for him in England, promising for the same both his whole service (next his own sovereign) to her and also to spare no pains and charges for preservation of the peace of the Borders and to the benefit of her subjects there. What answers I shall give to the Earl Crawford and Lord Hume in their requests or further do with them it may please your lordship to direct me. Edinburgh, 16 March 1595.
Signed : Robert Bowes.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Endorsed* : "Rec. at London the 22th of the same [Mar. 1595]."

March 18. **142.** LAUCHLAN MACLEAN OF DUART TO ROBERT BOWES.

Having received great comfort by your coming to this realm and "mekill mair" there by your good health and welfare which I wish to be

James VI.

1595-6.

preserved to your honour ; being here in the Isle of Coll toward the west from Mull the 10th instant [I] have received your lordship's letters from Johne Cunningham dated at Edinburgh the last of February, whereby I perceive my friend MacKenzie has used my commission with you and therefore for sundry resolutions has with your letter directed certain articles and heads, which are answered particularly by me in form as the bearer, my servant John Auchinross, instructed with my mind shall present them ; who is directed there according to your desire, whom it will please you to credit as if I were present. Thus resting ready to be employed and to do you all honour and pleasure in my power, after presenting of my commendations I pray God preserve your lordship. You shall be sure of an honest meeting of me as John [Auchinross] will show you, for upon that pretence in this action I have not spared "geir and pains," neither will I to the perfection of the same to your honour and mine in her Majesty's true and faithful service. From Coll, 18 March 1595. *Signed* : Lauchlane M'lane off Doward.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In the handwriting of Auchinross, also address* : "To my verrey guid Lord, my Lord Bowes, lait Ambassitoure." *Seal. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Edenbr, xxx^o Marcii 1596."

Enclosure with the same.

Answers made by Lauchlan MacLean of Doward to such heads "proponit in vritt" to him by my Lord Bowes advertised (?) with John Cunningham.

First being no way declined from my former offers and course before mentioned in the stay and repressing of the rebellions attempted in Ireland, but rather of mind with greater courage and effect and good will to follow out the same course till her Majesty's obedience be had there, I ordained my friend MacKenzie to speak your lordship with the presenting to you of my letter, thinking that my good will offered, expense and pains . . . taken in this action should be accepted in good part and acknowledged as I understand her Highness ordained, but also upon new occasion to be employed and acknowledged as her Grace's servant ; and so to begin to answer your lordship in the heads appointed, viz.—

First, concerning the toil if new forces in the Isles and Highlands of Scotland are ingathe[ring] and preparing to pass again to Ireland to the aid of Tyrone and O'Donnell or to renew (?) rebellion there now likely to be quenched, etc. ; as also of all other circumstances . . . the intention of the rebels in Ireland to proceed in their actual rebellion there : it is answered that Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorm are presently making prepara[tions] for mending of their galleys and other vessels appointed for transporting of their a[rmed ?] men ; and that the Earl and O'Donnell have had their writings at them of late . . . are kept close from my "moyan" as yet but so soon as I am assured of the same your [lordship] shall know. And for having of sure trial of the Earl and O'Donnell their int . . . in Ireland presently directs some special servants and a galley there ha . . . my "adois" with such as are my favourers and "dependaris" in those parts as my servant John Auchinross will show your lordship, for whose return with sure trial I look betwixt . . . and the first of May next at the furthest,

James VI.
1595-6.

Secondly, where it is desired to know how I will and can stay the passage of Scottish forces preparing to Ireland : it is answered that all those that dwell in the Isles of Scotland, who will not . . . and take part with me, I may stay them by this "meyn" whenever I "gweire . . ." them for none dwells here but he that is my friend or else my enemy, and thereby none of my enemies dare leave their own dwelling.

Thirdly, where it is desired to know what personal service I will do to invade the rebels in Ireland with my own forces and with the assistance of the Earl of Argyll meet to be entertained in this enterprise at my advice : it is answered that my own proper person shall pass there accompanied with two thousand and more of my own ablemen and "dependaris," and if Argyll would furnish a thousand of my choosing it were good to be had.

Fourthly, where it is demanded when I will enter into service and begin the action to be enterprised by invasion against the rebels in Ireland and their complices : it is answered as I have begun in quiet manner in her Majesty's service and have vowed thereon beside pains, as my servant John Auchinross will show you in particular, [I] am now ready to take the action in hand presently or whenever I be charged.

Fifthly, where it is desired what numbers I will levy and carry with me for this expedition, of what sort and country they shall be and how they shall be furnished with armour, weapons and other necessities : it is answered as of before I will furnish two thousand men of my own, crave to have a thousand of Argyll, and if her Majesty might spare two thousand, this number might serve the purpose with the help of God, furnished in this form : I will have 1500 bowmen who are very meet for that country and five hundred "fyremen." In this number we will not want our two-handed swords and armour of mail to be used if battle be offered to us ; at which time we will change some of our bowmen to use their two-handed swords the time of battle. As for Argyll's men they are welcome as they come, whilst her Majesty's men to be furnished in this form, a thousand "fyirmen" and a thousand pikemen. And if occasion be offered that her Majesty may not spare two thousand, I desire 12 hundred or a thousand, the two parts of "fyirmen" and the third part of pikemen, having sufficient and acquainted "commandaris" to stand against the enemy. And I desire not their "commandaris" to be of those that are trained up in Ireland who crave the wars to continue or not to end. And for other necessities as victual we that are Scottishmen shall furnish ourselves and others, her Majesty's men, would have of their own furnishing to serve them six nights after their landing, before the which we may furnish us of our enemies' goods if fortune chance.

Sixthly, where it is asked what . . . it is answered that I desire 20s. sterling for . . . [*in margin* : 20s. a man] extend to 2000*l.* sterling in the month, myself and other [commanders to the ?] number of twenty being acknowledged monthly as her Grace's. . . .

Seventhly, it is asked whether I will receive pay for the sum in gross or otherways : it is answered I crave a monthly pay in hand and no more, with security in Edinburgh for payment monthly from the day of my entering in galleys in Scotland to our return there again.

Eighthly, if in gross payment be received, what assurance shall be given to her Majesty for accomplishment of the services to be accepted :

James VI.

1595-6. it is answered that I crave no payment in gross and yet for my true service as her Majesty's Council shall devise security the same shall be obeyed and satisfied by me.

Ninthly, what course I will take for the execution of this attempt : it is answered I mind, God willing, to land on some part of Lough Foyle (Laffeull) and to take journey through the Earl's bounds till I meet with him wherever he remain, for I must seek for him, which is the ground of my honour and honesty in this action. In this meantime that her Grace's forces in Ireland be diligent on his one side as I shall be on the other. And that the knight marshal be appointed to repair to me so soon as he may after my landing, I doubt not but the most part of all the Earl's assisters and O'Donnell's also will leave them and seek to me for making of intercession and mean with her Majesty for their peace. Wherefore [I] would have liberty granted to reduce them to her Grace's obedience, seeing they are not the special men of taking the action of rebellion or usurping of authority in hand. In this point John Auchinross, my servant, will make your lordship acquaint.

It is to be remembered that this part of Ireland was never fully brought to her Grace's obedience nor to the obedience of none afore her this many hundred years. And it is true that her Majesty can never be victorious over them nor be sure of them in her obedience without they be pursued on this side by Scottishmen. By the which with God's grace there is no doubt to compel them to render to her Grace obedience and the Earl to beg mercy for his rebellion. Thereafter for fear of pursuit by Scottishmen on this hand they dare not rebel and is [*sic*] being subdued by these Scottishmen. And though the Earl postpone time by assurance the same depends on his waiting on vantage and time of help, at which time there will be no delay of his rebellion.

If I be charged in this service it is necessary for sundry causes that his Majesty and Argyll charge me to this service.

Item, because it is my mind with the help of God to "school" in the wars in Ireland and reduce the same to her Highness's obedience, at the least that part defended by the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell, I desire to "know" of a yearly pension during my lifetime and, in case God call me in her service, that the same pension be paid to my eldest son yearly, during his lifetime, who shall be subject to my service with two thousand men on her Majesty's charges.

Item, I desire her Majesty, if there be service to do, send me a hundred long bows with some powder.

Item, if her rebels defend any strengths, that my Lord Deputy of Ireland bring munition for pursuit of them as occasion be offered.

Though there were no further ado hereafter I think me her Majesty's bound servitor for the favour that my "kyndly man" and servant, John McNeill has received, and desire him as very necessary for the purpose, having our language and friends here, to be directed in one of the ships to my place of Doward 15 days afore other ships that he may be in my company to Ireland, and the other ships to remain on the coast of Ireland for keeping of tryst with me there as the same shall be appointed by occasion.

Item, that the ships appointed to transport her Grace's men that join

James VI.

1595-6. with me in her service in Ireland be commanded to remain there and keep my galleys.

And last, as your lordship desired to have directed, my servant John Auchinross shall be instructed with my mind in this action, whom it will please you to credit as if I were there present in proper person.
Signed : Lauchlane McLane off Doward.

2 pp. *In the handwriting of Auchinross. The right hand edge of the first page and the top of the second being somewhat frayed. Parts of the paper are underlined and there are marginal notes in Sir Robert Cecil's handwriting. Endorsed, probably by a clerk of Bowes : "Thanswer of M'Klayne to the heades proponed by Robt. Bowes, amb'r for her Maty in Scotland. Rec. xxx^o Marcii 1596."*

March 21. **143. THE WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND.**

A copy of the document printed at Vol. XI, p. 253 of the present Calendar with slight variations of which the following are the more important :—

Rona may raise 50 men (*for 60 men*).

Helsker pertaining to the "Nunnerie" of Icolmikle (*for Murray Ycolmikyll*).

Skye.—The words "diverse inferiour clanes, Trontyrnes and Slait possest by" have been omitted.

Eigg will raise 50 men (*for 60 men*).

Mull.—The two Hunais will raise 50 men (*for 60 men*).

Ulowey (Ullowaye [Ulva]) will raise 50 men (*for 60 men*).

The laird of Grant occupies [*inter alia*] Glemvcreston (*for Glenmornestoun*).

3½ pp. *In the handwriting of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by the same hand : "The Isles of Scotland and the devision thereof with the names of the Cheiftanes. Edenbr', xxj^{to} Marcij 1595."*

1596.

March 25. **144. OVERTURES FOR RESISTING FOREIGN AND INTERINE ENEMIES OF THE RELIGION AND STATE.**

First, that all such as have "kythit" in action at any time with his Majesty's "forfaltit" rebels and their known favourers and assistants be charged to enter their persons in ward there to remain "aye" and while they find sufficient "cation" [caution] under great sums that they should not traffic nor entertain intelligence of the said rebels nor any other enemy to the estate and religion ; neither shall join with them nor make them any assistance in case they repair within the country ; and that they give their oldest son or nearest friend in pledge for the more sure observing thereof.

Secondly, that the whole "levinges" of his Majesty's foresaid rebels be taken up exactly by his Majesty's officers to be appointed for that effect and be employed upon the entertainment of "wagit" men for defence of the good cause against the enemy and for bearing of other charges necessary for the advancement of the said cause, as one of the most

James VI.

1596. effectual means to encourage all such as are known best affected to the cause and to procure their "eafald" concurrence to the uttermost.

Thirdly, that the whole lands of the said rebels "forfaltit" be "disponit" to such as are known to be most meet to resist the enemy by action and are of best affection to employ themselves in the defence of the cause, seeing it is manifest that the said rebels have unnaturally continued in their wicked traffic and practice against religion and peace of the country.

Fourthly, that there be chosen in every parish by his Majesty's authority and vote of the ministers, session and principal of every parish captains known most meet and of best affection to convene the whole parishioners in arms monthly in musters and to see that they be all sufficiently armed according to their ability and training up in the exercise of their arms, and "sicklyk" that there be chosen general commanders in divers shires and quarters of the country to convene in arms at all occasions needful to resist all attempts and enterprises of the enemies foreign and intestine.

Fifthly, that some "substantiouse" order be taken for bringing home a sufficient number of corslets, pikes, muskets and other armour needful and that the same may be bought and received of the merchants' hands with all expedition possible.

Sixthly, that the whole cautioners which become bound for the good behaviour of the said rebels without the country be charged before the Council and convicted in the penalties contained in the acts of cautionry and that the said penalties be employed upon the sustentation of "waigit" men and other burdens needful for the weal of the cause.

1½ pp. *Endorsed*: "Edenb' 25 Marcii 1596."

March 26. 145. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Many days past I have looked for the return of John Cunningham, from whom yesternight I received these 2 letters enclosed, marvelling greatly that he abides so long in those parts with MacLean, in regard that before his departure from me I directed him to return to me with possible expedition and perfect resolutions. The easterly winds have blown here mightily and the same (I think) have stayed his passage from Tiree. Of his coming and success (which I hope shall be shortly and good) I shall with diligence advertise you.

Being loth to embark and enter into any especial course for these Ireland affairs without foreknowledge of MacLean's mind in the same, I therefore still abstain either to breathe these matters to the King or yet to conclude in resolute manner with the Earl of Argyll. For upon receipt of return from MacLean and further advertisement of her Majesty's pleasure in the progress of these causes, and to be signified to me on the consideration of MacLean's answers, I shall (I trust) procure the consent of the King and good will of Argyll for the advancement of all these things to her Majesty's good contentment.

It is advertised to me that Tyrone and his party in Ireland do certainly persuade themselves that the King of Spain will send them aid or that her Majesty and her estate shall be troubled, or otherwise that she will pursue them; and that therefore they are resolved to take arms again

James VI.

1596. and fortify themselves, either to proceed in their enterprises intended with such Spanish succours as shall be sent to them, or upon experience and sight of any troubles expected in England, or else for their own defences. At Edinburgh, 26 March 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Since the writing of the above I am informed that Donald Gorme (Gorsme) (understanding that MacLean has leave to come hither the 15th of May next to compound for his remission and livings under the King) has made means by noblemen and courtiers for like favour. The King is resolved to take “indelate” order with the Isles as I have certified to the Lord Treasurer, your father. And now MacConnell, MacLean and Donald Gorme are suitors to the King for their peace and possessions. What shall ensue hereof I know not. But by John Cunningham (I trust) to be better satisfied in the courses of these matters named.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : “Rec. at London the third of April.”

March 26. 146. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

On Monday last, the 22nd hereof, the King returned to Holyroodhouse from his pastimes and hunting. On the next morrow the General Assembly of the Church met here at Edinburgh ; and that the causes falling here in deliberation before this Assembly might be drawn to best order and course by the King's presence in the beginning thereof, it was thought meet to hasten his return hither.

Albeit the King had prepared his journey to Dumfries to appoint a warden for the West Marches of Scotland and provide for the peace of the Borders, yet the provost and minister of Dumfries by their late letters have certified such extreme scarcity and dearth of victuals in all parts thereabouts as the country had not corn and victuals to serve the King and his train for 2 or 3 days. Therefore this journey intended for those good purposes is like to be stayed. The like scarcity is found generally grieving all the people in this whole realm as in my own particular I can well witness.

This General Assembly have entered to devise convenient means for the reformation of the sinful behaviours of the people (wherein they resolve to begin at themselves) and for the resistance against the foreign and domestical enemy suspected to invade this realm. Wherein the King shows himself very ready both to concur with them in those behalfs and also to establish religion and provide fit and sufficient stipends for every pastor to be planted in the service thereof. Yesterday in the forenoon he honoured their assembly with his presence and with his oration uttered near the effects of the note enclosed. Since the same the Assembly have resolved upon sundry articles specified in the note likewise therein.

The King yesterday in the afternoon created the Lord of Innermeath to be Earl of Athole and knighted five gentlemen of his dependers. The marriages betwixt the Earl and the Countess of Athole, and betwixt the Earl's two sons and the two daughters of the Countess shall proceed speedily and with conditions to preserve the earldom and the barony in the issues of their bodies.

Angus by his friends and means is looked to seek to be received by this Assembly upon his submission ; which is not like to be accepted, the rather

James VI.
1596.

because it has been advertised that Huntly and Errol will thereon sue for the like grace and that the acceptance of Angus shall open the way to the others, who being once entered into this country are deemed to intend dangerous enterprises against religion, the person of the King and peace of the realm, and against whose plots timely provision is intended to be made.

For the execution of the effects mentioned and for many other weighty causes following it has been moved to call a Convention of the State, yet hitherto it is not fully resolved, nor no time prescribed.

The French King by late letter has offered occasion to the King of Scotland to send some ambassador to him and to renew the ancient league betwixt France and Scotland. But forasmuch as before this the French King gave the King here to think that he would send hither his ambassador to proceed in the articles negotiated by the laird of Wemyss for the renovation of this league, it is fallen in question whether the King of Scotland shall send any ambassador before the coming of the French. Yet some great in Court press the employment and sending of the Scottish ambassador as it looked that one shall be sent and that the lot shall fall on the Duke, Crawford or Spynie, wherein albeit the Duke much affects this journey, alleging many reasons for his preferment, yet it is said that the King will dissuade the Duke with reasons for his satisfaction, and to take order that some person of inferior quality and degree shall be first employed to prepare the way for furtherance of the accords to be concluded by greater personage. Such as labour the expedition of this negotiation have not only declared the great loss and damage daily falling on the Scottish merchant trading in France and now wanting the ancient privileges there, but also advised that particular persons may be addressed to the burgesses of Edinburgh and others to confer with them herein and to exhort them to exhibit to the King and next Convention their petition for recovery of their former privileges in France. Argyll, Mar and some others do not hitherto taste well of this motion; and some fear that it may be drawn further than the well affected would wish. All which must be determined by the Council of the Estates.

By this Convention the causes for the Isles and customs and for the execution of orders to be concluded by the King and the Assembly General of the Church shall be resolved.

The Lord Forbes, thinking it very necessary that some nobleman shall be sent to Aberdeen and other places in the north to execute the office of the King's Lieutenant to keep the people under obedience and to prevent the enterprises of foreign or domestical enemies, wishes the Earl of Argyll or Mar may be appointed for the same. And the Earl Marischal with Forbes and many other substantial barons offer their services and assistance very frankly. But hitherto there is little appearance of the progress of this matter.

The eldest son of Angus MacConnell (serving the Lord John Hamilton) made suit to the King for his father's remission and that his father might have and enjoy with the King's favour such possessions of the King's in the Isles as MacConnell's ancestors before held and occupied. For the which he offered to pay yearly one thousand marks Scots. It was found that his father offered before by the laird of Caddell, deceased, 10,000 marks Scots. Thus MacLean being interested herein was for like causes

James VI.

1596. and compositions directed to be before the King and Council the 15th of May next. The King favours MacLean and others seek his contentment. Therefore MacConnell's suit has not prevailed. Edinburgh, 26 March 1596. Signed : Robert Bowes.

2½ pp. Addressed. Endorsed.

The enclosure with the same.

(The King of Scots' speech at the Assembly of the Ministry.)

25 March 1596.

The King's Majesty accompanied with the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Argyll, the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Orkney, my Lord Hamilton, convening with the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland sitting in the new kirk at Edinburgh : After his Majesty was placed, Mr. Robert [Rollock], present Moderator of the said Assembly, in their name thanked God for his Majesty's presence, as also his Majesty who had deigned himself to give his presence in effect as follows :

Let it seem no dishonour to your Majesty that it has pleased you to give your presence to this Convention, whereby your Majesty does declare to the comfort of all the good men both of the ministry, commissioners of barons and burghs present that as your Majesty in heart confesses religion and the worship of God with us, and by word has declared your affection toward the same, so indeed your Majesty would make known the purpose of your heart to see the same advanced. Look what honour Constantine the Great received for giving his presence to their honourable fathers of the Kirk who were conveners in his time, to whom the said Emperor "commesit" his assistance and concurrence of his imperial authority in whatsoever thing they should conclude. And look what honour that kingly prophet David received when he danced before the Ark of the Lord, howsoever he was despised by his foolish wife Mycholl. Even so as great honour should redound to his Majesty, if as he gave his presence to his Kirk convened and assisted their conclusions by his authority seeing the Lord's promise is *honorantes me honorabo*. This in effect being the sum of that that was spoken to his Majesty by the Moderator.

His Majesty answered protesting in effect as follows : I never esteemed it any dishonour to my person to be present wherever the ministry of God and Kirk was convened ; neither ever thought it any dishonour to be in God's house, counting it more honour to be a Christian than a King, more dishonour to be a King and no Christian. And for this purpose I am come at this present and thought it most meet to be present at this Assembly to give a declaration of my mind and good affection toward God, His religion and ministry ; and that no man should have any occasion to think otherwise of me that ever I moved any heart to the religion professed within the country, wherein I have been brought up and continued, I praise God, till this day, and is [*sic*] purposed to continue, let men think or esteem of me as they please. For I protest before God that to this day my heart and affection have been toward the religion. And to this hour I am free of all trafficking with leaguers or any others that ever meant or would mean subversion of religion. Howsoever any slanderous reports have been given out of me, which was [*sic*] the occasion that by

James VI.

1596.

the advice of the commissioners of the Kirk who were here present in Edinburgh, I was most desirous to have this Assembly convened not only of the ministry but also of the barons and gentlemen that their advice might be had for resisting the common enemy, who as we were informed at time were making preparation against this isle. Whereupon letters were directed to all the peers of this country to direct their commissioners here for two causes : first, to consult how the just wrath of God and His heavy judgments may be averted by true repentance and reformation of all estates ; 2, to agree upon some ordinary means how the common enemy, in case he should invade the realm, may be resisted. And now, seeing they were convened, the first being proper to the office of the ministry to admonish all estates and to crave reformation, and to begin at themselves and so to all estates, it was the thing he wished they would be careful of. And for my own part, as I have never refused admonition but gave a commandment that my chamber door should be opened to any of the ministry to tell what they found in myself, my councillors or any of my household, so I protest as willingly to accept admonition as any subject in the land. And if any man have anything to lay to my charge, I shall either confess the same and amend it if it crave amendment, or, if any man has heard anything otherwise " nor " the truth, I hope to satisfy them ; protesting always that, before anything be spoken in open pulpits of me according to the act of the General Assembly made at Dundee, I be first dealt with privately myself, who shall find me as courteous and reasonable as they shall find any of their own flock ; adding that, albeit he hated ambition, yet he was ambitious to have the name of King James the 6 honoured as the establisher of religion and the provider of livings for the planting of religion and the ministry through all the parts of his lands, wishing the Assembly to devise and find out the means to do the same, and he would effect it and see it done.*

As concerning the second point to agree upon some good means how the common enemy may be resisted, of that I have a special care and I think that especially belongs to me and my estate. And, therefore, I crave let me have your advice what good order may be taken how the enemy may be resisted. For howsoever the word be " dillit downe " that the King of Spain and his confederates, they are of the same evil disposition and I trow they be not changed. And if any good means be devised we shall have this double advantage, (1) if the enemy come and invade our land, if we be upon our guard and well prepared, we shall be the more able to resist him ; (2) if they hear of our preparation and that we have put ourselves in arms to resist them in case they dare come to invade us, they will be the more afraid to make any onset on the land. And if any man thinks there be no need of any preparation but in case they come as our forebears were wont to fight, they will fight for their liberty, I would such men should understand that now are other times and the world and fashion of it far changed. For now either the countryman be put under charges or all will not be well if a confused multitude be gathered together ; he comes for his lord, he for his lord, as the fashion of our wars of old was, which was the wreck of many of our nation, as Pinkie field can bear witness.

* The words from " adding that " to the end of this paragraph have been added in the margin in another hand.

James VI.

1596. For what has been our wreck but only such disorder and the weal of our enemies at that time but only their good order? And again I would men should think with themselves that it is a shame for us that all countries should be in arms and we lying in a security making ourselves a prey to be seized upon by all nations. And in end his Majesty craved that the overtures may be put in "writing, considered by the Assembly, and when they were considered by the Assembly he should convene any day and give his approbation, and to see the same followed forth by the Estates."

3 pp. *Endorsed.*

March 27. **147. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Upon the request of one Edward Johnston, Scottishman, of deliberation to return home to his country with speed, I have taken hereby occasion to desire a commission for post horses to himself only and a guide, which I look to receive with the bearer together with this my packet signed with your hand. London, 27 March 1596. *Signed* : D. Foulis.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

[? 1596. **148. DAVID FOULIS TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].**
March 28.]

Having some new occasion to entreat the Queen's Majesty for at the special command of the King my master, I desire you to advertise me at what time I shall have the honour to attend upon her. This Sunday at 7 o'clock. *Signed* : D. Foulis.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

1596.
March 30. **149. INSTRUCTIONS OF JAMES VI TO HIS COMMISSIONERS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.**

Instructions to Mr. John Preston and Mr. Edward Bruce, commendator of Kinloss, our Commissioners to this present General Assembly.

Imprimis, you shall show to the said Assembly our good will to have all the kirks of Scotland planted with ministers and sufficient livings appointed unto them to the great hurt of our own rent and that portion of the thirds which was assured to our house and our comptrollers in possession thereof. But finding that the whole thirds is not sufficient to plant the whole kirks, nor yet commodious for ministers to serve in one place and have their livings to seek in another very far distant from their cure, we thought good to set forward an order for local stipends founded upon this ground : that all the kirks of Scotland should have ministers and all ministers stipends within their own parishes of such value as by our authority in the one part and concurrency and procurement of the kirk on the other might be obtained from the tacksmen of teinds, present possessors of the said rent, for the which effect we caused an Act of Parliament to be made in 1592 granting commission to certain noblemen, councillors, officers and ministers on the one and other part to entreat and prosecute this matter ; and also have given command in particular to

James VI.

1596.

certain of the Lords of our Checker to help with their advice and labour to bring this matter to some perfection. Wherein, as we understand, there is somewhat done as a part of the brethren can bear record, like as we continued in our good mind in our time to have the Kirk settled anent their livings and not entangled yearly with process, and our whole Kirk planted within our realm. By these presents [we] offer and permit to the said Assembly to cause our Commissioners, councillors and officers to convene presently before the expiring of the Assembly with the said commissions for the kirks to begin this good purpose, and to lay the grounds and set down the order, time and place of convening to prosecute the same to the final end conform to the Act of Parliament, so that the stay of any shall be in the part of the Kirk, as it has been before, and not in our part.

Item, ye shall show to them that is [*sic*] the stay of this good work that by some of their preaching they would make the people to understand that we and our Council would stay the planting of the kirks and take away the present living possessed by ministers, albeit the contrary be of verity that we and our Council are most willing that the whole kirks be planted and rent of the ministers be augmented so far as lawfully may be obtained with consent of our nobility and other tacksmen of teinds, whose right without order of law we cannot impair ; and therefore this form of preaching discouraged our good councillors most willing to this good work and as a heavy slander upon the ministers themselves ; wherein ye shall desire order to be taken that the like be not done hereafter.

Item, ye shall desire these your instructions to be registered in our name in the books of the Assembly as a perpetual testimony of good will. And [for the ?] rest that answer in particular be given by a general writing of the whole Assembly and no ways to be referred to any particular conference ; and the answer so written to "ilk" a particular head to be registered in like manner therewith, and the extract of all the said articles and answers to be delivered by you to be reported to us again.

The answers of the General Assembly to his Majesty's propositions.

First, the General Assembly of the Kirk praises God for his Majesty's earnest affection and zeal towards the furtherance of the work of the "platt" for the advancement of the gospel and wise continuance and increase of his Majesty's good affection, and are willing to neglect no duty in giving all assistance that in them lies for effectuating that his Majesty's good intention, and therefore has ordained their brethren, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Patrick Galloway, Mr. James Melvill, Mr. Patrick Sharpe, Mr. Peter Blackburn and Mr. James Nicolson, to convene with the remnant commissioners contained in the Act of Parliament at such time and place as his Majesty shall presently appoint, and to confer with them anent the principal grounds ; whereupon the whole work of the "platt" is to be founded and to report the same again to the Assembly, that thereafter a more ample commission may be given to the foresaid brethren for the prosecuting and final ending thereof.

To the second : the Assembly answers that there shall be not found that any of their number in their preachings have given any just occasions to the people to judge evil of his Majesty or Council anent their intention

1596. toward the planting of the kirks, like as they shall be ordained that every one of their brethren shall in their doctrine so wisely and circumspectly behave themselves that neither his Majesty nor Council have any just occasion to be discouraged thereby in the said work, but rather encouraged to go forward with good contentment to prosecute the same unto the end.
The third is granted.

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Endorsed*: "Rec' Edenb[urgh] xxxo Marcii 1596."

April 1. **150.** — TO ROBERT BOWES.

First, to answer the allegation for the company of Englishmen following the "trod" when Kinmont "shouted" them, affirmed to exceed the prescribed number allowed by the treaties to enter either realm for following of "trodes"; I will let the treaties themselves speak for both. But if there were a certain number prescribed thereby, as there is none in any treaty that I have seen, yet we are enforced of late for our own safeties to go in as strong as we can at the following of any "trod" by reason of the ambushments that the evil men of Scotland have of late purposed to lay for the cutting off of those which according to law and custom should follow; as the Armstrongs under Kinmont did of late at the "heirship"* of Herrington which was a mad raid of purpose to draw down our people on following into the opposite realm, where there were to have received them an ambushment of 60 men, as Kinmont himself confesses, himself also being on the field at that time and of his sons at the foray. If therefore the King urge the delivery of Kinmont without condition (being a man so notoriously known to be by his sons, servants and dependers the open spoilers of both realms, but especially of England) it is plain that he intends not the due administration of justice to England, as I wrote by my former. For my own part I think it no equity that we make their desired redress and can receive none again from them. I am sure you know and see the King's delays therein, as well by deferring to appoint an officer at the west hand as to give order for repair of the offences so long ago and so often called for at his hands, and promised by his Majesty both to the Queen and myself to be repaired, which being yet unredressed do argue no mind in him to have her Majesty's poor spoiled subjects relieved. Also the great countenance he now gives to his officer Buccleuch, since he has caused these great enormities to this office and refused to make redress according to the agreement of his deputies, more manifestly may witness the same. Nevertheless, let two be deputed from either of us, I mean Buccleuch and myself, to lay before the King and you what either can charge other withal, and I shall be contented to repair what is faulty on my behalf if I have the like from him, but utterly refuse to yield in redress unless the same be administered to me interchangeably. And therein [I] trust that you will be no less respective of me and her Majesty's frontier almost laid waste than you shall be of Buccleuch and the enemies of our quietness. Where it seems by your letter that the King complains of an attempt committed by Englishmen upon the Dead Water within Buccleuch's office and has willed you to advertise and move the Queen for redress with expedition

* *heirship*, foray.

James VI.

1596. which you have promised to do, truly I have understanding of no such offence. But I could trouble both the King and yourself with the hearing of the continuing offences and attempts in this office by Scotsmen, but that I see no sign to have them repaired. For besides their manifold spoils of goods and murders since justice was current on this hand they have taken many prisoners "not few as forty," whereof they have ransomed some and hold others as prisoners, and of late taken and carried away poor men's horses from the harrows and also taken and carried away prisoner one Thwaites as he was going from this town, so that we find rather the effects of an open war than the offices of firm peace and such friendship as the King would pretend. In all which it were good the King were effectually dealt withal and his absolute resolution procured, which I desire to be advertised of; and at the least that some order may be given for the stay of this unquietness until redress may "indelayedly" be set on foot. In which behalf, trusting you will not fail to return answer by the bearer, I cease this first of April '96. *Unsigned.*

1½ pp. *Endorsed:* "Copie to her Ma^{ts} Am^r primo Aprilis 1596."

April 2. 151. A. SINCLAIR TO JAMES VI.

Having the commodity of this gentleman I could do no less of duty than to advertise your Majesty that in the next August the King of Denmark, my gracious master, is to be crowned in the town of Kibbenhaffn [Copenhagen], so you may certainly "lippin" for his ambassadors in the month of May to be in Scotland. This I thought good to make you "foreseyne" of to the end that all things may be provided in due time and that you might advise what principal noblemen you will employ in that worthy action, for the principal princes of Germany are to be here in person. If your affairs cannot permit that you come yourself as the King of Denmark has oft said to me that you had promised him that you should come here to his crowning, I think and say as my faithful opinion that there is none that could do you more honour than my Lord Duke, he being accompanied with two wise noblemen to be his assessors in that kingly legation. I pray you take my good meaning in no ill part. From Court the second of April at Fredelithburgh, 1596. A. Sincler.

½ p. *Endorsed:* Copy of a letter from Denmark to his Majesty, 2 April 1596.

April 2. 152. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

At the hands of Mr. Dioness Campbell, dean of Limerick, I received this day your letter of 8th March last, perceiving by him that he could not well endure this long journey by post and that his horses bought for his ease failed and occasioned him thus to prolong his coming hither. This day he met with the Earl of Argyll going to take his horse to Stirling and had so small leisure to confer as the Earl appointed him to repair to him to Stirling, he could not break any matter of importance to the Earl at this time. Therefore I shall put him into convenient course for this next conference with the Earl, and of all his proceedings and success you shall be timely advertised.

James VI.

1596.

John Cunningham and John Auchinross (clerk and in especial trust with MacLean) are returned hither with MacLean's letter to myself (which I send enclosed) and with his answers to the articles sent to him with Cunningham. Which answers John Auchinross purposes to bring to you with all speed he can and to enter into his journey on Monday next, the 5th. For in this meantime he must present to the King some suit and solicit some affairs in Court for MacLean. For the better expedition of his journey and causes he earnestly requires the company of George Nicolson my servant. In regard whereof (and for other respects) I have agreed to address them both to you with the whole resolutions of MacLean, who is very ready and willing personally (and with 2000 footmen of his own) to enter into actual invasion against Tyrone and the other rebels in Ireland. And greater number of Scottish forces shall be also raised and brought for the service in Ireland, and as it shall please her Majesty to direct, like as by the view of MacLean's answers in writing and by information of Auchinross in person, it will at large be made known to you. Edinburgh, the second of April, 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : " Rec. at Grenewich the ixth of the same [April]."

April 3. 153. THE " GRIEFS " OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Printed in extenso in Calderwood, Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland, v, 415-418, and in Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland (ed. Bannatyne Club), iii, 875-878.

Grieffs to be humbly "menit" to his Majesty, in name of the General Assembly by their commissioners touching the principal offences in the estate of the country that by his Majesty's Council and authority sufficient remedy may be in time provided hereunto. 1596.

1. First, it is "meanit" that to the great hazard of religion and peace of the country and grief of all good men the rebels and enemies of his Majesty's estate enjoy their lands and livings as peaceably and to their greater advantage than if they were at his Majesty's peace within the country. And their confederates and friends are suffered in so great liberty, never once having given pledges for their obedience to his Majesty in case the said rebels or any other foreign enemies shall repair within the country as if they had immunity from all laws to strengthen the hand of the enemies "whyle" [until] they shall happen to arrive, as it appears their intention is by the preparations of horses and armour and leagues of friendship which they are daily binding up.

2. Divers Jesuits and excommunicated papists are entertained within the country, in hope of the returning of the papist lords with assistance of strangers, as namely Mr. Robert Abercromby, Mr. Alexander MacQuhirrie (M^cquerie), the Abbot of Newabbey, John Gordon of Newton, the laird of Bonnyton younger, Mr. Alexander Leslie of Peel (Peill), Patrick Soun,* Alexander Ramsay and others.

3. In many places of the country through lack of sufficient provision of stipends for the entertainment of pastors the people lie together in ignorance of their salvation and duty to God and the King, wherethrough the land is overflowed with atheism and all kind of vice, there being above

* "Con" in Calderwood.

James VI.

1596. four hundred parish kirks destitute of the ministry of the Word, "by and attour" the kirk of Argyll and the Isles.

4. It is regretted universally by his Majesty's laws that through the detaining, perverting and eluding of justice, murders, oppressions, incest, adulteries, wrongs and all kinds of harms [and] crimes abound.

5. *Item*, it is to be heavily "menit" that the brethren of the ministry which have got any mean provision or help by the assignations made the fourscore fifteen year [*i.e.* 1595] are delayed and frustrated of justice by the Lords of Session refusing to decide their suspensions according to the Act of February, 1587.

Articles to be "proponed" to his Majesty for the mend of the former griefs.

First, for remedy of the former griefs that the lands of the "forfalted" rebels be "disponit" to such as are known to be most meet and of best affection to resist the enemies of religion and of his Majesty's estate both foreign and intestine; and in the meantime that the livings be taken up and "intromettit" with by his Majesty's officers and employed upon the entertainment of waged men and other necessary uses for the advancement of the good cause; and that the Ladies of Huntly and Errol be charged to come forth and reside in St. Andrews that they be no more a receipt and encouragement to the enemies as they are presently by their subtle form of practice; and the Lady Huntly's eldest son be brought forth to be trained up in the knowledge of good letters and religion; and that the lairds of Cluny, Gight (Geicht), Abergeldie, Cowbardie, Graig* younger, Alexander Hay of Armacher,† Buckye, James Knowes, Tobie‡ Barclay, Patrick Son§ and the rest of their principal friends and confederates that have "kithit" with them in their treasonable enterprises against his Majesty be charged to come forth and enter their persons in some special ward, there to remain until they have found sufficient caution under great sums that they shall never give any kind of assistance to his Majesty's rebels or any other enemies of religion whatsoever; and give sufficient pledges of their sons and nearest friends to that effect.

2. That his Majesty give commission to some of his special servants or others of known ability and good affection to seek and present before his Majesty Mr. Robert Abercromby, Mr. Alexander MacQuhirrie, Mr. Gilbert Brown|| abbot of Newabbey, Alexander Ramsay, the laird of Bonnyton (Boyntoun) younger, Mr. Alexander Leslie of the Peel, John Gordon of Newton and others, jesuits and excommunicated papists, as the names shall be given in particularly in roll.

3. That his Majesty will prosecute his good purpose declared before the Assembly anent the whole kirks within his country with qualified pastors and sufficient provision of stipends for their entertainment; and give his commission to the visitors nominated by the General Assembly to take inquisition of the estate of all kirks within the bounds of the visitations and to deal with the tacksmen and possessors of the teinds in his name for sufficient provision to the ministers out of the rent of every parish; and

* "Craig," Calderwood.

† "Auchmachie," Calderwood.

‡ "Towie," Calderwood.

§ "Con," Calderwood.

|| This name is not given by Calderwood.

James VI.

1596. to report the same to his Majesty's commissioners appointed for the work of the "plat" in the Act of Parliament; and provide some honest men for the entertainment of the charges in that journey.

4. That his Majesty take order "substantiously" by advice of his Council and Estates how the principal judgment "states" and other inferior judgments may be purged of unqualified and corrupt persons and filled with others meet to discharge that calling faithfully for the comfort of his peaceable and well disposed subjects.

5. *Item*, that his Majesty will command and ordain the Lords of Session to minister justice to the brethren of the ministry that have got any augmentation of their mean and stipends or new provisions by the "modifears" appointed by his Majesty's commission the '95 year and that according to the Act of February 1587 as they are bound by their solemn oaths and promise, seeing that unless he have consideration of their estate they and their families will be driven by the extraordinary dearth to extreme poverty and want.

4 pp. *Endorsed*: "Edenb' 3 Aprilis 1596."

April 4. **154.** DAVID FOULIS TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

At the earnest desire of these two gentlemen, Matthew Sempill and George Montgomery, I entreat you to have them recommended in the furtherance of their passport to go to France, they being come forth of the country with his Majesty's good favour of purpose only to spend some small time abroad for their particular edification and contentment of their minds. London, 4 April 1596. *Signed*: D. Foulis.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

April 5. **155.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Prays his furtherance for a licence for the bearer, Captain James Edger, Scottishman, being to return into France to his charge serving the French King at La Fére, and to carry with him three or four Scottish nags. Edinburgh, 5 April 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's secretary.*

April 5. **156.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.

On the 2nd hereof and at the hands of Mr. Dioness Campbell, dean of Limerick, I received your last letter to me of the 8th March last. I have "indelately" by my letter advertised Sir Robert Cecil of the dean's repair hither and proceedings, as also of the progress of matters with MacLean for Ireland affairs. For the full report of the present state of all those Irish actions to be entertained with any persons in this realm and to bring me return of her Majesty's resolute pleasure in the same and for the due execution of the resolutions concluded, together with directions in Border causes and other like effects, I have sent this bearer, my servant George Nicolson, to accompany John Auchinross and addressed to Sir Robert Cecil with instructions from MacLean,

James VI.
1596.

Likewise I have committed to Nicolson's report the present condition of this estate, the novelties, the order taken by the King and Council for restitution to be made to Mr. Offley of the ship and goods taken and detained by the Earl of Orkney. Edinburgh, 5 April 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Lord Burghley's secretary* : " Mr. Ro: Bowes to my L. by his servant Nicolson."

April 5. **157. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

To similar effect to the foregoing. All the parties and instruments to be employed in these [Irish] affairs expect and desire speedy advertisements of the resolutions to be taken in these behalfs that thereon they may either prepare and put in readiness themselves, their companies and all things requisite for the service, or else lay aside the burden of their charges sustained in keeping provisions needful for this expedition.

Because John Auchinross and John Cunningham are very willing and able to yield many and good offices necessary for these services, wherein they have already given good proof of their power and readiness and must still be daily employed herein, as Nicolson can inform you, I have presumed to recommend them to the taste of her Majesty's bountiful goodness and to your favourable furtherance therein. With them I present to her Majesty's gracious consideration and to your own favour the memory of the pains and diligence of my poor servant Nicolson to be comforted with some convenient relief for his estate and to supply my own disability for his deserved reward in her Majesty's service. Edinburgh, 5 April 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed* : " Mr. Bowes to Sir Ro: Cecill. By Nicolson his servant sent with Achinrosse and Cunningham."

April 5. **158. INSTRUCTIONS OF ROBERT BOWES TO GEORGE NICOLSON.**

Edinburgh,
5 April 1596. Instructions given to George Nicolson by Robert Bowes, her Majesty's Ambassador in Scotland, and to be opened to Sir Robert Cecil, knight, in the causes for Ireland.

Mr. Dyoness
Campbell, Dean
of Limerick.

First, by my letter to Sir Robert Cecil of the 2nd hereof I have certified the coming hither of Mr. Dyoness Campbell, dean of Limerick, his meeting and short conference with the Earl of Argyll, the order given him to come to Argyll at Stirling, and my purpose to put him into some convenient course for his next conference with Argyll, in regard that I find by him that the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert have entered with him in these affairs for Ireland and that he freely offers himself, his best means and power for the advancement of her Majesty's services.

Upon his next conference with Argyll I have advised the dean to give general occasion of speech of Irish matters and the rebels there, that thereon Argyll of his accord may acquaint him with my own dealings with the Earls in these behalfs, and how he is disposed to enter into the action for her Majesty against Tyrone and the rebels in Ireland and agreeable to my motion ; that thereon the dean (as a counsellor for Argyll's honour and

James VI.

1596.

upon the Earl's own discovery to him) may persuade him to embrace the enterprise with the allowance of the King and to set down and certify to me his resolution for the number of the forces, the time of their readiness, with all articles and conditions requisite to be concluded herein.

The dean has frankly undertaken this matter. He is departed towards Argyll at Stirling the 4th hereof, and promises to return shortly to me with perfect notice of Argyll's full mind and determination herein, which shall be shortly advertised to Sir Robert.

The dean has greatly commended his eldest brother, the provost of Kylmon, to have the government of the forces to be employed for her Majesty against the rebels, or at least of Argyll's people. In this I have laid before him that of necessity one able and sufficient person [is] to be chosen general of all the regiments. I have offered the election to Argyll and, nevertheless, so commended MacLean to be general and the provost to be colonel of Argyll's companies as the dean is well satisfied and his brother pleased, and they both have promised all good offices to her Majesty.

I have not yet acquainted the King, Argyll or the dean of my proceedings with MacLean, neither do I intend to discover it before I shall receive advertisement and resolution of her Majesty's acceptation of MacLean's answers. Upon this advertisement I shall first join together and conclude with Argyll and with their advice procure the King's allowance, which I trust will not be denied.

The dean's friends, hearing of the contention betwixt the Bishop of Limerick and him, have provided that he shall be advanced to the bishopric of the Isles, and thereby he shall be the better enabled to do good offices for her Majesty. Nevertheless, he purposes to return into Ireland that he may leave his benefice and that realm with credit. Thus much for the dean and all my proceedings hitherto with him.

MacLean's
answers to the
articles.

Deliver to Sir Robert Cecil as well my own letter addressed to him as also the answers of MacLean in writing to the articles sent to him by me with John Cunningham. As you are sufficiently acquainted and instructed in all the contents of those articles and answers, so I do recommend to your good report and enlargement all the effects thereof; and that in every question to be demanded and matter to be considered and notified you may give good satisfaction as for best information shall appertain.

That John Auchinross may deliver to Sir Robert the credit and instructions given him by MacLean, as upon consideration thereof and view of MacLean's answers such resolution may be taken as shall be found expedient, either for the progress in this action and with those parties or else for the relinquishing of the same in manner most convenient.

If these parties (namely MacLean) shall be entertained, then order and provision must be made both for the portions to be given severally to them and also for the pay of the companies entertained. Wherein the travails and good offices of John Auchinross and John Cunningham must be many ways used as you can declare, and therefore they are to be regarded for the services to be done and already done by them.

If these Scottish forces shall not be found meet to be employed, then

James VI.

1596. pray order to be timely given me how I shall think of the matter and persons and how I shall especially proceed with MacLean for the token expected ; which if it shall be abated under the sum of 1000 French crowns with any allegations or reasons will not I think content him ; and that by the gift of whole portion looked for and eftsoons demanded he and his services may be always reserved and ready for her Majesty upon any accidents or occasions.

Upon order to be taken for defray of any money to MacLean you shall make it known that I received a chain worth 101*l.* and odd money as it has been valued, which I shall disburse as shall be directed. The residue to be delivered may be sent hither in gold to save the loss of exchange rated here at this time, and which rates of exchange you may declare.

Where MacLean demands 20*s.* sterling in the month for every poll you may advise Sir Robert to deal with Auchinross for the abatement thereof ; and I think with Auchinross's means that excessive rate shall be reformed. The like may be done in all other demands and matters either exceeding measure or else not well considered.

To complete such full number as her Majesty would have for this action greater forces may be gathered in the Isles and realm of Scotland, wherein albeit MacLean offers to levy 2000 men in sort specified, yet he will (if it shall so please her Majesty) provide more. Argyll and his friends may be drawn to 2000 and above, so as the number of 5000 footmen may be raised.

Forasmuch as the services of these islanders and borderers of Ireland are by some English servitors of great experience holden unfit and not meet for the service, therefore pray that good consideration may be had thereof and further than I can advise in regard that I never was in Ireland nor know the service there.

Let the offers of young Lawers be known, and for the same show the letter written by *filius* in that part. Likewise remember his former offer for MacKendowye.

Provide order for convoy of letters and intelligences to and fro the Deputy of Ireland, the general in field, MacLean and myself, and all otherwise as shall be thought convenient. And in these behalfs Auchinross and Cunningham are meet to be entertained.

Mr. George Erskine is to be remembered and partly for a placard ("plackerd") for one horse to be bought in England. If it shall please her Majesty to grant a placard to me for 2 or 3 horses I should in these behalfs husband sundry rewards for her profit and contentment of the parties. But without warrant I dare not give or deliver any horse to any Scottishmen. *Unsigned.*

3 *pp.* *In the handwriting of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed : " Instructions to Geo. Nicolson, Edenb' v Aprilis 1596 " and in another hand (? Bowes's) " for Sir Robert Cecil."*

April 13. 159. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Being frustrate of my expectation to have met with you yesterday at my being at Court I have taken occasion to recommend unto your favour, according to my direction, this gentleman's suit of denization,

James VI.

1596.

together with the like of one Thomas Wilson (Vilson), shoemaker, they being both particularly recommended to my care by the King my master's own hand to the Queen. I could not but of duty "interpon" this my earnest request in his favour, which would have been done by my Lord Secretary of Scotland, who had proof of your good will herein before, if he should not appear to do wrong to his Majesty's request, which he esteems [to be] very sufficient for the obtaining of so reasonable [a demand?].* Seeing therefore the Queen has "takin her [to be] informit" of this gentleman I have willed he should come to you with the attestation of some of these most worthy with whom he has conversed during his residence in this country of his honest behaviour in all points that by your good means he may receive such comfort of her Majesty's good dispatch as it shall please her to bestow at the earnest request of the King.

I send likewise the sentence pronounced for the restitution of Mr. Offley (Ophly)'s ship and goods by the Earl of Orkney according to the Queen's request to the King, wherein I am ordered to crave satisfaction of the goods and gear taken from the Earl by an Englishman called Captain Guyne, whose claim according to the Queen'[s des]ire I send to be considered in Council. London, this Thursday, the 13 of April. *Signed* : D. Foulis.

1 p. *Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : "13 Apr. 1596. Mr. Da: Fowles to my master. In favour of Mr. Montgomery and Tho: Wyilson to be free denysons."

April 16. **160. THE EARL OF ARGYLL TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].**

The dean of Limerick, my cousin, has informed me of your courteous behaviour in procuring your father to be favourable and using your friendly credit in this debate betwixt him and the Bishop of Limerick, which I acknowledge done to myself abiding an occasion of requital whereby my thankfulness may the better appear. Stirling (Streveling), 16 April 1596. *Signed* : "Your assured freind lawfully Ar. Argyll."

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *No address or endorsement.*

April 18. **161. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Since the address and departure of my servant, George Nicolson, to you, the young laird of Lawers (Lawys) is come hither letting me know that, albeit Tyrone and O'Donnell are entered again to offer obedience and submission to her Majesty, yet they call for MacCondochy (M^cKendoquhy) to come to them with his companies in readiness being above a thousand men; and that O'Donnell has lately promoted 36 persons to honours and titles, increasing greatly thereby his strength and forces as he has certified his friends in Scotland for their comfort and to draw them the rather to party him. It is again offered that the two chieftains of these numbers prepared to pass to the aid of the rebels in Ireland shall be at her Majesty's devotion and to perform especial services for her before they shall require any entertainment or reward of her. For that faithful accomplishment of their promises they offer two hostages to be delivered to me. They are in such

* The paper has been cut away in places, probably in opening the letter.

James VI.

1596. readiness as they cannot long delay their passage into Ireland and thereby they press me much to give them resolute answer and notice of her Majesty's pleasure for acceptation of their services. But having committed this matter to the information of Nicolson and being now uncertain of her Majesty's determination herein I suspend my answer. Nevertheless I entertain them as well as I can until I receive direction, which I beseech your Honour hasten to me with expedition. All others I refer to my other letter to my Lord Treasurer, your father. Edinburgh, 18 April 1596. Signed : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

April 18. 162. D. FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

If it had not been for fear to trouble your better leisure I would willingly have visited you sundry times since my last, whereof I had no answer. Now, seeing I am admonished of new to be careful in these points whereof I wrote to you, I will request you to pardon my importunity in craving your assistance in the expedition of the denizations, as likewise your advice when it shall be fit to move the matter of the Earl of Orkney that I may cause some of mine [to] attend thereupon or myself if need be. There is here also a gentleman of our country called Captain Edger who has his company in France at the Estates' pay, who for his particular adoes has been in the country and now in his way to go forward to his service craves his passport for himself and his page with their two horses which they brought from Scotland, that they be in no way hindered in their voyage seeing his chief care is now in these dangerous times to be with his company in case some service may present against the enemy. London, 18 April 1596. Signed : D. Foulis.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Seal. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

April 18. 163. ROBERT BOWES TO DAVID FOULIS.

Your three several packets with letters to myself I have received and "indelately" delivered your packets agreeable to the direction of the same, as I shall be ready to do the like hereafter upon receipt of any other letters or packets.

I thank you for your favourable kindness showed in the address of your letters to me and advertisement of some novelties with you, which favour I shall be ready and willing to repay with all pleasures in my power.

By my letters with these I have written to the Lord Treasurer in furtherance of your request for licence for transportation of some peas and beans agreeable to the King's pleasure in the behalf of Gilbert Master-ton. You may find some difficulty, yet I hope with some favour as shall content you.

I have also advertised the Lord Treasurer by this my letter the readiness of the King and the willingness of the Earl of Orkney to restore to Mr. Offley his ship and goods, which as yet is not fully completed, yet so promised as the same is like to be done with expedition. Thereon favourable regard shall (I trust) be given to the Earl of Orkney for restitution of his

James VI.

1596. goods taken by Guyn and other English pirates ; wherein as I find the Lord Treasurer ready to yield his good furtherance, so I have written to expedite the same with best effects, like as I trust you shall understand by his lordship. The present condition of this Estate and occurrents here are so fully certified unto you by the letters enclosed and addressed to you as for this time I have thought meet to commend all the same to the view of these letters. Edinburgh, 18 April. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 p. Addressed. Endorsed : " 18 Ap. 1596. Mr. Bowes to Mr. Fowles the Scottish Ambassador."

April 18, **164.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

Before the receipt of your lordship's two several letters of the 9th and 10th hereof I had addressed my servant George Nicolson to you and Sir Robert Cecil with advertisement of the present condition of this Estate and occurrents here and with instructions in the affairs for Ireland, prepared to be resolved by her Majesty and with return of her pleasure for the expedition and execution of her determination and will in the same, which I expect and attend upon.

In sundry parts of your letters and touching the causes for the Borders, Ireland, the proceedings of the last General Assembly of the Church and the composition of that Assembly, the quarrels betwixt MacConnell and MacLean, the offence of MacConnell done to the King, the order already taken for restraint of powder, armour or weapon to be transported out of any part of Scotland into Ireland, and in other like effects noted in your letters and to be further specified and certified to your lordship by me for your satisfaction therein, George Nicolson (by his instructions and of his own knowledge) can give you such sufficient information as shall (I trust) better please you than my tedious report by letter.

Since the departure of Nicolson from me and upon my late motions to the King for his "indelate" orders to be given to his wardens and officers in the Marches for the administration of justice and preservation of the peace of the Borders, he sent to me the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Melvill to advertise me that by his letters already addressed he had commanded the lairds of Cessford and Buccleuch to keep their ordinary meetings severally with the Lord Scrope, Lord Eure (Eurye) and Sir Robert Carie at days and places convenient and to give due redress and restitution for all attempts and offences done in England and redressable by the ordinary power of the wardens ; and that the King would shortly call together his Council to deliberate and provide that some fit course and order might be taken for due redresses to be made for all other attempts and wrongs done in other realms by slaughter, blood, fire or other outrageous manner and as was not usually to be redressed by the ordinary power and authority of the wardens, but by the extraordinary commissions and accords of the sovereigns. Wherein it should be considered and declared from what time these redresses should take beginning, whether the commissions should be only directed to the wardens or that other persons should be joined with them, or otherwise (and according to the ancient custom in like cases) such particular persons of quality and experience should be

James VI.

1596. named, appointed and authorised to meet at such times and places for the execution of these effects, as by her Majesty and the King should be mutually resolved and accorded. They agreed to send to me their resolutions to be taken herein that I might present the same to her Majesty to be allowed or reformed at her pleasure for the progress of this cause. Soon after this time the King departed to Stirling leaving few of the Council here, as hitherto this matter rests upon new assembly of the Council, the time whereof is very uncertain.

Whilst these things have been laboured to pacify the troubles on the Borders a most strange tempest is raised by Buccleuch taking forcibly Will of Kinmont out of the castle at Carlisle, as by the Lord Scrope's letters received yesterday (and for which I have attended and delayed thus long to write of these matters) I understand is already advertised with such certainty of all circumstances in that action, as I think it not meet to trouble you with the bruits brought hither some days past and dispersed by the evil affected wishing increase of this sudden storm. Wherein I do right humbly pray timely and perfect direction with notice of her Majesty's pleasure what I shall demand and do for* her best satisfaction. For finding the indignity so great and the condition of this time and estate of causes to be of such quality as they and these matters must be censured by her Majesty's will and pleasure, I have thought it expedient to attend upon directions herein and shall be right diligent to execute the effects to be commanded to me. In the meantime it evidently appears that this fact executed and avowed by Buccleuch is of another nature than the complaint made and not proved by Mr. David Foulis for the taking of Will. Elliott's sheep at the Dead Waters and which your lordship has well answered and the Lord Eure orderly justified by the depasturing of Elliott's sheep wrongfully in the known grounds of England, where (and for which cause) the Lord Eure affirms them to be taken.

I dare not well instant [urge] the ministry to receive the submission of the Earl of Angus, or like of the return of Huntly and Errol as your lordship wishes they should do. For it is denied by the ministry that these forfeited Earls travail to recover their country by their submission but with intention only to advance the more effectually their plots and desires for the prejudice of religion professed here, as has been plainly uttered in pulpit. Mr. Archibald Douglas has preached so to shake my credit with the ministers and well affected in this realm as for the benefit of her Majesty's service I am the more curious to offer any matter condemned by them. In which behalf touching Mr. Archibald's practice against me (and to the great hindrance of her Majesty's service to be done by me) my servant Nicolson can further advertise you and myself shall be ever ready to approve the same, as shall please her Majesty to direct or else give me leave.

The report of the taking of Calais (Callyce) by the Spaniards so mightily occupied all sorts in this realm as the King, sundry noblemen, councillors and others of quality sent unto and earnestly sought to understand of me the truth therein. But I could yield them no satisfaction until I received your letters, by which I have given them contentment and quenched many false bruits; for which favour and letters I thank your lordship,

* The words from "Wherein" to "do for" have been underlined.

James VI.

1596.

acknowledging that by the same I have been and am much raised and graced in the execution of her Majesty's service here.

The King readily gave order and the Earl of Orkney shows himself very willing to restore to Mr. Offley his ship and goods taken and detained by the Earl and not fully as yet redelivered, as by your letter it appears that Mr. David Foulis affirms. It is promised that the restitution shall be completed. Thereon the King desires that the Earl of Orkney may favourably have redress for his goods taken on sea by Guyn and other Englishmen, as Mr. David can particularly inform you.

The dearth of grain and famine exceeds in this realm and it is given the King to think that Norfolk or other places thereabouts have sufficient store of peas and beans to suffice and serve both themselves and other needful parts in England and also to relieve Scotland with some convenient portion, and which would save the lives of many poor persons perishing (as in pulpits is affirmed) with lack of food. Therefore the King, this burgh of Edinburgh and the ministers heartily recommend to her Majesty's grace and goodness the petition of Mr. David Foulis for her licence to transport some convenient and small portion of peas and beans from England into Scotland and for the relief of the poor here. Thus much for return to the contents of your lordship's letters mentioned and for advertisements in other causes conjoined therewith.

The King is presently at his hunting and pastimes at Stirling, purposing to remove to Falkland within 3 or 4 days and soon after to meet the Queen at Dunfermline. It is looked that he shall not return to Holyroodhouse before the meeting of the Convention of the Estates beginning at Edinburgh on 20th May next and for such causes as by the copy of the form of the summons for the same and sent enclosed to you will appear. Many matters shall be offered to the deliberations of this Convention but especially the grant of a taxation and other effects specified in my former to your lordship.

The King expects the arrival of the King of Denmark's Ambassador next month to require the King of Scots' personal presence at the coronation and marriage of the King of Denmark in August next. Albeit the King of Scots had partly promised to honour with his own presence the coronation and that it is looked that some league and confederacy shall be made and knit up betwixt the King of Scots and the princes to be assembled there, yet the King is hitherto minded to send his Ambassadors for this solemnity and negotiation ; wherein it is thought that the Duke with Crawford or Sanquhar (Sanker) or one other nobleman shall be employed in this journey and that from thence the Ambassadors so employed shall repair unto the French King to renew the league with him in sort as by this next Convention shall be resolved. I send enclosed the copy of Mr. Sinclair's letter to the King of Scots and certifying the coming hither of the Ambassador mentioned.

It has been informed that Huntly and Errol have contrary to the tenor of bonds practised with the King of Spain and his ministers. Whereupon motion will be made at the Convention that their cautioners may be charged with the breach and forfeiture of their bonds for the Earls. The King shows himself hitherto very willing to yield his consent to the same.

In my late audience with the King and discourse of the proceedings

James VI.

1596. of the papist Earls and "complaytes" of Spain he frankly and of his own accord burst forth and protested very confidently that during his life he would stand to and maintain the religion professed here; that he would wholly renew his course with her Majesty and for her contentment against all her enemies, with whom he neither had nor would confederate, notwithstanding he had been many times suspected to have intended the same, as has been gathered by the papers found in Mr. John Geddy's hands, by false reports and letters of Jesuits and other practisers suggesting to the Pope, the King of Spain and others that he inclined to the Catholic religion of Rome, by large sums of treasure offered in the name of the King of Spain, some princes of Italy and others to draw him to their confederacies, with many like matters discovered and given forth against him and to kindle some jealousy and distrust in her Majesty's head towards him. He recounted divers particularities objected for his disgrace, whereof he always cleared himself, concluding with solemn protestation that to gain the crown of England he would not wish the shortening of her Majesty's reign or days or justly grieve or offend her during her life. But finding him entered in this matter I told him that it was so holy and what as I durst not let my ears, tongue or hands be touched therewith, whereupon he ceased. Nevertheless, I am credibly informed that publicly at his table and privately in his bedchamber he used oftentimes like speeches and protestations.

It is told me that the Duke is agreed with Angus for Tomptall-[oun?]* and the possessions of Angus in the Duke's hands, for which Angus must pay the Duke 20,000*l.* Scots; and that Patrick (Patrey) Butter is lately arrived at Montrose with Huntly's letters to great courtiers and others; that Jesuits are newly entered into this realm assuring their friends that in short time they shall have and enjoy their long wished desires. And some suspect that Errol is secretly crept into and abides in this realm, whereof hitherto I find little certainty. Edinburgh, 18 April 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

5 *pp.* *Addressed. Endorsed by Lord Burghley's clerk*: "Receaved at Grenewich the xxiiijth of the same [April]."

April 24. 165. GEORGE NICOLSON'S MEMORIAL.

A note of things to be considered and resolved on for the dispatch of George Nicolson and the others.

The token to M[acLean].

Reward to John A[uchinross].

To John Cu[nningham].

Their charges and mine up and down and here.

Contentment in these things will serve for the present and preserve this party and his services for her Majesty and her action hereafter, and that greatly to her benefit if she should need his service.

And if there come word from Ireland as thereon the services of this party be to be used, then agreement must be made for the same, order for men of her Majesty's to go with him, for appointments and intelligence

* *Torn.* Tantallon was granted to the Duke of Lennox in 1594 and reverted to the Earl of Angus in 1602.

James VI.

1596.

for the setting on, and meetings of her Majesty's other forces in Ireland against the Earl and with the forces of this party and her Majesty's with him, etc., and for conclusion wherein, when this shall be needed, Jo[hⁿ] A[uchinross] may come up again. And in this case the King and the Earl of Argyll must be moved by good means and the Ambassador there to appoint M[acLean] to this service and Argyll to join some of his therein, and in which case the provost of Kilmun sues to serve and Mr. George Erskine, the special guider of the Earl of Argyll, would be regarded as the Earl had need also to be in some honourable sort. And because the service will be great and much imports her Majesty, as will daily more and more appear the longer it is deferred, the offers of Junior standing upon two points may also be used or not used as shall be thought meet, as also the former, for my master leaves all to better consideration than he can have in this matter, having never served in Ireland. But in case these matters be thought meet, it will be needful that he have some money always in his hands for advancement of this service and to be accountable for the same.

For Border causes I am directed and can tell the estate of them and the necessities and way to help the same, which my master wishes may be looked unto with speed as a matter of no small moment.

As to the estate of Scotland I come well instructed in the same as then it stood, and suppose it may well be changed since, yet I trust to give reasonable satisfaction therein.

Where my master is not so well furnished with plate as becomes the place he has, nor able to help it, he prays that for the time of his service he may have some plate lent unto him.

As likewise the very extremity of the dearth there craves consideration to be taken on his charge with some augmentation (for this time) of his entertainment.

My Lord Hume is suitor for her Majesty's placard as my master wrote for and the Prior of Blantyre has also spoken to my master to move that he may have a placard. And it would much credit my master and help him in the service that he might have licence sometimes and to sure friends to give a horse.

For myself I have ever since my master's employment in these affairs taken great pains in his service for her Majesty's causes, which if his estate had served to recompense had been rewarded ere this. But he, unable to do it, commends me as I do myself to my Lord your father's and your Honour's good means to help me at her Majesty's hands with something for my relief as shall be thought convenient. *Signed* : George Nicolson.

1½ pp. *In Nicolson's handwriting. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : "Memoriall, 24 Ap. 1596."

April 26. **166. ROBERT BOWES TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].**

The report of the taking of Calais by the Spaniards works exceeding joyful effects in the hearts of papists and other evil affected in this realm. Therewith it is generally looked and given out here that the Spaniards will speedily send succours into Ireland to Tyrone but I cannot hitherto find any certainty thereof by any credible intelligence. And it is informed

James VI.

1596. the King that the rebels in Ireland have broken up with her Majesty's commissioners, whereby such as I am dealing with for her greatly press and instance me for speedy advertisement of her pleasure and resolution in these causes that they may take (as they say) the "crope" of the tide and gather their companies in season. Albeit I trust to receive sufficient directions from you in these behalves before these presents shall be delivered to you, yet to satisfy the desires of these parties I have thought good to recommend these to you, purposing to write to my Lord your father immediately after I have spoken with the King, who has appointed me to be with him to-morrow in the afternoon. Edinburgh, 26 April 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *No address or endorsement.*

April 26. 167. DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHELY.

Having received a letter from Mr. Bowes concerning my suit of the transport of some peas and beans I thought it expedient to send the same to your lordship to the effect that his recommendation concurring with my request you will grace my desire with your furtherance thereof. If I may know by the bearer at what time I shall attend upon you for the perfecting of this matter I will not fail to do it and confess myself obliged to your lordship. What occurs in our country I have written to your son, Sir Robert. London, 26 April 1596. *Signed* : D. Foulis.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Seal, broken. Endorsed.*

April 27. 168. DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHELY.

I can but presently thank your lordship of your assistance of my suit concerning the transport of some peas and beans. The quantity I remit to your wisdom to be inserted in the licence. As I have received great favour and courtesy of your lordship in the grant of the general, I hope to have good contentment in the number specified in particular. Seeing I am informed that Gilbert Maisterton is not in England presently, I will crave that the blank be left open till I learn certainly the truth and may have the same without the nomination of any till I know what merchandise be there to be employed therein. Master Hunter has been also with me, who has most heavily lamented his case unto me requesting me to "interpon" my credit at your hands that both in recompense of his bypast services and in hope of those to come it will please you to change his warrant of better "cornis" as wheat in the worse as peas and beans, wherein if it will please you to do him favour for my cause I will esteem of it as done to myself. London, 27 April 1596. *Signed* : D. Foulis.

1 p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed.*

April 30. 169. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Since my last and next before these to your Honour I perceive that MacLean is purposed to be with the Earl of Argyll at Stirling or Campbell

James VI.

1596.

on the 6th or 7th hereof [*sic*] looking for the returns of Auchinross and Cunningham with resolution in those causes. Wherein he will press me for "indelate" answer, order and satisfaction; in all which I trust to be shortly furnished with knowledge of her Majesty's pleasure and with your directions for the execution thereof, and before the receipt whereof I can proceed no further in those affairs.

The Dean of Limerick has travailed effectually with the Earl of Argyll and to such effects as by my letter to my Lord Treasurer, your father, will appear unto you. I have stayed him beyond his diet. Now he is in his return towards Limerick with intention to come hither again as occasion shall be offered for his service here and as he shall be called for the same. I refer to the view of my letter mentioned all his doings and success both in the affairs for Ireland and also himself and suits with the Bishop of Limerick to your favour and goodness.

Donald Gorm and his faction have taken prisoner MacLeod Harris (McKloyd Harrys) returning from MacLean. This is done either upon jealousy that Harris was joined with MacLean against Tyrone or else by this fine pretence to keep Harris fast to themselves and with his own will and assent.

Because the Islanders are suspected to be found slow to yield the duties demanded for the King by the 8 Councillors, the King is purposed to employ the service of Argyll for the advancement of this cause to his pleasure and profit. And MacLean is hitherto found meet to be cast in with Argyll for the better accomplishment thereof.

Angus MacConnell has kept a solemn Easter, expecting the coming and company of Donald Gorm, MacLeod (McKloyd) Lewis and other friends to Tyrone. His hope and comfort are in the Spaniards, foretelling of their success at Calais and building on the progress thereof. He has left his base son as one malcontent in the Glaynes in Ireland with some companies to keep possession of his lands there. The several packets addressed hither by Mr. David Foulis (Fowles) and conveyed by post by your warrant I have received and delivered agreeable to their directions. Edinburgh, the last of April, 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk*: "Received the vijth of May at Grenewich."

April 30. **170. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.**

Since the receipt of your lordship's letter of the 17th hereof the King returned hither from his hunting on the 25th of this month and with so few Councillors as the rest are sent for to be here on the 3rd of the next month for the preparation of sundry causes to be resolved by the Convention of the Estates to meet here on 20th May next for the entertainment to be given to the Ambassadors for the King of Denmark and for Border causes mentioned to the King by me. For which effects the King, now repassed to his pastimes, intends to come again to his Council here within 2 or 3 days after their assembly.

At my late access I showed to the King one letter addressed to me by George Whythead of Sunderland in the bishopric of Durham, gentleman, well acquitting himself thereby against the information given to the King

James VI.

1596.

that he with other English gentlemen had prepared to have consorted with the Earl Bothwell on the seas and to have surprised and spoiled some parts in Orkney. This information is disproved by Mr. Whytehead and the King now fully satisfied with his answer and with my course and labours in the same.

For the peace and quietness on the Borders I then put him in memory of the late orders taken by himself and Council, certified by the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Melvill to me, and ordaining, first, that Buccleuch and Cessford should be speedily charged by the King's several letters to keep "indelate" and frequent meetings at convenient times and places severally with the Lord Scrope, Lord Eure and Sir Robert Carie for the mutual administration of justice and restitution to be made in all bills and matters for goods and gear wrongfully taken in either realm and triable before them, and by their ordinary powers as wardens and officers of the Marches; secondly, that the Council should then assemble and meet at Edinburgh within few days to devise some fit course for the reformation and redress of all other attempts and offences by slaughter, blood, fire, unlawful taking of prisoners, wrongs done before the entry of any warden into his office, and all such other outrages not redressable by the ordinary powers of the wardens but by the special commissions and orders to be consented and accorded mutually by her Majesty and the King; and that the course and order so devised and liked by them should be showed to me that I might certify and recommend the same to be allowed or reformed by her Majesty for the future progress and execution of the cause, like as by my former letter of the 18th hereof I have signified to your lordship. Now, albeit these things were promised to have been accomplished and that by his letters Buccleuch and Cessford were directed to have performed the same on their behalfs, I let him understand that nothing was performed by them and that the Council convened not as he appointed. Therefore he has again agreed and promised to renew his letters and charge to his officers in the Marches for the "indelate" execution of justice for all things in their ordinary power, and that the Council shall be here together on the 3rd May next to resolve on the other matters of the Borders for the pacifying of the same; that the resolutions of the Council shall be made known to me and that they are directed to have special care to give her Majesty very good contentment in their proceedings in these behalfs. Wherein I found that he carried a chief regard to answer the attempt lately enterprised by Buccleuch at the castle in Carlisle for Will of Kinmont and before advertised to you by letter. Nevertheless, I forbore to demand any particular redress for that strange and insolent feat by Buccleuch in respect that I both attended your direction in that cause and also was given to think by the advice of some discreet friend about the King that my silence therein for that time should yield greater advantage for the expedition of that redress to be effected in better manner and substance for her Majesty's pleasure and satisfaction than my motion and travail could work before the King's mind should be prepared for the same and as I am put in hope shall be done. Of my further doings and success therein your lordship shall be with speed advertised, praying you to direct me timely what I shall further demand and do for her Majesty's best service and satisfaction herein.

James VI.
1596.

At this time the King not only gave good words and signs to yield to her Majesty's good contentment for Buccleuch and his fault but also, upon some speech let fall by me that he had fair occasion many ways offered at this time to honour himself, he first uttered his kind affection to her and noting himself to be born as great in blood as other princes (albeit of smaller yearly revenues) he said that for the benefit of religion and of her he would be ready in person and with his whole power and forces of his subjects either to be employed and enter into action or else to lie still or otherwise to offer himself and his travails in case he should perceive that himself and good will should be well accepted, protesting that he would faithfully join with and party her Majesty against the King of Spain and all other her enemies, and to give true testimony thereof against the untrue reports given out that he would seek great matters at her hands for his profit and advantage, and upon denial of the same to pick and take a quarrel against her, which purpose and mind he professes utterly to detest. He acknowledged herewith that her Majesty's honour and renown sounded above all princes in Europe. He commended much the valiant courage in the French King, noting his open defection in religion, the jealousies of the well affected towards him by his fall and his "tickle" estate full of dangers and uncertainties. Nevertheless, he would be ready and contented (with her Majesty's advice and party) to join in the action and aid the French King personally or otherwise as should be found expedient, concluding that if it pleased her Majesty to have him come and embark in those affairs, with six persons or with any greater number whatsoever in his power, he would very willingly perform it. Which effects he had uttered (he said) to others, as thereby and otherwise he appeared to me to be willing and partly desirous that they should be recommended to her Majesty's knowledge. Whereupon I have thus presumed to make this mention of them.

The Dean of Limerick, travelling with the Earl of Argyll, has drawn the Earl to agree to levy and employ his power and forces (with the licence of the King his sovereign) to serve her Majesty against her rebels in Ireland and is ready to do all things not overcharging him, providing that in chargeable matters he shall be supported. The provost of Kilmun (brother of the Dean) with other gentlemen of account and towards Argyll offer [*sic*] likewise their services to her Majesty under Argyll or with his direction. They think that these forces of Argyll's shall do especial services to her, in regard that few of the Isles in Scotland or on the frontiers in Ireland towards Argyll will fight and draw blood against the Campbells. The Dean has acquainted Argyll with the great favours and benefits which her Majesty has bestowed upon him for the Earl's sake, persuading the Earl to continue his devotion and good offices to her without regard of any course offered with France or other. He has covered (as he says) the wrongs done to him by the Bishop of Limerick, both in the particular violence against himself and also in offensive words towards Argyll and the house of Campbell, which he called Redshanks to their disgrace and which might stir the house to passion and contempt. It has been given Argyll to think that Huntly finds over great favour in England and that Argyll is little regarded thereby. This is drawn out of the actions of Mr. Archibald Douglas, as by the Dean will be further signified to your

James VI.

1596. lordship. Albeit that the bishopric of the Isles is provided for the Dean, he is returning unto Limerick with purpose to serve her Majesty there. He has with him the letters of the King and Argyll in his favour to the Lord Deputy and Lord Chancellor. He will remain ready to serve here and there as he shall be directed. Whereupon it may please you to extend your goodness and help to him and in his cause. The pedigree of the Campbells is not yet ready but he will send it to you very shortly, being stayed here by me for these purposes something beyond his diet.

Buccleuch purposing to travel into Italy and other foreign parts seeks the King's licence for the same, which will be readily (as it is thought) granted to him. Yet some would persuade me that his banishment or other chastisement for this attempt at Carlisle may be wrought to please her Majesty. Therefore I still pray direction herein with speed. He has lately given up kindness with Mr. John Colville, who thereon stands upon his guard against him, thinking to be able to "quit him a common," if he might afterwards find protection or refuge therein.

The several packets of Mr. David Foulis, conveyed by post to me by your lordship's warrant and otherwise, I have delivered according to their directions, perceiving by some of his friends that he gives frequent advertisements of foreign occurrents to the King's sundry Councillors, with particular letters to his brother and other friends in his own and their private causes; and that commending his honourable entertainment he conceives good hope of her Majesty's favourable disposition towards the King and his requests and affairs, as the King seems well pleased therewith, as partly appears by his former words uttered to me and before declared.

The King has had conference with some of his Council in the effects of the letters brought to him by Patrick Butter from Huntly and Errol. They desire to be received upon their submission or left to themselves, as before I have advertised. They further pray toleration in their religion and it is told me that Errol would have commission by the King to treat with the Pope, but of this last I have little certainty. They are not like to obtain any of their requests, the rather because the King by other letters perceives that they little esteem him and seek means at other hands here and (as it is said) in England, a matter thought here very strange. They have advertised (as I hear) their friends that they know Calais should be taken with the Spaniards and that they will have Boulogne and other parts thereabouts. Whereupon they stayed to see the success and attend the progress of that action, thinking that all Scottishmen shall be barred their passage by seas without the Spaniards' licence. And now they seem to have the keys (as they say) at their own belts. The town of Montrose sought to have apprehended Patrick Butter with his letters, but being warned he narrowly escaped and I have been thought to have been over busy for his apprehension. This estate continues in calm quietness attending the effects to follow the taking of Calais, which here is much lamented and for the recovery thereof the well affected show themselves willing to employ all their means and power. Edinburgh, the last of April, 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

4½ pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Lord Burghley's clerk.

James VI.

1596. 171. CAPTAIN JAMES EDGER.

April —.

Licence for Captain James Edger, a gentleman of Scotland, who has served the French King at La Fere and is now to return to France, to pass through the realm with his servants and necessary carriages and to transport with him four Scottish nags from such port as shall be thought convenient. "Given under our signet at our manor of Greenwich the [blank] day of April in the 38th year of our reign."

1 p. Copy.

[1596. 172. MEMORANDA OF GEORGE NICOLSON FOR SIR ROBERT CECIL.
c. April.]

Things to be remembered.

That the 500 crowns be cleared and fully given to the parties.

That your Honour show unto them her Majesty's purpose for the pension.

That they may have warrant for passage of the things to be bought for the party.

That John MacNeill may be discharged and put to liberty.

That the rewards to the parties here and our charges be delivered.

If the service of these men be requisite, Mr. George Erskine, a special guider of Argyll, would be also regarded.

That remembrance be had and order taken anent the Borders.

That Robert Godfray be warned to beware of himself, because his dealings begin to be discovered.

Licence for the Earl of Crawford to pass through England. } If so be
Placard for my Lord Hume, the best neighbour on that side. } thought
Placard to Blantyre, a favourer of the amity and religion. } meet.

Mr. John Colvill, my Lord your father's and your Honour's devoted servant (I may term him), needs relief and will deserve the same.

For my master.

(1) 200*l.*'s worth of plate upon his bond to redeliver the same.

(2) Licence to him to give now and then a horse to a sure friend.

(3) Augmentation of his diet the time of this extreme dearth.

(4) Imprest of 200*l.* upon his diet that therewith the chain may be paid to your Honour and the rest carried to relieve his wants.

(5) And it would much ease my master that his letters to your Honour only might also satisfy my Lord your father by your imparting thereof to his lordship.

And seeing there are divers practices to discredit my master (and his betters) in Scotland it may please your Honour to hear me therein, as also to satisfy you in anything of the Estate so far as you rest doubtful and I can explain, which I hope to content you in most matters there.

And lastly for myself, being an unlearned suitor and ignorant how to plot my own good, having never as yet received any recompense for my long pains taken in her Majesty's affairs (wherein I praise God I can still do good service), I wholly commit myself and relief to be holpen herein by my Lord your father and your Honour's good means at her Majesty's

James VI.

1596. hands and for her warrant and grant of a lease in reversion of [blank] *per annum* and for [blank] years, whereon I trust to cause my friends (myself being to await on my master in Scotland) to espy and pass for me something to enable me the better to serve her Majesty and your Honours. *Signed* : George Nicolson.

If the Earl submit himself in such sort to her Majesty as her Highness receive him to grace, it appears by the one of the men with me that it will be much to her advantage that her Highness in the agreement set at liberty the sons of John O'Neill and that she plant them by the agreement in some of the lands of their father to hold of her only, that thereby their dependency may be upon her. So shall O'Neill's right kindred be loose and hereafter a party for her Majesty.

And where O'Donnell by writ and other ways has sought to agree Mc[blank]* with Tyrone, making fair offers ; and that Mc[blank] has returned writ to O'Donnell that he likes and will follow his counsel and will give them aid, this now is done upon policy to learn the estate of things and the Earl's mind, that thereon the party may discover the certainty of things. For without errand to the chief of that party he could not learn anything there. These things I have thought to set down as of moment. *Signed* : Geo: Nicolson.

1½ pp. *In Nicolson's handwriting. Endorsed, probably by Sir R. Cecil* : "Remembrances of Mr. Nicholson's."

[1596. 173. THE DEAN OF LIMERICK'S ACCOUNT OF THE WESTERN
? April.] ISLES OF SCOTLAND AND THE DESCENT, CONNEXIONS,
ETC., OF THE ISLANDERS.

Someone of the sept of the MacDonalds (McDonelles) by common report descended of MacDonnell of Fermanagh in Ulster (whose posterity to this day retain the name of MacDonald as the chief title and dignity of that race in their family, though now vassals unto Maguire (Magoyre)) attaining by the force of his confederates and followers to that strength and puissance upon his arrival into the main of Scotland called Kintyre, by interpretation Lands end being opposite to the Glynnnes in the north of Ireland, subdued and possessed not only the same and the countries next adjoining as Knapdale, Argyll, Lorne, Coylte, with other their appurtenances being now the Earl of Argyll's territories, but also seised himself of the most part of the north of Scotland and of all the islands adjacent, south, west and northward, inhabiting most of the aforesaid countries with his "complices" and people, which their posterity enjoy at this present, the Orkneys (Orcadyes) only excepted being always in the possession of the Danes till by way of mortgage they were given to King James III for his dowry and soon after upon the birth of James IV by the daughter of Denmark the interest was absolutely released and annexed to the crown of Scotland, as I was informed ; which continual possession to have been in the Danes by their language and manners evidently appears. [*In margin* : Note : there is another MacDonald in Tyrone called Mc'Donell Galliglas, a name proper to the captain of O'Neale's

* Presumably MacLean.

James VI.

1596.

native Galliglas, which is given him in regard of commandery. But the other, as I suppose, is so called by reason of the dignity and original house of that race, of whom the other, I mean Galliglas, seems to be descended.] The race of the MacDonalds growing to the greatness aforesaid by their usurpation no less dishonourable than prejudicial to the state and dignity of the princes of Scotland, their lordships assumed as well the name of MacDonald as the title of highest dignity after the manner of their Irish ancestors, their captains doing the like over their families in their several possessions as MacKaine, MacLeod Lewis (M^cCloyde Leos), MacLeod Harris (M^cCloyde Herries), MacIntosh (M^cEntoshe), MacKenny, M^c-Hughe O'Manys, with many others in the Irishry of that land, as also presumed to give battle unto the King, whereof one is famous by the name of the battle of Harlawe, as I have heard, wherein the King's forces were overthrown and many of his nobles. [*In margin* : Note : the original houses of these septs in Ireland from whom they came are well known to the Irish chroniclers.] In consideration hereof, the state of the kingdom being greatly endangered and damaged, for abolishing the name, dignity and forces of MacDonalds the Earls of Argyll, by means of their loyalty, valour, faithfulness and good fortune in these employments and services, obtained of their prince large territories, royalties and immunities extraordinary, high honours and offices by inheritance, as to be Lord High Stewards of Scotland, Lord Justices General of Scotland, Lord Lieutenants of the Islands, to them and their heirs for ever, and almost successively have been chosen Lord Chancellors of Scotland these many years, which notwithstanding by the record and evidence of all histories and chronicles their loyalties have not been impeached. Whereby it may be gathered that the name, dignity and race of the MacDonalds have been always most hateful to the princes of Scotland as usurpers of the patrimony of their crown and also very odious to the house of Argyll, whose rising grew by their ruin. [*In margin* : Note : the Earls of Huntly were reputed of old time to be MacDonald's vassals.]

Allaster *alias* Alexander fitz John surnamed Cahanaghe, father to James MacConnell, usurping or at least affecting the name and dignity of MacConnell, was apprehended by the old Earl Archibald of Argyll and kept prisoner in the castle of Downon [? Dunoon] bordering upon that arm of the sea that divides Argyll from the lowland or English coast of Scotland, from whence he made an escape but being speedily pursued by the said Earl was forced to fly into Ireland as I take it, where soon after he died in the city of Dublin and lies buried in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, whose epitaph composed by Stainhurst is set down in his chronicle. [*In margin* : Note : this man had many sons, viz. Donell Ballaghe, James M^cConell, Angnes surnamed Illa, Allestren *alias* Alexander Oge, Sowerly Boye with others which I do not remember.] This Alexander had a daughter married to old Laughlen MacLean,* the mother of two sons and many daughters, the youngest of whom being trained up in the court of the Queen Regent of Scotland was old Earl Archibald's third and last wife. [*In margin* : Note : this Countess of Argyll after the death of her husband married Callough O'Donell in Ireland, by whom she had one son named Hugh Gawlagh O'Donell, who died young. She being taken prisoner

* Spelt M^cIllaine throughout this document.

James VI.

1596. with her said husband by John O'Neale bare him two sons, the one named Hugh Gawlagh O'Neale hanged by Tyrone, the other named Arte who soon after his escape out of the castle of Dublin died in Ulster. After the death of John O'Neale this lady returning to Scotland married John afterwards Lord of the Appin in the territories of Argyll and so died not many years ago.] The rest of the sisters were married to principal Lords of the Islands as Donell Gorme the elder, MacLeod Harris (McCloyd Harreys), the Lord of Lochaber (Loughaber) and others, by whom they had children succeeding their fathers in their possessions.

King James V in the beginning as I take it of his reign sailed about most of the Islands of Scotland and for the benefit of his crown and security of his state took the Lords of the same prisoners. All which were set at liberty having taken their lands holden of the King upon yearly rents, whether by lease or by letters patent I am not sure, but James McConell, supplanting his elder brother Donell Ballagh (being a man of simple and weak courage as I was informed), noted to be of a subtle and ambitious humour and aspiring to the dignity of MacDonald, continued prisoner in the castle of Blackness during the reign of the said King James and Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, sometimes sent ambassador to her Majesty here, was appointed governor of Kintyre and Ilahi [Islay], where he remained certain years endeavouring to use good husbandry there to the King's behoof as the demesnes of the crown being a soil indeed for the most part fertile and pleasant in comparison of most part of those countries. [*In margin* : Note : most of the Lords of the Islands, neglecting to pay the King's rents when process of law does not prevail, upon their coming to the court or English pale of Scotland, are committed for the same ; whereupon this Donell Gorme, Angnes McConell and MacLean were prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh six years ago for a challenge made by the King of great arrearages.]

James McConell after the death of King James V, whether set at liberty or making an escape I am not certain, taking a lease of Ilahi and letters patent as I suppose of Kintyre, acknowledging a good yearly rent for the same, was, notwithstanding, holden in great jealousy by the house of Argyll. Anne Campbell, half sister to the aforesaid Earl, then wife to the sheriff of Bute, by whom she was hardly entreated and had one daughter now married to Archibald fitz Agnus [Angus] Illahi in Kintyre, by reason of her hard usage joining towards Argyll was intercepted by the said James and married, by whom she had six sons and a daughter, mother to this young O'Donell. But this policy practised by James McConell to get favour with the Earls of Argyll gained him no credit or trust at their hands, showing manifold proofs of the same from time to time upon any advantage ; whereof one is memorable by coming to a parley with the old Earl Archibald in some one of the Islands, where the Lord of Ardkinglass and other gentlemen were sent pledges for his safe return unto his company, but in fine growing to no agreement, James, conducted by many of the Earl's gentlemen to his galleys, then being afloat near unto the shore, as he went up upon a little ladder (leather) into the same, Ardkinglass coming down was pulled up again backward and carried away into some other islands, but old Laughlen MacLean, married to James's sister as afore, took him into his custody and paid his ransom in testimony of his loving affection towards

James VI.

1596.

Argyll, the remembrance of which courtesy and kindness did not a little endure, as I take it ; Earl Archibald the younger to match his sister with Laughlen Oge MacLean, this man's father, the old man's son, finding indeed that sept of all other islanders most trusty and constant of their word and promise. [*In margin* : Note : James McConell's sons were these, Archibald, dead without issue, Angnes now Lord of Kintyre, Reynald, Colle, dead without issue, Donell Gorme, Alexander Carraghe, both dead without issue.]

The said James McConell, entitled by ancient records of Scotland, as I was informed, laird of the Glynnnes, being in the same was assaulted by John O'Neyle then accompanied with some English regiments in Glanseske [? Glanesk], where James then camped without watch or regard of himself, some of his brothers were killed with most of his kinsmen and followers : himself, two others of his brethren, Sowerly Boy and Allestran *alias* Alexander Oge, taken prisoners, but O'Neale refusing upon any condition to set James at liberty, although thereunto solicited by message and entreaty from Earl Archibald the younger at the instance of his aunt Anne, James's wife, the said James died within three months after of a wound which he had received in the skirmish in his forehead with an Irish dart or spear and was buried in the cathedral church of Armagh. Sowerlye Boy and Alexander were afterwards enlarged, who in a certain meeting at Cowsandonne, as I take it, killed John O'Neale after great reconciliation coming to crave their aid accompanied only with 16 horsemen and had her Majesty's reward, though not for any zeal of her Highness's service deserved on their behalf. [*In margin* : Note : John O'Neale had by James McConell's daughter (whom he begat upon McEphye of the Island of Collosse's daughter), the foresaid John had by her a son called Henry, now prisoner with Tyrone.]

Sowerly Boy, after the death of James, the elder brother of both then surviving, being wholly employed to subdue and possess the Roote, and by reason thereof not able to undertake the charge and tuition of his nephew Angnes and his country, left the same unto Alexander Oge who continued tutor many years. His widow my brother was forced to marry by Earl Colin his uncle's commandment, for that in lands and goods she was accounted very wealthy.

This MacLean, son to Laughlen Oge MacLean, being likewise so named and brought up by Earl Archibald the younger, his uncle for his better security in his country and the preventing of all practices in his nonage, the government of the same was given to the Lady Jane, the Earl's sister, his mother, and to Hector (Hactor) McAllen his foster father. But John his uncle, who by law ought to have been tutor, known to be of a crafty and subtle disposition, was kept prisoner by the Earl in the castle of Ineskonnell in Argyll. Yet after the death of the said Earl, MacLean unadvisedly matching himself with William, Earl of Glencairn's daughter [*in margin* : this Earl is surnamed Cunningham], without the privity or consent of Earl Colin, his uncle by father and mother, procured his high displeasure, by reason whereof the Earl countenanced Angnes McConell against him almost during his life, not much annoying MacLean any other way. This Hector McAllen above mentioned by due course of law was beheaded by MacLean by the procurement and practice of John the uncle.

James VI.

1596.

His mother, the Lady Jane, was married to MacLeod Harris, who had William and other children by MacLean's aunt, his former wife. After whose death the said William succeeded in the lordship and died without issue. The Lady Jane after old MacLeod's death married M^cKaene Ardnemorrough and soon after ended her life there.

The dissension of the Islanders and the causes of the same.

During the life of old Laughlen MacLean and James M^cConell his brother-in-law I have not heard of any controversy between those two houses, but after about a parcel of the lands of Illahi the dissension rose which by the marriage of MacLean's sister to Angnes (by whom he has children) could neither be repressed or qualified, by reason of which debates great bloodshed and treacheries have been committed by the M^cConells but in all skirmishes and especially in their encounters at sea in galleys MacLean most commonly had the upper hand, whose faction was thought much the stronger by reason of his consanguinity with the principal Lords of the Islands. But this young Donald Gorme immediately upon his departure out of Argyll, where he was trained up in learning and civility, joined himself with Angnes and so sent for his friends to a general meeting of the MacDonalds to take consultation against MacLean; who, being aggrieved therewith and accounting the said Donald no longer his cousin but his enemy, as he journeyed with his friends accompanied with many galleys to his country encamping himself in a certain island, was set upon by MacLean, who had the killing of many of his men where himself with the best of his friends hardly escaped. Which "foyle" and dishonour in that his first journey into his country bred an extreme hatred between them.

After long debates and great bloodsheds between Angnes M^cConell and MacLean, they both at length growing to an agreement amongst themselves, Angnes delivered his son and heir, young James, as the pledge of his good will and assurance of his reconciliation with MacLean, being the child's uncle, who acknowledged Angnes his lord paramount of his possessions in Illah, which notwithstanding the said Angnes by deep dissimulation the better to compass his purposed treachery went to Mullae, where he was courteously entertained by MacLean (Mack Illaine) many days, and inviting MacLean in like manner to Illah there to be merry, for avoiding of all suspicion left his brother Reynold pledge for his safe return, who in that regard was kept in the castle of Carnebrocke. MacLean coming to the place appointed and for his better security bringing young James with him, after great carousing, was beset towards midnight, most of his men killed in their beds, his lodging assaulted and fired [*in margin* : Note : a lamentable tragedy], so as covering his head and shoulders with the body of the child as a shield, besides the good will of a sept called M^cAllesters then present favouring MacLean's person,* his life was then preserved in the heat of their fury but taken prisoner with his uncle John and two of the chiefest of his name. MacLean himself was carried prisoner to Donovack, a stronghold belonging to Angnes in Illa, his uncle and the

* "Quere" is written in the margin about here but it is not clear to what part of the text exactly it refers.

James VI.

1596. rest sent prisoners to the castle of Donovertye in Kintyre bordering upon the sea over against the Glynnnes. The pretended cause of this tragical act was a conspiracy imagined, but nowise contrived, by MacLean (as Angnes affirmed) against himself, besides certain rhymes and songs made as was alleged and sung in Mulae in disgrace of the McConells. But Angnes going about to crown his cruelty which could not be coloured with more dishonour caused John MacLean's uncle with the rest to be beheaded at Donavertye, he himself being then not far off in Kintyre. Whereupon, being fully resolved with all speed to offer MacLean the like measure, as he was approaching to the shore to take boat he fell from his horse and burst his leg, which notwithstanding being carried to Illa to the castle of Donovock aforesaid, where MacLean was prisoner, this sudden mishap did let his determined execution. So as a few days after admitting MacLean to his presence and demanding homage and service with a surrender of his interest in the lands of Illah, whereunto MacLean would no ways yield preferring death to the diminishing of his house and patrimony, the said Angnes assembled his friends to consult of the matter and at length by the King's warrant was forced to condescend to his enlargement. Whereupon, a day and place being prefixed, MacLean's friends and followers brought Reynold McConell from Carnebrock and received their lord. In which matter, by reason of the great mistrust on either side at the delivering of both parties, James Steward, Earl of Arran newly created, laboured very much, being then banished from Court in exile with Angnes McConell, the controversy about the land being the ground, these and the like treacheries were the nurseries of their irreconcilable hatred.

There was also dissension between young Donald Gorme and William MacLeod (McCloyd) of the Harris, whose sister by MacLean's aunt the said Donald Gorme married, being in that respect his own cousin germane, but by reason of the controversy growing to bloodshed about some land in the island Skihanagh [Skye] or Troutornes, I know not whether, he was divorced from her upon some causes pretended, although I myself much laboured with them to the contrary.

There is also controversy between MacLeod Harris and the Clan Ranalds (Clanranelles) of those islands, whereof great murders have ensued but old MacLeod had always the upper hand.

MacNeil Barra (McNeale Barroh) who was reputed the best seafaring warrior in the Islands and is most remote to the north and by west, as I take it, is a follower to MacLean and has been accustomed to invade Ulla in Connaught (Conoght) in Ireland, being O'Mallye's country and to prey in the sea coast of Connaught aforesaid, Thomond, Kyerye and Desmond in Ireland. Whereupon Grany ny Mallye and he invaded one another's possessions though far distant. I have heard some of MacNeil's sept have come with the Mallyes to prey Valensia, an island in McCarty More's country, with the borders adjoining.

Old MacLeod Lewis by reason of many treacheries committed by himself against his kinsmen, "envieinge" many of them upon a time to his house and causing them to be killed at table, entertained such intestine broils and dissensions in his country that I suppose he could neither help his friends nor annoy his enemies abroad. What now is the state of that island or how MacLeod stands affected that now is I am not certain.

James VI.
1596.

The sept of the Cattans whose chief is Malcolm Toshe, vassal to the Earl of Huntly, and the sept of the Camprons whose head is the laird of Loughaber, both of the Irishry in the main of Scotland, are these many years at continual debate. Young Loughaber, whom I did see a scholar, was MacLean's cousin germane by one of his aunts, but that sept being very treacherous amongst themselves and their country troublesome and remote what supply MacLean can have of them I know not. They be very strong, valiant and comely persons, well skilled in archery and in the use of the two-handed sword.

These my slender observations of the state, disposition and dissensions of the islanders in general, whereof in truth I never took special regard, I have presumed to present unto your Honour, humbly craving that, if in some particular circumstances by reason of long discontinuance I have erred or with some necessary matters of late happened I am not as yet acquainted, by your favour and patience I may alter or add something hereafter being more certainly and fully instructed in the same; the rather for that my purpose was to give you some light of their affairs in times past that you may somewhat the better consider and conceive what course is most likely to be followed for the necessity of this present action.

As touching the employment of the islanders in Ulster against Tyrone, although I must and do honour and affect MacLean amongst my dearest kinsmen, being my cousin germane, the rather for the good parts which I have always noted in him by six and twenty years' acquaintance, yet in regard of my dutiful devotion towards the furtherance of her Majesty's service, preferring the same before the private commodity of any, I am of opinion that MacLean with his own forces is not able to undertake the weight of this service or compass this action for the reasons and considerations following :—

First, MacLean and those out-islanders in any great numbers have not come into Ireland to my knowledge or remembrance and hearing these 30 years; at least they had no continuance there, neither did any notable exploits that I could learn.

Secondly, the islanders have been noted better men at home than in strange countries.

Thirdly, the islanders [are] more expert and valorous at sea in galleys than upon the land.

All which notwithstanding, MacLean if he has made any offers may be well excused in these respects.

MacLean haply not knowing that Tyrone trained his men and ordered the war by martial discipline by reason of his experience and education amongst the English, but rather that he would follow the ancient course and manner of the Irish, was in good hope to have suppressed him.

Secondly, MacLean having made this offer in summer last, as I conjecture, did not forecast the increase of Tyrone's forces by the rebellious confederacy of the most of Connaught and of the Reylies, neither then was haply certified of the number of the enemies, yet considering that the pride and insolency of Tyrone and his complices standing upon most presumptuous and undutiful demands seem to arise of this conceit partly that the soldiers pressed here to serve there, by reason of cold, wet, hunger, " wattrishe and freshe beofe " and want of lodging, besides great toil which

James VI.

1596. of necessity they must abide, not agreeable, the rather contrary, to this climate and the dainty tender fare of their native country, breeding such sudden and dangerous alteration in their bodies, as they are seen for the most part to shrink in the service. In regard whereof, for abating the enemy's pride aforesaid, I think it no ill policy to entertain MacLean, whose people for abiding all hardness of toils and travail without weakness or alteration of their bodies are not inferior to those of Ulster.

Further, those of Ulster and especially their footmen have been reputed by the opinion of men of experience in Scotland to be base-minded and timorous, so that three hundred of Scots would never shrink to assault six hundred of them. Besides, the hope of the enemy in the strength of their paces may be taken away by the islanders' service in this that the army marching through the same their light men may be guided by good guides through bogs and woods to assault them behind their backs with swords and arrows, so as the army may securely go through.

Moreover, they be lusty, courageous and forward in their manner of fight and weapon if they have a good leader for foraging and loose skirmishing. Their bowmen are very fit and skilful. For feats, assaults and handy blows their swordsmen shall serve to very good use, for generally they be men of strong bodies.

MacLean himself from time to time has proved valiant, wise, trusty, fortunate and of reasonable good experience according his years' tale [*in margin* : Note : the proof hereof appeared by the late encounter between Argyll and Huntly, wherein MacLean behaved himself very valiantly] and of "a feare" complexion, feared and yet honoured and well obeyed of his kinsmen and followers, so as in regard of his person, authority and direction her Majesty's service doubtless shall be well furthered. For after the Irish saying the sufficiency of a leader is equivalent with two parts of his regiment. For which respects I hold MacLean to be used as a chief though not a sole instrument to accomplish the action, wherein the Earl of Argyll's special care and furtherance is [*sic*] principally required for divers considerations, in setting down of which, though I may haply fear to be accounted too affectionate towards my name, yet having a care and zeal to advance the service to my uttermost I am forced to unfold my conceit for the better trial ; whereof your Honour may crave the Lord Ambassador's resolution in the same. The reasons be these :—

First, the Earl is Lord Lieutenant of the Islands, more feared universally than the King obeyed by those islanders.

Secondly, it is to be doubted lest Tyrone should deal with the MacDonalds to invade MacLean's country in his absence, which practice, if Argyll would seem to favour the other, must have been forced to return for his defence and her Majesty made to press new supplies out of England. In which meantime the season should be much spent and the service greatly interrupted.

Thirdly, it is probable that younger brothers and "lose men" of Argyll and the countries about will receive the Earl and O'Donnell's offers if they be not speedily solicited from hence ; and indeed MacLean would be loth to serve upon them for fear of further displeasure by effusion of blood. The MacConnells by all likelihood will prosecute with all hostility, if they aid the enemy.

James VI.
1596.

Fourthly, the working of Argyll's affection and entertaining of the Campbells with MacLean, thereby leaving to Tyrone only the MacDonalds, will greatly abate his courage ; the rather for that that sept will be loth to serve upon the Campbells for the causes aforesaid.*

Fifthly, there have no principal septs to my knowledge these 30 years been experienced in the service of Ulster or thoroughly acquainted with the state of that country, save the Campbells and MacConnells of Kintyre with their followers, the first being commonly entertained by O'Neale, the last by O'Donnell.

Sixthly, the better sort of the Campbells are of an honourable disposition, favourers of religion, trusty, valiant and civilly inclined.

For procuring the greater number out of Argyll and the confines, who indeed are best acquainted with the services of Ulster, it were very requisite that some one chief man of ability and credit in that country (the nearer the Earl in blood, the better disposed) should be secretly solicited with all expedition and very good entertainment allowed him and his under captains, the soldiers having the allowance of the islanders.

It were also necessary that a motion were made that whensoever they should be destitute of victuals, being let to forage and prey upon the enemy, by waters or tempest or otherways, so as they do not slack the opportunity of the service, they may be provided for those times with the garrisons, paying a rate for the same proportionable to their entertainment, lest the lack of food should hinder or linger the service.

To take away all conceit of jealousy and discontentment from MacLean (in that I wish some chief man of the Campbells to be joined with him in the action) the Ambassador would be moved to certify MacLean of the power, number and order of the enemy, wishing him with all care as well to deal of himself as also to advise the Lord Ambassador which chief man of the Campbells were fittest to be dealt withal.

James Campbell, the young laird of Lawers (Laers), of no great experience or deep judgment to be a chief commander, yet valiant and forward for himself, whereof he made some good proof in the troubles betwixt his uncle and others, his credit and acquaintance, though he be a Campbell, is [*sic*] not great in Argyll for his father's inheritance is somewhat remote from thence. [*In the margin in Sir R. Cecil's handwriting : This man did offer much the last summer.*]

MacLean also with all expedition is to be moved to lay down and certify what number of men he will undertake to bring with him, what weapon they shall use, what number of every sort, what day he will be in readiness, that some pinnace or frigate may be sent to conduct him to his landing place in Ireland which must be appointed by the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland. A caveat to be given him that he bring of his native followers and trustiest friends, lest, if he draw strangers of all sorts unto him bearing him neither love nor honour but only regarding their pay, Tyrone as he is politic may work a division, perhaps a treachery, amongst his companies to the great letting of her Majesty's service and the frustrating of his honourable meaning.

It were good that the Campbells were in a readiness to come about this

* Against this and the preceding paragraph is an index pointer inserted in the margin, probably by Sir R. Cecil.

James VI.

1596.

same time to the place prefixed [*in the margin in Sir R. Cecil's handwriting* : "Cumbells "], the Lord Deputy, Lord General and all other commanders to use them with great courtesy and kindliness. I mean the better sort in their degrees, for thereby their affections are naturally moved to all good offices ; no disdain, no contempt, no hard speeches to be offered by any soldiers upon great penalties for preventing of discontentments and mutinies, which in cases touching their credit or reputation may readily fall out ; in all controversies the governors inclining to favour the stranger, by all means endeavouring to entertain love and amity betwixt the soldiers and them.

Three principal garrisons is [*sic*] necessary to be placed in Ulster, the one at the Blackwater near Armagh, the other at the ford of the Laffer near Srabane upon the border of Tyrconnel, the third about Coleraine (Cooleraen) or thereabouts.

It were not amiss that MacLean and the Campbells were divided in several garrisons to be commanded and directed by the general in several parts for service. This separation shall breed an emulation between them, striving for honour and credit and earnest desire to gain and benefit themselves upon the enemy.

It is very requisite that a man of some judgment and experience be resident in the west of Scotland to understand and certify of the enemy's practices, to inform and persuade the ministry of the danger of religion and of the state and quiet of both the kingdoms by this rebellion procured by the Spaniards' persuasions for their invasions, with many other reasons to that effect, so as the ministers may have a care to restrain powder and munition from the enemy. This man may also apprehend some of Tyrone's messengers coming for Glasgow or some other town upon that western coast, where it seems he has some merchants dealing for him, perhaps sent for Spain or elsewhere. The want of such a man to be thus resident in those parts lost her Majesty (besides the opportunity of many other services) the Bishop of Derry, being the chief practiser between the Spaniards and Tyrone and the pretended catholics of Scotland, who coming to Glasgow six years ago and remaining there some time the ministers upon information that he was a papist searched his casket for letters and books but his person was not touched or stayed at all.

For Argyll's affection, whereupon these things chiefly depend, stands as yet, I suppose, indifferent but much solicited by young O'Donnell who offers him that yearly tribute out of Tyrconnel whereunto the Callough O'Donnell for himself and his successors was bound to the Earl's grandfather and his heirs for ever, by reason that the said grandfather sent his forces to set the said Callough in the lordship and removed his father Manys O'Donnell, whom the son kept prisoner in the castle of Lyffer until his death.

It is not unlike that by means of the preys and spoils of Connaught and other countries which he has brought to Tyrconnel he will make payment of the said tribute the first year and will hardly offer security of pledges for payment in time to come, besides some satisfaction for the arrearages, thereby to draw the Earl in the beginning of these actions to join with him and send forces thither ; which considering Argyll's disposition in his youth, wherein I noted was like to prove near unto himself,

James VI.

1596. it may work, though not openly, some annoyance to the Queen's service if he should harken thereunto, but that must be carefully and wisely prevented by some such offers as may be honourable and effectual. His counsellors and servants must be dealt withal as their quality and credit shall require.

Your Honour shall not need to think that by reason of Anne Campbell the jealousy and grudge naturally conceived by the Campbells against the MacConnells is [*sic*] taken away, for her children following altogether the disposition of their father have the same regard of us, being persuaded that upon any advantage if they were not kept under they would utter their malice, their inclination being proud, vainglorious, disdainful and treacherous, still affecting to re-establish the dignity of MacDonald. [*In margin*: Note: in Argyll's journey to the north against Huntly, Angnes McConell promised to assist him [but ?] came not, the Earl having stayed for him certain days.]

An inducement to move Argyll against Tyrone may be to inform him by the Ambassador of the continual intercourse and practices between Tyrone and Huntly with his confederate papists, Argyll's greatest enemies, and for proof thereof that some of Tyrone's horsemen which serve [*sic*: ? did serve] against him in that encounter with Huntly; the confirmation whereof by the Ambassador's speeches may be referred unto me.

Thus have I laid down my simple opinion of the manners and disposition of all Scots with the likelihood of their service and the course in my conceit to be followed for the furtherance of her Majesty's service in that behalf. In which endeavour my good meaning and zeal with lack of time and deliberation I hope will excuse my boldness and "grene" advice in so weighty causes at your honourable hands, referring the consideration and censuring of these my instructions to your wisdom and grave judgment. *Unsigned*.

11½ *pp*. *Endorsed in Sir R. Cecil's handwriting*: "Observations of the D. of Lymrick for the Out Ile of Scotland."

April. **174. SUMMONS TO A GENERAL CONVENTION OF THE ESTATES.**

Form of summons to "a General Convention of our nobility and Estates" to be at Edinburgh upon 20 May next for consulting upon certain urgent and weighty affairs, specially anent the direction and furniture of an ambassador to France for renewing of the league and the making of preparation against the Islesmen, "which we intend by progress this summer throughout our Isles to visit and reduce to obedience according to our proclamation." Holyroodhouse the — day of April 1596.

½ *p*. *Endorsed*: "Form of the summons for the Convention of the Estates to be at Edinburgh, 20 May 1596."

May 3. **175. DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHELEY.**

Seeing your lordship has already seen such intelligences as George Arbuthnot has brought concerning the papist Earls of Scotland I will not trouble you farther therewith; only I am to let you understand my

James VI.

1596.

intention to send him home with all convenient speed that in due time the matter may be carefully sifted and the danger prevented as shall be thought most expedient. In the meantime if you have met with any doubt, whereof you would be resolved, let me know and before his parting I will particularly try him for your satisfaction. I find his advertisements not to be "contemnit." They proceed of a certain knowledge and as his presence in the country at home is necessary for doing good offices in this case I desire your lordship to give him a passport that he shall not be troubled in case he be constrained to land in any part of England in his going to Scotland, which I look to receive with the bearer in respect there is some of our ships ready to part the morrow. London, 3 May 1596. Signed: D. Foulis.

1 p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed.*

May 7. **176. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.**

The Council have convened here to deliberate on Border matters and other causes partly touched in my last to your lordship. They expected the King's return hither, persuading the same by their letters, yet he changed his former diet. He rode to Stirling and is now purposed to come again to Linlithgow this day and there to remain until he shall hear of the arrival of the King of Denmark's Ambassadors daily looked for.

At this meeting of the Council they have found it expedient that mutual justice shall be done by the wardens and officers in the Marches in all bills and complaints redressable by the ordinary power of the wardens. And for the redress of all other attempts and offences they think it meet that special commissions shall be given by her Majesty and the King to chosen persons to be appointed to meet at times and places to be accorded and limited by the assent of the sovereigns. The Lord Treasurer coming to me has required in the name of the King and of the rest of the Council here a perfect note in writing of all wrongs done by Scottishmen in England, for which the English wardens will demand amends and justice. They offer to deliver the like notes of all attempts done by Englishmen in Scotland for which they will call for redresses. They allege that the view of the rolls and bills (charging any officers, clans or parties with any crime) shall give best light and power, not only to name and choose for commissioners most equal persons and free from all partiality towards the offenders accused, but also to limit and prescribe the certain time from whence the redresses shall take and receive beginning. In which last point (touching the limitation of the time for the beginning of the redresses to be discerned and decreed by the commissioners) the greatest difficulty will be found. Therefore they desire that timely order may be taken and accorded in these behalfs by her Majesty and the King for the expedition of the progress and execution of the effects of the commission to be thus awarded for these causes. Wherein I have written to the Lord Scrope, Lord Eure and Sir Robert Cary to certify to you or the Lords of her Majesty's Council the estate of their rolls and complaints of the subjects for the wrongs done by Scottishmen and to send to myself some note thereof that I might therewith satisfy the King and Council in their request for the view and delivery of the same to them. Now for my further proceedings in

James VI.

1596. these matters for the Borders agreeable to her Majesty's determinate pleasure it may please you to send me speedy and resolute direction.

For the chastisement and redress of the late outrage done by Buccleuch at Carlisle I have received the letter of the Lords of her Majesty's Council addressed to me by her commandment. In the execution whereof I shall travail with diligence and seek access to the King speedily after his return to Linlithgow. I have already laboured to prepare my way and passage therein as by my former may partly appear to you. I trust that this way shall be further opened by Mr. David Foulis's letters to the King. Nevertheless, I find some subtle spirits busy to undermine and defeat my labours, against which the aid of some Councillors is firmly promised to me.

This estate continues in calm. The Queen pretends (as I hear) to affect the castle at St. Andrews that there she may be delivered of her child. But it is suspected that some of her Council rather wish and would persuade her to get the castle at Edinburgh that the Earl of Mar may be removed from the possession thereof. Being put into the hands of some friends, it may serve some secret turns to draw the Prince thither or other effects apt and fitting the plots of these councillors. The King I hear also is partly advised hereof and provided to prevent the practice.

It is given out that a letter written by the King of Scotland denouncing wars against the King of Spain and put in print has been showed to the Cardinal of Austrich and that thereupon he sent to Huntly and Errol to know the truth therein, letting them know that, if the King their sovereign had thus declared himself enemy to the King of Spain, then he would not deal so frankly with them as otherwise he would and was ready to do.

It is certified that George Chamber passed from Scotland with commission and letter to the Earl of Huntly from the Countess his wife persuading him to take his ease seeking to recover his country by submission to the King and Church and with like conditions. It seems that the Countess has done this with the advice of the Duke of Lennox her brother. Wherein the King and some of his Council and ministers were partly acquainted, as by my former I have advertised you. That Chamber opening the effects of his commission to some Englishmen was encouraged to proceed therein and to draw home the Earls (as a matter of good service). Yet it is thought here and delivered in pulpit that after the return of the Earls hither they would hastily kindle the fire of troubles and for the Spanish course. A messenger is newly arrived from Huntly and in great haste passed into the north but with what letters or errands it is not yet known.

Mr. Archibald Douglas is charged by the King's missive to appear before the King and Council on the 15th July next to answer for the usurping of the name of the King's Ambassador without commission and for trafficking with Bothwell, the papist Earls being forfeited, and their ministers.

At the writing hereof I am given to understand that the King taking his pastime in hunting will not return to Linlithgow before to-morrow at night. Therefore, I intend to be with him on Monday next, the 9th hereof. Edinburgh, 7 May 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

James VI.

1596.

177. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

[May] 7.

At the hands of George Nicolson my servant I have received your last letter of 27th April last. According to the same I have given and delivered in reward to John Auchinross 30*l.*, 20*l.* to John Cunningham and 20*l.* to George Nicolson, being parcel of the money received here for the chain of gold delivered to me by Mr. [blank] Carye at London agreeable to her Majesty's commandment. The rest of that sum for the chain (being 31*l.* 12*s.*) I have and reserve in my hands ready to be employed and defrayed as you shall direct me.

I am right glad that you have given such good contentment as well for MacLean, as also to his servants Auchinross and Cunningham. Her Majesty's service in Ireland or else in the Isles and Highlands of Scotland shall at all times (I trust) be greatly advanced thereby. I look to see MacLean here within 5 or 6 days and to find him steadfast and willing to do all good offices and services for her Majesty as shall be commended to him and his means. Wherein it may please you to direct me how I shall further proceed with him in any particular course or action for service to be done by him and to be accorded with him before his departure from Edinburgh, whereof hitherto neither he nor myself have any certainty.

For your great favour to Nicolson lately with you I thank you, beseeching you very heartily to vouchsafe to continue your goodness towards him in the furtherance of such small suit as Sheperson my servant shall present for him and his relief. I acknowledge myself and my service bound to you for your especial goodwill many ways extended towards myself and my causes, which by the solicitation of Sheperson for me I still recommend to your accustomed kindness to me, namely in my suits for loan of some of her Majesty's plate, for the placard for horse, and for increase of my entertainment for some time and until this extreme dearth presently reigning here shall be past. All others I refer to the report of Sheperson and to my next. Edinburgh, 7 April [*sic*] 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : "7 Maij 1596. Mr. Bowes to my M^r. After the arrivall of his servant George Nicholson."

May 12. **178. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

With your lordship's letter of the 3rd hereof I received another addressed by the Lords of her Majesty's Council and willing me by her commandment to them to prosecute the redress for the heinous and hostile attempt enterprised by Buccleuch at Carlisle. Wherein I have both travailed with the King for the expedition of that redress and also certified to their lordships by my letter enclosed all my proceedings and success in the same. The King shows a very good disposition to give her Majesty particular satisfaction and redress against Buccleuch, who is little favoured by the King, and some of good credit and quality promise all their means and furtherance therein. Yet I still fear that the plurality of the votes at this Convention should stop the expedition of things intended. The King is purposed to proceed effectually with his Council convening here on the 20th hereof to provide "indelate" and particular order for the redress

James VI.

1596. of Buccleuch's fact and in all other causes for the Borders and desires to understand her Majesty's pleasure, as well in the allowance of the course for redresses to be made by fit commissioners to be indifferently named and authorised by her Majesty and the King for that purpose, as also for the limitation of the time to be prescribed for the beginning of the same redresses ; whereof I have made mention in my letter to their lordships. Therefore it may please you to acquaint their lordships with these causes and to give me further directions therein.

I have imparted to the King the effects of the occurrents contained in your former letter to me and of the 3rd hereof. Whereupon he has again uttered his mind and readiness to be employed in any action for the benefit and maintenance of religion and to please and profit her Majesty, letting me know that he has been tempted to harken to the Pope's offers and to join with Spain, protesting deeply that he will never consent thereunto. Further where he has been before assayed and allured to the course of the Pope and Spain, and divers things given out to have been done in his name, which being discovered to her Majesty are (as he says) thought to have been practised, rather for some cunning purpose than upon good ground, yet he affirms that they have been attempted in very deed and, nevertheless, he has still refused all the offers and will never change his mind and course therein. He says that the papist Earls seek his leave to return into the realm with liberty of their conscience. Yet Errol would have him to deal with the Pope. He is informed that these Earls are offered 100,000 crowns agreeable to the advertisement of Sir Walter Lindsay noted in the schedule lately sent by your lordship to me in your letter of the 6th hereof. But he verily thinks that the Pope or King of Spain will not indeed bestow any such sums on them.

Upon view and consideration of the names and intelligences contained in the note enclosed in your last letter to me and of the 6th hereof, I perceive that I have before in my letters to you touched sundry of these matters and persons, all which are still travailing to work wicked effects. Wherein I should have been able (I trust) to have discovered sundry of their secrets if Mr. Archibald Douglas had not so cunningly "tromped" in my way and drawn all men here almost to think both that I use by my accounts and letters to give up the names of all having intelligence with me and also that he can get the sight of my letters and accounts, and uses to advertise the King of the contents thereof. Whereby most of my old acquaintances and many others fly from me as from the plague and will not come near me until I shall have well and openly cleared myself from those errors objected against me by Mr. Archibald's means and instruments, as I shall anywise prove against him. Therefore I pray you to vouchsafe to be mean that for the benefit of her Majesty's service in my charge in this realm, for the satisfaction of divers worthy and honest persons whom he has grieved and slandered hereby, and for my own acquittal these matters may be tried betwixt Mr. Archibald and me as to her Majesty or your lordship shall be found convenient.

The ship of Mr. Offley stayed in Orkney with the greatest part of the goods thereof is delivered to his factor and servants. The spoil and loss is [*sic*] not so great as was feared and the most of the corn lost was embezzled and taken away without the privity and against the will of the Earl of

James VI.

1596.

Orkney, as you will be shortly advertised with better certainty of the goods lost and spoiled.

Four ships of Hamburg bound for Spain were driven into Orkney by tempest, whereof one fair new ship of 500 tons loaden with cables, ropes and other furniture for ships and to have been sold to the King of Spain, with other two of them, perished there and are broken in pieces leaving there 22 pieces of brass with good store of merchandise. The fourth is sailed for Spain and with the best goods which were in the ship perished.

It is commonly bruited here that Huntly and Errol are arrived in the north of this realm and that thereon the Spaniards are expected to come shortly thither. The greater credit is given to this by the late departure of the young Countess of Errol from her ward in St. Andrews without licence or warrant and that nevertheless she is not called for again. But this common bruit receives hitherto little credit amongst the wise and to your lordship may be known with better speed and certainty from the Low Countries than can be yet had in this place. I hear that Mr. Robert Deniston, Lord Conservator for Scotland, has by letters given information of some proceedings past, as well by Huntly and Errol then in the Low Countries as also by Sir Walter Lindsay their agent in Spain. Some messengers from the Earls are lately arrived with letters and it is thought that Thomas Erskine and Gilbert Ogilvy (Oglewy), the King's servants, received letters at Aberdeen from Flanders or thereabouts. Edinburgh, 12 May 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Lord Burghley's clerk*: "Rec. at Greenwich the xxth of the same [May]."

May 12. **179. ROBERT BOWES TO THE LORDS OF HER MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.**

At the time of the receipt of your letter of 29th April last, delivered to me on the 4th instant, the King was entered into the progress and hunting about Stirling (Stryvling). Upon my request for access to his presence he appointed me to meet him at Linlithgow on Saturday, the 8th instant. But breaking his diet therein he deferred my repair to Linlithgow until Tuesday then next following, which time he prevented by his return on Monday to Holyroodhouse, where yesterday he gave me audience.

According to your lordships' directions I there opened to him the heinous attempt made by the laird of Buccleuch at her Majesty's castle at Carlisle, the outrage whereof in the manner and matter I largely delated, signifying therewith that her Majesty would therein have written her own especial letter to him, which she could not do but with great grief. Therefore she commanded your lordships to will me to inform him of this insolent fact and to prosecute the timely redress for the same, wherewith I noted to him that the denial or delay of due and speedy chastisement herein would be interpreted an intention of himself to make some breach of the amity betwixt these two princes and their realms, putting him in mind that long and bloody wars have been stirred up betwixt the two realms in former time upon less occasion than this fact and outrage committed at Carlisle. Some particularities whereof I recited to him, adding

James VI.

1596.

besides the effects expressed in your lordships' letter that the pride of Buccleuch in this action argued either an assent given by the King to Buccleuch's enterprise (the suspicion whereof was the rather gathered by bruits given out by some of Buccleuch's followers and affirming the same) or else a contempt in Buccleuch towards the King and his orders (which conceit was confirmed by Buccleuch's sudden departure and execution of this deed at Carlisle) immediately after the King had both heard by me the Lord Scrope's answer and defence for taking and detaining of Will of Kinmont and also was pleased that the matter should be tried amongst others upon the proofs thereof. Further I wished him to consider what alterations and dangerous effects the impunity in this foul fact shall work in the present condition of this time and estate of causes, what peril and offence shall fall to the religion and religious, how all the forfeited Earls with other papists and Spaniards had before and long practised to break the Borders to draw him into troubles and unto the aid of the Spaniards, and that he would examine well the advices and purposes of Councillors persuading him to think that Buccleuch had honoured him and the nation by this enterprise, and that the King's good countenance given to the same should encourage others to attempt gallant and high services for him (for I had been informed that some had thus counselled him). These Councillors I said would be found papists of the Spanish faction, little regarding the welfare but depending only on the fortunes and rising of others. Lastly I concluded that in regard of the indignity done to her Majesty, the despite to England, the provocation to violent revenge and wars, for the execution of the old practice of the common enemy and to prevent the inconveniences threatened by all the effects before mentioned, he would demand "in-delate" redress to be made by the delivery of Buccleuch simply and without condition.

To these he answered that I urged Buccleuch's action and mind to worse effects than were intended or could appear therein. For it was evident (he said) that Buccleuch has attempted this enterprise upon particular matters and quarrels betwixt the Lord Scrope and him for the taking and detention of Kinmont. He acknowledged that Buccleuch told him that Kinmont was unlawfully and against all law and order both taken and also detained. Wherein he sought Kinmont's delivery by all fair and peaceable means and could not prevail. Therefore he prayed the King's leave to gain the liberty of Kinmont in best sort he could. Wherein the King thought (he said) that Buccleuch should have procured Kinmont's escape by secret passage through some window or such like practice. Nevertheless (he said) he denied to allow of any such practice, letting Buccleuch know that he had taken order for the trial of the cause and delivery of Kinmont thereby. He desired to know the names of the persons who had affirmed his assent given to Buccleuch. But, albeit I had the same certified to me by the Lord Scrope, I thought it meet to conceal their names until I shall be further assured of the certainty thereof and be directed what to do therein. He also acknowledged that some mean men (but no Councillors) had dealt with him to think that the countenancing of Buccleuch in this matter should encourage others to undertake for him at other times great enterprises; which persons and advice he nothing regarded, saying that this offence in Buccleuch ought and

James VI.

1596. should be punished agreeable to the quality thereof. He said that he would be careful both to prevent all the dangers and evil effects specified by me and also to give her Majesty good contentment in this behalf, for the accomplishment of the which he pretended great care and readiness as his part and actions should well approve.

For the redress demanded by me for the "indelate" delivery of Buccleuch simply and without condition he answered that he would confer with his Council convening at Edinburgh on the 20th hereof, and that thereon he with their advice (as the manner is, he said) would give me resolute answer touching the particular redress to be made, which redress, he affirmed, should be yielded agreeable to the laws of the Marches and to the quality of the offence. Nevertheless, finding this delay of time dangerous and doubting the effect of the resolution to be given in this case by plurality of votes of so great an assembly of Councillors, I pressed him again for immediate and determinate answer. Whereunto he still answered that he could not do it without conference with his Council, who would object against him breach of his promise and order in case he should without the advice of a sufficient number of Councillors give any resolute order in so rare and weighty a cause; that presently he had not with him above three Councillors and must depart in the morning from hence. Yet to hasten this matter with more expedition he would call together his Council on the 16th hereof and with them seek to determine hereon, showing himself very desirous to please her Majesty in this and all other matters. Which answer and order I was driven to receive for this time and to attend the meeting of his Council for their full determination herein.

For the good establishment of the peace on the Borders and for general and mutual redresses to be made for all offences (especially in the tyrannous tortures afflicted on the bodies of English prisoners according to the note received in your lordships' letter to me) the King will call Buccleuch and Cessford to the meeting of the Council on the 20th hereof. At which time he promises to proceed effectually in all Border causes, wishing that then and before the dissolution of that Convention (which I think shall continue towards the end of this month) he may understand her Majesty's pleasure in the allowance of the course for redresses to be made by the special commissions of her and himself and for the limitation of the time for the beginning of the redresses. Edinburgh, 12 May 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Lord Burghley's clerk*: "Receaved at Grenewich the xxth of the same [May]."

May 14. 180. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have received some commendment of the King my master, whereof I am to discharge myself to the Queen. I am to entreat you that I may know by your good means at what time it shall be her Majesty's pleasure that I may have the honour to have speeches with her. London, 14 May 1596. *Signed*: D. Foulis.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

James VI.

1596.

May 18.

181. DOINGS OF THE PAPISTS.

Intelligence of the actions of the Papists.

That Mr. George Kar who went to Rome and Spain to deal for the papist lords returned back to them in Brussels since Loggie's imprisonment.

That there was one George Chambers sent to Scotland from the said lords with commission to desire their confederates to look for the Spaniards coming to Scotland that they might be ready to meet them accordingly, whose names I leave to the informer.

That the said George is returned with answer.

That Ladylandes [Hugh (?) Barclay of Ladyland] was sent thereafter to the parts aforementioned for the same effect and returned to the said lords about 10 April last in Brussels.

That immediately after his return from Spain Patrick Butter, servant to Huntly, and James Crichton, servant to Errol, and a jesuit called Mr. Alexander McKwherry were all sent to Scotland to certify of the Spaniards' resolution to come to Scotland and therethrough to go to England.

That some few days before the day specified Mr. Walter Lindsay came from the Pope and King of Spain, who had concluded all matters concerning the lords returning to Scotland.

That the same Mr. Walter is to bring into Scotland shortly 100,000 crowns and shall bring with him one called Mr. John Grymson, who landed before at Montrose and brought with him one Spanish and one English priest. The said gold is to corrupt the nobility.

That Colonel Sempill (Semple) promised to make my Lord Sempill (who is now gone to Spain) the King of Spain's sworn man.

Father Chrichton the like of my Lord Sanquhar.

Sir James Lindsay the like of the Earl of Crawford.

The Master of Argyll is to be dealt with to take a part of that faction.

Bothwell has joined with the Spaniards in effect and has intelligence with the papist lords, as also some other barons and gentlemen, whom I leave to the informer.

That my Lord of Caithness has been dealt withal since the lords' going forth of Scotland by Mr. Ro: Abercromby and that McKquherry brought the heads of his dealing to the lords into Brabant. The said lord has promised to assist their home-coming to his power.

Concerning Loggye's imprisonment the informer will show some particulars.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed: "18 May 1596. Intelligence of the papists' actions."*

May 18. 182. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Hearing of MacLean's coming to the Earl of Argyll at Campbell I look that he shall be here to-morrow or the next day at the first. I perceive by John Auchinross returned hither from him that he accepted her Majesty's liberality showed to him in very thankful manner, acknowledging and protesting his devotion to her and her service with all good offices in his power. He has been informed that Tyrone and O'Donnell have sub-

James VI.

1596.

mitted themselves to her and that nevertheless many Scottishmen of the Isles and Highlands are already passed into Ireland, and many others in readiness trusting to be entertained there in pay, notwithstanding the submission mentioned. Therefore he desires to be now directed what to do for her Majesty's best pleasure and service.

The young laird of Lawers (Lawys) has assured me that O'Donnell has desired to have 2000 men, promising pay to them, and for a greater number if they can be levied; that O'Donnell has contracted with Archibald Rowee (base son of Angus MacConnell) for the levy and sending over of these 2000, with greater force if they can be levied. It is accorded that Archibald Rowee shall be the general colonel of all those companies to be brought by him, and that MacCondochy (McKendoquhy) shall have the leading of 1000 thereof; that 1000 are already passed into Ireland to O'Donnell, whereof some appertaining to young Lawers are gone with them of purpose to know and discover their proceedings; that MacCondochy is still pressed to come with all expedition and before the full end of this month, otherwise the place and pay reserved for him will be lost. In like manner other especial persons of good account and to be directed by young Lawers are called for and willed to hasten. That MacCondochy and those other persons by the means of young Lawers still and wholly stay upon and attend advertisement of her Majesty's pleasure, offering to serve her in any sort as they shall be directed. In case her Majesty please not to accept and receive their offers and service, then they shall be driven to resort to O'Donnell with Archibald Rowee as is desired. Therefore young Lawers earnestly calls on me to understand her Majesty's resolute mind and pleasure in this behalf with all convenient speed and certainty to the intent he may either retain MacCondochy and the rest to do her especial service or else leave them to their own course. Wherein I beseech you to give me good and speedy direction that I may thereon satisfy the desire of young Lawers professing great devotion to her Majesty and readiness of service for the accompaniment whereof he deeply professes to have sustained great charge. Edinburgh, 18 May 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk*: "Rec. at Greenwich the xxvjth of the same [May]."

May 18. **183. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

Albeit the King had appointed sundry of his Council to have come to him at Linlithgow on the 16th hereof, they have not kept the appointment. Thereby the resolution for the redress of Buccleuch's attempt at the castle of Carlisle is referred to the Assembly of the Estates and Council to meet here at Edinburgh on the 20th. At which time the King will return hither from Linlithgow pretending still great care and readiness to yield to her Majesty's contented satisfaction in this behalf; which redress Mr. David Foulis by his letter to the King has so persuaded to be performed in due season and manner as thereby he has greatly offended some of Buccleuch's friends.

This matter (I perceive) will be shouldered and holden up for Buccleuch not only by some Councillors and persons affected to him and working his safety but also by others infected with papistry and wishing the breach

James VI.

1596. of the Borders, which they think may be correctly effected by the impunity of Buccleuch in this case. Against which I have found some others (well devoted to religion and the amity) diligently to employ their labours to prevent these dangers and inconveniences by due and seasonable contentment to be given to her Majesty. As this cause shall further proceed at this Assembly I shall timely advertise your lordship.

Sundry messengers and instruments for Huntly, Errol and other papists in the Low Countries are returned from thence into this realm with letters, notes and intelligences in writing signifying the proceedings past in the actions of their affairs at Rome, in Spain and elsewhere, and of some of the same falling into my hands I send enclosed the copies, thinking nevertheless that your lordship is beforehand acquainted with the substance thereof in more large manner and with better certainty than hitherto I have gathered.

The agents of the forfeited Earls are purposed (as I hear) to present to this Assembly their petitions for the Earls, praying they may be received upon their submissions to the King and Church, and with like conditions. It is verily thought that if they can prepare their way with the King's good liking that then they will proceed in their suit; otherwise, they will stay it for this time. The Duke shall be made to broach the matter to the King, upon whose assent the agent will deal with the ministers, and at length (if they hold their purpose) with myself, who (they say) is directed by her Majesty to embrace and advance their suit. Herewith I am advertised that the ministers and well effected have received intelligences both of the actions past by the forfeited Earls against religion and for the Spaniards, and also that soon after their entry and settling in this realm they purpose to attempt dangerous enterprises for the Spaniards and with the Spanish treasure promised to be given to furnish them in these behalfs. Therefore it is like that the suit for the Earls' return and acceptance shall be impugned or stayed for some time that the peace and quietness enjoyed in this estate by their absence shall not be broken or troubled by their untimely homecoming. But the success of these and many other causes to be determined by this Assembly approaching I refer to the orders of the same Council. Edinburgh, 18 May 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk*: "Rec. at Greenwich, the xxvjth of the same [May]."

May 20. **184. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

I will say with the great orator *qui semel verecundiae fines transierit eum graviter impudentem esse oportet*. I have so often troubled you that now I cannot desist from further impeaching your better leisures and entreat you to cause such order be taken with a poor Scottishman lying in prison at Exeter called John Neill, who being "dainged" by a jury of wilful murder, it has been declared by the judges' selves that the slaughter was committed by the other's procuration and in his own defence. The judges' attestations the bearer will show to you and if it please you to work his delivery by your letter to his keeper you shall do a turn worthy of yourself, which will be acquit with the poor man's prayers and their thanks whom I am assured you will not contemn.

James VI.
1596.

I send you also the denization of this poor shoemaker to be obtained if it be possible, which I am assured will be in some good sort regarded, seeing he has not that "lat" in his pretence that Master Montgomery had. London, 20 May 1596. *Signed*: D. Foulis.

1 p. *Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

May 22. **185. PROCLAMATION FOR THE REDUCTION OF THE ISLES AND HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.**

Printed in Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, iv, 97. See also Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, v, 289. Inventoried in Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, ii, 259.

"Apud Haliruidhous xxij die mensis Maii Anno Domini
M v^c lxxxvj^o."

The King, being resolved to repair in proper person to the Isles and Highlands for the reduction of the rebels and disobedient persons therein and to compel them to make payment to him of his rents and duties, orders letters to be directed to all lords and freeholders between 60 and 16 years worth in yearly rent the sum of 300 marks charging them by open proclamation at the market crosses of the burghs to meet his Majesty at the burgh of Dumbarton on 1 August next with ships and provisions necessary to transport him to the said Isles and Highland parts.

1 p. *Endorsed*: "22 Maii 1596. The K. of Scottes proclamation for the invadinge of the Hylandes, the first of August."

May 24. **186. ACT CONCERNING THE EARLS OF HUNTLY AND ERROL.**

Printed in Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, iv, 99. See also Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, v, 289.

"Apud Halliroad House 24^o Maij 1596."

Act of Parliament suspending all further execution to be used against the Earls of Huntly and Errol touching the intromission with their rents and living, until after trial it shall be found that they have had traffic to the prejudice of the true religion. The said trial shall be held between now and Lammas next and if it shall be found that the Earls have had such traffic or have otherwise contravened their bonds to the King, intromission shall then be had with the said rents and living and the same wholly brought in to his Highness's use.

1 p. *Endorsed*: The Act of Convencion touching the Northren Erls "and in the handwriting of Sir R. Cecil: "where they were banished and cautioned that they should not return without lycense, and that during their exiles, if they traficqued not against the K. or his Estate, they should have lyberty for their wyfes to gather Rents. Now it is agreed that, if it can be proved that they have don otherwise, then the Ladies shall no more meddle with their livings."

May 24. **187. LAUHLAN MACLEAN OF DUART TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Whereas I employed my servant John Auchinross to your Honour with my letters in favour of John MacNeill for his pardon and release out of ward of Exeter, at which time you were so "fasched" with the great affairs of your country as you could not attend on the "freithing" and setting to liberty of him, albeit my Lord your father and your Honour

James VI.

1596.

gave my said servant promise of your good will therein, saying it should be done. For which I give you most humble thanks and for dispatch whereof my servant should have stayed "var nocht" [were it not] my present adoes here urged his return. And now, being advertised by the wife of John MacNeill (who is now there in London) that he is not freed of his ward, [I] have directed this bearer to await on you for your warrant for the setting of him at liberty and to carry the same to him that thereon he may be freed of imprisonment which breaks and undoes him. Therefore the same craves such hasty dispatch as your Honour timely may. Edinburgh, 24 May 1596. *Signed*: Lauchlane McLane off Doward.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In the handwriting of John Auchinross, also address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

May 25. 188. ACT OF PARLIAMENT CONCERNING THE DEMAND FOR THE DELIVERY OF THE LAIRD OF BUCCLEUCH TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

Printed in *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, iv, 99. See also *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, v, 290.

"At Edinburgh this twenty-fifth day of May 1596."

Act anent the demand made by Robert Bowes for the Queen of England for redress of the outrageous fact done by Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, knight, on 13 April last at the castle of Carlisle contrary to the league and amity between her Majesty and the King of Scotland. Sir Walter being personally present alleged that he had no intention of taking the castle and that the points as to his assailing her Majesty's subjects and other heinous offences are so uncertain and general that it is not necessary to answer thereto but to declare that William Kinmont, a subject of Scotland, was most unjustly taken within the realm of Scotland by Thomas Haeveld,† warden depute of England, with six hundred armed men, when William was returning in peaceable manner from a day of truce used between the two realms, whereto he had repaired at the special desire of Sir Walter, in whose name as keeper of Liddisdale the day was kept, and doing no more than his duty in stopping the said following of Englishmen. The first wrong was therefore done by the officer of England and in the simple recovery of his own man from that part of the castle of Carlisle in which he was thus unjustly detained Sir Walter declared that he had behaved so moderately that neither the Queen nor any subject of England could find themselves aggrieved thereby. These reasons being heard at length before his Majesty and the Estates, the King with their consent declares that in such a matter of mutual allegations of notorious injuries done between the officers of either realm he is most willing according to the ancient custom between the realms to send commissioners to the Borders to try such allegations and make redress for the part of his officers and subjects and to receive the like for her Majesty's officers and subjects.

1 p. *Endorsed in Sir R. Cecil's handwriting*: "Recept^r 4 June 1596.

* This has been arranged as an enclosure in Bowes's letter of 2nd June to the Privy Council and is so described in Thorpe's *Calendar*, but the endorsement makes this unlikely.

† This surname is left blank in the printed *Acts* and in the *Register of the Privy Council*.

James VI.

1596. A Declaration sent with the Scottish King's letter. The King's answer to Mr. Bowes demand of Bucklogh upon advice of his Council." *Some words and passages have been underlined, probably by Cecil.*

May 27. **189. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

This bearer, Robert Lindsay, coming hither from John Neill's wife to procure the laird of MacLean to be means for the discharge and liberty of the said John has dealt with MacLean therein, who understanding by his servant, John Auchinross, your good will therein together with my Lord your father's is in hope that by this your father and you have given order for Neill's liberty. Yet, lest other great affairs should not have given time for the doing thereof, MacLean is desirous and prays you now to procure and give order for the same, for which favour he will be at your devotion in anything he may pleasure you. It may therefore please you to have compassion on the poor gentleman brought in great misery and want by his long imprisonment and to relieve him that this bearer and Neill's wife awaiting thereon may be returned from you with comfort and relief to the party whom I commend to your good favour. Edinburgh, 27 May 1596. *Signed: Robert Bowes.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In the handwriting of George Nicolson, also address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

May. **190. ENGLISH MERCHANTS SPOILED BY SCOTS.**

A note of such English merchants and others that have been spoiled upon the sea by Scotsmen within the space of seven years and no redress got for them in Scotland nor justice done for recovery of their goods.

(1) First a crayer called *The Flying Swallow* of London, the master named John Tayler, the merchandise taken out of her was raw silk, brown hollands, fine hollands cloth, taffety (tuftafitie), sugar, tapestry, brass and other things to the value of the whole 2000*l.* sterling.

The Scots ship which robbed her was of Burntisland and belonged to one David Clercke. The master's name was Robert Richeson, mariners John Credo, Patrick Frye with others.

The most of these goods came to the Lord Seton's hands, being then Admiral, and brought by burgesses of this town.

(2) A ship of Hull named *The John* spoiled 1585 by Maunse Henneson of Denmark and one Knyghtson a Scotsman, the ship and goods brought by them into Orkney and there kept by the Lord Robert. The goods amount unto 2420*l.*, the ship was delivered to the owner that followed the pirates but no good could be got.

(3) Henry Giles of Southampton spoiled by one Richard Ramsaye of [blank] and had taken from him to the value of 500*l.*, now presently suing for redress and relief at the Court of England, being utterly undone in following of the suit.

(4) A barque of 28 tons of Copranne of Dublin, merchant, was taken fishing in the Bande in the north parts of Ireland. In the same 8 tons of salmon well salted and packed into vessels with their commodities ready

James VI.

1596.

to depart was spoiled and brought away by men of Renfrew (Ronfrow) in Scotland. One man was slain, divers hurt and some alive cast over into the sea. Copranne presently suing here and with him a servant of the Lord Chancellor to follow the suit. I have myself dealt herein but find no help.

The goods came to these men's hands :—

Matthew Montgomery, brother to the pirate.

Hugh Nevin, late bailiff of Irvine.

Patrick Watson of the same.

Robert Steward, late bailiff of Glasgow.

John Hamilton of the same.

David Farlie called the laird of Farlie.

John Foster of the same. *Unsigned.*

1½ pp. *Endorsed in another hand* : " English merchants spoiled by Scots now suing for redress but no hope to speed. May 1596."

[? 1596. **191. ALLEGED NEGOTIATIONS OF JAMES VI WITH CLEMENT VIII.**

May].

Cott. Calig. B.
viii, fol. 212.

(a) *Negotiatio Clementi Papæ Johannis Oglebii.*

Petitiones quædam Serenissimi Regis Scotorum quas a Sanctissimo Patre Clemente Papa perimpleri exoptat.

Rex Scotorum serenissimus dilucide satis informatus de Sanctissimi Patris erga se amore singulari nihil minus præstare poterat, quam ingentes sue sanctitati agere gratias et humiliter per ingenuum hunc sibi a cubiculis servum deprecari Sanctissimum patrem, ut inceptum erga se favorem bonis auspiciis prosequatur tanquam in filium obsequentissimum de tantis beneficiis nunquam futurum immemorem.

Inprimis serenissimus Scotorum Rex humiliter petit ut Sanctissimus pater adhibeat fidem integram reverendissimo patri Ludovico Episcopo Cassanensi et Johanni Ogilbeio presentium latori sibi a cubiculis quem ad hec tractanda negocia serenissimo regi non minus fidum quam religioni Catholice et Sanctissimo patri devinctissimum elegit.

Petit serenissimus Rex ut hec sua cum patre sanctissimo negotiatio nullis preterquam sue sanctitatis fidelissimis iisque paucis communicetur cum in eo simul vita regnique penes ipsum status periclitentur necesse est.

Serenissimus rex humiliter exoptat ut Sanctissimus pater omnes qui hisce negociis se implicari voluerint ita humaniter tractet et precipue comites istos profligatos, si ea de causa ad sedem apostolicam appulerint, ut nulla de presenti negotiatione exoriat suspicio et omnino ab eisdem tollatur desperacionis occasio in reditum hujusce juvenis presentium latoris ad sanctissimum patrem cum plenaria satisfactione et interim curabit serenissimus rex ut dictis comitibus pateat in Scotiam regressus.

Petit serenissimus rex sibi concedi a sanctissimo patre 20000 aureorum coronatorum per singulos menses ad conducendos milites pro sui corporis tutela tam adversus subditos rebelles quam Reginæ* insultus donec idonea offeratur occasio eam armis et serio aggrediendi.

Petit serenissimus rex a sanctissimo patre ut post religionis catholice publicam et plenam† professionem et ejusdem religionis in omnibus regni

* " Angliæ " added in (b).

† " a se factam " inserted in (b).

James VI.

1596.

sui finibus vi et armis stabiliendi propensam voluntatem sibi persolvantur 40000 aureorum pro singulis mensibus ad belli necessarias impensas faciendas, cum non erit serenissimo regi contra suos tantum rebelles et hereticos subditos, sed contra ipsam Anglie Reginam et ejus regni opulentissimi totas vires bellandum, pro sedato et rebus in tuto positis nullas ampliores impensas Serenissimus rex a patre sanctissimo faciendas obsiderabit.

Petit etiam serenissimus rex quotiescunque contigerit posthac ipsum regem aut ejus successores ab aliquo extraneo rege potente aut republica armis et bello laceseri, ut hac in parte sic astrictus sanctissimus pater, pro se suisque prædictos 20000 aureos singulis mensibus persolvere serenissimo Regi aut ejus successoribus quoad bellum adversus ipsam* aut ipsos durare contigerit.

Petit serenissimus rex cum omni debita reverentia titulum suum in regnum Anglie a sanctissimo patre autoritate papali per authentica documenta propter id expresse facta† confirmare.

Serenissimus rex instantè querit‡ ut omnes Angli tam seculares quam ecclesiastici qui, posthac serenissimi regis titulo et juri in regnum Angliæ, verbis, scriptis aut factis contradicere aut se opponere ullo modo audeant, a sanctissimo patre sua autoritate papali excommunicentur et ejusdem excommunicationis censura non nisi per resipiscentiam et debitam reverentiam et§ satisfaccionem serenissimo regi prestitam relaxentur.

Rex serenissimus petit a sanctissimo patre ut suo jure apud regem catholicum intercedat propter subsidium quorundam militum in serenissimi regis gratiam si posthac requirat necessitas.

Serenissimus rex humiliter petit a Sanctissimo patre quod si rex Hispanie Catholicus, propter se aut filiam voluerit regnum Anglie occupare et serenissimum regem suo jure fraudare ut eundem regem Catholicum legationibus suis a|| proposito divertat, sui aliter serenissimum regem sua autoritate et omnibus quibus poterit modis contra dictum Catholicum regem et omnes alios idem intentantes¶ [sic] juvet et faveat.

Serenissimus rex etiam cupide petit a sanctissimo patre ut patres Jesuitas** Persons et Holt (Hault) Romam per eorum generalem revocentur et ne se plus immisceant rebus secularibus eis præcipiatur, qui non tantum contra rationem†† infensissimi sunt serenissimo regi sed quantum in illis est instigant et invitant regem Catholicum Hispanie contra jus et equum ut Angliam vi et armis occupet non tam religionis reformandæ quam promovendi imperii causa, quod accidere sine maximo ecclesie catholice detrimento omnium ejusdem societatis scandalo non poterit.

Rex serenissimus ex animo sibi concedi exoptat ut pater sanctus mittat quandam suum nuncium cum sua benedictione tam ad patriam ipsam‡‡ serenissimum regem quam ad nobiles et alios ejusdem nationis subditos, cum tempus postulaverit, et instantè deprecatur sanctissimum patrem ut D[ominus]§§ pater Cassonius hac legatione fungatur tam

* "contra ipsum" in (b).

† "requirit" in (b).

|| "ab iniquo" in (b).

** (b) omits "Jesuitas."

†† "et" inserted in (b).

‡ "specialiter" inserted in (b).

§ (b) omits "reverentiam et."

¶ "id attentantes" in (b).

‡‡ "qui tantum contra omnem rationem" in (b).

§§ "ut Reverendissimus Pater" in (b).

James VI.

1596. ecclesie Catholice et *sanctissimo patri fidus, quam serenissimo regi amicus, exequende legationi non minus idoneus quam* serenissimo regi in expeditione Anglicana perutilis futurus et ut in his gerendis reverendissimi patris Episcopi sit major authoritas cupide petit serenissimus rex cum debita reverentia ut pater sanctissimus in serenissimi regis† gratiam vellet dictum Episcopum Cardinalicio galero decorare et omne id quod a‡ sanctitate in dicti Episcopi gratiam factum fuerit, id factum sibi serenissimus rex existimabit.

Ut honesta et sincera regis appareat mens et intentio querit§ tantum pro presenti certior fieri de sanctissimi patris erga ipsum et supra scriptos articulos inclinacione per fidelissimum istum suum servum presentium latorem.

Et si quid est ex altera parte quod sanctissimus pater velit a serenissimo rege sibi aut in suæ securitatis gratiam prestari, petit rex ut dignetur sanctissimus pater ea sibi per epistolam suam significare et procul dubio inveniet serenissimum regem non minus ecclesie catholice obedientissimum filium quam suæ sanctitatis servum in omnibus obsequentissimum remittatque ingenuem hunc|| juvenem quam citissime fieri poterit cum ampla et plenaria satisfaccione ad omnia sanctissimi patris et singula demandanda mandata.

3½ pp.

(b) Another copy of the preceding with some variations the more important of which are noted above.

2¾ pp. *Endorsed*: "Petitions of the K. of Scottes to the Pope."

(c) Another copy of the same similar to (a).

2¾ pp. *Endorsed*: "1596, Proposita Joannis Ogleby."

(d) Another copy of the same similar to (a).

2¼ pp.

[? 1596
May.]

Cott. Calig. B.
viii, fol. 342.

192. JAMES VI AND THE CATHOLICS.

Considerationes nonnullæ bonum affectum Regis Scotiæ erga Catholicos comprobantes.

1. Si non bene affectus erga illos esset intentasset persecutionem aliquem contra eos incitatus ad hoc his 17 annis a Regina Angliæ cum pulchris promissis.

2. Declarasset se ipsorum inimicum cum ad hoc persuasus sit et blanditiis et animis tam a suis quam ab aliis.

3. Non esset protestatus publice, quod sepe fecit, se eorum esse amicum, nec loquutus esset ita male de ministris, sicut loqui consuevit, de Knox, Buchanan etceteris, nec dixisset plus esse honestatis in uno Catholico quam viginti hereticis protestantibus.

4. Nec admitteret et retineret eos quos novit catholicos in tam honoratis officiis tam in Republica quam in domo sua. Utpote Dominum de Hume præfectum satellitum custodiæ corporis sui, Priorem de Plusker-

* . . . * The words from "sanctissimo" to "idoneus quam" omitted in (b).

† "primæ petitionis" inserted in (b).

§ "querit" omitted in (b).

‡ "sua" inserted in (b).

|| "sibi a cubiculis" inserted in (b).

James VI.

1596. dem præsidem concilii et Dominum Gulielmum Cha [*sic*, Shaw] præfectum architecturæ.

5. Non recusasset inire strictum fœdus cum Regina Angliæ, Navarro, Hollandis, Zelandis, licet ad hoc sepius fuerit incitatus.

6. Rex vidit bene quod Regina Angliæ et sui sunt ipsi inimicissimi. Ideo eum oportet esse amicum Catholicorum.

7. Cum aspiret ad coronam Angliæ, illam acquirere se non posse videt, nisi per favorem Catholicorum, eo quod maxime pars nobilium utriusque Regni Catholicis favet.

8. Nec sine auxilio extraneorum posset pervenire ad illam coronam ; hoc autem adjumentum a Catholicis obtinebit facilius quam ab hereticis.

9. Intelligit ministros aspirare ad democritiam, unde eos odio habet et Catholicos amat.

10. Consanguinei Regis sunt omnes Catholici, Guyse, Mayne, Ferrara, Mantua, Lenox, Huntley, Errol et alii.

11. Conservavit multos Catholicos, cum posset perdere, ut Dominum de Maxwel quando rediit ex Hispania.

12. Demonstravit bonum affectum Coronello Simple, P. Holto, Episcopo Dumblanensi et multis aliis.

13. Antequam uxorem acciperet, declaraverat Ducem de Lenox heredem quem sciebat esse Catholicum, prætermisso Hameltono qui est hereticus.

14. Quamvis fuerit in Calvinismo educatus, non consentit eum Calvinistis in multis opinionibus ; unde probabile est ipsum posse reduci per viros doctos ad Catholicam fidem.

15. Et favores exhibiti his qui in præsentī exulant ostendunt ipsum eis favere.

16. Et jam per liberationem ex carcere P. Joannis Merton societatis Jesu patet ipsum favere Catholicis.

Habet Rex Scotiæ consanguineos duces Guysium, Lotharingiæ, Aumalium, Maynum extra Scotiam ; in Scotia autem Lenoxium et ex parte matris est consanguineus omnium quasi Principum Christianorum.

Habet in uxorem sororem Regis Daniæ, cujus sororem etiam habet Dux Brunsvicensis.

Regina Scotiæ filia est Regis Frederici Daniæ, est autem consanguinea Principum Saxoniae, Hessiæ et aliorum.

1. Ipsa autem plus favet catholicis quam hereticis Calvinistis quia Lutherana, quæ secta proprius accedit ad Catholicos.

2. Quia calvinistæ ministri coegerunt eam Calvinisare contra suam voluntatem.

3. Didicit in Scotia ex bona conversatione multa quæ pertinent ad Catholicos.

4. Et habet domesticos multos Catholicos.

5. Ministri eam odio habent propter favores quos demonstrat Catholicis.

Quod Rex Catholicus vi et armis cogitavit semper invadere Regnum Angliæ et illud occupare.

1. Quia omnis potestas impatiens est consortis et omnis Princeps sua

James VI.

1596. cupit conservare et præmonere; unde volunt quod possunt et magni interest ei impedire unionem Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ et Hiberniæ.
2. Non desideravit unquam Regem Scotiæ juvare sed potius seipsum.
 3. Non est terminus in ambitione Regnorum.
 4. Reges potentes non libenter amittunt jus ullum.
 5. Unio trium Regnorum illi afferet præjudicium et periculum.
 6. Matrimonium futurum inter Ernestum et filiam Hispaniæ cum expeditionis Anglicanæ renovatione significavit hoc ipsum desiderare.
 7. Patet ex libro Patris Personii.

Regina Angliæ quæsivit per Catholicos Anglos a Pontifice excommunicationem Regis Scotiæ; ut per Hugonem Oenum et ursit eum Regina semper persequi Catholicos, ut inde sequi posset excommunicatio et sic coactus esset adherere illi cum perdidisset omnem spem assequendi a Catholicis auxilii.

Sic Rex Hispaniæ quæsivit illam excommunicationem per Hugonem Oenum, qui ausus non fuisset talia attentare nisi habuisset regis assistentiam vel principis Parmensis. Il est un petit fin gallar.*

Regina Angliæ semper studuit alienare Regem Scotiæ ab amicitia Regis Catholici.

1. Ursit enim ipsum denunciare bellum Regi Hispaniæ anno 1588 persuadens Hispanum etiam velle occupare Scotiam.
2. Et quod ad hoc obligaretur sibi vellet in Regno sibi succedere.
3. Et ut eum excitaret ad bellum contra Hispanum voluit ei dare civitates Holandiæ et Zelandiæ quas habet.
4. Suasit etiam multum Regi Scotiæ ut acciperet in uxorem sororem Regis Navarræ.
5. Et cum esset Rex Scotiæ in Dania pressit illum multum Regina Angliæ ut intraret in fœdus cum Principibus Germaniæ protestantibus contra omnes Catholicos, quod ipse recusavit.
6. Et jam premit eum ut intret† in fœdus cum Navarro, Holandis, Zelandis et ipsa.

De Joanne Cecilio sacerdote Anglo dicit iste scriptor eum esse mediocriter ingeniosum sed minus probum quam ut ei magna committantur negotia ex occasione [*sic*] transitus per Angliam suspecti et cum sit ex Hispania missus et dependens a P. Personio ideo ineptus est qui tractet negotia ad Regem Scotiæ pertinentia. Presertim cum a subditis ipsius Regis sit in Hispaniam missus, est autem Personius inimicus Regis Scotiæ sicut patet ex ipsius libro contra ejus titulum scripto.

3 pp. *Endorsed*: "Reasons to prove the K. of Scottes Catholikelie affected."‡

* This French sentence, possibly inserted here in another hand, is omitted in the copy annexed to John Petit's letter of Oct. 1 (*vide infra*).

† . . . † This passage has been omitted in the copy enclosed with John Petit's letter.

‡ This document and the copies of the preceding negotiations at the Public Record Office have been tentatively dated in Thorpe's *Calendar* 17 May 1596. For an account of the alleged negotiations on behalf of James VI with the Pope, see T. Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, i, 407-421. See also Winwood, *Memorials*, i, 1-15.

James VI.

1596.

[? c. May.]

Add. MSS.

32,092, fol. 143.

193. REASONS FOR JAMES VI JOINING WITH THE POPE.

1596. Considerations to move his Majesty of Scotland to give ear to the offers of those princes who can and will help him.

1. That his Majesty consider that his honour requireth no less than to show himself grateful to his Holiness whom the writer assureth to have meant and intended nothing else but his Majesty's advancement and repose from the tyranny of the ministers and the Queen of England and to set him in the liberty which is fit for his royal person and for one born to so mighty a monarchy.

2. That his Majesty consider whether those his proceedings (although but in external show) against the Catholic lords do not much avert both the Pope and the King of Spain from him and therefore how necessary it is for his Majesty to give some argument to the one or to both of the contrary. To the end he may keep them both in good hope of him for the future when any means shall be wrought for his delivery out of this thrall and bondage.

3. That his Majesty set before his eyes how that his following the directions of the Queen of England and the ministers ministereth occasion to all at home and abroad of the English and strangers to advance both in Rome and Spain both domestical and foreign titles, whereas if his Majesty will but put the Pope in good hope of his good affection to the Catholic faith he presently stoppeth all passage and further proceedings in any other's titles, his Majesty's being so clear and apparent.

4. That his Majesty remember the loyal minds of all his own lords and Catholic subjects at home and both of the English and Scottish abroad who desire ever upon their knees that his Majesty would give some hope of his favours to the Catholic faith to the end they might have a just pretence to demand succours and help of the Pope and King of Spain for his advancement and service, not being able hitherto to procure any royal succours because they can give no security of his Majesty's will and inclination to favour the Catholic faith, for advancement whereof they cannot look for help and aid of these princes.

5. That his Majesty deceive not himself ever to think that he can have any true amity with the Queen of England who knoweth how highly she hath offended him by having her hands in the blood of both his Majesty's most worthy parents, by maintaining his rebels, by keeping him in perpetual thralldom and bondage and by often attempting by wicked practices against his royal person. And therefore that he do not expect to come to his right of succession by her and hers, who hath also by consenting to his mother's death made themselves as they imagine irreconcilable to him.

6. That his Majesty assure not himself upon the French who in respect that England would draw Scotland into their old alliance with the House of Burgundy will never permit that his Majesty come to quiet possession of both realms.

7. That his Majesty will consider how dangerous a thing it is, if the mighty monarch of Spain be the chief actor in any enterprise, for his Majesty's succours and help, being himself so great a pretendant as many make him by the right of the House of Lancaster: and consequently

James VI.

1596. whether it be not probable that under colour of helping another he would do as the Saxons did with the Britons, who being called to help them against the Picts drove out the one and subdued the other and made themselves lords of all.

8. That there is no so probable and sure a course for his Majesty as to cast himself into the Pope's hands and in secrecy (according as his Majesty's estate doth require) to ask his assistance and fatherly help, who is most ready to embrace any offer made to him by his Majesty and to give him competent help of money and men, and will easily draw in the King of Spain as a secondary helper and assister of any enterprise to be attempted in the Pope's name.

9. That of all princes Catholic his Holiness hath greatest reason to embrace any cause which his Majesty shall like of for his comfort, both in respect of his office in the Church as also to have so mighty a monarch as his Majesty would be if he come to the quiet possession of both realms obliged peculiarly to the See Apostolic and by him to be able to keep in order and equal balance the dreadful potentates of France and Spain, and lastly because no other princes like of emulation to hinder the Pope's enterprise being not suspected to seek foreign kingdoms for himself, especially so far off.

10. That if it please his Majesty to show by some means and way which may credit that he will favour the Catholics and embrace willingly any help which shall be given him, that then there shall be a "platt" laid by the Pope's help of money to make him a mighty party in England which with his Majesty's own Catholic lords and other subjects in Scotland will be incomparably the better and like to prevail all the world being ready to adore the sun's rising.

11. That his Majesty remember in what estate he liveth, to wit in perpetual danger of open invasion and private murder, and that the Queen will never have any security and true confidence in him whom she hath so mightily offended ; that now by the son which God hath sent him there is offered occasion (by taking his Majesty away) of a new kind of government during the minority of the Prince and such a one wherein by her means she may procure a Regent to seek her turn as in times past she did.

12. That his Majesty remember that it is high time somewhat be done for his comfort especially in this Pope's time who hath showed himself peculiarly affected to the King and realms of England and Scotland, and if this opportunity were omitted that it will be long before any other Pope could be persuaded to attempt that for the good of the King which the present Pope hath already embraced and entered into.

13. That his Majesty doth not advisedly to expect his opportunity until the Queen's death seeing by all probabilities the party which the pretendants in England will make will be in more readiness than now it is, the Queen's forces being occupied all abroad and consequently the realm less provided of ability to resist, and it will be a harder matter to dispossess a new incumbent of whom there may be hope [of] everyone than of an old tyrant who hath disgusted and disgraced almost all the true nobility of the realm, and made herself hateful both at home and abroad.

14. That his Majesty remember that the chief and most assured forces he is to expect in England is by such as be Catholics who have

James VI.

1596.

known the virtue of his mother and endured much for her service and that by the delay his Majesty shall make to show his inclination all or the most part of the honourable personages which so deeply represent the cause of God and dearly affected his mother (and consequently most fit to serve his Majesty if he will make himself capable thereof) may be taken away by sickness or otherwise, and so not only his forces diminished but others may arise in their places who not having that education for religion, neither that lively impression of his mother's virtues and injuries done to her that these have because they shall be nourished under his Majesty's enemies, will be most assuredly shown to follow their humours and faction to the weakening of his Majesty's titles and pretences.

15. That his Majesty consider that beside the benefit that groweth to his soul and to the advancing of his royal dignity by the reasons and causes propounded here unto him he may give satisfaction to a great number of indifferent persons that hold not the best conceit of his Majesty for the cold humour they see in him to pursue the revenge upon the principal authors of his mother's death, so unjustly and cruelly murdered, a thing which all the princes Christian hold his Majesty bound in honour to procure and put in execution with all convenient speed.

16. That his Majesty may boldly presume if his Holiness may by his Majesty's grateful dealing with him be drawn to begin and embrace any course for his good that then his Majesty shall be sure of the help of the King of Denmark for his alliance with him as also of Embden,* Hamborow, Lubeck and other free states who expect but commodity to be revenged of the Queen for the great piracies done to their subjects and injuries offered to their estates.

17. That his Majesty consider whether it were not very expedient for him to find some means to stay the levying of men for the service of the Emperor against the Turks until such time as some plot were ready to be executed and then under the pretence of that service his Majesty might give licence to the Catholic lords and most loyal subjects of his realm as any of the Catholic lords, Colonel Steward, Murrey and such like to make competent levies and bear the ministry in hand to rid the realm of them and then to employ them as occasion is offered.

18. That his Majesty consider how easy it will be to draw the Pope to employ himself to help him (if he may from his Majesty have any hope of future) seeing the Pope is not ignorant what a help the English navy would be to keep the Turks in subjection against whom the Pope is now so animated that he bestows there yearly 3 or 4 hundred thousand crowns, and with half so much as shall be laid down by his Holiness he might probably deliver Italy from fear of the Turkish nation by keeping at his pay 20 English ships well armed in the Levant Seas.

19. That his Majesty remember that the pretendants at home in England, at least 5 or 6, be so animated that they will easily give place to his Majesty of Scotland (whose title is so apparent) rather than see his fellows preferred, and therefore now the King will have a greater party than after that a new one by faction who hath vanquished his fellows and possessed himself of all. That the Protestants and more moderate men

* Underlined and " Danske " written over.

James VI.

1596. will largely join with his Majesty for fear the Puritans' tyranny prevail, who growing every day stronger must be looked to in time.

20. That his Majesty take the opportunity while the King of Spain liveth, who for the injuries he hath received of the Queen and his own unspeakable good will be easily brought to join with his Holiness for to ruin her, but if either he or she die the successors may forget old injuries and make new leagues or enmities to the evident prejudice of the King's pretences.

21. That the Catholics such as be most able abroad to serve his Majesty by their authority as the Bishop of Cassano, Rosse and Father Parsons, by their means and retinues as the Earl of Westmorland and Lord Dacres, or by their skill in arms as Sir William Stanley and many proper captains and soldiers, or by their counsels as Mr. Paget, Throgmorton and divers others, may be taken away by natural course of life and so his Majesty deprived of those who will be surely faithful to his person and greatly advance both at home and abroad his right.

22. That his Majesty remember that this is the fittest and most convenient time both in respect that France is occupied which would otherwise hinder his Majesty's quiet possession of both realms, as also that both the League and King of Spain keep yet some part of France convenient for the transporting of men; and the wars of France may serve for a very probable colour of drawing men to any part thereof without any suspicion at all of any enterprise.

23. That his Majesty encourage himself and take a good resolution for God and his own right, and remember that of the enterprises and invasions of England by the Romans, Scots, Picts, Danes, Normans and by the banished English themselves who came to recover their right of all those (though some were enterprised by little forces) only two or three failed and all the rest prevailed.

24. That his Majesty get what he can from Spain but make not that his chief and principal stay to begin any enterprise unless he have the help in his hands, for the large promises of Spain and slow resolutions with small executions have ruined all that of late years have depended of them, as his Majesty may easily perceive not only by these late miseries of France, but also by the two or three enterprises in Ireland and by loss of the King's own towns in the Low Countries by the rising in the north. In all which either promises of sufficient help was not kept or, if it were, it came always too small or too late.

3 pp. *Endorsed*: "Reasons preferred to the K. of Scottes by some English fugitives to animate him to joyne with the Pope (becoming Catholike) for an enterprise uppon England."

June 2. **194.** ROBERT BOWES TO THE LORDS OF HER MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

Since the address of my last letter of 12 May to your lordships I have sought redress in the late attempt of Buccleuch at Carlisle agreeable to your directions. Calling daily for the same after the Assembly of the Estates begun here the 21st May I was suddenly and greatly "instanted" by the

HI

James VI.

1596.

King to deliver "indelately" in writing my particular demands for her Majesty in this behalf. Wherein, albeit that I suspected to find curious examiners of the form and matter to be exhibited in writing, yet at the King's request and for the expedition of the cause I set down and delivered it in manner and substance appearing by the copy of the same sent enclosed to your lordships, whose favourable acceptation and pardon I pray for any error to be found escaped by my haste thus enforced or by want of due consideration therein.

Upon the view of my demands showed by the King to the Convention, and albeit that the King by many arguments and with great earnestness persuaded that timely and good contentment might be given to her Majesty herein, yet the whole Assembly concluded neither to "fyle" nor deliver Buccleuch for this fact, sending to me the Earl of Mar, the Lord President, Sir Robert Melvill and Mr. John Lindsay (now Lord Secretary) with report of their resolution and answer to my demands. Wherein they entered to declare that Buccleuch had denied to have had any intention to invade her Majesty's realm, to assail her houses or to do any deed of hostility, but simply to redeem out of the castle of Carlisle William Armstrong of Kinmont, Scottishman, wrongfully taken in Scotland as they alleged by the Lord Scrope's deputy and unlawfully detained by the Lord Scrope against the assurance of truces and treaties of peace, and so justified Buccleuch's act to be lawful by the former wrong done by the Lord Scrope. They thought it equal and meet that Buccleuch should be tried by competent judges and to be convicted of the crimes objected against him, before he ought to be condemned and delivered as I had required. Therefore, this Convention found it convenient that as well these late injuries alleged to be severally committed by the Lord Scrope and Buccleuch, as also all other extraordinary wrongs (as they termed it) done in the Marches of both realms, should be tried and redressed by commissioners indifferently to be appointed by her Majesty and the King according to the treaties of peace and customs observed betwixt these two realms. Whereunto the King (they said) assented and for his part was ready to put it in speedy execution.

For answer to these and to maintain my information exhibited against Buccleuch I said that it was evidently known to them, and Buccleuch could not justly deny, that with a number of horsemen armed, with trumpet sounded in warlike manner, he came into and invaded her Majesty's realm, *assailed with force her castle at Carlisle, violently assaulted and hurt her subjects defending the same* and wrongfully took and carried from thence William Armstrong their prisoner therein; that before the King and Convention he had confessed to have come with four score horsemen and recovered Kinmont out of that castle, justifying the same by the wrongs alleged to be done by the Lord Scrope and his officers, which justification clears not the matter and offence confessed by him and manifest to the King and Council. And his bare protestation (that he intended not to do any hostile action) ought not to be received against his open fact nor may excuse his outrage done, notwithstanding that it were granted (as it is with good reason directly denied) that the Lord Scrope had taken unlawfully and detained Kinmont. And to prove that Kinmont was

* . . . * This passage has been underlined, possibly by Cecil.

James VI.

1596.

lawfully taken by his own act and wrong in troubling the "trodd" followed by the Lord Scrope's officers in lawful manner, I offered to show good testimony in writing and subscribed by three gentlemen of good credit and present at the action, which lawful taking warrants the detention of Kinmont by the Lord Scrope, who upon my letters to his lordship at the King's motion and upon Buccleuch's information to me justified the taking and detention of Kinmont, and nevertheless offered to commit the cause (with other questionable matters) betwixt his lordship and Buccleuch to due trial and thereon to yield justice and redress with all expedition; which I reported to the King, who accepting the same in good part gave order that these extraordinary causes (not redressable by the ordinary power of the wardens) should be redressed by special commissions to be granted by her Majesty and the King. After which (and within very few days) Buccleuch entered into and executed this enterprise, being such a notorious and evident outrage as by the treaties of peace, laws, customs and practices of the Marches the parties guilty therein (or in like manifest fact and cases) ought thereby and without further proof or delay to be "fyled" and delivered upon complaint and information made to the sovereign of the offending subjects. According to which order I have both informed the King of this manifest outrage and also expect to receive "indelate" and particular redress therein to be given to her Majesty by the King and without further "protracte" of time or examination and trial of the same by commissioners needless to be employed herein and as they earnestly required and insisted upon.

Because I noted that their verbal answer to my demands in writing might be thought unfit, they agreed and promised to send to me with speed the resolution and act of the King and Convention in writing. Albeit the same was framed and drawn, upon some alterations and accidents they deferred the delivery of the same to me until yesterday, like as the note subscribed under the answer by the Lord Clerk Register (who brought and delivered the same to me) will testify the certainty of the time of the delivery and also notify the cause of my long delay of the address of these presents to your lordships, to whose good considerations I send enclosed the answer of the King and Convention thus delivered to me.

Upon my access yesterday to the King he appeared very willing and desirous to yield speedy redress in this case, wishing heartily that it might please her Majesty to commit this cause to the trial of commissioners as by him and the Convention is motioned. Whereby he trusts to be better able to please her and with satisfaction to his nobility, Council and barons interested herein; all which I wholly leave to your lordships' knowledge and wisdoms, praying your further and particular directions to me, as shall best stand with her Majesty's pleasure. Edinburgh, the second of June 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed and endorsed.*

The enclosure with the same.

Edinburgh, 25 May 1596. The effect of the demand made in the name of the Queen's Majesty of England by Robert Bowes her Ambassador to the King's Majesty of Scotland for redress to be given to her Majesty for the outrageous fact

James VI.
1596.

done by the laird of Buccleuch and his complices at the castle at Carlisle.

Forasmuch as Walter Scott of Buccleuch, knight (known to be a public officer), with his complices on the 13th April last in warlike manner and hostility has entered into and invaded her Majesty's realm of England, has *assailed her castle of Carlisle* and there violently *assaulted her subjects* and committed other heinous offences there, contrary to the league and amity betwixt her Majesty and the King, giving thereby just and manifest occasion of the breach and violation of the same league and amity, it is required that he may be both duly "fyled" for this fact and breach and also delivered for [*sic*] her Majesty to suffer the pains to be afflicted and executed on him for the same fault. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Endorsed.*

June 2. 195. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

Having reported to the King some parts of the occurrents contained in your last letter of 15 May, he has well accepted the same, desiring to be frequently acquainted with like novelties that he may the better discern of the diversities of the bruits and news brought hither from foreign places. Your lordship's favour herein to myself has gained me some benefit for intelligence gathered by conference with others to whom I communicated those advertisements, for which your goodness I render right humble thanks.

Of all my proceedings and success in pursuit of redress for the late attempt of Buccleuch at Carlisle I have advertised the Lords of her Majesty's Council by my letter enclosed. This fact is by many and great personages not only approved and commended but also backed and maintained and (as outwardly it seems) against the King's own mind, who alone in the Assembly of the Convention showed great earnestness with many arguments to persuade the redress to be given to her Majesty's good contentment. In this I am deemed more severe than her Majesty or Council would be, especially at this time and when England (as they say) has otherwise enough in hand. Therefore, having only hitherto the Lords' general direction (by the commandment of her Majesty) largely to declare the heinousness of the fact and to prosecute the redress of this cause, I have proceeded therein in sort appearing by my letter to their lordships. Now I pray further and more especial order and signification of her Majesty's pleasure to direct me and my future course, to call for and insist upon such particular manner and effects of redress to be given in this case as shall best please her Majesty. By the delay of the answer in writing daily promised to me and received but yesterday I have been drawn to delay the address of these presents to your lordship long after the dissolution of the Convention and beyond my own purpose.

Mr. David Foulis by his letters to the King has both certified that her Majesty will stay the payment of the yearly gratuity to the King until due redress shall be yielded for Buccleuch's fault and also laboured to move the King to employ himself and best means seasonably to content her Majesty therein. Yesterday, upon access given me, the King acquainted

* . . . * These passages have been underlined as in the covering letter.

James VI.

1596.

me with her Majesty's disposition therein. He seemed loth to offend her and protested his care and readiness to honour and satisfy her in this and in greater matters, not for gain or continuance of the gratuity but in good will and to retain her favour towards him, wishing that this fact of Buccleuch may with others be tried with commissioners, by the which he trusts to be enabled to render contentment to her Majesty in the particular redress to be given in this case and with the satisfactions of his nobility, Council and barons interested herein. The King is purposed to write to her Majesty herein, the convoy whereof I shall readily give upon receipt of the letter.

On Thursday, the 20th May last, the King returned from Linlithgow late in the evening by the accident of his fall in the water in following on foot to rescue his hawk in a flash of water. The next day the King and Convention assembled at Holyroodhouse and dissolved on the 26th of the same.

The King's journey into the West Isles of Scotland is concluded by the Convention that thereby he may reduce the Isles to good obedience and recover and establish the yearly payment of the rents and revenues due unto and long detained from the King with great disobedience, as by the Act enclosed appears.

The Commissioners for the Church presented to this Convention sundry petitions before concluded by the last General Assembly of the Church and concerning the disposition of the livings of the forfeited Earls, the articles whereof I certified by my former of the 5th May to your lordship. It is answered and concluded to the effects appearing in the copy of the Act of Convention sent enclosed.

The motion for taxation of the burghs to contribute towards the charge of the Ambassadors to have been employed and sent into France for the renewing of the league betwixt France and Scotland and for the benefit of the merchants is refused and that negotiation for the present stayed.

The Lord Sanquhar and the lairds of Lochinvar (Loughenvarr) and Garlies (Garleish) are commanded by the King and Convention to remain at Dumfries and execute the office of the west wardenry. They have refused the same and therefore they are charged upon pain of horning to supply that place for some time and until the King shall appoint another officer there, which he intends to do in September next and to go into those parts for quieting of the same.

The commission and authority given to the eight lords of the King's Council is ratified by Act of this Convention.

Sundry other acts are enacted by this Convention concerning the price of foreign coins, the punishment of false coiners, the reduction of customs to the old rates, officers on the Borders, provision for ministers, and sundry other like matters for the policy of the realm.

The agents of the papist Earls were covertly come to have presented this Convention their petitions for the Earls. But finding no good opportunity they have withdrawn themselves and their suits. It has been advertised that some employed for these Earls have given out that the Earls look to find favour in England and by her Majesty's instrument abroad. Yet myself is little suspected herein.

James VI.
1596.

Reconciliation is made as well betwixt the Lord Hamilton and Buccleuch as also betwixt Herries and Buccleuch. This is effected by personages of good quality and to the intent to fortify Buccleuch who now likewise fawns upon Mar likely to be brought into the Queen's favour by the means of the Duke. Yet the King has commended the same to the Queen. What shall ensue hereof is more suspected than evident.

Argyll has obtained the King's licence to travel and remain in foreign realms. His friends thinking it dangerous to him and inconvenient seek to dissuade him. He is not contented that the trial of Ardkinglass for the murder of the laird of Calder shall not proceed.

MacLean is presently in Edinburgh and has been well received by the King, and after composition made with him for the particular possessions in the Isles and in his hands the King will employ him to be instrument to reduce the rest to obedience and order pleasing the King. He rests at his Majesty's devotion with readiness of all offices in his power.

It is marvelled here that the Ambassadors for Denmark are not arrived here before this time. Some bruits are spread of sudden question to be risen in Denmark for the coronation of the King there. But thereof appears as yet little certainty. Edinburgh, the second of June, 1596. Signed: Robert Bowes.

2½ pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Lord Burghley's clerk.

The first enclosure in the same.

(The Act for the reducing of the West Isles of Scotland to obedience, 22 May 1596.)

See above, p. 222.

1 p. Copy, endorsed in Sir R. Cecil's handwriting: "The K. hath proclaimed his purpose to go in person and commands all the Ilanders to attend him."

The second enclosure in the same.

(The Act for respiting the execution of the bonds of the rebel Lords until the first of August. 24 May 1596.)

See above, p. 222.

1 p. Copy, endorsed in Sir R. Cecil's handwriting.

June 4. 196. KING JAMES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Madame and dearest sister. In respect of the harde impression that ye have conceaved concerning Bukleuchis [Buccleuch's] lait attempt at Carlele I have taikin occasion by these few lynis to praye you most hairtelie to consider aricht and take in goode pairt my ansoure thairin, and first I must praye you to consider that youre information proceedis from youre officiare, quho is not onlie partiall but direct pairtie in that maitter, quho alsuell for the excuse of his owin sleuth at the tyme of the comitting of that deid as of his former injurie quhairupon the other did succeide can not choose but agreedge and agrauate that deid als farr as in him lyes. But Madame I neid not to exhort a prince of so long and happie

James VI.

1596. experience in gouuernment as ye are to stoppe the one eare quhill ye heare the other pairtie and then all passion being remouid uyselie and justlie to judge, for I ame fullie persuadit that quhen ye shall be richtlie informed of that injurie quhiche maide this other deid to follou, the proceiding shall (thoch not purge) yet qualifie uerrie muche the other in youre juste censuring mynde. Aluayes quhat euir the qualitie be of that deid my an-soure and request both is that ye will be content to appoint comissioneris on youre pairt as I shall be most readdie upon myne to trye alsuell the turne it self as the occasion quhairupon it did proceide and to give ordoure thairin according to the leagues of amitie and treaties of peax estalished [*sic*] betuixt us, quhiche I uou and promeisis upon my honoure shall be fullie accomplished and putt in execution on my pairt in that cace, for quho can be so fitt judges of offences fallen betuixt youre subjectis and officeris and myne as comissioneris from us both quho according to the lawis of neichbourhead oucht to discerne amongst neichbouris. And quhaire as it appeares ye are persuadit by sum to thinke that youre harde using me in other maitters will be a meane to procure youre satisfaction in this turne at my handis, suirlye Madame as my conscience bearis me uitness that I never uilfullie offendit you in anye time past so shall I never hereafter omitt any pairt of constant and treu freindshipp touardis you but I ame sure that ye will not loue me the uorse that as I ame other-uayes neere of bloode unto you so to be youre cousin in that qualitie also to do tuyce more for curtesie then harde usage. But tuiching that purpose I have spokin more at lenth to youre Ambassadoure thairin. This time requyres greater diligence in us both against the commoune ennemie then to truble oure selfis with the base particulaire querrellis and debatis betuixt oure subjectis, and thus praying you to take in goode pairt these homelie and rude lynis I comitt you, Madame and dearest sister, to the protection of the Allmichtie, from my palleis of Linlithgou the 4 of June, 1596. Yourre most louing and affectionatt brother and cousin, James R."

2 pp. *Holograph, signed; also address*: "To my dearest sister the Quene of Englande." *Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil.*

June 8. 197. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

The King still appears not only to continue his care and desire to content her Majesty in the redress for Buccleuch's fact at Carlisle (the trial whereof he desires to be taken by commissioners to be appointed by her Majesty and him) but also to be very loth to offer to her Majesty any occasion either of offence by delay of due redress to be given for that attempt or yet of cause to stay the payment of the yearly gratuity which now he expects. Therefore, he has written to her Majesty in the same agreeable to my former of the 2nd hereof and of these presents to your lordship. He has directed to Mr. David Foulis a packet with his letter enclosed to her Majesty and at the request of the King I have sent herewith the packet to Mr. David. In this I pray to have timely and particular directions to proceed in such especial course and manner as shall best please her Majesty and that the same may be sent to me with better expedition in regard of some new and late troubles risen (as I hear) on the

James VI.

1596. Borders betuixt the Hudspithes of Cornwall in the East March of England and the laird of Haudon in Scotland.

Buccleuch (as I am informed) beholding now his own estate and case is purposed by his letters to the Lord Eure or otherwise to offer very frankly as well his concurrency for the administration of due justice for the peace on the Borders, as also his submission to her Majesty for his late fault, with protestation of all devotion and good offices to recover and retain her good opinion and favour. I have been nice to harken to any such offer without warrant and foreknowledge of her Majesty's pleasure therein. Further, Sir Robert Ker taking the like course proffers his service as the Lord Eure can (I trust) inform you. Buccleuch and Sir Robert so far quarrel as it is looked to be drawn to single combat. They are of great forces on the Borders and presently seek preferment of her Majesty's good will. The knowledge and disposition of which things I commend to your lordship's wisdom.

MacLean, wishing fit occasion to give proof of his heart and faithful meaning truly to serve her Majesty and honour you, has written to you by his letter enclosed and to such effects as by the same appears recommending especially to your goodness and help the release and enlargement of his kinsman, John MacNeile, a person well esteemed here and the grant of whose liberty may advance many things for her Majesty's service in Ireland, this realm and the Isles thereof. The King and Council had compounded favourably with MacLean for possession of some lands in Islay in variance betwixt MacConnell (McOnell) and MacLean. But the Lord John Hamilton has yesterday obtained the King's letter to stay the same for the benefit of MacConnell, which I trust shall be provided for and prevented.

The Earl of Mar growing now into the Queen's good opinion is like to be Chancellor, for the acceptation of which office his friends earnestly labour him and have in manner persuaded him to accept it. The King is not yet hasty to bestowe it and some of the 8 new Councillors gape for it with trust to be well supported by their friends. The King is at Stirling travailing the reconciliation betwixt Mar and Livingstone for the slaughter of David Forster.

By letters from the Low Countries it is advertised that the King of Denmark has sent his Ambassador to the Cardinal of Austria and that the Ambassador has sought quiet and close passage and access ; that, albeit Huntly and Errol have promised to leave the King of Spain and to turn themselves to England to recover thereby their own country, yet they are determined to hold fast the Catholic religion ; that Huntly, Errol, Mr. James Gordon with other Jesuits were lately assembled and in their conferences and speeches of England they declared plainly (in the hearing of the party and author of this advertisement sent into Scotland) that her Majesty should be taken down and overthrown before the end of this summer, uttering therewith vile and reproachful words, loathsome to me to be reported ; that these things should be attempted after the corn should be ripe ; and, albeit that Huntly and Errol purposed to travel speedily into Italy and to Rome, yet they would return to the beginning of the enterprise against her Majesty. These have been confidently delivered to me with good assurance that the informer is worthy credit

James VI.

1596. and has been found discreet and trusty in like intelligences. Edinburgh,
8 June 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1½ pp. *In the handwriting of George Nicolson. Addressed and endorsed.*

June 8. **198. LAUCLAN MACLEAN OF DUART TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

The occasion and stay of my not writing to your Honour till now was through his Majesty and Lords entering in doing with me for reducing the Isles to his obedience and profit which heretofore has been "oversein." I have received the 150*l.* sterling from my servant, John Auchinross, who has shown me that of you he heard her Majesty will, however matters proceed in Ireland, hold me in her favours and entertain me her pensioner, for which I give you most hearty thanks for your great favour and good will offered to me, praying that you will let me know the certainty of the pension seeing I depend on your favour and furtherance in the advancement of the same, for which I will rest her Majesty's servant and perform as much and more in her service if ever I be charged than ever I offered, having direction of my sovereign lord and King therein and my Lord Earl of Argyll. Also your Honour shall find me ready to do you my leal and true service in any of your particulars, being glad of her Majesty's prevailing over her enemies in Ireland as they are driven on their knees to grant their "faictes," which I account to be wisely accepted in this time of trouble. And [I] would wish that you should "freith" and have to liberty the sons of John O'Neill out of the Earl's hands, who may be more able to cause him keep to her Majesty nor his pledges. For he is very crafty and will not leave his taking of vantage since he may relieve his pledges by other means. This much I would your Honour to consider for I know the nature of those people. It were good that some mean were used to move discord betwixt the Earl and O'Donnell, for it is "kindly" to the inhabitants of those lands not to entertain peace. By late letters directed to me by my "kyndly" man and servitor, John MacNeill at Exeter in prison, I write to your Honour that Robert Lindsay's servitors have been humbly therein to request you that he should be discharged, which now I will most humbly request your Honour to release him from prison that he may come to my service which shall be at her Majesty's command all my days. Edinburgh, 8 June 1596. *Signed* : Lauchlane M^cLane off Doward.

1 p. *In the handwriting of John Auchinross, with address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk* : "Receaved at Grenewich the xiiijth of the same [June]."

June 8. **199. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

On the 4th hereof I received your last packet for the convoy of Mr. David Foulis's letters of the last of May, which I caused to be delivered with speed and agreeable to the direction thereof. Mr. David by his several letters has earnestly persuaded the King for the expedition and good manner of redress to be yielded to her Majesty in the late outrage

James VI.

1596.

done by Buccleuch at the castle of Carlisle, wherein as Mr. David has thereby drawn on him much displeasure, so he well deserves thanks for the same.

By the letters of MacLean and of John Auchinross (which I send enclosed to you) it will appear that the sums appointed are delivered to them and are received with great thanks and promise of continuance of MacLean's good devotion and services to her Majesty. MacLean has likewise written to my Lord Treasurer, your father, to like effects and with earnest suit for the life and liberty of his kinsman, John MacNeill, whose deliverance will yield MacLean especial contentment and purchase to her Majesty the good will and services of the whole clan and house able to do good offices in this realm and Ireland. It may therefore please you to communicate the cause to my Lord, your father, and to further the expedition of the gentleman's liberty by means fit and convenient. The rest of the contents of their letters touching MacLean I refer to the view of the same and to my own addressed herewith to my Lord Treasurer with the advertisements of the occurrents here presently and in this calm. Finding MacLean hindered in his suit to the King and Council by the means of the Lord John Hamilton labouring in the favour of MacConnell against MacLean, I have supported MacLean with the help in my power, employing therein and in all services for her Majesty the travail of Roger Aston, whom I have always found right willing, ready and able to yield good fruits. Therefore I have thought it my duty to commend these services in him to your knowledge and memory and to pray you to make it known to him that his services are thankfully accepted. The furtherance of all my own particular suits and affairs I wholly recommend to your accustomed goodness towards me.

In the address of my packets to Sheperson my servant (with the other packets to your father and yourself) some of the posts (and namely at London) use to break up and open my packets to Sheperson taking out such letters as they like to be delivered by them for their gain, as Sheperson can inform you. It may therefore please you to entreat Mr. Stanhop to check and warn the posts thereof. Edinburgh, 8 June 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *In the handwriting of George Nicolson, with address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk.*

June 8. **200.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

My Lord Ambassador according to your ordinance gave me 30*l.* sterling and 20*l.* to John Cunningham, for which I render my most humble service to your father and your Honour, assuring you both of a faithful and true servant who shall not fail to remember my master on his duty of true service to you ; which I may easily do seeing his own affection and good will and now, I thank God, he is more able to the same " nor " ever he was having of late entered in his Majesty's great favour. Edinburgh, 8 June 1596. *Signed* : Johnne Achinros.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p.* *Holograph, with address. Seal of Lauchlan MacLean. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk : " Rec: at Grenewich the xiiijth [June]."*

James VI.

1596. 201. JOHN CUNNINGHAM TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

June 9.

I could do no less "nor" give your Honour thanks for the token I have received from George Nicolson (Necallsonne) which was 20*l*. sterling. My master MacLean (M^cclane) has written to you and accounts himself your "boin" friend to his life's end. I thank God his "adois" here with his Majesty is like to come to a good end. If I could know what word in "yair parttes" might do you pleasure I would be glad to send the same. Edinburgh, 9 June. *Signed*: Jhone Cunyghame, merchand burgess in Ed[inburgh].

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk*: "9 Junij 1596. John Cunningham to my master. Receaved the xiiijth at Grenewich."

June 10. 202. DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHELY.

Having received some direction from the King my master to be imparted to the Queen's Majesty I wrote unto my Lord Chamberlain to have known her pleasure at what time I might have the honour to discharge my duty unto her; whose extraordinary passionate answer gave me no conceit of his pains to be taken therein. For the which cause I am hereby earnestly to request your lordship that by your means I may have such favourable access unto her Majesty as the King believes I shall have at such times as by his commandment I am compelled to crave it. London, 10 June 1596. *Signed*: Da: Foulis.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk*.

June 14. 203. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

Upon my report of the present troubles of the Borders, likely to grow daily to further and dangerous extremities if seasonable and "indelate" remedies shall not be provided to prevent the inconveniences threatened, the King and Council this afternoon convened and resolved both to charge the Lord Herries, the lairds of Buccleuch, Cessford, Fernihirst and Johnstone, with all expedition to appear here before the King and Council and upon their appearance to commit and deliver them until good and sure order shall be taken for quieting of those troubles and for the establishment of peace to be thereon preserved in all the Marches. Which resolution shall be timely put in execution, as the Lord Clerk Register (purposely addressed by the King and Council to me with advertisement thereof) has firmly promised.

With these the Clerk Register let me understand that the King and Council hearing that the Lord Eure and Buccleuch had appointed to meet on Wednesday next, the 16th hereof, for the administration of justice; and that for the same Buccleuch had gathered such great companies as the King and Council doubted what effects might fall out thereon; they wished some speedy order to be taken for prevention of the danger, offering to write to Buccleuch if I would do the like to the Lord Eure. But this matter being this day at 7 in the evening moved to me, I had not sufficient time (I said) left to me to write and convey my letters to the

James VI.

1596.

hands of the Lord Eure before his entry into his journey for the meeting appointed with Buccleuch. Nevertheless, I agreed to write and send to him with such convenient speed as I could. Thereon the Clerk Register has assured me that Buccleuch shall be commanded to take and carry with him for this meeting small company and in quiet manner and to administer justice and redress to the Lord Eure with all equity and readiness. Of all which I have advertised the Lord Eure with all possible diligence, wishing him upon this warning to give good regard to all his proceedings for and in this meeting and for the safety of the country and trusting that my letter shall be delivered to him in season and good time.

Steven Beale, Ambassador for the King of Denmark, arrived at Dunbar on the 10th hereof, being carried on the coast near to Tynemouth by the negligence of the pilot. He trusts to be ready to return within 3 or 4 days at the furthest. The Ambassador to be employed and sent into Denmark for the King of Scotland shall be chosen and appointed to-morrow or the next day.

MacLean (with help of friends) has compounded with the Council for all the possessions of the King and in MacLean's tenure and occupation. For his furtherance herein he acknowledges himself beholden to her Majesty. The King has an especial liking of him, intending to employ his service and with some sign of grace to reward and dismiss him. MacConnell, Donald Gorsme, MacLeod Harris and MacLeod of the Lewis have promised to enter and compound. MacConnell is like to be committed if he shall appear. All things at this present continue in great calm. Edinburgh, 14 June 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

[1596. 204. THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND TO ROBERT BOWES.

June 16.]

Printed in *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, N.S. xxv, pp. 471-475.

Upon the view of an Act of Council held 25th May last at Holyrood-house delivered in writing to the Ambassador of the Queen of England by the Clerk Register it appears that a demand was made by the Ambassador for redress to be given to the Queen of an outrageous fact done by Sir Walter Scott of Branxholme and his complices at the castle of Carlisle, forasmuch as Sir Walter being a public officer on 13th April next before entered and invaded the realm of England, assailed violently the said castle and there assaulted the Queen's subjects and committed other heinous offences contrary to the league and amity betwixt her Majesty and the King, for which the Ambassador required that Sir Walter might be duly "filed" and delivered for her Majesty to suffer the pains to be inflicted and executed upon him for the same fault. Upon which demand Sir Walter "compaired" before the King and Council and for justifying of himself denied that he ever had any intention to invade the realm of England but that he simply recovered William Armstrong of Kinmont forth of a part of the castle where (as he says) he was unjustly detained and had been wrongfully taken before within the realm of Scotland by the deputies of the Lord Scrope with a force of 600 armed men in the time of a general assurance taken at a day of truce, wherein he supposes Lord Scrope committed first the said wrong and therein continued by detaining the said prisoner and refusal of redress upon request made by Sir Walter

James VI.

1596.

and the Ambassador ; which denial of justice moved Sir Walter to recover simply the said prisoner in such moderate fashion as was possible, being accompanied only with fourscore horsemen and under silence of night without any other deed of hostility. Upon which reasons Sir Walter alleges the demand of the Ambassador to be unreasonable and to the dishonour of the King and his realm. And it further appeared by the said Act of Council that Sir Walter's reasons being considered by the King and his Council " that notwithstanding he hath confessed the assailing of the said castle by night with the forces of iiij^{xx} men and violently taking out of the same her Majesty's prisoner, the like having never been attempted in times of peace, and without further hearing of her Ambassador to make both his proofs of his complaint and replies to the manifestation of the untruth of the said Sir Walter in very many parts of his answer,"* it was thought meet " to leave the complaint unsatisfied and only "† that according to the ancient treaties of peace and custom betwixt the realms this matter done betwixt the officers of the two realms should be " intreated " by Commissioners to meet upon the Borders for trial of the said wrongs and redress without any advice given to the King by his Council for present redress of the notable wrong which the Ambassador was ready to have proved and which is confessed to be done by the proper answer of Sir Walter, who does not deny but Armstrong was a prisoner in the Queen's proper castle [kept by the Lord Warden of England for the defence of the said city *struck through*] wherein the said Lord Warden lodged at the time of Sir Walter's entry accompanied as he confesses with fourscore men. And though he alleges that he required the delivery of him and was denied, yet no course of justice might warrant him in time of peace to enter that castle with force. He ought to have notified that refusal to the King his master and have required his letters to the Queen of England for redress. To which if the Queen had refused delivery or trial the King might have justly challenged the Queen for lack of justice and might have used such means for his satisfaction as by treaties and by laws of the world was warrantable. And by this manner of censure by deferring of present redress, only upon hearing of the offender, it appears that the due form of justice has not been observed but a notable offender favourably heard to the [dishonour of the Queen's Majesty and *struck through*] to the violation of the rules of amity and justice, the case of the said Sir Walter being such as no example can be remembered of the like attempt in time of peace. Neither did her Majesty in December last‡ by her Council in England pass over so slightly a late cause of complaint by one Edward Johnson of Edinburgh, a Scottish merchant, against a gentleman of good worship called Mr. Roger Windham recommended by the King, wherein Windham, notwithstanding his lawful defences proving his innocency, yet for compassion of the Scottishman's loss of his goods as he alleged by Windham's intermeddling, was not only of long time imprisoned, but in the end, " though by form of law he was cleared in the Admiralty Court "‡ was compelled contrary to his " said acquittal and contrary to the "‡ allegations by oath and other evidences to yield to the

* These passages in inverted commas are in Sir Robert Cecil's handwriting.

† The words " in December last " inserted by Cecil.

‡ These passages in inverted commas are inserted in Cecil's handwriting.

James VI.

1596. Scottishman his whole value of his goods according to his own estimation ; which cause, if it had been by the Council of England passed over upon Windham's answers and justification, as this has now suddenly been upon Sir Walter Scott's only answers to have received a further ordinary trial by form of law, it is very likely that Windham might have been acquitted "or not so much burdened as he was," [*in margin* : 24 ult. 1595] but yet the Queen's Council for compassion of the Scottishman's losses "which were manifest by means of wreck from the sea and upon the King's commendation"* were bold for his relief by their absolute authority without any judicial proceeding "as Wyndham required"* by law to lay the burden very grievously upon Windham, notwithstanding the protestations by oaths and otherwise of his innocency. For this cause so favourably ended for the Scottishman it pleased the King by his special letters to give thanks. And if the like course had been now held by the Council of Scotland in favour of her Majesty's principal officer, being a nobleman of this realm, and for honour of her† princely house "and for so violent and dangerous a fact as in time of peace was never attempted, neither yet to be remembered of the like in time of wars within man's memory, then might her Majesty have been in some part satisfied for so manifest and notorious wrong done to her. And therefore her Majesty hath cause to require a better consideration hereof, hoping truly that the King himself in his own princely judgment will either by his own regal authority or with advice of Councillors not led with partiality to the said Walter, a person notoriously reputed to be a factious, seditious and a favourer of the King's rebels, reform this former Act of Council."‡

3 pp. *Draft, the passages above noted and other emendations being in Cecil's handwriting.*

June 21. 205. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

The Earl of Argyll resolving to travel into foreign nations desires her Majesty's safe conduct for his passage on the coast of England and amongst her navy or fleet on the seas and her licence to Mr. Dionis Campbell, Dean of Limerick, to accompany him in his journey ; and that therewith it might please her Majesty to direct the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland with the better expedition to hear and determine the controversies depending betwixt the Bishop of Limerick and the Dean, like as I have advertised my Lord Treasurer, your father, praying his lordship's furtherance therein.

By my former letters I have commended the suits of the Earl of Crawford and others requiring her Majesty's safe conduct to pass into France through England and to be heard for the acquittal of himself in the informations given to her against him. Wherein he pretends to be careful and ready to give her Majesty good satisfaction and to yield good offices. It is thought here that he has great credit and interest with Huntly, Errol, the Jesuits and other papist practisers in the Low Countries, Spain

* These passages in inverted commas are inserted in Cecil's handwriting.

† "his" in the printed *Acts*.

‡ The whole of the concluding passage in inverted commas is in Cecil's handwriting.

James VI.
1596.

and Rome. He is noted to be young and frank and presently under the process and censure of the Church here, as thereby he may be the better allured by fair entreatment to enter into better course and give some profitable testimony thereof. It may therefore please you to let me know what answer I shall give to him and other suitors in these behalves, and in the other requests for placards for buying and carrying of horses in England into Scotland. The particularities wherein shall be showed you by Sheperson my servant, in whose private suit, joined with George Nicolson also my servant, I humbly and heartily beseech your Honour to extend your helping means for the relief of these poor men, who long and faithfully have served under and with me in her Majesty's services and whose good deserts my power suffices not to recompense in any measure agreeable to their worthiness.

By the view of this letter enclosed and addressed to me by the laird of Easter Wemyss and upon knowledge of his other and manifold means [*i.e.* complaints] to me for some relief in his present and distressed estate, you may perceive how I am pressed to importune and trouble you for him, wherein, albeit I have at large with great earnestness and many times laid before him the huge heaps of her Majesty's present charges for the affairs of greatest importance, he appears so pinched with necessity as he is enforced (he says) to have recourse to her hoped aid and that by your love to him he may receive her resolute pleasure towards him, whereupon he professes wholly to depend. This and thus much both to inform you in the matter and pray your direction how I shall further answer or do with him in the same. Edinburgh, 21 June 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Rec. at Grenewich the xxvijth of the same [June]."

The enclosure in the preceding.

(James Colville of Easter Wemyss to Robert Bowes.)

It is not unknown to your lordship how zealous I have been both at home and abroad in all lawful manner to serve her Majesty. In consideration whereof I have had her gracious answer given me by Sir Robert Cecil and since in a letter sent to me by Sir Robert in the month of April, 1595, it pleased his Honour [to] write these words unto me: "Ye may be assured by this that at Mr. Bowes's return you shall receive such satisfaction as you shall be well contented." Notwithstanding of all this, finding no effect follow hereupon, I have presumed to solicit your lordship to remember his Honour again upon his promise and my desert with assurance that I will persevere without defection as I have done in all sincerity lawful, and such answer as you shall receive please you to haste the same to me. Easter Wemyss this 12 of May. *Signed*: James Colvill of Estvemes.

1 p. *Holograph, with address*: "To the right honorable Mester Robert Bowes, ambassadeur resident for hir Majeste." *Endorsed by Bowes*: "Estwemes xijº Junii [*sic*], Edenbr' xiiijº ejusdem, 1596."

James VI.

1596.

June 21.

206. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

Yesternight I received your last letter of the 15th hereof, together with another likewise addressed by the Lords of her Majesty's Council to me and with their lordships' reply to the answer made by the King, his nobility and Estates lately convened at Holyroodhouse concerning the redress demanded in her Majesty's name by me for the outrage done by the laird of Buccleuch at the castle of Carlisle. In the expedition of the execution of the directions given me by the same letters I shall be much hindered by the absence of the King departed from Holyroodhouse the 18th hereof to take his pastimes at hawking and hunting about Callender, Commingshall, Stirling and other places abroad, unto which places I shall timely repair to get fit access and audience with the best speed I can.

The Earl of Argyll is purposed and in readiness to travel into foreign countries and has chosen and entreated his cousin, Mr. Dionis Campbell, Dean of Limerick in Ireland, to accompany and assist him in that travel. Therefore, by his letter he has required me to present for him his humble petition to her Majesty to grant him her safe conduct for his good entertainment upon any accidents casting him to touch land in England or fall amongst her Majesty's fleet on the seas, as also to license the Dean to pass with him in this journey, and by her letters to direct the Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland speedily to return to me advertisement of the success thereof that I may in best time acquaint him with the same.

By my former letters I have recommended the request of the Earl of Crawford for her Majesty's safe conduct to pass through England into France. And lately the Lord Sanquhar has desired the like favour, pretending both an earnest care to acquit himself in sundry informations given to her Majesty against him, and also a ready mind to do good offices for her. Wherein by discovery of mysteries thought to be in his knowledge he may yield good profit. In these it may please your lordship to direct me what I shall do and answer to these parties.

Steven Beale, Ambassador here for the King of Denmark, is ready to return and embark to-morrow for Denmark. He pretends to have had no errands here of importance or state other than to entreat the King to have honoured with his personal presence the solemnisation of the coronation of the King of Denmark on the 24th August next. Yet it is quietly given out that conference has passed betwixt the King and him for resolution of entrance into league and amity with other protestant princes against the King of Spain. After that the Earl of Orkney and Lord Seton were named, yet now the Lord Ogilvy, the Bishop of Aberdeen and Mr. Peter Young are chosen and appointed to be sent ambassadors for the King here into Denmark.

The Lord Sanquhar's intention to call by cartel the Earl of Orkney to single combat was discovered to the King, who thereon charged and took promise of Sanquhar to send no cartel for such matter. Nevertheless, Sanquhar by message with the Lord Hume provoked Orkney to field and fight, which after was stayed and is taken up by the King. Sanquhar pretended outwardly his quarrel in the wrong done by Orkney taking from Sanquhar his chamber appointed in Court, with such other trifles of offence.

James VI.

1596. But it is whispered that this coal was blown by persons of greater quality grieved against Orkney.

James Crichton sent hither by the papist Earls and Jesuits in the Low Countries pretends (as I hear) to have commission given him by the King of Spain and power to distribute large sums of money to such noblemen as shall be willing to give their assistance in the enterprises of the King of Spain. For the performance of the promises on the behalf of that King he offers the assurance of Huntly, whereupon the money shall be brought hither and delivered. But hitherto with sundry he gets little credit in delivery of the ducats offered, without which few of the persons tempted will adventure their fortunes.

That a fit person with your lordship's favour may be appointed to make the pay at Berwick and that the remain may be answered agreeable to your pleasure signified by your last letter to me I shall be right careful and have directed my servant Sheperson to receive your order therein. Edinburgh, 21 June 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 $\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

June 23. 207. DAVID LAWE TO LORD BURGHELY.

Consider and pity the sorrowful and afflicted estate of a poor stranger who has been kept in prison these sixteen months past upon your Honour's commandment, only for passing toward his country of Scotland in the company of Nicholas Williamson, Englishman, and has been ever since Michaelmas last so heavily afflicted with grievous disease in his leg that he has not been able to stir from his bed. Now the danger of his leg is grown so extreme and peremptory by reason of a double fistula in the flesh and a corruption of the bone withal that by the judgment of the surgeon, who has seen it, [it] is in danger to be lost. In consideration whereof your prisoner craves your favour and aid, beseeching you to consider that he is both a stranger and innocent and has never yet had so much favour as to be brought to his answer. If it be not your good will to restore him to his liberty, he requests at least so much grace as to have such means and commodities granted him as are necessary to save both his life and leg. *Undated.*

1 p. *Petition. Endorsed*: "23 June 1596. David Lawe, Scottishman."

June 23. 208. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Requests that the bearer James Kennedy, servant to the laird Blaquhan, being to repair to France to find his master, who went of late from this to Paris, may have safe conduct that he may depart with diligence. London, 23 June 1596. *Signed*: D. Foulis.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

June 24. 209. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

I am to speak* with what argument my letters should be fraught since such themes be given me as I am loth to find and am slow to recite.

* Bruce reads *seake*.

James VI.

1596.

Yet, since I needs must treat of, and unwillingly receive, I cannot omit to set afore you a too rare example of a seduced King by evil information.* Was it ever seen that a prince from his cradle preserved from the slaughter, held up in royal dignity, conserved from many treasons, maintained in all sorts of kindness, should remunerate with so hard measure such dear deserts, with doubt to yield a just treaty's response to a lawful friend's demand? Ought it be put to a question whether a King should do another, his like, a right? Or should a Council be demanded their good pleasure what he himself should do? Were it in the nonage of the prince it might have borne colour,† but in a father[']s age it seems strange and, I dare say, without example. I am sorry for the cause that constrains this speech, especially in so "apert" a matter, whose note grows far and is of that nature that it (I fear me) will more harm the wronger than the wronged. For how little regard soever be held of me, yet I should grieve too much to see you neglect yourself, whose honour is touched in such degree as the English, whose regard I doubt not but you have in some esteem for other‡ good thoughts of you, will measure your love by your deeds, not your words in your paper.§ Wherefore, for fine, let this suffice you that I am as evil treated by my named friend, as I could be by my known foe. Shall any castle or "habytacle" of mine be assailed by a night "largin"|| and shall not my confederate send the offender to his due punisher? Shall a friend stick at that demand that he ought rather to prevent? The law of kingly love would have said nay, and not, for persuasion of such as never can nor will stead you, but dishonour you, to keep their own rule. Lay behind you the due regard of me, and in it of yourself, who as long as you use this trade will be thought not of yourself aught, but with conventions what they will. For commissioners I will never grant for an act that he cannot deny that made [it]; for what so the cause be made, no cause should have done that, and when you with a better weighed judgment shall consider, I am assured my answer shall be more honourable and just, which I expect with more speed as well for you as for myself. For other doubtful and litigious causes in our Borders I will be ready to appoint commissioners, if I shall find them needful, but for this matter of so villainous an usage assure you I will never be so answered as hearers shall need. In this and many other matters I require you trust to my Ambassador, who faithfully will return them to me. Praying God for your safe keeping. Your faithful and loving sister.¶ Eliz. Re^{na}.

1 p. In the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed: "24 Junij** 1596," and in the hand of the copyist: "Copie of her Majesty's letter to the King of Scottes of her owne hande."

June 25. 210. JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have obtained reasonable redress of my kinsman Mr. Offley's ship and goods by the good assistance of her Majesty's Ambassador, Mr.

* a sinister Council (Bruce) but these words have been struck through in the present copy and evil information written over.

† some couler (Bruce).

‡ ther (Bruce).

§ letter has been struck through.

|| a night-larcyn (Bruce).

¶ Your loving sister and cousin (Bruce).

** Bruce dates the letter 29 June but it does not appear on what authority.

James VI.
1596.

Bowes, who dealt very seriously therein. The redress grew chiefly by the King's own good inclination to do justice and because he understood Mr. Bowes to have direction from my Lords of Council therein. At my coming away I had direction to present the Queen's most loving and kind commendations to her Majesty with some other few words of compliments and courtesies, which I do not presume to crave audience for. I was with the King when Mr. Foulis (Fowels) wrote that her Majesty had refused this year's gratuities, which the King thought very strange news, and when he had written to her Majesty he said to me that he thought that after his letter came to her Majesty's hands he hoped there would be no longer stay made thereof and asked me if I thought not so. I answered I could not tell but I knew well that her Majesty had many great and weighty affairs to do at this present and that they had continued long and not like to lessen much in short time. And yet, sir, I suppose her Majesty's extremity more of a point of princely honour than many coffers of treasure. He answered, I know what you mean and I protest (said he) that none in my country is so loth to grieve her as I, nor so willing to satisfy her as myself. And yet I must proceed by order and with advice of my Estates and Council. For why should the Queen lay my subjects' faults upon me, or why should she or I be at any unkindness for any private men's acts which grow upon past and present injuries? I hope we have other affairs of better importance to employ ourselves in to a better end. After this the King sent me to Mr. Bowes for his desires in writing that he might be the more amply answered. Which I brought unto the King, which he read in Council and urged every point as far as could be wished. So that in effect all that appeared of any desire to give her Majesty's Ambassador any contentment rested only in the King's own person, and I protest that all that new love that I see in that country either to religion, her Majesty or the amity rests wholly in the King himself, his boroughs for traffic's sake and the ministers and barons. And for this last Council and many others they will take but little care to see the King refused now and some no doubt will rejoice at it and hope to gain good occasion thereby to work other effects. For they will now make the King's house to go and his other affairs to be served so that by this want none will want but the King for his own private affairs.

I perceive since my coming that Mr. Foulis has received a second refusal, which I am very assured will be very grievous to the King and I know he will think more of the refusal than of the want. If I did not in conscience think his thoughts to be more honourable towards religion, her Majesty and the amity than the rest, I would wish him no better than others. For I know and see there is [sic] many hollow hearts in that land to our estate, and I thank God my "hoaps" are here. Tottenham High Cross, 25 June 1596. *Signed* : Ja: Hudson.

Postscript.—Mr. Bowes humbly craves the continuance of your Honour's honourable favours towards himself and that he may understand how the world goes abroad by your means, for he is ashamed often of his ignorance in foreign news when the King or Council take occasion either to speak of such matters or send to him to know things that he cannot answer to.

3 pp. *Holograph, with address. Gem seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

James VI.

1596.

June 27.

211. DR. MACCARTNEY TO ———.

My absence for the affairs of some friends and the slow coming of a messenger from thence has been the stay of advertisements and albeit it be alleged that there was a letter addressed to me from these parts I have seen none.

The Bishop of Dunkeld and the Lord Ogilvy are directed Ambassadors to Denmark. They depart with diligence and the Ambassador of that country arrived at Dunbar the 13th June and was "depeshit" that day 8 days and yesterday he made sail.

The Queen is retired to her resting place of Dunfermline by appointment of the 8 Lords that now govern all, there to remain till she be convalesced after her birth which is expected to be within 20 days or a month at the farthest. What it shall please God to send her I shall advertise in due time.

The arrival of the Catholic Lords has been expected this month. Within these 3 days there is some talking that they are already come accompanied with ten or 12 strangers. Ba. has sent a messenger northward to know, but he is not yet returned.

A man of yours called Geordeis Sandie and a man of his have been at oft conferences and the said G. S. would have a raid to be made on the country within and about Carlisle and he offers himself to be guide; and it is required of him too. There was at first some difficulties before B. would receive him to favour, but in end it has fallen out thus. Some friends would have that matter delayed to the midst of harvest and himself says so too. But in the meantime he says that he hopes some day to ride near Scroop's "ribor." He scoffs the Lord Eure (Evers) with appointing of doubtful days of meeting *longè post tempus*. He has oft had his friends under warning and some of them are weary by long expectation. It shall be good to beware for he is secret, haughty and dangerous and has a little of that same fault that he imputed to Sir Robert Ker, calling him scarce worthy of credence. But this is only when he discourses for he is full of them and I fear in end lest he become an Italian heart.

Referring the rest to the next occasion, I commit your Honour in God's protection. From Edmestoun in haste this 27 of June 1596. "Your Honour's awin man J.M."

1 p. *In a Scottish hand, the same as that of the letter of 4 and 5 Dec. 1595 (supra pp. 78 seqq.). No address or endorsement.*

June 28. **212. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

Since the address of my last of the 21st hereof to your lordship I have sundrywise and by two special messengers sent to the King and sought access to deliver to him the reply of the Lords and others of her Majesty's Council to the Act made by the late Convention here to the demands exhibited by me for redress in the outrage committed by Buccleuch at the castle at Carlisle, and to negotiate that cause agreeable to the directions given me in that behalf. Wherein, albeit the King has appeared very willing to grant me access and audience with the first opportunity, yet removing every day in the last week from one place to another, and abiding

James VI.

1596.

but one night with the Queen at Dunfermline, he passed to Falkland with purpose to return to Dunfermline on the last hereof and has appointed me to be with him at Dunfermline on the 1st of July next. He expects her Majesty's letter intended to be sent to him as Mr. David Foulis has advertised and he desires (as I am informed) both to receive her Majesty's letter and to advise with his Council in the contents of Mr. Foulis's letters to him before he will hear me. By which occasions he has thus long prolonged my access to him and which I thought meet to be commended to your knowledge for the satisfaction of the Council in the cause of this delay.

The King (as I hear) is much perplexed with her Majesty's resolution, signified to Mr. David Foulis, determined to stay the payment of the yearly gratuity until he shall better satisfy her in the redress demanded against Buccleuch, and that the most of his eight new Councillors are of opinion that it shall be a less dishonour to the King and this Estate that he be chased by her Majesty out of the mainland in this realm than to be thus "dwanged" (as they term it) and enforced to disgrace himself for money, noting that he cannot now deliver Buccleuch but it shall be reported to be done by force and for gain. I have spoken and debated this cause for redress with the Lord Treasurer, Secretary and Clerk Register, who still argue to justify this fact of Buccleuch at Carlisle by the wrongful act of the Lord Scrope's taking and detaining of Kinmont. In which point of justification I offered to the Secretary to join issue with him at the coming of the King, whose opinion (at his last departure from hence) I found little agreeing with these Councillors, who seemed to be careful to work some good end in this troublesome matter and nevertheless despaired (as methought) that the King and Estate would consent to "fyle" and deliver Buccleuch for this fact. I am credibly informed that the King is resolved to be at Holyroodhouse on the last hereof, and on the next day to have before him and his Council Buccleuch and the rest of the Borderers before charged to appear that day at that place, as by my former I have advertised. Then I trust to receive audience and thereon timely to advertise the Lords and others of her Majesty's Council and your lordship of my doings and success in the same.

The Lord President received advertisement from the North that the Earl of Huntly with 2 persons arrived lately at John Urwyn's house in the Channarrye [Chanonry] in Ross and had warned his friends to come to him. Whereupon the Council (calling some of the ministers to them) resolved to prohibit all men by open proclamation to resort unto, aid or assist him but to arrest and apprehend him. This proclamation was drawn and signed by the King, yet not published. Some of the Councillors (beyond their wonted kindness) advertised me of Huntly's arrival. But I did both wish them to beware that they were not deceived in this behalf, and also warned sundry of the ministers to start little thereat, for by good information given me I espied it to be a practice and no truth. Now it is advertised that a lewd fellow (the author of this bruit) entered into sundry gentlemen's houses with his face covered, declaring the arrival of Huntly and willing them to repair immediately to him with some horses for himself and his company; that this companion is taken and committed and shall be sharply punished, which will be believed when it is seen executed.

James VI.

1596.

The friends of the papist Earls are given to think that the Cardinal of Austria triumphs that the peace shall proceed betwixt France and Spain ; that Ostend shall be shortly besieged and taken, and that England shall be mightily invaded. These at this present are much hearkened unto, but your lordship can sufficiently judge of the truth and cause of the bruit thereof at this time.

The quarrel betwixt Buccleuch and Cessford is like (as lately it is told me) to draw them to single combat within short time, and that Cessford provokes the other greatly to it. Albeit that they are both of great courage and that it is passed far in evil terms betwixt them, yet some of their friends attend on them and the matter to stay their hands.

The Lord Sanquhar (as I hear) is put in comfort that a good portion of gold shall be distributed and given in August next by the Cardinal of Austria or his deputies to Scottishmen willing to deserve and do service for the same, and that Sanquhar shall be assured of a liberal share thereof if he will be present at the defrayment. Therefore he purposes to be in the Low Countries this next August and to pass through England if he can obtain her Majesty's licence therein, or otherwise to take his voyage by sea. He is of nature very frank and to be drawn to do and work good effects. In which respect I do the rather renew and commend him and his purpose and request to your memory, trusting that thereon I shall shortly receive direction in the same.

For Ireland it is certified to me that albeit Tyrone has delivered his pledges yet O'Donnell has not sent any for him, neither is purposed to do ; and that he has compounded with Archibald MacDonald to serve him with 500 men and has made a journey against some Englishmen in Connaught ; that, albeit the galley and two small vessels of Spain coming into Ireland after the conclusion of the peace there were refused and departed, yet they left there a large proportion of powder with proviso to bring men and money afterwards. Edinburgh, 28 June 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

2 pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.

June 28. 213. ORDER OF THE EXCHEQUER HOUSE.

B.M. Add. MSS.
24, 275, fol. 11.

28 Junii 1596.

The said day the said Lords of Exchequer for the greater quietness and better order of the Council House and better expedition of all matters belonging to this jurisdiction, it is statute and ordained that all the clerks and " nottars " of any office or function concerning the Exchequer shall not enter in the house where the said Lords shall sit until they be called to enter, and that they shall remain in the " utter " house " ay and whill " they be sent for and shall receive such injunctions as shall appertain to their offices.

Item all and sundry particular suits shall be given in bill by way of supplication to the Clerk of Registry, depute clerks of the Exchequer who shall present the same to the Lords and report their answer to the party.

Item all supplications particular shall be decided upon Wednesday each week at time appointed thereto except matters of greater subse-

James VI.

1596. quence to stop the hearing and decision thereof, and that in each week hereafter the Monday, Tuesday and Friday shall be appointed for determination of public affairs and the customs [and] "coynzie" in respect that Thursday is appointed for matters of secret council; and if any of the Lords ordinary of the Exchequer fails to compeer to Council, two hours afternoon being stricken, shall pay.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Written probably in an early 17th century hand.*

June 29. **214. THE STATES OF ZEELAND TO JAMES VI.***

We have advertisements from divers quarters that every day several pass and repass the frontiers of this province towards the enemy and return thence disguised as merchants. Some of them, both Englishmen and Scots, cross occasionally to England or Scotland with plans prepared to the prejudice of this state and of your Majesty's and England's. This has caused us to take order with those arriving at our frontiers and to search them. Those who by their bearing or otherwise are suspected to be of other quality than they claim to be are sent before us by the officers on guard to be more closely examined. A few days ago we had three Scots from Antwerp before us and the one amongst them who was most clearly remarked to be other than the merchant he professed to be was questioned and finally recognised as your subject and vassal, the Earl of Errol (Arol). After we understood that he was one of your disgraced lords we wished to retain him so that your Majesty might be warned and we more closely informed of his intentions and designs. Nevertheless, the Earl frankly declared to us after his discovery that he was on his way to his country to present his most humble services to your Majesty as his sovereign lord and prince, for which end he said he wished to employ the intercession of his friends, being resolved to devote his life to the upholding of your estate against the world and willing to undertake anything in that service, even against the Pope of Rome, catholic though he confesses himself to be. He said that he was not the first of his race who would have served his King against the invasions of foreigners, so far was he from having had intelligence with Spain or the common enemy. He trusts in your Majesty's royal clemency that you will not wish a vassal so resolute as he to be kept longer from your service and in such a conjuncture as the present when the Spaniard has shown his designs by the taking of Calais in the sight of his country. Of this he has required us to advertise your Majesty and we have not liked to refuse in the hope that you, by receiving such a vassal into grace, will afterwards be able to derive therefrom notable services. Meantime, we will await what you will judge ought to be done for your service, praying you to be assured of the affection and goodwill we bear you as a truly Christian prince. "De Middelbourgh, ce xxix^e de Juing, 1596. Conseil."

2 pp. *French. In a foreign hand, headed "Copie." Endorsed by Cecil's clerk: "29 Junij 1596. Copie. The States of Zealand to the King of Scottes. Therle of Erroll taken at Myddleburgh."*

* This has probably incorrectly been taken to be dated in the new style and described by Thorpe as of June 19. The new style was not adopted in the Dutch Netherlands before the year 1700.

James VI.

1596.

June 30.

215. JAMES VI TO DAVID FOULIS.

Understanding that our dearest sister the Queen makes pretence to stay the payment of our annuity due to us and by all appearance would use us as her pensioner, wherein is offered unto us great wrong seeing that annuity is proper ours, promised under her hand for contentation of our lands during her time, as King Ha. the viijth gave unto her during her time ; which annuity if by her and her Council be refused we can think no less than a just point of the break of the league, at the least more just than the not rendering of our servitor Buccleuch, wherein as yet we have nought else minded but to redress as law and reason binds [*sic*] us. We “disgest” hardly that we should be refused by the occasion of accidents falling out besides our expectation, but warrant of our authority, that the Queen should be so suddenly malcontented, not only for the band of amity between the crowns and straightness of the league, more inviolable than our treaties of peace, but also for the contemning of the long offers made to us by the enemies to England, who under the pretext of revenge of our mother’s death minding to surprise their estate, which always we have refused to embrace ; our hearty good will willingly offered by us to her for the maintenance of the crown of England. The fourscore eight year of God can bear record, and we will be silent what Mr. Aishbie, “cled”^{*} with our sister’s commission, promised by his handwriting unto us, which is yet extant. And, albeit the effectual accomplishment thereof vanished, yet we continued in our wonted amity by imparting to her whatsoever our secret intelligence, foreign or within our country, immediately after they came to our ears. Whereby and many other respects, we have shown our “efalde” meaning and faithful regard towards the preservation of her estate, not changeable upon great offers made to us or other motives whatsoever, and from time to time have dealt so by our good affection that in the end we have resolved to be upon her course as the last letter sent by Mr. Bowes can bear more nor sufficient testimony. And now lately adverting to the troubled estate of England and approaching dangers we offered to give up with the Spaniard and to hasard† our own person as her lieutenant for to have abased our own rank for her defence and preservation of this isle. Notwithstanding whereof, we have acquired no thanks, but intending to recompense our desert and courtesies by the non-payment of our annuity, the wrong whereof we esteem a greater token of a cold mind in friendship nor it will be hurt to us, that annuity being of so small quantity and so malignly paid, this we may hardly believe. Our will is therefore, after the sight hereof, ye fail not to get delivery of her mind and determination of her Council thereanent, and being resolved of her answer return to us with all diligence. Given at our palace of Falkland the last day of June 1596. James R.

1½ pp. *In the handwriting of one of Cecil’s clerks. Endorsed :* “Ultimo Junij 1596. Copie of the King of Scotts letter to his Embassadour.”

Vol. lli., p. 126.

Another copy of the preceding letter.

1¾ pp. *In the handwriting of another of Cecil’s clerks.*

* “did” in the copy below.

† Some word has been struck through here and “hasard” written over, probably by Cecil.

James VI.

1596. **216. SCOTTISH ADVICES.**

June.

Ye shall wit that the King of Spain [and] the King of France is [*sic*] confederate with our Council of Scotland and that by your Ambassador's knowledge the names of our Lords is this [*sic*], Mr. John Lindsay (Leinsay), Mr. James Elphinstone (Elfeistone), two of the Secret Council, the one of them has a brother in Spain and the other a brother in France; by the which missionaries (?)^{*} and by our banished Lord is very like to do great hurt, your Majesty, to lawful power, as ye shall know. Refer the rest to this bearer. *Undated and unsigned.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed: "Junij 1596. Scottish advises."

[1596.] **217. WILLIAM CRICHTON.**

[? c. June.]

S.P. Dom. Eliz.
cclxi, 86.

Two parts it consists of:
A detection of Crichton's
forgeries; A correction
of Crichton's follies.

Pury Ogilby's Com-
mission.

with the King of Spain some reciprocal alliance and confederation desired such as had heard or felt by experience anything that might draw the King his master into evil opinion amongst Catholics that they would present the particulars and said that he was able, ready and desirous to satisfy all men and had order and commission so to do. This was his

Desire of satisfaction
from the Catholics
banished.

of articles.

The 7th verity.

The negotiation of Pury
Ogilby.

By his commission Cecill says he was bound and urged that such at most parishes that nothing should be [done] or attempted to infringe the Scottish King's right or authority, that the King of Spain should no way expect at the nobility's hands of Scotland assistance to advance his private interests or any pretended conquests and invasions, that their desires were only by capitulation or

The Scottish nobility's
request.

tyrannized at that time both King, country and nobility. Which requests being accorded to t[hem in the pre]sence of Sir Walter Lindsay, Sir Hugh Barkeley and Colonel Simple the King of Spain made choice of Cecill

Cecill's commission
from Spain.

he undertook and performed not without singular care and recommendation of the King of Scotland's cause, person and conversion.

Articles against Pury
Ogilby.

That the articles concerning P. Ogilvy's person and negotiation, which were sent to Rome, were sent by Fa. Holt and others before his arrival by

^{*} Illegible.

[†] In the copy following this illegible word has been incorrectly read "remarks."

James VI.

1596. way of prevention or preoccupation lest he should by any indirect commission hinder the affairs of the nobility then afoot.

Cecill would discover nothing when living here in England. That if he was never trusted by them that sent him or admitted to their secrets in state matters, if their superiors in those times had that point in singular recommendation not to stain or blemish their missions with commissions of state or practice, if they gave them that general congé where they came into hands to conceal nothing they knew, he asks what he could discover of foreign matters that was not at any time by his superiors trusted nor any way employed, or of domestical that was not at that time admitted or acquainted.

His eleventh verity.

Touching the seeking of toleration at home. That being under terms of treaty with England and procuring oversight* for the nobi[lity] in Scotland and having received by Father Gordon

a resolution from Rome that they might subscribe a league defensive and offensive if in hope of such a composition to make their conditions better, the negotiation of Ogilby, the preparation of Spain, the promise of succour were freely related and reported. If Ladyland and another nobleman of the Scottish nation (nameless because he was yet alive) and he waded† no farther in that point than they had warrant to do from divers the learnedest divines in Italy and Spain and the Inquisition in Rome, if they told it and urged it in all their negotiations that they would by all means possible seek to make their peace at home and if they have sought (seken) and do seek and supplicate, and that by direction and authority from Rome, for some remission and toleration, if they should write apologies in defence of their loyalty and causes temporal, what is there in all this negotiation suspicious, or what not extreme necessary (as the times stand) and meritorious?

Our patrons, our patterns, our "paranimphes" are Tertullian, Justinus Martyr, Quadratus, Aristides B. of Athens, Card. Allen, glorious Fa. Campion, unfortunate Fa. Haywood and the wisest, gravest and most notable and noble Catholics of your nation both at home and abroad. I dare presume so far of their innocency in matters capital and criminal as to avow in their names that they sympathise with me and with the saints and servants of God to seek for succour and support for the present calamities into which they are p[lunged] and withal (?) they are perplexed by your strange and stupendous stratagems, your promises im[p]ossible, your plots improbable, your biting and bitter books which have served only to this hour *ad indicandam [malitiam] non ad vindicandam injuriam*. They seek their ease, relaxation and redress *ferendo, non feriendo*, by supplication, submission and supportation.

Fa. Crichton's (Criton's) plots. Himself well used in England. That Father Crichton had taken upon him the whole plotting of the invasions that are partly past, partly are frustrated and partly are in expectation; that he was by Sir Chr. Hatton most familiarly and friendly entrusted and dismissed with 100*l.* *viaticum* and a most large and friendly passport.

* The copy reads "but right."

† The copy reads "concerned."

James VI.
1596.

Fa. Holt and Fa. Morton
favoured in Scotland.

That Father Holt found the like favour in Scotland and afterwards Father Morton and another of that Society.

Jesuits' practices.

In you is it lawful and that *propter majorem Dei gloriam* to send messengers of your services, hold intelligences on all sides and in others the bare suspicion sufficient to dishonour them.

The moderate sort of
priests' justification.

If to be directly opposite to all violent courses and such turbulent spirits as yours are (good Father Crichton) to withstand all conquests, captivities and invasions, to detest and abhor with a perfect indignation all practices against princes' persons, if to procure by all honest, lawful, humble and apostolical means the conversion of souls and redress of our brethren's calamities, if to give to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's and to God that which is God's precisely, if to help, to lenify, to qualify, to moderate by submission, by petition, by prayer, by patience, if to labour hand and foot, day and night, to furnish, erect, establish, multiply and sustain our seminaries, and such labours and endeavours as these be scandalous, be treason, be spying, *habes confitentem virum* (Father Crichton), such a spy I am and will be till death and after death.

The Seminaries in
Spain.

If Cecill had not been there, never had been any seminary in Spain whence they have now their greatest support. If he had not played the . . . * and divine Cardinal Allen and Father Parsons to that work (and the King too)† as boons (?) to the state, so improbable and impossible they accounted it till he had broken the ice with what pains and prisonments, with what affronts and with what crosses and contradiction of the town, university and inquisition he replies (?) to the Annales and Archives of the seminaries if they be received, if not to his colleges and coadjutors in that initiation and infancy.

In this matter of the seminaries the life, the soul, the lustre, the nerves and sinews, which are pension and provision, the peopling, the polishing, the perfecting and perpetuating Father Parsons only may challenge as due to his infinite labours taken and sustained in that good work, yet as Margellannos [Magellan], and Colonna that opened the straits and drew Ferdinand and Isabella to that work, *bon gré, mal gré*, are not to be excluded from the honour of conquering the New World, etc., so he challenges to Mr. Noris and himself their part and portion of merit and memory in so worthy an action.

Somewhat they have at St. Lucas being conferred by both parties litigant to him and in his person and applied by him to the common commodity.

To the seminary at Rheymys he sent at one time 1000*l.* sterling of the which a round portion was by Dom Joan de Ventimigla, Marquis of Vyrace, and late viceroy of Sicily given to him in particular to be disposed at his pleasure. He laid all down without reservation‡ at the Apostles' feet, he says.

* The word is illegible and the copyist makes nonsense of it.

† So the copyist but his reading is doubtful.

‡ "resolution" in the copy.

James VI.
1596.

Captain Robert Maxwell, Carlevirock.

The 12th verity.

The practice of the Scottish nobility in Spain.

That the article in our commission were [*sic*] sent by the nobility unto Spain, which is as yet reserved and to be produced for further liquidation of our innocency, bidding and binding† us to make instance with all efficacy that the King of Scotland should not be excommunicated nor his title prejudiced does clearly cut off the attainder wherewith you condemn your whole nobility of treason in the highest kind, either you them [*sic*] not or you like them not or you esteem them not that so ingratefully and irreligiously censure, "syndicate" and condemn one of the most glorious actions of their lives and our age.

Prepare your ear, good Father (?),‡ for a "fratron" (?) or reprimand or made with leather§ cut out of your own skin.

The second part he charges him to have given all good Catholics just cause of offence to see a man of his place and profession to be so far to seek in his divinity that if a priest forget his duty he thinks he may forget (?) his dignity if a priest said he may rail.

The Scottish King's designs discovered by defending him in Crichton's apology.

Crichton blamed for seeking to defend and commend his King without commission, without warrant, directions or instructions to bring divers his actions to public examination that might better have been passed over with silence, his intentions into jealousy and suspicion and his person into danger.

Seeing the Scottish King's person, life, estate and liberty is [*sic*] so far engaged and narrowly observed by such potent|| persons as you say, the extreme necessity of avoiding the vigilance of these Argos eyes does make him permit many things that stand out altogether with his good liking; either your affection to your prince is not such as you seem to glory or your discretion or consideration not so great as is in such a case required to discover to his enemies (as you call them) such secrets of his intentions and inclinations as you do, and give them just cause to look more narrowly to his actions whom in good consequence they cannot imagine to be so far magnified and dignified of a man of your coat without some secret mystery and the Psalmist says (Psalm 44) *Honor regis judicium diligit.*

The Scottish nobility's actions justified.

The Catholic nobility of Scottish martyrs in heaven and confessors upon earth, his own confederates, he proves traitors most impious to God and their country. The blanks he accuses them of, their country and estates since their last revocal and repatriation acquit them of. They were always to their prince most faithful and affectionate, to their country most kind and of her weal¶ most careful. They sought nothing but to

* "hasty" in the copy.

† "hindering" in the copy.

‡ In the copy this has been read "Master" but probably incorrectly.

§ The copyist reads "a better."

|| The copyist reads "pilot" but incorrectly.

¶ The copyist reads incorrectly "the realm."

James VI.

1596.

shake off the yoke of the satanical and puritanical ministers and to have free practice of the true Catholic religion. In this cause and quarrel they had no mixture herein of ambition or temporal promotion at least part, most of those noble and worthy gentlemen that shed their blood in the field against the Earl of Argyll merely in defence of religion as that *decus* and delight of Scotland, the Lord of Fentrye, that *sidus celeste*, that glorious martyr, was only the messenger, he [said] that was directed to Father Crichton with the blanks he blushes not to mention, sent for and to be filled by him, and died merely for his religion. The like glorious end made Sir H. Barkeley, l[aird] of Ladyland, whom he makes (?) like St. Sebastian, at the hands and shot of the ministers' cruel and bloody sergeants.

The Blanks.

Who may trust you, sleeping or waking, that send for, in all haste, into Scotland for some authentical testimony and apparent *vidimus* of the nobility's good affections and dispositions to advance the Catholic religion; the blanks thus sent for by you then and urged by you now were dispatched and committed to a gentleman of good worship. He was taken, the matter disclosed, the blanks deciphered, the [process] and success of the affair printed and Father Crichton concluded for the inventor, author and actor of all [this] tragedy and treason.

Hinc nostri fundi calamitas. Till this Polypragmon (?) troubled us with his blanks and matters of estate we lived in Scotland peaceably, administered the sacraments and preached daily the true will and word of our Saviour Jesus and his sacred spouse, the Catholic Church, *sitientibus auris [et animis]*.

It was a [point] never eff[ected] but depended wholly upon Crichton's [long pen and counsel; 2500] others resolute (?) and most not Catholics had not to do in it.

For the sedulity and industry you use in your country affairs I shut up this whole discourse with that worthy saying of St. Augustine *Quære quid quæris sed non ut quæris nec ubi quæris*. Seek the conversion* of your King and country, *sed non ut quæris* in the spirit of contradiction and contention, in the spirit of singularity and ambition, not in the court of princes by supplications, memorials and relations, but in the court of heaven with prayers, penance, tears and oblations seeking to gain souls and not† to maintain schisms by the Word and not by the sword, by sanctity and not by subtilty, by painful labours and not by disdainful libels, by submission and not by sedition, by persuasion and not by invasion, by requests and not by conquests, etc.

2½ pp. Probably in the hand of T. Phelippes. Somewhat damaged and very illegible in parts. The words and passages in brackets have been inserted from the following copy. Endorsed: "Certayne notes taken out of Cecill the prestes answer to Creytons accus[at]ions."

S.P. Dom. Eliz.
ccxli, 87.

Copy of the foregoing.

6 pp. Endorsed: "Certain notes taken out of Cecill the Priest answer to Croyton's accusation."

* "conviction" incorrectly in the copy.

† "not" is omitted in the copy.

James VI.

1596. 218. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

[June or
July.]

Vol. lli, p. 124.
Printed in *Letters
of Elizabeth and
James VI.* Ed.
J. Bruce (Cam-
den Soc.), p. 116
from a copy in
Thompson MSS.

The more I see your letters, read your answer and weigh your resolution, I ever rather impose the fault of our Ambassador's neglect in not touching the material groundwork of this our unkindness than can imagine that for your own honour, though all respect of us were debarred, you should not weigh so the balances awry as that a mean man's taking, whether right or wrong, should weigh down the poise, that our treacherous castle's breach should have no right redress. Neither, if you understand it aright, can we believe that, if all the Council of Scotland would tell it you, they might cause you be persuaded that commissioners should need, or ought try, whether any subject of yours should take out of any our holds a prisoner, however taken. And, therefore, do not beguile yourself, nor let them make you believe, that ever I will put that to a trial as a matter doubtful. But for the truth to be known of the first taking of that silly man and divers others points fallen out betwixt our "wardors" I agree very willingly to such an order. But let the matter of greatest moment, which is the malefact of the "Lacrine," be first redressed. And if such a treachery had been committed by a man that either ought for dear affection won him by his demerits, nay if not by such as whose deeds in public, whatsoever in private, have well showed his small regard of your commands, I might have borne with your partiality; but, if you remember his former foregoing deeds as well in your realm as without, I shall need the less to solicit my honour and his right. Where you yield that if such causes be not ever adjudged by such like manner of commissioners, you yield to what censure of you that I shall choose. I would lothly take such advantage, for if you ever found that it were put to trial whether such a violent entry were lawful or that the malefactor was not rendered, I will wage my credit of that wager. And when you plainly now do see my true meaning of repair of honour, which so lately has been blotted, and how no desire of quarrelling for trifles nor backwardness in faithful affection, which you never shall find to quail but by your own desert, I hope at length you will "postpose" your new advisers and remember her who never yet omitted any part that might concern a most faithful friendship's love. And for such one hold me still that whatever she hears, yea by your own, will never trust but you, as God best knows, whom I beseech inspire you ever the best.

1½ pp. Copy in the handwriting of one of Cecil's clerks, headed: "A copie of her Majesty's letter to the Kinge of Scottes, 1596." Dated by Bruce July but in Thorpe's Calendar? June.

July 3. 219. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

On Thursday last, the 1st hereof, I attended on the King at Dunfermline for audience agreeable to his appointment and on the day following I delivered to him the Act of her Majesty's Council touching redress for the outrage done by Buccleuch at the castle at Carlisle. Upon the reading whereof he chiefly noted and declared, first, that I had not offered to the Council further proofs of the wrongs committed by Buccleuch as in the said Act is expressed: but that I delivered to himself my bill for that

James VI.

1596. redress and therein travailed only with himself and not with the Council. Secondly, that by the answer made and enacted by him, his nobility, Council and Estate they have not denied to give due redress or to file and redeliver Buccleuch for this fault. For the qualification of which fault Buccleuch had opened to them the causes provoking him to the attempt and also the manner in the execution to prove him guiltless of any crime punishable by the laws, praying to be tried by the ordinary course of the laws. And, albeit that they approved not his justification grounded upon former wrong alleged to be done by the Lord Scrope, they thought it meet that all matters and circumstances alleged should be examined and tried before commissioners in most usual and fit course and as thereon the party offending might be punished according to the quality of his offence tried. Thirdly, he acknowledged the good and favourable redress granted by her Majesty and her Council to Edward Johnston his subject, for which he yielded hearty thanks, protesting to be always ready to show the like favour and justice to all and every of her Majesty's subjects in like cases, yet he thought that Johnston's suit differed from Buccleuch's cause and that the trial thereof were likewise differing.

To the first I answered and granted that I had not offered to the Council assembled further proofs for Buccleuch's wrongs. For knowing that the treaties had ordained him to be judge in this case, and that by him and his order I ought to receive for her Majesty either due redress or else direct refusal, I therefore informed him in the outrages executed by Buccleuch, which I offered to prove and make manifest and according to the orders and laws of the Marches I demanded by word and bill in writing for her Majesty justice and redress for the same, as still I do at this present.

To the second I said that, albeit they have not expressly denied redress or to file and deliver Buccleuch, they have dangerously delayed the administration of justice and for the trial of the matter are fallen into a course not warranted by any justice. For howsoever Buccleuch before them has laboured to qualify his fact, it appears by their Act of Council and answer in writing to my bill against him that he has confessed before them the assailing of her Majesty's castle by night with force of four score men, and violently taking out of the same her Majesty's prisoner, a matter so punishable by the treaties (which are or ought to be known to them) as thereby the offender ought to be filed, delivered and suffer the pains appointed by the rules of the laws of the Marches. And forasmuch as I have for her Majesty exhibited bill against Buccleuch, who in his answer to the same has confessed his fact punishable by the treaties and has not avoided the effects confessed, the matter rests now wholly at judgment of the King to file and deliver the offender upon the bill and answer thus proceeded, or otherwise upon refusal of justice, which her Majesty for many causes does not expect but rather hopes that in his princely disposition he will yield her reasonable redress either by his own regal authority or else with the advice of his Council.

Thirdly after some compliments to the thanks for the favour showed to Johnston I alleged that the several cases of Johnston and Buccleuch ought to be measured with equal justice in process, trial and determination, and that Johnston in his cause received especial relief to be drawn from the ordinary course of the laws before the Judge of the Admiralty

James VI.

1596.

(where he utterly despaired recovery) and to be supported at the King's request with the comfortable order of her Majesty and Council granting him his desires, and far beyond his expectation. The memory of which precedent of kindness (with other great effects) would suffice and prevail with the King (I trusted) to work the expedition of this redress demanded for the mutual honours and benefits of both sovereigns and realms. In discourse of which things we entered into sundry arguments needless to be repeated to your lordship. In the end he concluded to confer with his Council and with their advices to put their resolutions in writing to be delivered to me within few days.

He protests greatly that he has not found one of the nobility, Council, barons, burgesses or ministry liking that Buccleuch shall be filed and delivered by him or his Council, wherein the late Assembly of the Convention (he said) at the voting of the act for their answer were generally so resolute as with difficulty he drew them to refer it to the trial of commissioners, who he thinks shall best dispose of the cause for her Majesty's satisfaction and to both their contentments and wherein he promises his good endeavour. Nevertheless, I have much dissuaded that form or course of trial, which standing with no justice cannot yield her Majesty due satisfaction.

Forasmuch as within few days I look to receive the King's resolute order and answer in Buccleuch's case, which speedily I shall send to her Majesty's Council, whom I would not trouble with imperfect certificates, I have presumed to recommend these to your lordships' knowledge, beseeching you to dispose of the same for the good satisfaction of their lordships as shall be convenient.

I am advised that some Councillors will persuade the King to think that they and the rest of the 8 Councillors shall so husband his revenues and provide for expenses as he may well forbear the payment of the yearly gratuity given him by her Majesty, whereby his estate shall be the more free and honourable. But many wise and of the best affected greatly mislike and distrust the effects suspected to ensue upon the acceptance of this advice.

The story of the Earl of Errol at Middleburgh is now known here and the letters of Count Maurice to the King in the same are daily expected.

Buccleuch leaving the party of Johnstone has compounded with Maxwell and thereon Johnstone has sounded the King to obtain his leave to join with Cessford and with some English support to quit a common with Buccleuch. But this matter is thought to be offered out of time and before the fruit expected had been gathered. I hear many things threatened to be done amongst these parties, which hitherto are still deferred, as by some it is deemed that cold blood shall pacify the passions appearing. Edinburgh, 3 July 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2 pp. Addressed. Endorsed.

July 5. **220. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.**

This Monday the 5th the King came hither to Edinburgh to the house of the Lord President as he had appointed and as I have by my last before these certified to your lordship. In the forenoon he conferred with his

James VI.
1596.

Council here, giving me knowledge that "indelately" after his dinner he would speak with me and accordingly I had access to him. I put him in remembrance of the effects lately passed at Dunfermline betwixt him and me for redress in Buccleuch's fact; that I saw him then ready to advise with his Council in that case; that as a wise prince he knew well their several dispositions in this matter, and for themselves and their desires wishing him to censure their advices with his own good judgment and so to resolve as he may be found a prince to govern and not to be governed, to embrace justice and to do it, especially in this case, to discern counsels good and bad, to remember thankfully former benefits, and, as his thoughts might be occupied of England, so he would think that England would examine his words and papers with his actions, whereby he might well judge what hurt should come to him by the experience of the difference in words, papers and actions. I showed him that I had her Majesty's letter written with her own hand to be presented to him touching this great outrage committed by Buccleuch. He called for and received her Majesty's letter at my hands and without opening the letter or further hearing me he departed immediately from me to the Council then sitting. Albeit I attended to have been called to him at his rising from Council and left some of my servants to await thereon, he departed out of the town without any notice or order given me saving that by Roger Aston he sent me such excuse as so little liked me, and as I have thought it good to follow him and to receive his resolution for the order of the answer of her Majesty's letter as also of the reply of the Lords and others of her Majesty's Council to the answer of the late Convention here. These strange proceedings in the King and his Council (wholly bound fast together) occasioned me thus suddenly to send these to your lordship, and as I shall find further success I shall with diligence advertise, finding presently the disorders on the Borders so great and general as I greatly distrust the repair thereof but rather that hasty troubles shall hereof ensue. Edinburgh in haste, 5 July 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

July 5. 221. ACT OF THE COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

Printed in
extenso in Register
of the Privy
Council of Scot-
land, v, 298, 299.

Anent the Act of the Council of England at Greenwich, 13 June* 1596 requiring reformation of the Act made at Edinburgh, 25 May last, where hold is taken of Sir Walter Scott's alleged confession of the fact of Carlisle, Sir Walter always denied, as he does yet, the doing of any wrong [*In margin, in Sir Robert Cecil's handwriting*: a wrong to break the Queen's own castle] and promised to give a particular account of his behaviour when he should be called before his ordinary judgment. Albeit his Majesty might of reason as justly insist with her Majesty and her Council for the filing and delivery of the Lord Scrope, the injury done by his deputy being as public and done in more hostile manner and with greater forces, besides that it is less favourable by all law and natural reason to take unlawfully a prisoner than to relieve (although unorderedly) one that is unlawfully taken, his Majesty is so far bent to the inviolable observing of the amity betwixt their Majesties as he would noways meet her demand

* *Reg. P.C.* has "the xij day of Junii."

James VI.

1596.

and petition with this other but be content of such ordinary form of trial as has ever been observed in the like case. Therefore his Majesty with advice aforesaid thinks as before that the trial of the facts, sentences and execution thereof must be by the authority of commissioners conform to the ancient custom, and would be very glad that as soon as might be commissioners were set down for this effect.

“Extractum de libro actorum Secreti Consilii S.D.N. Regis per me Magistrum Joannem Skene Clericum Rotulorum Registri ac Consilii sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus.”

At foot in Skene's handwriting: “Deliverit to my Lord Ambassador of England upon the sewintene day of Julii instant. Joannes Skene, Clericus Registrari.”

1½ pp.

July 10. **222. LORD BURGHLEY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

I am sorry to see no better success from Mr. Bowes than you shall perceive by this included.

Two things I note, one that the King did not read her Majesty's letter at Mr. Bowes's being with him. 2, that he declares not what were the words of Roger Aston (Ashton) for the King's answer.

I see these new Councillors preferred for the Queen are evil disposed, as I doubt being hollow papists. For which purpose Mr. Bowes might do well by secret conference with some of the ministers of the church to discover the truth and to procure them to devise some remedy in time. The affectation of the King to this crown will every day increase by the greedy appetite of these Councillors and I fear the weakness of our Borders will make them bolder.

God bless you and give you grace to serve her Majesty to her contentation by your faithfulness, dutiful love and diligence and send me more hope of amendment than I yet find, though the weather doth amend, for the fruits of the earth. 10 July 1596. *Signed:* “Your loving father, W. Burghley.”

Holograph. 1 p. Addressed by Burghley's clerk: To my loving son, Sir Robert Cecill knight, her Majesty's principal secretary.* *Endorsed by Cecil:* “My L. to me.”

July 11. **223. DRAFT BY SIR ROBERT CECIL OF A LETTER TO ROBERT BOWES.**

The Queen's Majesty's† Ambassador in Scotland shall inform the King that where his servant here David Foulis (Fowles) at his first coming to her Majesty did impart the King's sincere intention to withstand all Spanish practices attempted against him and his country, either by practice with his rebels, the Earls of the North, or by yielding to any deceitful offers made by the papists, although otherwise reports had been made of his secret disposition to favour such practices, notwithstanding his out-

* This is the first occasion in these papers in which Sir Robert Cecil is so addressed.

† The words “the Queen's Majesty's” have been struck through and “your Majesty's” written over.

James VI.

1596. ward profession in all his Councils, wherewith her Majesty was very well satisfied ; and yet at this time her Majesty having by most sure means knowledge of the continuance of the practices of certain persons being his subjects and using the name of his servants and agents, both with the King of Spain and the Pope, hath thought it very necessary to impart such matters as her Majesty hath perfect knowledge of from Rome.

First, there is one named in Rome John Ogleby, *otherwise Pury*, entitled a baron of Scotland, who pretendeth to be sent by the King of Scots both into Spain and to Rome to solicit aids of men and money to be sent into Scotland to help the King to expel the professors of true religion and to receive the papistical. This Ogleby is accompanied and furthered by a fugitive of England named Father Cecill, who hath *formerly professed to do service but hath been found a double spy and hath been this last year in Scotland*, practising matters there in favour of the King of Spain. There are also two other Scottishmen being in disguised manner named as though they were Spaniards, the one Don Balthazar, who is thought to be Linsey, the other misnamed Don Hugo *who is thought to be James Sandeland*, who have brought letters to Rome from the three Earls rebels and from some other Lords of Scotland professing to be Catholics ; and these persons do constantly affirm that the King of Scots is inwardly disposed to the Catholic religion and obedience of Rome, but that he is forced to temporise with a number of heretics and politic men so as he cannot without some aid from the King Catholic and the Pope restore his realm to the see of Rome. The practisers also have of late dealt with one Stephen de Ibarra in the Low Countries, that if the King of Spain will yield to give the King of Scots aid to restore his realm to the obedience of Rome they would procure the delivery of the Prince of Scotland to the hands of the King of Spain to remain as a pledge for the King. These lewd men also have reported that the King of Scots doubted greatly that the Queen of England would persuade the French King, naming him in their derision the Prince of Berne, either to divorce or to kill his wife and to marry himself with the Lady Arbell to bring him to the succession of England. This Ogleby is also now lately appointed to repair into Spain and yet before his journey thither he went to Naples. The said Cecill, the English fugitive, also hath been in Spain with the King there and hath assured him of the intention of the King of Scots to favour the Catholic Earls that are abroad and delivered unto him in secret manner the number of such in Scotland as do promise to yield to follow the King of Spain's direction, when he shall send his forces into Scotland ; and so bold have been these practisers in their informations as they have set down the places fit for the King of Spain's navy to land in Scotland, naming the Firth (Frithe) going to Stirling and there to fortify certain islands, which they require to be speedily done because they said that the Queen of England had demanded these places of the King of Scots which he refused *presently* although he yielded that the Queen of England should have them when any strange nation should land in Scotland. And this navy they would have come from Flanders and yet they require to have another navy to come from Spain and to land in the West of Scotland.

These and such like forged devices they offer both to the King of Spain and to the Pope, and so far they have proceeded herein as they have

James VI.

1596. persuaded the Duke of Sessa, the Spanish Ambassador at Rome, to recommend to the King of Spain all their motions and requests and to give them credit as persons secretly sent from the King of Scots to further these their actions, wherein how they shall further proceed her Majesty hopeth to have further knowledge, and in the meantime hath thought it very necessary to impart unto the King these particularities, though her Majesty assureth herself that they have not grown from the King himself and yet very necessary to be known lest the continuance of these practisers in their untruths by their cunning may procure the King of Spain to attempt to send some forces for the maintenance of the Earls the rebels, who are appointed and named by these practisers to be the best guides and conductors for the Spanish forces to land in Scotland.

It is meet also that the King should understand the apprehension of late of the Earl of Errol in the Low Countries, who counterfeiting himself to be a merchant and by passport come from Antwerp was taken and by good means discovered to be the Earl of Errol, though he himself of long time denied the same. But in the end the King's agent *for his merchants* in the Low Countries made great intercession to have the said Earl committed to his custody, whom it is said he useth with such favour as it is doubted he shall escape ; and hereof how the King is advertised from his agent it is not yet known.

3½ pp. *Draft in a clerk's handwriting, the words in italics in Cecil's handwriting and the last paragraph struck through. Endorsed : " The copie hereof was sent to Mr. Bowes xj^{mo} Julij 1596." **

July 13. 224. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

According to my purpose signified by my former of the 5th hereof I followed the King to Dunfermline where upon audience given me I put him in memory of my delivery of her Majesty's letter to him and of his sudden departure without answer or declaration of his mind in the weighty contents thereof, moving him to have seasonable regard to quench the flame raised on the Borders by Buccleuch and other his subjects. By his answer he excused his hasty leaving of this town without further conference with me by the clamours of the multitude of suitors oppressing and wearying him. He commended much the frame and phrases in her Majesty's letter, noting therein some sharpness uttered towards himself, namely in the words expressing that her Majesty was as evil treated by her named friend (which he interpreted to be himself) as she would be by her known foe, against which he earnestly protested an affectionate mind always reigning and a present readiness in him to give her good contentment. Promising to give "indelate" order to his officers of the Borders to stay the troubles there daily increasing, he defended and approved the Act of Council made by himself and the late Convention touching redress demanded for Buccleuch's fact at Carlisle and, after many arguments interchanged therein with fair pretence to be careful to please her Majesty herein, he resolved both within 2 or 3 days to write to her in answer of her letter and also to frame and send his "duply" or rejoinder to the

* The draft was apparently prepared for submission to Queen Elizabeth and the letter perhaps sent by her to Bowes.

James VI.

1596.

reply made by the Lords and others of her Council to their Act of Council mentioned.

For the accomplishment of these effects promised he directed his Council to frame the "duply" and himself drew up and perfected the letter to her Majesty, sending the same to me to be conveyed to Mr. David Foulis (Fowles) that he might deliver it to her. But because he misliked the draft of the "duplye" made by the Council and desired that his letter and the "duply" to the Council should be sent together he called for redelivery of his letter, letting me know that he would with all expedition return me his letter together with the "duply," as before he had promised. By these occasions I have been drawn to defer thus far beyond my purpose the advertisement of my proceedings in these behalfs since my last to your lordship. Being uncertain of the speedy receipt of these letters thus promised I have thought it my duty without farther delay to certify you the effects past and before expressed and such letters or instruments as herein shall be commended by the King to me I shall give the speediest convoy I can.

In the meantime I have largely debated the cause touching Buccleuch as well by the King as also severally with most of the Council, and also with others of quality and well affected, that they might understand the equity of her Majesty's demand and the evident reasons binding the King and Estate in justice to give her Majesty due redress. I have declared that the fact of Lord Scrope for taking and detaining Kinmont was left to ordinary trial agreeable to the treaties and before the act done by Buccleuch and is justifiable by the laws of the Marches, wherein the King and parties may orderly proceed and shall be answered with all justice; so as that matter ought not to be coupled with Buccleuch's outrage either in course of trial or yet in law of justification. Next that I have for her Majesty exhibited bill against Buccleuch for his attempt at Carlisle; whereupon he has personally appeared, answered and confessed his fact punishable by the treaty 24 Dec. 1593, as thereby he has both filed himself and brought the matter to the King's sentence; which sentence or judgment ought to be pronounced without delay by the King and the offender delivered in execution of the judgment. To those it is alleged that Lord Scrope's fact was open and manifest and cannot be justified; that Lord Scrope's wrong provoked Buccleuch to attempt that action, which fact is not personally confessed by Buccleuch but only expressed in the Act of Council by way of narration of his fact objected against him, as here is ordinarily used and cannot in this case (as they say) prejudice Buccleuch the party; and that it was lawful as well to Kinmont to work his own escape as to others to aid him therein. Upon this point many still stand and upon the same the rejoinder to be sent shall I think be most grounded.

The whole Estate here appears to me to be firmly bent against the delivery of Buccleuch before further trial of him and his fact and of Lord Scrope's taking and detaining of Kinmont. Some of the Council persuaded the King to commit Buccleuch to ward to be there further tried and in readiness to be chastised or freed as his cause required; and that the King should entreat her Majesty to try likewise the cause of Lord Scrope. But the means to effect this advice are much prevented. For Buccleuch has given caution by the laird of Balwery to be answerable and is departed

James VI.

1596.

not like to return hither very hastily. In the meantime the Borders are disordered as by the officers thereof it is (I trust) advertised to your lordship. Therefore I pray some particular direction for my course and further proceeding to procure such especial redress in this case for Buccleuch and to pacify the Borders as shall best stand with her Majesty's contentment.

It was resolved that the officers and some other especial persons on the Borders should be called hither and upon their appearance to have been kept in ward until they had given assurance for the good execution of their offices, as before I have declared to you. Whereupon none of them appeared, save only Buccleuch and Johnstone, and, albeit it was earnestly persuaded that these two should be committed according to the order, by the means of the Master of Glamis and other friends to Buccleuch it was accorded that they should not be stayed in regard that the other charged were absent, and all the same parties are again summoned to be here on the 15th hereof, which summons is like to be obeyed as the former was.

Some letters sent by the Duke of Sessa, Ambassador at Rome for the King of Spain, were intercepted on the seas near unto Marseilles and being presented to the French King he sent copies thereof to the King of Scotland at the request and by the means of Colonel Murray, then with the French King at Abbeville. Albeit that these may peradventure have been brought to your lordship's sight before this time, I have thought good to send them to you to be censured and disposed as you think best.

Young Cessford having challenged Buccleuch to single combat (as I hear) showed himself openly in the streets of Edinburgh with a small number, as it is looked that at their meeting (which I do not expect to be hastily) they shall attempt the revenge of their quarrels.

Captain Hamilton's hasty coming from the French King through England to this Court and to the King has raised some suspicion in the good progress of the causes in France and some bruits against the wished success of her Majesty's navy and army. All which are gathered (I think) rather by his haste to the Court than upon any matter seen of truth.

Colonel Stewart shall be the King's lieutenant in the Isles to be especially assisted by MacLean, MacKenzie and MacIntosh. Donald Gorsme continues here and is entered into composition with the Council for continuance in the possession of his lands in the Isles, where this Council trusts to raise great profit to the King with general obedience of the inhabitants. I attend advertisement from Ireland and of the proceedings of Tyrone and O'Donnell with these islanders and Highlands men of Scotland, wherein I wish more sound minds to be manifested than by many here is looked for. Edinburgh, 13 July 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

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

First enclosure with the preceding letter.

(The Duke of Sessa to the King of Spain.)

I have advertised your Majesty before that the 22nd ultimo I received the letter of the 26 of [blank], in which you informed me how I should proceed with the gentleman of the *contra so'no* [*in margin in hand of*

James VI.

1596.

Bowes's clerk: or contractor with Stephen] of Stephen de Ybaria, the which I received a day before your Majesty's letter arrived, and the third of this present Father Cecil [Cecilio] delivered your letters of the 17 of [blank] in his recommendation and the dispatch, to which in your said letter you remit me, as not come otherwise in my hands. Because Cecil was many days sick he showed me that he was thereby stayed long time to come to visit me. He brought with him two Scots gentlemen, Don Baltazar and Don Ugo, who two days since are arrived here having embarked at Barcelona in a galley. They brought me no letters but said they had burnt all the letters they had from your Majesty, because it behoved them to approach the coast of France, which could not be without danger in case they had been discovered and known, and that their purpose is not [to] treat any matter here with his Holiness but only to visit the kirks, to kiss his Holiness's feet, and to pass "syne" to Loreto and from thence to Flanders conform to your Majesty's directions, and have desired a letter from me to the Archduke. I did what I could to pleasure them and gave them good words as Father Cecil had counselled me.

The gentleman of the *Contrassion* [*sic*, ? *contra so'no (ut supra)*] is called John Ogilvy (Oglewy), baron of Powrie, a man so far as I can perceive of good rank and one that followed the faction of the politics as I have collected, having conferred with him divers times, who, albeit he be young, yet appeared to me to be a person of good judgment and ingenious, and hitherto meet to do his turn that sent him as appears, and secret in such matters as he has communicated to me. Other things he has hid from me and conferred with Father Cecil, to whom he brought some letters from the Scots Catholic lords, who advertised me thereof. The foresaid baron showed me always that he dealt circumspectly with the said Cecil and that he discovered nothing to him of what he treated with me. He came to me only by night, albeit I procured and desired that Cecil, who was commonly in his company, would bring him with him some day to visit me and made me not to perceive the same. But on the other part Cecil always discovered to me that (which as I trow) plainly was conferred betwixt them.

The principal purpose which he had with me and Cecil and principal points of his negotiation, which he has discovered hitherto to me, is that his King has sent him to procure such help as he may obtain from his Holiness, the great men and potentates in Italy as well to defend him from his rebel vassals as to assist to the succession of the crown of England, giving to understand that his desire is to be instructed and to be reduced to the religion Catholic and to obedience of his holy seat. But, because the most part of his rebels are catholics and desirous to inbring and possess your Majesty in that kingdom and in the kingdom of England, he is forced to temporise and dissemble with the heretics and politics to defend himself against such a potent adversary as is your Majesty, who under pretence of favouring the catholics presses to make yourself master of both the kingdoms, which neither would be expedient for his Holiness nor the other princes of Italy. Therefore his King looked for some succour of them as might assure his estate, and in case he found not the same in Italy, which he "lippned" unto, he was resolved to put himself in your Majesty's protection and to treat for some agreement which might be to the weal of both the parties. He said that he had given him such commission and

James VI.

1596.

that his opinion of his King was that he had no other religion than that which was "teched" to him, and that in effect he was politic. He confessed to me that in Flanders he had dealt with Malnasia touching these said matters and that he perceived him little affectionate to the affairs of Spain, and showed me some things thereof that he had recounted to him.

He confessed also that he had passed by Venice and had treated with some of the deputies, who spake some things unto him that he was not content with them, of whom he had received general words without substance tending rather to impeach and hinder your Majesty's greatness than to any other effect. The like he has perceived of the rest of the Italians with whom he has spoken and in particular of the Cardinal Aldebrandino, of whom he marvelled "mickle" that he had discovered himself so much in that part, and said that he received great courtesy by the mean of Malnasia, who caused him kiss his Holiness's feet, who remitted him to his nephew.

I have discovered two things by another way, that before he came hither he passed by Florence and was with the Duke, and this one of his company confessed to Father Cecil, and that he had treated divers times with the Cardinal of Toledo as his Holiness had appointed, and this he showed to Cecil. I assured him that he would find little satisfaction in Italy, because I perceived that they treated him with only words without deeds or money, which is the thing that he looked for. He has under great protestation communicated to me much of all that he handled with Stephen de Ibaria anent the delivery of the Prince of Scotland with certain places to your Majesty, conform to that which your Majesty has already understood and is noted in your letter. And last he concluded that he desired to be employed in your service and to have an entertainment of 100 crowns by month, which the Count of Fuentes and Stephen de Yberia promised him in Milan, and thereafter offers to serve your Majesty as long as he lives.

I have at all times given him good audience and have shown that I am very well content to perceive his zeal and goodwill towards the Catholic religion and your Majesty's service, assuring him that it shall not be sown in barren ground what he shall do for your service, and offered him my help in all that I might, signifying that I would be thankful for the confidence he had in me. I declared to him that your Majesty's intention is to conserve and advance the religion Catholic and to exterminate heretics in all parts, and not such as the suspicious Italians imagine your meaning to tend to make yourself monarch of the whole world; that he might assure himself that so being that the King of Scotland favour the Catholics and conform himself to the true religion that he needs not to fear your Majesty but rather may look for his protection, help and correspondency; and farther showed that I knew not your Majesty to have been offended with his King but only with the Queen of England, who meant no other thing but to oppress the King of Scotland and keep him in subjection, and to the effect that he address not himself to your Majesty casts in such fears and suspicions, entertains mistrust betwixt him and his catholic vassals and causes him to join with the heretics and politics. I showed him that here in Italy I

James VI.
1596.

doubted not but he might have the proof hereof and that he would find no other thing but words and discourses and little or no money, and that the princes in this country had ado therewith themselves. As for the particulars which he showed me to have treated with Stephen de Yberia I declared that I knew nothing of your Majesty's meaning anent any delivery of the Prince of Scotland, or of any places or fortalices of the said country into your hands, and that it did not belong to me to meddle in that matter but rather [I] believed that your intention is as I have said. Since, I have understood by Father Cecil that he has persuaded himself that your intention is far different from that which the Italians described, and Cecil believes that he speaking with the Pope and his nephew and in his letters to his King has declared his meaning to be conform to the foresaid persuasion and thinks that he has discovered no little matter. Father Tyrie, one of the assistants of the general of the Company, who has spoken always ill of your Majesty's actions, ascribing the same to proceed of a covert ambition, now (as Cecil says) speaks far otherwise of you, which makes me suspect that the said Scots baron has diverted him from his former opinion. Amongst other things which the foresaid showed me of Malnasia was that he inquired many things of him, what he understood of your Majesty anent the affairs of England and of his King's disposition and affection towards the Catholics and Catholic religion, and of the friendship and concurrency which the King of Scots has with the princes, his cousins of his mother's side, and what help he may look for at their hands; item, if the Queen of England is desirous that the Pope excommunicate the King of Scotland as she is excommunicated herself, and if your Majesty has desired and procured the same, and for what cause; and if the said Queen procures to abstract and withdraw the King of Scots from your friendship and by what means and diligence she uses to disjoin and keep disjoined the King and the Catholics of Scotland; and that Malnasia showed himself very desirous to be informed of all the foresaid that he might advertise his Holiness thereof. Albeit the said Scottishmen [*sic*] showed me only the common discourses which he had with Malnasia, Father Cecil suspects that he communicated to him all that passed betwixt him and Stephen de Ybaria and that he also declared to him that his King suspected not a little the Queen of England as who did treat with the Bearnois either to repudiate or stay [*sic* ? slay] his wife that he might marry Arbella and so to introduce and bring him to the succession of England; and that if she find herself "straited" by your Majesty that she is resolved to send to Rome and feign herself catholic, and that she has left certain communication betwixt Stephen de Ybaria and an agent of the King of Scotland who is in Zeeland. Of the which and other like discourses may be gathered that this man comes hither furnished with inventions and cunning, which Father Cecil and I having considered we thought it good to procure his departing from this Court. Because he had shown us that the King his master had ordained him, if he obtain not his desire in Italy, to address him towards your Majesty, we loved this his purpose, thinking that thereby he should not only be withdrawn from his negotiation in Italy but also by the opinion of Father Cecil he might be very aptly employed to reconcile the King of Scotland with his Catholics. It will come well for the purpose for your Majesty to send succours to the

James VI.

1596.

foresaid, and this way will have a better colour before his Holiness and all others, seeing the King's cause and that of the Catholics is to be handled conjointly. The said Scottishman having conferred with Cecil anent his passage to Spain said to him that he had yet many secrets which he desired not to reveal till he were come there and requested him to go with him. Cecil hopes that by offer of rewards and good deeds he may easily be corrupted and some good service may be had of him, for he is a man ingenious and of quality; otherwise that he should be well entertained and sent away to the effect that he do no "skaith." I declared myself to be of the same opinion and Cecil brought him that he might declare to me his intention to pass to Spain if I thought good. I loved his intention and in the meantime attending his dispatch from hence Cecil showed me that he desired to go and see Naples, whereof I was content and desired to have him withdrawn from hence. Understanding him to lack money and that he thought shame to seek any, I thought good to present him with a golden chain weighing 230 crowns, with which he was very well content and agreed to return here again secretly. He and Cecil agreed to [de]part together towards Genoa and thence to Spain.

Albeit Father Cecil by word and writ has declared to me the negotiations which he had with your Majesty touching the affairs of Scotland and your intention to succour the Catholics both those discovered and those secret and hid, and with great instance would have persuaded me to communicate the same with the Pope and make his Holiness account of your proceedings, I have delayed, alleging it to be more convenient to attend upon your Majesty's dispatch which was not yet come, and I procured in the meantime to direct [*sic*, ? divert] him from the purpose which he had to pass to Flanders, showing that he should do well to return towards Spain and not leave the company of this Scottish gentleman, out of whom he might draw some secrets by the way and report the same to his Majesty. Because of the good opinion and confidence he has of him that he might be a meet instrument to persuade him to that which is most expedient I have made him agree thereto. But he takes in very evil part your Majesty's longsome dispatching and marvelled much that John de Idiaquez said to him that he wist not yet what to write with the Scots gentleman [*sic*] who came there before him and having remained divers months were to pass to Flanders towards the Scots Lords who had sent them, saying that such delays might mar their business and "garr" them dispair of a good success. Yet some comfort he has received by the letter which Father Crisielo had written touching your Majesty's resolution to have care of the said matters and has shown the letter to the said gent[lemen] who pass to Flanders, thereby to keep them in a good hope of a short answer. Seeing the galleys that are to be conducted by Don Pedro de Medicis may not stay long, within which galleys without doubt for greater security the said dispatch is to be sent, they are so earnest and desirous to part that it may be suspected that they shall part not without suspicion of their enviers because of the small agreement that is amongst them of that nation, who are not like to be long in concord together, with the information which he has given me to speak with his Holiness to the effect that they may [be] dispatched. We have both agreed not to discover to the Pope the particular and secret matters, neither yet the havens nor mean and way

James VI.

1596.

how the enterprise may be effectuated, but only the obligation of sending succours to the said Catholics which they seek of your Majesty for such a good end, which is the defence of the Catholic religion in that realm and the procuring of liberty to the King from the Queen of England and the heretics' oppression, in which they hold him ; and that your Majesty as a just prince would not omit to give account of his proceedings herein to his Holiness and request his help in such a holy cause with his apostolic authority and such temporal forces as he might spare ; albeit in this second point we may not ground ourselves "mekell," his Holiness being so entangled with the affairs of Polonia and Hungary and not well furnished with money, and to move him in the affairs of Castile has little appearance if he sees not his enemies in Italy. Where your Majesty advertised me in your letter of the 26th that I should make his Holiness understand all to be but "bourdes" and untruth that was spoken of the King of Scots' conversion, who should have been persuaded thereto by the Queen of England, I shall be careful to do my duty therein and to see if the same might be done with fruit and not to give occasion to his Holiness of greater suspicion, who is very desirous that all men should approve the absolution given to the Bearnois, which is a case of like nature. I suspect that he shall allow of it and whatsoever he say, yet he thinks the same which Pope Sixto said of the Spaniards that it could not be denied that they were Catholics but that they did not wish that there were any other Christians in the world but themselves. This he said at divers times and also when he went in procession and gave thanks to God for the conversion of the Marquess of Badan. And at this day I see more introduced in this Court than convenes to the weal of Christianity, and namely an opinion of the principal heretic who is to bring them to the curing of them and not to cut them off. Rome, 30 February. The Duke of Sessa.

5 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk from a Scottish translation. Endorsed* : "Copie of the Amb. of Spaines letter from Rome to the Kinge his master, intercepted in Flanders and sent to his Matie, 5^o Julij 1596," and in *Burghley's hand* : "Sent from Scotland by Mr. Bowes."

Second enclosure with the same.

(The Duke of Sessa to the King of Spain.)

Since I wrote my other letter which I sent with these presents touching the matters of Scotland I have taken occasion to speak with the Cardinal Gaetano in this matter, who has told me that Father Tyrie has "deliberate" not to be farther deceived by the chimæras which he had in his head of the religion of his King and that he sees that all is but invention and deception, and to confirm him the more in this truth I thought it good to let him understand that which your Majesty has written to me and offered to persuade his Holiness the tenor thereof : [to] wit your Majesty is willing to succour the Catholics, and therewith it shall appear whether the foresaid King shall favour your Majesty's part, shall reject the heretics and join with your Majesty or not, and that no ways it is conveni[ent] to suffer the religion to fall in that kingdom. I showed the inconvenients that may follow if his Holiness bestowed any good on Don Baltazar for the Earl of Huntly and others, but that he should give him

James VI.

1596.

letters and words and remit him to Flanders, and that he should have him conjointly concur with your Majesty with his spiritual favour, seeing that with his temporal assistance he may not. He remained content with this opinion which also he counselled to do. In the last audience his Holiness showed himself conform thereto and promised me to give no dispatch to Baltazar. He said to me that your Majesty should do well to run with the said Catholics and not to "tyne" time and showed that he perceived himself to be deceived by them who would have persuaded him otherwise anent the King of Scots' intention and of them which were sent in his name, and said that he knew him to be oppressed by the Queen of England and her favourers. Because I said to him that your Majesty's dispatch was not come he sent Father Cecil (Cecillio) to say unto me that we needed not presently to make "mickle" ado in this matter, in the which he hoped to conform himself with his Majesty, presupposing always that, in case the King of Scotland would really profess the Catholic religion and put him in the hands of his Catholic subjects, your Majesty should not attempt to dispossess him of his kingdom.

The Count Oliver has written me the 27th ultimo that John Cecil and John Ogilvy (Oglewy) are embarked toward Genoa in company of Captain John Delacarca and that he had given every one of them 100 ducats of expenses in their voyage. Rome 5 March 1596. The Duke of Sessa.

(A letter of the Duke of Sessa to Don John de Idiaquez.)

Not finding beside me at this time any letters of yours that require answer, having diverse subjects touching the affairs of his Majesty to write to you, that which gives me most ado is touching the affairs of Scotland. Lacking altogether the light of his Majesty's will and having perceived these Scottishmen which are come out of Spain of so different opinions and not agreeing amongst themselves, albeit outwardly they showed themselves friends, and so not knowing which of them to credit most, I have thought good to hear them all and to advertise his Majesty particularly of that which I could understand; which I could not write in few words and far less would trouble you who know them better and can far better try the truth. Howbeit, I am persuaded that none of them deals entirely and I suspect that his Holiness will deal with us warily and little appearance that he will make any succours in money. Believe me that if his Majesty were resolved to send an army in Scotland at his own hand that the deed and exploit done would be accepted in Rome in better part nor discourses and advices of that which men pretend to do. In the which they find aye something to fear and hinder the execution. So far as I understand this may be holden for a general rule, and experience declares the same, that this Court troubles itself far less with that which is done nor with that which is to be done. And in that which is to be done his Majesty may lay his "compt" with God and the verity, and needs not to be curious to have his intentions approved here, seeing they are here always holden for suspect and his actions, if they prosper, are esteemed and loved, which all proceeds of envy which they bear to his Majesty's greatness. Rome, 21 Feb.

Roger Bean has given me advice which goes with this letter. I hold him for an honourable man and sure in his Majesty's service, albeit I see

James VI.

1596. great patrons amongst the Englishmen and I suspect that George Talbott shall not rest so content with the Pope as men think.

Here follow some advertisements made by Baltazar or Walter Lindsay to the Duke of Sessa to be directed to his Majesty.

That he has understood that peradventure his Holiness will send secretly into Scotland one of the agents that treat here the affairs of 200^r (?).

Item, that the King of Scotland has sent not only to this Court but also to France (whereof he has but little hope), also towards the rebellious Estates of Flanders, to the King of Denmark and to some of the great men of Italy for to try and know what succours they may give him ; and that William Keith, gentleman of his Chamber, is presently in Venice for the said effect.

Item, that the Queen of England has promised him help and succours of money, ships and other furniture for the wars ; and of new has made him hope an assurance to succeed to the crown of England.

Item, that the baron John Ogilvy who presently passes towards Spain is sent by the King of Scotland with knowledge of the Queen of England but has discovered himself to no man so much as to Father Tyrie, assistant of the company.

Item, in his opinion it will be best and will import most to his Majesty that he make him sure of the arm of the sea called the Forth, whose principal head begins at St. Andrews and proceeds towards Stirling, and the army needs not to land till they come to the said head of St. Andrews and may ascend by the channel of the said firth and fortify the islands which are in the midst thereof with the town of Leith and keep the bay or bosom of St. Margarets.

Item, it is expedient that this be done so soon as possible because the Queen of England has desired the said places from the King of Scotland. And albeit he inclines to grant them, his Council refuses, promising to deliver the same to her so soon as any strangers shall land in Scotland. The Englishmen have an eye towards the said Forth esteeming the same to be the key of Scotland.

Item, I remember that he said it should be very necessary and profitable to send thither some galleys.

He says that they will have ado to come from Flanders and therefore, if an army come only forth of Spain, that it is both nearer and more to purpose to land in the west parts, in the which he conforms himself to the opinion of the rest.

I have notwithstanding perceived by his dealing with John Cecil that he should have some secret and particular instructions to treat and communicate with his Holiness by some secret mean, of the which he desires not his Majesty to be made participant, and are confirmed by the Earls of Angus, Errol and some politic Scotsmen that have their handling in this Court and are in suspicion, and contains [*sic*] these three heads following :—

The first that his Holiness should in no manner of ways excommunicate the King of Scotland but only should “ boste ” him therewith by some secret messenger.

James VI.
1596.

Secondly, that no prejudice should be made to him anent the right which he pretends to the succession of England.

Thirdly, that if peradventure an army be sent from Spain to the said island that it be not with intention of "conquishing" of the same, and concluded that it appeared to him very expedient that the foresaid Cecil should return towards Spain, as well to the effect he may be withdrawn from hence as that because Don John de Idiaquez has him gripped by the pulse and knows how to deal with him for the weal of the cause.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk from a Scottish translation.*
Endorsed: "Copie of the Spanish Ambassador's letters at Rome, intercepted 1596; and the K. of Spaines interpryse against Scotland."

July 14. **225. JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

I perceive the King thinks it strange that her Majesty has now twice refused this year's gratuity and also takes it unkindly that for any particular cause of any subject's act, himself never giving occasion of offence, she should any ways in word or deed alter her accustomed love and favours towards him. I perceive it breeds great doubts in the minds of the best sort in Scotland and moves others to use their brains rather to maintain the matter than to mend it. For as I said in my last letter to your Honour this matter of refusal will hurt none but the King and his two servants, Thomas Foulis (Fouels) and Robert Jowsey (Jousse), who are the chief furnishers of the King and Queen. For all other the King's affairs will be got done both for his house and the Queen's by the lords of the Exchequer, for matters there are not as they have been and therefore this course will not work the like effects that in times past it would have done. But in these things I perceive her Majesty and your Honour will be better advertised by Mr. Foulis shortly. I find the gentleman much perplexed with fear to offend and doubt of the sequel, of which I am not void myself, knowing their humours and inclination in Scotland that will have some part to play in these matters either directly or indirectly. 14 July 1596.

I was desired to write the premises to you and they were seen by Mr. Foulis but of my faith I write but the truth, for, though the King of himself be the very best amongst them and very loth to offend her Majesty or to have any unkindness arising, yet there is devilish people amongst them that are so bent that, though they know the worst in the end will be their own (if things come to the worst), to satisfy their malicious minds would willingly push all to the uttermost, hoping if it were once begun it would be easy to draw in foreign help. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

There is a letter come from the King to Mr. Foulis, as I think unknown to Mr. Bowes, which I have seen but might not require the copy for suspicion, that the King declares that his marvel is not little that her Majesty denies his annuity, alleging that it being so agreed upon by her Majesty and Council it should be paid without question and promised under her hand, and that which is allowed him for his right to the Earl of Lennox's lands should be stayed for an act of his servant's (so he terms him). He mentions his refusal of all foreign offers made to him and names the cause and time of the offers, to wit, his mother's death and his friendly behaviour in the '88 year, with his offer to give up friendship with Spain for her

James VI.

1596. Majesty's sake and his offer of his own person to be her lieutenant, all which I think he will show by the letter itself either to her Majesty or your Honour or both.

In this I humbly beseech your Honour I may not be touched nor that any knowledge may be taken of her Majesty's fore-knowledge of the contents of the King's letter, neither that you will take any knowledge of it. For as I wrote I think Mr. Bowes knew not of it and to say the truth I think none but the King and Mr. John Lindsay his secretary knew of it, who is a subtle "satorik" man and brother to Sir Walter Lindsay, the Spanish knight. I must keep even with this man Foulis if I will do any good service to her Majesty, for he had like to have broken my credit with the King after his voyage here when he came to her Majesty at Theobalds if I had not made some new acquaintances both here and in Scotland and given the King also satisfaction, for I was friendly dealt with by them all even to their worst in every point and specially for the delivery of her Majesty's pleasure to Mr. Edward Bruce, which you gave me command to do with her Majesty's letter, which you also made me repeat to you after you had delivered it to me. But now I am in better estate with the King and all that sort than ever I was but my own estate nothing bettered thereby.

I fear greatly that some mischief will ensue upon the Borders for many on both sides would be doing to revenge their private grudges and some to get by others' loss and some to fill their purses with the emptying of her Majesty's coffers if they could bring it to that point, as it will appear shortly when the nights wax long and dark if some good remedy do not prevent it.

Some of them have "brayd" that though this withholding of the annuity tends to break the King's servant's credit here and so to stain the King's honour that if the worst fall out yet it shall be seen that the King shall have a due regard of his honour. It is also in the King's letter that Foulis shall crave her Majesty's and her Council's full resolution and so return with speed.*

2 pp. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 14. 226. [SIR ROBERT CECIL] TO LORD SCROPE.

Vol. lii, p. 128.

By reason of a letter written from your lordship to my Lord Chamberlain, wherewith my Lords of the Council have been acquainted, I am commanded to write these few lines unto you, to which it is very convenient that you return present answer for their satisfaction, if so it please you. These Graymes as you know have long been stayed upon suspicion of that foul outrage committed at Carlisle. Your lordship sent up accusations against them for many foul general crimes and divers particular arguments for the matter of Carlisle, for both which being convented before the Council they have offered to sue for no favour of life if any of those things for Carlisle can be proved. Whereupon, my Lords having sent unto you for proof of that point and staying them from going to any common prison

* The concluding paragraph is written in the margin and is possibly intended to follow the first paragraph after Hudson's signature, although it is not so indicated in the manuscript.

James VI.

1596.

until they had heard from you, it has pleased you now only to send up three or four indictments of robberies and murders, whereof most of them were done in 26^{to}. And yet (which is to us most strange) you seem by your writing to suspect that the Graymes are friended and that you doubt how any man may be protected that shall come up to accuse them, or whether, if they be found guilty they shall be severely punished or no ; a doubt surely, my Lord, which the Lords think you need not make. Therefore we require you to send up what you have with all speed to the intent they may not be kept thus *entre deux* but either punished for that fact or else further dealt withal for their good bearing in regard they are known bad fellows ; though to proceed with them here for these things being within compass of a justice of assize's authority would seem something strange, being sent for such and so great another matter. Now, my Lord, it shall behove you to write up something with as much expedition as you may and to exclude all such vain thoughts as that any man here esteems the body of a Grayme so much as the least paring of your nail. But if we should commit them to a common gaol uncondemned it would be prejudicial to her Majesty's honour. More I have not at this time worthy your trouble and therefore I commit you to God, hoping that you who do thus know the particularities of our answers will be better satisfied than my Lady your wife who will admit no reason but that the Graymes must needs go to Newgate, from which they will be very far if your last informations can be justified, for rather than they should be uncarried I would help to carry them myself to be hanged where the fact was committed. From the Court at Greenwich, 14 July 1596.

Postscript.—Be not carried with passion or reports in this matter but believe that both for your own sake, your wife's and the cause sake nothing is omitted or shall be that may be for your honour, but things must be done in justice and not in confusion, for if we send for them from Carlisle and proceed against them for other crimes it will be very improper.

1½ pp. *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed :* "A copy of my Master's letter to the L. Scroope."

July 16. 227. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I thank you for your kindly advertisement and shall conform myself to her Majesty's pleasure therein and look for knowledge thereof of you in the "owne" time. London, Friday, 16 July 1596. *Signed :* D. Foulis.

½ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 18. 228. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

By my former letters (chiefly of the 5th and 13th hereof) I have advertised you of the deliveries of her Majesty's letter to the King and reply of the Lords and others of her Council to the act of the late Convention of the Estates at Holyroodhouse touching the redress for the outrage of Buccleuch at Carlisle, and also of all my proceedings and success then passed upon the deliveries of the letter and reply mentioned and in the pursuit for redress demanded. Wherein albeit I have earnestly persuaded that the King's letter and answer to her Majesty and the "duply "

James VI.
1596.

or rejoinder to the reply delivered might be plain and certain for the seasonable end of that cause for Buccleuch, yet they are now made in form and to the effects appearing in the same rejoinder which the King sent yesternight to me with a packet addressed to Mr. David Foulis containing amongst others his letter to her Majesty to be presented by Mr. David, which packet I send herewith that it may please you to command delivery as shall be meet. The rejoinder I send enclosed with my letter to the Council, trusting that by your good means all the circumstances before certified by my letters to you are communicated to their lordships for their satisfactions and my own excuse.

The King outwardly appears still desirous to yield to her Majesty's contentment in Buccleuch's case and to be determined to prevent occasions of breach of the Borders or breach of the amity betwixt these two realms, as partly by his letter to her Majesty he has (I think) signified. Some of the Council pretend great care and readiness to devise some equal overture to be presented to her Majesty as may with mutual honours and satisfactions of her and the King be received and put this matter to peaceable end. In which behalf and with other errands the Lord Treasurer is employed and rode to the King to Dunfermline on Friday last. But I find little effect hitherto proceeded therein, neither is the Lord Treasurer as yet returned hither. Many of the nobility and Council are precise to draw Buccleuch's fact to the hearing and determination of commissioners. The King is much pressed to please the appetites of the multitude persuading the trial of this matter by commissioners. The present troubles on the Borders so increase and stir the passions of this multitude and the busy sort as they lie in wait (as I am informed) to take the advantage of these occasions arising and to bar the motions for fit overtures and course to be advised for the peaceable conclusion of Buccleuch's matter by any order other than the commissioners, from which course I still fly in regard that her Majesty by her letter to the King has so directly declared her pleasure against the same. Therefore I pray (according to my former) particular directions for my further proceedings and to procure such especial redress in this case or to follow such course therein as shall be prescribed to me and shall stand best with her Majesty's pleasure.

Mr. David Foulis shall be revoked as it is intended in case the King's letter to her Majesty shall not receive good acceptation and effect the King's desires.

The Lord Herries is at Court. Sir Robert Kerr and Johnstone are here in Edinburgh. The rest of the Borderers charged to have been here on the 15th hereof are not come, so as small hope remains that any timely provision and order shall be taken (as was promised) to quench the present fire kindling on the Borders, which without undelayed remedy shall (I think) burst forth into greater and dangerous flame, as by the advertisement of the officers of the Marches it will I trust be made known.

The Earl of Argyll is not pleased as I hear that the office of the Lieutenant of the Isles should be committed to Colonel Stewart or any other than himself in respect that his ancestors have long enjoyed that office. Some other matters have passed to his offence and prejudice in

James VI.

1596. the favour of Ardkinglass whom he lately pursued for the murder of the laird of Calder, whereby Argyll is retired living at home with little contentment.

Dunipace at the Queen's request has received favourable access to the King's presence far against the expectation of the Earl of Mar and otherwise than the King had once put Mar in hope of. Mar (gone to the Bray of Mar) is advertised of this change since his departure, wherewith he will be (it is thought) much grieved.

The Conservator at Camphere for the Scots nation has sent the King here the letter of the Estates desiring to know his pleasure and order for dismission of the Earl of Errol now with the Conservator, wherein many well affected much fear that the Earl's return home with pretence of submission shall hastily kindle the fire of dangerous troubles and the rather because it is confidently informed to some persons of quality that the Earl of Huntly and Sir Walter Lindsay are already returned and secretly lurking in Scotland.

The ministers here have begun to make public prayers for the prosperous success of her Majesty's navy and army and many of the well affected use the like in their common prayers in their houses, inquiring daily of me of the progress of this navy employed (as they think) to the general benefit of God's church in all Christendom. Edinburgh, 18 July 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After the closing up hereof, understanding of the Lord Treasurer's return with the D[uke], the Earl of Orkney and Lord Herries from the King at Dunfermline and learning the matters following, I have opened these presents and thought it my duty to certify your lordship that it is concluded by the King and them that a general form of caution shall be taken of all the Borderers appearing at this time without exception and specially that Buccleuch and Cessford's cautionary shall comprehend their discharge of this form of combat as a thing against the King's peace and Acts of Parliament.

It is remitted to the Council to make choice of such a person to be officer and warden of the West Border as shall be thought most meet and shall offer to accept the same with least charge to the King. Buccleuch and Johnstone are named but Buccleuch cannot now be chosen by reason of his particular with my Lord Scrope, which will be his hindrance. Johnstone has made offer that in case the King will burden him with that office he will accept it after this form of cautionary shall be found by my Lord Herries for such of his and my Lord Maxwell's people as he will answer for either in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh or Dumfries or before the King's Council at Edinburgh. And for such as the Lord Herries will not answer for Johnstone offers to make them answerable to justice or to give his own head. Whereon it is like he shall be chosen warden shortly, for the Lord Herries has absolutely refused to take that office in hand.

The King's Ambassadors for Denmark are not to set forward before the first of the next. The King goes this day or to-morrow to Falkland, there to remain some time.

2½ pp. *In Nicolson's handwriting, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk and in Burghley's hand*: "With the King's reply."

James VI.

1596.

July 18

229. ROBERT BOWES TO THE QUEEN'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

Upon receipt of your lordships' letter of 13 June last to me with your act or reply to the answer or act of the King and Convention at Holyroodhouse, 28 May last, and touching the redress demanded for the late outrage done by Buccleuch at Carlisle castle, I delivered with diligence to the King your act or reply mentioned, as by my letters of 28 June last I certified the Lord Treasurer, whom also by my several letters I have advertised of my proceedings and success in the pursuit of that redress agreeable to her Majesty's letter to the King and your directions to me.

After this long delay and change of sundry drafts made for return of the rejoinder to your reply the King sent yesterday to me both his "duply" or rejoinder enclosed and framed in form and substance appearing, and also a packet to Mr. David Foulis containing with others his letter to her Majesty to be presented by Mr. David for answer to her letter and for declaration of his resolution in the cause, wherein I have divers times and earnestly moved the King and Council that their answer to be addressed severally to her Majesty and your lordships might be perfect and sufficient to draw this matter to determinate order and end agreeable to the treaties and laws of the Marches and according to the true condition of the case. Wherein Buccleuch by his confession certified by their own act (as I still urge and stand upon) has so far filed himself as thereby sentence and execution ought to proceed without further trial of the matter by commissioners. Nevertheless, such answer is now returned as by the view of their act enclosed will appear to your lordships, and in some especial part whereof (and touching the audience given to me further than I craved) I have approved my continual readiness to prove before the King, as the ordinary judge in that cause, all the circumstances of Buccleuch's fact, as I have declared in writing against him and as your lordships have noted in your act or reply mentioned, wherein the King seemed to me to have been well satisfied, as I have certified to my Lord Treasurer.

The King still appears desirous to yield to her Majesty good contentment in Buccleuch's case and to be determined to prevent the breach of the Borders or shake of the amity betwixt these two crowns, as partly by his letter to her he has (I think) signified. Some of the Council pretend great care to devise some equal overture to be presented to her Majesty as may be received and put this matter to peaceable end. But the King is so pressed to please the appetites of the multitude persuading that this matter may be tried only by commissioners and the present troubles on the Borders so increase and stir the passion of this multitude and of the busy sort as they lie in wait to take the advantage of these occasions offered and to stop the course of any overture to be moved or devised for the quiet conclusion of Buccleuch's matter by any other order than by commissioners, from which course of trial I have fled in regard that her Majesty by her letter to the King has declared her pleasure against it. Therefore I pray your lordships' directions for my further proceedings in this behalf and to procure such especial redress or follow such other course as shall be prescribed to me. Edinburgh, 18 July 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. *In Nicolson's handwriting, with address. Endorsed by Burghley's*

James VI.

1596. *clerk and in Burghley's hand*: "W^t. the Sc. K.'s reply to the answer of the Counse[1]."

July 18. **230.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD HUNSDON, CHAMBERLAIN OF HER MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD.

By my letter to the Lords and others of her Majesty's Council and the reply of the King and Council here sent by my letters to their lordships, and by my Lord Treasurer, you will understand my proceedings and success anent Buccleuch's fact at Carlisle. What a hard labour I have therein your lordship may judge and yet I cannot work neither see any appearance that this Estate shall yield unto any satisfaction to be made for that cause other than shall be agreed unto by commissioners, which this Estate would have for the ordering of that and other broken matters on the Borders; whereunto I dare give no ear in regard that her Majesty has so resolutely written to the King that she will not be pleased that Buccleuch's cause shall come to that trial. So as I cannot tell what shall ensue hereon. But the Borders are in fire and in hard case as I trust your lordship is better informed by the Wardens better knowing the estate than I. Lord Herries is with the King at Dunfermline. Cessford, Johnstone and Fernyherst are here attending such order as the King and Council shall take with them. On Friday the Lord Treasurer rode to the King but is not yet returned. By him the King's pleasure for order in those Border and other causes is to be brought. Hitherto there is nothing done therein, but as anything shall be you shall be advertised. Always the King seems very desirous to please her Majesty and preserve the peace. Yet his Estates so stand upon ending Buccleuch's fact and other causes by commissioners as he yields unto their appetites therein altogether. As I hear if Mr. Foulis shall not now satisfy her Majesty by the King's letter and other ways he shall return hither.

Colonel Stewart is made the King's Lieutenant of the Isles, whereat my Lord of Argyll is not pleased because that office appertains to himself as it did to his ancestors.

The lairds of Dunipace and young Airth have got presence of the King by the Queen's means, whereof Thomas Erskine has sent word after the Earl of Mar gone towards the Bray of Mar. Which is thought shall displease him very much because the King said to the Earl that he would do no such thing till his return.

Huntly and Sir Walter Lindsay are judged to be quietly at home. The Conservator of this nation at Camphere has sent the Estates' letter to the King desiring to know his pleasure for setting Errol at liberty. Many fear that the Earl's return will make mighty troubles here. Edinburgh, 18 July 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. *In Nicolson's handwriting, also address. Endorsed.*

July 18. **231.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Yesterday I received your last of the 10th hereof together with a note enclosed certifying the effects of letters sent by the Duke of Sessa, Ambassador at Rome for the King of Spain, and directing me to impart

James VI.
1596.

to the King the contents thereof in manner prescribed by you ; which I shall accomplish with the next opportunity. Before the receipt of your letter I had sent to my Lord your father with my letter of the 13th hereof the copies of the letters sent by the Duke of Sessa to the King of Spain and others concerning like matters specified by your last to me. The principals were intercepted on the seas near Marseilles and being brought to the French King he sent the doubles thereof at the request of Colonel Murray to the King of Scotland, who caused the same to be translated out of Spanish into Scottish. Wherein the King partly broke with me pretending to be desirous and careful to get revenge against his traitorous subjects and practisers herein. The person named Don Hugo is one Barclay (Barkley), laird of Ladylands, and not Sir James Sandilands as by your last it is supposed. Some opinions are conceived and occupy such as have got knowledge hereof, and it is looked that the discovery of the persons and practices revealed shall disclose other great mysteries and much profit the common causes in both realms in this isle. I have therefore with greater desire sought and obtained the copies which I have shown to fit persons and good instruments that they may well weigh the matters and regard the proceedings of these and other practisers.

Finding her Majesty resolute to grant no placard to the Lord Home without the recommendations of the wardens I shall refer him to the mean to effect his desire, wishing that some favourable regard may be had to the like requests of the Prior of Blantyre, Lord Treasurer, and of Mr. Peter Younge, two of the King's Council ready to do all good offices for her Majesty and worthy thereby to be well respected. Besides the King has lately and earnestly moved me to commend his request for her Majesty's placard for ten horses, wherein it may please you to direct me what answer I shall give. I have likewise written for passports to the Earls of Argyll and Crawford and Lord Sanquhar. Argyll deserves favour and his good will may haply be found fruitful, as it may be good that he should be pleased. I am urged oftentimes by these persons in these behalves, wherein I would be glad with direction to give them fittest answers and standing with her Majesty's pleasure. The want of her relief for the increase of my entertainment in the time of this extreme dearth here and for my furnishing with some small portion of plate to be speedily restored to her officers will much discountenance me in this service. Always I have found your especial and continual goodness to me therein and in all other things for my benefit. Edinburgh, 18 July 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 p. *In Nicolson's handwriting, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 20. 232. JAMES VI TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

Egerton MSS.
1818, fol. 73.

Licence to Patrick, Master of Gray, and [blank] servants with him in company to depart and pass forth from the realm of Scotland to the parts of France, Flanders, Almain, Italy or any other parts beyond sea, there to remain for doing of his lawful affairs during the space of seven years after this date. Neither he nor his servants shall be called or accused criminally or civilly or incur any crime, skaith, pain or danger there-through in their persons, lands or goods in any way, notwithstanding any

James VI.

1596.

acts, statutes, letters, proclamations or changes made or to be made to the contrary. Special protection during the time of his absence to the said Master, his wife, bairns, men, tenants, servants, lands, rooms, possessions, goods, geir and all belonging to him and discharge of the King's Justice, Justice Clerk, Treasurer, Advocate and all other judges and ministers of his laws from "intromitting" the Master or his servants, their lands, goods or geir; provided that he during his absence from the realm behave himself as a dutiful and obedient subject and attempts nothing in hurt or prejudice of the King, his realm or the religion presently professed and established within the same. "By these our letters given under our signet and subscribed with our hand at Falkland, the 20 day of July and of our reign the [blank] year, 1596." *Signed*: James R. *Counter-signed*: J. Lindesay, secretarie.

1 p. *Remains of signet within a parchment wreath. Endorsed*: "This letter presented and registered the day within written. Mr. Robert Young."

July 21. **233.** DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Having heard from Scotland of late that the King my master upon some not known causes to me has restrained his resolution to write to the Queen, thinking (as may seem) rather to use towards her a "respective" silence for the present than to give answer *in iisdem terminis*, as also having occasion to give good advertisement of the prosperous success of your army at sea, I have thought meet hereby to request you that I may have by your good means access to her Majesty for knowing of her good will in these matters concerning the King (which the more than disordered Borders crave now with diligence); as also that this packet may be subscribed by you that it may be sent with expedition. London, 21 July 1596. *Signed*: D. Foulis.

1 p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed. Seal broken.*

July 22. **234.** DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

The advertisement I have received from Scotland of the retiring of the King's letter from the hands of the Queen's Ambassador there is of the 13th instant, whereby I am not certified that his Majesty is altogether resolute not to write at all but at least not so soon, of intention perhaps (if I should presume to conjecture) to "suertine" [*sic*, ? sustain] his Majesty's answer upon the preceding settling of all things, whereunto I perceive his Majesty will most easily suffer himself to be drawn both by time as also good offices. I pray God her Majesty may conceive so of it for the disappointing of both their Majesties' enemies by the increase of their happy amity rather than the smallest point thereof should be in any ways violated. London, 22 July 1596. *Signed*: D. Foulis.

1 p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed. Seal broken.*

July 25. **235.** DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHLEY.

I have received the packet which it pleases your lordship [to] send to me, thanking you therefor. As I have received a letter therein from

James VI.

1596. the King my master to be delivered to the Queen I crave to know by your good means at what time I shall have access to deliver it. London, 25 July 1596. *Signed* : D. Foulis.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk* : " The Scottish Ambassador to my master." *Seal of arms.*

July 25.

Vol. lii, p. 129.

236. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.

We have seen of late a letter directed to Mr. Foulis (Fowles) signed by the King our good brother, so full of strange arguments as nothing has happened a great while more strange to our expectation than to behold in any writing from him such strange matter so earnestly expressed ; assuring you that if we had not observed by the form that it might seem rather a letter signed by the King in a multitude of business and conceived by his Secretary (who being newly come to the understanding of particular circumstances passed before his time might misunderstand the King's instructions) we should have doubted whether it had been the King's true signature or no. And, therefore, to the intent it may not appear to the King that lack of arguments sufficient to answer anything therein contained has been cause of our silence, we have thought fit to give you authority as our Ambassador to reply to the King by the like warrant advisedly signed with our own hand, having written so lately before to the King in that cause, which only we took then to be in question, as we conceive (if he had received it before his other letter signed) it would easily have stayed him from that writing even out of his own true judgment. That before we were more publicly satisfied in so notorious an affront, nay rather for so scornful an injury offered, by so disordered and public an officer, though unworthy, we could not without imputation of too much weakness, or rather neglect of our own honour, yield others friendly contentation while we remained to the whole world both injured and derided. And, therefore, seeing we are forced to speak plain English out of like liberty that the King uses to usward, we do command you even feelingly to lay before the King what we conceive and determine both upon the late action and his present writing. Our complaint by you was this : there was an assault made by a principal officer of the King's upon cold blood upon our immediate principal officer in that wardenry and by force in the night into our own castle within our ancient city ; which deed so committed cannot be covered from the world nor denied by the delinquent ; for which we have demanded his delivery, not as for an act that is denied by the offender, or as a thing doubted of, but for a thing confessed in substance, though sought to be shadowed with a form and circumstance of his meaning by his entry in the night but accompanied with 80 horse and since barely defended upon a supposition of some precedent injuries to a private mean person than with reason, as there can be nothing more feeble (examples being of all others the weakest arguments and the worse being evil compared). So if it were true that any such matter had been committed, we think the qualities of the persons and the nature of this action and the circumstances without comparison of the like, being by impartial judgment compared, the one being questionable and not determined, the other as clear as the sun, to be by all men judged a heinous

James VI.

1596.

fact, the King should have been so far from not condemning him in this as the crime should never have been referred to be disputed by a Council with formalities of bills and answers in so foul and so plain an injury, especially when we dare undertake whensoever matters shall come to the trials by commissioners (which seem so much to be desired there and never refused here in his natural time), how much our Borders have been spoiled and our subjects oppressed we shall be able to match any complaints of his subjects with greater of ours. And therefore it is a preposterous course in his Council to post [*sic*, ? put] us off from receiving timely reparation in this so open an injury, not denied but testified with the manifest breach of the door and wall of the castle to be seen by any that is not blind or that has but one eye, until it be decided whether such a private person as Kinmont (Kynmothe) were wrongfully taken and detained, being not confessed by the takers, as Buccleuch's (Bucklughe's) fact is manifest by his own works. Wherefore we require you to tell the King plainly that where he is sorry to note coldness on our part towards him for anything, we may more justly for this expostulate with him for coldness in higher degrees than in not dispatching his minister in those causes of money which are privately carried between ourselves, when we never denied but only deferred them until such time as the same had been before time yielded in the month of August. And further, where he alleges that he is wronged if that, which he terms an annuity, be stayed as a matter not due to him, with an addition further that it was given him as a contentation for lands during our time as King Henry the 8th, our father, gave to us, we cannot understand herein his meaning. For first, we hope whatsoever has been yielded proceeded only out of the sincere bond of our faithful good will, and not by way of bargain or contract for anything due to him for any lands (as it is written), whereof we never heard motion to this day. So we doubt not but as the King will distinguish of the respects between the King our father towards us his natural child and ours towards him (and howsoever we were contented (as a further argument of our love towards him) to allege anything for examples of our kindness) so he will resolve himself that all such bonds or promises whatsoever from us are grounded upon no other foundation nor tied to no other conditions than to the mutual observation and continuance of sincere and affectionate proceeding with our state and person. Lastly, where it pleases the King to throw upon us a straight obligation because he had refused fair overtures from our foreign enemies, surely we may not seem so kind hearted as to make other construction of that than to give him the due praise of true providence and perfect judgment in being able to discern how precipitate a counsel it had been for him to have abandoned God's cause, his own honour and others' assured friendships either for fear to be conquered or conceit to be advanced by him whose deed he knew could not be fulfilled but by the work of his subversion, whereof the precedents are infinite before his own eyes in many parts of Christendom. In lieu whereof if we were purposed to fall into enumeration of the fruitful offices of our care and kindness, our actions even from his cradle during his nonage and since his coming to his kingdom have demonstratively showed how precious we have ever held his person and estate and the freedom of his crown from others' usurpation. All which we speak was out of a spirit of repentance as

James VI.
1596.

thinking it ill bestowed, but to deduce a true comparison (seeing he did call it in question) between our mutual proceedings each to other, we having singularly borne the burden of both our common adversaries these many years, and specially of the enemies to God's church in greatest proportion without any support or aid of any prince or potentate living. Of this much our pleasure is that you shall inform the King to the intent he may clearly perceive the affections of our mind free from passion or partiality, unless it be passion to have sense of public wrongs and to take impression of unkind usage when we have so well deserved the contrary. Wherein when we shall receive present redress for the world's satisfaction in this so extraordinary a crime, then shall none be more ready in things doubtful to be guided by the rules of equal and ordinary proceeding by commissioners nor in any other good offices according to our custom. At the Court at Greenwich, 25 July 1596.

4½ pp. *Copy in the handwriting of Cecil's clerk, headed: "A letter from her Majesty to Mr. Bowes."*

July 28. **237. ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

The cause of the address of this letter to your Honour has proceeded of a motion made to me by the Prior of Blantyre, now Treasurer, a man for his faithful services to the King [who] is now advanced in the chief place of credit for he occupies the place of Treasurer and Chancellor. He has been always known to be a man of good religion and a favourer of the amity. As he is a natural wise man, so is he constant of his word and promise. He had been advanced long since but the Chancellor who could abide no equality held him aback. He being now advanced to the place of best credit has thought good for his Majesty's service, his own standing and the advancement of the good cause to desire me to draw on an intelligence between him and someone of special credit with her Majesty to the end that a frequent intelligence passing between two great councillors well devoted to the service of their sovereigns and greatness of their countries may effectuate many good offices and stay the practisers of such as respect rather their own particular than the common benefit of the two realms.

These and many other things being considered, I thought good for my own discharge to recommend this motion to your Honour as the meetest and most "worthiest" both for your place and credit. If this should be thought by you convenient to be embraced let me be directed and I shall perform according to your directions. I have special interest in the man as Mr. Bowes knows and I believe will confirm all I have spoken in his commendation. This is a matter he has not imparted to any but myself, neither would he wish that any should know that he had any dealing there. This motion was made to me 20 days since, at which time I thought to have imparted the same as now I have done, but seeing matters framed not so well between her Majesty and the King as I would have wished about this late attempt of Buccleuch's (Bacloukes), wherein I see her Majesty is highly offended and not without cause. Yet when I considered that this matter might work some good effect [I] thought rather to impart the same to your Honour than to keep longer silence.

James VI.

1596.

Whereupon I take the occasion to write this letter craving your resolution herein. And having discharged this part of my duty there rests something which I could not omit and that is to see the extreme peril and danger which all good men think the religion and the amity to be in in respect of her Majesty's high displeasure against Buccleuch, wherein her Highness craves further than will be granted here, which fears the best affected will breed a further "unconvenyaint." If this mischievous matter were put to some point all other things would settle at an instant and her Majesty might look for a greater assurance of King and country than before. My reason is this. I know the King is well inclined towards her Majesty and it will be against his will if anything fall out but well. The country is in a reasonable good obedience and the laws better obeyed and justice more surely put in execution than before. That which may make best for her Majesty's greatness is the obedience of the Isles and the Borders, which is very near at a point. For the Isles most part of them are come in, except Angus MacConnell (Macconnall) who is determined to stand out. He is one of the greatest of those parts and one who continually has assisted her Majesty's rebels in Ireland and is at this present gone thither to seek assistance. If he continue in this course intended Colonel Stewart (Stouertt) with the King's forces and such as have given their obedience are preparing to subdue him and make no difficulty to do it. His chiefest hope is in such as are her Majesty's rebels in Ireland. It is the King's mind utterly to root out him and all his if he stand out as it is thought he will. He will not be able to "dobel" out his course in respect of the King's power and the assistance of the rest of the country, who have given surety for their obedience. This matter being once settled her Majesty needs not to fear of any aid to be given to her rebels in Ireland. For the Borders all the chief men have been here and have yielded to that which before they would never grant unto, that is to give in surety for their kin, friends and servants, in which number the whole Borders will be counted, so that all will be made answerable. If this matter of Buccleuch's were satisfied all other things would settle and her Majesty might expect a greater surety than before.

This far I have thought good to communicate unto your Honour craving pardon for my boldness, which proceeds from a careful, loving and obedient heart to the service of her Majesty my natural sovereign. To justify this I crave no other judge than her Majesty's Ambassador who best knows my offices and actions. Edinburgh, 28 July. *Signed* : Roger Aston.

3 pp. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : "28 July 1596. Mr. Aston to my Master." *Seal of arms.*

July 29. **238.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Upon receipt of your last letter of the 19th hereof, with the report of the good success of her Majesty's navy and army, I have given advertisement of those joyful news to the King, the Lord Treasurer and some other well affected, who very joyfully received the same. Whereupon some by their banquets and prayers have declared the comfort received by this prosperous beginning. The same occurrents have been well confirmed

James VI.
1596.

and commended by Mr. David Foulis with good advices for timely orders to be provided and established to quench the fires raised and daily outrages on the Borders, as for the same good offices he deserves thanks. Nevertheless, the insolent and practisers here can lend no ear or credit to those advertisements but maliciously forge and give out false bruits of daily defeats of sundry parts of her Majesty's navy and army. It may please you therefore to advertise me of the confirmation of the effects already past and certified and of the progress of her Majesty's army mentioned that I may stop the mouths of these barking practisers and increase the comfort of the well affected.

By the appointment of the King I intend to be with him to-morrow at Dunfermline, thinking there to hear some complaints against our Borderers for raids (rodes) and fire-raising in Scotland. Yet therein I shall be able to inform the King that the outrages done in England by his subjects far exceed the faults committed by the English Borderers. I perceive that those troubles daily grow and will shortly come to such height as great inconveniences shall surely ensue without speedy and due remedies to be given as well by the mutual authorities of the sovereigns as by the good concurrences of the opposite officers in both realms. The estate of all which things I leave to the report and information of the officers of the Marches, praying to be especially directed in any particular course to be commended to my travail and negotiation in these behalfs. All other causes and occurrents here at this present I recommend to the view of my letter (with these) to my Lord Treasurer your father. Edinburgh, 29 July 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

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

July. **239. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.**

Sir William Stewart of Howston, knight, is chosen lieutenant for the King to pass to the Isles of Scotland. The Earl of Argyll, the new Earl of Atholl, Mackenzie and MacLean (MacLayne) are ordained to attend upon him. Angus Mac O'Neill is charged to enter but he has disobeyed. Numbers of men are ordained to pass with them to erect new towns and castles of strength there and to constitute new colonies of habitations as the Romans did. They should all convene at Dumbarton before 1 August.

There was lately a suspicion that certain of these Octavians should have been privily murdered but the persons are concealed and the King himself feared the time and therefore absented himself two days from coming to them. For this cause the best of them sent for friends and guarded them in this town by countenance of the Lord Hamilton and the Earl of Crawford.

Notwithstanding that the Ambassador has made great instance by words to the King and the King has remitted him by supplication to his council of our Octavians, the privy dealing of some of them with B[uc-leuch] and he with them has obtained to him a fair "absolviture" not to be rendered to England but his fact against your H[onour] is esteemed as good service done to the King and the Commonweal, whereat the Ambassador is "comovit" [*i.e.* agitated].

That same day that he obtained this I spake with him and he told

James VI.

1596.

me joyfully how he had sped at their hands in this matter, and withal the news of the taking of Thomas Musgrave by Kinmont, and that he should not be content with that people who rather "witchavit" [vouchsafed] to take prisoners your countrymen but rather should have given them bloody marks, which he will learn them and command them to do hereafter, and that he would send to cause that captain be conveyed to Hawick under his custody, that the Queen of England and Council shall understand that he shall be reputed a more lawful prisoner who was taken red hand stealing "geir" in Scotland than Kinmont was in the day of truce doing nor offering any injury at all.

The Lord Home is solicited by B[uccleuch] to make a raid on the East Borders for his depute "short syne" is "dung" from his horse and Sir John Ker of Hersell, knight, is hurt, and many others, one Hoppringill [Pringle] of Cadstreyme [? Coldstream] slain, with other great "skayth" done, and he promised to send him a hundred men to assist him, providing that he will do the like to him when he is required.

There is a Convention to hold here on Tuesday next. The Lord Home, Sir Robert Ker, B[uccleuch] and Herries are summoned to "compeir." What "beis" prepared and concluded that day I shall put in writ. Therefore I would this same bearer were hasted hither again with diligence that you may know the better what to look for. In the meantime good it is to be wary for B[uccleuch] is pernicious and wily.

This bearer came in due season but others that have passed before him have not come hither. Therefore either advertise me of their names or else chastise them by yourself for fear of accidents. But since the matters have passed so "warlie" as you advertise by writ I am the less careful.

There is great talking here at Court of apparent peace betwixt Fr[ance] and Sp[ain] but our spiritual estate is not content and fears the same, and in the meantime they cry out of a persecution used by the Queen of England against a certain Bishop a preacher of St. Davids, that he should be "trublit" in prison for a charitable meditation spoken in her Majesty's audience and in her name, the copy whereof I was diligent to have had to send but could not have it at this time for haste.

For certain in Antwerp there be 60 galleys making ready with certain other engines of war by sea to lie in the narrow passage betwixt Calais and Dover this winter. God save all! The rest refers to the next opportunity. From Edinburgh in haste this Sunday at 6 hours at even [blank] July 1596. "Your Honour's awin man, J. M[acCartney]."

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

Aug. 3. **240. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.**

At my late access to the King at Dunfermline on the 30th July last I laid before him as well the broken estate of the Borders and the progress of the same into great extremities by the daily attempts made in England by his subjects with fire, blood and all hostilities together with the present practices still intended and prepared to prosecute these begun outrages, as also the default of the seasonable execution of the order taken and promised by the King that sufficient cautions and bonds should be given

James VI.

1596. by the officers and landlords in the Borders for the administration of justice and preservation of the peace in all the Marches.

Hereupon he recounted sundry "rodes" lately made by Englishmen raising fire with blood and spoils in Scotland and stirring the grieved and disordered sort to seek revenge in disordered manner necessary to be speedily stayed and redressed, for the expedition of which stay and to redress the faults committed he offered to do all things in his power by commissioners or otherwise as her Majesty pleased to appoint; and that for the accomplishment thereof he with his Council had taken bonds of the Lords Hume and Herries and of the lairds of Johnstone, Drumlanrig, Buccleuch, Cessford and Farnyherst. These "rodes" alleged to be made by Englishmen I excused in the fairest terms I could, affirming them to have been attempted not upon quarrels or revenges (as his subjects have done) but upon grounds of justice and equity of the treaties and laws, as by her Majesty's officers in the Borders has been advertised to me. And albeit that I agreed to commend to her Majesty's consideration the King's offer and readiness professed to quench and redress these troubles, I found the outrages newly past so dishonourable and great and such further attempts to be in devise and intention (as I heard) that I could not as yet assure him how her Majesty would resolve and take course in these late hostilities executed by his subjects in England. And albeit it should be accorded by her Majesty and the King that the offences past should be redressed by commissioners, I thought her Majesty would not allow the trial by commissioners in the particular fact of Buccleuch at Carlisle, the cause of those inconveniences grown and likely to spread further, if the same indignity shall not be timely and duly corrected. In all which he referred me to further conference with the Lord Treasurer and other of his Council at Edinburgh.

The Lord Treasurer has delivered to me the copy of the bond wherein the 7 persons mentioned are bound, which copy I send enclosed. Where by the view of the condition expressed in the bond I gathered that the obligees were not bound for the redresses of attempts done in England, it was answered and affirmed that the bond is formed according to the ancient and ordinary form and order and that the parties bound thereby are answerable to the King for all or any offences committed in England. Further, the Treasurer affirmed that the rest of the possessioners in the Marches shall be bound with like conditions; and that Buccleuch was already charged (for the entertainment of Francis Mowbrey presently at horn) to appear before the Council on Thursday next the 5th hereof. It is pretended that upon his appearance some convenient course shall be taken for redress of the fault at Carlisle as shall please her Majesty, and that by his default or disobedience he shall be put to the horn. For these and other causes the King has appointed his Council to be with him at Dunfermline on the 6th hereof. And albeit the King and Council (namely the Lord Treasurer) show themselves careful to provide best remedies in these Border matters, I see the rage of the malicious and evil affected in this realm so great and prevailing to increase these storms as I hourly look for violent effects hastily to follow. Therefore that my proceedings in these causes for her Majesty may be warranted and stand with her express pleasure I pray your lordship to address timely to me advertisement of her

James VI.

1596.

direction for such course as shall be commanded to me. In the meantime I refer the state of the Borders to the report of her officers there, who shall have occasion (I fear) to advertise great outrages done there by the Scots.

At this audience given by the King to me I have put him in mind of sundry effects signified by the letter of Sir Robert Cecil to me and to be imparted to the King, whom I have informed that before this time Mr. David Foulis has acquainted her Majesty with the King's sincere intention to withstand all Spanish practices to be attempted either with the means of his rebels the Northern Earls or by deceitful offers of papists, which assurance well satisfied her, notwithstanding that reports had been given out of the King's secret disposition favouring such practices. Now it is discovered to her Majesty that young Pury Ogilvy (Purioglewy), Sir Walter Lindsay and Ladylands (as his servants and agents) still practise with the King of Spain and the Pope far against the King's mind openly protested and as her Majesty assures herself that they have no ground from the King's self therein; which nevertheless she thought meet for weighty causes to be communicated to him. In this he readily and at great length opened the whole contents of the Duke of Sessa's (Sessayes) letters to the King of Spain and others and both denied expressly to have had any intelligence with the King of Spain with those practisers in those affairs or to have given any warrant or direction to them therein, and also protested to prosecute due punishment against them, like as at more length I have certified to Sir Robert Cecil for return of my answer to his letter mentioned.

Yesterday the King rode to Dundee purposing to remain there 2 or 3 days and to return to the Queen at Dunfermline, where it is thought that she within 10 or 12 days shall be delivered of child. The King's present "rode" and intention is diversely interpreted. For some affirm that he will proceed against horners in those parts. Some say that he seeks to apprehend Huntly lurking near those bounds, and some think that Huntly shall secretly come to the King and be dismissed. But it is constantly affirmed to me that Huntly is not in Scotland, and the Countess his wife, come to the Queen on the last of July last, protests that he is not in this realm. In confirmation whereof Petlury and others towards Huntly have taken deep oaths, saying that young Bonyton (Bonington) was come home, whereupon he was taken for Huntly and thereon these bruits are raised. Nevertheless, some still think Huntly to be covertly kept in Inverness or thereabouts, whereof I doubt.

The Countess of Huntly has (as I hear) presented great offers for the restitution of the Earl, and that for the consideration thereof a Convention of the Estates shall be assembled at Edinburgh the 11th hereof. It is intended that for this Convention shall be summoned especially 6 Earls, 6 Lords, the chief officers of estate, the Council and 6 ministers, and it is supposed that after submission made by Huntly to the King and Church, and amongst other articles, it shall be promised that he shall truly and fully discover all the complots of Spain devised against England and Scotland, to reveal the course, actions and success of himself and his complices seeking the aid of the King of Spain and the Pope, and to make known the proceedings of Scottish practisers negotiating those matters with the King of Spain and the Pope. Of all which her Majesty shall be

James VI.

1596. advertised as is pretended, and which I commit to the experience of the further progress thereof.

Some unkindness is like to fall betwixt the Lord John Hamilton and the Earl of Argyll, who is thought to be so malcontent, as the King's proceedings in the Isles shall be hindered. For which cause it is meant that Colonel Stewart shall be sent with better speed into the Isles, and that upon the Colonel's dispatch request shall be made to her Majesty that an intelligence and correspondency may be entertained betwixt the Lord Deputy and the Colonel for matters of Ireland. The present condition of which matters for Ireland is here thought to be changing or at least to be suspected as it ought to be seasonably respected.

Such cloud has appeared lately in the Court and in top thereof (as I have been informed) that some great storm is thereon expected to follow within short time. Yet the danger is so seen and regarded as it may be prevented. Wherein as I shall understand further your lordship shall be advertised with better certainty. Edinburgh, the third of August 1596.
Signed : Robert Bowes.

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

Enclosure with the same.

(The condition of the caution taken.)

That the landlord himself and all such persons as he is "obleist" to answer for by the laws of this realm, Acts of Parliament and general bonds shall observe our sovereign lord's obedience, keep peace, good rule and quietness in the country, and shall no ways invade, trouble or oppress his Highness's subjects in their persons, lands, possessions, goods nor gear, otherwise nor by order of law and justice, each Earl under the pain of 20*l.*, each great Baron 10*l.*, each small Baron 10 marks, and other landed men at the discretion of his Majesty and his Council. And farther that the landlord and "sic" as he is "obleist" for shall be answerable to our sovereign lord and to justice, and satisfy and redress all attempts and "skaithes" committed by them since the first of October last and that shall happen to be committed by them in time coming, conform to the said laws, acts and bonds, and under the pains contained therein.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Aug. 3. **241.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

According to your direction by your letter of the 10th July last and upon fit and first opportunity offered to me I presented to the King's memory his protestation reported to her Majesty by Mr. David Foulis his servant certifying his sincere intention to withstand all Spanish practices to be attempted against religion, the sovereigns and these realms, either by the subtle means of his forfeited Earls or by deceitful offers of papists; which assurance well satisfied her Majesty, notwithstanding that reports had been given out of his secret disposition to have favoured those practices; and that now it was discovered to her Majesty that some of his subjects (pretending to be his servants and agents, namely Pury Ogilvy (Purioglewy), Walter Lindsay and Ladylands, and to be authorised and

James VI.

1596.

employed by him) have lately practised with the King of Spain and the Pope for aid of men and money to be sent to him, far against the King's mind formerly protested, and as her Majesty assures herself that these practisers have no ground or warrant from the King. In which hope (and to prevent the inconveniences to the common causes) her Majesty thought meet to communicate these to him, trusting that he would so deal with her and regard the same of his honour as due consideration should be had herein. In these he readily and at great length opened to me the whole contents of the Duke of Sessa's (Sessayes) letters to the King of Spain and others ; and he not only denied expressly to have had any intelligence with any of these practisers in those affairs or to have given warrant and leave to them therein, but also protested to punish them with all severity. And for the same he had already begun and awarded a charge to summon young Pury Ogilvy to appear within 60 days according to the laws, in respect that he was presently absent and in foreign parts. Albeit the summons is at the suit of the Lord Hume, yet upon the appearance of the party summoned he shall be charged with these foul practices, as the rest of them shall taste of like correction. I was bold to inquire whether he had written or delivered to any of them any letter or writing subscribed by him. Thereon he remembered that Pury Ogilvy had sent unto him from the Low Countries the occurrents for that time in those parts, which he so well liked as by his letter he required Pury Ogilvy to continue his advertisements of such novelties. Next I wished him both to beware to yield favour to Huntly, bruited to be presently returned and lurking in this realm, or to the other rebels, practisers or papists, and also to think that his actions only should clear his honour in the eyes of the world against the treacheries of these practisers. He received my advice in good part, promising so to hunt Huntly in case he were in this realm as he should thereby manifest himself to the world and his meanings and punish in Huntly his offences. But he seemed to be of opinion that Huntly was not in Scotland, notwithstanding the common reports to the contrary, wherein he would be shortly satisfied by the Duke, attending to meet and speak with his sister the Countess of Huntly then coming towards the Court and now with the Queen at Dunfermline. And he concluded to be resolute to continue his former intention mentioned and professed by him and certified to her Majesty by Mr. David Foulis by his direction ; of all which he trusts to have occasion to give her Majesty better experience and advertisements. Those I have shortly touched in my letter to my Lord your father, yet I have thought it my duty to commend them to yourself in return and for answer of your particular letter and address to me. The matters of the Borders requiring "indelate" remedies and the occurrents at this present I have certified likewise to your father. Edinburgh, the third of August 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

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

Aug. 6. 242. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

On the 4th hereof at night I received her Majesty's letter enclosed in your last of 29 July to me, together with two passports severally granted to the Earl of Crawford and Lord Sanquhar. In the next morning I pre-

James VI.

1596.

pared to seek timely access to the King at Falkland for the expedition of her Majesty's pleasure directed to me, finding in the way that the King was newly ridden to Dundee purposing to see his Ambassadors there embarked for Denmark and to prosecute in Angus the horners there, amongst whom the Master of Gray is drawn to offer composition for his father and himself. And because the King had changed and put over the meeting of his Council appointed to have been with him this day at Dunfermline until the 11th hereof at Falkland and that in the meantime his return and diet was uncertain, I sent my servant to follow him and to pray access and audience with speed and at time and place to be assigned by him. Whereof I thought good to give you advertisement for notice of the occasion of longer delay in the accomplishment of the contents in her Majesty's letter than haply shall be expected.

Albeit it has been generally given out here that Buccleuch personally has pulled William Graham with great violence out of his house at Lake in the West Marches of England and carried him prisoner with him, and that her Majesty's subjects have entered into Liddisdale, burnt much on the water of Liddell and carried with them a great prey of cattle, yet some now seek to deny that Buccleuch was in person present in that attempt done in England, which was executed by such of his chiefest friends, as it may appear that he was either present at the "rode" or author thereof. Thereon Buccleuch has sent to the King John Hume of Galashiels to inform him of these two several attempts in England and Scotland, to clear himself from the blame therein, and to let the King know that he is hurt with the fall of his horse, whereby he could not appear before the Council the 5th hereof as he was charged, praying that this accident of his hurt and the necessity of his presence and service to defend the country shall excuse his default of appearance. How these shall work with the King I know not. But the best part of the Council here pretend to be careful both to prosecute Buccleuch's appearance and cause and also to provide "indellate" means to stay these disorders and outrages begun and threatening hasty inconveniences, for which purpose they have set forth such proclamation as by the copy thereof enclosed it will be seen to you. They have written earnestly to the officers of the Borders to keep the peace, trusting that her Majesty will give like commandment to her officers of the Marches for the quenching of these storms and preservation of quietness, and they promise to omit nothing in their power to advance the effects mentioned. Yet I am informed that new forces on the Borders of Scotland are gathering to be amassed for some enterprise in England. Of all which things I have given advertisement severally to her Majesty's officers on the Borders. I have thought it requisite to commend all the same to your knowledge that seasonable order may be addressed to the said officers and myself may be perfectly and particularly directed what further course I shall take in these Border matters. It is given me to understand that in Ireland divers signs have been espied betokening the renewal of the troubles there, whereof I am promised further and more certain intelligence. Edinburgh, 6 August 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Buccleuch has written to the Council complaining extremely of the great spoils done in Liddisdale by John Musgrave and Captain Carvell in the late "rode" there, which attempt I have with

James VI.

1596. great earnestness affirmed to have been only drawn on by the insolent enterprise of Buccleuch's being a public officer and revenging his own griefs by the inordinate rule of his proud affections. Therewith I have noted his personal presence and fault in the assault of Brades Willes house, as it is now [*sic*, ? not] denied but he was present thereat. He is charged to appear before the King and Council on the 11th hereof at Falkland and he doubts greatly to be warded. Wherein he has some just cause so to think, for if promise be kept his liberty shall be restrained or his obedience shall be tried.

The Lord Treasurer, Secretary and others are very careful that some "indelate" order may be given for preservation of the peace until such resolute means shall be accorded and provided by her Majesty and the King as shall be found most requisite; and that it might please her Majesty to command her officers of the Borders to keep the peace in this mean time; wherein they desire to know what shall be done that they may give the King and this estate satisfaction in that behalf. I pray to be advertised and directed in the same.

2 pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.

Enclosure with the same.

See Register of
the Privy Council
of Scotland, v,
308, 309.

Proclamation for keeping the peace on the Borders and to pursue all injuries and attempts committed by any of the subjects of England before the wardens and not to seek particular revenges by open hostility. "Given under our signet at Edinburgh the third of August and of our reign the 29th year, 1596. *Per actum secreti consillii. Sic subscribitur*: John Androw."

1 p. Copy in the handwriting of Bowes's clerk.

Aug. 6. 243. THE LAIRD OF BOMBY.

Passport for the laird of Bomby, a gentleman of Scotland, who is with the King's leave repaired to the Bath for the recovery of his health and is a gentleman well affected in religion and to her Majesty and the state. From the Court, 6 August 1596. Signed: W. Burghley.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Placard seal.*

Aug. 9. 244. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

The 9 August 1596. It is for verity that Huntly is come home and in "sick" manner that the Earl Bothwell is secretly come home and has purpose to do something which shall be contrary to his Majesty's pleasure. The cause why this people have been so unwilling to do reason to England is that the house of Guise in France have stirred them up and assure yourself this is true. That faction prevails much with the Octavians. The King is resolved to make a fort at Lough Aubery thinking thereby to "danton" (?) the Isles. The Kirk is greatly "flade" for the Spaniards, so that upon Thursday last there was a meeting of the presbytery of Fife at Kirkcaldy and all the principal barons and gentlemen were there, where

* Apparently the royal supporters surrounded with the Garter motto.

James VI.

1596.

as after long fasting and preaching there was an oration made to the gentlemen that the Spaniards were resolved to come into Scotland and that presently in 2 armies, one to land in the west part of Scotland, the other to come in at the Firth and that to come out of the Low Countries. For which cause the gentlemen were entreated to be in a readiness to defend if need should be. Some say that the King and Huntly have secretly met. How true it is I know not, only this I ken that the King is mightily dealt with for Huntly of 2 factions, one that he may stay, the other that he may be banished. But this assure yourself that, "giffe" the King will ever see Huntly, he will bide in Scotland in despite of all other that are enemies. "Idem."

1 *p.* In a Scottish hand. Addressed: "To my lovinge frend the fyree (?) finger."

Aug. 10. 245. ROBERT BOWES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Upon receipt of your Majesty's letter of 25 July last, addressed to me and delivered the 4th hereof, I prepared the next morning for access to the King at Falkland for the expedition of the execution of your pleasure directed to me. But finding in the way that the King was departed from Falkland to Dundee and his return and diet uncertain, I sent my servant to follow him and pray audience at time and place to be assigned to me, as before I have advertised Sir Robert Cecil by my letter.

The King appointed me to be with him at Dunfermline on Sunday, the 8th of this month, where I first opened to him the whole contents of your Majesty's letter to me and as near the words of the same as my memory served, and after showed him the letter itself, letting him know that because your Majesty had given me authority to reply to him by like warrant signed by your hand as he had by his letter given to Mr. David Foulis his agent, therefore, I thought it meet to inform him perfectly by report in words and view of the letter in all the effects thereof that, upon the liking of or objection against anything therein, I might reply and give him good satisfaction.

After he had heard me, viewed the letter and weighed the same with good deliberation, he first acknowledged that he had given to his Secretary notes and articles to frame the letter directed to Mr. David Foulis; that he had divers times corrected the draft made by the Secretary and that nevertheless the letter was not formed to his mind and accustomed order, as he perceived that your Majesty well observed and noted, and in which behalf he thought it needless to wade any further.

Secondly, he entered into some argument to prove it convenient that the trial of Buccleuch's fact at Carlisle should be referred to the hearing and determination of commissioners. He both protested that all evidence should be heard and received against Buccleuch in that case and also alleged that by the discreet proceedings of wise commissioners Buccleuch's guiltiness should be most readily manifested and that he might thereon give your Majesty best satisfaction in the redress and with contentation of his nobility, Council and estate, whom otherwise he could not possibly please by any means hitherto known to him. But finding by me your Majesty utterly disliked the reference of the trial of that cause to commissioners

James VI.

1586.

for many reasons appearing in your letters and many times laid before him by myself, and pressing him to declare his affectionate kindness, or at least his princely justice, towards your Majesty with due regard of honourable redress to be frankly yielded to you by his own kingly means, he concluded that he would advise with his Council how he might take such course in this behalf and for the punishment of Buccleuch as should give your Majesty good and full satisfaction and timely remove the cause of these great outrages begun on the Borders ; and for the accomplishment of these effects he promises to use all diligence and expedition.

Thirdly, he seemed to call to remembrance that in the league defensive and offensive lately concluded betwixt your Majesty and him he is bound to aid you with forces of men and numbers prescribed and to perform many other covenants contained in that treaty ; and that many times he had claimed the lands in England, whereof his grandfather, the Earl of Lennox, died seised, which claim, albeit your Majesty for many weighty causes did not plainly allow, yet he always found you tendering him with favourable respects in the same. Therefore, the better to enable him to accomplish all things to be done on that part by that treaty and league and to testify your kind regard towards him and his claim to the lands mentioned, it pleased your Majesty by Mr. Randolph, then your Ambassador with him, to gratify him with the grant of the yearly payment of a sum of money, like as Mr. Randolph promised and as is further confirmed by your hand and seal, and as he trusts your Majesty at this time and still will continue and yield to him.

Fourthly, he will not contend in the enumeration of benefits passed betwixt your Majesty and him, acknowledging that you have long reigned being of power to exceed far his ability in these behalves. Yet he will give no place in goodwill and readiness to render to your Majesty all thankful requital and good offices to honour and profit you with all things in his power, as his actions past and future with resolute determination shall give testimony and perfect experience when and howsoever it shall please you to employ him or anything within his commandment.

Lastly, he uttered his care to stay and quench the present fire and storms on the Borders which chiefly fall upon and oppress (as he says) the poor and innocent and little hurt the offenders and wicked. He recounted his order already taken for the same within this realm by bonds, proclamation and his especial letters to his officers and others on the Marches. Therefore, he wished that it might please your Majesty not only to command your officers in the Borders to preserve the peace but also to agree with him that the wrongs done may be redressed by commissioners agreeable to the rules of the laws, treaties and customs, and that from thenceforth good order may be provided for the administration of justice, for preservation of the happy league, amity and peace betwixt these two realms ; in which commission and trial he means not to include the fact of Buccleuch, for which he appears studious to find out some means to please your Majesty and in which behalf I have travailed with the Lord Treasurer, Secretary and other councillors here, who have promised their endeavours for the furtherance of these good causes ; by some whereof I understand that Buccleuch has greatly solicited many and is this day passed over to the King at Falkland as it is expected that some order shall be taken with him in these cases,

James VI.

1596.

wherein I pray your Majesty's further and particular pleasure to direct me and my course for your service in the same. Edinburgh, 10 August 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed*. 4 small seals. *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Received at Grenew^{ch} the xvijth of the same" [August].

Aug. 10. **246. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

Having received her Majesty's letter I have so travailed with the King in the execution of the contents therein and found success thereon as by my answer to her Majesty and my letter with these presents to Mr. Secretary (your son) I have advertised, still praying further and particular directions in these Border causes.

The Lord Treasurer and other Councillors with him have solicited me in the King's name to entreat you to move her Majesty to command some of the captains of her ships serving in the coast of Ireland to give aid and concur with Colonel Stewart, appointed to be the King's lieutenant in the Isles, to draw the inhabitants thereof to the obedience of the King, for which service he is employed and sent thither very shortly. It is pretended that this aid to be granted by her Majesty and the concurrency betwixt the Lord Deputy of Ireland and the King's lieutenant in the Isles shall much profit her Majesty and the King in the affairs for Ireland and the Isles. Next the King has likewise required that her Majesty may be moved to grant him her placard to buy in England ten horses or geldings and to bring them into Scotland. For her former placard granted to the King was delivered (as is said) to Sir John Carmichael and is past or lost.

These councillors have showed me the complaint of Buccleuch for the late attempt enterprised and done in the lands of him and others in Liddisdale by John Musgrave (son of Sir Simon Musgrave) and Captain Robert Carvell. This "rode" I have answered to have proceeded in Buccleuch's own actual wrong, who being a public officer against all law and order has attempted to assail and break the house of Brades Will Graham in England and thereby drew those English forces to resort to the rescue of the house, to follow him and to take the revenge executed in the possessions of the principal offenders. Albeit this fact is extremely aggravated and threatened to be revenged, yet the King and Council have promised to stay all further violence, trusting her Majesty will give commandment for the like to be done in the Marches of England. Buccleuch is passed over this day to the King at Falkland, not only to compeer and answer for his contempt in the entertainment of Francis Moubrey presently at horn and in the King's high displeasure, but also to excuse his own and last attempt in England and to complain in this late "rode" in his lands in Liddisdale; wherein I have sufficiently travailed with the King and Council who seem to intend to ward Buccleuch for such causes as they will object against him.

The Countess of Huntly is passed from the Queen at Dunfermline to the King at Falkland to present to the King and Convention there her husband's offers specified by my former. It will be advised by the ministers that Huntly and the rest of the forfalted rebels may be kept out of the realm and be more straitly dealt with. It will be alleged that Huntly is

James VI.

1596.

already returned into and lurking in the realm ; wherein it is thought that the King is sufficiently informed and knows the same. Therefore the ministers purpose to entreat the King to satisfy the assembly in his knowledge ; and if Huntly's present being within this realm within few days shall be denied, some are prepared to prove the same. But the greatest number chosen and appointed for this Convention and for Huntly's cause are so greatly affected to Huntly as little harm is looked to fall unto him. What effects the same shall produce is uncertain but the favour to be showed towards him beyond the bonds of reason and equity will offend and grieve many well affected. Whereof the Treasurer (as I hear) has dutifully forewarned the King.

Huntly landed (as I am informed) at Heymouth and passing disguised with one servant in his company the Lord St. Coslme [St. Colme] (whose brother he slew) met him at unawares and knew him not. Otherwise he should not have needed to have sought his peace at the King's hands.

By the certificate of Mr. John Carye it is (I trust) given your lordship to understand that my son has fully finished and completed for me the pay to the garrison at Berwick for the last half year, as shortly by my servant Sheperson shall be made known to you in particular manner. Edinburgh, 10 August 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

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

Aug. 10 **247.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

At my late access to the King at Dunfermline I both opened to him the contents of her Majesty's letter and also showed the letter to him, as by my letter enclosed to her Majesty I have certified with report of the King's answer and resolution to the same ; which letter I trust shall come to your hands.

Upon my return from Dunfermline I received your 3 several letters without date and the copy of her Majesty's letter to the King committed to the convoy of Mr. David Foulis, together with Mr. David's packets and her Majesty's letter to the King, which packets and her Majesty's letter I "indelately" delivered to Thomas Foulis agreeable to Mr. David's desire. They were received with thanks and her Majesty's was with speed sent to the King.

I thank you for the advertisement and confirmation of the blessed success of her Majesty's navy and army at Cales. Surely the same has highly profited her service here, maintained my credit and delivered me from suspicion of forgery of novelties, wherein it pleased some to give out that my old head could still invent young news and matters never come in execution. I beseech you to continue this favour towards me and especially for the benefit of her Majesty's service.

By sundry letters openly showed and pretended to be sent hither and to Newcastle from the Low Countries it is very confidently reported that there has been a battle betwixt her Majesty's army and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, wherein the Earl of Essex has defeated the Duke's armies, taken himself and put to slaughter great number of Spaniards ; and that in this encounter the Earl of Sussex is slain with some few other Englishmen ; and that Seville is taken by the army. I cannot yet perfectly dis-

James VI.

1596. cover the author of these letters, nor to whom they are directed. Whereby I and others well affected are yet possessed with some doubt of the truth and of some cunning in practice in malicious and envious minds.

I am informed that Mr. David Foulis by his letter affirms that with great difficulty her Majesty is persuaded by him and pleased to receive and accept such manner of redress for Buccleuch's fact at the castle at Carlisle as the King shall think good and yield to her. But because I find no warrant to me by her Majesty's letter to myself or by the copies of any of her letters to the King or otherwise as I may be assured that it is her pleasure and that I may therein labour to advance the manner of redress to be best agreeable to her mind, I pray you to be means that I may be timely and particularly directed therein, and therewith I beseech you keep to yourself this information given me that no smoke of jealousy towards my good friends may be raised against them. Edinburgh, 10 August 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : " Receaved at the Corte at Grenewch the xvij^{the} ". *Placard seal*.

Aug. 11. 248. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

Since my last Huntly is returned in Scotland and the Ambassador has advertised the King thereof, who answered at the first that he should make him to depart with shame, but " sensyne " he has willed 6 earls and lords with as many ministers to be ready against the 15 day of this month to talk upon certain instructions that he should give them to conclude upon touching all the three earls. The Kirk is not content with this, fearing some issue against their hearts' desire.

Great instance is made for Angus secretly but the Duke of Lennox is very strait against him.

Bothwell is dead as we hear at Paris.

Errol is captive at Middelburg and sent to the Camphere to the Conservator of the Scottish nation.

B[uccleuch] is presently at the King and was cited to compeer before the King and his Secret Council. For his last journey of the Bankheid he has cleared himself bravely at Dunfermline and has given in great informations against the insolence of England but cause or reason, and as I am this night informed by his Majesty's Household he has given licence to some of his countrymen to ride in upon your land and specially against the soldiers. He is also earnest to have the King and Council's grant and licence for his own presence to the like turn. His commission is given to Sym of Whyt-hawch.

He says to me himself that he has received many injuries at England and he has never as yet done thing against that nation but is both honest and reasonable and does no other thing but seeks a just revenge of injuries done ; and the things that are done by that nation against his folks are mere " theifrie and spulzie " and therefore he will learn them and licenciate them to do the like against these same persons in example of others.

But in the meantime he has carried his reward hither in recompense of that journey, and that in his head and leg helped by a little of my

James VI.

1596. judgment (?) and somewhat "peteit" by the King and "mekle" by the Lords of Council.

These two days there is nothing heard here but trumpet and "taburring" preparing for the Isles against the 20 day of this month. Angus MacConnell will be punished by this means for his resorting to Ireland the last year.

The Earl of Orkney is to be married to the Lady of Acknowll.

An Englishman was hanged here the 2 day of this month for slandering the King in his drunkenness. Edinburgh, 11 August 1596. "Your H[onour's] awin man on the auld maner, J. M[acCartney]."

1 p. *Holograph*. *Endorsed*: "Advertismente, Edenburghe."

Aug. 19. **249. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

Being required to stay my packet and letters to your lordship until the King's letter to her Majesty should be prepared and brought to me that it might (with my letters) be sent to Mr. David Foulis by him to be presented to her, I have been drawn thus long beyond my purpose and after the end of the late Convention at Falkland (ended the 14th hereof) to prolong the address of these presents, humbly praying that the occasion recited may purchase my pardon for the delay and fault committed herein.

This day I received the packet directed to Mr. David with the King's own letter enclosed, both for answer to her Majesty's last letter to the King and also to certify to her his mind and proceedings for redress to be given for her honour and satisfaction in the late attempt of Buccleuch at Carlisle, and therewith to require that for the "indelate" pacifying of the troubles on the Borders and establishment of peaceable order and justice hereafter all other offences and wrongs done in the Marches may with all expedition be redressed by commissioners to be mutually appointed by her Majesty and the King to meet speedily at time and place convenient. The particularities whereof I commend to the view of the King's letter.

At this Convention at Falkland the King without the assent and liking of his nobility and Council there (other than of the Lord Treasurer and one or two Councillors) commanded Buccleuch to ward in the castle at St. Andrews to the intent that the King might yield her Majesty honourable satisfaction in the same. Because Buccleuch prayed some time and liberty to dispose his private causes and to restrain all further attempts to be made in England by Liddisdale or any under him (which he has undertaken and promised to provide to be done), he was suffered to resort to his house with strait charge to return and on the 20th hereof to enter into the ward prescribed, wherein he shall remain (as the Lord Treasurer informs me) at her Majesty's pleasure and for her good contentment.

The King conceives good hope by the contents in her Majesty's last letter to him that she will be pleased to accept favourably his offer and course signified by his present letter for redress in Buccleuch's fact thus condemned by him and to be punished by the offender. Thinking it necessary and high time to provide "indelate" remedies to stay and reform all other disorders begun on the Borders and to ordain and establish good orders for the administration of justice and preservation of peace by the

James VI.
1596.

wardens and officers there in times coming, he desires that the attempts and injuries done in either realm and not redressed may be heard and determined by commissioners and provision made by them for justice to be done and peace kept hereafter agreeable to the treaties and laws of the Marches. For the expedition whereof he requires that commissioners may be named, authorised and sent with all speed. On his behalf he intends to appoint Sir William Steward, Sir John Carmichael, knights, Alexander Hume, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and Mr. John Sharpe, advocate before the Lords of the Sessions (persons well experimented in Border affairs), as will be more particularly and at large reported by Mr. David Foulis directed to make the same known to her Majesty, your lordship and others of the Council. I pray to be timely instructed with her Majesty's pleasure how I shall further proceed with the King in those behalfs.

At this Convention begun at Falkland the 20th [*sic*] hereof the King opened the causes thereof growing upon the offers of submission of Huntly to him and the Church and with conditions for the satisfaction of him and the Church that thereby he might enjoy his livings and freedom in the realm. Wherein the King prayed the advice and consents of that assembly for his best progress in the cause to God's glory, his own honour and peace of the State. By the offers for Huntly at this time it was declared that, albeit he was forfaited without answer and as he may by law reduce the attainder, and that he was excommunicated by the Church for such cause and in form as he may well give them satisfactions for his absolution, yet he would simply submit himself to the King's grace and to the Church's favour, that he may be received upon such bonds and cautions for his future and good behaviour as shall be found meet and enjoined to him ; offering further to banish out of his bounds all Jesuits and seminaries and to keep and entertain with him a minister to instruct him in the religion professed in this realm. Which offers are thought by the ministers to be slender, much less than before he made and not so profitable to the State as was expected by his discovery of the plots of the enemy, whereof no mention was made at this time.

Sir Robert Melvill, being moved by the King to reason and speak first of the matter, put it over to the ministers. Whereupon Mr. David Lindsay, showing that he was called thither by the King's letter and commandment without any conference or commission given by his brethren, laboured to prove it convenient for that assembly to resolve whether Huntly was entered into this realm and abiding here without the King's licence or privy. And albeit that Petlurg (in his knowledge) flatly denied Huntly's return, it was averred (and is now sufficiently known) that he is come and remaining secretly in the realm. Therefore Mr. David and others of the ministers there persuaded that Huntly's offers should not be heard and allowed by that council in regard that it sounded not to God's glory to accept the submission and offers of a public offender without confession of the open crime proved against him and nevertheless still defended as Huntly does in this case ; next, that the allowance of Huntly's petition to be granted upon his contempt and action against a public ordinance enacted by the King and his Council shall greatly stain the King's honour at home and abroad and for many respects ; lastly, that perfect and late experience may teach them that the peace of the State was continually

James VI.

1596. disturbed by his presence in the realm and that it has been in good quietness during all his absence. Therefore the said ministers there present advised and prayed the King to deliberate better and with other advice in this matter. The ministers were removed and thereon the nobility and most of the Council there generally prepared and travailing for Huntly pressed the King and assembly to proceed to the voting. But the Lord Treasurer so well advised the King and gave him such hold to stay the matter as the King stayed the voting and with many reasons and great difficulty allured this assembly (wholly bent for Huntly) to refer the cause to the King with the advice of such as it shall please him to choose and call to him for the same.

This course to have drawn in Huntly in this sort is much condemned and greatly wounded the hearts of the ministers and many religious. Whereupon the presbytery of this town have chosen and sent Mr. David Lindsay and Mr. James Balfour, ministers, to give the King thanks for his wisdom and equity manifested in this cause and to pray him to continue in the same. And in case the King shall demand their opinions in the same, they are directed by the most to entreat him to bar the incoming of Huntly until he shall give better testimonies of better behaviour than hitherto has been seen in him.

It is hoped that the King will choose and call to him at the next treaty in this cause persons well affected and free from such partiality as this former assembly of the nobility and Council were possessed. Some think that Huntly shall shortly steal again out of the realm.

Angus shall depart out of the realm. His son must pay to the Duke 44,000*l.* scots for the Duke's interest in the earldom and lands of Angus. Thereon the son shall be admitted to brook and enjoy his father's possessions.

This day at 2 hours in the morning the Queen was delivered of a daughter. Upon the advertisement thereof given to the King then at the Lord Livingstone's (Levingston's) house at Callender to honour the banquet at the marriage of the Earl of Orkney with the widow of Justice Clarck deceased, he returned to the Queen at Dunfermline breaking for a time his former diet and progress intended to Dumbarton, Inchmurrin, Hamilton and other places. Edinburgh, 19 August 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *pp.* *Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 24. **250.** DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHELY.

I will be bold upon knowledge to assure your lordship that there is no cause of suspicion in this man, George Douglas, neither in his religion nor disposition to "practique," being brought up in the reformed discipline of the Church and continuing the rest of his years to this time in the simple instructing of children in letters humane for his particular commodity ; in which calling I find him resolute to fix the only anchor of his fortune, albeit through the greatness of the sickness in Paris he be constrained to make some small parenthesis in his intended course and visit his friends in Scotland. Thus after my humble thanks to your lordship for two of her Majesty's proclamations for the continuance of the peace betwixt the Borders. London, 24 August, 1596. *Signed* : D. Foulis.

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

James VI.

1596.

251. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

Aug. 27.

Vol. lii, p. 134.

By a letter of yours to my Lord my father which he cannot answer at this present being lame of his hand I find you advertise of divers special matters, whereof none is greater than that wherein you write concerning Huntly being now exceedingly laboured to be received to the King's favour. Of this matter you may inform yourself and, if you find that his peace will be wrought as surely by the manner of it there is great likelihood, then shall you do well so to work as that the Earl may address himself to the Queen to be a mediator for him to the intent that in his composition with the King there may be regard had both to secure his practices hereafter against England and to reveal what he knows already of their purposes for offence to her Majesty's crown. For surely to my poor understanding, though I will not take upon me to speak definitely of it, it seems very disputable whether he may not do more harm out of the realm ill affected or in the realm reduced and conformed. For the matter of the Borders you have already some satisfaction to one point because her Majesty has sent out proclamations for quietness agreeable to those which you sent of the King's publication. For others I must refer you till my next. From the Court at Greenwich, 27 Aug. 1596.

1 p. *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed: "A letter from my master to Mr. Bowes."*

Aug.

252. ADVERTISEMENTS FROM SCOTLAND.

The substance of advertisements sent from Scotland.

The Earl of Huntly has sent his wife to the King with certain offers for the relief of his banishment. The articles are set down as if they were sent from the Low Countries but it is supposed that the said Earl is presently in Scotland and that his wife carried no other matter but a blank subscribed by him and desired that the King might cause such offers as he thought most convenient to be put thereinto. This is the rather believed by reason the King met her at Dundee and thereafter caused writings to be sent to some of the nobility besides his ordinary Council to meet at Falkland the 11th of this instant August. At this Convention some of the ministers are to be present, where it is thought that resolution shall be taken for the receiving of Huntly's offers and some determination against myself. David Foulis has written to Sir George Hume that I am not only a hinderer of all such actions as may be or turn to the King's benefit in this realm, but also am entertained by my Lord Treasurer to undermine him and all his actions wherein he travails.

He has also written a letter to the King that I should have affirmed to my Lord Treasurer that all the disgrace wherein I am fallen with my sovereign was only by reason that I had dealt with the banished Lords to draw them to follow her Majesty and none other, and to relinquish all Spanish and other courses whatsoever, and that she would see them helped. This letter was accompanied with another letter written to the said Mr. David but who should be the writer is uncertain by reason it was subscribed by cipher and contained many calumnies to my disgrace, specially anent some information that was alleged that I should have made against the

James VI.

1596.

King's proceedings. And amongst others whatsoever I had done or could be able therein to do would serve to small purpose ; and order was already taken that I should thereby reap no better benefit than to keep me in breath. In the end he concludes that it will be best that I should be denounced rebel and put to the horn, which he affirms will serve for the King's purgation in some colour.

Mr. Bowes of late has kept a great " stoun " (?) against me in giving me up, as I am informed, as author of certain " braveling " [? brawling] matter fallen out betwixt him and our ministers. What it is in good faith I know not, but so far as I can learn it proceeds from Sir George Hume whose " powrety " [poverty] has received some " vrytt " [writ] from the goldsmith Foulis. And yet the said Sir George affirms that the ground proceeds from the King. But as I must be answer to Almighty God I neither know what the matter is amongst them, neither did I ever meddle in any matter that might concern or be against Mr. Bowes's good offices. Heretofore I have oftentimes done for him as I believe himself will testify, but of late days I have never understood what he was doing, neither by whom he dealt, saving only that it was written to me at his last returning to Scotland that strait order was taken by the King with the ministers that they should have no dealing with him ; wherewith I made your lordship acquainted at the same very time that I received the said advertisement. Notwithstanding hereof, I have received information at this time that the ministers are set on to procure hard matter against me at this Convention but what they are about to do I cannot say if the end of this Convention at Falkland will declare the substance of these and other matters.

By these aforesaid your lordship may understand in what case I remain ; and if it were only David Foulis and his faction I had to do with I would take little care of it, neither of the ill will of our ministers. For I thank God I have friends enough to be employed against them. But if I should employ them against Mr. Bowes, her Majesty's minister, I may haply do greater harm than hereafter I can be able to remedy. For avoiding of such like inconveniences I have heretofore sustained no small harms and can be contented at this time to do the like if therewithal her Majesty shall be pleased and be glad to understand what course your lordship shall think meetest that I shall take, both for the weal of her Majesty's service and my own private at this time. *Undated. Unsigned.*

2½ pp. In the hand of Archibald Douglas. Endorsed : " Aug. 1596. Scottish advertisements by Mr. Ar. Douglas."

Sept. 2. **253.** DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHELY.

I have perused the complaints of the spoils committed in the East March by our countrymen, which I return to your lordship as you crave with thanks. I doubt not but the commissioners will see order put to all and that the rather if you will recommend the redress of the later and greater wrongs sustained by our Borders, as I know those will be to our officers. I will add to my former letter my request for your " seigne " to this passport in favour of the gentleman specified therein, whom I will assure your lordship to be very affectionate to this estate. Attending for my answer

James VI.

1596. of my last I will take my leave. London, the second of September, 1596.
Signed : D. Foulis.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 3. **254. DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHELY.**

I perceive by Sir Robert Cary's letter, which I return, some disorders upon the Borders of late, which I take to be for fault of the presence of commissioners whom they look daily for. Therefore, seeing so long delays can breed nothing but increase of mischief, I hope your lordship's wisdom will press to hasten them, together with her Majesty's answer to the King my master's letter, that by my speedy return matters may be fully pacified and strait order given for quietness hereafter, which in respect of the humours of the people will never be *cunctando*. London, 3 Sept. 1596.
Signed : D. Foulis.

$\frac{2}{3}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 4. **255. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

The continual experience of your great goodness always showed towards me and for my benefit, with the late testimonies and increase thereof reported to me by this bearer, Christopher Sheperson my servant, justly binds me to yield your lordship most humble thanks and therewith to devote myself and all mine to honour and serve you and yours with all in our powers.

That the pay to the garrison at Berwick for the half year ended at the Annunciation last is made and completed I have by my former partly signified. It shall be further confirmed by the letter of my son (whose allowance by your lordship to perform that office for me has disburdened me of great charges) and by the information of this bearer. I pray the continuance of your favourable goodness as well to admit my son to serve for me in this place and during my absence from Berwick, as also to extend now towards me your accustomed favour and furtherance in the suits to be opened to you by this bearer for me and for my relief. The good hope and wished success whereof I await to receive out of your hands and by your love to me. Edinburgh, 4 September 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

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

Sept. 5. **256. ROBERT BOWES TO [LORD BURGHELY].**

By my former of 19 August last I certified your lordship of the King's mind and course for pacifying the disorders of the Borders, for redresses to be made by commissioners for wrongs done there and his choice and appointment of the four gentlemen then named and thought meet to be sent for commissioners for Scotland to the frontiers, and that in all these effects the King had directed Mr. David Foulis to impart to her Majesty his meaning and desires.

Upon receipt of your last of 22 August (brought to me the 28th) I sent my servant to seek the King's appointment for my access and audience and also wrote to the Lord Treasurer in those behalfs, sending him her

James VI.

1596.

Majesty's proclamation for the Borders that thereby the King and Council with him might understand her Majesty's disposition and proceedings in those Border causes. Hereupon the King gave order to the Lord Treasurer and other of the Council to meet him at Glasgow on the 1st hereof, wishing me by my servant to stay my intended journey to him and promising to advertise me of his resolution in the choice and appointment of the number and qualities of the persons to be sent for Scotland. Yet for the expedition and certainty of the resolution herein I returned to Glasgow my servant, by whom I have this day received answer that the King daily expected from Mr. David Foulis advertisement of her Majesty's good pleasure in the contents of his last letter to her and touching these Border matters ; wherein as yet he has not received anything from him. For the progress of the commission for redresses, peace and justice on the Borders he has now chosen and named for him the Lord of Newbottle, the laird of Traquair (Traquhair), Carmichael, Wedderburn, the Provost of Edinburgh and Mr. John Sharpe, advocate, like as they are given in writing to me and whose proper names, qualities and styles I have further explained by the note enclosed and sent for your better information.

It has been made known to the Lord Treasurer by my mean (and he has communicated the same to the King) that her Majesty could be pleased to appoint for commissioners one Lord of Parliament, a bishop and 4 gentlemen as by your letter I have gathered. Hereupon the King and Council have added, I think, Newbottle and Wedderburn to the other four before named in my letter to your lordship. It seems that the King has no good liking of the employment of any bishop in this commission, in regard that he has few bishops in his realm and none (as he thinks) fit for this service. Yet I know not but that he will accept well of her Majesty's appointment of the Bishop of Durham, notwithstanding the causes of his dislike which I leave to his own declaration upon knowledge of the number and qualities of the commissioners to be named by her Majesty and of the allowance of six persons chosen for him. In all which I pray to be directed how I should further proceed, and namely in the late attempt done in the Middle Marches of England by Sir Robert Carr.

The King is returned yesternight to Dunfermline from his pastimes in Inchmerring [Inchmurrin], Dumbarton, Hamilton, Glasgow, Stirling and other places. He purposes to pass to-morrow to Falkland and there to meet with such of his nobility, Council and estates as he will call to him on the 15th hereof to resolve on the affairs of the State and of the present cause of Huntly greatly troubling the minds of the religious.

Huntly's great friends in Court have much tempted the King for his favour to him and his offers and that he may remain in the realm. The Presbytery here lately convened have by letters entreated the King to proceed against Huntly and the rest agreeable to the laws and Acts of Conventions enacted and not to suffer him to continue in the realm. The King presently hearkens to their petitions, pretending to proceed in deed against him as the ministers have prayed and that nothing shall be heard or done for him in his favour until he shall avoid the realm. He has (as it is informed) been "soring" in the west of Scotland near the parts of the King's progress that he might get quiet access to the King, which is not known to have been granted to him.

James VI.
1596.

The Earl of Angus having compounded with the King and Duke of Lennox for the assurance of the earldom of Angus to be conveyed to his son (as before I have certified) attends the passing of the Great Seal for the same and thereon to depart out of the realm. He has been quietly in the Canongate, showing (as I hear) a resolution to hold still the Catholic faith and a firm hope to be speedily rid of his troubles.

The escape of the Earl of Errol from the Conservator for Scotland is (I trust) sufficiently known to you with the manner thereof. The King appears so much offended with the Conservator and with his late letter therein to him as he seems resolved to discharge him of his office and place and by his letters to revoke him speedily to be corrected for his fault, whereof the Conservator trusts to clear himself. The ministers suspect (and have heard) that Errol is crept again into this realm ; that some portion of gold is sent hither for the papist lords by the means of the Jesuits in the Low Countries ; that some of his servants and agents (as it is affirmed) have been in Court and received good countenance ; and that Mr. Peter Haye is newly addressed into the Low Countries with letters and errands from Errol's friends and the papists here, by whose practices the well affected expect new troubles except the King shall hold strong head against them.

Here is general bruit and jealousy that Bothwell (lately given out to have been dead) is now covertly returned and remaining in Scotland. But hereof no certainty appears, yet his friends (who on the Borders are many) look up and are much comforted herewith.

Buccleuch continues in his ward in the town of St. Andrews. He has earnestly sought liberty by the means of his friends and by his letters. But the King seems resolute to hold him there at her Majesty's pleasure.

The lieutenancy long enjoyed in the North by the Duke of Lennox is discharged and Buchan (Boughan) and others who (under the Duke) have abused their offices therein shall be called to answer their faults, a matter very acceptable to the Church here in regard that Huntly's power and authority shall be much impaired thereby.

Colonel Stewart has drawn his companies to Glasgow intending to pass over into the Isles on the 8th hereof. It is now looked that Angus MacConnell lying in the Isle of Bute shall not submit and obey the King as before he offered, and that with the aid of O'Donnell and others in Ireland he shall draw into the Isles 3000 Irishmen to withstand Colonel Stewart and especially to invade MacLean and his possessions in revenge of the slaughter of 12 men of MacConnell's lately slain by MacLean for the killing his servant at Inveraray. Therefore it is required by sundry of the King's Council, Colonel Stewart and MacLean that her Majesty may give order to the Lord Deputy of Ireland to provide by the best means to stay those forces to be sent by O'Donnell and others in Ireland and that Captain Thorneton or other of her servants on the seas in that coast of Ireland may be likewise directed to impeach the repair of the forces mentioned and attempting to invade the Isles in Scotland against the King or his officers or to the annoyance of MacLean, who rests wholly at her Majesty's devotion and service.

The Earl of Argyll commanded by the King to make his repair to him has excused himself by sickness. It is intended that he shall be straitly

James VI.

1596. charged to come in. Yet some think that young counsel shall withdraw and carry him to support MacConnell. [*In margin* : I shall by good means win Argyll to better course or lose my labour.]

Sundry captains of this nation are levying men here for Holland but hitherto few are gathered for the service. Edinburgh, 5 September 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

3¼ pp. No address. *Endorsed by Burghley's clerk* : " 5 Sept. 1596. Mr. Bowes to my Lo. Rec. at Greenwich the xiiijth."

Enclosure with the same.

The names of the six persons chosen and appointed by the King of Scots and his Council to be commissioners and sent for Scotland to the Borders.

1. Mark Carr late Abbot of Newbottle and now erected into a temporal possession and inheritance granted to him, his heirs and assigns, whereof he is created Lord and thereby has place and vote in Parliament.

2. William Steward, knight, laird of Traquair.

3. John Carmichael, knight, laird of Carmichael.

4. George Hume, laird of Wedderburne.

5. Alexander Hume of North Berwick, provost of Edinburgh.

6. Mr. John Sharpe, advocate.

½ p. *In the hand of Bowes's secretary. Endorsed by Burghley* : " vj Commissioners for Scotland."

Sept. 5. **257. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.**

Where your lordship by your last letter to me has noted the present want of fit persons to be commissioners and sent to the frontiers and therein has best allowed of the Bishop of Durham, the Lord Darcy, Sir William Bowes, Sir William Farefax, Sir William Mallory and Francis Vaughan and called for my private opinion in the same, I have thought it my duty to commend to your good consideration some especial qualities needful to be in the persons to be employed that they may with due respects concur with the commissioners for Scotland here and determine all questions and causes according to the laws, equity and justice resolved on the orders requisite to be added to the former laws in force and to pen and set forth the articles accorded for particular redresses mutually to be made and for the administration of future justice for the peace of the Borders in times coming. First, the knowledge and experience of the treaties, laws and customs of the Marches with the practice and manner of their execution are very requisite ; wherein Sir William Bowes is well furnished (I think) by his service on the Borders for the Lord Scrope deceased. Next, a grounded knowledge and practice in the civil laws ought to be in some of the commissioners, as ordinarily has been used and as the King here has well provided in the appointment of Mr. John Sharp, a learned civilian. This place Mr. Doctor Gibson at York or Mr. Doctor Colmer at Durham may sufficiently I think supply. So as if it shall please her Majesty to choose six or four persons of like quality as the King has done and offered to her Majesty, then good choice may be made amongst the persons named by

James VI.

1596. you with the two civilians mentioned. The commissioners in their execution may confer with and receive the advice of "experimented" Borderers attending on or to be called to them. Wherein if my service and informations of the matters acted and passed here and to be communicated to the commissioners shall be found meet, I shall be ready (with her Majesty's licence for my absence) to attend and serve as I shall be directed. I pray your pardon and good acceptation of my boldness herein. Edinburgh, 5 September 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. In the margin the following names have been written by Burghley* : B. Duresme. Robert Bowes. Sir Wm. Bowes. Sir Wm. Mallory. Sir Wm. Fayrfax. D. Gibson. D. Colmer.

Sept. 5.

258. ROBERT BOWES TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Before the receipt of your last of 27 August, delivered yesternight to me, I had made up my letter to my Lord your father to such effects for the Borders, Huntly and other matters as by the sight thereof will appear to you. Yet attending the return of my servant this day from the Court at Dunfermline, that I might accompany my letter to your father with these presents to yourself, I have stayed until this time the address of my letters.

That Huntly may be received to the King's favour great labour is made by the Queen, many noblemen, councillors and courtiers as before I have advertised and as by your last I perceive it is well considered with you. In this suit for Huntly his friends and agents (as I am informed) have given the King to think that Huntly (being moved to seek his peace by the mediation of her Majesty) will depend wholly on the King's grace and do nothing without his privity, pleasure and direction. The Convention to have been at Falkland the 15th hereof is continued and put over to the 20th of this month at Linlithgow, where the King and Council only shall convene and where I hear great offers shall be again made on Huntly's behalf. Yet some of the ministers and well affected (being acquainted with the dispositions of the religious barons and burghs) have so travailed with the King herein as he has flatly promised (and in fast manner) to put Huntly out of the realm before he will hear and grant any offer to be made for him. So as the well affected are therewith comforted, expecting verily the retire of Huntly out of the country and better signs of his reconciliation before his suit and offers shall be accepted.

The well affected here (heartily devoted to her Majesty) will be exceedingly wounded with the discovery of any means to be made by her against their present suit for the "indelate" retreat of Huntly out of this realm. In this case no course can be tendered to Huntly which shall not readily come to the knowledge of the King and them, who determinately conclude it requisite to keep him and the rest of the papist Earls out of the realm until he and they shall in better manner submit to the King and Church, out of which he is cast and excommunicated. In which time of his reconciliation fit opportunity may haply be found for convenient dealing with him to effects expressed in your last letter to me. Therefore I have thought it my duty to present these to your knowledge and good consideration and to attend upon direction in this behalf.

James VI.
1596.

In the Border matters I have written at length to your father and trust to receive timely order for my further proceeding therein.

Albeit it has been believed here that Errol was returned into this realm, it is certified by letters this day received from the Low Countries that he resorted speedily after his escape to the Cardinal of Austria, which I think is or shortly will be better known to you than I can readily learn it here with certainty. Edinburgh, 5 September 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 p. *No address or endorsement.*

Sept. 12. **259.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. lii, p. 135.

We have been putting pen to paper for answer of a letter lately received from our good brother the King of Scots, written with his own hand and so far contrary from the style of his former, written by his Secretary, as we do easily perceive that out of his own spirit he is sensible what satisfaction is due to another prince so injuriously dealt with by another King's subject, although, while his ministers had tossed it in their consultations, some showed more care in regard of particular partiality to colour so notorious an outrage than desire to further my resolution to concur with the rules of our mutual honours and amities ; wherein the considerations reciprocal have so great and mutual sympathy as it has difficulty to be discerned whether we are more dishonoured by being injured or the King's honour touched in not seeing it severely punished. But forasmuch as we expect hourly to be advertised from you of the execution of his resolutions in his letter for warding of Buccleuch, we do forbear at this time to write to himself to the intent we may by our next both return him thanks for his performance and particularly express how much more contentment we take to be righted by the King's own single work than to expect resolution of general consultations which often fail in the main points by being subject to their private ends and passions. You shall therefore at your next access make known unto the King that as we have ever freely communicated our private purposes whatsoever which we could imagine might have any manner of relation to him and his estate, so in this matter lately concluded between our good brother the French King and us we are very curious to have him particularly informed from ourselves besides the general notice which all men in these public actions take of affairs of such nature. Upon the collection and observation of manifest circumstances with how great counsel, power and malice our common enemies begin to contrive their unjust designs against such as have stood upon the justice of their quarrel and true honour of their monarchies, the French King being particularly pressed with the army of Spain in his country did propound unto us a motion of a league offensive and defensive, which now of late has been concluded ; wherein having left a clause of calling in other princes to join in the same leagues of amity as time and occasion should minister further cause, when we considered that no greater bands of amity nor stricter laws of friendship could ever be made between the King our brother and us than already remain in force, we did forbear to trouble the King at this present with this new treaty because we know not how he was affected to be further charged or

James VI.

1596.

bound with the French King than already he is by former treaties ; neither could we well tell how far he was disposed to enlarge or abbreviate his former bands of amity with France by any new particular pacts or covenants, ourselves being sufficiently settled for our particular, as we doubt not but he is with the assurance to usward of that which is inviolably concluded by special treaty between our two persons and kingdoms. And for the realm of France, although we had not been obliged by this late form of a league, we see not how any greater conditions by any league could be required at our hands than voluntarily we have already many years performed towards the King and his estate. So as but only to satisfy the world of our readiness to perform all things which might either in form or substance corroborate our party that are so unjustly pursued, we saw no cause of entering into other conditions by leagues with France or the Low Countries or any other state than already we have performed absolutely with most of our friends and confederates without any such obligation. And yet in respect that the French King now of late has principally borne, and is like to sustain for the present the principal weight as things stand of the King of Spain's forces and might have been fringed with counsel about him who all affect the peace with Spain when by no other prince he was helped thereby to subsist against him, we have yielded him presently the aid of two thousand men at his charges for defence of the maritime frontiers, and will also notify to the States of the Low Countries what has lately passed between us and the said King, both in regard that they are incorporated as you know into our fortunes, having also freshly joined with us in offence of the enemy, and also the rather to incite them to put to their helping hand to the assistance of the French King as the opportunity of their affairs may spare them means to perform it. Of this we pray you inform the King as the person with whom we first begin to communicate this late action and whom we shall ever hold in the foremost rank of our dearest brethren and friends, howsoever any corrupt members in his kingdom being poisoned with Romish potions have studied to infest both our states by representing to him those false shadows of neglect or ill will toward him which should have induced him to have inclined to their own treacherous appetites and which his judgment has clearly unmasked to their scorn and his own honour and advantage. At the Court at Greenwich, 12 Sept. 1596.

3 pp. *Copy in the handwriting of Cecil's clerk, headed: "A letter from her Majesty to Mr. Bowes."*

Sept. 17. **260.** ROBERT BOWES TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Yesternight very late I received your last of the 11th hereof together with another packet of Mr. David Foulis directed to his brother Mr. Thomas Foulis and a letter to myself. The packet to Thomas Foulis I sent and was delivered that night to him, who this afternoon has brought me his packet to be conveyed to his brother, which packet I send enclosed to you praying that it may be delivered with speed and if it please you by my servant Sheperson presently in London.

In the causes of Huntly I have written at some length to my Lord Treasurer, your father. Thereby it will be evident to you that troubles

James VI.

1596. are like to arise, yet because the resolutions to be taken at the meeting of the King with his Council at Linlithgow on the 20th and at the Convention of the Estates at Dunfermline on the 28th instant will give best light of success to follow in those matters, I forbear to write further thereof until I shall understand the effects to be concluded by this Council and Convention. Edinburgh, 17 September 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *No address or endorsement.*

[1596. 261. ROBERT BOWES TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].
Sept. 17.]

According to your pleasure signified I have burnt the note sent enclosed to me in your letter of the 11th hereof. I have lately had occasion of long conference and discourses with Thomas Foulis in private matters betwixt him and some Englishmen, whereupon he has entered to recount some of his brother David's proceedings and success (chiefly in the delay of payment to him of the gratuity expected and much required here). I have found his countenance to be somewhat heavy and without full contentment. Yet he has not disclosed any cause thereof, neither will he let it appear to me that he notes or suspects any indirect dealing touching his brother's letters to him. In which behalf I have not been curious either to sound his mind or move anything to him. But as I shall find and hear you shall be advertised.

Mr. David seems to look for the horning of Mr. Archibald Douglas. The King pretends to be forwardly disposed to execute the same, letting me know that Mr. Archibald Douglas to excuse Mr. Archibald's fault in appearance here told him that her Majesty would not suffer him to depart out of England in respect he knew such mysteries and secrets in the state of England as were not fit to be revealed, which information the King offers to insist [that it is] desirous that her Majesty make it known to him that Mr. Archibald should not be restrained by her. In which behalf I have hitherto forborne to advance matters against Mr. Archibald in regard of the present quarrels betwixt him and me and wherein I trust to receive due trial by the good means of my Lord, your father. *Undated. Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1 p. *No address or endorsement.*

Sept. 17. 262. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

The speedy repair of the commissioners to the frontiers (to quench these present troubles on the Borders and to establish justice and peace) is greatly desired here and I have been much pressed for the expedition thereof. In which behalf (and to hasten Mr. David Foulis's return with contentment to the King in these and for payment of the gratuity required) Mr. David by his letters prays my certificate testifying the entrance of Buccleuch into ward in the town of St. Andrews and his remain there. Wherein by my former letters I advertised that Buccleuch entered into his ward at the time prescribed where he still continues. So I leave the matter to your disposition without further answer to Mr. David herein.

The King has appointed his Council to meet him at Linlithgow on the 20th hereof to prepare the matters to be proponed to the Convention of

James VI.
1596.

the Estates at Dunfermline on the 28th instant, namely for the baptism and custody of the Princess (which causes are only expressed in the King's letter) and for Huntly's offers and petitions, which covertly are kept to be cast to the resolution of that Convention. The assembly of the councillors at Linlithgow is like to be slender, except the Lord Treasurer and Secretary (presently sick) shall recover their health. The sickness of these good instruments puts many good men in doubt of wished success in Huntly's affairs. At this time and in this realm generally reigns a pestilent fever and disease with great famine, dearth and mortality.

The King by his ordinary letters has called sundry noblemen, barons and knights to the Convention at Dunfermline. The Countess of Huntly by her letters (some whereof I have seen) declaring the King's pleasure to commit her husband's cause to the consideration of the assembly at Dunfermline has treated her friends summoned to appear at this time for her husband's relief and peace. For the furtherance whereof the Queen, many noblemen, councillors and courtiers have mightily "instanted" the King and as it is feared that the King shall be won to hear and allow of Huntly's offers before his departure out of the realm, or at least upon his submission and petitions to be exhibited to the King by him whilst in foreign parts. But himself and friends hope to obtain their desires at the next Convention. The ministers still find such manifest obstinacy in religion in Angus, Huntly and Errol and such informations are frequently given to the ministers and religious against these Earls, their religion and practices intended, as the ministers and religious impugn Huntly's request and openly inveigh and speak against it. For the late Synodal Convention at Coupar in Fife have sent their four commissioners to the King with their petitions and reasons to entreat him to stay Huntly's suits until he shall first retire himself out of the realm and show better signs of his reconciliation in religion and manners. The presbytery of the town of Edinburgh have already moved the King to like effects and they (with many others of the Church and well affected) intend to present the weight of those matters to his wise consideration. Hitherto he puts them in good comfort, yet Huntly's friends greatly tempt him, alleging that he may as well hear Huntly's suits and allow of them with the advice of his nobility and estates as the ministers may authorise Mr. David Lindsay to confer with Angus, which is done with the consent of this presbytery. What shall ensue hereon, either in the resolution of this next Convention for or against Huntly or in the effects arising afterwards thereupon, I wholly leave to the sequel which shortly will be manifested.

It is given me to understand that the King has heard of the conclusion of a league betwixt the French King and her Majesty with the Estates of the Low Countries and that he expected to have been acquainted therewith in some sort, recounting that he had offered her Majesty his good will and personal assistance against the King of Spain and all other princes her enemies, that he had uttered his offer to myself to be recommended to her knowledge, and that he was desirous to know whether his good will offered was found worthy of acceptance or thanks. In these he is purposed (as I am informed) at his [*sic* (?) my] next access to him to call to memory his former conferences with me and to know what I have done and received therein. By my former letters I have advertised the

James VI.

1596. effects of his offers motioned to me and having hitherto no return of any answer to the same I shall therefore in best sort I can pass over this matter and his motions and attend direction to do further as shall best stand with her Majesty's pleasure.

MacConnell charged to appear and deliver his obedience to the King for his possessions in the Isles is come to Glasgow and offers caution for his obedience and good behaviour ; which caution will be accepted and he is like to remain in ward until the caution shall be entered to the King's contentment. Hereby it is looked that these wars intended for the Isles shall cease and that general obedience shall be there given to the King.

The Lords of the Exchequer have given forth process of horning the Earl of Argyll, which being awarded against the ordinary course and form are suspended. The King has sent James Erskine with his letters to Argyll, both to satisfy him in all his jealous conceits and malcontentments and to draw him to the King's presence. Yet being presently in far parts and hearing of the great favours shown to the Countess of Huntly at Court and in her husband's causes, it is thought that he will still excuse and delay his repair to Court for some good time. The Earl's friends are much divided and broken in sunder, and some of them (namely the Bishop of Brechin and other of the house of Calder) are suspected to be ready to band with Huntly. Yet the purpose being dis[covered, the] mischief is like (I trust) to be prevented.

The Master of Gray has at Court sought licence [to go to] Spaw in Germany for his health, offering to d . . . in his power. Albeit the King appears not . . . his service offered, yet it is thought that he shall . . . licence if he hold his purpose to travel. Edinburgh, 17 September 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

2¾ pp. The end part torn away at the edge. Addressed. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil's clerk : "Concerning Huntly. Rec. the xxijth at Grenew^{ch}."

Sept. 20. **263.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

On Saturday last the 18th hereof at 4 in the afternoon (and after I had sent away my last letters of the 17th instant to my Lord your father and yourself) I received your last letter of the 12th instant together with her Majesty's letter to myself containing effects expected here and for my good instruction and direction in some weighty causes like to arise here. Whereupon I have sent my servant for my "indelate" access to the King now at Stirling and purposed to come this day to Linlithgow, where I trust to have audience this day (as the King shall time his coming there) or to-morrow at the furthest. Of all my proceedings and success herein you shall be speedily advertised. In the mean time I thought it my duty to give you notice of the receipt of her Majesty's letter and yours and of my hope for the expedition of the charge enjoined me ; in which behalf I have partly written to the Lord Treasurer your father by my last to him, as by the view thereof will appear to you and as by occasions offered by some subtle suggestions to the King I was drawn to the same.

The ministers openly impugn the offers of Huntly and publicly in their sermons inveigh and protest against acceptation thereof before his retreat

James VI.

1596. out of the realm and due signs of his true reconciliation to the Church. The matter is very likely to work some trouble and change in the course of this state as shortly will be more manifest and as thereon such course may be taken for her Majesty as shall be found most convenient. All others I refer to my next. Edinburgh, 20 September 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Mr. Ro: Bowes to my master. Acknowledging the receipt of her Majesty's letter of the xijth together with your Honour's. His conference with Thomas Fowles [*sic*]. Rec. the xxvjth at Grenewich."

Sept. 21. 264. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO KING JAMES VI.

My dear brother. That I see a King more considerate of what becometh him in the behalf of his like than councillors that never being of such like estates can hardlier judge what were fittest done, I marvel no more than I am glad to find yourself as greatest, so worthier of judgment than such as if they were as they ought, you need not have had the glory of so honourable a fact alone. But you have made me see that you can poise what were meetest and deem how short of that they "shoulde." They have displayed their neglect in leaving you destitute of good advice by their backwardness in that was their duty and I hope it will make you look with a broad sight on such advisers and will warn you by this example not to concur with such deceitful counsel, but will cause you either to mind their custom or to get you such as be better minded than to hazard you the loss of your most affectionates in following their most unseemly advice. For the punishment given to the offender, I render you many thanks, though I must confess that without he be rendered to ourself or to our warden we have not that we ought. And therefore I beseech you consider the greatness of my dishonour and measure his just delivery accordingly. Deal in this case like a King that will have all this realm and others adjoining see how justly and kindly you both will and can use a prince of my quality, and let not any dare persuade more for him than you shall think fit, whom it becomes to be echoes to your actions, no judgers of what beseems you. For Border matters they are so shameful and inhumane as it would loth a King's heart to think of them. I have borne for your quiet too long even murders committed by the hands of your own wardens, which if they be true, as I fear they be, I hope they shall well pay for such demerits and you will never endure such barbarous acts to be unrevenged. I will not molest you with other particularities but will assure myself that you will not easily be persuaded to "overslippe" such enormities and will give both favourable ear to our Ambassador and speedy redress with due correction for such demeanour, never to think them meet to rule that guides [*sic*] without rule. Of me make this account that in the world shall never be found a more sincere affection nor purer from guile nor fuller fraught with truer sincerity than mine, which will not harbour in my breast a wicked conceit of you without such great cause were given as you yourself could hardly deny of which we may speed I hope *ad Calendas Græcas*. I render millions of thanks for such advertisements as this bearer brought from you and see by that you both weigh me in your-

James VI.

1596. self in a right balance, for who seeks to supplant one looks next for the other. This paper I end with my prayers for your safety as desireth, Your most affectionate sister Eliz. R.

1 p. *Copy. Endorsed in the same hand*: "1596. 21th Sept. Copie of her Ma. letter to the K. of Scots of hir own hand. For Mr. Bowes."

Vol. lii, p. 138.

Another copy of the foregoing letter.

1½ pp. *In the hand of one of Cecil's clerks. Headed*: "A copie of her Majesty's letter to the K. of Scottes written with her owne hande." *In the margin*: "21^{mo} Septembris 1596. At the Courte at Greenwich."

Sept. 21. **265. JOHN PETIT TO ———.**
Oct. 1.

I trust you can with joy call to remembrance the place of our first acquaintance at Liege, the disputations and discourses we then had so well touching matters of religion as of estate, wherein although we agreed not for some points in controversy of them yet did we accord and were of one mind in the other touching temporal government, with what duty and love every good subject ought to bear towards her Majesty and his native country. And as I promised you then to have due and just respect to both, so have I continued of that mind and do still remain of the same opinion always, abhorring either to join with practisers or in any practice against either. If I have not hitherto by some particular act made show of my dutiful affection that way in such sort as my desire was, is and can be, it has not proceeded for want of good will but rather of other just causes and wanting fit matter worth the troubling a pen with a letter. But now I hope in part to recompense that long silence by declaring unto you a matter as seems to me of importance and worthy the advertising, seeing it concerns the safety of the realm and her Majesty. I have been so long out of the country and thereby have so small acquaintance in that Court with any there as I could not tell to whom I might declare this matter. Therefore I have made choice of you of whose integrity and good meaning to his Queen and country I have some experience, not doubting but that you will use it for the common good of both. I have since I saw you resided for the most part at Venice and Florence, but upon some occasion of my master's business I was at Rome most of the last summer where I came by chance to understand that one Purve Ogilbye took upon him the name of Ambassador to the King of Scotland and wondering much at the man, the matter and the manner of it I took care to observe his doings and proceedings. In the end with much labour, travail and not without cost also I discovered all his devices and practices and got copies of part of his propositions, the which I send herewith. By the same you may find out his private intent. Himself went from hence to Spain, whence I hear he travails for help to go through the same matter and, as I am informed, has obtained that one shall be sent with him to Scotland to treat with the King and withal to discover whether that which is promised of his part be true or not. The Pope sends into Scotland for the like purpose a spiritual man that is Bishop of Vaison in the county of Avignon, who is also a Scottishman called Chisholm (Cheshulme). The Lord

James VI.

1596. Sanquhar (Sanchor) whose surname is Crichton (Creyton) went from Flanders into Scotland to confer with his King. For that purpose the Father Crichton (Creyton), a Jesuit, was his chief director in and of all matter to that purpose. The same Father Crichton and another of his company called Father Tirye are the chief ringleaders of the matter, with whom do join divers Englishmen, spiritual and temporal, as Westmorland, Daker, Pagett, Ligon, Tressam, Stoner, Pansfoote and others. Of the spirituality are D. Gifford, Clydero, Robert Tempest and some others. To conclude, it is a general note that most English born northward be Scottish. Others not so much. The contrary faction are Father Parsons, Holt, all the English Jesuits, Sir Ar. Stanley, H. Owen, Fitzherbert and others.

The Scottish that are dealers in this matter have promised to take Berwick from the English. The manner how is that it should be done upon a market day, at which time the Scots are permitted to enter into the town. They have insinuated that they have some intelligence in the town with Borderers that serve there as soldiers. To prevent the same it were convenient that the market be kept out of the town as it is done in sundry frontier towns that I have seen and to keep there as few Borderers for soldiers may be.

Moreover, it is certain that the Scottish have assured the Pope that they have great friends in England and in Court, which as they say will facilitate the enterprise if they had means to buy a foundation to be able to stand and demand by force their pretended right, and some to think (at least would make men to believe it) that they have means to take away her Majesty unnaturally.

Thus I have laid before you what I have been informed of and know it to be true. As more shall come to my knowledge (as perhaps it may do ere long) I will not fail to give you notice thereof, so as secrecy be kept and I do perceive my labours to be acceptable, the which I do more for discharge of my duty than for any gains I expect. If the knowing of these things be of importance for her Majesty's service and safety, then is it necessary that it be kept very secret or otherwise I shall come to the knowledge of no more. And if this be not esteemed nor my good will and travail accepted I do give them liberty to use their discretion therein. From Venice 1. 8^{bris} 1596. "Your friend John Petit."

Postscript. This much being written a friend at Rome has sent me word that Sir Fr. Englefeld wrote from Spain in a letter dated 4. 7^{bris} to one Baynes, that was sometime my Lord Cardinal Allen's secretary, how Pury Ogilby had played a Scottish trick there with Clerk and his ministers. When all things were ready for his departure towards Scotland with a chain of gold worth 500 crowns to present him he stole away, whereby it is thought that either he had no commission to wade so far or that he came to discover their minds and cozen them, so that it is conjectured he comes to Italy back again to seek help of the Venetians or the Duke of Florence for his King. What further I can learn you shall know if I understand it be well taken.

The paper with the letter A. was signed by the King of Scotland and had his seal to it. The other paper with the letter B. were reasons laid down by Pury Ogleby in writing first, out of the which this abstract was

James VI.

1596. briefly taken out in Latin. The original was long but the substance is contained in this paper.

2 pp. *In Thorpe's Calendar described as in the handwriting of Mr. Thomas Phelippes. Endorsed in the same hand: "John Petit to . . . * dated 1 Octobris 1596. Touching the negotiation of Pury Ogilby at Rome."*

First enclosure in the preceding.

(The alleged negotiations of James VI with Clement VIII.)

A paper containing (1) "Petitiones quædam serenissimi Regis Scottorum quas a sanctissimo Patre Clemente Papa perimpleri exoptat." *A copy of the document printed above, No. 191, variant (b), pp. 225-227.*

(2) "Considerationes nonnullæ bonum affectum Regis Scociæ erga Catholicos comprobantes." *A copy of the document printed above, No. 192, pp. 227-229, with the small omissions there noted.*

3 pp. *Latin. Endorsed in the same hand: "Matter concerning Pury Ogilbyes negociation with the Pope on the behalfe of the K. of Scottes anno 1595 (in another hand: false and conterfait): wherein are the petitions of the K. signed with his hand (in another hand: as was pretended). Reasons of persuasion gathered by Pury Ogilbye to prove the K. Catholike and that the K. of Sp. is agaynst him for the Crowne of England." (In another hand: In Latin.)*

Possibly another enclosure in the same.

(Minute to Pury Ogilby.)

I have received from you two letters since your departure whereby, as you give me good cause to commend your diligence in writing, so I perceive what good means you have to perform what you have undertaken for the joint advancement of your sovereigns' service and good estate of England. And for the particulars, as in my opinion nothing can be more dangerous for a young prince than to have violent counsellors about him, so would I be loth that so puissant and bloody a man as James Stuard (?) should continue to be near about your sovereign and therefore wish you to persuade the Master of Gray considering how of late he has offended the said James Stuard who "cogniseth" (?) him to be the chief practiser of his disgrace. . . .

I pray you learn the Jesuits' practice and what intelligence passes between the Catholics of this realm and them and particularly what the parties be which are employed and to whom J. Cecill has care that such packets are given (?). *Undated.*

1 small page. *Draft scrawled in the handwriting of Thomas Phelippes with numerous corrections and for the most part illegible. Endorsed: "Minute to Poury Ogilbye" and apparently a cipher key.†*

* The name has been heavily scored through and is illegible.

† A copy of the summary of John Ogilvy's memorials concerning his alleged mission to the King of Spain in Spanish, without John Cecil's criticisms, has been bound up as another enclosure in Petit's letter, but the date ^{21 Nov.} _{1 Dec.} 1596 precludes the possibility of this. (See No. 296, p. 367 *infra*.)

James VI.

1596. 266. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.
Sept. 22.

I am hereby to entreat you to deliver to the Queen this my other letter and her Majesty's answer known, that I may be acquainted with the bearer to the effect that I may in all diligence carry with her Majesty's will the service I ought to the King my master. London, 22 Sept. 1596.
Signed : D. Foulis.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 23. 267. ROBERT BOWES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

For the execution of your Majesty's pleasure and directions specified in your letter of the 12th hereof and delivered to me the 18th I did the next day send to procure my timely access to the King (then at Stirling) and thereon received audience at Linlithgow the 21st instant.

At large I have reported to the King the contents of your Majesty's letter, expressing first your readiness to put pen to paper for answer of his letter written with his own hand to you and your hourly expectation to be advertised by myself of the accomplishment of his resolution in his letter for warding of Buccleuch. By the want of which advertisement your Majesty was moved to forbear at this time to write to himself. Secondly, I put him in mind of your wonted course and kindness to communicate to him your privatest purposes having relation to him and his estate. I made known to him your present desire to acquaint him (particularly from yourself) with the conclusion of the league betwixt the French King and your Majesty, the motives and grounds thereof, the considerations of the delay of the advertisement of the same to him until this time, the clause reserved by you for calling into this league other princes as time and occasion shall minister further cause, and as your Majesty begins first with himself to impart this action, so you hold him in the foremost rank of your dearest brethren and friends. And albeit that I recounted these two principal heads with the other circumstances in your letter mentioned, yet for his better information in the whole body and every branch thereof I showed the original to him agreeable to my direction in that part, and nevertheless pretending to do the same for his best satisfaction and that he might behold the great measure of your goodwill continued towards him, adding further that I then found the time precious to him in the multitude of his present affairs.

After he had heard my verbal report and attentively viewed and perused your Majesty's letter he appeared to rejoice much that you had so well conceived of his style and accepted his letter with his mind and promise uttered therein for the warding and punishment of Buccleuch ; wherein as he had performed his promise in warding Buccleuch, so he verily looked that I should have given advertisement thereof to your Majesty long before this time agreeable to your own expectation and his opinion in me ; and that some order might be taken by commissioners to quench the present troubles on the Borders with redress of wrongs done and for the establishment of future justice and peace ; and that it might also please your Majesty to dispatch and return his servant Mr. David Foulis with contentment to him as well for the delivery of your gratuity

James VI.

1596. expected at this time, which he trusts you will cause to be speedily given to Mr. David, as also for your order for the more timely defray of that benefit in sooner and better season of the year. And he challenged myself for my omission in matters of such importance.

Because the former parts of his answer required short reply by any warrant given to me therein, and that the conclusion of his speech rubbed most on myself, I readily passed over the first and for my own excuse alleged that before this (and in due season) I had certified his order executory for Buccleuch's warding; which order I found to be so fully concluded and effectually intended to be put in execution as I thought it not material to advertise the execution now performed. Nevertheless, acknowledging to be warned of this error by your Majesty's letter and by his own challenge, I must crave pardon (I said) at both your hands. And for some part of redress I promised to hasten my certificate of Buccleuch's entrance into and still remain in ward, which by my former letters to the Lord Treasurer I have so certified, as it shall (I trust) please her Majesty to allow well thereof. Nevertheless, the King (knowing nothing thereof) presses me to advertise the same with all expedition.

Secondly, he rendered very hearty thanks to your Majesty as well for your accustomed kindness in former effects as also for your present favour in communicating to him the conclusion of the league offensive and defensive betwixt the French King and you, accounting this courtesy showed to him to be much the greater and [more] acceptable in that he received the perfect notice of this action by your own means and not by general report common in such public affairs. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that he had been partly informed both of the conclusion of this league and also that your Majesty had sent to the French King the Garter according to former election made of the French King and of himself (wherein his desire for the Garter and his hope to get and enjoy it after the delivery of it to the French King sufficiently "brast" forth and appeared). He said that he looked to have been acquainted with the motion and progress of this cause before the end thereof, recounting his own former care taken and the employment of Colonel Stewart and Mr. John Skene for the negotiating of like league to have been contracted betwixt the French King, your Majesty, himself and other protestant princes and states to have been conjoined against the King of Spain. Herewith he called to memory some offers tendered for your Majesty and disclosed to myself that, albeit he had the dignity to be a King and a monarch of a kingdom as other kings have, yet he would not refuse personally to enter into any action for your Majesty against the King of Spain or any other prince or potentate being enemy to you. Wherein he gave me commission (he said) and prayed that his offer might be recommended to your knowledge (of which I have by my former letters made relation) and he looked to have been employed or thanked for his goodwill. Further, he touched some other particulars to prove his resolute and good affection for your Majesty, which he thought meet to be passed over for that time than brought to remembrance, lest the commemoration thereof should disgrace the benefit, and that he has never failed nor left undone anything in his power which he knew might please or profit her Majesty, protesting to hold always this mind during all his days. Finally, he frankly offered to

James VI.

1596.

he ready to join in any league with your Majesty, the French King and other princes and states as to you should be found expedient.

To these I replied : first, as out of his own experience he beholds and acknowledges your kindness, using always to communicate to him your privatest purposes interesting him and his estate and presently prosecuting your old manner in the relation of this action of league first uttered to himself, so the report of his thankful memory and acceptance of your Majesty's favour and goodwill towards him therein would be very welcome, pleasant and be satisfaction to you. Next, that you had given approved testimonies how well and thankfully you embraced and countenanced as well his motion and the employment of Colonel Stewart and Mr. John Skene sent to your Majesty and other princes to negotiate either a general peace amongst the princes of Christendom or else a firm league offensive and defensive against the King of Spain (the only disturber of that peace), as also his own particular offer to contract a league and amity with your Majesty and such other princes as should be found convenient to you, and thereon personally to enter into action against the King of Spain and any other of your enemies agreeable to his former readiness uttered to me. In memory of all which your Majesty has thought meet to begin first to impart this league to him as a person of chief estimation, whom you would hold ever in the foremost rank of your dearest brethren and friends ; and that for the timing of this kind information given him you had specified such reasons in your letter to me and "seyne" to himself as I trust should well satisfy him and as I should not need to trouble him with further repetition thereof.

Herewith he seemed well pleased and sufficiently satisfied in every behalf, wishing to understand timely your further advice and pleasure for his entrance into other confederacy and league with your Majesty, the French King or any other prince. He prayed me eftsoons to give you speedy notice of Buccleuch's entrance, abode and continuance in ward that the repair of the Commissioners to the Borders and the return of his servant Mr. David Foulis may be hastened. Edinburgh, 23 September 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

3¼ pp. *Addressed*. 4 small seals. *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : "Rec: the xxixth at Grenewch."

Sept. 23. 268. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

In all my late proceedings and success with the King for the execution of the directions given by her Majesty's letter to me, which I received in your last packet of the 12th hereof, I have at large advertised her by my letter enclosed. I have been the more slow in the expedition of this address by the increase of my disquiet grown by a great cold contracted or rather by this new disease generally reigning here, whereof few houses in this town are clear. In all other things I have written to my Lord Treasurer trusting the same shall come to your view. Edinburgh, 23 September 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

½ p. *Addressed*. *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : "Rec. at Grenewch the xxixth."

James VI.

1596.

Sept. 23. 269. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

The griefs in the ministers against Huntly and the other attainted and forfeited Earls still increase ; wherein the ministers are both pricked forward by daily informations given them of the practices against religion and this discipline established and also much pressed by religious barons, burghs and others in regard that it is advertised that the Earl of Errol is likewise returned into this realm, that Angus intends to remain still in the country notwithstanding his composition made for the assurance of his earldom and possessions to his eldest son with promise to depart out of this realm, and that Sir Walter Lindsay is crept closely in Scotland with gold from Spain to maintain these papists' actions. I have been perfectly advertised that Errol landed at Stanehyve on Monday last the 20th hereof, that his return at this time and in this manner ministers great suspicion of complots domestical and foreign against the religion and discipline here, and that the ministers and religious so far distrust their faith, honours and promises (so oftentimes broken and defeated) as small credit will be given by them to their offers, which are thought shall be presented to the next Convention at Dunfermline on the 28th hereof. Wherein, albeit the most of the company appointed by the King to be assembled is greatly suspected to the ministers and well affected, yet they depend and trust firmly on the King's promise and constancy to them, as they have made it known to him by their commissioners and opened the same publicly in their sermons, for the honour of the King and satisfaction of the people much stirred in this behalf.

The presbytery here have thought it convenient to direct letters to the brethren in the North to proceed to excommunication against the Countesses of Huntly and Errol, notwithstanding that the Lady Huntly is in Court and highly countenanced by the Queen ; that letters shall be presented to some especial noblemen to thank the King and to persuade his constancy against Huntly and the other papists ; that the religious (with the King's favour and licence) may convene within 20 days to frame their petitions to him for prevention of the dangers ; and that the acts of the Church may be searched and the names of the commissioners thereof be exhibited to the intent they may be employed with petitions to the King and Convention as shall be expedient. The sequel in these causes will better appear by the proceedings of this Convention.

The Lord Treasurer is well recovered and returned to Court. He has given wise and faithful counsel to the King for the best pacifying of these troubles betwixt the ministers and excommunicated Earls, as thereby it is like the King will not hear and accept of Huntly's offers at this Convention as has been expected and as the Lady Huntly and his friends have boldly given out. This with the other causes for the baptism and custody of the princess are referred to the deliberation and resolution of the Convention. The Secretary has no good health, yet he is come to the Court and has well seconded and joined with the Treasurer in these causes.

Angus MacConnell has submitted himself to the King at Linlithgow, suing for his favour and grant in many things touching his possessions and liberties claimed, which are not like to be granted to him as he requires.

James VI.

1596. Colonel Stewart is returned with MacConnell and Argyll is looked for shortly. But I find hitherto no certainty thereof.

Of all my proceedings and success with the King in the execution of the directions given by her Majesty's last letter to me I have advertised her by my letter enclosed in my packet to Mr. Secretary who sent her letter to me and will I trust deliver mine to her and to be showed to your lordship.

The King trusting that I shall advertise her Majesty of Buccleuch's entrance into ward and continuance there (as I have already performed) expects thereon full resolution and expedition of the repair of the Commissioners to the frontier and of speedy return of Mr. David Foulis with her Majesty's gratuity and with advertisement of her pleasure in all things. Edinburgh, 23 September 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Addressed and endorsed.*

Sept. 24. 270. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I am of late enjoined to crave earnestly the dispatch of your Commissioners and that they exceed not the number of three or four at most; as also that the Bishop of Durham be not contained, seeing none of these of the King is of so great a rank. London, 24 Sept. 1596. *Signed*: D. Foulis.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Enclosure with the preceding.

Memorandum to the above effect and that the time of the going of the Commissioners be specified and that they may go with speed.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In Foulis's hand.*

[Sept. 26.] 271. DAVID FOULIS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Looking to have received with my dispatch the King my master's honourable satisfaction according to your Majesty's kindly promise and his deserts, yet in end finding (not with small admiration) the increase of his affection to be measured with the diminution of your accustomed benevolence, I thought it no small point of my most humble duty to urge yet once again my extraordinary audience proceeding from a case so contrary to my expectation; which seeing I could not have without your importuning, I have under the assurance of your favour presumed at least to trouble you with these few lines requesting you that either I may receive the ordinary sum of 4000*l.* as in some sort more proportionable to that measure of his Majesty's affection, whereof you have had of late very sufficient proof, or than that it would please you to let me know for my particular discharge that in the receipt of 3000*l.* only rests your last resolution for the present. *Undated. Signed*: D. Foulis.

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:*
"26 Sept: 1596."

James VI.

1596.

272. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS FOR THE BORDERS.

Sept. 28.

Instructions given by the Queen's Majesty to the reverend father in God, Toby, Bishop of Durham, Sir William Bowes, knight, Francis Slingsby, esquire, [and] D[octo]r Colmer, appointed to be Commissioners upon the Borders of England and Scotland and to meet and treat with the Commissioners of Scotland for these causes following.

You shall receive her Majesty's commission under the great seal of England by which you shall perceive how you are authorised to inquire and determine all contentions that of late have grown upon the Borders betwixt the wardens of England and Scotland and for the redressing and reforming of the invasions, incursions, spoils and murders and all other enormities committed against the treaties of peace betwixt both the princes, their subjects and countries. And so by authority of that commission you shall repair towards the Borders and there by your letters or messages determine and accord with the Commissioners of Scotland where you shall both conveniently and speedily meet and there accord amongst yourselves how to proceed to the execution of this your commission; for seeing that the King of Scots' commission may be either fully agreeable to yours or else that it be largely conceived to give the Commissioners of Scotland authority to hear and determine and to warrant in the King's name the execution of all such things as shall be accorded on both your parts in your treaties. For except the commission on the part of Scotland be as sufficient to authorise the Commissioners to hear and determine and to bind the King to ratify all such things as shall be by you mutually accorded, it is reason that you forbear to treat with them until they shall reform any such want of authority, if such shall be. But you shall understand that the copy of this your commission has been sent to Robert Bowes, the Ambassador in Scotland, to procure the like to be granted there by the King, whereby it is hoped you shall find no impediment for lack of authority on their side to begin your treaty.

Item, you shall understand the cause of this intended treaty to be upon the complaint of either side both of the wardens and their deputies and of the subjects on both parts for lack of justice to be done, to the stay and punishment of offenders, whereof notwithstanding many complaints being made by the wardens of England there has been no redress made, nor stay of further offences committed not only in spoils of goods but in burnings of houses and murdering of people. And for that these enormities have appeared so great and manifest and that the ordinary manner of reforming thereof, which ought to have been by meetings of wardens and holding days of truce, has been wilfully neglected, it has been thought meet both by her Majesty for her realm of England and by the King of Scots for his country to have these enormities and great defaults presently stayed. For which purpose both their Majesties having intent to send Commissioners to hear and determine these disorders, they did both of late by their proclamations published upon the Borders command peace to be kept and all incursions and particular revenges to be forborne and to attend the coming of Commissioners for reforming of all enormities, whereof complaint might be made. And yet notwithstanding such the

James VI.
1596.

honourable intentions of both the Princes, since the publishing of the said proclamations there have been on the part of Scotland sundry incursions made and one special open invasion into England with open show of hostility by Sir Robert Kerr (Carre), one of the wardens of Scotland, of which complaint you shall be informed both by the Lord Eure, warden of the Middle, and by Sir Robert Carey, deputy warden of the East Marches, which offence being so lately done and contrary to the King of Scots' express inhibition you shall at your first entry to treat of causes with the Commissioners on the other side object to them as a special matter to be first reformed before your entry to the inquisition of any others; and you shall earnestly solicit to have just amends made by the said Sir Robert Kerr according to the laws of the Borders and specially in respect of the evident fresh breach of the King's commandment.

Item, after you have received some good satisfaction for this offence, for proofs whereof you shall have due information given you by the wardens of England, both of the Middle and the East, you shall then proceed in order how to hear the complaints of every of the three wardenries in order, beginning (if it shall be so thought convenient) with the causes first of the East wardenry, or if it shall be otherwise thought fit of the West, and so to follow in order, wherein being informed of the wardens of the complaints of the part of England you shall object them to be answered by the Commissioners of Scotland, and shall therein proceed to the trial of the said complaints by all usual ordinary means prescribed by the treaties or had in use by the custom of the Marches.

Item, because it appears that the lack of justice of long time has followed for the want of ordinary meeting of the wardens, as ought to have been, you shall inquire what has been the cause of the discontinuance of the meetings and shall directly observe in whom the same defaults have been and if any such have been on the part of England you shall plainly reprehend them for the same and charge them hereafterwards to reform the same. And if (as it is most likely) the defaults have been on the part of the wardens and officers of Scotland, you shall in like manner procure the Commissioners of Scotland sharply to reprehend them that have made such defaults, and shall by your common decree in the names of both the Princes enjoin the said wardens of every part hereafterwards to keep frequent days of truce and there to hear and determine the complaints of the subjects of either side, ordering good redress and remedy for the parties wronged and offended.

Item, you shall consider that one great inconvenience is found to the damage of her Majesty's subjects inhabiting the Borders in that of the part of Scotland there is a division of offices by appointing of keepers of particular countries, as of Liddisdale and such like within the circuit of the wardenries, which particular keepers take upon them the government of those countries separating their authority from the ordinary authority of the wardens, so as when complaints be made by the wardens of England to their opposite wardens of Scotland for offences committed against her Majesty's subjects by the inhabitants in their wardenries they refuse to give order for redress of the wrongs, referring the answering thereof to the particular keepers within their wardenry, to whom though it may belong to assist their wardens in their government, yet the final order and

James VI.

1596. answering of all causes within the wardenries belong to the warden as a person authorised and answerable to justice and not to any other inferior person ; of which inconvenience, as you shall be informed by any of the wardens of England, you shall press the Commissioners of Scotland to procure remedy hereto : and assign and prescribe every warden to answer for the whole wardenry and not to shift off the answering of justice to any that have inferior charge to them as keepers of any particular countries within their wardenry.

Item, you shall by conference with the wardens consider with what kind of complaints you shall think meet to deal for redress, whether you shall begin with such offences as have been of long time past committed and not answered, or with the later, and so to go backward. And as it shall appear profitable for the part of England, so shall you also procure by all good means that the complaints of Scotland against England may take the same course.

Item, where it is likely that earnest complaint will be made on the part of Scotland at your first meeting for a slaughter committed of late upon one John a Daglish by certain of the garrison of Berwick, whereto will be added for increase of the said offence that the said Scottishman being killed was cut in pieces, you shall as soon as you may require John Carey, Governor of Berwick, to inform you as much as he may how the same his act may be defended, and for further answering thereunto you shall seek to be informed of such as can call to remembrance other former* more notable murders committed in the year 1579, which was upon one George Foster the father and George Foster the son being taken in their beds and cutting of their throats, which was done by the Yonges, Bournes and Pringles, and about the same time further notable murders committed upon John Foster, a servant of Lord Hunsdon, and one William Foster and George Spire, whose tongue they first pulled out of his throat, and after they had murdered them all they cut their bodies in pieces ; which monstrous acts so committed were never duly reformed by just punishment.

Item, you shall also inform yourselves by Sir Robert Carey of the circumstance that moved him to hang one Borne† very lately that appertained to Sir Robert Kerr, for that it appears that the said Sir Robert Kerr threatens some notable revenge thereof upon certain surnames of the English to whom he bears privy hate. And as Sir Robert Carey shall truly inform you, so you shall deal therein as the further revenge may not be pursued by Sir Robert Kerr by way of force, but the cause to be heard and ordered according to the laws of the Border.

Item, as you shall have cause given you by any partial dealings of the opposite Commissioners either for lack of expedition in hearing of causes or in refusing to have the causes tried according to the laws of the Marches, or that you shall find any of the wardens of Scotland wilfully disposed to infringe the ancient good orders for justice, you shall by your letters signify the same particularly to her Majesty's Ambassador in Scotland, moving him to inform the King and his Council of the lack which you shall find of indifferent and reasonable proceedings in his Commissioners and in any

* " former " is inserted in Cecil's hand ; the following copy has " far."

† So written in the following copy ; the draft has " born " in Cecil's hand.

James VI.

1596. of his wardens and require redress thereof. And thereof you shall advertise her Majesty or her Council what remedy you find therein.

Item, as the chief cause of this commission and treaty is for the reformation of disorders committed by either of the nations, that is by the English upon the Scots or by the Scots upon the English, which is most properly to be determined by the mutual treaty of you the Commissioners as persons indifferent and by such orders as you shall prescribe to the wardens on either side hereafter to follow, so shall you also at some times convenient by yourselves apart without the Commissioners of Scotland cause inquisition to be made of the defaults committed within every wardenry by the inhabitants thereof, her Majesty's own subjects, amongst themselves for lack of usual days of wardenry courts to have been kept by the wardens as they ought to do, whereby justice might be ministered betwixt the subjects amongst themselves and also orders kept by views and musters for the maintenance of all the inhabitants in convenient strength both of horse and foot according to their tenures to defend themselves against the enemy or against any of their own countries being fugitives, outlaws or otherwise disordered in their livings.

Item, you shall also cause inquisition to be made of the strength of every wardenry in horsemen and footmen and how and within what time the numbers thereof have been decayed, and by whose default, and how the same may be in reasonable time restored ; and thereof you shall certify your knowledge and opinions to her Majesty to the intent by her authority, as need shall be, the same may be reformed, and as cause shall be also given to her Majesty to punish and inflict some pains upon them which have been the cause of those great defaults, whereby it is to be lamented to see the weakness of the Borders of England and contrariwise the increase and strength of the opposite of Scotland.

Item, you shall inquire what number of persons and who they are that have of late left their habitations within any of the wardenries and for what cause, whether for lack of defence by the wardens or for other respect, and shall use all good means to cause them to return to their habitations to the intent to maintain the strength of the Borders, or otherwise to have them compelled to return to their former habitations.

Item, you shall also inquire of the wardens what persons and owners of lands there be that have improved their rents so highly or divided their farms into so many small parcels, as they which inhabit the same are not able to maintain themselves with horses as by the custom of the Borders they ought to do.

Item, you shall cause inquisition to be made what numbers of Scots are suffered to live either by habitation in houses or by service with the English in every of the wardenries : a matter most necessary to be restrained* for divers respects.

Item, you shall seek to be informed of sundry ordinances made and agreed upon at sundry times by Commissioners of England and Scotland whereof there is no doubt but the wardens have true copies, as specially is known by a diligent collection which the Lord Eure, now warden of the Middle Marches, has attained and got to be collected together in entire books as has appeared by some copies thereof sent hither since he was

* " reformed " in the following copy.

James VI

1596.

warden to the Lord Treasurer of England. Of which book [*sic*] and other like collections you may have very good light how in former times by treaties of Commissioners orders have been taken for the establishing of order and peace betwixt the subjects of both realms : whereof if good regard had been had by the wardens of late years these present inconveniences had not now been needful to have been redressed by this your treaty ; and besides many other good orders that have been devised and agreed upon for direction of wardens to execute their offices for maintenance of the common peace betwixt both the realms and for redressing of enormities you may do well to inquire for the treaties made in the year 1587 at Berwick when the Lord of Hunsdon had committed unto him the government of the Middle March upon the sequestration from the son of Sir John Forster, at which time Carmichael that now is named Commissioner for Scotland was one ; which orders then taken for reformation of complaints on both sides being well considered may be good instruction to you to direct the wardens at this time to follow the same course for redress of complaints, for trial of them indifferently betwixt both the nations.

Item, you shall be informed by the Lord Scrope or some from him of the violent foul action committed by Buccleuch in breaking of the castle of Carlisle and forcibly taking away of a lawful prisoner, of which fact her Majesty has particularly required of the King of Scots by her own letters just amends to be made by delivery of Buccleuch ; whereunto her Majesty has yet had no other satisfaction but by committing of Buccleuch to the ward of St. Andrews castle. And, though the answer of the King has been that the order of that cause should have been committed to be heard and ordered by commissioners, yet considering the fact has been so manifest and violent and is not inquirable whether it has been done or no as a matter of doubt, you shall if any speech be moved thereof unto you forbear to treat thereof with the opposite Commissioners as concerning Buccleuch's violent act, but shall allege that her Majesty expects a further satisfaction from the King for that fact. And yet, nevertheless, because it is likely that the Commissioners on the other side will use some speech in defence of Buccleuch's act, pretending that the prisoner who was called Kinmont (Kinmowthe) taken out of the castle was not a lawful prisoner detained by the Lord Scrope, you shall do well to seek to be informed by Lord Scrope or some from him to justify the lawfulness of the said prisoner, both for his taking and keeping, so as you may have sufficient matter to answer the Commissioners in that behalf if they shall object any matter against the Lord Scrope for the taking and detaining of the said Scottishman.

Furthermore, you the Bishop shall understand that her Majesty has been diversely and credibly informed of a general defection of divers of her subjects within the countries of those frontiers from their duties by abstaining from coming to the church or divine service, a matter to be prevented and remedied either by instruction and teaching, or by correction according to the laws of the realm, or by both as the causes in their circumstances shall require ; and that it is thought that this corruption and defection grow partly by sufferance of professed papists to wander up and down in that country and to haunt men's houses secretly without restraint, and partly for that divers benefices with cures have not their parsons and vicars resident upon their cures, whereby the people lack

James VI.

1596.

both instruction for their duties to Almighty God and food for their bodies for want of hospitality, a matter specially to be pitied in this time of dearth and want. These enormities are by you the Bishop as ordinary of the diocese and one specially authorised by her Majesty's general Commission Ecclesiastical most necessary to be looked into and inquired how far they are grown to be thus general and dangerous and how they may be in time prevented, stayed and remedied. Therefore, whilst you are there in those parts in person and may readily be informed hereof, it is thought most necessary by her Majesty that you, being the ordinary ecclesiastical and one of the principal persons authorised by the Commission Ecclesiastical, besides the authority which you have as a justice of the peace in those parts, should proceed (whereunto her Majesty knows very well how sincerely you are disposed) to the speedy reformation of all such dangerous persons as shall be found both sowers and spreaders of false doctrine and popery and also manifest recusants. For which purpose you shall do well to require the assistance of the Bishop of Carlisle in respect of his diocese and of the wardens in those frontiers and divers others within the said countries, whereof many are of the Commission Ecclesiastical, and sundry others be justices of the peace in those countries and well affected; and with their helps applying thereto all your authorities proceed to the inquisition thereof and according to the ordinary course of the laws to see the cures provided of sufficient incumbents to be resident for instructing of the people in their charges; and in like sort to cause such as be vagrant papists and recusants incorrigible to be apprehended, committed and ordered according to their demerits and offences as the laws do provide. And of the success of this special service to advertise her Majesty to the intent that she may see some hope of amendment or otherwise may seriously cause sharper remedies to avoid the general danger that must needs ensue if such defection should continue.

15½ pp. *Draft, with corrections and additions, including the whole of the last sentence from "And of the success", in Cecil's handwriting. Endorsed: "28 Sept. 1596. Instructions for the Commissioners for the Borders."*

Vol. lii, p. 140.

Copy of the foregoing but written in the Queen's first person and with a few slight variations; also the following additional clause headed: "5^{to} Septembr. [*sic*, ? October] 1596. A clause added to the Instructions. At Nonesuch."

"After that we had thus far proceeded in these Instructions we understood that both our warden for our West Marches and our warden in the Middle, and Sir Robert Carye for the East Marches, having been advertised of this our purpose to have the treaty by Commissioners to hear and determine all the complaints on the Borders betwixt the two nations, and supposing that you the Commissioners would direct the same complaints to be heard and tried by the usual manner of the Borders, which is for all complaints to be justified by avowry by some of the opposite nation, which although it has been the ancient common manner and in former times seemed reasonable and indifferent, yet later times have proved it, specially for the part of England, not convenient nor answerable to justice for redress of English complaints, for that howsoever the wrong done by the

James VI.

1596.

Scots be plain and manifest, yet seldom will there be any Scottish man gotten that dare avow the fact, though divers do know it and can avow it, for fear of revenge by the offender and his friends, neither is there that fear of God nor regard of conscience in that nation as they will in their oaths regard the truth, and therefore it is propounded to us that you the Commissioners would so treat with the opposite Commissioners that in such doubtful cases where avowers shall not be readily found there might be a choice made in every wardenry of gentlemen of value, credit and disposition to punish disorders, so as 5 or 6 of either wardenry to be chosen and they to be 'sizers' either apart or joined with the warden to examine the complaints with all necessary circumstances and to approve or disprove the same, or else otherwise the warden to take upon his honour to affirm or reject the complaint; which manner has been used in some former times and seems to stand with good reason. Of which matter we require you to have consideration and thereof to confer with our wardens for the remedy of this inconvenience for want of an avower, either by these two means next afore mentioned or by any other good means to the redress of manifest complaints."

11 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *In the handwriting of one of Cecil's clerks.*

Sept. 28. **273.** ROBERT DIXSON.

Passport by Robert Bowes, esquire, Treasurer of Berwick and her Majesty's Ambassador in Scotland, for Robert Dixon, Scottishman, who is to make his repair to the city of London in his lawful affairs. Edinburgh, 28 September 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

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

Sept. 29. **274.** DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHELY.

I am to request you for a pass for seven trunks, whereof I have of my own and my company's four. The rest contains some necessities for his Majesty and his house such as his merchants are accustomed to furnish and for the same use as he has been granted these years preceding, four packs of cloth and two hampers. London, the penult of September 1596. *Signed*: D. Foulis.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed.*

Oct. 2. **275.** DAVID FOULIS TO LORD BURGHELY.

I am to put you in mind of your letter to Robert Bowes in Durhamshire commanding him either to go or send to Scotland and relieve my brother's cautioner of such sums as he has been compelled to pay by law for him to one Mr. Nysbit, burgess of Edinburgh, for it will be wondered at that he should presume to dally with your lordship in such sort as to suffer himself to be so often commanded by you and requested by others to do that which of all law, equity and conscience he ought to do of himself.

I send you the just inventory of all things contained in my trunks. If there be anything to be paid for such matters, I shall do it willingly. If not, I would be glad my trunks should not be "dismaid and onsealet"

James VI.

1596. at the custom house. Therefore I crave your warrant to let them pass all "balled" [baled, *i.e.* not unpacked]. If it please you to grant the ordinary merchants who furnish his Majesty's house at least some two sacks of broad cloth and "carises" [kerseys], I can but crave it at their desire together with some trunk or two with silks. They allege it is an ordinary and was never refused before but herein I remit me to your memory and particular discretion in that point. London, this Saturday morning. *Signed*: D. Foulis.

1 *p.* *Holograph, with address.* *Seal.* *Endorsed*: "2 Octob. 1596. Mr. David Fowles to my L."

Oct. 2. **276. THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS FOR THE BORDERS.**

Cott. Calig. D.
ii, fol. 308.

Letters patent appointing Tobias, Bishop of Durham, William Bowes, knight, Francis Slingsby and Clement Colmer Commissioners to treat and finally conclude concerning all rapines, homicides, etc., committed in the Borders and preserve the peace between the subjects of the Queen and those of the King of Scots. Westminster, 2 Oct. [3]5 Eliz.

1 *p.* *Copy much mutilated by fire.*

Oct. 4. **277. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

Upon receipt of your letter of 19 Sept. last I immediately communicated and showed to sundry of the King's Council (namely the Lord Treasurer, Secretary and Clerk Register) the form of the commission prepared to be given by her Majesty to the Commissioners for the Borders; with which also I acquainted the King at Dunfermline and so proceeded there with him and his Council in those Border matters as they well allowed and approved that form sent by your lordship to me. They directed the Clerk Register to frame and deliver to me the like form for Scotland, which draft he brought to me the 2nd hereof and which I send enclosed.

Albeit the King and Council had named Sir William Stewart, Sir John Carmichael, the laird of Wedderburne and Mr. George Younge to be Commissioners for Scotland and I was ready to have certified you the same, with all the other orders then taken by the King and Council for that commission, yet because your last of 27 September, [received] at night the 2nd hereof and immediately after I had received at the hands of the Clerk Register the draft of the commission for Scotland, and her Majesty had made choice of the Bishop of Durham, Sir William Bowes, Francis Slingsby and Doctor Colmer, with all expedition I sought both the King's allowance of the Bishop and of the other three named by her Majesty; and also that one of the Parliament here might be joined with such of the three before appointed by him as should be found meet. Whereupon, the King well accepting the Bishop of Durham and the rest for her Majesty has chosen and directed by his letter the Lord of Newbottle in place of Sir William Stewart to serve with Carmichael, Wedderburne and Mr. George Younge. And as this course for the form and Commissioners is accorded, so it is required that the execution may proceed with speed.

The King has addressed his letters to his wardens and officers of the Marches for the interchange and delivery of all bills, rolls and complaints

James VI.

1596. to be exhibited to the Commissioners, and that their clerk may be ready and attendant to prosecute the same. It is here thought meet that the Commissioners shall haste their meeting with best expedition and at the furthest before November 8th next at Berwick for the East and Middle and at Dumfries for the West Marches. Nevertheless, the certain appointment of the time and place for their meeting and conference (with other requisite matters) is left to the agreement and resolution of the Commissioners, who ought to have especial regard and be well instructed for the limitation of the time and beginning of the redresses to be made by their orders and censure. Of all these I shall give "indelate" advertisement to her Majesty's wardens agreeable to your lordship's direction given by your letter and according to the King's request signified by his letter to me.

The assembly at this late Convention of the Estates has been very slender and short, notwithstanding that the King had summoned many noblemen to it and that the Countess of Huntly by her letters had earnestly entreated many of them to be present. It was called only (as the King in his oration declared) for the deliberation of the solemnisation and time of the baptism of the princess, the King's daughter, and for her custody. Yet therewith Huntly's cause was remembered and some other causes for the coin and estate were treated, all which were heard and concluded on the first day of the meeting; whereat were present the Duke of Lennox, 3 Earls, 2 Lords, 7 councillors and commissioners for 4 burghs. (*In margin*: The Duke; 3 Earls—Atholl, Orkney, Mar; Lords 2—Seaton, Hume; the ordinary councillors; 4 burghs—Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, Dundee.)

For the solemnisation of the baptism the most of the nobility shall be called to be at Edinburgh November 28th next. That this princess may have the name of her Majesty and be patronised with her Majesty's favour, it is intended that her Majesty alone (and without any other prince) shall be required to be witness at the baptism. For which purpose the King (before sundry of his Council) desired me to recommend to her Majesty the hearty requests of himself and the Queen here, praying her to accept their dedication of this princess to her, to give name to her and to dispose of all things therein as she shall like, without employment of great personages or charges in the accomplishment thereof, saying that her pleasure to be directed to myself shall suffice and well please him herein; which it may please you to make known to her Majesty as to you shall be found most convenient. The King will reserve to himself and the Queen the custody of their daughter, which shall be (as I hear) at the Queen's pleasure. The Lord Livingstone makes earnest suit to have the custody of this child, that thereby he may the better match the Earl of Mar now in quarrel with him and having the prince in his hands. But forasmuch as Livingstone's wife (sister to the Earl of Errol) is known to be a notorious papist and near the censure of excommunication, Livingstone's suit and desire will be impugned. It is looked that the Lord Seaton shall have the bringing up of this princess, for he is now accounted to be inclinable to the religion and to purpose to bring up his son in religion and at Cambridge in England.

By former act in the late Convention at Falkland Huntly's cause and offers were referred to the King and such of his Council as he should call to

James VI.

1596. him. At this Convention at Dunfermline the King declared (and it was accorded) that Huntly or his offers should not be heard or received before he should retire out of the realm (if presently he were in it, which is thought manifest) and before he should be reconciled to the Church after his return into the realm and due submission thereon made to the Church. Wherein the King has put the ministers and religious in such comfort as they are presently satisfied and commend the King's constancy herein. For it is very credibly given out that the Queen, the Duke and sundry noblemen have greatly pressed the King to have accepted Huntly's offers at this time and that all Huntly's friends verily expected the accomplishment of their desires therein. In which behalves and upon some respects I have of late little meddled, neither intend to deal in the same before I shall be furnished with perfect directions and warrant therein. For your opinion signified in your last letter to me suffices both to stay my former course against these forfeited Earls and also to be a rule to me in my future proceedings, and as my service shall not depend and be measured by success in causes but by my diligence in the execution of the directions given me. I have heard of the several suits made to the King for Angus and Huntly and that his promise or act is far drawn on in the same, but being not certainly informed herein I refer these to better discovery.

The King (as I am informed) has been advised to try her Majesty's good will towards him and to require his [*sic* her] favour and allowance to be declared the second person to the crown of England. Some well affected councillors have partly broken with me herein. I have (I think) so persuaded them to advise the King to forbear to touch and sound this string as they seemed willing to employ themselves and their labours to quench these unseasonable winds, yet some restless spirit in a busy poet and Frenchman here is occupied (as secretly and not yet certainly I am informed) to write and publish some pamphlet in Latin to maintain the King's title to that crown, wherein as I shall receive better information you shall be advertised.

At this last Convention at Dunfermline it was ordained that none of the King's subjects without his express licence should have any intelligence in matters of estate with any foreign person, and that the same should have been proclaimed before this time. Yet the proclamation is delayed and what shall ensue hereof is not known.

The Lord Ogilvy (Ogleweye) and Mr. Peter Younge (late Ambassadors to the King of Denmark for the King here) are returned with rich gifts and rewards and report of great feasts and triumph at that coronation in Denmark. Edinburgh, the fourth of October 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

3 pp. *Addressed and endorsed.*

Enclosure in the foregoing letter.

Blank form of the commission of the King of Scots appointing Commissioners of the Borders.

Broadsheet. Latin. At foot: "Deliverit to my L. Ambassadour of England at Edinburgh the second day of October 1596. Clericus Registrarius."

James VI.

1596.

Oct. 5.

278. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

In respect of my sudden parting upon necessity of my dutiful behaviour in his Majesty my master's service I have left behind me one William Angus to deal yet still for the other 1000*l.* which is necessary for the final dispatch of his special adoes, and notwithstanding her Majesty's refusal *simpliciter* (as it pleases you to show unto me) upon some special respects known to her Majesty's self I am still in that hope that she may be moved to it easily. Which good office I earnestly entreat you to effectuate and the money being received by the said William he shall deliver my discharge. London, 5 October 1596. *Signed* : D. Foulis.

1 *p.* *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

[1596.
Oct. 12.]**279. THE KING OF SCOTS' SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.**

De Jacobi Sexti Scotorum Regis jure quod deficiente Henrici Octavi subole ad Anglici regni successionem habet.

Henrico Septimo Anglorum Regi filius Henricus Octavus Rex binæque filiæ superstites fuerunt ; quarum Maria ætate minor primum Ludovico 12 Francorum Regi et eo sine prole vita functo deinde Carolo Brandonio Suffolciæ Duci denupsit, ex qua duas filias, Franciscam scilicet, ex qua Hertfordiæ Comitis, et Eleonoram ex qua Devonæ Comitis liberi originem trahunt, suscepit : Margareta autem ætate major primum Jacobo quarto Scotorum Regi nupta, ex eo Jacobum quintum Regem Mariæ Reginæ Scotorum patrem, et Jacobi nunc Regis avum progenuit. Deinde marito mortuo Archibaldo Angusie Comiti denupsit, ex quo Margaretam Douglasiam genuit, Henrici Comitis Lennoxii matrem, qui ex Maria Regina Jacobi quinti filia Jacobum nunc Regem procreavit, Margaretæ ex utroque matrimonio hæredem ; quo jure Angliam deficiente Henrici octavi propagine sibi vendicat.

Supervacuum autem esset de Hertfordiæ et Derbiæ Comitum liberis ex Maria Henrici septimi Regis filia minore originem (ut dictum est) trahentibus verba facere. Nam seu legitimi seu illegitimi sint, nihil ad Jacobum Regem, qui (ut notatum est) ex majore sorore sterpem ducit. Sufficit enim Mariam ætate minorem fuisse, atque ideo nec eam nec ejus progeniem, nisi deficiente Margaretæ majoris sororis sobole, ad Regni successionem jus habere.

Quamvis in facto quoque verum sit Carolum Brandonium nullam legitimam prolem ex Maria suscipere potuisse, quod priorem uxorem tum viventem [*sic*, viventem] habebat : quo impedimento Hertfordiæ et Derbiæ Comitum liberi communiter arcentur.

Contra Hertfordio vero et illud objicitur, quod Henricus Marchio Dorsetus quo tempore Franciscam Mariæ ex prædicto Carolo filiam majorem in matrimonium accepit priorem quoque conjugem Comitis Arrundelii sororem tum viventem habebat, cui non exiguam pensionem alimentorum causa annuatim durante vita pendit.

Catherina autem Franciscæ ex prædicto Henrico Marchione filia primum Comiti Pembrochio denupsit, illoque vivente ex hoc Comite Hertfordiæ nullo vel imaginario matrimonio (quod utrimque nullum

James VI.
1596.

fuisse) præcid [*sic*] hos liberos tanquam ex concubina suscepit, qui licet Elizabethæ Reginæ jussa legitima cognitione præcuncte ordinario Episcopi Cantuariensis decreto spurii pronunciati. Sunt et ob prædictas quatuor inevitabiles rationes illegittimi probari possunt, tamen exclusa Margaretæ majoris sororis sobole legitima Regni Anglici successionem nimis impudenter sibi vendicant.

Quæ autem ab iis eorumque fautoribus Scotorum Regem afferuntur exteris nationibus non solum nullius momenti, sed etiam valde ridicula ridebuntur. Primum ab Eduardo tertio Angliæ Rege statutum esse aiunt, Omnes ab hæreditate infra Regnum Angliæ percipienda excludi qui extra regnum Anglici limites nati, quorumque patres nativitatis tempore Angliæ subditi non fuerunt, exceptis Regum liberis. Quam exceptionem illi ad liberos primi tantum gradus referunt, non autem ad nepotes et reliquos discendentes [*sic*], quamquam et jure communi liberorum appellatione et nepotes contineantur et sermonis Gallici (qua lingua illud statutum perscriptum fuit) proprietas idem postulat.

Quod etiam omni æquitati et rationi (quæ anima legum est) consentaneum videtur. Quis enim prudentissimum Regem Eduardum ejus statuti authorem suos nepotes, Eduardi Principis Valiæ filios, qui tum in Gallia et Hispania fortissime militabat et liberos extra imperium Anglicum natos habebat, a spe successionis excludere, alioque jure filium, alio nepotes censi voluisse, existimabit.

Neque verisimile est ejusdem Regis filios, sapientissimos principes, Joannem Lancastriæ et Thomam Glocestriæ Duces, suas filias nepotesque Castellæ, Portugalliæ et Scotiæ Regibus ac Britanniæ minoris duci nuptum daturos fuisse, si iis extra regnum Anglicum matrimoniis tota eorum posteritas talis statuti vigore a regni Anglici successione excludenda fuisset.

Sed et verba statuti et exceptio prædicta satis indicant Regionum liberorum neque ad regnum neque ad privitas suas hæreditates successionem eo statuto contineri; sed solas privatorum hæreditates. Quin enim paria dixerit privatam infra regnum Angliæ hæreditatem percipere et ipsius Angliæ imperio jure hæreditario potiri. Cum autem in dicto statuto (quod stricti juris esse debet) nihil de successione nominatim cautum sit æquum non est, ut maligna inimicorum interpretatione ad illud extendatur de quo non solum nihil actum neque cogitatum verisimile est, sed quod sub exceptione potius quam sub statuti regula continetur. Præsertim cum hoc jure Anglico manifestum sit, nullas leges neque statuta ad regnum Reges regumque successores extendi, nisi expresse et desertis de iis cautum sit. Quinimo contrarium sæpe in regno quod in privatorum negotiis consuetudinem obtinere. Cui enim non manifestum est ad privatorum morientium uxores tertiam bonorum omnium partem pertinere, plures filias hæreditatem æquo jure ersciscere [*sic*] maritum moriente uxore fundorum dotalium usum fructum durante vita possidere et ad testamenti executorem omnia mobilia pertinere. In quibus omnibus casibus Regum conjuges filiæ et executores omnino contrario jure utuntur.

Sæpe autem extra Angliæ regnum natos ejus regionis imperio peritos esse ex historiis videmus. Edgarum scilicet in Hungaria natum, qui Eduardo Confessori magno avunculo successit.

Reges item Stephanum et Henricum secundum, qui extra regnum et

James VI.

1596.

ex parentibus imperio Anglico, nequaquam subditis prognati sunt. Arthurus quoque Britanniae minoris Dux ibidem natus, Rege Richardo primo avunculo in expeditionem sacram profici[ci]scente, regni hæres ex consensu ordinum declaratus est. Licet postea a Joanne altero avunculo et vita et regno injustissime spoliatus fuerit. Consuetudine ergo Angliæ, quæ optima omnium legum interpret est, contrarium non statuti prædicti ab Eduardo tertio promulgati sed malignæ interpretationis et extensionis quæ ab inimicis adhibetur non raro fieri manifestum est.

Qui vero Polidorum Virgilium et Anglorum historias legerit hanc questionem a prudentissimo Rege Henrico 7, ex consilii consensu, explicatam inveniet. Cum enim de filia Margaretta Jacobo quarto Scotorum Regi in matrimonium collocanda ageretur, et consillarii aliqui fieri posse objicerent, ut deficiente Regis mascula sobole regni jus ad Margaretæ hæredes devolveretur, idem Rex prudentissime respondit nullum eo facto Angliæ præjudicium futurum. Non enim Angliam Scotiæ sed Scotiam multo minorem Angliæ regni multo potentioris accessionem fore : quemadmodum et prius Aquitania Normanniaque eidem regno accessere. Super vacua autem hæc disputatio prudentissimique Regis responsio fuisset, si tota prædictæ Margaretæ posteritas Eduardi statuto a regni successione exclusa fuisset, aut enim dictum Regem ejusque consillium inscitiae aut hos novos statuti extensores falsæ interpretationis coarguere necesse est.

Quod et statuti inscriptio his verbis (De iis qui ultra maria nati sunt) manifestissime evincit : quæ verba de iis qui extra totius insulæ Britanniae fines, quæ circumfluxo Oceano ex quatuor partibus ambitur nati sunt. Non autem de iis qui in Scotia quæ Britanniae pars continens est nati sunt omnino intelligenda sunt : Angli Scotiam servitii vel homagii jure sue [*sic*, suo] esse (licet falso et injuria maxima) semper asseverarent et hinc ipsi Eduardo Regi homagium ab Eduardo Baliolo Scotiæ Rege præstitum Anglorum Annales testantur. Atque ita, cum de tota Britannia, ut de sua ditione (ut nunc Galliam quoque esse autumant) ambitiose loquerentur, semper et in omnibus archivis hac phrasi utuntur (infra quatuor maria) vel Galliae qua lingua eorum leges perscriptæ sunt (dens les quatre mers). Cum autem extra totam Britanniam muerunt [*sic*? inierunt] tunc (ultra maria) ut in hujus statuti inscriptione usurpant, quod satis indicat statutum de in Scotia natis non intellexisse.

Alio quoque argumento non minus futuli [*sic*] Scotorum Regem oppugnant Henricum scilicet octavum ita testamento cavisse, ut deficiente sua stirpe regnum primum ad Franciscæ et Cleonoræ [*sic*]. quæ (ut diximus) Mariæ minoris sororis filiae fuerunt hæredes, atque iis deficientibus tum ad proximos hæredes (Margaretæ scilicet majoris sororis sobolem) devolveretur ; quod testamentum ab ordinibus (ut ipsi aiunt) comprobatum est. Nulla hic statuti prædicti mentio quod Margaretæ soboles non omnino excludatur, sed tantum in posteriore loco ejiciatur. Ordinum vero decretum in manifestissima injuria tamdiu obtinere, quam qui taliter exclusus est injuriam factam propulsare non potest vel [*sic*? ut] ipsi Angli fatebuntur.

Idem Eduardus tertius qui Isabellæ matris jure regnum Galliae vendicabat reliquique ejus in hodiernum diem successores nunquam decretis comitiorum Galliae suum jus deterius factum esse putarunt quin

James VI.

1596.

adhuc se Reges Galliæ titulo tenui jactatant : quotque Galliæ ordinum decreta contra jus naturæ et sanguinis quod illi pretendebant pronuntiaverunt, tot sibi manifestissimas injurias factas esse contendunt. Quod ergo juris in alias statuunt, eodem ipsi utantur. Neque suis ordinum decretis tantum fidant, quorum vilis annona esset, si tam facile exteri Reges, quorum citandorum jus non habent, in dicta causa suo jure legitime privari possent.

Testamentum autem illud si extaret, et nullitatis, et falsi si opus esset facile coargui posset. Sed nemo tam stupidus est, qui omisis [*sic*] suis et legitimis hæredibus pura testamenti donatione regnum in alios transferri posse existimabit, quod neque in privatorum hæreditatibus nunc obtinet, multo minus in regno.

Quis autem illud testamentum fuisse dixerit, quod neque Regis ullius neque nobilis viri manu signatum, sed solum regio sigillo quo ad epistolas obsignandas privatim utebatur munitum fuisse ipsi qui eo utuntur asserunt, quam facile illud vel mortuo vel moribundo et sensibus destituto Rege fieri potuerit quis non videt.

Hoc falsi genus in hoc testamento commissum fuisse ipsi testes inserti, Dominus scilicet Pagetus, Eduardus de Monte Acuto et Guilielmus Clark ipse sigilli affixor coram Regina Maria et ordinibus regni confessi veniam falsi impetraverunt ; decretumque ordinum de abolendo ex Archivis prædicto testamento suppositio secutum est. Videbant enim prudentissimi ordineo [*sic*] neque Regi eam potestatem commissam, neque voluntatem verisimiliter fuisse sine aliqua justa causa et totam majoris sororis sobolem, et ipsas minoris filias exhæredare et ad minoris filiarum hæredes testamento regni successionem exemplo pravissimo devoluere. Cujus imitator statim non defuit, Dux scilicet Northumbriæ, qui suppositio [*sic*] Eduardi sexti testamento ipsius Henrici octavi filias Mariam et Elizabetham nunc Reginam suo jure spoliare voluit.

Accedebat etiam Comes Pembrokii testimonium omni exceptio ne majus qui se a primo morbi die in Regis cubiculo usque ad ejus mortem permansisse neque ullam ejus testamenti mentionem factam fuisse asseveravit. Idcirco adhibito filio coram regni proceribus, illud falsum esse juravit filiumque obtestatus est, ut si ullus unquam, se mortuo, illo testamento uteretur, illud falsum esse et testimonio et gladio (si opus esset) argueret. Hæc fere sunt, quæ in utramque partem ab omnibus ex Henrico septimo Rege stirpem ducentibus dici possunt quibus serenissimi Regis Jacobi molubidatum [*sic*, ? inviolatum] jus, deficiente Henrici octavi sobole, liquido constat.

Consulto autem prætermisimus Hundintonii [*sic*] Comitem, qui quodam Georgio Clarentiæ Duce Eduardi quarti fratri minore originem maternam ducat, eo uiræ [*sic*] Angliæ imperium sibi arrogat ; aut enim inanis est ejus titulus, aut supra octo Reges regnum tenuerunt, Eduardus scilicet quartus, ejus filius Eduardus quintus, ejus frater Richardus tertius, ejus filia Elizabetha Regina Henrici septimi conjunx, ipse Henricus septimus cum tota sua progenie, Henrico scilicet octavo filio, Eduardo sexto nepote, Maria et Elizabetha nunc Regina neptibus, quorum omnium nullus jure regnavit, si ad Georgium Clarentiæ Ducem, fratrem Eduardi quarti minorem, atque etiam lesæ majestatis approbantibus ordinibus convictum jus successionis pertinuit.

James VI.
1596.

Idem de Phillipi Regis Hispaniorum titulo dicendum est quia Joannis Lancastriæ Ducis Castellæ et Portugalæ Regibus nuptum (ut dictum est) collocatis stirpem habet de quo non ita pridem libellus in lucem prodiit. Hos armis non jure ullo inniti certum est, eosque ut cecinit Ennius in hoc theatrum prodituros.

Non de jure manu consertum sed mage fero.

5 pp. *Endorsed* : " 12 Oct. 1596. A discourse touchinge the K. of Scottes title of succession."

Oct. 12. **280.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Being informed by letters of Sir Robert Carye that young Cessford had lately attempted and done sundry outrages within his office and charge of the East Marches, I moved the King on Saturday last, the 9th, to give "indelate" order to stay and restrain the attempt of like or other disorders by Cessford or other Scottishmen and for the redress of the same in best time and manner. Whereupon the King has written sharply to Cessford commanding him to keep the peace and administer justice to Sir Robert Carye and other her Majesty's wardens, officers and subjects on the Borders. The King showed some disposition to remove Cessford from the office of that Middle Wardenry in case he should not be of better behaviour. And it seemed that he could therein like of Buccleuch (if he had recovered her Majesty's favour); in which "change and chose" I thought not meet to wade further without notice of her pleasure and direction in the same.

The King wished expedition for the meeting of the Commissioners for the Borders and prayed to be speedily advertised of her Majesty's mind and pleasure towards Buccleuch continuing still in ward, who cannot in due season and substance (the King said) make up his bills and rolls and complaints to be exchanged with her wardens and exhibited to the Commissioners except he may be licensed to repair to his house and call the country before him. Therefore the King desired to know her Majesty's resolution with great speed, saying that if the same be not sent to him in due time he must give leave to Buccleuch to come into the country to gather and perfect his bills and complaints and afterwards to be subject to such order as her Majesty shall prescribe for his offence. Wherein, because I could not agree to any liberty to be granted to Buccleuch, the King desired that this might be advertised to her Majesty and that thereon he may timely understand her pleasure. Wherein I pray further order and direction.

The King has been informed that John Wedderburn, Scottishman, having committed many foul murders and lately murdered Robert Lindsay, laird of Bayhall and brother to the Lord Secretary, is fled into and remains in England. Thereon he heartily prays that Wedderburn may be apprehended and detained and afterwards delivered to him by her Majesty's order; for which kindness he offers like contentment to her in delivery of any of her offending subjects found at any time within this realm. I have acquainted Mr. John Carye with the King's desire trusting he shall stay this offender if he shall be in Berwick and thereof to advertise you to receive further direction as shall be thought meetest.

I send enclosed the copy of such discourse as by the view thereof you

James VI.

1596.

will be best satisfied. Monsieur Jesse, Frenchman, (remaining here and accounted to be a good scholar and poet) has the original with him, from whom by means this is drawn. It is thought that he shall scatter the copies in France and elsewhere as may most advance the purpose intended. This copy is imperfect in some parts and it agrees with the copy shown to me which was taken and written by a young scholar out of the original. It may therefore please your lordship to receive it in form and substance as I got it.

The proclamation for restraint of intelligence is now published. The double of the same I send enclosed. In it I have moved the King to know his meaning touching the preservation and provision for the intelligence to be continued betwixt her Majesty and him and betwixt me for her Majesty and his subjects prohibited by this proclamation to entertain [and] have intelligence or society with any stranger in any matter of estate except in merchandise and other private affairs only. Wherein the King has declared that it is not meant to touch or concern me or my course of intelligence for her Majesty, which he will always allow and approve. I have wished that his pleasure and allowance might have been inserted in the proclamation to avoid all scruple and question therein.

It is whispered that at the instance of the greatest courtiers the King is won to subscribe a licence for the return of Huntly into the realm and to give leave to the ministers and other subjects to receive, supply and intercommune with him. The like is given to Angus for some certain time expressed. It is certified herewith that Huntly and Errol have openly met at Aberdeen and that they will give bond for their good behaviour (for they trust that their bonds shall not much hurt them). But they will not change their religion. Therefore the ministers mightily inveigh against them and it is looked that some great effects shall ensue hereon ; which I leave to the sequel.

Where before it has been given out and suspected that Sir Walter Lindsay was returned into Scotland, now it is credibly certified that he continues in Brussels suiting for aid and money for Scotland ; and that Ladylands is sent hither with some small portion of gold and to put the Catholics in comfort speedily to receive succours by Spain. By the advertisements sent hither they are bent to give aid shortly to the rebellious sort in Ireland, in case they shall find them resolute in their rebellion against her Majesty. James MacConnell, son of Angus, is come to the King with a commission by his father to submit and put his father and himself and their possession into the King's will. Whereupon the King has received him, compounded with him and will entertain and keep him in his service and house. Colonel Stewart is sent into Kintyre to take possession of Angus's house and possessions, so as these wars are like to cease and the Isles to be at the obedience of the King. The sons of Sowrly Bowry in Ireland with eight score men surprised Angus MacConnell's house in Kintyre, killed 10 or 12 men and rode away with great prey. It is thought that this enterprise has much moved MacConnell to the submission to the King. And yet many look that Angus will again turn to his double bias with the first opportunity. Edinburgh, 12 October 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

2½ pp. Addressed. Many of the names underlined and marginal headings inserted by Sir R. Cecil. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.

James VI.

1596.

Enclosure in the preceding letter.

Abstracted in
Register of the
Privy Council of
Scotland, v, 317.

Proclamation against trafficking with foreigners in matters of state.
“ Apud Dunfermling xxix^o die mensis Septembris, A.D. 1596.”

Extracted from the Book of Acts of the King's Secret Council by
John Andro, clerk depute of the same. “ Sic subscribitur Joannes Andro.”

1 p.

Oct. 15. 281. THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND TO LORD SCROPE.

Vol. lii, p. 151.

We are now commanded to write to you by her Majesty's direction in a cause wherein you have formerly heard from us. If we shall vary in this letter from our former we must deliver you the truth. What we write is as near as we can her Majesty's own words delivered us from her mouth to be imparted to you. Her Majesty says she has hearkened after your proceedings with the Graymes since their return and expected the issue of the same but has not heard as yet that your lordship has in any good sort frankly and fully concluded with them according to that whereat she aims, which is shortly this: that by your receiving them into your favour upon their own requests to which they were enjoined and by your promise to deal with them now as they shall deserve henceforward with oblivion of former misdemeanours and accusations you should confirm their dutiful affections to herself, being able to do her so good service in those parts of her kingdom and win their love to you, her principal officer, being persons of whom you may make so good use in many things as the state of the Borders now holds, which consideration is to be preferred before all other particular respects or suggestions grounded upon the partial information and quarrel haply of inferior persons between whom and them there are private grudges and enmities. To effect these things is the end of her Majesty's sending them down, to which she looks now after so many notices of her liking and so many persuasions from ourselves that you should speedily apply yourself without further contradiction or protraction. For if any man shall rightly examine the case as now it stands you must either mislike them for their offence to her or for your own particular. If for her Majesty, she commands us to tell you that as she has been acquainted with all the course of your writing hither and did not mislike your zeal to sift out that notorious suspected crime, so, if you shall persist longer than herself whom it touches has any liking or holds convenient, she shall utterly mislike it, considering that by so many times you are made to know that her will is to have it otherwise and no further disputed. For yourself, her Majesty has likewise so respected you, her immediate officer, that she did not dismiss them hence but with plain condition of submission to you and that she only promised to believe of them from henceforward as by you only she should be informed. Therefore what now you shall do, she would have them know to be no otherwise grounded than out of your own disposition to pardon any former error and to defend and favour them as your father had done before you. In this we must deal freely with you that her Majesty says, she doubts not, but if you will believe tales you may be dissuaded and may argue against this course, but she says even in few words she will have this way tried for

James VI.

1596. anything past, and if any new offence can be proved then such further order may be taken as upon due consideration shall stand with her honour and good of her service. Where you have heretofore used words upon some like occasion of your peremptory purpose to leave the place if this course should be holden, we must tell you as those that do affect you that it will do you much more harm in her Majesty's opinion to utter any such peremptory words in such a case than we would wish you to adventure, considering what the times are and that such places are conferred upon those that are holden men of trust and temper and not to be quitted upon passion or will. From Richmond, 15 October 1596.

2½ pp. Copy in the hand of one of Sir R. Cecil's clerks.

Oct. 16. **282. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.**

Upon petition exhibited to you by Nicholas Pendlebury of London, fishmonger, for your furtherance in the expedition of payment of 550*l.* (or thereabouts) payable to him for victuals and necessaries for the garrison of Berwick, delivered to Robert Vernon, surveyor of the victuals there, order was taken betwixt Mr. Vernon and Mr. Pendlebury at days prescribed and now passed and with the assent of Mr. Vernon I agreed to give warrants to the receivers for the payment upon sufficient warrant to be given me by Mr. Vernon for the same. As by the change in that office of surveyor of the victuals at Berwick and other accidents on the part of Mr. Vernon the money was not paid to Mr. Pendlebury agreeable to the order accorded, therefore he obtained your letters to my son Ralph Bowes (then appointed by you to pay the garrison for the half year last past) to make payment to him for this debt forth of the sums due to Mr. Vernon for the half year ended at the Annunciation last. The remain of which sums due then to Mr. Vernon sufficed not to pay the said debt to Mr. Pendlebury, who by his servant Henry Brereley has lately and earnestly pressed me to pay him this debt for Mr. Vernon. I have thought it my duty to commend these to your memory and to your good consideration and order that I may yield payment to such party and in such manner as you shall direct me. Edinburgh, 16 October 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

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

Oct. 20. **283. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.**

Being informed that the Lord of Newbottle (appointed to be one of the 4 Commissioners for Scotland) pretends to be sick and thereby excuses himself and his repair to the frontiers in that service, and that Sir John Carmichael and Mr. George Younge are likewise unwilling to serve herein as by the King they are commanded, whereby some impediments are cast and likely to hinder the expedition of the progress of the commission for the Borders ; and that the disorders in the West and East Marches greatly grow as by Lord Scrope and Sir Robert Carye I am lately advertised ; I have thought it my duty to commend these timely to your knowledge and to seek access speedily to the King to understand his pleasure and provide to remove or remedy these lets and causes threatening the hindrance of the seasonable execution of this commission. Because I have

James VI.

1596.

heard that the King purposes to supply Newbottle's room with Sir William Stewart of Traquair or other being no lord of Parliament nor answerable in degree to the Bishop of Durham as her Majesty has thought meet and expects, it may please your lordship with good speed and certainty to signify to me her pleasure in the allowance of any person for Newbottle other than only a lord of Parliament for respects and causes before this time specified and which I have before communicated to the King, who thereon appointed Newbottle.

Great suit is made to the King for the liberty and enlargement of Buccleuch from his present ward, that thereby he may prepare his bills, rolls and complaints within his office and deliver them to the opposite wardens as before I have advertised you. Understanding that her Majesty by letter sent to the King with Mr. David Foulis has sufficiently expressed her mind and expectation that Buccleuch should not be delivered but to her or some of her wardens for her, I intend the rather to insist with the King to effect her pleasure herein. For the better warrant of my proceeding and good guiding of my course in this behalf for Buccleuch I pray to be timely and certainly directed.

That the solemnization of the baptism of the King's daughter and the feast of the day of the Queen's birth may be accomplished together the baptism is adjourned from the 28th November until the 12th December next. I am daily pressed to procure speedy advertisement of her Majesty's resolution and pleasure to grant the King's request that she will vouchsafe to be a witness at this baptism, as by my former I have certified, in which behalf I beseech you to give me notice and direction with expedition.

Mr. David Foulis returned to the Court here with great discontentment that he could receive for the King no more than 3000*l*. How the Court stands thereby affected or what good office Mr. David has done at his return I yet know not, for I have not been at Court nor seen Mr. David since his home coming. Yet I hear that for the present it is persuaded by the most displeased sort in Court and suspected counsellors in religion that the gratuity given yearly by her Majesty to the King shall be no more demanded.

The King is presently at Stirling at the baptism of the Earl of Mar's daughter. He intends to hasten his return to Linlithgow and I also seek to hasten my access to him at such time and place as he shall prescribe. Whereof and of my doings and success you shall (God willing) be shortly advertised.

The Earl of Huntly was seen openly in Boggygeyth on Sunday last, the 17th hereof, as the author affirming to have then and there seen him is ready to testify. Errol has been with him (as it is informed) and Angus being discovered to have been secret in St. Johnstone was charged by the magistrates to depart out of the town as a person excommunicated. He pleaded the King's licence, but the same was found to give power to ministers to confer with him for his reconciliation only to the Church and not to dispense with the excommunication or their faults. Therefore he was driven to abandon that place.

Sundry commissioners of the Church are presently convened in small and quiet manner here in Edinburgh to confer and resolve for their course to be taken against the receipt and acceptation of Angus, Huntly and

James VI.

1596.

Errol and their offers and suits before their evident conversion in religion, as also to frame their petitions to the King for the effecting of their desires. The King (as I hear) has been advertised and given to think that this meeting of these commissioners should have been in great number and force and for the attempt of greater matters than will be (I think) attempted. The ministers preach and persuade that those Earls may acknowledge their errors in religion and plainly embrace the religion professed here, that upon such sincere confession the excommunications against them may be discharged and themselves received into the bosom of the Church, and to be otherwise left to the King's pleasure. But it is deemed and generally feared that they will not so blemish their vows and credits with the Catholics and Spain; that they have in head some secret plots against the religion and for Spain and Catholics, and that they practise wholly to win time to compass their designs, whereof sundry discreet persons pretend to have frequent and credible advertisements. All which (for respects manifest to your lordship) I leave to the discovery of the truth, daughter of time. Edinburgh, 20 October, 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed and endorsed.*

Oct. 23. 284. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. lii, p. 154.

We have seen by your last writings divers things which seem very strange unto us, although by many advertisements we must confess we have had it long both from yourself and others that in the end things would be so contrived, for when these matters are not in the beginning obviated every toleration is a step to the perfection. The first is the point of Huntly and Angus's liberty from his [*sic*] exile to live in his country; and though there has been ever pretence that without conformity in religion they should never be admitted, yet is it as now you write more apparent that it shall not be much stood on. You shall do well therefore to let the King know what we hear and that we would be glad to know from himself what to be believed. Although we mean not to take upon us to counsel him from [*sic*, ? *rectius* how] to deal with his own, yet is it contrary to the laws of such sincerity as we are mutually bound in for them without our privity to receive a common enemy to grace, who has conspired against our state without a common provision, but herein do we refer the King to his own remembrance of what has passed and will expect by your next more certainty.

For the matter of the christening of the young princess we pray you to let the King know that we hold it a great argument of his love and affection towards us that he has made us a present of that which he held so dear and to which we wish as well as if it were our own; and therefore although we did scarce believe at the first but that there had been some mistaking on your part, we having so lately christened his son, yet seeing the same is a branch of his kindness and that he affects her being of [our] own name, we are content if his desire do so continue that you do tell him that we have bid you to be at his commandment for performance of the same in such sort as there shall be agreed on. And further you shall cause it to be made known to the Queen our sister that we are very glad that

James VI.

1596.

God has blessed her with a safe delivery and do wish her comfort of her fruit to her own heart's desire.

And now to come to the third matter contained in your letter concerning the King's purpose to deliver Buccleuch out of ward to the intent he may the better give order for all such things as are to be prepared against the meeting of our Commissioners. We do command you to let the King plainly understand that we did never look for other considering the former courses in this notorious cause but that the same artifices would be used by his friends to procure his liberty by which they had laboured before to have kept him from restraint. And therefore as we do find that only the King's own judgment met with those intentions, so do we still appeal unto the same to consider whether such an indignity offered in time of peace to our estate ought not to receive other manner of punishment than a commitment to ward without his personal delivery to us or our officer according to the treaty, But thereof we will forbear to speak until it come in his proper time, only this we must needs conceive for the present that, if there were no other hidden mystery in this than the purpose to prepare things for the meeting, there is nothing that shall be needful for him to do which may not be supplied by other persons within his charge. In this sort you shall do well to deal with the King, for even in truth we cannot be persuaded that there is any good purpose in them that have advanced this counsel. Nevertheless, if you shall find that it shall be in vain for you to contest herein when you shall think you have done what you may, we are content privately to give you warrant in the end to consent thereunto, with this proviso that there may be a short day prefixed and caution received for his return to ward and for default thereof to be proceeded withal as men ought to be in like cases. This being all for the present wherein we find cause to give you our directions we forbear to trouble ourselves any further.

2 pp. *Copy in the handwriting of a clerk of Sir R. Cecil headed: "A copie of her Maties l're to Mr. Ro: Bowes, Embassador wth the K: of Scottes," etc. Dated in the margin: "23 Octobr. 1596. At Richmonde."*

Oct. 25. **285.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

About 3 months since I directed a letter to Mr. Hudson to be sent to your Honour. The contents thereof chiefly consisted of a motion made to me by the Treasurer here for a frequent intelligence to have passed between him and your Honour for the service of both the sovereigns; all which I leave to you to be directed as your wisdom shall think convenient. The chief cause of my writing at this time is to crave the continuation of your good favour towards me, as also to understand your pleasure how and in what manner you will employ or command me. There is neither pains nor peril I will refuse to do her Majesty service. The cause I write not so oft as perhaps it may be thought I should [is] first, the sufficiency of the Ambassador is such as I would be loth to do him any worry, and next, there is so strict proclamation made for intelligence giving as concerns his life and all he has; last of all, the peril of the convoy is such as without a man has the better means he shall quickly be discovered. My letters were intercepted 24 miles in England directed to Sir Thomas Henning

James VI.

1596. and sent back to Scotland purposely to have disgraced me here ; and so it had if I had not had the better friends. Notwithstanding all this, whatsoever shall be her Majesty's pleasure I shall obey for my behaviour and offices towards her service. I will crave no other judge than her Highness's Ambassador.

Upon Mr. David Foulis's return I was inquisitive to understand his reports both concerning his proceedings in England as also what was thought thereof by the King and others here. The cause wherefore he received not so large a sum as he looked for he imputes to proceed rather from my Lord your father and your Honour's self than of any disposition of her Majesty ; withal reports what quick language passed among you. Wherein he takes some glory to himself. I perceive sundry are of opinion that it shall not be honourable for the King to seek the gratuity any longer. Some councillors I have heard of the same opinion. There is some controversy fallen out between the King and the ministers. Some seek to quench the fire begun and others "blose" the coal. The question arises whether the King may have any dealing with an excommunicated papist before they have satisfied the Church. They are very "quike" in their sermons, chiefly Edinburgh and St. Andrews (Sentandry). The King is of mind at this time to bring them to a lesser scope than they have had and for that cause hastens himself sooner to Edinburgh. This is foreseen by wise men who I believe will pacify all matters between them.

There has been within these 4 days an assembly of the ministers at Edinburgh, from whom they have directed their commissioners, 4 very wise and learned men and such as are in special favour with the King. What their success will be I know not, for as yet they are not come to the King. The offers of the Papist Earls, the proceedings of the Borders I know your Honour is sufficiently advertised of. Therefore I will not trouble you further, only that I may have that favour of you as you will let me be holden in her Majesty's good grace, which is the thing in the world I most desire. From Linlithgow (Lethcoo), the 25 of October. *Signed* : Roger Aston.

3 pp. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : " 20 [sic] Oct. 1596."

Oct. 26. **286.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

I have moved the King in the effects specified in my former letter. Whereupon he declared that already he had summoned sundry of his nobility, all his Council and the wardens and officers of the Marches in this realm to be with him on Tuesday next, 2 November, at Holyroodhouse to deliberate and conclude in all Border causes, promising that at the assembly of this Convention I should have full answer and order as well for the certainty of the time for meeting of the Commissioners for the Borders and all other things requisite for the expedition thereof, as also to stay and redress the disorders attempted in the East Marches of England by Cessford, the Burnes and Younges and in the West Marches by Whytehaugh and others in Liddisdale, of which I have complained and look at this Convention to receive order promised for redress therein.

For the present he continues his former resolution to employ and send

James VI.
1596.

to the frontiers the Lord of Newbottle with the other three before-named. For, albeit that Newbottle upon late sickness had sought to have been excused, he has (the King said) recovered health and shall join with the rest. If he shall be again visited with sickness one other lord of Parliament shall be chosen and ready to supply his place and as shall (he trusts) well content her Majesty. By special charge he has commanded Cessford to come to him that he may take order with him and his office for the peace and justice required. Wherein he seems disposed to take this office from Cessford, except Cessford shall give better assurance and contentment for his good behaviour hereafter.

Because I found him in mind to give some liberty to Buccleuch to return home to make up his bills, rolls and complaints for all offences done by Englishmen within his office, to deliver them to the opposite wardens in England, to apprehend the persons accused and to do all other good offices for the peace and quietness to be observed by all under him, I wished him to have in due remembrance her Majesty's expectation certified by letter to him for the delivery of Buccleuch to her or some of her wardens. He acknowledged that her Majesty had written to like effect to him; yet he could not (he said) by any means make delivery of Buccleuch to her without general offence to all his nobility, who plainly had refused to assent to the delivery before trial by the Commissioners and earnestly persuaded and entreated him to receive and follow the advice and vote of the rest of the Estates in the same. Which Estates will not yield (he answered) to the delivery of Buccleuch before trial by Commissioners. He offers to punish him in any other sort and at her Majesty's pleasure, and that after the accomplishment of the present services to be personally done by him in Liddisdale for the common benefit of both realms he will again ward and dispose of him for her Majesty's best satisfaction. He heartily prays her to do him the favour in respects remembered he be not further pressed for delivery of Buccleuch but he may give her contentment by other means to be notified to him.

Albeit that in Council it was advised and well liked that the solemnization of the baptism of the King's daughter appointed to be on 28 November next should be adjourned until 12 December (as before I have written to your lordship), yet it is now thought that this union of feasts smells more of niggardly husbandry than of honourable order. Therefore the King has resolved to hold the first appointment for this baptism to be solemnised at Holyroodhouse on 28 November, and he still prays to be speedily advertised of her Majesty's pleasure to be a witness at this baptism.

The King has many times entreated me to procure her Majesty's placard and licence for buying in England 12 horses and geldings for him. Now lately he has written to me for the same and to such effects as by the view of his letter to me and which I send enclosed it may appear. It may please you commend his request to her Majesty and direct me herein.

The Lord Hume earnestly sues for her Majesty's like placard for two horses or geldings, offering all good and thankful offices for the peace of the Borders, and otherwise in his full power he pretends especial devotion to her and her service. He may be a good instrument for the quietness of

James VI.

1596. the frontiers. Therefore I have the rather presumed to present to your lordship his request in this behalf.

The cause betwixt the excommunicated Earls and the ministers of the Church still continues in controversy and like to work trouble in this realm. It is informed that the Earls now show themselves openly and have great and frequent resort to them, and that they have obtained licence to remain in the realm six months after the publication of their licences, which are not yet published, that they may win the more time and for other respects; they are well favoured in Court and so assisted as little hurt (as it is thought) shall come to them; and that at this next Convention some principal ministers shall be put at. Nevertheless, the Church has chosen and sent commissioners with their petitions to the King to entreat him to have in good memory and perform his promise made for the remove of the Earls; that he will put them out of this realm unless they will directly and without condition or delay of time reconcile themselves to the Church; and that their cautioners may be charged with the forfeitures of their bonds broken by their return without the King's privity or leave. It is also ordered by the Church that the Lord President of the Session, the Bishop of Aberdeen and Patrick Murray shall be summoned . . . * for their traffic with the Earls excommunicated. Thus . . . * to blow the coals and great persons are mightily . . . * therewith as shortly will be more evident, wherein I forbear to be curious or deal as before I have written to you. Edinburgh, 26 October 1596. Signed: Robert Bowes.

3 pp. Addressed and endorsed.

[? 1596. 287. [LORD SANQUHAR ?] TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.
? Oct.]

"Leist I suld seime ingraitt towards him unto quhome I am sa far redeuable, I thocht I culd nocht of deuty finding the commoditie of this berar quha was presently to repair towards England but refresch your Ho: memorie w^t ye powar ze haif ouer me as ane altogether zours, as lykwayis till acqueynt your Ho: w^t sic occurrents as I culd lerne since my cuming ouer . . . * myen pleis your Ho: to understand y^t for certane yis September last bypast ye King did wryte w^t M^r Eduard Drummond a letter to ye Paip in fauores of ye Bischop of Vason desyring his Holines to maik him Cardinoll, as lykwayis did send ane wy^r [other] letter of credit to M^r W^m Creichtoun Jesuist to deill w^t his Ho: in monie maters and wys [others]. Thay haif beine both at Rome and ar cumit bak agane till Avignon. Thretty thousand crounis ar grantit to the King upon certane conditiouns, q^{lk} ar alreddy send down to the Nuntio quha lyis in France till sum gang in Scotland and report sufficient assurans of ye performance of sic things as ar offerit to ye Paip in his Ma[jesty's] name. I heir M^r Eduard Drummond is of intention to cum down very shortly and so to go secretly in Scotland. Sum sayis M^r W^m Creichtoun salbe in cumpany w^t him but hardly can I beleif it. Always or it be long ze will heir farder, and as I can haif certanety your Ho: salbe acqueyntit. This I can assure zou yat aucht dayis since ane Jesuist callit W^m Martin, ane litill blak fellow of mid age, a Scottis man and compaynon to M^r W^m Creichtoun quhen

* Small hole in the paper.

James VI.

1596. he went abroad, is gone towards Scotland ; quhither he be imbarck [*sic*] as zit or nocht or quhair I can nocht assuir zour Ho: bot out of Paris he pairtit ye 7 of yis instant. Mr James Gordoun, oncle to my Lord of Huntley, and one Fay^r [Father] Hay, boith notabill scollars and Jesuistes, ar siclyke reddie to depart out of ye Law Cuntreyis for Scotland. Q^t this dois meine I dout not bot zour Ho: dois consaue it and will heir farder or it be lang . . . * I can assure zour Ho: to be of veritie and as I can heir any furder zour Ho: salbe acquieyntit, sa being it wald pleis zou to gif me adres quhometo in this cuntrey I sall delyuer my letters y^t yai cum in safety to zo^r hands. Gif it pleis zour Ho: to wryte to me ze may direct zour letters *Aux deux escus à la rue de la Huschet* to ye maister of ye hous, and sua thay will cum assuredly unto my hands. Sua leiffing to trubill zour Ho: anie farder I humbly kis zour hands and rest, Zour Ho: to do zow service. Xi.”

Postscript.—“ It will pleis zour Ho: till excuis ye informallitie and ewill wryte seing in this I will use no secretair and was forcit to wryte in greit haist.”

2 pp. *Holograph. Small seal. Addressed:* “ To the Ry^t Ho^{ble} Sr Robert Cicill.” *Endorsed by Cecil:* “ L. of Senqwar.”

Nov. 1. 288. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Yesternight I received from Roger Aston this letter enclosed containing such dishonourable effects against her Majesty as I have thought it my duty to send it for your best information and to witness his loyal zeal to her Majesty, her honour and service. The King (I perceive) is both privy to this address made to me and also intends to try the matters objected against Mr. David Black, sometime a schoolmaster in England and being made denizen lived there about 17 years. The credit of the authors of this report against him is commended to be good and famous. Nevertheless, he has (I hear) flatly denied the utterance of any words in pulpit or privately against her Majesty, offering himself to all torments upon proof thereof. Yet seeing the offence is alleged to have been publicly done by him in his sermons and to be sufficiently proved against him by credible witnesses, I shall call for his timely trial and due punishment. And that the same may be both prosecuted and also executed in manner and effect best liking her Majesty, I pray you to return speedily to me instructions and directions for my course in the same.

Albeit the King and this Convention meeting here to-morrow are bent to prolong the meeting of the Commissioners for the Borders longer time than is requisite, I shall discover to them the present and troublesome state of the Borders necessary to require such good expedition for the “indelate” repair of these Commissioners to the frontiers as I trust to persuade them to hasten the time of this meeting and progress in this commission. Of my proceedings therein I shall shortly advertise you, the Commissioners and Wardens of the Marches. The King gave liberty to Buccleuch to return to his house and into Liddisdale to prepare his bills, rolls and complaints and for other like offices to be there done by him, and that after the accomplishment of the same he shall return to his ward at her Majesty’s pleasure.

* Small hole in the paper.

James VI.
1596.

It has been generally expected that the King and this Convention should have sharply proceeded against sundry ministers for their speeches published against the excommunicated Earls, and that these matters have been much stirred up since the return of Mr. David Foulis and some reports brought here with him. But I am advertised that the storms appearing shall not fall at this time. Yet the agreement betwixt the Earls and the ministers is not like to be accorded without more humble submission than will be yielded by the Earls.

Yesterday 3 passengers arrived at Leith from Calais. They pretend to be Irishmen and after 14 years' service to the King of Spain to be in the return for Ireland. I am informed that they had some packets of letters and have put all the same from them. Therefore I have procured that they shall be examined by the Council; yet I look not for the discovery of matters of great effects after so large liberty given to them. Of the proceedings of this Convention assembling you shall be speedily advertised. Edinburgh, this first of November 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

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

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

I wrote to your lordship yesterday by direction of his Majesty concerning the meeting of the Commissioners and [he] has this day commanded me to renew the same again. The impossibility by the impediments that is (*sic*) made moves his Majesty to desire that the day appointed may be continued for some few days, for the which cause he hastens the sooner to Edinburgh; at which time by your own advice the day shall be appointed and as "sortt" [? short] as may be, desiring you in the mean time to acquaint such as are appointed for her Majesty that it is not possible that the meeting can hold at the day appointed, but to prevent further inconvenience that may enter by the delay it shall be as "sortt" as possible can be.

This last night I received a letter from the Treasurer to be imparted to his Majesty concerning both the meeting of the Borders as also his opinion in this matter that is like to fall forth between the King and the ministers. He finds the matter to grow on. His opinion is that the King should challenge them upon some other occasion than in this oversight which he has given to the Papist Earls. By this they take occasion to speak what they please, but chiefly they of St. Andrews who stir up rather to a rebellion than obedience. For the discharge of my duty I thought good to acquaint you with some information that is come here which highly concerns her Majesty our sovereign. I have here set down the particular words as near as I could collect them. About 14 days since Mr. David Blake [Black], minister of St. Andrews, in two or three of his sermons could not content himself to inveigh against the proceedings here but against his duty in respect of the favour he has had there most unreverently said that her Majesty was an atheist and that the religion that was professed there was but a show of religion guided and directed by the bishops' injunctions and they could not be content with this at home but

James VI.

1596. would persuade the King to bring in the same here and thereby to be debarred of the liberty of the Word. This is spoken by persons of credit to the King, who is highly offended and at his coming to Edinburgh will bring the matter in trial. He will no ways allow anything to be spoken of her Majesty that may concern her so highly in honour. I have dealt very earnestly with his Majesty that he may be punished in example of others. I doubt not when your lordship and he shall meet he will do that which shall be thought convenient and honourable. This far I thought good to communicate unto you for the aid you may give the matter as you shall think convenient.

Robert Stuartt has been here to have obtained a warrant for the books that were called in as escheat. There is nothing done further than a warrant to one of the "beles" [? bailies] to take an inventory of all those books and thereafter there should be order taken. His Majesty has commanded me to certify you that so many as are there of the second part of the "Ferry Quene" he will not have sold here and further he will complain to her Majesty of the author as you will understand at more length by himself. From Linlithgow (Lethcoo) the last of October. *Signed* : Roger Aston.

Postscript.—The King will keep the second as was appointed in Edinburgh. To-morrow he goes to Dunfermline. The princes both removed on Tuesday and the Queen on Friday. The Treasurer has got leave to go to Galloway and it will be 20 days ere he return. I am sorry for it for we will have want of him for he is the tongue of the troupe.

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Holograph, with address* : "To my L. Embaster of England." *Seal. Endorsed by Bowes* : "Lythg^o ultimo Octobr., Edenbr' eodem die, 1596."

[Nov. 5.] **289. JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

I received the enclosed even now and have with all the speed I could directed it to your Honour. Mr. David Foulis imputes his crosses in all things to some councillors and not to her Majesty. As Mr. Aston writes I was bold to write to your Honour for his furtherance when I found him in good mind to do good offices, because I knew it would highly content the King, but how he has requited me here, and there [*sic*, ? where] he is now, I think I shall both feel and hear. At Tottenham (Tothname) this Friday in the evening, 1596. *Signed* : Ja: Hudson.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Small seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : "5 No: 1596."

Nov. 10. **290. ROBERT BOWES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.**

At my audience given by the King on Friday last, the 5th hereof, I imparted to him the effects of the three several causes specified in your Majesty's letter of 23 October last addressed to me with full and perfect directions for my sufficient instructions therein and to my great comfort in the execution of your service here. Thereon I first made a memorial of the fair pretences showed that the forfeited and excommunicated Earls

James VI.

1596. should not be admitted without their conformity in religion ; that nevertheless they have liberty from exile and remain in this country, so as the common enemies (and such as have conspired against religion and your Majesty's estate) are received into grace before their reconciliation to the Church and without your privity or provision for your Majesty, the King and common causes contrary to the laws of the sincerity bound up betwixt your Majesty and him ; and that your Majesty hearing much of these strange matters desired to know by himself what to believe in the same. For answer, he acknowledged that the Earls were returned into this realm without his privity or assent. He denied flatly to have given them any licence or toleration for their remain in this country as commonly (yet wrongfully he said) has been here reported. He affirmed that Errol had not made any suit or offer as yet. But Huntly had exhibited his offers for his satisfaction to the Church and assurance to himself and the State as was made known to the late Conventions at Falkland and Dunfermline, by which councils the order of these causes was referred to his judgment. For the resolution whereof he is occupied that it may be done with good advice and with due respects to all persons interested therein. He promised to provide that these Earls shall not be received into grace nor suffered to abide in Scotland except they shall satisfy the Church with good signs of their true repentance and give sufficient caution as well to abide trial for any practice passed in the time of their banishment and to be objected against them, as also hereafter to be of good behaviour in religion, life and manners. All which effects remembered he agreed to advertise and confirm to your Majesty by his own letters, for the which I have thus still attended and over long delayed the address of these to you ; for which fault I right humbly pray your Majesty's pardon. The birth of these fruits promised I refer to the proof of the issue succeeding.

To these he added an advice wishing your Majesty providently to regard and prevent the practices and preparations intended against your Majesty and estate by the King of Spain. This advice he grounded upon good intelligences given him from Italy that many Italian princes were fully persuaded that the King of Spain would shortly invade your dominions with great forces and cunning. Wherein as he should receive further discovery he promised to give your Majesty timely advertisement thereof.

Secondly, after I had sounded and found his mind and desire continuing to have your Majesty a witness in the baptism of his daughter (agreeable as he and the Queen before required and as I had signified to your Majesty) I let him know that you hold it a great argument of his love towards you that he has presented to you the jewel so dear to himself, to which your Majesty wishes as well as if it were your own ; and seeing the same is a branch of his kindness and that he desires it may bear your name, your Majesty had willed me to be at his commandment for performance of the same in sort as it shall be agreed upon. For this and other your Majesty's continual goodness towards him and his he yields very hearty thanks, acknowledging that he has presumed over far to importune you in this behalf and so soon after your good will showed in the late baptism of his son, whom (and all other most precious to him) he dedicates to your Majesty. The Queen in like manner, understanding your favour

James VI.

1596. herein with your joy for her safe delivery and wish of her comfort by the fruit given to her, renders likewise her heartiest thanks to your Majesty. This baptism shall be solemnised at Holyroodhouse the 28th day of this month. The Duke of Lennox, three Earls, some ladies and the principal officers of Edinburgh, shall attend (and not be joined with your Majesty at this baptism), wherein it may please you to direct me with your further pleasure to be done therein by me.

Thirdly, touching the liberty from ward lately granted to Buccleuch for the causes expressed in my former letters, I have plainly told him that your Majesty did never look for other. For considering the courses before holden in this notorious cause, your Majesty ever expected (and now has received proof) that the same artifices before used by his friends (labouring to preserve him from restraint and punishment) would again be put in practice to procure his liberty and impunity. Wherein your Majesty found that the King's only judgment did . . . * meet with their intentions and therefore you still appeal to the same judgment to consider whether such an indignity offered in time of peace to your estate ought not to receive other manner of punishment than a commitment to an easy ward with speedy enlargement. And further that an honourable and due redress might be frankly yielded to your Majesty by himself for Buccleuch's outrage past, I moved him to retire Buccleuch to ward after order should be given for the execution of the offices to be done in the country by him, which might (I said) be supplied and done by his deputy or other sufficient person.

To these he alleged that it was found very necessary to give leave to Buccleuch to return into the country to make up his complaint for wrongs done in his office by Englishmen, to interchange rolls with the English wardens and to put the country in quietness; that long he has been and still remains careful to give your Majesty contented satisfaction for Buccleuch's offence, affirming that he cannot with assent of his nobility and Estates deliver Buccleuch's body as has been demanded for your Majesty. In which particular kind of redress to be made by himself against the consent of the Estates he still prays your Majesty to be pleased to press him no further, being ready to satisfy you in this case with any other manner of amends in his power. Further, that as he has long expected your Majesty's own pleasure to have been notified to him in the special manner of redress most convenient, so he desires to be advertised of your mind in the same, pretending great readiness to give you all good contentment therein. Albeit I pleaded the laws of the league authorising the delivery of Buccleuch to be made to your Majesty by him and that you rested wholly on his own judgment and kindness to "expeid" an honourable kind of satisfaction for such outrageous fact, yet he still insisted upon notice of your resolution therein, always pretending great care and readiness to content your Majesty in the same. It may therefore please you to direct me and my course for my further proceeding in this behalf.

That these presents be not over tedious to your Majesty and exceed the compass of a letter, I have reserved the advertisement of all Border causes (as yet uncertain and not here concluded) and all other occurrents

* Small hole in the paper here.

James VI.

1596. to the Lord Treasurer. Edinburgh, 10 November 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2½ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. 4 small seals. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil's clerk*: "Rec. at Whitehall the xvijth."

Nov. 12. 291. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Since the assembly of this small Convention beginning here the third hereof and gathered of very few or none others than some noblemen commonly frequenting the Court and of the ordinary Councillors, I have oftentimes and very earnestly importuned the King and sundry of his Council for resolute orders promised to have been given me at this time and Convention in all causes for the expedition of the "indellate" meeting and progress of the Commissioners for the Borders and for present provision to stay the daily attempts troubling the peace in the Marches of both realms. In these they have both long delayed me in expectation of hourly dispatch and also required me to stay for some time my letters to your lordship that I might send therewith the King's letter to her Majesty and write with sufficient certainty. They allege that by the sickness of the Lord of Newbottle and default of the appearance of the officers of the Borders (for none except Cessford came to this Convention) they cannot proceed to full resolutions at this time in these causes as was intended and promised. Therefore they have again charged all the officers of the Marches to be here the 17th of this month [*note in margin*: "18 Novemb. a new appearance."], at which time they firmly promise to determine in these things and to acquaint me therewith. But being wearied with their dilatory answers and verbal promises I have drawn from them their declaration in writing to the effects appearing in this note enclosed [*note in margin*: "The King's answer"] and subscribed by John Androwes, Clerk of the Council. They intend (as I am informed) to appoint the Lord of Holyroodhouse to supply Newbottle's place and claiming to have by custom and treaty allowance for the first meeting of Commissioners to be in Scotland [*note in margin*: "This meeting without warrant"], they will therefore require that the Commissioners may first meet at Fowltowne near Berwick and thereon agree among themselves in the choice of the fittest place for the conferences and remain. The time of first assembly is not like (as I can gather) [to be] before the beginning of the next month. For sundry of the Commissioners are precise to proceed in any matter of question or difficulty except that the order and resolution of the King and Council shall be first concluded and given in writing to them. Thinking that her Majesty will not be pleased that the cause of Buccleuch shall be censured by the Commissioners it is by some advised that the matters against the Lord Scrope shall not be tried by the Commissioners but to be left to her order as the cause is referred to the King's judgment. Whereupon some persuade that the wardens by their ordinary power may give due and sufficient redresses for all wrongs and offences other than in the cases of Lord Scrope and Buccleuch [*note in margin*: "Wardens to redress their own wrong"], so as the appointed meeting is thus by these deemed unprofitable. Nevertheless, the King and Council plainly pretend and protest their readiness and full determinations to advance the progress thereof with all possible

James VI.

1596. speed and good effects. And surely if it shall be either suddenly broken or yet long delayed then great and hasty troubles shall thereby arise in the Borders. Therefore I pray to have timely and perfect directions in these weighty affairs and that they may be so formed and qualified as I may show them to the King and Council or else deal roundly with them to put away these delays and work reformation in the necessary causes.

The particular answer of the King for the redress and delivery of Buccleuch for his offence at Carlisle castle I have advertised to her Majesty, resting upon return of notice of her pleasure in the same. Buccleuch (since his liberty from ward) pretends all good offices for the administration of justice and preservation of good order in his limits. It is warily offered by his friends to submit himself to her Majesty and her pleasure ; wherein it is suspected that the same shall not be allowed here, lest his credit should grow overmuch in England.

The baptism of the princess shall be at Holyroodhouse the 28th of this month. It is newly agreed and meant for the present that the whole honour thereof shall be ascribed to her Majesty and that for some profitable respects the Duke of Lennox, the Lord John Hamilton and the Earls Marshall and Mar, with the Provost and chief of this town of Edinburgh, shall be present to do offices under her Majesty. If her Majesty shall vouchsafe to employ any present to the princess and rewards to officers about her (as peradventure is expected), then it is high time that her gifts shall be speedily sent to me and that I shall be instructed for the right employment thereof.

The ministers still exclaim against the liberty and favour given to the forfeited and excommunicated Earls remaining in this realm and peaceably enjoying their possessions against the laws of the land and without any reconciliation to the Church or provision for the King and common causes. In this I have likewise by my letter to her Majesty reported the King's words to me. This cause still proceeds to the advantage of the Earls and grief of the Church, for by the manner of the course holden the Earls are like (as I am informed) to abide in this realm until April next. It is given out that the King has granted licence as well to Huntly to return into and abide in Scotland upon considerations and effects expressed therein, as also to the ministry and other subjects to receive, supply and intercommon with him. And like licence (or near the same) is granted to Angus. But the King has flatly denied to me to have been privy to the return of Huntly or Errol into this realm, or to have granted any toleration for their remain here. Yet the Lord President appearing before the ministers upon summons of excommunication for dealing with Huntly confessed there openly that the King had granted a licence to Huntly, but with such hard conditions as he could not observe them. It is surmised that Petlurg and the other barons employed and sent by the Countess of Huntly in the name of her husband to exhibit offers to the synodal assembly and presbyteries at Elgin in Murray (the copy of which offers I send enclosed) did " tacite " acknowledge the King's licence granted to Huntly. But for these Earls it is pleaded that the Duke of Lennox, then the King's Lieutenant in the North, having no power to put the Earls out of the realm against their will, compounded with them to depart upon conditions to give caution for their good behaviours during their absence in foreign nations

James VI.

1596. and from whence they should not return hither within one year, which time was long expired before their incoming, and which conditions they have performed. So as their cautions are cleared and their return justifiable, against which the ministers object the Act of Cautionary registered and still "oppose" themselves against the Earls. In the mediation of which controversies the King by his commissioners has sent and delivered to the ministers here convened from all parts of the realm his promise and question expressed in writing, to which the ministers have answered to the effects appearing in the note thereof, which I send enclosed.

It is no little grief to the ministers that the Queen has sent Sir Hugh Carmichael and John Livingstone to bring the Lady Huntly again to the Court and to the baptism of the young princess, and that to shadow the entertainment of this lady her eldest son shall be brought hither with pretence to be brought in religion and to be pledge for the performance of his father's covenants to the Church and State. Wherein many allege that the King may discharge the pledge at his pleasure and that the Earls intending no reconciliation to the Church seek only to gain time until the spring and coming of Spanish comfort. The ministers' griefs are increased by the intention to give the custody of the princess to Lord Livingstone, whose wife is Errol's sister and an obstinate papist under process of excommunication.

Because the King daily urged the pursuit against Mr. David Black that upon trial of his guiltiness in the utterance of the infamous words in pulpit against her Majesty and the religion in England he might be duly punished, I have set down in writing and delivered to the King the effects of the information given against Black in that behalf and certified to me, the copy whereof I send enclosed. Hereupon the process are (*sic*) awarded for his appearance before the King and Council and the witnesses shall be ready to verify the objections. The King has named the laird of Buccleuch for one of the witnesses and a merchant for the other. The name of the merchant is not known to me. The party accused directly denies the matters objected against him, offering to bring a multitude of his auditory, learned, wise, honest and of especial quality to witness his innocency; in which cause he wishes and prays (as I am informed) to be tried in England and by mediate means for her Majesty, that thereby he may be cleared or otherwise punished with the uttermost pains of the law, which as an Englishman he will (as is offered by his friends) willingly suffer. The principals in the ministry are very desirous that this cause may receive full and due trial to the intent the party accused may be severely punished in his guiltiness proved, and otherwise that the authors of the accusation may be well known in their secret intentions and chastised in their open faults. What I shall further do and proceed herein I pray you procure and send me good and seasonable informations.

The King has conceived great offence against Edward Spenser (Spencer) publishing in print in the second part of the Fairy Queen and 9th chapter some dishonourable effects (as the King deems thereof) against himself and his mother deceased. He alleged that this book was passed with privilege of her Majesty's Commissioners for the view and allowance of all writings to be received into print. But therein I have (I think) satisfied

James VI.

1596. him that it is not given out with such privilege. Yet he still desires that Edward Spenser for this fault may be duly tried and punished.

On the second hereof James Douglas of Torthorwald (Torthorall) with 2 other of the Douglasses (whose fathers were executed by Captain James Stewart's means) killed the same captain and cut him in pieces for the deaths of the Earls of Morton, Gowrie and others their friends and put down (as they term it) by this Captain Stewart's accusations and practices whilst he governed in Court. Douglas alleges that Stewart was at horn for causes not to be reduced and thereby justifies the fact ; wherewith the King is highly displeased.

The 3 Irishmen lately arrived here from Calais and before touched in my former letter are suffered to depart for Ireland after their examinations taken at my request. Yet the wise and well affected greatly suspect them, finding them (especially one) qualified with good language, courtly behaviour and great experience in state matters. They are thought to be either Jesuits or else soldiers to be employed in Ireland for the Spanish King. Great bruits have been generally spread here of the arrival of great forces of Spaniards come into Ireland at sundry times, and many are occupied herewith. Nevertheless, I have lately received advertisements from Ireland and from the west parts of this realm and by all [of] them it seems that these bruits carry little probability or truth. The Earl of Tyrone sent to the aid of Angus MacConnell 6 score footmen, whereof 60 are drowned by tempest in the seas and the rest are returned into Ireland. It is doubted whether these forces should have assisted MacConnell for keeping possession of his house and lands in Kintyre or else to have invaded James Surlye (son of Surleboye) in Ireland for recovery of the Glenns and other lands of MacConnell and now possessed by James Surley. Now MacConnell has compounded with Colonel Stewart for the King and suffered the Colonel to keep courts in the King's name, as great obedience with much profit shall be given to the King in all the Isles and Highlands. Edinburgh, 12 November 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

4½ pp. Addressed. Many passages and names underlined probably by Sir R. Cecil, in whose hand are the marginal notes above noticed and numerous others. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.

First enclosure with the same.

(Offers of the Countess of Huntly.)

The offers presented by "ane noble lady Dame Henriett Stewart, Countesse of Huntlay" having commission of George, Earl of Huntly, her spouse, in his absence to the synodal assembly of the presbyteries within the diocese of Moray convened in Elgin, 19 Oct. 1596, directed from Bog of Geight and "proponit" by the barons underwritten, viz. Sir Walter Ogilvy (Oglevie) of Findlater, knight, Robert Innes of that ilk, Sir John Gordon of Pitlurg (Petlurg), knight, William Sutherland of Duffus (Duffes), John Urquhart of Tullo, tutor of Cromarty.

In the first, hearing and having intelligence that your wisdoms here convened and "remanent" of the Kirk of this realm have been in time past and as yet remain evil informed by suggestion of misreports of my Lord and spouse, that he should be a trafficker with strangers since his

James VI.

1596. departing out of this realm in prejudice of the religion presently professed in the same and of the estate of his native country, I as having commission in his name offer, not only to make his purgation of the sinister misreports of him above written, but also that he shall abide and submit himself to all lawful trial thereanent, and if he be found culpable thereof to suffer and "underly" the censure of your wisdoms, King and Council.

Secondly, I offer that he shall make sufficient security neither to attempt, assist nor devise anything in times coming tending to the alteration and inversion of the religion presently professed within this realm.

Thirdly, offers [*sic*, I offer] that he shall banish and eject from his company and society all Jesuits, seminary priests, excommunicate persons and notorious known papists.

Fourthly, he is and shall be content to intercommon and confer with whatsoever of the ministry your wisdoms and the whole Kirk shall appoint. In case he may be moved by good arguments and reasons and thereby persuaded in his conscience to leave the religion presently professed by him he shall embrace the religion professed in this realm.

Fifthly, offers [*sic*, I offer] that he shall receive an ordinary minister in his company for his better instruction on his own charges, and in mean time shall keep good order.

Sixthly, for better assurance of his good meaning he is content to assist your discipline in punishment of vice.

Seventhly, in consideration of the premises I will desire your wisdoms to give and concede a reasonable time wherein my Lord, my spouse, may be resolved in his conscience, and that it will please you to show him the favour to absolve him from the process of excommunication, and that he may have by your mediation and interceding his Majesty's favour and oversight to remain within the country untroubled during the time of the conference.

And for your persuasion to the premises I offer in his name that he shall make sufficient security for observing of the articles above written, and in testimony of his good intention shall assist the planting of ministers in the kirks desolate within his bounds.

The articles above written presented in manner and form fore-said by my Lady Countess of Huntly in name of my Lord her husband conform to the effect of the offers direct from himself ready to be produced for warrant hereof if they be accepted.

Et sic subscribitur

Henrett Countesse of Huntlay.

1 p. Copy. Endorsed: "19 Octob. 1596. Offers of the Countes of Huntleye."

Second enclosure with the same.

(Propositions answered by the ministry.)

At Edinburgh, 4 November. These were the propositions "proponed" by certain of his Majesty's Council in his Highness's name and answered by certain of the ministry anent the excommunicate "forfalted" Earls, to be subscribed by both the one and other.

James VI.
1596.

1. First, his Majesty offers that neither the forfeited and excommunicate Earls nor other in such case shall be received in favour with his Majesty before they have satisfied the Kirk.

2. Next, his Majesty would understand whether if the said persons rightly repenting and satisfying the Kirk may have the bosom thereof patent to them and be received within the same.

Answers.

1. The brethren of the ministry accept of the offer and thank God therefor.

2. And answer to the question affirmative. They may always without prejudice of the magistrates' part and duty.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. Copy. Endorsed: "4 Nov. 1596. Propositions answered by the Ministrye."

Third enclosure in the same.

(Information against Mr. David Black.)

The effect of the information given against Mr. David Black and certified to Robert Bowes, Ambassador for the Queen's Majesty of England to the King of Scots touching infamous words alleged to be uttered by Mr. David Black before named in his sermons against her Majesty and the religion professed in England, viz.—

That in some sermons made in October last by Mr. David Black, minister at St. Andrews, he said that her Majesty was an atheist.

That the religion professed there (meaning in England) was but a show of religion, guided and directed by the Bishops' injunctions; and they would not be content with this at home, but would persuade the King to bring in the same here, and thereby to be debarred of their liberty of the Word.

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. Endorsed: "Octob. 1596. Information against Mr. David Black."

Nov. [18.] 292. DAVID BLACK'S FIRST DECLINATURE.

Printed in Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, v, 457-459

The "declinatour" of Mr. David Black, minister of the Evangel at St. Andrews, to appear before the King and Lords of the Secret Council to answer for certain unreverent, infamous and indecent speeches alleged to be uttered by him in some of his sermons in St. Andrews kirk in October 1596. He is ready to stand to the defence of every point of the truth of God uttered by him in his sermons before the King and Council or any other lawfully constituted persons, but seeing he is now brought to stand before the King and Council as a judge set to "cognosce" and discern upon his doctrine he is constrained to use a "declinatour" of this judgment *in prima instantia* for the following reasons:—

(1) In the preaching of the Word whereof he is accused he can only be judged by those prophets whom God has appointed to be the keepers of His heavenly wisdom and they must declare whether he has kept the bounds of his direction before he come to be judged of his Majesty; "which

James VI.

1596.

being done and I found culpable in transgressing any point of that commission which the Lord has given me, I refuse not to abide your Majesty's judgment in the second instance and to 'underly' whatsoever punishment it shall be found I have deserved by your Majesty's laws for mine offence."*

(2) The liberty and whole discipline of the Kirk as now exercised within the realm has been confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament and approved in the confession of faith subscribed by the King, and namely in the said point anent the judicatory of the preaching of the Word *in prima instantia*. Therefore the question of his preaching ought first to be judged by the ecclesiastical senate as the competent judge.

Therefore he beseeches the King for himself and in the name of the Commissioners of the General Assembly and remanent brethren of the ministry, who have subscribed these presents, that his Majesty will manifest his care to maintain that liberty in the Kirk which it has enjoyed since the Gospel was revealed in the land.

1 p. Copy. Endorsed: "22 No. 1596.† David Blackes declaration to the K. and his Councill."

Nov. 19. 293. INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING BORDER CAUSES.

Cott. Calig., D.
ii, fol. 254.

[A Minute of instructions for Border Causes, Falkland,
Nov. 19, 1596.]

1. To send letters or messengers upon our repair to] the Borders to [determine with] the opposite Commissioners of the place of meeting.

[2. To consider] that the opposite commission was large as ours.

[3] The intention of this commission and treaty upon the complaints of either [side] for lack of justice expected by the wardens, their deputies and their subjects on both parties. Hereupon the proclamation made and printed in Scotland the 3 of August last, in England the 20 of the same, which notwithstanding sundry incursions have been made on the part of Scotland especially one open invasion with open show of hostility by etc.

[4.] To treat first thereof, receiving due information from the Wardens of England of the Middle and East, and to solicit for just amends according to the laws of the Borders, and upon good satisfaction received then to proceed, and in order to hear the complaints of every of the three Wardenries beginning if it may be fitly with the East.

[5.] The trial of the said complaints to be made by all usual ordinary means prescribed by the treaties or used by the custom of the Marches.

[6.] To inquire what hath been the cause of the discontinuance of the meetings of the Wardens, the same being supposed to be the occasion of all these enormities, and in whom the same defaults have been.

[7.] The faulters therein plainly to be reprehended and charged to keep frequent days of truce hereafter.

[8.] To meet with the inconvenience of the division of officers on the Scots Borders, namely the Keeper of Liddesdale and such like refusing to answer at the direction of the Wardens of the West or Middle Marches of that nation, the Queen conceiving that she is to be answered at the hands of the Wardens and not expect justice at any other inferior hand.

* The words in quotes are omitted in the version printed in Calderwood.

† The version printed in Calderwood is dated 18 November, which appears to be the correct date by the reference to the twelve days past in the second declinature of 30 November.

James VI.
1596.

[9.] To consider with the Wardens of England at what complaints to begin redress, whether at such offences as have been last committed or such as have been more ancient.

[10.] To require certificate from the governor of Berwick how he can justify his act in the slaughter and cutting in pieces of Daugleish.

[11.] And what further information we may receive for more notable murders committed by the Scots and especially in the year 1579 upon George Foster father and son and another Foster, with others done by the Younges, Burnes and Pringles.

[12.] To inquire of Sir Robert Carey of the circumstances that moved him to hang Bourne and to see that ordered according to the laws of the [Bo]rders, so as no revenge be used privately by Sir Robert Carey [in the] behalf of his servant.

[13.] To deal with the English Ambassador in Scotland for the] King's reformation of the [untowardness to be found in his Commissioners] or Wardens of Scotland, if any [such be.]

[14.] The cause of this commission : first, the ref[orming the disorders between] both realms most properly to be determined [by the mutual treaty] of the Commissioners as persons indifferent, and to th[at end orders to be] prescribed by them to the Wardens, and with [inquisition to be] made of the defaults committed within any one [of our wardenries by] English subjects amongst themselves for [lack of usual] days of Warden courts and orders of musters [kept according to] the tenures of the inhabitants for the better streng[th on horse and] foot.

[15.] To inquire of the strength of every of the three [wardenries in horse] and foot, and by what means and in what time [their number have been] decayed and by whose default, and how [the same may be] restored, and certify your knowledge and opinions in the [same to her] Majesty by her to be reformed.

What number of persons and who they are that have [of late left] their habitations within any of the wardenries [and for what cause,] whether for lack of defence by the Wardens or for [other respects. And ye] shall use all good means to cause them to return to the intent to maintain the strength of the Bor[ders, otherwise] have them compelled to return to their former hab[itations.]

What persons and owners of lands they be that [have improved their] rents so highly or divided their farms into so [many small parcels] as they who inhabit the same are not able to [maintain themselves] with horses as by the custom of the Borders they [ought to do.]

What numbers of Scots are suffered to live ei[ther by habitation] in houses or by service with the English in every [of the wardenries,] a matter most necessary to be reformed.

To send to the Wardens for true copies of the [ordinances made by] the Commissioners of England and Scotland and especial[ly for a book copied] by the Lord Eure (Ewers) and sent to the Lord Treasurer [of England, and] to consider of the treaty made in the year 158[7 at Berwick by] the Lord Hunsdon, Carmichael and others which the [Lord Treasurer] sent us.

To be informed from the Lord Scrope of the br[eaking of Carlisle] Castle by Buccleugh (Buckleugh) and taking away of [Kinmonth, a Scot,

James VI.

1596.

from] thence ; as also how the Lord Scrope can [justify the] lawfulness of the said prisoner both for [his taking and keeping.

That the cause and remedies of the defection in relig]ion be well [considered by the Bishop of Durham with the Bishop] of Carlisle, the Wardens and other gentlemen [best affected,] and the fault reformed or certified by the [Bishop] of Durham.

To consider how complaints shall be justified, whether by avowry or by the assizes of six of either wardenry, either apart or joined with the Warden to examine and approve or disapprove it, or else the Warden to take upon his honour to affirm or reject the same.

2½ pp. *Injured by fire, the portions within brackets being supplied from the copy made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 312.*

Nov. 20. 294. JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

It may please you to receive the note enclosed* which you commanded me to send of such things as are to be sent for the King's use. London, 20 November 1596. *Signed* : Ja: Hudson.

½ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Nov. 20. 295. ROBERT DENNESTON.

*Inventoried in
Tudor and
Stuart Proclama-
tions, ii, 260.*

To William Straquhan [and] the sheriffs in that part [*sic: not named*]. Forasmuch as it is shown to the King by Mr. Robert Denneston, Conservator to the Scottish nation of the Low Countries of Flanders that whereas it pleased the King upon the first information of the escape of Francis, sometime Earl Errol, without further trial to discharge the said Conservator from his office, albeit he doubts not that if the truth of his behaviour had been understood such proceeding would have been forborne, like as he to justify his account had made his preparation for his return to the realm but upon the point of his departure was visited with sickness and constrained to remain ; whereupon the King and his Privy Council were pleased to assign the last day of January next for his appearance before them ; because in the meantime he is suspended from his office and Scottish subjects repairing to the Low Countries sustain great hurt and others behave themselves not as becomes their estate or calling without controlment ; the King has restored the said Conservator to his office until his part in the said Earl's escape be known and further order taken ; and open proclamation is to be made hereof at all places needful. " Given under our signet " at Holyroodhouse, 20 November 1596. " Per Registrarium dominorum Secreti Consilii."

1 p. *Copy.*

1596. 296. SUMMARY OF THE MEMORIALS OF JOHN OGILVY OF POURVY.

Nov. 21.

Dec. 1.

*Printed in
Scottish Hist.
Soc. Publ. 15,
Miscellany, Vol.
1, pp. 21-31, with
translation (Ib.
pp. 32-40).*

" Summa de los Memoriales que Juan Ogleby, Baron Escosces, embiado por el Re di Escocia, dio a su Mag^d Catholica en favor de una Liga entre los dos Reyes, y lo que Juan Cecilio, sacerdote Ingles, de parte de los Condes y otros Señores Catholicos de Escocia exhibio en contrario en la ciudad de Toledo en los meses de Mayo y Junio 1596."

* This enclosure is missing.

James VI.
1596.

The document sets out the desire of the King of Scotland to avenge the death of his mother and the reasons which move him to become reconciled with the Apostolic see and to seek alliance with the King of Spain, the offers made by him to the latter for the mutual good of themselves and their two kingdoms and his demands of the King of Spain for the settlement of a league between them. "En Toledo a quinze de Junio 1596. Juan Ogleby."

The allegations made by John Cecil against these proposals and the contrary memorials he made to the King of Spain follow. Ogilvy's letters of credit from the King of Scotland are suspected to be forged or obtained by fraud. The said King has never shown any sign of wishing to become a Catholic and has with his own hand written books against the Catholic religion, has published edicts against the Catholics and has conspired with the Queen of England and followed her lead in everything. Various acts showing the infidelity of the King recounted. The true cause which has moved him at the present time to show a desire to submit himself to the Catholic religion is Dolman's book on the English succession written last year, in which it is declared that no claimant to the said succession will be admitted by Catholics unless he is a Catholic. "Ita sentio, Juan Cecilio."

To this is added a brief account of the events which followed Ogilvy's mission. A Portuguese knight was appointed in Madrid to go to Scotland with Ogilvy in accordance with the latter's desire. Soon afterwards, however, Ogilvy changed his mind and left his companion in Madrid and went off without taking leave by Valencia and Barcelona, having refused a gold chain of 500 ducats presented to him by the King's secretary, Francesco Idiaques, on the part of his Majesty. A few days afterwards the Secretary Estevan d'Ibarra arrived at the Court of Madrid. With him Ogilvy had treated much in Flanders. D'Ibarra was struck with the great difference between the proposals Ogilvy had made to the King and those he had negotiated with himself in Flanders, where Ogilvy had stated that he was going to Italy on behalf of the King of Scotland to move certain princes in favour of that King against the King of Spain and that he had conferred with Paget and Gifford and other Englishmen about a league, but that he knew that it was all faction and passion and that the King of Scotland was a heretic and that he as Catholic agent would manage the business in the opposite way to that which the heretics and politicians were making for. Thereupon the Secretary had promised him a thousand ducats a month and he had gone off to Italy. The Secretary now demanded for his discharge that Ogilvy should be at once detained so that the matter might be verified. Thus Ogilvy is now detained at Barcelona (albeit with very good treatment) until it is known whether the King of Scotland sent him and gave him any commission or letter of credit. This is all that has passed in this business up to the present. "En Madrid, i de Decembre 1596."

9½ pp. *Spanish*. *Endorsed*: "1596. Ogleby his negociacion with Cecills contradiction, June," and in another hand after 1596: "The conter-fait busines cal'ed."

Another copy of the preceding.

5¼ pp. *Spanish*.

James VI.

1596.

Another copy of the preceding with certain variations and without Cecil's allegations.

2½ pp. *Spanish. Possibly in the hand of Thomas Phelippes. Endorsed* : " Relation of Pury Ogylbyes negociation in Spayne since May 1596. From Madrid December 1596, and how that he was committed by the K. prisoner in Spayne at Barcelona uppon suspicion of doble dealing."

Another copy, also without Cecil's allegations.*

4 pp. *Spanish. Endorsed possibly by Phelippes* : " Relation of Pury Ogylbye's negociation in Spayne. Sent to the Q. xvj Junij 1597."

French translation of the foregoing, including Cecil's allegations. A few variants in the names, etc. in this translation, have been noted in the English translation printed in the Scottish History Society's *Miscellany*, Vol. I.

9 pp. *Endorsed* : " The Poyntes negotiated by the Lord Ogleby in Spayne and Cecyll's informations against him. 1596."

Nov. 22. 297. ARTICLES TO BE PERFORMED BY THE EARL OF HUNTLY.

Printed in
Register of
Privy Council
of Scotland,
v, 328-329; in-
ventoried in
Tudor and Stuart
Proclamations,
ii, 260.

At Holyroodhouse, 22 November, 1596.

The Articles set down by his Majesty to be first effectually performed by the Earl of Huntly afore he receive any licence to return or remain in Scotland, or any other benefit of his Majesty's laws, conform to the order taken at the Convention of Falkland upon 12 August last and thereafter ratified by another Convention of the Estates. At Dunfermline the penult day of September last bypast.

Broadsheet printed in black letter, no printer's name.

Nov. 22. 298. PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE RETURN OF THE EARLS OF HUNTLY AND ERROL.

Printed in
Register of
Privy Council
of Scotland,
v, 329-331; in-
ventoried in
Tudor and Stuart
Proclamations,
ii, 261.

The King having been informed of the late return within the realm of George, sometime Earl of Huntly, and Francis, sometime of Errol, in case rumours may be spread that he and his Council have been negligent in taking order with the said Earls to the manifest danger of religion, wills that open proclamation be made at the market crosses of the head burghs of the realm and other places needful that no one takes upon hand to reset, intercommon or have intelligence with the Earls or their adherents without the King's licence and commands all lieges between sixty and sixteen years to be in readiness to repair to him with 40 days' victuals and provision at such time and place as they shall be advertised by new proclamation upon 6 days warning. " Given under our signet " at Holyroodhouse, 22 November 1596. " Per actum secreti Consilii, &c. J. Andro."

Broadsheet printed in black letter, no printer's name. Endorsed : " Proclamation agaynst Huntley and Erroll."

* This is the copy which has been bound up as an enclosure to John Petit's letter of Sept. 21, 1596 (see No. 265, p. 322 *n.supra*).
Oct. 1

James VI.

1596.

Nov. 24.

299. PROCLAMATION TO DISCHARGE THE COMMISSION OF MINISTERS.

Printed in
*Register of
Privy Council
of Scotland*,
v, 332; inven-
toried in *Tudor
and Stuart Pro-
clamations*, ii,
261.

Proclamation that, as it is understood certain persons of the ministry have remained for a long time in the burgh of Edinburgh unlawfully occupied in devising rules, etc. prejudicial to the King's authority, alleging a general commission given by the last General Assembly, the said commission be discharged and the persons underwritten, namely Andrew Melvill, James Melvill, John Davidson, Nicoll Dagleish, James Nicolson, James Carmichael, John Clapperton, David Lindsay, be charged to depart home within 24 hours and not to wait on such unlawful conventions without the King's special licence. "Given under our signet" at Edinburgh, 24 November 1596. "Ex deliberatione Dominorum Concilii."

1 p. *Copy. Endorsed. The P.C. Register omits the name of James Carmichael but includes others not here given.*

Nov. 24. 300. PROCLAMATION PROHIBITING CONVENTIONS OF MINISTERS.

Printed in
*Register of
Privy Council
of Scotland*,
v, 333; inven-
toried in *Tudor
and Stuart Pro-
clamations*, ii,
261.

Whereas of late at divers times sundry ministers, presbyteries and other ecclesiastical judgments have presumed to make convocations under pretence of Acts of Parliament or Secret Council, proclamation is to be made at all places needful prohibiting such convocations or assemblies without the King's special licence and proclamation to that effect. "Given under our signet" at Edinburgh, 24 November 1596.

1 p. *Copy. Endorsed: "Not yet imprinted."*

Nov. 24. 301. PROCLAMATION SUMMONING DAVID BLACK BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

Inventoried in
*Tudor and Stuart
Proclamations*,
ii, 261.
Cp. *Register of
Privy Council
of Scotland*,
v, 334, *seqq.*

The King is informed that Mr. David Black, minister at St. Andrews, has divers times within these three years past in his public sermons in St. Andrews seditiously uttered in pulpit divers contemptuous, wicked and untrue speeches and calumnies against him, the Queen his spouse, the Queen of England and the lawful power and authority of all princes, and against his nobility, Council, judges and magistrates; that is to say that in one of his sermons made in October or thereby last he has affirmed that the Papist Earls were returned into the realm by the King's knowledge and consent and upon that assurance remained within the same, whereby (as he termed it) "the treachery of the King's heart was detected," affirming that all kings were the devil's children and that the devil was in the Court, and in his prayers being "astricted" by the lovable form observed by the ministry in daily use after their sermon to pray for the safety and preservation of the King, his Queen, his children and estate after he had lightly touched the King's part he subjoined thereto: "as to the Queen must also pray for her, but we have no cause to pray for her, we hear no good of her, she will never do us good, it may be she trouble us all shortly"; and at the same time it came to the knowledge of the Ambassador of England that Mr. David called the King's dearest sister an atheist and that the religion professed in England was but a show of religion directed by the bishops' injunctions, and that they would not be

James VI.

1596. content with this at home but would persuade the King to bring the same into his country ; whereof the Ambassador complained to the King requiring earnestly that he would do him justice thereanent ; as also Mr. David in October or thereby 1594, upon occasion of a civil action of his own proceeding upon the suspension of the execution of an inordinate and unlawful designation obtained by him, most impudently, falsely and indecently produced the said suspension in pulpit, read the reason thereof, discussed and repelled the same calling them trifles and " hen wyles," calling the Lords of the Council and Session then and in divers other sermons miscreants and bribers, the nobility degenerate, godless dissemblers, enemies to the Kirk, the Council atheists of no religion, " holiglasses, gormorantes " ; and as also he is commonly reputed an indiscreet, intemperate, slanderous and seditious calumniator of the King, his Queen, etc. ; and further not content with the bare exhortation of the people to sedition in his preaching he has most seditiously endeavoured himself and certain of his accomplices by his and their letters missive to convocate divers noblemen, barons and other lieges to the burgh of Coupar in Fife, where he proponed to them in the month of July or thereby, 1590, to put themselves in arms, divide themselves in bands of horsemen and footmen and " underly " the charge and commandment of certain captains chosen by him and his associates ; the King therefore commands that Black be charged by open proclamation to compeer before him and the Lords of his Secret Council at Edinburgh or where the King shall happen to be upon the last day of November instant to answer to the premises. " Given under our signet " at Holyroodhouse, 24 November 1596.

1 p. Copy. Endorsed : " Mr. Davyd Black sommoned by proclamation, 27 Nov. 1596."

Nov. 27. 302. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

For the expedition of the meeting of the Commissioners for the Borders and for the accomplishment of my own duty in furtherance of the same I have by myself and other means since the 17th hereof daily and importunately moved the King and solicited sundry of the Council to let me know their resolutions for the choice of the persons to be Commissioners for this realm, for the appointment of fit time and place for the meeting of all the Commissioners and for all other matters requisite to be accorded for the progress of this cause, either to be in this sort prosecuted with speed and in season or else to be changed into other course and provision for the peace on the frontiers presently troubled with dangerous attempts. My importunacy has procured the employment of divers councillors and commissioners (now named by the King) to be sent to me severally and at divers times and with promises that I should be " indelately " satisfied in all the effects mentioned. Nevertheless I cannot hitherto receive any resolution or certain order herein further than that the Lord of Newbottle being sick and Sir John Carmichael misliking to serve without excessive allowance for his expenses in this service, the King and Council have appointed the Bishop of Dunkeld and Andrew Kerr, laird of Fawdonside to supply their places and to be joined with the laird of Wedderburne (to be knighted at this baptism) and Mr. George Young ; wherein albeit

James VI.

1596.

that I acknowledged that Dunkeld and Kerr were noted to be well affected in religion and to the amity betwixt these two crowns and of good report, experience and behaviour in their persons, in the estate of the Bishop I objected that so little or nothing of the possessions of that bishopric remained in him as he might be deemed to be bishop rather in name than in deed and to have place in parliament rather by favour than of right ; so as in degree and quality he might peradventure be found not answerable to the Bishop of Durham or fit (as a lord of parliament) to judge the causes of noblemen as the Lord Scrope and Lord Eure (Ewrye) were. I alleged that Andrew Kerr was born and inhabited on the Borders amongst many evil doers and that he was near in blood and allied to Cessford (now charged with many great outrages in England) as also to other notorious offenders. But finding the King and Council determined to employ Dunkeld and Kerr with Wedderburne and Young in this service I spared to contest directly against them, agreeing to commend them to her Majesty's allowance upon notice of the impediment objected by me against them. The further resolutions in all points concerning this commission depend upon the conclusions to be taken by the King and Council who are convened this day pretending to take order therein. Yet being thus long delayed without perfect answer or order and perceiving that this day and for some time they shall be greatly occupied with the controversies with the ministers and ceremonies of the baptism of the King's daughter to-morrow and that the "protracte" of time in this case threatens great dangers to the estate of the Borders and little good success in this cause, I have thought it my duty to defer no longer the address of these presents to your lordship, praying that I may be instructed with perfect directions for my further proceedings herein.

The King continuing in mind to write to her Majesty has drawn me the rather to prolong this address until this time that I might convey to her Majesty the King's letter promised and which upon receipt I shall send with diligence.

At my access to the King I renewed my request for the due punishment of Mr. David Black for his offence against her Majesty ; wherein the King seemed willing to proceed effectually, acknowledging that Black had declined from his judgment in the trial thereof. It appears that the King has been deeply offended with this declination, which being sent to all the presbyteries in Scotland is subscribed by the most and to be confirmed by the rest. Whereupon he has commanded the ministers to deliver to him their "declynatour" for confirmation of their privileges claimed in this case. The Commissioners for the Church have of late daily appeared before the King or Council for the approbation of their claim and privilege and for justification of their course and speeches passed against the excommunicated Earls. Nevertheless they have sought that these causes may be calmly ordered and compounded as now they are like to be wrapped up for some time. For where a new summons and libel were framed against Black not only for his fault to her Majesty but also for traitorous and slanderous calumnies published by him against the King, his mother and estate ; and that a proclamation is framed and registered to restrain the conventions of ministers, barons and others upon missives of the ministers ; yet now this libel and proclamation are not prosecuted and

James VI.

1596. published as was intended and prepared. But it is looked that the summons against Black and his "declinatour" shall be stayed and cease in such order and conditions as shall be accorded; wherein I pray to be speedily directed with notice of her Majesty's pleasure for my further proceeding, either by the authority of the King (from which the party accused declines for the first instance) or yet by the ecclesiastical censure to the which the trial in this case is like to be referred. In the process of this cause Mr. Walter Balcanq[uha]ll in the Great Church in Edinburgh and in the name of all his brethren has entered in high praise and commendation of her Majesty, her religion and virtues, approving her to have been a most loving mother of true religion and of Christ's church through all Christendom, and especially in this realm and to the King and estate thereof. The well affected here consent with him thinking Black worthy [of] grievous punishment in case he shall be proved guilty of this crime objected against him. Wherein Buccleuch gives some of the ministers to think that he has been no author of this information, nor can and will be witness against Black in the same. And it seems that the other witnesses (whereupon the King most relied) will likewise refuse to give testimony against Black. Of all which I thought it meet to give you knowledge.

The ministers have so justified and exclaimed against the forfeited and excommunicated Earls as thereby proclamation is published touching them, the effects appearing in the copy of the same proclamation herewith enclosed. Besides some offers and articles are accorded in favour of Huntly, the copy whereof I send enclosed together with the copies of Black's "declynatour," of the proclamation for restraint of conventions by call of the ministry, and of the proclamation for restitution of Mr. Robert Denniston to the office of Conservator in the Low Countries for this nation.

Many noblemen, barons and others are come hither to honour the baptism of the young princess to be solemnised to-morrow at Holyrood-house, wherein I shall be diligent to accomplish all things for her Majesty agreeable to her pleasure signified to me and wherein I expected further notice of her pleasure, especially for some present to be given for her to the child.

Huntly and Errol remain in their houses with no little comfort. Huntly has banded with all the barons in these parts except the Lord Forbes. Errol has done the like in the quarters about him. He entertains a very great house at greater expense in few months than all his livings in a whole year are able to defray. They have provided with great charges many horses and store of armour and weapon. It is certified that Errol has commission given him by the Prince Cardinal to traffic with the rebels in Ireland for the service of the King of Spain. It is suspected that Huntly will not agree to send his son to the King as is required, and as the King has sent for him.

Mr. Patrick Galloway one of the King's ministers presumed the other day to inform the King privately that it was bruited that the King gave fair words to the ministry and fruitful actions to the Papist lords. The King has charged Mr. Patrick to give up the author of this bruit, otherwise it shall lie on himself. And thereon he was discharged the next day to preach and of the King's house.

James VI.
1596.

The present condition of this estate and of this government is so variable and uncertain as I can hardly affirm anything certainly therein and thereby am occasioned to commit all the rest to my next letters to your lordship. Edinburgh, this Saturday, 27 November 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

3¼ pp. *No address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk* : " Mr. Bowes ambassador in Scotland to my L."

Postscript.—After the closing of this letter and packet I have understood that the proclamation prohibiting the conventions of ministers, barons and others at the call of the ministers and the new summons against Mr. David Black upon the new libel (which shortly I shall send to your lordship) are newly published this afternoon at the cross in this town far against the expectation of many wise and well affected persons, who look for some sudden storm to arise out of these sudden changes.

This evening likewise the King sent to me the Clerk Register with advertisement that the King and Council had this afternoon resolved and thought meet that all the Commissioners for the Borders should first meet at Fowldon Church near Berwick on 12 January next and thereon to agree by common accord for the places for their conferences and for all other matters requisite for the execution of their commission. Because I have thought this time of meeting to be over long protracted and thereby to threaten great danger and inconveniences, I have moved them to put in writing and deliver this night to me their resolutions in these behalfs, as also the reasons drawing them to delay this weighty cause thus far beyond the times first intended and still necessary to be hastened ; which note they have made and delivered to me by John Androw, Clerk of the Council, who has subscribed the same, as by the copy enclosed it will appear. Now I attend to be instructed of her Majesty's pleasure and allowance of the persons, times, places and all other effects to be accorded for the progress of this cause and for direction of all my proceedings in the same. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

½ p.

Six enclosures with the same.

(i) Proclamation against the return of the Earls of Huntly and Errol. Holyroodhouse, 22 November 1596. *See* No. 298, p. 367 *supra*.

1 p. *MS. copy. Endorsed.*

(ii) Articles to be performed by the Earl of Huntly. Holyroodhouse, 22 November 1596. *See* No. 297, p. 367 *supra*.

1¾ pp. *MS. copy. Endorsed.*

(iii) David Black's " declinator." 22 November 1596. *See* No. 292, p. 362 *supra*.

1½ pp. *Copy. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil* : " Mr. Blackes first declinator."

(iv) Proclamation prohibiting conventions of ministers. Edinburgh, 24 November 1596. *See* No. 300, p. 368 *supra*.

1 p. *Copy. Endorsed.*

James VI.
1596.

(v) Proclamation restoring Robert Denniston to his office of Conservator to the Scottish nation in the Low Countries. Holyroodhouse, 20 November 1596. See No. 295, p. 365 *supra*.

1 *p.* Copy. Endorsed.

(vi) (The King's declaration for the meeting of his Commissioners with her Majesty's on 12 January.)

"Apud Edinburgh xxvij die mensis de (*sic*) Novembris, anno Domini jm^m v^c lxxxxvj^o."

The King's Majesty and lords of the Secret Council understanding the great solemnities which are commonly used and observed within the realm of England during the time of the Nativity of our saviour Christ called Yule ("Zwle") or Christmas now shortly approaching, wherethrough the convening and meeting of the Commissioners for his Majesty with the Commissioners for his dearest sister, the Queen of England, during such time as the said solemnities shall continue cannot "gudelië" take effect, have thought meet and resolved that his Highness's Commissioners shall convene with the other Commissioners at Foulden Kirk upon 12 January next to come, which his Highness ordains to be intimated to his said dearest sister's Ambassador here resident, wherethrough he may give advertisement thereof to the other Commissioners foresaid, so that they pretend no ignorance of the same. "Extractum de libro actorum Secreti Consilii S.D.N. regis per me Joannem Andro deputatum clericum ejusdem sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus. Signed: Joannes Andro *with a manual device*.

At foot: "Deliverit to the ambassadouris the said xxvij day of november at vij houres at eftir none. J. Andro."

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

Nov. 28. **303. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Vol. lii, p. 156.

My Lord at this time not being well I am required by his lordship to answer your letter to him and to me, wherein for the point of the baptism I will first begin. Her Majesty says she cannot understand what you mean by writing that the King will use the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Mar, Hamilton and others at the baptism to do offices under her Majesty for some profitable respects, neither can she find by your writing whether the King will have any other godmothers or godfathers, so as if time could have served she could and would have been content to have heard somewhat from you; but that being now impossible if the day hold, her Majesty wills you to proceed in her name and thus to carry yourself: first, to let the King know that although she has not been by any letter of his invited or advertised who should accompany her at the christening as partner, nor what name the King or Queen most affects, yet such is her desire to witness to the world her readiness in all kind offices as she has commanded you, notwithstanding all these uncertainties, to resort unto him and to be used by the King for this celebration in such form for her he shall please, not doubting that she shall be offered the least indecorum that may be in you; secondly, her Majesty refers the nomination of the young princess to the Queen, whose mind in that point she would have

James VI.

1596. especially satisfied as is convenient, and accordingly commands you to give it to whom she desires thus far to be excused that only by the uncertainty of these circumstances from you recited she wanting presently in performance of some other "accomplymente" incident to such an occasion, wherein before many days she will see you provided. (*In margin* : Hereby her Majesty means that they should understand that she will send some remembrance.)

And now to come to other points in your writing. Her Majesty first mislikes that in all your discourses with the King of these uncertain proceedings of his concerning the Earls who receive all favour in effect underhand, though he seek to disguise it with outward mislike, you do not, when he mentions what satisfaction they shall yield to the Church and him and others, remember directly to the King how precisely he has always written to the Queen that he would never receive nor admit them upon any condition but with her Majesty's privity and good provisional caution that they shall never practise with Spain against her or her dominions. This her Majesty would have you particularly mention that she might have the answer.

Further, where it appears by you that the meetings of the Commissioners are but delayed, her Majesty would have you in her name directly declare it, that, seeing the proposition first began from him and that she has thus far engaged herself in directing her course, she shall take it an indignity to be trifled with in the same any longer. (*In margin* : Where you write that the Commissioners of Scotland require to have the first meeting in Scotland as due to them her Majesty thinks it very strange that such a motion should be made and therefore requires you to demand their reasons and to see what precedents they can show for it, to the intent that such answer may be made as shall be convenient.)

For the point which you touch of some of Buccleugh's (Bucklies) friends' desire and offer to submit himself to her Majesty so he might be received, you might do well to entertain it as of yourself and to see into it by the manner of it whether it be well meant or feigned and in what nature he purposes it, and that being by your judgment well discerned to certify hither what you find, to the which her Majesty will forthwith give you direction.

I think Shepperson shall be sent with the present such as it is but that will not be these 8 days. For the rewards which are fit to be given you may disburse what is reason and upon your bill it shall be answered. (*In margin* : This letter should have been sent 4 days since but that her Majesty stayed it again, so as I fear me for the christening it will come too late, except that day had been for other causes deferred.)

This is for the present all the substance of such directions as I have received for you. What further is needful you shall by the next receive and the more perfectly when my Lord shall have had some speech with the Queen which at this time his health does not suffer. And therefore because this requires haste I dispatch away the sooner.

2½ pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed : "A copie of my master's letter to Mr. Bowes Embassador in Scotlande." Dated in the margin : "Novembr. 28, 1596."

James VI.

1596. 304. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Nov. 28.

Cott. Calig.
D. li, fol. 272.

Copy of the original letter which is calendared in *Border Papers*, ii, pp. 224, 225.

1½ pp. Much damaged by fire; a copy made before the fire is in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 324.

Nov. 30. 305. DAVID BLACK'S SECOND DECLINATURE.

Printed in
Calderwood,
*History of the
Kirk of Scotland*,
v, 476-480.

Whereas he is charged by the King's letters again as he is informed on Saturday afternoon last, not personally nor at his dwelling place but at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh by public and open proclamation, to compeer and answer for undutiful and calumnious speeches uttered by him in his public sermons in St. Andrews within these three years past against the King, the Queen, the Queen of England and the lawful power and authority of all princes and against the nobility, Council, judges and magistrates of the realm; yet seeing he is at this time as he was this day twelve days brought to stand before the King, his nobility and Council as a judge set to "cognosce" upon his sermons and preaching of the Word of God which should not be lawfully judged by any civil authority, he dare not but adhere to his former protestation and "declination" which he craves may now be read again in his Majesty's audience and weighed and considered.

He sets out at length the distinction between the two jurisdictions, the spiritual and civil, with many references to passages of Scripture for his opinions, and concludes by again craving to be remitted to his competent judges, the ecclesiastical senate.

2 pp. Copy, headed: "Ultimo Novembris 1596." Endorsed: "Last declinatour. Laste of November." The copy agrees substantially with the version printed by Calderwood but contains a few more references to Scripture.

Nov. 30. 306. ARTICLES PROPOSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Printed in
Calderwood,
*History of the
Kirk of Scotland*,
v, 470-475.

Articles humbly proponed to his Majesty and Secret Council by the Commissioners of the General Assembly in the name of the said Assembly.

The General Assembly of the Kirk held at Edinburgh in March last gave commission to certain chosen brethren "upon the occasion of the approaching of the angry countenance of God" to assemble together and attend upon the Lord's working that everyone might be stirred up and turned to the preventing of God's wrath. The Assembly, being accordingly now convened and finding the "forfalted" and excommunicated Earls returned and remaining within the country and able by their impunity and oversight to aid the foreign enemy and attempt within the country purposes prejudicial to the cause of God and the King's estate, gives the King advertisement thereof and beseeches him to give heed thereunto as it will in sincerity, love and humility propone to him.

Because they, their presbyteries and other ecclesiastical judgments are grievously traduced at tables, councils, market crosses, in public proclamations to be unlawfully devising forms and plots prejudicial to the King's authority, to presume proudly to make convocations and tumults and to intend the breach of the King's peace, they are compelled to call

James VI.

1596. the great Judge that searches the hearts to judge between them and the authors of these malicious calumnies. Before His tribunal they protest they have always borne and will bear to their lives' end as loyal affection to the King as any his best subjects.

They beseech the King to esteem of them and their proceedings as tending always to the establishing of religion and the surety of his estate and crown which they acknowledge to be inseparably conjoined therewith ; and that he will earnestly consider what may be the intention of those who have so subtly and covertly drawn him to " exagitate " these thorny and unnecessary questions at such time when every small appearance of distraction of him and his course from the ministry of the Gospel will give a deep wound in the hearts of his best subjects and a great encouragement to the adversaries.

They persuade themselves that, though the first motion of this action might have proceeded upon the King's purpose to have the limits of a spiritual jurisdiction distinguished from the civil, the same is entertained and blown up by the favourers of them that are the greatest enemies that either the King or the cause of God can have in the country, thinking thereby to engender such a disliking between the King and the ministry as shall in the end work an irreconcilable division.

They therefore pray that the King will remit the decision of these questions to a lawful Assembly, that might determine thereupon according to the Word of God, and not to encroach upon the limits of Christ's kingdom. They protest that the special cause of the blessing that has remained upon the King and his country since his coronation has been the liberty the Gospel has had within his realm.

They charge the Lords of the Council and the nobility to give the King free and faithful counsel. As hitherto they have kept themselves both in counselling and action free of all prejudice of the liberty of the Gospel by laying any injunctions on the ministry, so their lordships will at this time wisely foresee that they be not drawn in the guiltiness of so great a sin against the throne of Christ by the craft of those who have been subtly seeking the thralldom of the Gospel, but that by their advice and credit at the King's hand all controversies moved and to be moved hereanent may be remitted to a free and lawful Assembly.

2½ pp. *Copy. Endorsed* : " Articles offered by the Commissioners of the Kirk to the King and Council in the Tolbooth. Tuesday, ult^o Novemb. 1596."

Nov. 307. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I forgot to crave your letter to my Lord of Durham desiring him to deal with Mr. Robert Bowes that he no longer delay to pay that which is due two years at least ago. Your other letter to himself commanding him to come up here and give satisfaction according to reason I believe shall move him to take the best course for payment thereof. I am sorry that this his ingratitude should give me this occasion to trouble you. *Undated.*
Signed : D. Foulis.

½ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : " Novembr. 96."

James VI.

1596.

Dec. 4.

308. PROPOSED DECLARATION FOR RESCINDING THE ACT PROHIBITING CONVOCATIONS OF THE MINISTRY.

Printed in
Calderwood,
*History of the
Kirk of Scotland*,
v, 484, 485.

Anent the "greffe" of the ministry "meanit" to us making mention that in an Act made by us in our Council at Edinburgh, 24 Nov. 1596, for discharging of the Commissioners of the General Assembly they thought themselves prejudged in the liberty and power of their assemblies granted to them by the power of God and approved by our laws, and craved therefore our declaration for clearing of our intention and good mind towards the maintenance of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Kirk, we with advice of our Secret Council by the tenor hereof declare that in the said Act we noways intended to discharge any assembly of the Kirk or Acts and conclusion thereof, but that the same stands and shall stand in full effect according as they have been in use thereof by the warrant of the Word of God; and whatsoever may prejudice the same in the said Act we declare in so far of no force nor effect.

That a proclamation be made and published hereupon containing a declaration of the Act made at Edinburgh, 24 Nov. 1596, and published by open proclamation at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, 27 of the same month, anent the discharging of convocation and assembling at the desire of the ministers, etc.; extending the same to the convocation of barons and gentlemen in arms only and no ways to any ecclesiastical conventions.

That the interlocutor in the process intended against Mr. David Black shall not be used in any action against any minister anent his doctrine while it be fully reasoned and concluded by the evidence of the Word of God in a lawful general assembly whether we be competent judges thereof or not.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In the handwriting of George Nicolson. Endorsed in another hand:* "The King's mind intended to be declared by proclamation to rescind the Act prohibiting convocations of the ministry and conformably of the Commissioners of the General Assembly. Rec. Edinburgh iiiij^{to} Decembr. 1596."

Dec. [7?]. 309. ACTS OF COUNCIL, ETC., CRAVED OF THE KING BY THE MINISTERS.

Act of Council craved of his Majesty for annulling a former Act by his Majesty and Council "contraire" the Commissioners of the Kirk.

Albeit his Majesty, being hardly informed of the Commissioners of the General Assembly presently convened in Edinburgh and their proceedings, caused an Act of Secret Council to be made annulling the commission given to them in the last General Assembly and charges were directed to certain brethren of the ministry specially named charging them to depart to their several flocks and congregations and no wise to convene in Edinburgh or any other place within this realm, yet his Highness, considering the great danger wherein the state and religion presently stand by the diligent trafficking of enemies foreign and domestic against the same, and that it will be no small encourage-

James VI.

1596. ment to the enemies to have the Commissioners discharged, who are met for the resisting of their courses, finds it no way convenient to put the said Act or letters raised thereupon in execution but has allowed like as his Majesty, with advice of the Lords of his Secret Council, ratifies and allows the said commission in all the points and articles thereof, and ordains the same to stand in the own force and strength to the next General Assembly. As likewise his Majesty declares it was never, is not, nor shall be his intention to impugn any of the liberties of the Kirk warranted by the Word and allowed by the Acts of Parliament, especially the freedom of their meeting in presbyteries, provincial and general assemblies, but rather to defend the same to his uttermost and to prosecute the enemies of religion and liberties thereof with all extremity, and therefore ordains letters to be directed.

Printed in
Calderwood,
*History of the
Kirk of Scotland*,
v. 404.

An Act craved of his Majesty and Council annulling another Act made against the Convention of the Kirk.

“Forsamekle” as it is “understand” to his Majesty that his proclamation made 24 Nov. last is mistaken by a number of his Majesty’s subjects as though the same discharged all meetings to the hearing of the Word preached and all manner of assisting of barons, gentlemen and others whatsoever with the ministry of the Kirk in their lawful assemblies, which was never nor is not his Highness’s intention, therefore his Majesty with advice of the Lords of his Secret Council declares that the foresaid proclamation extends only to the unlawful convocation of barons, gentlemen and others, his lieges, in arms and no wise to the discharge of presbyteries, provincial and general assemblies or other ordinary meetings allowed by the Word of God and laws of the realm. Therefore his Majesty with advice foresaid ratifies and allows the said sessions, presbyteries, provincial and general assemblies and other ecclesiastical meetings as they have been used before and as they are established by the Acts of Parliament and ordains letters to be directed.

The “Bande” craved by the Kirk of his Majesty.

“Forsamekle” as the Commissioners of the General Assembly and the rest of the brethren of the ministry convened presently at Edinburgh allege the interlocutor pronounced the last of November in the action of Mr. David Black, whereby we and our Council are found judges competent in the whole causes, points, crimes and accusations particularly specified in the libel against him, be very prejudicial to the liberty of the preaching of the Word of God and spiritual power of Jesus Christ allowed and established by the Acts of Parliament, we most willing to keep unity and peace in our whole estate, especially with the pastors and ministers of the Kirk, as also to hold ourselves free of any suspicion that may arise on our part that we should be minded to abridge the liberties of the Kirk warranted by the Word and allowed by our laws are content and in the word of a prince faithfully promise that the said interlocutor nor nothing depending thereon shall no wise be used by us against the said Mr. David or made a preparative against any minister within this realm until the question moved anent the limits of the two jurisdictions, the civil and spiritual, be

James VI.

1596. first freely reasoned and fully resolved in a general assembly of the Kirk lawfully convened to that effect, by whose resolution we promise to abide. And if it happen any minister to be dilated to us hereafter in like sort, we shall friendly and familiarly send for him and abstain from all judicial procedure against him, except we find it convenient to remit him to his presbytery or other his ordinary judges to be censured as accords, wishing you to do your duty as ye are obliged to us by procuring obedience of the people to God and us, the quietness of the whole estate, and keeping in all your sermons the bounds prescribed to you by the Word of God and Act of the General Assembly held at Dundee and to send us your hand writs thereupon that if any man shall be found to do in the contrary we may see him censured according to the said Act. Given at Holyroodhouse the [*blank*] day of December 1596.

Edinburgh the [*blank*] day of December 1596. The “band” offered by the Kirk to his Majesty.

The which day after the incalling of the Word of God the Moderator and remanent brethren of the presbytery of Edinburgh considering how necessary it is that the Prince and such as are placed in authority have all due honour, reverence and estimation of his subjects, wherethrough they might with the greater care and readiness of mind for conscience sake give their subjection and obedience as to the ordinance of God, and that all occasions which justly might hinder or impede the same be carefully removed, and all that be sinister construction of the ungodly might be perverted and drawn to that end so cleared that Satan thereby could have no advantage, and perceiving that the liberty of admonitions which are at divers times given to his Majesty and Council from pulpit in public audience of the people is interpreted and taken by some (namely such as have their heart set upon his Majesty's disgrace, unquietness of the country and hurt of the cause of God) as arguments of distrusting of his Majesty's affection in the upright course and tending to the contempt and discredit of his authority and person with his subjects, whereby dangerous suspicions are engendered and fostered betwixt his Majesty and his good subjects to the greater encouragement of the ungodly and peril of the good cause; therefore the said presbytery, willing (according to their bounden duty) by all means to testify their duty, full affection and care towards the maintenance and advancement of his Majesty's authority and honour, by these presents declares in the sight of God before Whose eyes their hearts are manifest that their intentions have been, are and shall be, God willing, to their lives' end in all sincerity to procure his Majesty all blessing and prosperity by their prayers at the hand of God, and all due honour and obedience by their exhortation and good example at the hand of his subjects, acknowledging this to be most acceptable before God their saviour; and ordains every one of the said presbytery to employ himself fully according to his calling for that effect; and that they commit nothing on the contrary under whatsoever pretence under all highest censure that may be incurred by the discipline of the Kirk according to the quality of the offence; and in special that none utter from pulpit any rash or un-reverent speeches against his Majesty, the Queen's Majesty and his Majesty's

James VI.

1596. Council or their lawful and godly proceeding ; but that all their public admonitions tend to the glory of God and edification of their flocks and auditors and proceed upon just and necessary causes and with sufficient warrant in all fear, love and reverence under the pain of deposition of all such as do in the contrary from their function and office of the ministry. And for the better observing hereof it is ordained that the Moderator and whole presbytery subscribe these presents with their hands.

2½ pp. *Copy in the hand of one of Bowes's clerks. Endorsed by Nicolson :* "A draught as the mynisters wold have had all thinges purified and ended."

Nov. 10— **310. THE PROCESS AGAINST DAVID BLACK.**

Dec. 9.

The first summons and citation of Master David Black, minister of St. Andrews, before his Majesty and Lords of Secret Council upon the complaint and information of my Lord Ambassador of England.

James, etc., to George Purdie, "messengeris oure schireffis" in that part, etc., charging him that "incontinent these our letters seen" he command Black to "comeir" personally before the King and Lords of his Secret Council at Holyroodhouse or wherever they shall happen to be upon 18 Nov. instant to answer to such things as shall be inquired of him touching some speeches uttered by him in some of his sermons made publicly in the kirk of St. Andrews in October last and to "underly" such order as shall be taken under the pain of rebellion and putting of him to the horn. "Given under our signet and subscribed with our hand at Holyroodhouse," 10 Nov. 1596.

Printed in
Register of Privy
Council of Scot-
land, v. 326, 327.

Master David Black's allegiance and minutes of the process at his first "comeirance" before his Majesty and Lords of Secret Council after the "ingeving" of the declinatur. Holyroodhouse, 18 Nov. 1596.

Black, "comeirand" personally, declared that albeit he might object against the summons as being directed *super inquirendis* contrary to the Act of Parliament, no particular cause specified therein, yet he would take him to the ordinary remedy appointed by the laws and liberty of the Kirk, alleging that none should be judge to matters delivered in pulpit but the preachers and ministers of the Word, and therefore desired to be remitted to his judge ordinary. Granted that his Majesty might be judge in matters of treason as the Kirk is in matters of heresy but alleged that words delivered in pulpit, although alleged to be treasonable, should be tried *in prima instantia* by the Kirk. When the Act of Parliament of '84 was alleged to the contrary, Master David produced another Act of Parliament of '92, and for warrant out of the Word of God for matters spoken against a Christian magistrate he alleged the First of Timothy. Continued to the last of November and Master David ordained to remain here in the meantime.

The "declinatur" subscribed by Master David Black and 26 ministers of the Commissioners of the General Assembly and

James VI.
1596.

others and given in by them at the first "compeirance" of the said Black before his Majesty and Lords of Secret Council.

This is the document of which another copy is described *supra*, No. 292, p. 362.

The second summons against Master David Black.

James, etc., to William Forsyth, "messengeris oure schireffis" in that part, etc. Narrating as in No. 301, p. 368 *supra*, and commanding Black to appear at Holyroodhouse on the last day of November.

Printed in
*Register of Privy
Council of Scot-
land*, v. 332, 333.

Act discharging the Convention of the Commissioners of the General Assembly. Edinburgh, 24 Nov. 1596.

Extract from the Register of the Privy Council containing the Act the proclamation upon which is printed *supra*, No. 299, p. 368.

Printed in
*Register of Privy
Council of Scot-
land*, v. 333, 334.

Act discharging unlawful convocations of his Highness's barons and other subjects by the ministers or their presbyteries. Edinburgh, 24 Nov. 1596.

Extract from the same register containing the Act the proclamation upon which is printed *supra*, No. 300, p. 368.

The minutes and "allegiance" in the process at Mr. David Black's second "compeirance" before his Majesty and Lords of Secret Council with the "interloquitur" given and pronounced by his Majesty and his Council repelling the foresaid "declinatur," Edinburgh, ultimo Novembris 1596.

Printed in
*Register of Privy
Council of Scot-
land*, v. 334-336.

Extract from the aforesaid register, setting out the charges against Black as in the second summons above, the finding of the King and his Council that they were judges competent to all the said accusations and to all causes, criminal and civil, concerning the ministry, in treasonable and seditious matters, and Black's protest that nothing done in this matter should prejudice the liberties and jurisdiction of the Kirk and ministry.

Depositions heard at Edinburgh, 1 Dec. 1596, in the presence of the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Argyll, Mar and Montrose, the Secretary, the Treasurer, Wedderburne, Traquair and Murdocairnie.

The depositions of twenty-one deponents, whose names are not given here, as to the several charges against Black in the summons. Nine depose as to having heard him speak of the Papist Earls and the King's alleged treachery in the matter, whilst one expressly states that he never heard Black speak of the Earls' return with the King's licence. Fifteen depose as to hearing him speak disparagingly of the Queen; three as to his calling the Queen of England an atheist who never went to church but once in the year, one of them adding that he said the women of England were as common as the "calsay stanes." Sixteen had heard him read the suspension in pulpit and dispute thereon and seven heard him call the Lords of Session

James VI.

1596. miscreants and bribers. Sixteen had heard of or were present at the convocation made by Black and Andrew Melvill in St. Andrews and many of them name the captains or commanders of horse and foot chosen there, namely, the lairds of Reres and Balcomy and Captains Murray and Traill. Two mention the general "wappenschawing" made in the town at the request of the ministry by the laird of Dersy, the provost, and that sundry were reproved there for not having sufficient armour. Most of the deponents describe Black as an unquiet and restless spirited man, a sower of sedition and discord, a few alleging that he had been the means of bringing the inhabitants of St. Andrews to great poverty, though one adds that by some of the town he was reputed good, quiet and honest.

The sentence and decree pronounced by his Majesty and Lords of Secret Council against Mr. David Black. Holyroodhouse, 2 Dec. 1596.

Printed in
*Register of the
Privy Council
of Scotland*,
v, 340-342.

Extract from the register of the Privy Council. The names of those present are as in the printed register, except that Urquhart [the President] is given by name and Logie appears as Myrecanarne [*rect.* Myrecairnie]. After setting out the several charges against Black as in the summons the entry states that the King with the advice of the Lords found them sufficiently proved by the depositions of certain famous witnesses and Black deserving of most rigorous and extreme punishment, which punishment has been reserved to his Majesty's own will and declaration. In the meantime the King ordains him to pass and enter his person in ward in any part "be north the North Watter," to remain in ward therein upon his own expenses and no ways to repair "be south" the said Water until his Highness declare his will.

Printed in
*Register of the
Privy Council
of Scotland*,
v, 343, 344.

A declaration of the former proclamation anent the discharging of unlawful convocations at the desire of the ministry. Holyroodhouse, 9 Dec. 1596.

Extract from the register of the Privy Council declaring that it was not the King's intention in the Act of Council and proclamation of 24 Nov. last to discharge any lawful assemblies of the Kirk but only convocations of barons and other lieges made by the authority of ecclesiastical persons or judgments without the King's licence.

17½ pp. *Endorsed*: "Proces aganis Maister David Blak. 1596."

Dec. 14. **311.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

The estate in this realm for these 12 or 14 days past has been greatly troubled and so changeable as every day some alteration has been wrought. It is presently fallen into that plight as hasty innovation is generally expected to follow therein to the danger of religion and amity betwixt these two crowns. All things for this time mentioned have been so variable as I have been driven to attend some resolution and end that I might write with some certainty. By the same occasion I have been enforced to defer my letters and advertisements thus long beyond my custom until this time, praying that my constrained delay may be favourably accepted.

James VI.
1596.

The number and variety of causes lately occurred here are great and weighty, requiring large discourse and good information in the particularities, and the declaration of her Majesty's pleasure is so necessary for the best proceeding in the same for her service as I have thought it my duty to instruct and send up this bearer, George Nicolson, to make full report of all things to your lordship and to attend and sue for the advertisement of her Majesty's resolutions and directions. Edinburgh, 14 December 1596.
Signed : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In Nicolson's handwriting, with address. Endorsed* : " R[eceived] the 20th by Mr. Nicholson."

Dec. 14. **312. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

On the 6th hereof I received your last of 28 Nov., since which time and for some days before this estate has been occupied with troublesome effects risen betwixt the King with his Council and the ministers. The same have been tossed with such daily changes and are now fallen into such case as hasty innovations are expected. I am thereby occasioned to send to your father and yourself this bearer, George Nicolson, to give full informations in these and many other weighty matters and to sue for her Majesty's directions. He shall acquaint you with my doings and success in the negotiation of the contents of your letter to me. I pray you give him favourable audience and recommend to her Majesty's consideration his poor estate and faithful service done here in my absence and whilst I have served her in this realm at several times and above twenty years. My power suffices not to prefer him as his pains well deserve. Edinburgh, 14 December 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : " Mr. Bowes to my master. Innovacions expected. R. the 20th by Mr. Nicholson."

Dec. 14. **313. INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY ROBERT BOWES TO [GEORGE NICOLSON].**

Cott. Calig., D.
ii, fol. 205.

[Mr. David Black.

Mr. David Black was first summoned and charged with the infamous words uttered in pulpit against her Majesty and the] religion in England. [Whereupon] he appealed from the trial and censure of the King and the Council [to the] ecclesiastical synod, like as by my letters to the Lord Treasurer I have [already] certified.

Since he has been summoned by proclamation and libel published for [tra]itorous, seditious, false, etc. words given out by him in his sermons against the [King], the Queen, her Majesty, all princes, the nobility, Council and Session, and being called before the King, his nobility and his Council at the Tolbooth in Edinburgh on Tuesday the last of November last appealed again from the King and civil judgment unto the ecclesiastical judicatory, like as by the proclamation, libel and his declinatour delivered to you will appear.

Sundry of the Commissioners of the General Assembly and other ministers accompanied him at his appearance before the King, the nobility

James VI.

1596.

and Council, pleading the causes of the appeal and proving the trial to belong to the ecclesiastical censure, as well by the authority of scriptures as also by Acts of Parliament and Conventions of the Estates, and that it has been in frequent practice and ever allowed until this time. These Commissioners and ministers were removed and he put to answer, which order was alleged to have been against the usual custom and favour granted to all persons arraigned, as to Huntly in murder and Will of Kinmont and Martines Elliott known to be notorious thieves. And Black, having a testimonial of the University and of the chief officers, burgesses and persons of quality and credit in St. Andrews in declaration of his good behaviour and innocency in the crimes objected against him, stood still upon his declinatour and would not plead to the cause or for his defence therein.

Then the King, nobility and Council proceeded to examine and determine the right of the jurisdiction in this case. They have decreed and enacted that the King is competent judge in the summons and libel against Mr. Black. They further ordered that witnesses should be produced, received and deposed for testification and proof of the crimes objected against Black. Whereupon many witnesses were [*sic*] afterwards deposed (against the most whereof evident challenges as is instantly affirmed might have been objected) and have proved Black to be foul of all the crimes libelled against him. So as the King and Council have in the end (and after daily changes and turns) declared by act of Council that Black was guilty in uttering traitorously, seditiously, slanderously, falsely, etc., the words and effects laid against him; and now lately on the 10th hereof was "discerned" to be warded beyond the North Water and to enter into his ward within 6 days upon pain of treason.

Many things of great moment daily occurred and passed in this cause and in these 14 days last past for to compound and take up all these questions and with the King's favour and assent. The ministers sent daily in the afternoon their commissioners to the King and in his absence to the Council to entreat some order to be provided for preservation (or at least for an equal course of decision) of their rights and privileges granted by Parliament to them [and h]ad in continual practice. In these treaties with the King the commissioners always [retur]ned satisfied, reporting to the rest that the King was pleased to enter in calm [course] and sundry particular overtures were laid forth and liked therein, and as it [was thought that] the same should have been allowed and authorised perfectly by the King and [Council] next day so as every night a full end and conclusion was looked to have [succeeded on the morrow]. Yet on the morrow it fell out far otherwise and nothing was accorded between the King and his Council and the ministers, notwithstanding fair words and promises passed before betwixt the King and commissioners, and in the particularities, on certainties of which fair promises agreed, and overtures passing verbally betwixt them, and in the true meaning of the same sundry questions] and difficulties are arisen in the appli[cation and explanation thereof].

The ministers have been put in hope that the [King was contented that the proclamation] prohibiting ecclesiastical conventions and assemblies [should be explained by other] proclamation, and that it was intended

James VI.

1596.

only to rest[rain seditious convocations] of barons and others for civil causes and without the [King's licence and that the] charge commanding the Church commissioners to dep[art out of Edinburgh should] be discharged. In which behalf you are sufficiently [instructed by the information] preceding in these instructions.

Next the commissioners and ministers were persuaded that [the King was pleased and] assenting not only to stay all further proceeding and the [execution of several] acts and decreets and of the whole process in the summons and [libel against Black] ; but also to refer the final determinations of the ques[tions therein to a] national Council to be speedily assembled. And thinking [themselves assured] hereof, they continued their suits to the King by their co[mmissioners that all the] proclamations, acts, decreets, summons, libel and process p[assed in these causes] might be utterly withdrawn and deleted, and that all ques[tions mentioned were to] be decided by the General Assembly of the Church with the [King's own Council] agreeable to former experience and practice in like cases, [which are not published] yet many of these remain in papers and not registered, [as thereby the greater] labour is made to bury all these things in oblivion, which is [not likely to be effected] in regard that the King is so continually oppressed with [the motions of noble and] great personages, and persuaded to preserve his own honour [and the acts of his] nobility and Council done and passed in these matters ; [which if they shall be] revoked or frustrated then the noblemen and councillors [being authors] thereof will no more enter into like actions. And her[eon the ministers] expect hasty persecution (as partly has been declared [in pulpit on] purpose to endure all with patience in their own p[ersons and without] seeking the aid of other religious, as in former times [has been put] in practice. Yet upon draft and sight of the[ir bloodshed for these causes] it is generally thought that forcible and dangerous [troubles will follow].

The Commissioners have got access at length [to the Queen whose] favour and help [they] have humbly sought in these behalves [and received] sweet and comfortable answer. Yet it is feared the [Lady Huntly] having exceeding interest in her and her affection tow[ard this lady shall] over far possess and draw her or the King's heart estra[n]ged towards the ministers.

Amongst the overtures and treaties in these matters be[twixt the King and Commissioners] it was assented (as I am credibly informed) th[at the cause touching] the offence committed by Black against her Majesty [and the religion in] England should be left wholly and without qu[estion to the ecclesiastical] judicatory. Nevertheless the King afterw[ards sent unto me John Andrew to let me know that Black by the deposition of witnesses and by the decree of the Council was found and declared guilty of the slander against her Majesty and demanded what manner] of punish[ment I would seek to be] inflicted on him for the same ; wherein forasmuch [I was] thus credibly informed that this cause was referred to the [ecclesi]astical judgment, and it was likely that these matters should be compounded and that the punishment of Black should be suspended and suspecting some snare towards myself to be drawn to be the instrument to effect the desires of persons suspected, therefore in her Majesty's name I rendered thanks to the King for his great care and kindness showed herein. Next I alleged

James VI.

1596. that I had written herein and as yet received no answer, and lastly that I was not skilful in the laws of the realm and with what pain this crime might be punished. Therefore, with continued thanks I left the order of the punishment to the King's own censure and the execution to be commanded agreeable to the quality of such heinous offence.

All other particularities passed in the variable course in this cause (changed every day) and what is likely to follow hereon I leave to your own knowledge, memory and report, and for the better instructions in the same take up with you the copies of all the* articles and notes delivered by me to you and concerning these effects.

After full report of this cause, [I] pray and travail that I may be instructed, directed and warranted how I shall proceed against Black either with the King or with the ecclesiastical synod, and what pain and punishment I shall seek to be executed upon him for her Majesty's honour and pleasure.

Borders.

For the declaration and advertisement of the resolutions of the King and Council for the progress of the meeting of the Commissioners in the frontiers I have before certified that the Bishop of Dunkeld, Sir George [Hu]me of Wedderburne, knight, Andrew Kerr of Fawdonsyde and Mr. [Ge]orge Younge are appointed to be Commissioners for Scotland. It is required that all the Commissioners shall meet on the [12th] of January next, first at Fowldon and after at such [place] as [by] the Commissioners shall be accorded.

[Where they claim by former treaty and practice that the first meeting of Commissioners should be in Scotland and that by] the letter of Mr. Secretary [to me the reasons of their claim] are called for, therefore you are [to make known that they] pretend some treaty for the same which I [never saw] registered in the treaties in my hands.† Ne[xt they alleged that] upon the slaughter of the laird of Cessford [(then Warden of their] Middle Marches of Scotland) slain by [Flour at a day of] truce in England it was accorded that from [thenceforth the] Commissioners and Wardens of England should meet [in Scotland] the Commissioners and opposite wardens and officers of [Scotland, which] accord I have not seen in writing. Further [they plead a] continued practice and allowance of this accorded [custom] at the meeting of former Commissioners, as also of the [same at the] ordinary days of truce, like as they say [is seen for many] years past, and namely in the great com[mission at Fawldon] for the "rode" of Reidscoyre and betwixt the Earl of [Huntingdon, the Lord] of Hunsdon and others for her Majesty and the Earl of M[orton, Lord] Hume] and others for Scotland, at which meeting I was one in [the commission] and must needs acknowledge that we met and sun[dry days conferred] at Fowldon as is alleged. And they say [that the last commission] meeting at Berwick in February 1587 they ca[me first together] at Fowldon and after agreed to resort unto and come [to Berwick] as is now required. Yet I have been informed [(for I was then] at Berwick) that the Earl of Rutland and others [for her Majesty met and] conferred with the

* "the" in Harl. MS. 4648; the original has "which."

† In the margin in Sir R. Cecil's hand: "Precedents for the meeting in Scotland."

James VI.

1596. Earl Bothwell and others for [Scotland in the] treaties of the last league concluded betwixt her [Majesty and the King of] Scots. Some like precedents may be showed, yet [Scotland claims and] challenges this pre-eminence, which I leave to the [testimony of several] Borderers and of better experience than I have [herein].

The other day the King sent Mr. George Young to [let me know that the] Wardens and officers in Scotland had delivered to the [King's Council] their rolls for such offences done in Scotland [by Englishmen for which they] would demand redress by the orders of the Com[missioners and] required that I would call on her Majesty's Wardens [to send me the] like rolls that I might receive the Scottish [sent] to the Council and in interchange thereof. But [I answered that the] accustomed order was that the Wardens should in[terchange the rolls] amongst themselves and thereon bring or send th[eir clerk with them to] the Commissioners. And further I alleged [that the English Wardens] looked to receive the Scottish rolls before [I would deliver theirs to the Wardens of] Scotland; so as this matter depends [in question as] I have advertised the Wardens.

[Instructions to George Nicolson sent to the Lord Treasurer with advertisement of the state of Scotland. Edinburgh, December 14, 1596.]*

The Baptism.

On Sunday, 28 November last the Princess was baptised at Holyrood-house. She was carried and presented to the baptism by myself supplying that office for and in the name of her Majesty, the only godmother, and she was named Elizabeth. The Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar helped to support me only for my ease in the carriage, and the whole honours in the solemnization of all the ceremonies were given alone to her Majesty with good observation of all due compliments requisite in the same.

According to the usual custom it was generally expected that I should have presented the child with some gift for her Majesty. But forasmuch as I had not any present to deliver, nor knowledge of her Majesty's pleasure for the employment of any to be given at that time or afterwards, I thought good to pass it over in the fairest and most indifferent terms for the best satisfaction of the King and Queen and always to leave it at the choice and resolution of her Majesty. Wherein because I now understand by Mr. Secretary's letter of 28 November last (and received the 6th hereof) that her Majesty is pleased and purposed to send to the Princess some present I need not pray further direction in that behalf and I attend on the receipt of the gift to be presented.

The bailiffs and chief of Edinburgh being called to the feast and banquet have in the name of the whole town given to the Princess 10,000 marks Scots to be paid at her marriage. The grant and assurance for payment is written in golden letters enclosed in a golden coffer and delivered to the Queen for her daughter.

* This heading appears here in the Harl. MS. copy. The top of the page in the original (Cott. Calig. D. ii) at this point is now almost wholly gone and it is not possible to say whether the heading actually appeared there. All that remains here in the original are the words "... sure and directions in the causes and particularities especified," which do not appear in the copy.

James VI.
1596.

In the heat of these griefs against the ministers the custody and bringing up of the King's daughter is committed to the Lord Livingstone whose wife is an obstinate papist and under process of excommunication. The Princess is sent to Linlithgow to remain there for such time as shall be found convenient.

It may be remembered that the access of my old disease and infirmity in the hardness of my spleen enforced me to keep my bed on Monday following the baptism and some other days after. In which disease I have not yet got any good recovery and being continually oppressed in this place and by the distemperance thereof I must acknowledge my weakness in body and power, which I heartily and humbly wish to be well respected for the benefit of her Majesty's service more dear and precious to me than life, [li]berty and riches.

[The Earls of Angus, Huntly and Errol.]

That the proceedings of the [King and Council against] Angus, Huntly and Errol and their causes may be "ind[elately]" known as well by the report] as also by the view and consideration of the published [Acts of the King and] Council, you shall take with you [the copy] of the proclamation discharging the Conservator from his [office for] the escape of Errol and the next proclamation for his [restitution]. It is here noted that it was never intended to punish the Conser[vator for that crime].

The proclamation printed and published against Huntly and Err[ol] with the articles giving] Huntly leave to remain in Scotland upon performance of [conditions enjoined by the] King and Council, which by sundry are deemed to disagree with the [Act of Parliament].

The performance of the conditions on the behalf of Huntly. The [King has sent Mr. James] Orde to receive the caution and bonds demanded and to se[e the execution of all the] other parts of the articles.

The Countess of Huntly has brought to the King her eldest son to be ple[dge for his father and to be] disposed at the King's pleasure. Before her coming to Court, whe[re she is most kindly] entertained, Huntly by his friends had tendered submission to the [Church, offering] Mr. Peter Blackburne, minister at Aberdeen, and the rest of the [ministers there due] humility with request that they would impart the same to their bre[thren that he may be] received thereby into the bosom of the Church. And it is g[iven out by his friends that] he and Errol (espying the King of Spain's mind and intention [for the] conquest of this isle) will no longer keep intelligence [or run any course] with the King of Spain but faithfully serve with all their forces [against him either in] Scotland or England.

The Countess by bill presented lately to the King and Council informed . . . subsynod [*sic*] assembly at Aberdeen to have conference with their . . . because they refused to do it without the King's licence in regard of [his present case] she prayed to have the King's licence for this conference, which [the King with his Council] granted and Mr. Peter Blackburne has reported to his bre[thren] present at Edinburgh Huntly's request and offers. But the min[isters here finding no] power in them to receive Huntly's submission tendered are [purposed to refer the same to the] General Assembly of the Church, the meeting whereof th[ey wish to be hastened

James VI.

1596.

with] all expedition. Yet daily advertisements are given here and sent [from foreign parts that] Huntly and Errol are secretly employed by the King of Spain, and that upon opportunity and occasion serving they will party and [join with] him and [are] maintained with his treasure ; and that . . . serving they will join with his forces [to be sent to this] isle or Ireland. For which purpose and for their other diss . . . provide armour, weapon, horses and like warlike furniture . . . with the barons and men of action near unto them. And . . . and time of respite given to them they have obtained hope [of the aid of many] noblemen, and to win time for their abode in this realm [until the Spanish forces] shall be in readiness. It is added that they intend not to [renounce their Catholic religion] lest thereby they shall lose as well their friends as also the . . . of most account ; and Errol's friends say plainly [that he will never change] religion. And the ministers whisper and let it . . . King that by this new course with the Earls. . . .*

[Argyll moved by great personages to take up with Huntly answered that Huntly was excommunicate and] he could not deal with him. It was required that [after Huntly's] reconciliation Argyll would then compound with him, but he referred his answer to the time of the reconciliation of Huntly.

It is very commonly reported that these late proclamations and articles (namely, against the ministers) are translated into French and Latin and sent unto Jesuits and negotiators in the Low Countries, France, Spain and Italy. The address to the persons blazes the intents of the directors.

Albeit that I and my course are holden suspected (rather condemned) by all these Earls, yet very lately I have been sounded with the offer of their good devotion and profitable offices to her Majesty. But the same has been done by such instruments and directed by such person (all known to you) as after the entertainment of it in even balance I thought it meet to be deeply considered both with the order of former courses carried here and producing best effects in many years last past, and also with the present condition of this time, persons and causes, full of suspicion, to conspire against the true religion and this whole isle.

Therefore laying all these at large before the Lord Treasurer, or such other to whom you shall be addressed, make humble suit that I may have timely notice of her Majesty's pleasure and to be perfectly directed and warranted what course I shall take and hold in the affairs of these Earls, either before or after their reconciliation given to the Church and assurance of their future and good behaviour to her Majesty, the King and these two realms.

Seek that I may be instructed to proceed with the person sounding me with the offer mentioned, or else that I may leave the same to other in better credit with the parties and more fit for the cause.

The cause of the ministers.

The suspicious return of Huntly and Errol and their peaceable abode

* A considerable portion of the original is here wanting and Harl. MS. 4648 which has not followed it very closely reads : " And the Ministers whisper and let it drop that [by] this new course with the Earls and against the ministers the life and honour of the King shall be endangered or his mind and person captivated, on which turbulent affairs may follow."

James VI.

1596. in this realm (noted to be done and suffered against the Acts of Parliament, Convention of the Estates and of Councils) have stirred the ministers with great vehemency to oppose themselves against the Earls and sharply to reprove in pulpit their favourers, solicitors and instruments.

The King and Council thinking themselves over sore rubbed with the faults of this toleration given to these Earls have conceived great offence against the ministers, which is much increased by subtle tale-tellers and papists, backed [by] some great in Court and by courtiers in especial grace. Whereupon the [King and] Council have entered to proceed against the ministers in very open [and bitter] actions and courses as by proclamations, decreets of Councils and [otherwise as ma]nifestly appears and is known to you.

[Take with you therefore the proclamation prohibiting the Convention of the Church Assemblies and the charge given by the King and Council to the commission of the General Assembly that presently convened at Edinburgh that they immediately sunder and depart from] Edinburgh. By proclamation and charge [it is alleged that the privilege before] granted to the Church by Parliament and acts [of Council are defeated and] restrained by proclamation and acts of Council [made by a small number and] the greatest part are marked with papistry as the [discipline of the Church is] thereby overthrown, and as it is looked that the [religion shall be either altered] or else subject to such toleration as shall . . . and that the credit of the ministry is defaced by [the imputation of many] heinous faults and errors laid on them by the preambles in the [proclamations] and set forth by this Council and company, this "brute" against . . .

The King acknowledging some defections escaped in these [Acts against] the ministers has agreed and put the Commissioners of the Church [in hope that the] faults passed should be explained and reformed by open proc[lamation to be drawn] and accorded the next day. For the execution whereof [the Commissioners for] these fourteen days last past have daily sued unto [the King (?) and with]al might have been comforted to have been satisfied . . . [but] they have been still delayed until the 10th hereof, on which [day the proclamation] for the reformation promised was published in this town [as by the copy] thereof delivered to you appears.

The 10th of this month mentioned the preacher in his ser[mon in the] morning opened the particularities of the wrong offered [against the laws of] God and this realm to the religion professed and ministry [established in the same], affirming that the proceedings therein must needs be acco[unted for a defection] of Christ's church. And this matter has received [the deeper impression] by the report that the Lady Huntly has both drawn the [Queen into (?)] questionable causes [*sic*, ? courses] as also put the King in hope of great [matters to be effected] by Huntly for him.

The wise and religious think that albeit these contracts [be referred] to a National Council of the Estates and of the General [Assembly] appointed to meet at Edinburgh the 5th of February . . . looked that the conclusion to be taken thereby shall de . . . matters with assurance of quietness, but that sudden [innovations and turbulent] effects shall ensue.

James VI.
1596.

Therefore, it may be thought meet to employ and send hither [some meet person of quality] and power to pacify and establish this estate (presently br[eaking and falling into] dangerous courses), and as both the professed kind[nesses of the King and the] devotion of the well affected may be reserved and [preserved to her Majesty]. Otherwise, if these weighty causes shall be left [in my weak hands], pray that I may be timely and sufficiently inst[ructed and warranted how] I shall entertain and use all and every the several [parties interested] herein.

[The King and Council here are resolved that all attempts in] either realm since and after [the last] treaty and conclusion of the Commissioners' meeting at Berwick in [Febru]ary 1587 should be heard, determined and redressed, and that [the] bills ordered by the same Commissioners at Berwick to have been answered [and] satisfied, which, nevertheless, are not yet redressed, shall by these new Commissioners be duly answered and redress made for them agreeable to the former order prescribed.

Therefore, upon the opening of the effects remembered and some recounts of the present condition of the estate of the Borders now ruined with daily spoils likely to be increased and in very exceeding manner, seek with all diligence to procure and speedily to bring or send to me perfect resolution of her Majesty's full pleasure in the allowance of the 4 Commissioners named for Scotland, for the time and places of their meetings and conferences for interchange of the rolls, for limitation of the time for redresses to be made, and for all other things requisite to be foreseen and to be directed to her Majesty's Commissioners, Wardens and myself.

Moreover, let it be known that the King and Council pray to have good and sufficient safe conduct to be granted either by her Majesty or the Lords and others of the Council to the Commissioners for Scotland, their train, company and all Scottishmen having lawful cause to come unto them in any place or places in England, and as they may pass and repass without unlawful impediment ; which safe conduct is required to be given with all favour in liberal manner and to be sent hither with all speed.

The laird of Buccleuch (Bauclugh).

The King sent to me the laird of Pollard and Mr. Gideon Murray to inform me, first, that Mr. Henry Woddrington had lately taken up and spoiled the town of Cavers of the possession of Douglas, sheriff of Tyvidale [Teviotdale], and near to the lands of Buccleuch, for which the King desired "mediate" redress to be made and before the meeting of the Commissioners ; and, secondly, that the King was informed that the life of the laird of Buccleuch was sought by Englishmen and with the privy of her Majesty. Whereupon the King required that I would be means to procure her assurance to Buccleuch (who was advertised that some Englishmen had conspired his death) in his behalf and for the safety of his life or at least to write to the English Wardens for the stay thereof.

[For the speedy redress required for the town of Cavers I wrote to the Lord Eure] . . . timely justice upon the like to be . . . like quality and done within his lordship's office . . . think to lie over until the meeting of the Commis[sioners ; and because] her Majesty's honour was touched by the suggestion ma[de to the King and] given that

James VI.

1596.

some Englishmen with her Majesty's privity had [made design upon] Buccleuch's life, I therefore let them know [that the world would witness by] long and perfect experience and myself in this . . . how free her Majesty is and has ever been from the . . . blood of any person. Therefore, I deferred my [answer] to be made to the King's self and offered to attend and be ready to give [answer] when he would call for it, which hitherto he has not . . . I purpose to travail for discovery of the authors of this [late letter (?) to answer] for her Majesty's honour.

Touching the offer made by some of Buccleuch's friends [in this behalf] for his submission to her Majesty (wherein Mr. Secretary [has lately] written to me) you may well deliver your own knowledge [in this part and] for what causes Buccleuch's personal offers in this [for her Majesty's] satisfaction have been stayed and smothered, wherein be[cause Buccleuch] and the party offering this matter to me are absent, I can[not at] present return answer to Mr. Secretary with certainty. I [know not] whether Buccleuch's mind shall be changed by this late [report that] his life is sought. I shall seek to speak with the party [and satisfy] Mr. Secretary with the best speed and certainty I can.

That such kind of redress for Buccleuch's outrage at Carlisle [may be made to her] Majesty by the King's own order, and wherein the King stands [much to be acquainted] with some part of her Majesty's own mind and good liking [therein I pray] you to travail with all diligence that I may be directed with notice of her Majesty's pleasure in the sa[me and whether] I shall draw Buccleuch to performance of the of[fers made to me] by the party known to yourself.

MacLean continues here acknowledging her M[ajesty's] goodness] and offering his service in Ireland for her with [such force and at such] time and manner as shall please her to appoint. [Many rumours have] been spread here (and they are newly renewed) [that some companies] of Spaniards are arrived in Ireland. But . . . lately advertisements from thence hold these . . . [which MacLean holds for groundless.

Colonel Stewart's journey to the Isles being now stayed he now offers his service to her Majesty in Ireland with good force as it shall please her].*

The Lord President now stands to be Lord Chancellor and both the King [has] a special conceit and trust in him and also the Queen is ready to advance him with her whole assistance. It is thought by many that if he shall be indeed promoted to this preferment and office that it shall work some change in Court and hasten the incoming of the troubles expected. He appears to be unwilling to accept the office and the Earl of Montrose gapes for it, yet haply it may be stayed some while, and to whomsoever it shall be given the Duke thinks to have yearly out of it 2000*l.* Scots.

The cause of Mr. Patrick Galloway's discharge from Court and silence and the manner thereof is so known to you as I need not add further to this note for your memory.

By the Act of Parliament made *anno* 1584 and by the means of Captain James Stewart full power and authority is given to the King to be judge generally in all causes.

This Act was always impugned by the ministers and thereupon

* This paragraph and the conclusion of the preceding one are now almost wholly wanting in the original.

James VI.

1596.

another Act of Parliament was made *anno* 1592 for the explanation of the former Act, by which the King had power given to judge and discern in all causes, provided that they did not concern matters of religion, doctrine, witchcraft, heresy or ecclesiastical [*sic*].

Albeit that since the latter the Church have had the judicatory of all causes ecclesiastical, and thereby they have had tried the persons accused for traitorous and seditious words uttered in the sermons in pulpit (as was done in the cases of Mr. James Gibson, John Ross and others), yet now it is alleged for the King and his jurisdiction that the proviso in this latter Act takes not away the force of the former in regard the former Act was not repealed.

[All] the process past in these matters will appear by the proclamation to be set forth and published.

All such ministers as have subscribed Mr. Black's declinatour shall be [st]ayed. The ministers of Edinburgh shall be commanded to forbear to preach against any proclamation or Acts set forth by the King or Council and [othe]rwise that the provost and bailiffs shall remove and put them "of" the town.

. . . altered for a band shall be made to allow the King power in [all civil] and criminal causes absolutely and such ministers as will [not subscri]be the band shall lose their pensions. Signed: Robert Bowes.

11 pp. *In the hand of Bowes's clerk. The document has suffered much from fire and where possible the words now missing have been supplied (in brackets) from the copy made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 254 seqq., which, however, is far from being a verbatim copy.*

159[6].

Dec. 17.

Cott. Calig.
D. i, fol. 153.

314. A TUMULT IN EDINBURGH.

"The 17 day of December 1597 [*sic*] ther was ane uprore in the toun [of Edin]burgh against the King, which happened thus.

"Eight persones wh[o held] the cheif offices in the comune wealth did then gowerne the affair[es of the] state, and did disburden his Majestie of the most trublesome bissines [of the] Kingdome. These were called Octavians. Most part of them w[ere sus]pected to be of the Romane religion, becaus they crossed the proceidi[ngs of the] ministers, by whom they were bleamed for perswading his Majestie to [recall and] restoir the popishe earles. Some of the courteours and the [King's] owne domesticks disdaning and grudgeing that these Octavians did [engross and] possesse the King, they tak occasion quyetlie and underhand to stur [up the] ministers and the inhabitants of Edinbrugh against them, accusing them [of being po]pishlie affected, and owerthrowers of religion; which was anugh [to raise] up a flamme among them, being of themselves apt and reddie at [all occa]sions to mak tumults and uprores.

"This 17 day of September [*sic*] [the King] was at counsell in the Tolbuith of Edinbrugh and with him w[ere the] Octavians and some few others of the nobilitie; which the [ministers] understanding, they desyred all those that fawored the gspell and [religion] to come unto the New Church to heir a sermon and to consider of the [affairs] of the churche. Thither came the Lords Lindsay and Forbesse, [Sir Lach]lain Maclain,

James VI.

1596.

the laird of Bargeny, Mackoule* of Lorne [with a] great concourse of dywers other knyghts and gentlemen, togidder [with the] provest, bailzies and cheif inhabitants of Edinbrugh. In that [Assembly] ther was a most seditious sermon maid by Maister Walter Macka . . . † [mi]nister of Edinbrugh. Immediatlíe after the sermon it was con[cluded] amongst them that they should without delay enter the Tolbooth [where the] King was and kill the Octavians. With this resolution they ra[n headlong] out of the church crying, 'the sourd of Gideon.' The no[ise came] to the eares of some of the King's train who stood harkning [at the secret door by the which they might pass by the New Church into the Tolbooth and when they heard their resolution against the King and the Octavians they stopped and shut that secret door by which the Lord Lindsay and MacLean with their associates thought to enter the Tolbooth. But finding that passage closed their courage failed and so being astonished they dispersed, not knowing whither to go as men usually do in] such popular tumults. The inhabitants off [Edinburgh stood] reddie in armes keeping the strete (which charge was [committed to] them at that tyme) and would suffer no man to go unto the [Tolb]outhe to succour the King expecting assuredlie the execution off ther determination. But at last thinking the mater too long in doing, or alreddie performed, they dissolwe ther companies and retire to ther houses, by which means his Majestie (who all this tyme was within the Tolbooth, and haid renforced all the passages therof) had the leasour and oportunitie to retire with his small companie to the abbay of Holyroodhouse.

"The nixt morning his Majestie went to Lithcow, wher he stayed untill he haid assembled some forces. Then he returned agane to Edinbrugh, wher his Majestie used great mercie, punishing only the cheiff tounsmen and such as were the ringleaders and authours of this tumult, by taking from them a pecuniall somme. From that tyme fourth his Majestie began more and more to courb the authoritie of the ministers. But the courtiours who dewysed the plot aganst the Octavians did escape unreweald and unpunished."

1 p. *Part of an account of events in Scotland written probably soon afterwards. Much damaged by fire, the long passage near the end and other words in brackets above being supplied from the inexact copy in Harl. MS. 4647, p. 51, which was made before the fire.*

Dec. 17. **315.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Yesternight I received your last of the 8th hereof, together with some foreign occurrents, whereby you have no less comforted than profited me in the furtherance of her Majesty's service.

According to my former expectation and advertisement with George Nicolson the troubles in this state daily increase and threaten hasty innovation. For by proclamation the King and Council commanded all the Commissioners of the Church assembled in Edinburgh to avoid and depart from the town within 48 hours next after the publication. Which was fully obeyed and all the Commissioners departed, notwithstanding

* MacDougal in Harl. MS. 4647.

† Balquanquel [Balcanquhal] in Harl. MS. 4647.

James VI.

1596.

that they thought this to be done directly against their privileges granted by Act of Parliament.

After their departure the Secretary and Mr. John Preston for the King offered to the ministers of Edinburgh some overture to pacify and stay all matters until the meeting of the Convention at Edinburgh on 5 February next. Which the ministers well liked wishing that the commissioners departed might by proclamation be called hither again to confirm and authorise the effects to be accorded. This was agreed and it was fully expected that yesterday all things should have been put in readiness for the execution thereof. But the same day the King and Council ordained and gave charge that 24 burgesses of Edinburgh (being religious, peaceable, substantial and honest persons favouring the ministers) should within 12 hours after warning depart from the town upon pain of rebellion and horning. Sundry of them were warned so to do and it is credibly reported that the Council had billed four score others of Edinburgh to be likewise removed and put out of the town without any fault or cause known or objected, which course and novelty dashed the former motion for surcease and peace and much wounded all the inhabitants in the town.

This day Mr. Walter Balcanquhall in his sermon declared the causes of the beginning of these troubles, the progress and present estate thereof (which are touched in my instructions to Nicolson) and he noted that under treaty of peace the Church many times and daily received greatest prejudice, as was done yesterday by the charge given to so many honest burgesses and as would overthrow the religion, the estate of the King and quietness of the realm, except good remedy should be speedily provided. And therefore he exhorted the noblemen, barons and burgesses there present to meet in the Little Church immediately after the end of the sermon. According to his request the noblemen, barons and burgesses met with the ministers. Whereupon it was resolved to send commissioners with petitions to the King (then accidentally come unto and remaining in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh with sundry noblemen, the most part of his Council and Lords of Session). The Lord Lindsay and Lord Forbes, the lairds of Bargany (Aberganny) and Blairquhan (Blawchan), with Mr. Robert Bruce, reported to the King the petitions of the convention then together in the Little Church. I send enclosed the sum of the petitions signed with the articles afterwards put in writing. The King in some passion told Mr. Robert that he would enforce him to grant what they list to crave. Mr. Robert protesting all obedience, loyalty and love to the King said that they sought those with all humility, prayer and at his princely grace. The Council drew the King to another chamber and thereby the commissioners were driven to return to the rest without the King's answer. Whilst the multitude were confused, some persuaded to stand to the matter and some rashly cried arms. At which cry many came hastily forth to arm themselves, giving occasion to the town to do the like, and as many with armour and weapon flocked to the Church and filled the streets. Wherewith the King and his Council were partly astonished and sent the Earl of Mar and Lord Ochiltree to the noblemen, barons and burgesses with order that they should return to the King their commissioners with their requests which should be duly considered. The commissioners came again to the King and were favourably heard. It was readily concluded

James VI.

1596. and ordered that the tumult should be pacified and the town put into quietness ; and these commissioners should in the afternoon attend on the King at Holyroodhouse with their petitions in writing, which should be heard and weighed with all equity and justice. Thereon the tumult ceased, the streets were cleared, the gates opened and the King guarded with the head officers and burgesses of the town passed to Holyroodhouse.

In the afternoon the lairds of Bargany, Petarro and Fawdonsyde, with Mr. James Nicolson, Mr. Robert Rollock and Mr. James Balfour, ministers, were addressed to the King with the petitions in writing. The Lord Ochiltree by persuasions withdrew the laird of Bargany from his company, who without Bargany (being chief in commission) would not proceed and present themselves and the cause to the King, but retired to their associates without the effecting of any further matter ; so as all rests in confusion and likely to fall into great extremities.

The King is resolved to hunt to-morrow and at night to lodge at Dalkeith where his Council shall meet him and lay there two or three days, and from thence to remove to Linlithgow or Stirling where the King is purposed to remain.

The Session shall be transferred from Edinburgh to Stirling as Edinburgh shall be abandoned, and it is determined that the same shall be confirmed by proclamation to be very shortly published.

The King has already sent forth his missives to summon and call a Convention at Stirling or Linlithgow with all speed. He has written to the Lords Hamilton, Glencairn and others signifying that he will be careful for the advancement of religion.

This tumult is discerned to be treason and I am informed that many persons shall be right sharply put at for the same.

A libel was cast in the church declaring that before the baptism many Earls and Lords (whereof the author of that libel acknowledges himself to be one and to have subscribed) have subscribed a band for toleration of religion and surprise of Edinburgh.

There is a band to be made for defence of religion and whereunto the religious noblemen, barons, burghs and ministers shall be moved to subscribe. The General Assembly of the Church or the special members thereof of quality and power shall be convened with all expedition, but the time and place are not yet resolved. The issue following these turbulent beginnings I refer to the view and experience of the sequel thereof, wishing that fit and seasonable remedies may be provided and that Nicolson may the rather and with speed be returned therewith to me. Edinburgh, 17 December 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : " 17 Dec. 1596. Mr. Ro: Bowes to my master. Increase of trouble. Articles propounded to King by the nobles. Rec. at Whithall the 24th."

Enclosure with the same.

1596. Articles proponed to the King's Majesty by the noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministry convened at Edinburgh, the 17th of December. We the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burgesses and ministry this day by the mercy of God convened beseech your Majesty to appre-

James VI.

1596. hend with us the great danger wherein the estate of religion, commonweal and your own person and honour are brought by the means of crafty and deceitful councillors, who have only a respect to their own preferment and present standing, for albeit it has pleased God to endue your Majesty with knowledge, wisdom and graces beyond all princes we have heard of in this country, yet it is no strange thing to behold good kings brought in evil courses by the device of such as pretend love and in very deed hate them maliciously ; and that this is now in hand, please your Majesty consider what a division is cast in and entertained betwixt you and the Kirk, which were ever in a cause inseparable joined to this time ; and under coloured pretexts that the ministers seek to a superiority, they have brought you in suspicion with them, giving out that it was easy to overthrow them with the liberties of the Kirk presently enjoyed and so to establish your Majesty a sovereign judge, which they would appear not to be, and so to have laid false conclusions in this point as we hope the concurrence of all true professors for the contrary shall prove. Neither are we nor at any time have we been minded to dishonour your Majesty by convocations or tumultuous gatherings as they affirm, but as this day we are convened with all reverence to beseech your Majesty for a redress to the present miseries, and whatsoever tumult has fallen out amongst the people we have travailed to pacify it, as by God's grace is come to pass ; therefore after consultation and conference with some of your Council hereanent [we] have directed these articles following to be proponed to your Majesty and Council, which we desire to be weighed and answered by you and such as are not " over partyes," enemies to God, your Majesty and all professors of religion upon whom we shall condescend in particular and make it clear in " the awin " time, whatsoever they are able to say in their defence.

First, we beseech your Majesty to remove from your Council till the advising and concluding of these matters of religion, Alexander Seton, President, Mr. John Hamilton, Advocate, and Mr. James Elphinstone (since whose coming in credit the Kirk has been put at and the enemies of God entertained and favoured), whom we perceive to have raised all these troubles with the ministry, to have forged and still to be forging whatsoever thing may unquiet the present estate of religion and liberties thereof, since it agrees with all reason that over parties in this case ought not to be our judges. And the ministry has declared by word, and are [*sic*] to declare by their censures, them to be such. And " siclyke " that my Lady Huntly and Lord Sanquhar, professed papists, be removed out of Court.

Secondly, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider the appearing troubles and the cause of them to be the present proceeding against the liberties of the Kirk. Therefore we crave all these things that have been past these months bygone, by Acts, proclamations, interlocutors or decrees in prejudice of the said liberties to be rescinded by Act of Council and by open proclamation.

Thirdly, " forsamekle " as the commissioners of the Kirk have been discharged this town and there have proceeded particular charges to sundry good and honest burgesses within this burgh to pass [out] of this town, we desire the commissioners may have liberty to return and the burgesses warrant to remain.

Fourthly, seeing there is a band penned craved to be subscribed by the

James VI.

1596.

ministry acknowledging his Majesty to be supreme judge in all matters civil and criminal, which was never denied, but their pretence is to bring in such thorny questions to thrall the liberty of the preaching and application of the Word, which if they refuse to subscribe all stipend shall be denied to them for the year, and letters are directed as we are credibly informed for sequestration of the fruits of "benifytes" [benefices] that are in ministers' hands, we crave that a commission be given presently for modification of ministers' stipends this year, according to the order observed in years preceding.

Fifthly, seeing everything done and word spoken by the directions of these men is brought within the compass of treason, we desire a ratification by Act of Council of all the Kirk's proceedings and the noblemen, barons, gentlemen and burgesses' concurrence with them.

This being [done], we offer your Majesty for ourselves and all the true professors within the land that no obedience, reverence or subjection can be craved by a prince of his subjects but we shall give it in most submissive manner, and as we only and the professors foresaid in all causes have stood for your Majesty's person and crown, so shall we continue to the end and hazard our lives and lands therefor to the uttermost. Beseeching the Lord God to guide and direct your Majesty in these matters.

$1\frac{2}{3}$ pp. *In the handwriting of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil:* "Articles proposed by the nobility and ministry. 17 of December 1596."

Dec. 18. **316.** ROBERT BRUCE TO [LORD HAMILTON].

Printed in
Calderwood,
*History of the
Kirk of Scotland*,
v, 515.

(1) We doubt not but you have heard ere now the effect of this long conference that has passed betwixt his Majesty's Council and us, many communings and as many breaks. They took their vantage ever under craft,* while at last the malice of some councillors is come to this, that the stipends of the ministers are discharged; the Commissioners of the General Assembly are put off the town; Mr. David Black convicted of treason and put in ward; and we by an ordinance already set down appointed to suffer the like. And now, last of all, under "commoninge" also, one great number of our flocks, who were most zealous, are charged "of" the town. So that the people animated as appears partly by the Word and violence of the course took arms and made some commotion, fearing the invasion of us their pastors, but by the grace of God we repressed and pacified the motions incont[in]ent. Always the godly barons and vile† gentlemen that dwell in this town have convened themselves and taken upon them the "patrone"‡ and mediation of the Kirk and her cause. They lack a chief and special gentleman§ to countenance the matters against those councillors and with one consent they have thought it meet that I should write to your lordship and, seeing God has given you this honour, we could do no less than follow His calling on the brethren and make it known to you that with all convenient diligence you might come here to utter your affection to the good cause, employ your credit and so

* *sic*: "trust" in Calderwood.

† *sic*: in all other copies the word is "other."

‡ "patrocinie" in the following copy.

§ "nobleman" in all other copies.

James VI.

1596. to receive the due honour that God calls you to, as we doubt not but ye will do. Edinburgh, 18 December 1596. (*In another hand*) : " Sic subscrib^r Mr. Robert Bruce."

1 p. *Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk, headed* : " The just copy of my letter so far as I remember." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : " Copie of Mr. Bruce his letter."

(2) Another copy in the hand of the preceding but with some variations in the wording, dated Edinburgh " the viij " [*sic*] of December, 1596, and with no indication of the authorship.

This copy agrees in the main with that enclosed in Bowes's letter of 4 Jan. 1596-7 to Burghley and there said by Roger Aston to be a copy of the letter presented by Lord Hamilton to the King. Among the variations from (1) above, which agrees with the other copy enclosed in Bowes's said letter and stated by Aston to be the copy which " Mr. Robert Bruce grants he sent to the Lord Hamilton," may be noted the following :—

For " this long conference that has passed betwixt his Majesty's Council and us " : " their long conference that has been betwixt his Majesty and us."

For " so that the people animated as appears partly by the Word and violence of the course " : " so that the people animate no doubt by the Word and motion of God's spirit."

For " made some commotion . . . the motions incont[*in*]ent " : " were not we stayed their ' faird ' [*sic*], they had light no doubt upon many of the Councillors."

For " the due honour that God calls you to " : " the honour that is offered you."

1 p. *No endorsement.*

[Cp. the " vitiated and adulterated " version printed by Calderwood (v, 516), which agrees with (2) above but omits the passage from " were not we stayed " to " many of the Councillors."]

Dec. 21. 317. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.

Upon the address of Mr. Secretary's letter to me and to acknowledge the delivery thereof I took occasion to certify him the receipt of his letter as also the sudden and unfortunate accident and uproar fallen in Edinburgh on Friday last, the 17th hereof, and whilst the King with some of his nobility, Council, and Session were together in the Tolbooth. Albeit this fault first began (as it is now confidently affirmed) in the Tolbooth either at the sudden return of the bailiffs from the King, to whom they had privily discovered all their counsel and doings of their fellows in the Little Church, or else upon what words passed betwixt the Lord Lindsay and the Lord President, whereupon the President's servants and friends flocked together with such haste and rage as thereby some rash and lewd persons gave the alarm to the town and to the companies in the Little Church (something otherwise than by my former written in haste and immediately after the pacification of that uproar I have advertised) and the ministers and honest persons of the town dissuaded and sought to

James VI.

1596.

appease the fury of the people assembled, yet that fact is adjudged by Act of Council to be treason in noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers then convened in the Little Church at the request of the preacher and not knowing at their first meeting that the King was come to the Tolbooth, but rather preparing their commissioners to repair to Holyroodhouse to present their petition to the King.

On the morrow the King, intending to take his pastime in hunting and to lodge and remain some time in Dalkeith, was advised by his Council to remove to Linlithgow, whereunto he rode that day and there abides with his Council. He has sent for the Queen and is resolved to withdraw from Edinburgh not only his own presence and Court but also the Session and the repair of all noblemen, barons and gentlemen.

The same Saturday, the 18th hereof, proclamation was made in Edinburgh to remove the Session from there to such place as the King should appoint. For the present the King is purposed to plant the Session at St. Andrews, for the preparation whereof the town is warned and commanded to put all things in readiness. Some wise and of experience think that all these beginnings and novelties shall greatly advance the designs of the papist Earls and their faction. By another proclamation published the same day in Edinburgh all noblemen, barons, gentlemen and others (being foreigners and no burgesses of Edinburgh) were commanded to depart from the town within 12 hours. Herewith some Councillors lodging in the town were quietly willed by the King to leave it. It was intended that my departure likewise should have been moved, but the gentleman receiving the message and misliking to execute the office procured his discharge. By these occasions this town is left desolate, and, if it shall please her Majesty to continue me in this service, I must provide houses in Linlithgow and Stirling that I may attend upon the King and Council and negotiate all things for that service as shall appertain. Wherein I find the good countenance in Court lately showed towards me greatly changed and myself and course misliked of the Catholic crew presently carrying the sway. Further I wish that the decay of my health disabling my spirit and body were well known to her Majesty that seasonable provision may be made for the supply and best advancement of her service ; in the furtherance whereof (and whilst I shall be able to creep or speak) myself and whole power shall be always ready and obedient at her pleasure.

The provost, bailiffs and council of Edinburgh sent their commissioners to the King to pacify his offence towards the town and sue for his favour towards the burgesses appointed and named as also those billed and to be put out of the town. The countenance towards them was hard, yet they were well dismissed upon declaration of the loyalty and obedience to be hereafter showed by the town in the due execution of the King's commandment and charges to them, and namely for the apprehension and warding of the ministers and burgesses to be declared guilty in the late tumult at Edinburgh.

Yesterday, the 20th, afternoon two several charges given by the King and Council were proclaimed ; the one to the officers of the town commanding them to search out, apprehend and deliver to the Constable of Edinburgh Castle five ministers and ten burgesses named in the precept ; the other to charge the same fifteen persons to appear before the King

James VI.

1596. and Council at Linlithgow on the 23rd of this month ; as by the copies enclosed it may more fully appear to you. According to this charge Mr. Michael Cranston (Crankston), minister, David Johnston, John Johnston of Newby, brethren, and James Dyell, burgesses of Edinburgh, are entered into their ward in the castle here. The others summoned are withdrawn upon respects known to themselves.

The King has sent for the Lord Hamilton, Glencairn and other noblemen and barons. A Convention of the Estates is summoned to be at Linlithgow on 3 Jan. next in substantial manner. In the mean season some labour shall be made particularly to persons of quality to allow of the proceedings past. Thereon it is looked that all acts and ordinances enacted by the King and Council in these affairs and matters in controversy shall be confirmed by the Convention. It is looked that (*ad faciendum populum*) the excommunicated Earls shall be put at and orders taken for their warding and due submission upon convenient conditions, threatening little hurt or danger to them.

Proclamation shall be sent into Fife declaring the form of the sedition in Edinburgh and dissuading the people to be preoccupied with sinister reports and to be in readiness to attend upon the King.

The ferries on the whole coasts shall be restrained to transport any horsemen.

The Lords Lindsay and Forbes, the lairds of Duncreith [Duntreath], Fawdonsyde and others shall be charged to appear before the King and Council for the attempt at Edinburgh. Their houses and goods shall be arrested and put into the hands of favourites in Court. It is said that the Lord Hume has the grant of the Lord Lindsay's escheat and it is thought that the benefit of his escheat in Fife shall not be gathered without some difficulty.

The smoke of some jealousies are espied to be rising betwixt the Catholic Councillors and some of the King's Chamber. Yet the Councillors politically wink at the same. Edinburgh, 21 December 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

2 pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : " Rec. at Whithall the xxixth."

The first enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Proclamation for the appearance of Mr. Robert Bruce and others before the Council.)

" Forsamekle " as it is notoriously known how that we accompanied with certain of our nobility and Lords of Session, sitting in the inner house of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh in quiet manner the 17th instant for administration of justice, not suspecting that such a treasonable attempt would have entered in any man's thought, much less that any men should have put themselves in arms to have performed the same, yet nevertheless the particular persons after specified, some of them being in the function of the ministry, raised and stirred up divers barons, gentlemen and others, inhabitants of Edinburgh, to take arms and besiege us and our said nobility within the said Tolbooth and upon some seditious and slanderous speeches uttered by the said ministers to the said barons and others that the religion

James VI.
1596.

presently professed within this realm was in great danger by certain conclusions which they alleged had been concluded by us and our Council, albeit the said ministers ought to have been instruments of peace and obedience rather than motioners of commotion and sedition, specially seeing we have heretofore professed the said religion, in which we have been brought up and are fully resolved to end our life in the constant profession thereof ; so that it appears more nor manifest that whatsoever pretence or colour they would allege for their tumultuous sedition and uproar the same has been rather to accomplish some other wicked and abominable deed devised by them nor for any fear or danger they suspected might ensue to the overthrow of the said religion ; wherethrough the said seditious persons and each one of them has incurred the pains contained in our Acts of Parliament made against convocation of our lieges and the same ought and should be executed against them with all rigour to the example of others ; our will is therefore and we charge you straitly and command that incontinent after sight hereof ye pass and in our name and authority command and charge Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Walter Balcanquhall, Mr. James Balfour, Mr. William Watson, ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. Michael Cranston, minister of Crawmont, James Dyell, Edward Johnstone of the Bow, David and John Johnstone, brethren, of Newby, Thomas Hunter, William Little *alias* Laird Little, Edward and [blank] Caithkyns, brethren, Andrew Hart, bookbinder, and Michael Flabarne to appear before us and our Council within our palace of Linlithgow, the 23rd instant,* to answer to the premises, etc. Given under our signet at Linlithgow 20 Dec. and of our reign the 30th year.

1 p. *Copy.*

The second enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Proclamation for the Provost of Edinburgh and others to arrest the persons named in the preceding proclamation.)

Inventoried in
Tudor and
Stuart Proclama-
tions, ii, p. 261.

"Forsamekle" as by the old laws and practice of our realm it is ordained that the persons of all them which are suspect of treason should be take and put in sure "firmance" by the sheriffs, provost and bailiffs of the towns and other magistrates within whose jurisdictions the said traitors remain ; like as it is of verity that lately upon the 17th instant a perilous and treasonable sedition was raised against our person and estate, etc., by Mr. Robert Bruce and others [as named in the preceding], who in a most treasonable manner convoked divers gentlemen, burgesses and craftsmen within our burgh of Edinburgh to the number of 1200 men in arms or thereby, who convened and exhorted them to force and do violence to us, our nobility and Council within our Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where we then were, etc. ; seeing that it is of verity that the said ministers, inhabitants and other notorious committers of the said detestable treason dwell and remain within the jurisdiction of the provost, bailiffs, councils and deacons of crafts of our said town of Edinburgh, etc. ; our will is therefore that incontinent these our letters seen ye pass and in our name and authority command and charge Alexander Hume of North Berwick, provost, George Toddrigg, Alexander Hunter, Roger Maknaught and

* Calderwood says the 25th December (v, 520).

James VI.

1596. Patrick Cochran, bailiffs, John Wat, deacon of the deacons, the whole Council and remanent deacons of the crafts of our said burgh to pass immediately after this our charge and search and apprehend the persons aforesaid, chief authors and movers of the said treasonable enterprise and present themselves to James Reid, constable of our castle of Edinburgh, or his deutes according to the warrant directed by us to the said constable for receiving the said persons and keeping them in sure "firmance" until they be put to lawful trial, within 6 hours after they be charged by you thereto under the pain of rebellion and putting of them to our horn, etc. Given under our signet and subscribed with our hand. Linlithgow, 20 Dec. 1596, and of our reign the 30th year.

1 p. *Copy.*

Dec. 21. 318. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

By my letter sent to the Lord Treasurer and accompanying these presents I have acquainted him with the cause moving the address of my last before these to be directed to yourself, as also with the estate here and present novelties tending still to innovation, as by the view of my letter to his lordship (which I trust he will give to you) will better appear.

MacLean present in the church at the sermon there on Friday last, the 17th hereof, entered into the Little Church in company of the noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers, according to the request of the preacher, and with the rest held up his hand with protestation that to the uttermost of his power he would maintain the religion presently professed in Scotland. Hearing the tumult kindling in the streets he sought access to the King for defence of his person, which he could not attain. Thereupon he rode in great haste to the Earl of Argyll then in Stirling. The Earl and he returned with speed early in the next morning towards Edinburgh and met in the way the King, who after some notes of Argyll's haste in that journey yielded to the Earl good countenance and grace, and keeping Argyll with him that night at Linlithgow dismissed him favourably the next day, as Argyll returned to Stirling. The King partly checked MacLean for his posting to Argyll and for holding up his hand among the noblemen and barons for defence of religion. MacLean answered that when the King honoured him the other day with knighthood, he then avowed to defend the religion, the King's person and estate, and in assurance thereof held up his hand, which vow he protested to keep during his life and with his whole power. The King pleased therewith has received him into his favour and good entertainment and thereon he is returned to Argyll at Stirling.

MacLean, being credibly advertised that some forces are to be sent for the King of Spain into Ireland, offers his service to her Majesty with two or three thousand able men, as it shall please her to command. Wherein he desires to be advertised in best season that he may the better make good choice and preparation for the service to be committed to him. Edinburgh, 21 December 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Rec. at Whitehall the xxixth."

James VI.

1596.

Dec. 22.

319. ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have thought it convenient for the discharge of my duty to signify unto your Honour the particular proceedings of this late controversy between the King and the ministers, which has been long in question but never came to execution till at this time, yet "meuted" out in the time of Captain James Stewart's greatness. That which has drawn on the matter at this time has been the vehemency of the ministers upon the home coming of the papist Earls. The King finding the time perilous in respect of the general discontentment of their return entertained the matter with good words, assuring them his intention was either to bring them to conformity of religion and assurance of their obedience or otherways to banish them the country. This entertained the matter awhile till the coming of the Countess of Huntly to Court, who wrought the matter so with the Queen and the Duke her brother with other of her friends as the King was drawn to hear Huntly's offers, which were thought very reasonable. In the meantime Mr. David Black (Blake), minister of St. Andrews in two or three of his sermons railed out against the discipline of England, calling her Majesty an atheist without religion. This coming to the ears of the King, [he] thought it a fit time, seeing the matter touched her Majesty so far in honour as she would not only allow his doings but concur and assist him in reforming their liberty to exclaim of princes. Upon this occasion this minister was summoned to appear before the King and Council with a number of the town to try the certainty of this matter. Going, he stood to his denial. The day appointed for his trial, being assisted by a number of the ministers, chiefly by the presbytery of this town, [he] gave in a "declenater" subscribed with all their hands, saying the King was not competent judge in matters ecclesiastical, and here rises the question that brings on all these matters. This controversy has been sundry days resolved upon by the King and some of the wisest of the ministers and all matters referred "tel" [till] a General Convention of the whole estates. The minister offender should have been "demest" [? dismissed] upon condition he should upon his conscience declare to the King the truth both of that he spake of the King's self as also of her Majesty my sovereign, the King promising for his part to forgive him upon condition he should satisfy her Majesty's Ambassador in that that concerned her. As there was of the ministers more "presyes" than "wayes," so was there in court that blew the coal and that was done at night was altered to-morrow; so that all those communings brake off and Mr. Black commanded in "fry" ward behind the North Water and a proclamation set out of such matter as he was accused of. This stirred the ministers more than before and [they] daily cried out that the Church was in persecution, praying for their persecuted brethren with crying out against the Council, comparing this time to Julian the Apostate, Dioclesian and divers other cruel princes, persecutors of the Church as they preached on the one side. The King proceeded against them in discharging their stipends except to such as would go from the declinator. This serves for that which is past.

Now I come to the present action in hand, the beginning, the success and what is like to follow. Upon Friday, the 17th instant, after a sermon made by Mr. Walter Macanker [Balcanquhal], one of the ministers of this

James VI.

1596.

town, in which sermon he persuaded all men to take the cause of God upon them and to defend the Church in persecution, after his sermon he desired all noblemen, barons and gentlemen to come to counsel with them to see what was meetest to be done in this perilous time. There passed with them the Lord Lindsay and the Lord Forbes (Forboues) with a number of barons and gentlemen coming to the place of conference. It was thought meet that commissioners should be sent to the King who was then in the Tolbooth hearing some causes in law. The commissioners that were sent were the Lord Lindsay, the lairds of Bargany and Blairquhan (Blahan), men of good account, Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. William Watson, two of the chief ministers of this town. The commission they carried was to desire the King presently to remove from his company the President, the Secretary, the Advocate and Controller as enemies to the religion and greatness of the State. The King being in the low house came up and spake with them in a chamber above not knowing what they had to propone. After they had made their proposition the King answered he would advise of that matter and without more words went from them to the Lords that were sitting in judgment. With this the said commissioners returned giving out some hard words in the down going of the stair. Returning to their fellowship Mr. Robert Bruce declares there was nothing to be looked for but extremity; therefore desired all men to hold up their hands in defence of the good cause; which they did and presently some passed forth and cried "arm, arm." With this the baronry rises and all men went to arms. Some cried "God and the Kirk"; some cried "God and the King"; some to pacify and others would have been at the Tolbooth to have slain the Lords foresaid. This sudden alarum coming to the King made him for defence of the house and made [*sic*] the doors. Some persuading him to go to the castle, others persuaded him to go to them. Yet neither the one nor the other was thought requisite. To go to the castle it was thought dishonourable and to go to the "cayse" [causeway] it was thought over great a peril in respect that such as were with the King were unarmed, having no weapon but swords; the others being armed and having long weapons had over great advantage. In this meantime the provost and bailies were busy to pacify the fury, some by "bosting" and some by fair words, that in less than an hour all men settled to their houses and the fury pacified. Thereafter the King accompanied with the whole noblemen and Council came to his own house, where after noon there came commissioners from the town desiring the same conditions that were craved in the fore noon. The King then finding himself in greater surety than before gave them a sharper answer than before; finding himself not in so great surety as need were kept that night a strong watch; the next day removed to Linlithgow, which is 12 miles from Edinburgh.

As I have declared the King's actions in this day's work, so will I do the ministers' and their adherents'. That night they directed their letters and messengers to such as they believed favoured their cause. But chiefly they directed a letter to the Lord Hamilton subscribed by 3 ministers, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. William Watson and Mr. Walter Macanker [Balcanquhal]. The contents of this letter is (*sic*) to persuade the said Lord to join with them in this cause they had in hand, declaring that they had a sufficient number to "dobbel" out their cause if they had a head,

James VI.

1596.

desiring his lordship to come to them with all speed. They also directed a secret messenger to the Earl of Argyll, who came forward the next day, whether to the King or them it is doubtful, but rather sent to come to the King for that he sent before a servant of his own to declare to the King of his coming and to know his pleasure. A number of the barons that were with the ministers, upon a "sele" of religion to some, as they say, it was like to turn to a rebellion, left them and came to the King. The Lord Hamilton came to the King to Linlithgow and there delivered the letter he had received from the ministers altogether disallowing their proceedings. On Monday there were charges sent to the magistrates of the town to apprehend the 4 [*sic*, ? *rectius* 3] ministers above named with divers others. The ministers being "forfend" escaped. Some of the town are taken and committed to the castle. There have daily since commissioners come from the town but as yet have wrought little effect. The last commissioner that came was on Friday last. They are like to work better effects than any preceding both for the cre[dit ?] of the persons and the "suaye" [? sway] of over fury. There w[ere] in this commission 4 "layerds" [lairds], 2 minis[ters] and 2 of the bailies, all known to be wise [and] religious and such as the King specially like[d]. All of them came to offer all obedience in the name of the town and to see what might satisfy the King both in honour and profit. In that they do humble themselves the King takes it very well but in the repairing of his honour or satisfaction otherways he will first hear what offers they will make. And yet there is [*sic*] private articles given them what the King would be at, but this is indirectly. First, their ministers that are "feugeter" [? fugitives] to be discharged; no minister to remain there above two years; no magistrate shall be chosen without consent of the King and his Council; the town shall give over some privileges which have been hurtful to the King's patrimony, as also they shall present the King with so many corslets, pikes and hackbuts as shall arm so many men as shall be thought convenient to be led up; in the Session House the "fateres" [defaulters] being tried shall be punished either by life or purse as shall be thought convenient. With this . . . returned to be arrested and to be at the King's . . . Linlithgow on Tuesday next with answer. In [the] meantime the King is preparing to come [to] Edinburgh very strong on Friday. The last great . . . is in the town of his coming by reason of the Borderers that are to meet him. Many have transported their best goods "of" [from] the town. I hope there shall be such order taken as they shall be in no danger. The King is neither minded to spoil the town nor shed much blood. The whole nobility are sent for except the papist Earls, with whom the King will not deal before they have satisfied the Kirk and given proof thereof, as also of their obedience otherways. I look there shall be some dispatched to her Majesty to acquaint her with all these proceedings, as also with the letter they sent to the Lord Hamilton. The meeting of the nobility is appointed the 3rd of the next [month], at which time a resolution will be taken in all these affairs. It is constantly confirmed that the day after the tumult the ministers directed their letters to England and that all these matters have been devised there. For their writing I know nothing, neither is it material. But in that they either suspect either her Majesty or Council to be an

James VI.

1596.

actor in this tragedy I have answered the matter at full, having I am assured a good warrant for I am assured her Majesty nor Council will never . . . the proceedings of the ministers in this . . . neither wish any other to be King but he that is . . . to by God's right. In this his Majesty will be thoroughly assured at Mr. Bowes's repudiance (?) . . . is foresaid of these calumnious reports.

Huntly remains very quiet in the north labouring daily with the ministers. He seems to mislike of the Spaniards, complaining greatly of his entertainment among them. He has assured the King their intention is to conquest the whole Isle, offering to be the first that shall arm himself against them either here or where the King shall appoint. If he means as he says he is better "excepted" [accepted] than cast off, but I am hard of belief. I have been earnestly dealt with to deal for him but I have refused, except I know her Majesty's pleasure and were assured he would discover such matter as might be acceptable service to her.

This far I have thought good to set down a true discourse, although I doubt not your Honour is sufficiently acquainted with all these proceedings. Yet I hope you will take this in good part, proceeding from a loyal heart to do her Majesty service. Holyroodhouse, 22 December. Signed : Roger Aston.

9 pp. *Holograph, with address. 2 Seals. The top corners of two of the pages have been torn off. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk : "23 [sic] December 1596."*

(Note.—There is a short postscript almost entirely illegible which appears to refer to the ministers' demand for their commissioners for the Earl [of Huntly ?].)

Dec. 25. **320. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

Forasmuch as Andrew Kerr, laird of Fawdonside, (one of the 4 Commissioners in Border Causes for Scotland), was one of the commissioners sent to the King by the late convention of some noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers assembled at Edinburgh on the 17th hereof, which fact is declared by Act of Council to be treason, and for which crime the King is purposed to proceed against him and appoint another in his place, the King sent the Clerk Register to give me notice of this change. But he brought me no name of the person to supply Kerr's room, which I desired to be done with all expedition and which he promised. Yet I have not hitherto received any further knowledge therein, doubting that by these alterations and delays the meeting of the Commissioners on the frontiers on 12 January next shall be adjourned and thereupon the peace of the Marches is like to be greatly disquieted. Besides the King by the Clerk Register required that all the rolls of her Majesty's wardens might be speedily sent to myself and that I would deliver them to the Council here in exchange with the other rolls of the wardens and officers of Scotland. In this I let him know that having already written to all her Majesty's wardens in this behalf upon like and former motion I have been advertised that these rolls and complaints by the accustomed order have been delivered to them, like as I had before certified to Mr. George Young sent by the King to me in that case. These matters thus stand upon resolutions

James VI.

1596. and in uncertainty and the time of the appointed meeting approaches. Therefore I pray to be speedily and perfectly directed what to do in these Border affairs for the best accomplishment of her Majesty's pleasure.

Andrew Kerr standing upon his innocency offers himself and prays to be tried by the ordinary course of law, or otherwise at the King's pleasure. He has good friends in Court, as thereby he may peradventure pass over this storm and be continued in the commission. It is told me that if Kerr shall be rejected, Mr. James Hume (brother of the laird of Coldenknowes (Cowdenknowes)) shall supply his place.

Edinburgh sent the other day to the King nine commissioners, so discreet and well chosen as the King accepted them well. Their commission was to present to him the humble submission of all the inhabitants in the town and to offer such particular satisfaction of the late tumult as should please him to assess and accept. The King, noting this offer to be over general and that the party offending ought to tender especial amends, left them in calm terms to their own considerations and to give proof of their loyalty and obedience to him. It is verily thought that amongst other conditions he will bind the town to keep out and reject their four ministers now put to the horn and withdrawn; to aid, assist and concur with his Council and Lords of Session; and at his coming to the town to lay open the gates and put themselves and wills in his pleasure. For which purpose he is resolved to be at Leith on the last hereof with great force of horsemen esteemed to exceed the number of 5000. For the levy thereof he has employed, sent and charged the Earl of Mar, the Lords Hume, Seton, Livingstone, Semple and Sanquhar, the lairds of Buccleuch, Cessford and Johnstone, with many other barons and gentlemen. The town fearing the spoil of the hungry Borderers are perplexed with the matter. Yet it is hoped that after the execution of some principal offenders and convenient fine to the King's own coffers and use a peaceable order and end shall ensue. I have been warned by some wise friends to look well to myself and mine, but I shall not (God willing) start from her Majesty's service.

The Lord Hamilton, having received a letter subscribed by Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Rollock and Mr. Walter Balcanquall, delivered to the King the copy thereof, tending to draw him (as their head) to party their cause and to require him for that purpose to hasten his repair to Edinburgh, where he should find and be assisted with sufficient company and power of noblemen, barons, gentlemen and other parties in that action. It is said that the bearers of that letter, conceiving Lord Hamilton to like partly of the motion, destroyed the letter by fire. Yet the copy thereof (as is alleged) is extant and I hear the King will send a double of the same to her Majesty. Mr. Robert Rollock acknowledged before the King that he with Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. Walter Balcanquall subscribed a letter directed to Lord Hamilton. He protests that he did not read the letter nor knows the effects thereof; which protestation the King allows in regard of his good opinion of Rollock's integrity. This course thus persuaded by these ministers far "jarreth" from their pretences, protesting to proceed always in these causes with all obedience to the King and suffer with all patience in their own persons, relying wholly on God's and not man's help herein, like as by my former to your lordship I have advertised.

James VI.

1596.

I have not yet seen the copy of those 3 ministers' letter to Lord Hamilton, and I think that shall be sent to her Majesty. Therefore I forbear for this present to particularise the contents of the same.

The four ministers and four burgesses of Edinburgh are put to the horn. The others which entered ward in Edinburgh Castle are removed to Blackness.

The pensions of all ministers refusing to subscribe the Act of Council (expressed in the copy enclosed) shall be stayed together with the arrearages already due to them. Mr. Patrick Galloway (late the King's minister), being called to subscribe to this Act, has refused for the present, praying some time to advise thereon. Edinburgh, 25 December 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Andrew Kerr put out of the Commission for Border causes."

Dec. 26. 321. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

By my letter with these to my Lord Treasurer I have advertised the proceedings in this troubled estate, not likely to be so soon and calmly quieted as is fair and finely pretended.

Mr. Robert Denniston, Conservator for the Scottish nation in Holland and Zeeland, has frankly offered and protested to honour, serve and please her Majesty with all sound devotion and good offices for the benefit of her service here, in the Low Countries or elsewhere soever his power may suffice to profit the same service, desiring to have his good will and intention made known to her that he might understand the good acceptation thereof and thereon prepare and furnish himself for the execution of all requisite effects. I have therefore thought good to recommend him, his request and case (sufficiently known to you to be well qualified to do great good, if his mind and endeavour will answer thereunto) to your good consideration and preferment as shall be found meet and convenient, praying you timely to direct me further to entertain or shake off this offer to me. In case his devotion and services tendered with great protestation of sincere affection to her Majesty shall be found worthy to be proved or embraced, it may please you by some fit clause in your letter to me (and as may be showed to himself) to enable so to comfort and draw him forwards as shall be thought meet. Edinburgh, 26 December 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Rec. at Whythall the 3 of January."

Dec. 27. 322. [ROBERT BRUCE] TO [LORD HAMILTON].

My Lord, I cannot marvel enough what should have moved your lordship to have abused me after such a manner. I hear that you have presented a copy of my letter to you unto his Majesty, a copy as I have seen not "transumed" of the original but a vitiate copy "manced," altered and so "adulterated" that scarcely it bears the right portrait of my letter. I know your lordship to be facile but till now I had never a proof of your malice. I am assured your lordship's sister[s] son, the Earl

James VI.

1596.

of Huntly, would not have done the like that ye have done. "And" I fail in anything of that letter, I fail only in this in framing my pen over far to your humour, which I knew to be ambitious. The King took [it], I hear, as [if] I had pressed to set your lordship in the "chyir foranent" him. Surely it come never in my mind and of all fools I had been the first if so I had done. But I, meaning only to use your lordship's "moyoun" and countenance to intercede at his Majesty's hand and such intercession as ye have made for me and the Kirk of God, such I doubt not the head of the * Kirk shall make for your lordship before the face of a more fearful judge, except he bring you to a sense and sight of your sin in this, for look what inconvenience has ensued to me or shall ensue thereafter to me, the good cause or Kirk of God, I ascribe it all to that deed, and as for me, notwithstanding the strait wherein I am, I will not "coys" [coss, *i.e.* exchange] my estate with your lordship, for if conscience be such a thing as I take it to be, I am assured, however she sleep for a while in your lordship, she shall waken again and then I shall have greater pity on your lordship nor ye have compassion on me at this time. I counted myself in the number of your friends, but if ye use your friends so I crave no longer to be counted in that number. I see it is a time of trial where everyone should utter such stuff as lurketh within them. The Lord that has led us in this temptation lead us safely back to His glory and our everlasting comfort. To Him and His mercy I will commit your lordship, notwithstanding of my great grief that you have put to my heart, of the place of your sojourning. This 27 of December. Your lordship's patient and disappointed far of his hope. *Unsigned.*

At foot in Roger Aston's handwriting: "This was the last letter sentt to the L. Hammelton."

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Copy in a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "The last letter to the Lorde Hambleton from Mr. Bruce."

[1596.
Dec.]†

323. BAND OF JAMES VI AND HIS COUNCIL TO BE SUBSCRIBED BY THE MINISTRY.

The copy of the "injunctions" set down by the King and his Council to be subscribed by the ministry.

We the pastors and ministers of God's word undersubscribed acknowledging our duty to God and obedience to the King our sovereign lord, whom for conscience cause we ought to obey, confess that his Grace is sovereign judge to us and each one of us in all causes of sedition and treason and other civil and criminal matters, and to all our speeches which may import the said crimes, albeit uttered by us publicly in pulpits, which God forbid, or in any other place; and that the said pulpits nor no other places whatsoever have that privilege or immunity to be occasion or pretence to any of us of declining of his Majesty's judgment in any of the said civil or criminal causes intended or to be intended against any of us in time coming; but rather that our offence is the greater in case, which God forbid, any of us commit such crimes in the said pulpits before the people, where the

* The word "the" added by Aston.

† This paper is incorrectly dated in Thorpe's *Calendar* 1596 [March] and has been bound up in Vol. lviii (No. 48).

James VI.
1596.

Word of God, His truth and salvation should be preached by us to our flocks. In witness whereof and of the humble acknowledging of our duty in the premises we have subscribed these presents with our hands and are content the same be registered in the books of Secret Council *in futuram rei memoriam*, etc.

Upon this there was a proclamation by sound of trumpet at the market cross of Edinburgh of the publication of these foresaid injunctions to all persons, certifying all them of the spiritual estate, "and" [if] they subscribed not the same at the least so many as they should be presented to within six days after they were charged thereto, that they should "tyne" their benefices, stipends and all their livings and that the same should fall in our sovereign lord's hands *ipso facto*; and charging the Lords of Session to admit this nullity of "tyning" of the benefices *ipso facto* by way of exception without pursuit of any action thereanent.

Item, there was a proclamation discharging the Lords of the Chekker and other lords of the "plat" of granting of any pensions or assignments of stipends to the ministers in time coming or sequestering of them of anything received and owing begun without they report to the said Lords the said letter subscribed with their hands, etc.

Item, there is contained in one other of the proclamations discharging the ministers of reporting of anything of his Majesty and Council in pulpits, schools and otherwise and charging both the convention of the people and the provost and bailies of the burgh to take and apprehend the contraveners and detain them [in] ward, etc., certifying them "and" they do in the contrary that they should be holden culpable of the said crime.

1½ pp. No endorsement.

[1596 or
1597.]

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 264.

324. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO ROBERT BOWES.

[According to your letter of the 22 I shall make my acknowledgment to the gentlemen therein named both in your behalf and my own. Concerning] Mr. Lawson's charge [that I turned him over to you as] executor to my grandfather he [does me] great wrong delivering his own surmise being a [person ?] whom to my remembrance I never saw. Only a solicitor [from] him or some of his complaining of me to the Lords of the Council, I answered at large, too long here to set down, the same person offering to persuade me that you put over the matter to be answered by me might peradventure make his use of his speech with us both to the best advantage of his purpose. I see no reason to think that a matter of this importance and of such justice as this complaint pretends could have slept so many years without apparent notice to my grandfather himself, to my father having so long served here, or to myself having divers times been in Scotland at some of the greatest assemblies and having lived on the Border 7 years together. My answer must therefore be that I may not make myself a debtor of what I know not. Yet will I not refuse the determination of the honourable personages of this commission, which as you write he purposes to seek. Touching my conference with the laird of Wedderburn (Whetherburne) on Berwick sands, it was with the privity and consent of all the Commissioners on both sides; indeed first motioned by the opposite out of the good conceit of my willingness to draw to some issue, hindered by

James VI.

1596 or
1597.

intermixed discourses sometimes of our meetings ; a copy whereof as I set it down *raptim* with my own hand I send you here-enclosed that you may see the truth of that report concerning Sir Robert Kerr (Cerr), which I pray you send back again for that it first being conferred with the laird himself, then laid before all the Commissioners, it is in manner the ground of all which we have hitherto *de bene esse* done.

I assure you my lord of Wedderburn has hitherto spoken more for Sir Robert Kerr (Carr) than any other and I have impugned the actions of Buccleuch and him out of no partial affection but out of the Queen's expressed directions, out of the heinous complaint of this country generally against them, and out of my detestations of their execrable murders and dishonours offered to the realm. *Undated. Signed: William Bowes.*

1 p. *Damaged by fire at the top the missing words in which have been supplied in brackets from the copy made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 317.*

[1596-7. **325. ANONYMOUS TO [ROBERT BOWES].**
c. Jan. 1.]

On Friday, the last of December, the King came to Leith about 12 hours ; and thereafter came to the sands thereof to meet the company that his Majesty had appointed to meet him there, viz. the Earl of Mar, my Lord Home, my Lord Herries (Heireice), my Lord Ochiltree (Okiltre), my Lord Seton (Citonne), Bargany, Blaquhane [? Blairquhan], Lochinvar (Louchenuar), the laird of Johnstone, with sundry others, barons and gentlemen come in company with the King that will to Edinburgh to the number of two thousand men or thereby. And on Saturday, the 1st January, his Majesty appointed for the assurance of the town keeping to be on their guard and armour for the West Port and Castlehill the Earl of Mar, for the Cross and Tolbooth my Lord Ochiltree, and for the Nether Bow my Lord Seton. All this time of their waiting the King was in the Tolbooth with his Council, except the time of the service. The minister that " teichit " that day was Mr. David Lindsay, minister in Leith. His text was the hundred and one psalm and thereafter, he ending, the King made a great " harrene " to the people which " optenit " a greater time nor the preaching, declaring his innocency concerning any ways of altering of religion and willed the whole people to take no evil conceit of him concerning the religion, for he would hazard his crown and life in that cause ; further, there was a letter written by the four ministers of Edinburgh and by Mr. Robert Rooke [Rollock], regent of the College of Edinburgh, subscribed by their hands and sent to my Lord Hamilton. The bearer thereof was Mr. Peter Ewvart, Mr. Robert Bruce's man, desiring his lordship to take upon him the maintenance of them and the religion which is now presently professed, and they shall find out " inew " to assist him in the good cause. Immediately after the receipt of their letter Lord Hamilton divulged the whole circumstance to the King and delivered unto him their letter, which comes to the prejudice of the whole ministry. As for Mr. Robert Rooke he has confessed to his Majesty that he subscribed the letter as a blank, for whose simplicity the King has remitted him. Farther, the report is here that the King will be favourable to the

James VI.
1596-7.

town of Edinburgh that has committed this tort against him. Ye shall receive the injunctions which the King will have the ministers to subscribe with the tenor of three proclamations besides. Ye shall wit that there was here a "daft bruit" that Sir Robert Ker had come within the fields of Berwick and apprehended and slew your brother [*sic*] Sir William. This came as true news in these parts. As for Cessford (?) for the present it is said here that he is deadly sick, and for Buccleuch (?) he come not in at this present. Farther as occasion shall fall out I shall make you advertised, with credit to the bearer. "Youris lefullie, ye watt quhoe." *Undated. Unsigned.*

1½ pp. *In a Scottish handwriting. No endorsement.*

Jan. 3. **326. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Because the time of the meeting of the Commissioners for the Border affairs is now near and the want of her Majesty's safe conduct to the Scots Commissioners may make them either not hold the day or meet and confer with others only in Scotland and not come to Berwick, which will be the greatest trouble, charge and peril to others, I have presumed to commend the same to your knowledge by writing, seeing I cannot without "impesheing" your Honour do it by words. The day is the 12th hereof and this the 3rd, so as the time is very short. Besides the present for the baptism, the warrant for the 39*l.* given in rewards, resolution anent the Earls Papists and the gentleman's motion or offer for Huntly, the matters between the King and Kirk and concerning Buccleuch's 2 matters, and MacLean and Argyll, etc., the sending of some of account to pacify those troubles in Scotland or assistance to my master, or plain and ample instructions what he shall do in the causes aforesaid with warranty for his dealings accordingly, and increase of his entertainment at this time of extreme dearth and charges to be by riding to the King and having men abroad for intelligences are very needful to be remembered and resolved on, that with the same I may repair to my master and this service at this dangerous time. Further, my master would have your Honour to write so to him as may be severally showed to MacLean and the nobleman Sanquhar and as may encourage them to the continuance of their offices. And lastly that these things being but thus sparingly and in part touched by me may be considered according to the instructions and letters of my master in your Honour's hands, wherein I shall still dutifully attend your leisure and time, I beseech your speedy dispatch that I may return and in these dangers abide my master's fortune there as I have before, where I hear by a Scot lately come from thence that it is in head to enter Edinburgh by force of Borderers and others to the number of 6000 and wreck of the town, and this to be done very shortly or now in hand.

To conclude, I beseech you recommend my poor suit to her Majesty and my Lord, your father, and by your good means advance the same for me, for which, as I have served her Majesty very well in the honourable censuring of your father and your Honour, I doubt not but still to do, and the more necessarily in case these troubles produce no better than the wise in Scotland fear. This 3 of January, 1596. *Signed: George Nicolson.*

¾ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

James VI.
1596-7.

? Enclosure in the preceding letter.

A note of such things as Robert Bowes, her Majesty's Ambassador in Scotland, desires her pleasure and instructions in with warrant for his dealings agreeable to the same, and for which I am sent up and attend your Honour's good pleasure.

The present and gift to young Princess. And the rewards, 39*l*.

1. What course he shall hold between the King and Papist Earls, either before, in or after their reconciliation.
2. What answer he shall make to Mr. Ja : Orde's motion, if he renew it again at his return ; wherein my master cannot deal but lose the best sort.
3. That your Honour in your letter to be seen declare good acceptance of the Lord Sanquhar's good will to my master and good offices.
1. How my master shall proceed against Black, and
2. what punishment for Black.
3. What course my master shall hold either with the King or Kirk, or between them for pacifying of the matter questionable between them.
1. Her Majesty's pleasure of the liking of the Commissioners, and time and place, interchange of the rolls of Border causes, and time of redress to be made from the last commission.
2. Safe conduct either from her Majesty or Council for the Commissioners for Scotland, their train, company and all having occasions to come to them in England. This the King and Council require to be with favours and large.
3. The King would know some taste of her Majesty's mind anent
4. Buccleuch ; and would not have his life sought, seeing the King is ready to care for her Highness's contentment.

My master being sickly and weak prays assistance or that some of credit may be employed for these causes being great and to come to a point 5 Feb. 1596.

He thinks meet that Argyll and MacLean have some tokens sent them with rewards to their 2 servants, thereby to make them readier for her Majesty's service against time require.

Placards to	{	the King for 12 horse
		Blantyre 2
		Lord Home 2

with leave to my master sometimes to give one to a friend.

1 *p*. In *Nicolson's hand*. Endorsed by *Cecil's clerk* : " Remembrances for Scotland. 1596."

Jan. 4. **327. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELEY.**

At my access to the King yesterday in the afternoon he signified his resolution to send the Bishop of Dunkeld, the lairds of Wedderburn and Fawdonside and Mr. George Younge (Commissioners before named and chosen for him) to meet her Majesty's Commissioners for the Borders at Fouldon on the 12th hereof agreeable to the order offered and accorded on

James VI.

1596-7.

his part and certified before by me. Of the King's readiness and resolution I have advertised the Bishop of Durham with the rest of her Majesty's Commissioners for the Borders and all the wardens thereof, trusting that they and I shall receive seasonable advertisement of her Majesty's will and pleasure for the progress, adjournment or stay of this commission. In this cause I have by my letters and lastly by instructions to George Nicolson (employed and sent to your lordship in this and other services for her Majesty) sought to be speedily and in time directed with notice of her Majesty's mind herein, hoping that the same is already, or shortly shall be, signified to the Commissioners, wardens and myself in such due season as her directions may be with all diligence accomplished.

Since my last before these to your lordship this town of Edinburgh returned their commissioners to the King and Council at Linlithgow, with renovation of their former offers and petition to the King to extend his grace to the town, offering neither to receive again the four ministers put to the horn nor to choose and plant hereafter any other ministers in this town without his privity and assent; next, that the choice of the Provost, bailiffs and head officers in the town shall be with the King's knowledge and advice, and that they will submit and put into his knowledge the town and inhabitants thereof. In this they omitted the offer of 300 corslets to be employed and maintained at their charges for the King's service and as occasion should be ministered. The King pleased herewith has mitigated his wrath against the town, stayed a great part of the forces charged to have attended here upon him, and resolved to proceed with justice and equity and in all calmness.

On Friday last, the last of December, the King came to Leith with sundry noblemen and convenient forces according to his former appointment. There he resolved for the manner of his entry into Edinburgh on the morrow for punishment of the offenders in the late tumult here, and for his own course and behaviour to be showed in the town, whose fear and disorder in transportation of the greatest parts of their goods out of the town he much condemned. He caused proclamation to be made in Edinburgh commanding obedience, providing for restraint of spoil, and declaring his intention to proceed with lenity, equity and favour. Whereupon he returned to the Queen at Holyroodhouse and there remains.

The officers of this town, having prepared and made the keys of the ports to be of silver and gilt, presented the same to the King on the next day, the first hereof. Whereupon the Earl of Mar with his companies had the guard of the West port, the Lord Seton of the Netherbow, and the Lord Ochiltree with other noblemen, barons and gentlemen guarded the streets. After this guard was set the King with sundry noblemen and his Council entered into the town and resorted to the Great Church, where he heard Mr. David Lindsay's sermon; and upon the end of the sermon he made and published to the people a long oration recounting thereby his education and continual profession of the religion established, as also his own behaviour, intention and actions in the matters lately controverted betwixt him and the ministers, wherein he justified himself, cleared his Council and deeply blamed the ministers. He mixed these with some particularities and with arguments proving his assertions. Very confidently (and to the comfort of many) he solemnly protested to continue always in the religion,

James VI.

1596-7. to maintain the same and the godly ministers and professors thereof, to provide for the planting of the churches and preaching of God's Word in Edinburgh (where the pulpits had been empty since the departure of their ministers) and elsewhere, and to punish idolatry and idolators, as they should not be suffered to remain in this realm, without repentance and submission to the Church, with many other effectual parts and circumstances ; all which I omit to particularise at this time in regard that the same will be shortly brought and reported to your lordship at length by such as the King will employ and send to her Majesty with that and other errands.

On Sunday last, the 2nd hereof, the King came again to this town, where he heard the sermons before and after noon, and, after his dinner in the town and order taken to send sundry of the prisoners to his Council on the next morrow to be examined, he departed.

Yesterday, sundry barons and burgesses (esteemed to be very religious and right honest persons) were examined before the King and Council and sundry of them (namely the lairds of Braid, Halton and Duncraith [Duntreath] with Robert Hamilton) confessing their presence with the ministers in the Little Church on the day of the tumult are committed to several wards.

The King, his nobility and Council, convened here in great number, intended to have come this day to the Tolbooth in this town in like manner as was done on Saturday last and to have ordered all things with the town for the King's full satisfaction, but the extremity of the stormy tempest stayed them. It is looked that this assembly of the nobility and Council only shall confirm all the acts of Convention and Council lately passed in these controversies with the ministers ; that they shall put order to the ministers and for the pensions of recusants to subscribe to the King's absolute power in civil and criminal causes ; to summon a Parliament, to resolve for the punishment of persons guilty of the late tumult in Edinburgh and Convention of the noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers in the Little Church in Edinburgh the same day, and to take order for the " indelate " reformation of the forfeited Earls or for their banishment, with many other effects as shortly will be known.

The King and Council have taken assurance betwixt the Lord Herries with Drumlanrig and Johnstone for the quieting of the West Borders [and that] Johnstone may discharge and execute his office of wardenry.

That you may be satisfied in the form and substance of the letter [sent to] the Lord Hamilton by the three ministers and now in question amongst them for the true tenor of the same, I send enclosed the copies of the double delivered by Lord Hamilton to the King and of the original avouched by the ministers to be the true copy of their letter. Edinburgh, 4 January 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The depositions of the persons examined so disprove the practice of any sedition intended by the noblemen, barons, burgesses or ministers convened at Edinburgh on the day of the tumult as it is quietly devised that to-morrow James Dyell and William Speir, burgesses of Edinburgh and esteemed to be honest men, shall be tortured in the Tolbooth in Cannagaile [? Canongate].

3 pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

James VI.
1596-7.

The first enclosure in the foregoing letter.

(Copy of the letter from the three ministers to Lord Hamilton shown by him to the King, 18 December 1596.)

The copy is essentially the same as that given above (No. 308 (2)) and gives the names of the three signatories, viz. Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Walter Balcanquel and Mr. Robert Rollok. At foot in Roger Aston's handwriting: "This is the copy the Lord Hamilton presented to the King."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "18 Decem. 1596. Copie of a letter to the Lo: Hamylton under the hands of three of the mynisters. Presented to the King by the L. Hambleton."

The second enclosure in the same letter.

(Copy of the letter to Lord Hamilton confessed by Robert Bruce, 18 December.)

This copy agrees in the main with that given above (No. 308 (1)). It has no name of its signatory but concludes: "Your lordship's to be commanded in God. This by God's grace I will stand by," and at foot in Roger Aston's handwriting: "This copy Mr. Robert Bruce grants he sent to the Lord Hamilton. The other differs something as your Honour may perceive and yet in substance all one."

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In the same hand as the preceding copy. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "18 Decem. 1596. The copie of letter which Mr. Bruce confesseth to the L. Hambleton."

Jan. 4. **328. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Upon new and late conference with the party offering some course for Buccleuch's submission, devotion and good offices to her Majesty (as before I certified you and as by your letter you willed me further to sound this party and Buccleuch therein) it is offered by this party that Buccleuch shall render himself to her Majesty's clemency and grace, providing that the same may be done with the allowance of the King to avoid all jealousies which otherwise shall be conceived against Buccleuch; in which only respect it is affirmed that he has thus long delayed his submission. He greatly doubts the power and malice of his adversaries in England. For his safety (of life and honour) this party travailing with me seeks some promise of me, which I have not granted but left the matter to be ordered and disposed as shall be found most expedient. Wherein I pray both speedy advertisement of her Majesty's pleasure and that this offer and matter may be secret. All other effects and occurrents I refer to the view of my letter to your father. Edinburgh, 4 January 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Rec: at Whitehall the xiiijth."

Jan. 6. **329. PROCEEDINGS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.**

Abstract in
*Register of Privy
Council of Scot-
land*, v, 357, 358.

Apud Haleiroodhouse, vj^o Januarij 1596.

The King, his nobility and Council presently convened, moved with

James VI.

1596-7. the extreme indignity done to his Majesty in the seditious and treasonable uproar committed against him on 17 December last, are persuaded that the magistrates and body of Edinburgh are universally guilty of the said uproar and yet being desirous that the malice of the offenders breed no inconvenience to the well affected and obedient inhabitants of the said burgh, if any, the King gives full power and commission to the provost, bailiffs and council of the said burgh to try all persons partakers of the said uproar and insurrection, with power to follow forth the said trial by examination, warding, torture or other manner by advice of Mr. John Preston, Mr. Jo: Sharp, Mr. William Oliphant, Mr. Edward Bruce, Mr. William Hart, Mr. Henry Barfour [Balfour],* wherethrough the said trial and whole circumstances may be found out and delivered to his Majesty by 1 February next in such form as justice and execution may follow thereupon, etc.

Printed in *Acts of Parl.*, iv, 108 (7 Jan.).

Printed in *Acts of Parl.*, iv, 109 (8 Jan.).

It is ordained that letters be directed to officers of arms, sheriffs in that part, charging them to command the provost, bailiffs, council and deacons of crafts representing the whole body of the burgh of Edinburgh by open proclamation at the market cross of the same to enter their persons in ward within the burgh of Perth upon 1 February next.

The form of the proclamation follows, announcing that the lords and senators of the College of Justice, who by reason of the late uproar were discharged to sit within the burgh of Edinburgh shall convene within the burgh of Perth on 1 February.

Printed in *Acts of Parl.*, iv, 107 (6 Jan.).

The which day the King, etc., declared that his Majesty shall have power upon any necessity to command any minister to preach or desist from preaching in particular places as he shall think meet for the quiet of the country.

The which day the King, etc., has resolved for the better observation of his peace that no general or synodal assemblies or ordinary presbyteries be held within the burgh of Edinburgh in time coming but in the towns of Musselburgh, Dalkeith or any other town most "ewest" thereto.

The King, in respect of the liberty which the ministry of Edinburgh had by their habitation together within the circuit of one close and thereby at sundry times of late of making treasons and conspiracies, has resolved that in all time coming the ordinary pastors and ministers of the burgh shall be lodged within several houses within the burgh and the houses within the said close shall be possessed by his Majesty and the low Tolbooth "ewest" thereto now called the town's Council house shall be kept for the Exchequer. The provost and bailiffs are to make the said houses and Tolbooth void with all convenient expedition.

Printed in *Acts of Parl.*, iv, 106, 107 (6 Jan.).

The which day the King, his nobility and Council ratified the following Acts of Secret Council, viz.: (1) Act of 13 December ordaining all sheriffs and others who shall hear slanderous and treasonable speeches in public sermons and others to stop the same incontinently. (2) Act of 22 December at Linlithgow declaring the enterprise attempted at Edinburgh on 17 December treasonable and that all devisers and executors thereof should incur the pain of treason; with the form of confession presented

* The last three names are not in the printed Act.

James VI.

1596-7. to the pastors and ministers that the King is sovereign judge in all civil and criminal matters.

3 pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. The proceedings here recorded took place according to the Register and the printed Acts from 6 to 8 Jan.

Jan. 6. 330. [SIR ROBERT CECIL] TO ROBERT BOWES.

To so many letters as have come from you concerning both public and private I am ashamed to have no better commodity to make answer for lack of her Majesty's resolution without which in this case you know my words are nothing. But for the desperate chance of the ministers' errors I must not hide from you that I am not a little grieved in my soul in respect of the dangerous consequence, for they proceed so brainsickly as the adverse party will make their infinite advantage. And surely the circumstances of the Earls' sudden coming in after so long exile in this manner mightily concur to prove the summer support is like to be yielded them in Scotland from Spain to force the King (as honest men say) to quit religion and all amity: others that are ill disposed are as confident that nothing is done by them, but that the King is "de la partie" himself, which, although myself will never believe, yet doth it run very current, and in Brussels divers Scottish passengers are trafficking from Rome and Spain about something and nothing, and nothing else is more spoken of. For the main matter the Queen has written so prudently as I doubt not but you shall find the King well satisfied.

Her Majesty intends also as you see by her letters to send a gentleman unto him as soon as she shall know anything of his mind upon the answer of her letter from him, wherein the sooner you procure a letter the better.

I have moved the Queen also for your return and further relief while you tarry, wherein her Majesty gives gracious answers and will advise herself of some person fit to succeed you as soon as she can, seeing your indisposition of body so increases, for which I am exceeding sorry. Your poor man Nicolson I am sure is angry with me that I do not dispatch him and specially with a present. You may let the King know that the Queen takes kindly his manner of inviting her to the christening, for which upon his next writing she will send him thanks and send one to see the young princess.

At that time some present shall come. Your extraordinary rewards given at the christening shall be delivered to Nicolson according to his bill. For the rest I must refer you to such answer as my Lord has made you. I pray you certify me who were godfathers or godmothers besides the Queen, for I cannot understand the manner of it by your writing in that point. Loggy is beheaded at Middleburgh.

For Dembton's [*sic*, Denneston's] offer of service to the Queen you may entertain it well and assure that if it prove anything besides words, when he performs anything, her Majesty will acknowledge it. Other answer cannot be made till the particulars are offered. 6 Jan. 1596.

Let no man doubt but 30 sail of ships are cast away and 5000 men. The King prepares again mightily.

James VI.
1596-7.

The truce in Brittany is broken and the King sends the Constable against the D. Mercury to make war.

1 p. *Copy endorsed* : " 6 Jan. 1596. Copy of my master's letter to Mr. Bowes."

Vol. lii., p. 158.

Another copy of the foregoing letter.

1½ pp. *In the handwriting of one of Cecil's clerks.*

Jan. 8. **331. QUEEN ELIZABETH'S PASSPORT FOR THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS.**

Safe conduct for the Commissioners which the King of Scots has thought to send to treat with the Queen's Commissioners *concerning the composing and determination of various matters and disputes which have lately arisen in the Marches of their realms*, together with their servants of whatsoever condition, provided they be not rebels of the Queen nor exceed the number of [blank] persons, *during the time to be appointed by the common consent of the Commissioners of each side for their negotiations*. Provided that they conduct themselves well to the Queen and her people, attempt nothing to their contempt or prejudice, and do not enter any of the Queen's castles, fortresses or towns before showing this safe conduct to the captains or governors of the same. *Provided also that the like safe conduct is given to the Queen's Commissioners by the King of Scots*. No harm shall happen to any of the Commissioners or their company, save to any who shall infringe this safe conduct. *Undated.*

1 p. *Latin. Draft with corrections and additions (shown above in italics) in the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil. Endorsed* : " Copy of safe conduct for the K : of Scottes Commissioners."

Copy of the foregoing with the said corrections and additions. " In cujus rei testimonium præsentis literas nostras patentes fieri nostrique signi manualis et magni sigilli appositione fecimus muniri. Datum apud Westmonasterium octavo die Januarij, anno regni nostri tricesimo nono. Elizabeth. Per ipsam Reginam Carew."

1½ pp. *Endorsed.*

Jan. 10. **332. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.**

Perceiving by your two letters of 18 and 28 Dec. last it appears to her Majesty's Commissioners for the frontiers that the Queen expects the present execution of that commission according to the time set down by the King and his Council, for the accomplishment whereof the said Commissioners are already entered into their journey and will be at Berwick this day or to-morrow ; and that by express words in the commissions interchangeably granted by the Queen and the King the Commissioners have sufficient power for the safe conducts of themselves, their servants, followers, goods and chattels during the time of their "intreatye" ; I have notified all the same to the King this day, whereon his Commissioners are this day set forwards to "mele" and proceed with her Majesty's Commissioners agreeable to the order appointed, as it will be at more large

James VI.
1596-7.

made known to you (I trust) by the latter, to whose travails and approved discretions I now wholly recommend this service and matter together with the report of all their proceedings and success therein.

This late Convention assembled here is dissolved. They have confirmed sundry Acts before concluded by the King and Council. Yet, because some of them are thought to be severe against this town of Edinburgh and the ministers, it is intended that they shall be mitigated. That my advertisements to you in these behalfs may be the more perfect, I seek to gather the best notes thereof and for one day or two defer the address of my letters to you ; which delay for the cause mentioned and for my present occupation in her Majesty's service, it may please you favourably to accept and pardon me. Edinburgh, 10 January 1596.
Signed : Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk with brief notes of the contents.*

Jan. 11. **333.** ADVICES FROM EDINBURGH.

From Edinburgh 11 January 1596.

I wrote before of two things. One was of a messenger that was come here from Ireland with credence ; the which is but lately divulged. That is, if it may please the King to accept the protection of that realm favourably, there shall be a number of men of account delivered to him as pledges. This matter is not yet consulted upon either privily or openly.

The Octavians in presence of the whole nobles there assembled have resigned their offices of commission in the King's hand and it is supposed that the Earl of Montrose shall be added unto them by a new commission to make out a novemvirate.

There be privy and sharp admonitions sent to the Catholic lords to be quiet and secret and they have returned answer back that they shall do so. There is something supposed to be done for them but the manner is not yet well devised, for the King by himself says plainly that he fears the Queen of England's wrath in that matter.

I assure your lordship that B[uccleuch] is of his old opinion of malice towards your Honour and that country both openly and privily, and as concerning the great errand I have dealt with himself at this Convention by all means possible to know your desire. This far only have I obtained of him that he confesses to have dealt with the Graymes for the performance of that turn. Otherways he could neither have surely entered England and far less have made such a peaceable retreat in daylight as he did, if he had not obtained their favour and tolerance. But when I craved with all subtilty of this man and that man he desired me to cease for he would name no man except a knave as he called him, Georgeis Sande and the chief Scottish man was "Aibbeis" Sande. Georgeis Sande is a chief Grame and Tho: Carlton's brother-in-law.

Because the Commissioners for both countries are deputed to begin the 12th instant, there is a special caveat for B[uccleuch], that all 3 of our side shall reason for his favour either against the Queen's complaint or your lordship and unless it may be passed over by all their consents as a thing indifferent to refer the matter to a new meeting, which will scarcely

James VI.

1596-7. fall out once in 20 years. He is now in very good countenance at Court both by King and Queen, so that I find he shall not be changed unless Bothwell return to whom that office does hereditably appertain. I find in like manner that no man may presume to be "petiter" in that cause or, if any man were established in deed, the other would account of it as a derogation to his honour and make an impediment to his passage. And further I find that office to be unchangeable as the rest of the offices are changeable, because he holds it after that same form that Bothwell held it and cannot be deprived without committing such a fault as Bothwell has done. There is some privy word come here to Court yesterday alleging that the Queen of England has sent for Bothwell.

Johnstone came here for no other intention than I have afore said for all the time of his being here. The King commanded alternations, whiles the Lord Herreis and whiles him to remain in their lodgings, so that they were not both at Court at a time and how soon the Lord Hamilton came with his forces neither Johnstone nor any of his men durst come to the streets saving only in the night, and therefore he "stall" his way the 6th instant in the high mid time of the Council when all men were at the King's palace. Such is the great reputation and credence that my Lord Hamilton has now obtained for the King calls him no other word but father and commands him to hold on his hat at all times in his presence unless his Majesty use any speeches to him.

Item, [it] is further decreed in Council yesterday that the Lords of Session, clerks, clients and all such [be] removed to Linlithgow, there to sit and begin the first day of the next month and in the mean time that publication hereof be made through all the realm with possible diligence. Item, that from this day forth no synodal assembly shall hold in Edinburgh but only in Musselburgh for eschewing of tumults that hereafter may arise by their procurement.

Item, that the provost and council of Edinburgh with certain other commissioners appointed to assist them shall be holden to take a general research of all the inhabitants of the town to know who is culpable and who other ways, with power to torment them and to use all other ordinary and extraordinary means for cognition of the truth. Whereby it is constantly known that the King and the Council's malice are heavily bent against this town. God amend it!

It is plainly spoken and known by the Lord Herreis's men that there is privy intelligence betwixt him and Johnstone and I have spoken myself with some of Johnstone's chief band, who also confess the same; and that is in so far as my Lord knows or can know what the Maxwells devise against him. This is so far proceeded in suspicion betwixt my Lord and the special friends of the Maxwells that they bear him no further company. He therefore has transferred the Lord Maxwell and his young brother in the Lord Hamilton's hands, who as I am privily informed this 11th instant at even by one of that Lord's chief counsellors will deliver them both to the King by the hand to be servants to his Majesty and to his young son howsoon the King shall repair to Linlithgow, and it may be, says he, that the Lord Johnstone shall thereafter soon be called to account of all his miseries by my Lord Hamilton's procurement. The special friend that Johnstone has at Court is Carmichael with the King and his son Sir Hugh

James VI.

1596-7. with the Queen. The other party lays count of none but of their good cause.

This day there is a commission directed from Court to the ministry of Aberdeen and their brethren to receive such offers as Huntly makes or shall make unto them, to confer with him in matters of faith and religion, to admit what they there think good and reasonable unto him according to discretion, and to report the doubts and difficulties if any be, that the King and his Council may take order therewith as appertains. I know there is a subtle Jesuit with him presently who shall have licence by the King's oversight privily to reason somewhat for my Lord in the habit of a gentleman. What follows thereupon, as in all other matters, your Honour shall be advertised with all speed I can.

I fear the appearance of some other alteration before the bearer can return. Therefore let him not be so slow as heretofore that every advertisement may come in the [*sic*] own season.

3 pp. *In a Scottish handwriting. Endorsed:* "xj Jan. 1596. Advises from Edenborough."

Jan. 13. **334. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

The King by long oration (as I am credibly informed) opened unto the nobility, Council and some barons lately convened here sundry causes moving him to call them and to seek their advices and assistances, especially that timely order might be taken with the Papist Earls returned without his privy or licence; that the declamations of the ministers in pulpits against himself, his government and Council might be restrained; that this Convention might know what has proceeded in the summons and process against Mr. David Black and in the declinator exhibited by him and other ministers procuring many of their fellows to subscribe to that declination from the King's authority and judgment, which he uttered at great length and with great sharpness towards the ministers; that the late tumult in Edinburgh followed, whereby his honour was so touched as he thought it meet to take their counsels and aids as well in the reparation of his honour as also for the quieting of the state troubled by the ministers and their adherents, and for the surety of his councillors in their residence in Edinburgh what form of trial and punishment of the offenders in this tumult shall be resolved and set down; and how far the offers made by Edinburgh in pacification of that seditious fact shall be embraced or enlarged. For the King deems the whole body of this town of Edinburgh to be guilty of this treason or of concealment thereof, in regard that Mr. Robert Bruce in presence of the Council of the town declared that the religion was in hazard and that the Lord Hume and young Cessford with some others had said that they would burn the town, which the Council did not discover and after let Mr. James Balfour escape out of their hands.

The summons of the Parliament is (as I hear) passed over in silence for sundry respects, namely that, in the present malcontentment so much occupying the minds of many, it is not meet to assemble so great a multitude diversely disposed.

At the assembly of this Convention the Countess of Huntly (in name of her husband) exhibited her bill declaring that the Earl had offered to

James VI.

1596-7.

the presbyteries and ministers of Aberdeen and Elgin his submission in all humble wise for contentment of the Church. But they answered that by the Commissioners of the Church for the time they were discharged to hear or accept any of his offers without the assent of the General Assembly of the Church, who had excommunicated him. Whereupon it is ordered that a charge upon pain of horning shall be directed to the Kirk and presbyteries in the North to hear and consult of Huntly's offers and, if the offers shall accord with the laws of God and this realm, then to receive him and them and relax him from the excommunication, or otherwise to appear before the King and Council within 15 days next after the charge to show sufficient cause to the contrary. It is looked that soon after the Court and Session shall be settled at St. Johnston that Huntly shall be a great courtier. In the mean time the Countess has obtained the King's grant for the assignation of the earldom and the lands to be conveyed to his eldest son. Angus and Errol have hitherto deferred their offers and suits attending to see Huntly enter the gap and hoping to get like grace.

The Lord Sanquhar at point of excommunication for papistry made suit to the Convention for respect for some time ; whereupon Sir Robert Melvill was sent to the presbyteries here with the King's letter to procure him respect for a month, that in that time he might satisfy the Church or else depart out of this realm. By the same letter the process of excommunication against the Lady Huntly (as I hear) are [*sic*] stayed.

The young laird of Bonyton excommunicated and at horn for papistry prayed by bill to the Convention to be released of the horning, which was denied. Yet licence was granted to the presbyteries to hear and receive his offers for satisfaction of the Church.

To restrain the declamations of ministers in pulpits and of all others in speaking against the King, his government and Council, an especial proclamation is published in Edinburgh upon pain of treason in the persons offending, and with charge to all sheriffs, provosts, officers and other subjects (hearing such declamations and speeches) to apprehend and bring in the parties guilty. Yet the ministers cease not to take liberty in their sermons to inveigh against these present proceedings in regard they think thereby the religion and person of the King shall be endangered, or else that the Spanish course shall be advanced. By another proclamation it is commanded that none shall intercommune with any of the fugitive ministers or burgesses and that their goods shall be brought into the Exchequer. The houses in Edinburgh appointed for their ministers are ordained to be seized and employed for the King's use. Seton (as is said) persuaded these houses to be burnt. Some others wished a pillar to be erected in the churchyard in testimony of treasons committed by the ministers, which treasons the ministers utterly deny. Yet by Act of Council they are condemned. Further it is enacted that no General or Synodal Assembly of the Church shall be kept in Edinburgh from henceforth but in other fit places adjoining, and that the pensions of the 24 ministers first subscribing the declinator of Mr. Black shall be stayed.

The Act before concluded against the declinator of Mr. David Black is confirmed by this Convention. For the establishment of good order in the Church and State a Convention of the Estates and the General Assembly of the Church shall be assembled at St. Andrews on the last of February

James VI.

1596-7. next. Besides 26 ministers of especial quality and several counties are called to be presently here to inform of papists lurking in this realm and to give their advice for banishment of papists and papistry and for the advancement of true religion.

The late Convention of the noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers in the Little Church in Edinburgh on 17 December last and the tumult in the street the same day is confirmed to be treason. These matters have been diligently examined. And now the provost, bailiffs and head officers in Edinburgh have commission by Act of Convention to examine and find out the authors and secrets in these facts by torture, ward, oath and all other means seen convenient to them ; and to report to the King and Council before 1 February next their diligence therein. In which, if they shall be found negligent, the King and Council will charge the whole burgh with this offence and put them to their trial. And for their farther terror it is enacted that the Court and Session shall be removed and planted at St. Johnston ; which resolution may be haply changed in case this town shall sufficiently satisfy the King with payment of convenient fine. For the accomplishment whereof this town is careful and at this time greatly occupied. But it is whispered that all those treasons alleged against the ministers and against the religious noblemen, barons and burgesses shall be published in print and sent to the agents and Jesuits in Spain, Rome and elsewhere to purchase credit for the course intended to embrace the Catholic faith in Scotland and the drawing of the Court and Session to Perth increases much this jealousy. To which secrets and suspicions I dare give no further intelligences or assurances but refer the same to wise consideration and watchful eyes and ears to be in season and duly employed therein.

The Lords Lindsay and Forbes (religious and loving the amity) have been charged with treason for their presence in the Little Church on 17 December. Lindsay has made default. His friends had procured the King's goodwill for grant of his escheat to his wife and children. But the same provided to pass was stayed by the Queen's ring sent for that purpose and that the benefit of the escheat might be employed in preferment of the marriage of one of the Queen's maids. Forbes has appeared and stands to his trial. He is committed to ward in Edinburgh Castle. The Duke and Mar hope to recover shortly his liberty. Yet it is thought that he shall be tempted to agree all old feuds with Huntly.

The eight Councillors by bill offered to surrender their offices. Argyll (as I hear) said that they had taken the offices by Act registered for their lives and with ordinance that if any of them died the rest only should have power to choose a fit person to supply the place vacant. It is ordered that 13 others should be named to aid and assist them, viz. the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Crawford, Montrose and Mar, the Lords Hume, Seton, Livingstone and Ochiltree, Newbottle, Justice Clerk, Sir John Carmichael, Sir William Stewart of Traquair and Mr. George Young.

The Council (as I am informed) have sundry of the gentlemen of the King's Chamber in great jealousy and that those suspected of the said Chamber pricked the ministers and Edinburgh forwards against the President, Mr. James Elphinstone and Mr. Thomas Hamilton. For it is said that a gentleman disguised was sent to the ministers and burgesses

James VI.

1596-7.

together on 16 December last, and that this messenger (giving notice that that day charge was given to banish sundry honest and substantial burgesses otherwise than was then expected) provoked the assembled to "put at" these 3 councillors, the authors of these troubles. This matter is diversely canvassed and taken, and by some it is denied that the tumult in Edinburgh took beginning by practice in Court. But from what faction or with what cunning it is not known. This much I have heard that the King on the 16 December mentioned sent a messenger to the Clerk to frame a charge for the expulsion of the burgesses named and that day commanded to depart; that the Clerk delivered to the messenger a draft of the charge which the King subscribed, notwithstanding that it had not passed the signet or other seal in ordinary course.

The offices of the Comptroller and Collector are given to the Prior of Blantyre, Lord Treasurer, who lately was much put at (as it is said) by four of the Octavians and was ready to have left the Court.

One letter (as I am informed) was seized into the hands of the King's porter under pretence that it was both written and sent to him by Mr. John Rothe forth [Rutherford], a minister and familiar with the porter, and also that the King had employed that minister (being the accuser of Mr. David Black) to give him intelligence, wherein he had satisfied the King by his letter enclosed in his other to the porter and which he prayed to safely put into the King's hands; that the porter delivered the letter to the King and that by the same recount was made of the King's course and proceedings in these actions, the ruin of Pharaoh and other obstinate kings remembered, and warning given to the King to beware the like judgment; that some was written of the Queen; that the President had sung a mass at Rome and lost his profession; the Secretary to be a hypocrite and near to an apostate; Mr. James Elphinstone had wickedly . . . * lands and possessions running in papistry with his brother, a Jesuit, and that Mr. Thomas Hamilton had been nourished in Paris in papistry with Doctor Hamilton (one of the complices with the friar in the murder of the French King) [and] was now as cunning in treachery as the doctor.

I send enclosed the preface and articles devised by the King and Council to be proponed to the next General Assembly of the Church at St. Andrews (which shall be very speedily put in print) as also the most part of the Acts passed at this late Convention dissolved on the 8th hereof. Edinburgh, 13 January 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After the enclosing of these present I received your last of the 5th hereof, together with her Majesty's letter to the King and one of Sir Robert Cecil's to myself. At the delivery the King was abroad on hawking, purposing to return hither this night, whereupon I shall with all diligence attend and negotiate the contents in these letters and obey and follow your lordship's right wise and seasonable counsel.

5 pp. *Addressed and endorsed*.

Jan. 13. **335.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

It has been credibly informed me that Jaques Baron (presently in Holland or Zeeland) has been lately and very earnestly dealt with to pro-

* Word obscured by sealing wax.

James VI.

1596-7. vide by his means and exchange that 12,000 crowns might be speedily delivered in Scotland to such person there as should be named ; and that upon his assurance given for the delivery of this money the like sum should be immediately given to him. What is farther done herein I know not, thinking that you may readily find out Jaques Baron in the Low Countries and haply discover the bottom of this information.

It is likewise told me that Sir William Keith has solicited sundry of the chief magistrates in Venice for their especial goodwill and support to the King of Scots and in his affairs ; and that Sir William has conceived good hope of wished success herein and certified the same hither.

I send enclosed such note as lately I have received for the preparations, order and government of the naval army providing in Spain for Ireland (as it is given me to understand).

Lord Lindsay has been charged to have convened with the noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers assembled in the Little Church in Edinburgh on 17 December last (which fact by Act of Council is declared to be treason). Because he found the Court frowning on him, with the advice of his friends, whereof he has many and noble, he refused to appear according to the charge. Whereby he is put to the horn and his escheat given to the Queen, as I have certified your father. He desires to have some quiet toleration and oversight to remain some small time in convenient and quiet place in England. I trust the continued devoted and good offices of his father and himself are in memory and known to you, in which respect I the rather recommend him and his request to your favourable furtherance, beseeching you to let me know what comfort I may give him herein ; and that with the same I may likewise know how to proceed or dismiss Lord Sanquhar who frankly continues his former offers, is ready to travel into foreign parts and will be of power to perform such profitable offices as some proof haply may be thought meet to be taken herein. Edinburgh, 13 January 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—To the same effect as that in the letter to Burghley.

1 *p.* *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk with notes of the contents and* : "Rec. at Whitehall the xxth of the same" [Jan. 1596].

Jan. 16. **336. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.**

Yesterday I received her Majesty's safe conduct under the great seal for the Commissioners for Scotland. Before the receipt thereof the King's Commissioners had accepted a safe conduct granted to them by her Majesty's Commissioners in the authority and words inserted in her commission to them. Albeit that little occasion shall be now offered peradventure to use this safe conduct under the great seal, yet that it may be ready and disposed to best effects, I have sent it to her Majesty's Commissioners presently assembled with the others for Scotland at Berwick. Of all which I have acquainted the King who affirmed that his Commissioners have the like safe conduct under his great seal to be delivered to the Queen's Commissioners upon demand. The Secretary remembered not that such a safe conduct had passed the seals here. Always the King thinks it not greatly needful to interchange the safe conducts. The farther advertisements of the proceedings of these Commissioners at length con-

James VI.

1596-7. vened together and entered into their treaties, as also of all other Border causes, I wholly recommend to the report and travail of her Majesty's Commissioners embarked in this service.

Her Majesty's letter addressed to the King and fraught with princely wisdom and your lordship's letter to myself and full of wise advice have been delivered to me in good season. By the first I have been enabled to enter into fit course and negotiate with the King matters promising the appeasing or mitigating the rage of the present storms here. Of the delivery of this letter to the King and of my proceeding and success in the same I have advertised Sir Robert Cecil by my letter with these presents, leaving the farther declaration of the King's own answer and mind to the view of his own letter promised to be sent to her Majesty with expedition. By the second and with your good advice I have entered with sundry of the wise and well affected ministers called hither by the King's letter and exhorted them calmly to temper their courses for the quiet end of these broken causes controverted in church and state at this time. Whereunto I found them well inclined, yet others great in Court follow the coals as I dare not promise sudden quenching of this fire. For the execution whereof and to effect your sound advice I shall omit no labour and diligence.

The ministers called by the King's letters convened together in Edinburgh with the King's licence. Whereupon the moderator of the General Assembly with another minister came unto and persuaded them to beware what they shall do in the affairs of the Church. Therewith the moderator protested that their proceedings without commission from the General Assembly should not bind nor prejudice the General Assembly. By this these ministers have been the more precise in their answers to the King and Council, who have required their opinions in sundry causes, especially in these four propositions following.

First, what they thought of the articles set forth by the King and Council, now put in print and which I have sent before to you. Whereunto the ministers praying that their answers might be received as from *cives patriæ* and not by commissioners for the Kirk answered that those questions might most conveniently be examined and resolved by the next General Assembly of the Church (now appointed to be convened at St. Johnston's the last of February next). Nevertheless they were sorry that in a reformed church and after so long continuance thereof so many childish questions should thrust in these articles and such as had been before determined. Secondly, being urged to allow of the band for the King's authority, they prayed the King not to press them with the band or form of confession of his power and judicatory in causes now in question, but that he would favourably consider the reasons set down in writing and exhibited in that part (the copies whereof I send enclosed) and refer that matter to the next General Assembly. Thirdly, that they would be means that the churches and pulpits now void in Edinburgh might be furnished with fit and sufficient ministers and preachers; wherein they affirmed to have no power to place or displace any minister, and therefore left the churches in Edinburgh to be supplied by the presbyteries thereof, who they trusted would be careful to provide for the same. Lastly, was demanded what griefs they had and what informations of disorders they would present to the King and Council; and at the next meeting of the General

James VI.

1596-7.

Assembly perfect and good informations of all disorders known to be in this Church and presentable to them shall be presented agreeable to the ordinary course used in that behalf, that reformation may be provided by the King and Assembly as appertains. They pray that in the meantime the Acts and proclamations lately made in the prejudice of the liberty of the Kirk might be rescinded. Thus in the end all these things were referred to the next General Assembly.

According to the Act of Council the ministers' houses in Edinburgh are seized for the King and the wives and children put out. Whereupon the Queen offered the wives to be mean to restore them to their houses. But before the offer the wives had dispersed their children, broken their families and disposed themselves and stuff, as without great charge they could not remove. And now the town of Edinburgh pretending title to these houses makes suit to the town [*sic*, ? King] for the same. The King has been favourable in the grant of the ministers' escheats to their wives' use. He pretends to mislike much of the proclamation published for putting the ministers to the horn.

Since the Prior of Blantyre accepted the 3 offices of Treasurer, Comptroller and Collector and the expectation of the other Octavians is defeated in the distribution of those offices and of the Chancellor amongst themselves and friends, this course against the ministers and Edinburgh is much calmed and it is looked that Blantyre shall work many good effects and pacify the divisions reigning.

Huntly has had sundry conferences with the ministers in the north. He acknowledges to have been greatly abused by his uncle, Mr. James Gordon, MacQuhirrie (Mackquherry) and others in Scotland and abroad ; that the King of Spain seeks not the advancement of the Catholic religion but conquest of dominions and kingdoms to himself, as to the Pope and all other Catholics it is known. He offers to make amends and to give all contentment to the Church, protesting that from henceforth he will be a true Scottishman in religion, life and heart. It is thought that he shall be received to grace and soon after to favour in Court. Whereupon great troubles shall be raised betwixt Argyll and him for revenge of the murder of the Earl of [Moray]*, whereby the whole (or most part) realm shall be stirred and . . . * parties in this cause. Edinburgh, 16 January 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

2 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Addressed and endorsed.*

Jan. 16. 337. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Your letter of the 6th hereof together with her Majesty's letter enclosed therein and addressed to the King of Scots I have received. Yesterday I delivered her Majesty's letter to the King, who perusing the same highly commended the deep wisdom and good counsel contained therein, binding him (he said) to be thankful and to follow that grave advice given for his welfare ; which course he had before determined to have practised. He agreed readily and promised to write and return answer to her Majesty very speedily, which he will send with his own servant for whose expedition he has given order to his Secretary to put all

* The letter is partly torn away here by sealing wax.

James VI.

1596-7. things in readiness to be carried by that messenger for her Majesty's information and satisfaction in all the effects lately entertained in this state. He purposes to write with his own hand. Having prepared to expend some 7 or 8 days in hawking for his recreation (whereunto he is this day entered), yet he intends to return within 3 days or thereabouts and thereon to hasten the address of his messenger to her Majesty.

By the good warrant and grounds in her letter to him I took occasion to make some mention of this late and rash error committed against him in Edinburgh, as also of other offences done at home by the forfeited Earls and abroad by practising spirits pretending to be authorised by him in their negotiations with the King of Spain and the Pope ; commending to his good consideration the conditions of the persons offending and the qualities of their crimes, I wished that the severity in punishment should not be inflicted in the better sort and spared in the worse, neither that the course of the execution of punishment should hurt himself or blemish his honour by confirmation of opinions conceived of the complots laid and in practice for alteration or toleration of religion in this realm. I concluded that very fair occasion was offered to him to declare himself resolution and action in these cases worthy to be accounted a prince of religion, wisdom and justice, discerning the difference betwixt crimes perpetrated with intention and malice and for wicked ends and errors escaped by accidents and rashness and attempted for the best causes of religion and for his own prosperity. He seemed to allow well of my advice, affirming in few words that they concurred with her Majesty's most discreet and kind counsel to him and that he would guide his course to accord with the same. Yet after my departure he noted (as I am informed) that my comment upon the text of her Majesty's letter was gathered and uttered boldly and with some sharpness. His farther mind in the same and in the contents of her Majesty's letter I commend wholly to the view of his letter to be sent and to the report of the messenger to be employed to her Majesty.

By my last before these I certified that Jaques Baron in the Low Countries had been dealt with by an Italian for delivery of 12,000 crowns in Scotland by exchange. Since the address of that I understand that Jaques Baron is come and has remained in Scotland a good while. It is credibly confirmed that the Italian thus dealt with and tempted him. Whereupon he and his friends had provided to have delivered 8000 crowns in Scotland upon the exchange. But the Italian not willing to break the delivery of the full sum said that he would send by other means the whole sum into Scotland, and herewith I am further informed that 50,000 crowns are designed and appointed to be sent for the King of Spain into Scotland ; that the address and convoy of the same shall be made from Calais and Dantzic (Dansick) or other parts in the towns on the East Sea.

I have acquainted Mr. Robert Deniston, Conservator for the Scottish nation in Holland and Zeeland, with the good acceptance of the offer of his devotion and good offices to her Majesty, wherewith he is greatly comforted and pleased promising good accomplishment thereof. He seems very willing and I think he shall be able to profit her Majesty's services in this and other realms, as he will make manifest to yourself, if he may be licensed to pass through England to you and be honoured to kiss her

James VI.

1596-7. Majesty's hand. I have thought it meet that the intelligences may be entertained and carried betwixt you and him. Therefore it may please you to acquaint me with your pleasure herein.

It may please you to hasten the return of George Nicolson to me to give some help and supply in my present weakness and infirmities for her Majesty's services in my charge in this place. Edinburgh, 16 January 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$1\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk with notes of the contents and*: "Rec. at the Strand the 25 of the same" [Jan. 1596].

Jan. 17. 338. LORD EURE TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 245.

. . . understanding . . . [pr]esence is greatly desired for furtherance of . . . sent service by yourself and the rest of your asso[ciates] . . . (though no time be limited by you) I intend to come on Wednes[day] . . . at night to Chillingham and on Thursday to Berwick. Whereof I thought good to advertise you to the end your letters (if about that time you write any) may be sent thither and if in the meantime you write unto me of any means whereby this service may be furthered I will be ready to do whatsoever you shall enjoin me therein. I pray you to signify so much both to my Lord of Durham and the rest of the Commissioners. Hexham, this 17th of January, '96. *Signed*: Ra. Eure.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Damaged by fire.*

Jan. 18. 339. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 241.

[The occasion of this division fallen between the King with his Council against the ministers and town of Edinburgh and the storms ensuing thereon have barred my coming to you at Berwick as I] was in hope to have obtained. I look [for some qu]alified personage to be shortly sent hither to compound [these grie]fs and which thereon I shall either purchase my liberty [and dis]charge in this service or at least licence to come unto [and] remain at my house for some convenient time to dispose [and] put in better order my broken estate and causes before the end [of] my days, which in the present infirmities and weakness oppressing me and my worn body cannot be long deferred. My desire is great to see you and my good lady your wife according to my duty especially devoted and with best expedition I can, and to attain to the same I shall omit no occasion or opportunity.

The troublesome estate of the Church here and the ministers thereof and the unquiet condition and present occurrents in the realm shall be signified to you by this bearer my servant acquainted therewith, to whom I pray you give credit as well in these as in some other particularities committed to his relation to you. Wishing you good and prosperous success in the execution of your great and present affairs for the Borders. Edinburgh, 18 January 1596. Your very loving uncle, Robert Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Copy damaged by fire, the portions above in brackets being supplied from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 306.*

James VI.

1596-7. **340.** THE ENGLISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Jan. 19.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 234.Copy of the original letter calendared in *Border Papers*, ii, No. 476.3½ pp. *Partly damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 288 seq.*Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 265.

Another copy of the same letter.

3 pp. *Partly damaged by fire.*[Jan. 19.] **341.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 271.Briefsummary of
original in *Border
Papers*, ii, No.
477.

[By commandment of her Majesty's Commissioners and instructions we have met with the Scottish Commissioners at the Bound road, where interchangeably perusing commissions and finding them of one tenor in all material points we agreed the place of sitting to be at Berwick. They challenged their beginning to be at the church of Fowlden which we would not agree to yet admitted] their protestation not to prejudice their privilege thereby [as] their better proof may make it good hereafter. At our first session it was mutually concluded that by letters to the wardens and proclamations commandment should be given to desist from all attempts under pain of severest punishment. Then entering into the consideration of the substance of our commissions, expressing as the first subject thereof the reformations of invasions, murders, robberies and thefts, it was found reasonable on both sides that our entry should be at the greatest crimes and such as were of more dangerous example, namely those which have been committed since the proclamation of both the princes in August last. Agreeable to which order our first inquisition was to be of invasion, which word being defined and limited by assent of both to be the entry of a public person without leave executing acts of hostility, etc., we gave for instance the act of Sir Robert Carr, warden of the Middle March for Scotland, entering with near 100 armed men and assaulting the castle of Swinburne. He entered by force, took Roger Woodrington the principal man in the house prisoner, blew his trumpet in the top of the said castle and has since carried Woodrington prisoner to Edinburgh to the General Convention and not satisfied the demand made in her Majesty's name by Lord Eure her warden for redelivery of him. Hereunto it was answered by the opposite Commissioners that they might not in duty admit us the priority of alleging first, but that it should be determined (according to the old custom) by lot who should begin; also that we should complain by bill to receive redress by the ordinary course of March justice in the due time and place requisite for this complaint. We, insisting upon our "privitie" with the direct words of our instructions that we should first receive satisfaction for this fact of Sir Robert Carr and so proceed to other things, summarily replied thus: that both our commissions charged us to inquire and reform invasion; that our former mutual assent had concluded us to begin there, as it being the greatest; that they had none of equal nature to charge us withal whereupon to ground comparison or question of precedence; that only the person of the Queen could be touched with the act of invasion, whose redress could not be by ordinary justice but by this extraordinary commission; that the dignity of the wronged

James VI.

1596-7.

admitted not a complaining bill but a direct charge, a lawful proof and a just delivery of the person offending, their commission directly so authorising them and the King binding himself expressly by his word to ratify that their act under his great seal. [The opposites persisting in the course formerly mentioned can be drawn no further than to give under their hands that they shall arrest Sir Robert Carr as appears by the copy of their answer in our general letter*], which notwithstanding as appears by straiter inquisition into their purpose they interpret thus, that his appearance shall be by himself or by attorney and that this trial shall be [only in the usual manner specified in March matters, their instructions restricting them to the ordinary course and expressly reserving the delivery for the greatest attemptats to the King, I learnt that the] opposite Commissioners stand [well affected to concur with us in due execution] of justice, if the King's new direction [by them now demanded] shall enlarge their power thereunto. [In the meantime] they receive advertisement out of Scotland [and we desire to be further] directed in knowledge of her Majesty's pleasure upon [what to] insist for her satisfaction in the act [of the said Sir Robert Carr] and how far to proceed or desist upon their refer . . . the parties, prepared our bills, conferred of the . . . site Commissioners in towardness of further proceedings . . . employ our time in understanding the decays and . . . tions in this county of Northumberland.

1½ pp. Copy unsigned. Partly damaged by fire. The damaged passages have been supplied where possible from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 323, which does not, however, always follow the original very closely.

[1596-7

Jan. 19.]

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 252.

342. [SIR WILLIAM BOWES] TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

[By our general letters it may appear to your Honour and the rest of the Lords what entry was] made into [our commission for] the Borders. May it please your Honour [to accept] this as a testimony of my zeal to her Majesty's [service an]d duty to you, if peradventure it may give some light to [the] proceeding in this negotiation. Former experience of the evasions practised by our opposites in sundry commissions of like nature to this manifesting that their drawing all attemptats under the ordinary trial of the Borders by avowry, all hostilities and murders and many of the greatest "herriships" to the great detriment of the realm have been left unredressed, reason and necessity have pressed us to insist upon this distinction of such crimes as are expressly mentioned in our commission, namely that, albeit all offences concern the princes by way of royal protection to their subjects to procure remedy in general, yet in special some are of more private nature as being pecuniary are redressable by way of bill and complaint to and by the wardens as ordinary officers placed to that end. Another sort of these trespasses are of a higher quality touching the dignity and honour of the prince, as when a warden, being a public person, furnished with the high authority of his sovereign, shall with armed

Brief summary of
original in *Border
Papers*, ii, No.
478.

* This passage now entirely missing in the original letter was probably in the margin which has been destroyed by fire and its insertion here is no doubt indicated by the caret which here appears in the text.

James VI.

1596-7.

forces without leave enter the realm, take a piece of strength and under guard and therein forcibly take prisoners and detain them, notwithstanding demand of release made by the warden injured in the name of his sovereign, which may justly be termed hostility and invasion. A lower degree, yet accustomedly reserved to the princes, is of murders, who only may order their own satisfaction for the blood and loss of their subjects, these being appurtenant properly to the person of the prince addressing his grievances not to any minister but to the prince opposite, and that not by ordinary means but by extraordinary commission. It beseems not the Commissioners in this case to proceed by bill of complaint (the case standing betwixt prince and prince) but by allegation of the truth of the fact, charging the particular party, triable by the law of nations and by the equity of the leagues and treaties standing still in force. The same accordingly is to be answered by the opposite Commissioners in the person of their prince without insisting upon avowry, since allegiance admits not, reason cannot require a vassal to avow [against his sovereign. Upon this reason we have grounded our allegations upon her Majesty's behalf, charging Sir Robert Ker (according to the circumstances above mentioned) with hostility and invasion demanding] redress at their hands as [sufficiently authorised by their commission in] express words to redress invasion [and the King bound by his hand] and seal in the word of a prince to ratify [their so doing. Hereunto] such weak answer as for the time they [have made is delivered] in our general letters, wherein the especial matter [hitherto pretended is] that they may not so much prejudice their n[ation by intermitting] the accustomed casting of lots who should beg[in as to admit us] to propound first. Which nevertheless under pro[testation of the impor]tance of the cause, as being no complaint [and they having none] to equal it, besides the greatness of the co[ntempt to their] own King as done since his proclamation, b[ut indeed we being] so directed by her Majesty's instructions have [hitherto presumed the] precedency to propound it first. Touching [the continuance] of this strict course for demand of justice alre[ady begun I] think it my part to give knowledge that be[sides it may be more] honourable for her Majesty to have them in her [mercy to be shown] at a fitter time hereafter, the miserable estate [of this country in] my conceit will admit no easier proceeding, [the continual spoil] and murders have so wasted it and wrought such [malcontentment and] dejection of mind both in the gentlemen and those [of the meaner sorts] as without present stay given to these flowing [mischiefs large] expense both of time and money and blood will be [requisite to] repair them, some more particulars whereof I [have before] touched in my letters the last month to my most [noble Lord your father], as also to him by my letters accounting for my [employment] here the last year, and shall be more at large [certified to your] Honour at such time as the wardens and other [plaintiffs shall] have given us more direct and better digested in[formation]. For conclusion, experience has grounded me [in this conceit] that except her Majesty's justice and strength [by the courage,] diligence and wisdom of her wardens do [govern these] Borders on both sides, peace and happiness [can be expected] of neither; as well because of disproportion in [the opposite governors] in general, as also by reason that the disp[osition of the evil] firebrands of these enormities of the Borde[rs, Cessford and] Buccleuch is such as finding

James VI.

1596-7. themselves ch[erished by the King] for the activity of their persons and force of [their followers] increase their strength, ground their [advancement by the assurances of the greatest surnames, who, if they shall be by this course agreeable to justice for their manifold offences and] horrible murders delivered to the Queen [(which I expect not)] or detained by the King in prison until her [Majesty's] acknowledgment of satisfaction (than which he can do no less) . . . hereunto that the most notorious murderers and spoilers . . . such as have faulted more than thrice since the last treaty may not be passed over (as in former commissions of dangerous example) . . . delivered on either side to the princes, and then the principals of the clans by our wardens kept in prison, I see no other course (provided that our distractions at home be reformed) to apply any remedy to the miserable calamities of this poor distressed country.

2½ pp. Copy. Damaged by fire, the missing portions where possible being supplied above in brackets from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 310 seqq.

Jan. 20. 343. LORD BURGHLEY'S QUESTIONS.

To be answered how to understand these terms following :—

The pastor and flock.

The Session that judgeth the pastor.

Moderator of the Session.

Elders and deacons.

Presbyteries of what persons are they compounded and what is their jurisdiction.

The synodal of what persons ; of what jurisdiction.

Who have power to excommunicate.

½ p. In Burghley's handwriting. Endorsed in a clerk's hand : " 20 Jan. 1596. Certain questions to be answered."

Jan. 23. 344. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

There is come hither a gentleman named Mr. Alexander Boyde, who departed from hence into France with the Earl of Cassilis. He is now to repair into Scotland for some affairs of the said Earl, his master, and for the more quick dispatch thereof craves a passport. This request and also himself I have taken the boldness by these few lines to recommend to you. This 23rd January 1596. Signed : A. Douglas.

½ p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.

Jan. 24. 345. GEORGE NICOLSON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

I have remembered of a Scots gentleman here that can better sa[tisfy]* your lordship in the questions you demanded of me than I could, whereof I have thought it my [duty]* to advertise you that if so you please and appoint I may bring him to you.

Yesterday hearing that some Irish captains were called on about

* The corner of the letter has been torn off.

James VI.

1596-7.

Irish causes and this night in my bed remembering the same I began to think with my small capacity of the state of the services of Ireland in sort as now this morning in haste I have set down in the enclosed, which I make bold to commend to your lordship's view, beseeching pardon for whatever shall be amiss therein as done more of my zeal than skill, being no learned captain but a mean soldier, yet willing in this service to venture my life in Ireland with the Scots, without which kind of service I dare not say but fear as experience has already showed that those troubles will still have too long [to] last.

Where I understand by Mr. Layton of Sepa's solicitor that he will call on and render in the Star Chamber and the Exchequer the matter in controversy betwixt John Layton and me (for my master) anent East Layton, I beseech you to give order that nothing be done therein to my master's prejudice, he being in her Majesty's services out of the realm and none here instructed for him in this matter; lest otherwise for his service he sustain disadvantage and Mr. Layton for no service at all get advantage in that cause. This day the term begins and they will miss no opportunity.

For my poor suit referred by her Majesty to her conference with your lordship I beseech you remember and advance it that I may thereby have something for my relief in my age to comfort me in my long services. This 24 of January 1596. *Signed*: George Nicolson.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk*: "26 [sic] Jan. 1596. George Nicolson to my L."

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Nicolson's opinion for the prosecution of the Irish rebels by Scots.)

A discovery of the advantages the Irish rebels in the North have against the English. An overture to encounter them in the same, with answers to some objections to be made against this overture.

It is to be noted and held for a truth and woeful experience has taught that the English (how good soldiers soever) are not able to endure the hardness that the Irish of those parts live in, but by cold and hard diet more by thousands have died than by the hand of the rebel.

It is also certain that the bogs, mosses and woods (which are in those parts huge and many) are strength and sanctuaries for the Irish and their relief at all occasions against the English and the Englishmen's impediment against the Irish.

Likewise it holds in general that the Irish being better footmen than the English come and go to and from the English at their pleasure and advantages, thereby annoying the English and flying their own harms.

Lastly, that rebels have the hearts and love of the country who are in hope by the rebels' means now shortly to be freed from the English government.

In these the Irish have such odds in their service as, albeit the English be better and valianter soldiers than they, for a day's service of battle, skirmish or combat coming fresh to the service, yet through cold, evil fare, unacquaintance for enabling to enter the bogs and woods, want of footmanship either to pursue or fly the Irish as should be for their advantages (to all which the ablest English are subject through sicknesses com-

James VI.

1596-7.

monly taking them after small time there) and want of the love and hearts of the country, the English have but a hard and "unindifferent" service against the rebels and cannot utterly well subdue them of themselves, Tyrone being so great and a "pollitiker" rebel than ever her Majesty had there or elsewhere.

By men of like kind and bringing up in cold and hard diet the rebels may best be encountered and overthrown in their advantages aforesaid. The English Irish being of like kind, etc., but in kindness "na" in band and of one mind with the rebels will not do much faithful service against the rebels. And many mercenary soldiers living by their pay will no more hasten the end of the war than the want of their entertainments which continue no longer than their service. Therefore these Irish and such English (if any be) will hardly subdue the rebellion in short time.

But the Scottish Irish are of like kind and bringing up in hardness, etc., and the worthiest of them in no kindness, band or mind but in deadly feud with Tyrone and in such friendship with some in that rebellion as, being employed in service against Tyrone, would not only by their forces, with the assistance of some of her Majesty's, faithfully and ably in the rebels' own advantages serve her Majesty in regard of her pay and especially of their hatred to and to be revenged on Tyrone, but also upon their landing in Ireland draw their friends from Tyrone and so weaken him as he shall be soon overthrown; and thereby the Spaniards afraid of coming thither, who will not venture to land but under the protection of some party to receive them in arms; and the Irish seeing her Majesty to have the services of the Scots who were wont to be their aid and refuge (as yet some of them are) will be ever hereafter afraid to rebel or offend again. By which her Majesty shall have the honour and victory with great profit hereafter and that in short time by this means of "backsett and foresett" of the rebels and drawing their friends from them.

If her Majesty like this course the King of Scotland must be moved herein and no doubt will willingly agree thereunto. For his Majesty ever seemed to me more than two years ago and divers times since at my dealings with him to be most willing to pleasure her Majesty against these rebels and every way else. Thereon the Earl of Argyll and MacLean may be dealt with for forces and MacLean drawn to go in person to lead and govern the Scottish forces, which he can do most gallantly and will do faithfully, and agreements must be made in these behalfs. All which my master or such other as shall be thought meet may do, or I bring up meet men to be agreed with herein, as her Majesty shall best please.

If these objections be made :

That the Scots may by offer of service get or seek pay but not serve and so deceive her Majesty.

That if they beat out the rebels they may then seek to hold the country for themselves and be harder to subdue than the rebels now.

They are thus answered :

A month's pay may only be delivered still aforehand or less as can be agreed and pledges may be taken for surety also of the service.

Houses and strengths as they shall be taken may be delivered to the English only and the hostages may also be surety herein.

James VI.
1596-7.

That coming to the field they may at some vantage join with the rebel and so overthrow the English.

The numbers of the Scottish Irish will not be so great as able to overthrow others of the English than shall go with them, yet their honesties, bonds and hostages will be assurance sufficient in this point.

If any more objections be made I shall to my capacity either answer with reason or yield to them. *Signed*: George Nicolson.

1 *p.* *Holograph. Endorsed*: "26 (*sic*) Jan. 1596. George Nicolson's opinion for the prosecution of the Irish rebels by Scots."

Jan. 24. **346.** THE ENGLISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS TO LORD BURGHELY.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 233.

Copy of the original letter calendared in *Border Papers*, ii, No. 481.

1 *p.* *Partly damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 287.*

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 263.

Probable draft of the foregoing letter.

1½ *pp.* *Partly damaged by fire.*

Jan. 24. **347.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 239.

[By letters severally addressed to me by the laird of Wedderburne and Mr. George Young] I perceive that your[self, your] gifts, courtesy and course are greatly esteemed and honoured [by them] with high commendation of the same not only to myself [but] also to other persons of quality in this realm. Their own thankfulness rightly deserves the acknowledgment of their good wills towards you and your due gratuity to be declared to them. And as I confess myself to be in their bond and "common" for many pleasures showed to me, so I beseech you by your favour to them to give me your supply and aid to yield timely testimony of my care and readiness to remember and requite their friendship to myself and friends and namely by yourself, to whom I wholly recommend them and their good affections to you and me. James Lauson, laird of Humbie, has lately and earnestly renewed his suit to me, demanding recompense for the money defrayed by his grandfather for my father's ransom. He alleges that you have affirmed that I (as executor to my father) am only chargeable and bounden to answer the debt. It is known I trust to you that albeit I was named with my brother, Sir George Bowes your father, to be executor to my father, yet I did not enter into or deal with administration of the goods or chattels or of anything other than a small portion of bedding household stuff and some little plate (in all not exceeding in value 40*l.* or thereabouts) was given unto me by your father in full satisfaction of the legacies bequeathed to me by my father and other like considerations moving him to the same. In this I rather think that Mr. Lauson is mistaken than that you would put him over to me as only chargeable in this behalf. Now, hearing that you are at Berwick and thinking the time

James VI.
1596-7.

fit to renew and prosecute this matter by the means and help of the Scottish Commissioners, he intends (as I think) both to call on you and me for satisfaction in this case and also to exhibit his bill to the Commissioners for redress therein. I wish him to be satisfied with some convenient portion and, albeit I am not advanced by lands or goods of my father further than is known to yourself, I will contribute to the charge as shall be found reasonable.

It has been conceived here and given out that you have had secret conference with the laird of Wetherburne on the sands of Berwick and it is deemed that by means and concurrence betwixt you and Wedderburne this bill and complaint against Sir Robert Carr is chiefly set forth and pressed. Hereof I [thoug]ht good to give you some taste and warning that you may [dispo]se thereof as you think best. Edinburgh, 24 January 1596. Your very loving uncle, Robert Bowes.

Signed. 1 p. Slightly damaged by fire. The portions above in brackets supplied from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 304.

Jan. 26.

348. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I moved Sir Thomas Fortescue this morning to acquaint him with such reasons as I had before informed him of were needful to occasion some delay to answer [concerning the] passport to Mr. Alexander Boyde who was minded to have ridden post to Scotland for affairs declared to his Honour. By his relation your Honour will be informed that no longer delay is needful, especially by reason that I have dealt with the party that he may now go home by journey in company of some merchants that are to return. I have thought it expedient for answer of your letters to make the same acquainted therewith and as before to pray you to let him have passport. This 26 of January. *Signed: A. Douglas.*

½ p. Holograph, with address. Seal damaged. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk: "26 Jan. 1596. Mr. Arch: Douglas to my Mr. Upon this letter my Mr. granted a pasport to a gent. belonging to the Earle of Casselles called Mr. Allexr. Boyd."

Jan. 26.

349. LORD SPYNIE TO THE LAIRD OF CLUNY.

I have seen your letter directed to the Master of Orkney wherein by your oath you deny before God that ever you promised any assurance to the laird of Moncoffer and desire him in your name to make this known to his Majesty and all gentlemen. For answer by these my few lines I publish to his Majesty and all the world that in this thy purgation thou art both perjured and a manifest liar. For thou may not justly deny but of thee I had an assurance to the gentleman and certified it to him at thy desire, whereon he rested and so under trust [was] cruelly murdered; which I will defend and by God's grace make thee confess. So looking that according to thy wanton words to receive of thee some gallant answer by this bearer how, where and when this matter betwixt us may be shortly tried by arms, at the receipt whereof I promise thee on my part both honesty and secrecy.

James VI.

1596-7. From Edinburgh this 26 of January 1596. *Signed*: Alexand^r L. of Spyneye. $\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Endorsed*: "26 Jan. 1596. The Lard of Spyneye."Jan. 31. **350.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

This bearer, Mr. Roger Aston, and his faithful service to her Majesty are so fresh in your knowledge as I need not renew the memory thereof or commend him and his good deserts to your favourable respect. Nevertheless, having by his labours received continual aid in the advancement of her Majesty's services here in my charge and that his power and diligence shall still yield especial fruits to her Majesty, her servant "resiant" [resident] here or otherwise, I have thought it meet to accompany him with some sign of thankful regards towards him and also to entreat you that he, his pains, charges and hazards may be worthily regarded chiefly at this time and in the liberality of the pension intended for him, like as upon my conference with yourself in that behalf I have mentioned to him and as he will at large and for his timely relief communicate to you. All other effects in his present errands committed to him I refer to his own sufficiency and report. Edinburgh, this last of January 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Addressed*. *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Mr. Bowes to my Mr. by Mr. Rog: Aston. Rec: at Whithall the xvth of Feb."

[Jan. 31.] **351.** [SIR WILLIAM BOWES] TO [LORD BURGHLEY].Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 262.

[By my letters to Mr. Secretary herewithal sent I have advertised my concept of some principal points concerning the scope of this service, especially in murders and value of our] English losses so far. [In the] Scots losses charged upon us, as I can dir[ectly learn the particulars], I shall advertise your lordship by my next. By our general letters [your lordship will per]ceive what offers we have made unto our opposites growing from [our earnest] desire to draw them to a point to the end her Majesty might be timely [adver]tised what satisfaction to expect by this negotiation, the sum whereof [con]sists in these three heads: 1. Authority given to the Commissioners; [2] The manner of trial of actions subject to that authority; 3. The execution and bringing to effect all matters determined by that trial. In the authority may be considered, first, whereupon it grows, namely upon the open commission or prime instructions; secondly, whether the authority of both be alike large in the substantial points of the said commissions and instructions; thirdly, that the said authority may not only redress the faults present but make new laws for avoiding such general inconveniences as appear to be already grown; fourthly, what sort of faults, in what persons and from what time are to be inquired of by this authority, namely, invasions, murders, spoils, stealths expressly mentioned in the commission and comprised in these general words, manstealings, maims, fires, "baughlings," feuds, etc.; to begin, for redress of spoils, from the treaty between the princes holden at Berwick, anno 1587, unto the breaking up of these commissions; for murders, to begin where the princes shall like best of such as have yet

James VI.

1596-7. received no justice. In our opposites' authority I have hitherto observed that their instructions have restrained their commission by reserving delivery to the King, for enlarging whereof by our pressing them to this general stipulation they did receive a new supply but by speech only. They have therefore sent again to the King to demand his pleasure therein more particularly in writing. Touching the second head, the manner of trial, albeit the qualities of the offences should put difference in the sorts thereof, as has been showed in my former letters, yet peradventure the invasions and murders will be easier to prove by the usual forms of trial than will be those of spoils and thefts, as well because the glory and vaunt of those acts have made them so notorious that a well chosen assize cannot acquit them, as also they have been more curious in bearing down trials for spoils for which they were in continual danger of delivery, rather than of murders as whereof rareness of justice has made them secure. To meet, therefore, with this mischief as circumstances will admit we have urged this course, that where the wardens are appointed as watchful keepers over their charges and cannot then but be privy to all attempts committed by any number above three, the treaties also binding them to speir, file and deliver for every seasonable complaint upon their honours, seeing the said wardens have failed of their duties herein and their defaults sufficiently known to us both, now that the honoura[ble disposition of the princes concur in one form of large authority given us by commission, it seems most agreeable to conscience, honour and reason that we, the Commissioners, supply the default] of the wardens [by calling the said wardens to a grand] assize of the most sufficie[nt bordering gentlemen of both nations] to proceed by all ordinary trials and co . . . where the wardens or the ordinary [course shall be found defective, then] to proceed *viis et modis* as may be . . . to judge the truth, so as not only the [abler persons may recover] the greater bills, reserving or rather . . . commonly appertain to the weakest, as has . . . but that the poor also may recover their wro[ngs . . .] as both our consciences to Godward, our duties to . . . do principally exact at our hands. Hereunto yet [we have recei]ved no answer. Touching the third head, the bringing to effect all matters determined by [that trial it seems] to me that these our opposite Commissioners not avai[ling their honoura]ble disposition to justice or the sufficient authority [of their commission] will yet be found too weak in that headstrong [nation to exe]cute the deliveries for invasions and murders [if her Majesty be] pleased to insist upon that satisfaction, but it [will be necess]ary that some great personage authorised from [the King generally] over all his wardens may effect such indents a[s shall be concluded] between the Commissioners. In the disposition [of the which great] personage it will be necessary to foresee that be[sides his good inclina]tion to the mutual amity between the princes [and religion and] justice between the realms that he be also f[ree as can be] from the partialities of blood or faction, which these [wardens] . . . to the support and strength of these Borders. From Berwick the l[ast of January ?] 1596.

1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Damaged by fire, no signature now showing. The names of the correspondents and the date have been taken from the transcript (not always very faithful to the original) made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 316,*

James VI.

1596-7. *from which where possible the missing portions shown above in brackets have been supplied.*

Jan. **352.** THE "BAND" REQUIRED OF THE MINISTERS AND THEIR ANSWERS TO THE SAME.

Printed in
Calderwood,
*History of the
Kirk of Scotland*,
v, 522.

Copy of the "bande" which the King desires the ministers to subscribe.

The pastors and ministers of God's Word acknowledge their duty to God and obedience to the King and confess that his grace is sovereign judge in all causes of sedition and treason and other civil and criminal matters and to all their speeches which may import the said crimes, albeit uttered publicly in pulpits or in any other place; and that the said pulpits nor no other place have that privilege or immunity to be pretence to any of them declining his Majesty's judgment, but rather their offence is the greater in case any of them commit such crimes in the said pulpits before the people, where the Word of God, His truth and salvation should be preached by them unto their flocks.

Cp. Calderwood,
op. cit., v, 522-
529.

The answer of the ministers.

The fifteen grounds for declining subscription to the "band" are in substance, though with considerable variation in the wording, those set out in the version printed by Calderwood.

These are followed as in the printed version by a paraphrase word by word of the words of the "band." This, although again differing much in the wording and usually with a fuller wealth of arguments, does not add materially to the effect of Calderwood's version. The "band" is declared to be worse than that of 1584, which bound the ministry only to ecclesiastical persons, whereas the present one draws all their doctrine under the names of civil, criminal, etc., before the civil judicatory. It is finally unnecessary and superfluous in that the ministers have already acknowledged the King's lawful authority on their admission to the ministry. It is repugnant to the Word of God and makes in effect the King spiritual head of the Kirk as temporal head of the Commonweal, confounds the two jurisdictions and submits the Word of God to the laws of men. No Christian magistrate should urge the ministry to subscribe it nor can the ministry being urged in conscience yield.

7½ pp. *Endorsed*: "Jan. 1596. The Bond required of the ministry of Scotland, with their answer thereto."

Another copy of the band, without the answer.

⅓ p.

[? 1596-7. **353.** SUBSCRIPTION OBTRUDED ON THE MINISTERS OF SCOTLAND.

Jan.]

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 214.

[Objections] against the subscription . . . obtruded unto the ministers in Scotland.

It cannot be denied but that the Almighty Lord *per quem Reges regnant* hath in His Word appointed two several and distinct sorts and kinds of governments for all kingdoms and commonweals: the one commonly

James VI.
1596-7.

called civil or temporal, the other ecclesiastical: which have in His Word their bounds and limits appointed unto them. Of both these governments the sovereign prince is to have a special care to see them duly executed in their kinds, but yet not to confound them. And likewise the subject is bound to yield unto Cæsar that which belongeth unto Cæsar, that is all due obedience and loyalty, honour, tribute and all such things as appertain unto him with conscience cheerfully, and to reserve unto God and His church such other things as by the same Word are assigned there[unto] and are not tied to the exercise and function of the civil magistrate, as namely the ministration of the Word and Sacraments, making of ministers, etc.

Heretofore the Pope challenged such a confused jurisdiction in himself alone by an unlawful usurpation of his two swords (as he termed them) and that he had *in scrinio pectoris omnia jura divina et humana*. But Christian princes have abstained from such unlawful usurpations, not for that they were lay persons as for that God (from Whom all jurisdiction floweth and Who hath appointed certain limits unto all callings) hath so distinguished the said callings and functions, as that they must be executed in such sort as in His Word He hath appointed and not otherwise.

And whatsoever may be objected or pretended to the contrary by the example of the Church of England it may be truly answered that by the injunctions of the first year of her Majesty's reign it was declared that her Majesty never meant to challenge authority and power of ministry of divine offices in the Church, and so the same was afterwards confirmed by the Statute of Anno Reg. 5^{to}.

This subscription now offered to the ministry in Scotland tendeth to another end that is a confusion and mixture of the said several jurisdictions, civil and ecclesiastical, in one as may appear by the words "In all causes of sedition and treason" and again "to all our speeches which may import, etc.," besides the words ensuing "and other civil and criminal matters" cannot be meant but indeed of civil and ecclesiastical matters. And the words "civil and criminal" now used seem as a [mask] to hide the intention of the devisers, instead of ecclesiastical. For otherwise the distinction is improperly made of civil and criminal, which do both belong unto the temporal magistrate, so far forth as for any outward action in word or deed the offender may be civilly or criminally punished by the civil magistrate for any sin committed against the Word of God and by Him subjected to the coercion of the civil magistrate.

Criminal causes may be in some sort termed criminal civil and do in that kind appertain unto the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. And the same causes may be termed criminal ecclesiastical and subject to the censure of the Church, as heresy, sorcery, perjury, adultery and such like offences appointed by God's Word to be punished in two divers sorts, both by the civil magistrate according to the civil laws according to the Lord's ordinance, and likewise by the Church by the spiritual sword of the Word of God, without any confusion of the two said distinct jurisdictions separated by God's Word and therefore not meet to be united by man.

The words also in the said subscription "All our speeches which may import the said criminal" are ambiguous and dangerous. For who shall be judge of all these causes mentioned in the said subscription, viz. of

James VI.

1596-7. sedition and treason or of all the speeches that may import the said criminal. In all the histories of the Church nothing has been more imputed unto the prophets, apostles and holy martyrs, yea and to Christ himself, than a pretence and colour of sedition and treason by them that civilly governed and oppugned the preaching of the Gospel.

As the secular judge hath [an] ordinary outward calling from [the] civil magistrate, but being in p[lace] of judicature ought to exercise the judgments of the Lord, as Jehosaphat said, so a minister having a lawful calling, being in the pulpit (that is as the Prophet speaketh) in the watch tower over our souls, hath authority from God to speak *eloquia Dei*. They be His ambassadors for the salvation of man and ought to deliver His message and not to be restrained in their charge as this subscription doth, which seemeth to pretend that the Word of God should be only preached by the minister and nothing else done. For besides preaching it is another part of the minister's office to reprove opportune and importune *non communicare peccatis alienis* as St. Paul teacheth, to admonish men of their sins lest the people of his charge dying in their sins their blood (as Ezekiel saith) may be required at [His] hands, and what prince or civil potentate can redeem the punishment of his body and soul from hell fire, which punishment he shall surely incur if he do not his duty not as man but as the Lord hath appointed.

Seeing then the Lord hath laid such a charge inevitable and indispensable upon the function of the ministry, which he must either perform or else attend the punishment, surely no civil magistrate ought to seek to abridge anything tied by the Lord to that calling and draw more unto himself than the Lord hath appointed to his office. And yet all things ought to be done with discretion and for the edifying of God's church and not to serve other turns.

As the minister ought to use his office and function with great respect and humility to his prince, so it is the part of all good princes to accept all the doing of the [ministry] in the better part and not be ca[rried] away with any surmise and affect[ion].

And howsoever things may be misconstrued and wrested by private affections to the worst sort, yet seeing that which is done by the minister may be meant well of the eternal salvation of their bodies and souls, it behoveth them to "conster" [construe] every of them in the best part. And as St. Ambrose said to Theodosius, a good and Christian emperor, *Nihil tam in imperatore est amabile, quam si libertatem dicendæ sententiæ concedat. Et hoc inter bonos et malos principes discrimen est quod boni libertatem ament, servitutem improbi.* And again *Nihil tam in sacerdote turpe est quam non dicere quod sentiat.*

And for the manner of extorting this subscription by private means against the whole and general function of all ministers, seeing the matter concerneth all the ministers of the Church of Scotland, it is not commendable to urge it apart. For the rule of law is *quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari debet*. And otherwise no private minister ought to subscribe to the prejudice not only of his own function but of a generality whereof he is a member. Neither shall a prince do well to exact such a consent or subscription of a private man that ought to be performed by a generality *conjunctim* not *divisim*.

James VI.
1596-7.

Upon such a precedent may ensue a great mischief to the whole state of the realm and subversion of all the laws both ecclesiastical and civil than is yet thought of. For as Hilary said of the subscription exacted by the Arrians in the time of Constantinus the Emperor it would come to pass in success of time that religion would be *magis temporum quam evangelii*, when as everyone would upon the first precedent encroach to do the like. So may a man conjecture of this action. For when the judgment of sedition and treason, of civil and criminal, of intended or to be intended, of the quality of the fact, whether it may be *maliciose* or no, may fall into the censure of a partial judge, what can ensue thereof but the hazard of men's lives, limbs and goods without any lawful accusation, conviction and trial of the party according to the rules of all justice and liberty of the country. Wherefore I think it may be truly said that if all the histories either of ancient or later times be perused it will never be found that such extorted subscriptions did any good but that they have done much harm. Constantius, one of the three sons of the Emperor Constantine the Great, a noble young prince being ill counselled by divers Arrians that were about him, troubled the Church in those days by obtruding new subscriptions, [as] Athanasius writeth: *Aut subscribite aut ab ecclesiis recedite: magistratibus scriptum erat et multa pecuniaria constituta, nisi quisque suæ civitatis episcopum subscribere cogeret: multi literis et blanditiis circumventi sunt, multi formidantes minas falsarum criminationum, de sententia decesserunt: multorum nomina corrogabantur, tum ad injuriam orthodoxorum, tum speciem aliquem ad dignitatis imaginem sibi consiliarent.* Sulpitius Severus sheweth what the intent and practice of those bad counsellors was. *Ex Palatio sub Imperatoris nomine epistolas mittere eo nimirum consilio ut si eas æquo animo populus epistolæ fuissent exceptæ, tum omnis invidia esset in lege.* And Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan historiographer, sayeth of the said Emperor that thereby he did *excitare dissidia plurima quæ progressa fusius aluit concertationum verborum*, which afterwards could not in many years be appeased, although Constantius Manas[ses] writeth that in his death he was [sorry] for that he had done but could not then remedy it.

Hall in his English history writeth how King Richard the Second incurred by a like means of bands the hatred of his people and at the time of his deprivation it was laid to his charge.

The Scottish King may also be put in remembrance how his father was overtaken by a subscription to certain articles, first on the Lords' side and then on the contrary side, which the Queen having gotten both copies into her hands upbraided unto him; and thereupon ensued the "abalienation" of her good will towards him and so followed his murder. His Highness can also call to remembrance what inconveniences happened in the year 1584, when some went about to advise him to trouble the Church with such another subscription as this is which is now required.

[It ca]nnot be but that it will cause [sun]dry impressions in the heads of the people of that tickle and wavering estate. It will perhaps be thought that this is but a beginning to bring in the subscription which is prescribed for ministers and graduates in the universities by the last Tridentine Council. The coming home of the popish Earls from suspected places, the protection of them against laws heretofore made not concerning themselves cannot but minister together with this subscription causes of

James VI.

1596-7. jealousy and alteration in the State. Wherefore the King ought to be well advised before he proceed in that action any further.

But howsoever it shall please God to dispose of his heart, the ministry I doubt not will keep themselves within the bounds of their callings and neither directly nor indirectly attempt any[thing] that shall not be lawful and seem[ly] for them, but with patience commit the success unto the Lord, remembering the saying of Ambrose that when they have done their duties *Preces et lachrimæ arma nostra sunt*, and we have no warrant to proceed further.

13½ pp. Slightly damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 267-270.

Jan. **354. COUNCILLORS OF SCOTLAND.**

- pr.* The L. of Santhware.
- pr.* Sir Robert Melvyn.
- pr.* The young Lord of Bonnyton.
- pr.* The L. Seton.
- pr.* David Black.
- The L. Lindsey.
- pr.* The L. Forbus.
- 8 Councillors newly established, *viz. L. Advisers.*
- The D: of Lennox.
- o* E: of Craford.
- E: of Montrosse.
- o* E: of Marre.
- pt.* L: Hume.
- pa* L: Seton. *Alibi.*
- x* Levinston. *o—o four Co- . . . (?)*
- p* Ogletree.
- Lord* Newbottell. *Carr* [Ker].
- pr.* Justice Clerk. *L. of Ormston* [Ormiston].
- pro* Sir Jo: Carmichell.
- pro* Sir Wm. Stuard of Trackware [Traquair].
- pro* Mr. Geo: Young.
- pa* Mr. James Elveston [Elphinstone].
- pa* Mr. Tho: Hamilton. *The King's advocate.*
- p* The Prior of Blantyre being L. Treasurer.
- The Comptroller and Collector.
- Mr. John Rathford [Rutherford].
- pa* The President. *L. Seton. Urquhart.*
- o* The Secretary. *Sir John Lyndsay.*
- qr* *Jno. Hay, clerk register.*
- qr* *Rich. Colburn* [Cockburn], *L. Privy Seal.*
- pro* *George Hume gentleman of the King's Chamber.*

Commissioners at Berwick.

- p.* *B. of Dunkeld.*
- pr* *Sir G. Hume of Wetherborn.*

James VI.
1596-7

pr And. Carr of Faldisyde [Fawdenside].

pr George Yong.

1 p. *The marginal notes and words and names in italics are in Sir Robert Cecil's handwriting. Endorsed: "Jan. 1596. Counsellours in Scotland."*

[1596-7. **355. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.**

? Jan or
Feb.]

Since my last the Queen of England has written a passing sharp letter to his Majesty which he takes in very evil part and therefore he has sent an answer written with his own hand, together with a long discourse of his own intentions touching his State and the Kirk, containing also Huntly's confessions and offers, with the malicious proceedings of the ministers. This letter is sent by Roger Aston, Englishman, 4 or 5 days since. Whether the Queen take well with this letter or not it is spoken quietly by the chief Councillors that it shall not be much taken care of.

The King caused a convention of certain ministers to assemble at Leith the 6th instant and gave in some petitions by his Commissioners as follows:—

First, because the kirk of Edinburgh is now destitute of pastors, desires that place to be specially provided for by a dozen of their numbers, namely of chosen men, peaceable and well qualified in doctrine and life for the space of three months.

Secondly, that Mr. David Ogill, Mr. John Rutherford and Mr. George Semple may be restored to their functions with diligence, that they may be admitted to preach where the King shall appoint them, and in the mean time to produce the process of their deprivations again the first day of March next at St. Johnston, there to be considered by the King and his estates.

Thirdly, he desired to know of them whether the presbytery of Edinburgh did approve the 4 ministers of Edinburgh to be lawful fugitives or not.

Last, in respect that the said 4 ministers have declined from his Majesty's laws and obedience, which imports a great slander to the Kirk, that the Assembly should proceed against them with excommunication.

To the first they answered they should obey. To the second they could give no answer to [*sic*, ? till] a General Assembly. For the third they had examined the presbytery of Edinburgh and they answered all in a voice that they allowed not of their departing, but would rather have allowed of their remaining to have answered for their fact. But the King has got sure knowledge that these ministers, now fugitives, made a particular proposition to a synodal assembly convened here in December last that in case the thing that now is done by them should happen to be effectuated, whether they might not lawfully escape if they could. It was voiced generally by them all that they might so do. The 4 they took them to be advised withal for the space of a month.

Because after the beginning of this last commotion the magistrates of Edinburgh offered to try and punish such malefactors as dwell in their town, and the King then in his wrath would not hear of it, he was advised by his Council thereafter to urge to perform their own proposition and in

James VI.

1596-7.

the mean time his Majesty might try quietly by neighbours and friends who were in truth the most frail and bent in that cause, and he gave them 10 days leisure to perform that trial. But when they had done all they could or would and had delivered their whole examinations in writ to his Majesty, he appointed 4 of his Council to read them and to report what they found. So as when they had read all they reported to his Majesty that they had found nothing worthy of memory. Therefore his Majesty caused some men to be incarcerated and sent for other barons to suffer the censure of a jury, so that now this trial and punishment are apparently like to pass quickly and rigorously forward as reason would.

I find by B[uccleuch] that his intention is to extirpate Johnstone if he can obtain his desire. He would be great with Hamilton for that cause. They that deal betwixt them are distracted in his Majesty's affairs, so that the purpose is not yet come to a point. Always since your Honour has now known the fine I need not to trouble myself for the rest. For when the matter was first spoken and "proponit" by his great agent in Court, who has also Hamilton's ear, it was answered that he would not willingly hear or deal with that man who was such a favourer of Johnstone and so consequently this offer was made by B[uccleuch], if his proposition may have place.

In case any grudge may fall out hereafter betwixt the two princes for the difference betwixt Catholics and Protestants as they are both now at suspense and that your princess is the first challenger I thought expedient to let your Honour know the very words of her letter.

[The letter from Queen Elizabeth to King James is given in full. The copy agrees with that from which the version in the Camden Society's volume (where it is dated 5 Jan. 1596-7) was printed except that here the copyist uses many Scottish words and phrases. The Queen has heard that some members of the Kirk have emboldened themselves to redress some injurious acts they feared might overthrow their profession, which although she grants no king ought to hear, yet at the instant when the banished Lords are returned and seem winked at without restraint and the spring-time is growing when promised succour was attended and letters from Rome and elsewhere are sent abroad to tell the names of men authorised by James, as they say though she hopes falsely, to assure his conformity, she sorrows that any just cause should be given him to call in doubt so disguised an act and hopes that he will so try in this cause that it harm not him, though it ruins them. If he makes his strength of such a sandy foundation as to call to his aid such as be not of his flock, whereas the one side be foolish, rash and brainsick yet they are such as may defend him for they have no sure anchorage if he fail them and the other have other aid to sustain them, though they are such as his private love to their persons may "aveugle" [*in margin*: blind] his eyes not to pierce too deep in their treason, it is well known that their many petitions for foreign aid might have tended to his peril and country's wreck, for seldom comes a stronger to weaker soil that overthrows not the possessor or endangers him at least. Supposes he will not mislike her folly in seeming busy in another's affairs since all her care is the care of his good.]

2½ pp. Probably in MacCartney's hand.

Printed in *Letters
of Elizabeth and
James VI*
(Camden
Soc. O. S. xlv,
120, 121).

James VI.

[1596-7. 356. MOTIONS TO BE MADE TO THE SCOTTISH BORDER COM-
MISSIONERS.

?Jan. or
Feb.]

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 317.

[Motions to be made to the opposite Commissioners.

First, to set] down in writing the general method of our proceeding,
[showing] in every particular what is agreed, what rests in [quest]ion.

Mutual satisfaction in the interpretation and enlargement of our
commission by new directions expected from both our sovereigns.

To set down the particulars of the grand assize agreed on before setting
down the names on both sides for the East and Middle Marches and giving
particular rules how to proceed in the several [points] of information,
persuasion and determination, foul or clean, of every bill to come in trial.

To arrest Buccleuch (Bucklugh), as well to answer his attempts on the
Middle March as to satisfy her Majesty's expectation to answer for his
people of Liddisdale under the Scottish warden of the Middle March for
all attempts committed against the Middle March of England, and likewise
under the West and East wardens of his own nation to the English opposite
complaints against Liddisdale.

That the late murder done on the person of [blank] greatly to the con-
tempt of the late proclamation and this commission may be by their earnest
letters indelayedly commended to the King for justice, according to his
laws to be executed with severity and expedition.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. In Sir William Bowes's hand. Damaged by fire. Transcript made
before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 365.

[1596-7. 357. MOTIONS HANDLED BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF BOTH SIDES.

?Jan. or
Feb.]

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 316.

[Motions handled betwixt the Commissioners] . . . appear in 2
several writings; one [in a conference bet]ween Sir William Bowes and
the laird of Wedderburn (Weatherburne); another an extract from the
[former] enlarged and set down under the hands of all the Commissioners.

Not agreed to.

1. That we should cast lots for
priority.

Reasons why.

Because there is no such
treaty custom or consent.

Because it was mutually
agreed at our conference to begin
at the highest and such is the act
of Sir Robert Carr greatest to-
wards the Queen as being hostility
and invasion and greatest towards
his own King in contempt of his
proclamation, being the principal
officer to see that commandment
kept.

Because of the Queen's in-
structions directing us to insist
upon her just satisfaction in this
first.

James VI.
1596-7.

2. That according to the course holden in other commissions and the treaties tending thereunto we should only select a certain number of bills for every March and leave the rest to the wardens to be determined hereafter.

[3.] That the bills may be divided between the Commissioners and the wardens to lessen the infinite labour, so as the wardens make account to the Commissioners of their doings from time to time whilst the commission holds.

4. That we may presently determine whether the bills in general shall be filed with their singles or their doubles.

Because

1. It is the intention of both our Commissioners to compound the contentions, etc., justly. But it is not just to leave the goods of true men in the hands of thieves.

2. It should cut off the smallest bills appertaining to the poorest persons against conscience and pity.

3. Our nation has sustained far more number of spoils as will appear by the bills, and our attemptats having for the most part been done by way of reprisal, though failing in circumstances by law required, yet having lawful ground, may peradventure be found greater in value and therefore the proceedings of the Commissioners grow from justice, equality and equity of the causes, not by numbers.

Because former experience in all commissions has showed that the remitting to the wardens is releasing for ever and if this purpose be that they shall si[t] and give account to the Commissioners it may be reasonably judged by their former untowardness that the Commissioners shall have more labour to examine the circumstances of their differences than to determine the bills upon their own honours and the grand assize formerly agreed upon.

Because [we must first see by the total sums what possibility may be reasonably conceived of satisfying, otherwise it will be meet to lay the severity] of the law [according to the quality] of the attempt[pts, justly considering] circumstances [of times, of highest con]tempt as afte[r proclamations, etc. of persons], as distinguishing [between professed] thieves and pu[nitakers (?); of place] as putting differ[ence between the] known

James VI.
1596-7.

5. That no delivery be made of any before it be agreed amongst the Commissioners what shall be delivered in the whole.

Borders and [the distant coun]-tries as the Bish[opic, from their] stealing honest ho[useholders and putting] them to torments to [hasten and enlarge] their ransoms.

Because both our commissions co[n]cern reason and the Queen's direct instructions [did put differences] in the offences triable, [namely, hostilities and] murders deeply vio[olating the honour] of God and the dignity [of the princes'] crowns principally [and therefore straining] (if not breaking) the lea[gue of amity to the] uttermost. The other [pecuniary and belonging] to private persons, it [appeared not reasonable] that the majesty [of justice in the two] former should depend [and take life from that] of money, and therefore [satisfaction is to be] made, first for inva[sion, then for mur]ders, lastly for spoi[ls and thefts].

1½ pp. Draft in Sir William Bowes's hand. Damaged by fire. The portions above in brackets have been supplied from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 363-365.

Feb. 1. 358. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

By the view of my letters and notes to your father and by the advertisements given by her Majesty's Commissioners at Berwick the present condition of this changed and daily changing estate may partly appear to you. As the storms in this place still increase threatening dangerous inconveniences, so the intelligences from foreign parts are frequent certifying (in general sort) great things to be complotted to draw this realm to the course of Spain and that the forces for the accomplishment thereof shall be furnished and sent from the Low Countries. I cannot yet reach to the sensible feeling of the particularities of these mysteries. But the subtilties in the course begun and holden here (touching religion and matters of the Borders) breed in many wise and well affected no little suspicion and to think that these foretellings of the preparations of this country and the common expectation here for their coming to back this course begun are not grown without some cause worthy to be well foreseen and provided for. Thereby I am occasioned not only deeply to weigh your own wise conceits expressed in your letter of 6 Jan. last and aiming at the two several ends of forces to be sent hither, but also to commend to your good consideration and providence the timely discovery of the plots supposed to

James VI.

1596-7.

be working in the Low Countries, where you may and can search far beyond me and all my means.

By my former to your father I certified that I sent to her Majesty's Commissioners at Berwick the safe conduct under the great seal for the Commissioners for Scotland, which I received from you together with your last to me, wherein I have followed your good directions in those Border causes, in which I wish better success than is presently expected.

By secret means I am given to understand that the Duke of Lennox will be ready to offer to her Majesty his good devotion and all profitable offices if he might know that the same shall be well accepted. His offer at this time may be thought to be grounded upon sundry respects and for his own aid and benefit by her Majesty's good countenance towards him in matters of his honour and in questions with his competitors, which are so known I trust to you as I need not touch the particulars. It may therefore please you to let me be timely directed whither and how I shall entertain and draw him forwards in this course offered that in the same I may effect her Majesty's pleasure.

The occurrents here at this present I refer to my letter to your father, and all others I shall recommend to you as well by Mr. Roger Aston ready to enter into his journey to the Court in England with the King of Scots' letter to her Majesty and other errands, as also by my servant Christopher Sheperdson who shortly shall be with and attend upon you. Edinburgh, the first of February 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

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

Feb. 1. **359. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

Since the delivery of her Majesty's letter to the King I have oftentimes sought and daily attended for the address of return of his answer by his letter to her Majesty. At length he has penned the answer with his own hand and committed the carriage thereof to Mr. Roger Aston with large declaration of the troublesome effects lately occurred here and of the present condition of this changed and unconstant state ; the particularities whereof I refer to the report of Mr. Aston ready to enter to-morrow into his journey. The copy of her Majesty's letter to the King is very common and in the hands of many of Edinburgh and in the country. It was said that it was recklessly laid down on the table and seen to [*sic*, by] the Council of Edinburgh, and the King pretends to be much grieved herewith. Some would persuade that for the alienation of the minds of persons well affected to religion and the amity these copies have been thus dispersed. But the prudent advice and judgment contained in the letter is so highly approved, honoured and accepted by the religious and well affected sort as the labours taken for the purpose suspected are not like much to prevail.

Your lordship is and shall be sufficiently advertised (I trust) by her Majesty's Commissioners at Berwick of their meeting, entrance and proceedings with their opposites in that service and of the late impediments staying their progress in the same by needless curiosity in casting of lots for priority in the first redress to be made, and especially demanded by her Majesty's Commissioners for the attempt of Sir Robert Kerr at Swyn-

James VI.
1596-7.

borne. Wherein, albeit that by pretence of the King's good inclination to give her Majesty contentment the way seemed to have been opened at my motion to the King for the expedition of this cause (as I signified to her Majesty's Commissioners), yet since the coming and abode of Sir Robert Kerr at Court the way is again stopped in this particular by new mean invented to draw the beginning of the first redress from Kerr's action and to be made for the last offence committed since the proclamation for meeting of the Commissioners and after Kerr's fact at Swynborne; wherein the Scottish Commissioners are directed to follow the course of the laws and customs of the Borders, as I have advertised her Majesty's Commissioners and as they will (I am sure) inform you at large.

The commissioners of Edinburgh appointed for the examination and trial of the late tumult have presented to the King and Council the depositions taken, being very large and drawn from many examimates, proving the matter to have been rather accidental and stirred up by some rash and base persons than to have been complotted and practised by the noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers charged therewith, and for the discovery and proof of which intention and practice great and continual search has been and still is made for the satisfaction of the King's appetite. The briefs and notes of these and of many other examinations against the town of Edinburgh, the ministers and others shall (I think) be showed you by Mr. Aston. That you may understand the manner and circumstances in sundry of these causes as they are avouched by Mr. Robert Bruce in his Apology in writing, I send enclosed the copy of his Apology set forth in his flight and haste and much impugned in the Court.

The copy of the secret letter foisted into the King's porter's hands and presented to the King I send enclosed, together with the copy of the cartel sent by the Lord of Spynie to the laird of Cluny Crichton for the late slaughter of the laird of Moncoffer, who was present with Huntly at the murder of the Earl of Moray, the revenge of which fact is like to be prosecuted in case Huntly shall obtain good countenance in Court as it is looked for.

The officers and others of Edinburgh summoned to enter into ward and to be tried by assize at Perth for the late tumult in Edinburgh have got respite until the 15th instant. They trust to pass over the matter with safety, yet it is thought that some of their company and in ward shall be arraigned, attainted and brought to the place of execution, nevertheless to be pardoned for declaration of the King's greater clemency. It is thought that the Session shall be once transported to Perth; yet nothing shall be done by the Session there but to be continued until 15 May next. This remove of the King's Court and Session to Perth is thought to be intended in favour of Huntly and to draw on his reconciliation with the Church and other effects of secret and high importance, as at the next convention of the General Assembly of the Church at Perth on the last hereof is looked for by many.

I am informed that the Lord President and his party in Council have both advised the principal officers in Edinburgh neither to offer nor to give any fine for their discharge in the matters objected against them for the tumult and also promised to work their deliverance therein; that the town is purposed to take the benefit of this offer, which is thought to be made in

James VI.
1596-7.

the hatred and disappointment as well of the Treasurer hoping to be furnished with the town's money, as also of the gentlemen of the Chamber attending to get part of this escheat.

Whilst Huntly's heart is open and has frankly promised to reveal all secrets in his knowledge and intended against religion, her Majesty, the King or [their] realms, I have quietly moved that he may be well tried herein and that it may be given him to understand that if he shall conceal anything wherein her Majesty, the King or other shall be to reprove him that then he and his course shall be adjudged hypocritical and unworthy of favour. The King seems to like very well of this motion and that Huntly shall be charged therewith. Yet some think that the King will be best satisfied with the discovery to be made only to himself to the intent he may dispose the same at his pleasure. It is informed that 3 of the presbyteries in the North have allowed of Huntly's submission and offers and that he cannot be fully received into the Church's bosom before the meeting of the General Assembly.

The King I hear has been offended with his Council for their sitting in council in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh and has said that they having drawn him into this course against Edinburgh now for themselves seek the kindness of the town without his privity ; that he has given lately good comfort to the town, yet this estate is so changeable as they think it meet to employ their best for their safeties.

The King has given commission to Mr. John Preston, Mr. Edward Bruce and Mr. William Oliphant to travail [*i.e.* to discuss] with the synodal assembly convened this day at Leith ; that David Ogle lately suspended by the presbytery of Haddington for preaching before the King in Edinburgh may be restored, wherein it will be answered (as is said) that Ogle is not suspended for that cause ; that the ministers of Edinburgh departed shall be summoned upon pain of excommunication to appear before the General Assembly of the Church to answer to all such matters as shall be objected against them ; and that this synodal convention at Leith shall provide sufficient preachers to supply in the meantime the vacant places in the churches of Edinburgh. Many ministers and other religious think the town of Perth (where now the General Assembly is appointed by the King to convene) to be very suspicious and full of peril in regard that the town is subject to the forces of Huntly and Errol adjoining to it. Because they are called thither for determination of the articles devised by the King and Council and other questions wherein they may give best resolution by chosen commissioners without tumultuous number (as they are ready to do), they purpose to present their petition to the King to allow and receive their commissioners in this behalf. Yet seeing the King has by his authority summoned the Assembly to that place and time and by his letters called special persons to the convention (which form of proceeding the ministers do not well approve) they think therefore to find little wished success in their petition and great inconvenience in their general appearance. These storms are still increasing and it is greatly feared that they shall be augmented by the troubles expected to follow on the Borders. Edinburgh, the first of February 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

3 pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.

James VI.
1596-7.

Enclosure with the same.

(Anonymous letter to the King of Scots.)

Copy of the undated letter attributed by Calderwood to Mr. John Rutherford, minister at Kilconquhar, printed *in extenso* in Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, v, 539-551.

8 pp. *Endorsed*: "Jan. 1596. A letter directed to the K. of Scottes without name and delivered to his porter."

Feb. 1.
Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 211.

360. THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS AND THE SYNOD OF LOTHIAN.

[Instructions of Mr. John Preston of Fenton Barns, one of the Senators of the College of Justices, Mr. Edward Bruce, Commendator] of Kinloss, Mr. William Oliphant, [Commissioners] for us to the Synodal of Lothian to be convened at Leith upon Tuesday next, the first of February, 1596.

Imprimis, ye shall show in our name to the brethren of the said assembly the great care which we have always had that the congregation of Edinburgh should not be destitute of preaching as it is presently not in our default since we have both requested and charged divers ministers to occupy that place which was the first thing after the tumult whereof we had care, and since by an act of the General Assembly ultimo Martii 1596 power is given to the presbytery of Edinburgh with 7 other ministers of a great number nominate in the said act to provide the kirk of Edinburgh with such number of ministers as was then craved to the division of that congregation in many parishes by and "attower" the 4 ordinary ministers which then occupied the place, it is now much more reasonable that the said populous congregation being altogether destitute the said presbytery with consent of the synodal having our command joined with their own power should provide qualified ministers and propone them to the Council of Edinburgh; the which if it be not done, ye shall show the great slander and inconvenience which will arise thereupon as a thing done by faction with the advice and favour of the late ministers now fugitives from our laws.

Secondly, ye shall desire that Mr. David Ogle may be relaxed from that unjust sentence of suspension pronounced against him by the presbytery of Haddington for no other cause in effect but by reason he obeyed our lawful command by his preaching in Edinburgh upon the sabbath in our presence, he being before charged by our letters to that effect; which presbytery of Haddington ye shall desire to be censured by the synodal for their unjust sentence.

Thirdly, ye shall inquire of the presbytery of Edinburgh if they gave their consent or advice to the late ministers of the said burgh to fly and eschew the ordinary trial of our laws for the crime of the late treasonable uproar whereof they are accused.

Fourthly, in respect the said late ministers have accepted the crime upon them by their being fugitive from our laws, which by the common law and inviolable "pratique" of this realm is equivalent as if they had been convict or come in our will for the said crime, whereby they have publicly slandered the whole kirk and religion in the highest degree;

Therefore ye shall desire the whole synodal to ordain and command the said presbytery of Edinburgh to cause summon the said 4 late [minis]ters to compear and answer before them for the said slander [and in] case of

James VI.

1596-7. their not compearance to proceed with the sentence [of excommu]nication against them.

Of the which foresaid points and every [of them] ye shall receive and report unto us one direct answer from [the syno]dal.

[The answers of the synodal to the former articles.]

To the first after long reaso[ning had in the assembly it was] found by the said assembly that the [pulpit of the great kirk] of Edinburgh should be supplied for the [space of two months by the brethren] after following without prejudice of the ord[inary ministers who are] absent.

They are to say, for the first [sabbath forenoon Mr.] John Brand, afternoon Mr. Michael [Cranston, Wednesday] afternoon, Mr. Jo. Brand. For the 2 s[abbath, aforenoon Mr.] David Lindsay, afternoon Mr. Peter Hew[art; the Wednesday] after Mr. Peter Hewart. For the 3 [sabbath, forenoon Mr. George] Ramsay, afternoon Mr. Walter Hay, Wednesd[ay after the said] Mr. George. For the 4 sabbath aforenoon [Mr. James Law, the] afternoon Mr. Robert Cornwell, for the Wednesday [after the said] Mr. James. For the 5 sabbath, aforenoon [Mr. Robert Pont,] afternoon Mr. Richard Ogle, for the Wednesd[ay after Mr. Robert] Pont. For the 6 sabbath, aforenoon Adam [Hepburn, afternoon] Mr. James Logan, for the Wednesday thereafter [the said Adam]. For the 7 sabbath, aforenoon Mr. Michael Cran[ston, afternoon] Mr. Robert Cornwell, and the Wednesday thereafter [Mr. Walter Hay]. For the 8 sabbath, aforenoon Mr. David Lind[say, afternoon] Mr. Richard Ogle, for the Wednesday Mr. Ja[mes Logan].

To the second it was answered by the breth[ren of the presbytery] of Haddington that Mr. David Ogle was suspended [most justly by them] not for obedience to his Majesty, which they allowed, [but for sundry] other causes as their sentence " buir," and the sa[id Mr. David being] heard craved the King's Commissioners not to insi[st upon that matter], seeing he submitted himself most willing[ly to his own] presbytery. The assembly being satisfied with [the answer of the said] presbytery and the said Mr. David's submission, [his Majesty's Commissioners] were desired to return this answer to [his Majesty].

To the third the assembly committed [the article to the] presbytery of Edinburgh, who by themselves [the first day of] their meeting should give his Majesty answer [to the same].

To the 4 it was heavily lamented [by the assembly to hear] such a proposition proponed by his Majesty and [for answer craved] that his Majesty would relax them from [the horn and] they being at his Majesty's peace if his [Majesty or any other] would accuse them before the presbytery, the said presbytery would take trial in any matter or [cause whereof they were] to be accused.

2 pp. *Damaged by fire, the passages in brackets supplied from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 263.*

Feb. 1. 361. OFFERS OF THE ENGLISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 231.

[Offers of motion made by the English Commissioners wherein they require answer in writing and concurrence in action] of the Commissioners for Scotland.

James VI.

1596-7.

Brief summary
in *Border Papers*,
ii, No. 489.

[Where of l]ate sundry hostile invasions have been made upon the [Borders] greatly violating the league of amity between the princes and [realms] :

Secondly, where about 100 men have been detesta[bly m]urdered to the dishonour of the religion mutually professed and [ma]king both the realms guilty of execrable bloodshed against [God] :

Thirdly, where spoils and thefts made upon true men [and] resting in the hands of thieves since the last treaty [and] during the ten years last past amount to above the value [of] 60,000*l.* to the overthrow of justice and exceeding danger [to] both the realms by example :

Where also there do accompany these enormities instantly mortal hatred between the wardens of both nations, many deadly feuds and sundry thousands of complaints and quarrels, which enormities upon grievous complaint made to both the princes it has pleased them both out of their honourable dispositions to justice to concur in one form of large commissions given unto us, 8 or 6 of us :

Be it therefore known hereby to the opposite Commissioners and all men that we, the Commissioners for her Majesty, as well to testify her Highness's gracious intention to justice, as also for the religious discharge of our own duties, have here set down under our hands the substance and manner of our desire, proceeding to the execution [of] our said commissions, eftsoons requiring your lordships, the Commissioners for Scotland, to set down in writing particularly to every article ensuing your assent or dissent directly and either to concur [with] us in speedy execution or to deliver under your hands your reasons moving you to the contrary.

[We] have commandment and authority by commissions to hear and determine [in]vasions, murders, spoils, thefts and all other injuries done by [ei]ther nation to order in Border causes. We are therefore ready [sever]-ally and in order to try and deliver, first, for every invasion the [prin]cipal party guilty which is not fugitive ; next, for every murder [the] principal faultier which can be had or made answerable to the [law] ; thirdly, for all stealths and robberies which have been committed [sinc]e the last treaty, anno 1587, until the ending of this [com]mission we desire the opposites' concurrency in granting [the] like to us.

[Secondly, we are not only in special to hear and conclude crimes expressed but also in general we are by the said commission made] messengers [by her Highness's further] instructions or commandment to re-[quire satisfaction of any offence] given to her contrary to the express [words of the] league and treaties standing still in forc[e or that *ex æquo et bono*] may be necessarily enforced by just [consequence] and equity ; so we are likewise ready [to give our opposites] satisfaction for these crimes above mentioned or [any other violation] of the league in Border causes, though not ex[pressly mentioned] in our commission, to reform or redress according to the [best equity of] the said treaties, either custom or fact, which sh[all be prejudicial] to the straight course of justice and the mutual [amity] ; desiring hereunto their answer in writing and c[oncurrence in] action.

Thirdly, we are commanded and authorised generally [to do anything] in her Majesty's name for the removing of all injuries, et[c. and conserva-tion] of the friendship, etc., with all circumstances appertain[ing thereunto].

James VI.
1596-7.

We are therefore ready to give satisfaction to the C[ommissioners for] Scotland for all and every their bills, which they sha[ll prove by] any just way or mean, not only by avowry, [assize and] honour of the warden alone (who is bound to "speir," file [and deliver upon] his honour) but also we will receive English or [Scottish proof] as may justly lead our consciences to join [with the warden] or otherwise where the warden shall be defective [by ourselves] without him to file or clean upon our honours [and to order unde]layed delivery accordingly. We desire of the [opposites acknow]ledgment in writing and concurrency in action [for the like, since] we find this the only mean to do justice in [giving every] man his own.

Fourthly, we are ready to present our wardens here [at Berwick] either to join with us in filing and cleaning [upon honours or to] assist our reforming of old abuses or in ord[aining of new] expedient laws for their more orderly meeting [hereafter to] take away "feeds," etc.

We desire our opposites [to set down] their assent hereunto in writing, appointing [a day when their] wardens shall appear accordingly.

2 pp. Copy. Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 285, 286, from which the portions above in brackets have been supplied.

Feb. 1. 362. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 269.

Copy of the original letter calendared in *Border Papers*, ii, No. 490.

2½ pp. Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 321, seqq.

Feb. 1. 363. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 279.

[For the sundry letters and copies severally addressed to the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert] Cecil [I give you hearty thanks] trusting that the wise contents [in your two letters] mentioned shall much advance your estimation [to the parties] to whom they are directed as your commendable [behaviour] amongst the rest of the Commissioners at Berwick has gained you [honour] and high reputation in this Court and country by the [good] report made of you and your virtues by the Commissioners for [Sc]otland, to whom you are greatly bound to yield thankful memory and signs of due gratuity.

The note of your conference with the laird of Wedderburn, which by your letter you desired to be sent back I return enclosed, praying your pardon that I have thus far beyond due time kept it with me.

The King's last order and direction sent to his Commissioners at Berwick and partly reported by my letter to you and her Majesty's other Commissioners will (I think) seem strange and to have been strangely devised [and] concluded by the King and Council after their former directions given [by] word to Mr. David Hume for the manner of the progress [for the] redress for Sir Robert Carr's attempt at Swynborne. [I] pray you to confer with Wedderburn and Mr. David his brother for your good information in the substance and truth of the commission given by word to Mr. David and to be communicated to the Commissioners for Scotland as the King and Council's order for the direction and warrant to the Com-

James VI.

1596-7. missioners to proceed with you in Kerr's action, and of the effects received by their discovery I beseech you to let me have some knowledge.

Sir Robert Kerr come into and lodged in Court finds great favour. [H]e pretends to be willing and ready to answer to the cause objected against him for his "rode" at Swynborn, hoping to justify that [f]act attempted for rescue of a Scottishman wrongfully taken [and] detained prisoner and upon other injuries given him by the [g]arrison of Berwick. If by the delay of justice for Kerr's outrage you and her Majesty's Commissioners shall be occasioned to break and depart, as being denied of justice in that particular matter, wherein you and the rest will duly I trust weigh the effects of her will and pleasure and order expressed to you by your instructions, [then] I wish that you and her Majesty's other Commissioners shall confer [with the] wardens and officers in the Marches to provide seasonable and [sufficie]nt strengths and means for defence of violence and [oppres]sion to be attempted against her subjects, who in their [present est]ate, weakness and without supply are not able to resist [the force likely to assail them]. Edinburgh the first [of February 1596].
Signed : Robert [Bowes].

1½ pp. *Partly damaged by fire, the missing portions being supplied above in brackets from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 330.*

Feb. 1-19. **364. EAST MARCH BILLS.**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 284.

Calendared in
Border Papers, ii,
No. 520.

A breviat of all the bills called and filed by the Commissioners of England and Scotland and the wardens of the East Marches there from the first day of their sitting in the Tolbooth at Berwick, being the first of February 1596 until the departure of the Scots Commissioners thence being the 19th of the said February, as also the number of the English bills resting then uncalled.

2½ pp. *Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 334 seqq.*

Feb. 2. **365. [THE ENGLISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS] TO [LORD BURGHLEY].**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 280.

Copy of the original letter calendared in *Border Papers*, ii, No. 493.

2½ pp. *Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 314.*

Feb. 3. **366. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 280.

Copy of the original letter calendared in *Border Papers*, ii, No. 494.

2 pp. *Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 320, 321.*

Feb. 5. **367. NAMES OF THOSE TO BE AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.**

D. of Lennox, L. Hamilton, Argyll, Crawford, Atholl, Marischal, Mar, Glencairn, Montrose.

Bishops : Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Brechin, Argyll.

James VI.
1596-7.

Abbots : Holyroodhouse, Lindores, Culross, Kinloss (Kinros), Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, Melrose.

Lords : Hume, Livingstone, Seton, Sempill, Sinclair, Ogilvy, Glamis, Newbottle, Yester, Ochiltree, Spynie, Fleming.

Barons : Bass, Waughton, Corstorphine, Wedderburn, Cessford (Sesfurth), Buccleuch, Lochinvar, Constable [of] Dundee, Traquair, Tullibardine, Balmuto, Balwarie, Torry.

Presbyteries : Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Haddington, Dundee, Perth, Aberdeen, Cupar, Dunbar with the rest to be craved by the ministry.

Burghs : Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth, Glasgow, Stirling, Linlithgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Haddington.

President, Treasurer, Secretary, Justice Clerk, Clerk of Register, Privy Seal, Advocate, Sir Ro: Melvill, Colluthy, Carmichael, Immermath [? Innermeath], Mr. Peter Young.

1 p. *In the handwriting of George Nicolson. Endorsed by him* : " The naymes of suche as are to be at the Nationall Convencion, v^o Febr. 1596."

Feb. 6. 368. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO ROBERT BOWES.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 278.

[I am heartily sorry to see so great tokens that our travails here shall not only effect small good but to the clean contrary shall work the worst effect to the prejudice of justice and the amity] of any one thing [which has happened within my knowledge on] the Borders by the space of ab[out 24 years ; namely by] this that our labours shall sort to no o[ther end but to let every] thief and murderer see what danger [he stands in and by such] warning to arm them to stand so hee[efully upon their own] guard as so they can keep out of hands and [close together] they may easily see that their multitude w[ith the steadfastness] of their commanders to them and the grace which [the said comman]ders find with the King will easily secure [them and in the] meantime that they may with one labour bo[th profit them]selves with new spoils and force us with bett[er speed to] accord the old and begin a new peace. W[hich evil must] happen by no default of her Majesty's or her minis[try as will] well appear unto you by our offers exhibited un[to the opposite] Commissioners under our hands herewith all sent and [meant with all sin]cerity to be performed. Neither yet in our opposite [Commissioners] whom my conscience dare not but excuse as ha[ving given good] testimony so far as their limit[ed power has] given them leave. It must needs then rest [upon the King] who rather than he will want the service of [two such persons] as between them are guilty of above 40 m[urders and enter]tain more thieves and murderers in strait [friendship and] protection than the memory of any man living [is able to match], he makes choice to take days with God for [answering the cries] of so many utterly impoverished orphans and wi[dows and to strain], if not to break, the amity with his best friends [and nourish such] hate and detestation between the two nations [as dishonours] the religion mutually professed by them, [to let pass the] account of daily mischiefs grown to such a [heap, whose] top comes nearer heaven than ever [did the Tower of] Babel. O that kings were happy enough to remember that mighty men shall be mig[htily punished !] But you will say that this is melancholy, [and so indeed it]

James VI.

1596-7. is to find our good hope to do God and both [the princes service] frustrated with daily new devices tending [to no other] end than that which is before menti[oned]. If there] be any hope to draw the King to do justice [for justice sake and let] his people bear their own sins, good S[ir, help us to have it] so marshalled that delivery may be [made with as great integrity as our trial is with painful travail. Truly, I desire from my heart that the two gentlemen mentioned may find as much favour as they can wish, so as they were as re]pentant for the[ir public faults to] the public justice as I do wish on their [behalf. In] the meantime consider of this important [cause] and let me know your advice by the bearer, to whom I have lent my copies to be perused by you, how much yourself shall like, so you send me them back again by him. From Berwick this 6 of Feb. 96. Your loving nephew (*signed*) Will'm Bowes.

Postscript.—We have this day received advertisement from the Lord Scroope that Lidesdayle with one voice has given answer to the laird of Buccleuch (Bucklugh) at the "Armitage" that they have committed such faults as they are not able to satisfy and will not therefore put themselves to the hazard to answer at Berwick but stand upon their own guard and take the adventure of that which shall follow. Might the King be pleased to grant his Commissioners leave to deliver us 12 or 20 such as we should choose out of the 2 "Trindayles" * and we shall deliver as many of like quality out of the Middle and East Marches to stand as hostages till things be concluded between the princes, I doubt not but it might work better effect to both the realms than 40 such persons will be worth.

2 pp. Much damaged by fire, the missing portions being above supplied in brackets from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 330.

Feb. 9. 369. THE OFFERS TO THE SCOTTISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 256.

Summary in
Border Papers,
ii, Nos. 503, 504.

Document endorsed: "Offers to the Scottish Commissioners with their answers and examination thereof."

It is set out in 3 columns headed respectively as follows:

(i) Offers made by the English Commissioners wherein they require answer in writing and concurrency in action of the Commissioners for Scotland.

(ii) Our answer to the offers delivered to us by our opposite Commissioners the first day of February according to the sections of the same delivered unto them the 9th of the same.

(iii) Examination of the answer given by the Scottish Commissioners to our offers.

Set out on 2 broadsheets. On the 2nd of those under col. i are copied the following signatures: Toby Duresme, Will'm Bowis, Fra. Slingsbye, Clement Colmore; and under col. ii the following: Dunkell, Wedderburne, Fawdensyde. Somewhat damaged by fire.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 288.

Another copy of the foregoing, set out in similar form.

Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 338, 339.

* "Teviotdales" in the transcript.

James VI.

1596-7. **370.** ANSWER OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS.

Feb. 9.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 232.Summary in
Border Papers,
ii, No. 503.

[Our answers to the offers delivered to us by our opposite Commissioners the first day of February instant according to the sections of the same delivered unto them the 9 of the same.

As Christians we] cannot bu[t in] heart detest the great bloodshed and barbarity which insolence on either emboldened with impunity has [bred this] nine years past betwixt the Marches, so mutually we [offer] us most willing both in conscience and by commission to join [sin]cerely with your lordships to the due trial and redress of all bypast wrongs and enormities on either side and with our best advices to concur with you to the establishing of what indifferent order shall be found meet for the eschewing and repressing of the like in time to come.

What crimes soever are committed to our order and redress by the power and authority of our commission we are heartily well content to concur with your lordships to the due trial and reparation thereof so far forth as the treaties and custom and our instructions may warrant us.

We find not our commission to extend further nor to the order taking with ordinary attempts redressable by laws already made, whereof if any may appear to touch in honour either of our princes, neither are we for our parts authorised nor instructed to sit upon them in that quality, neither can we think the satisfaction due for such offences a subject pertinent to be determined by commissioners for reformation of any treaty or custom that has prevailed betwixt the Marches further nor the straight course of justice will allow. We will go with you to it so far as reason and our instructions will permit us, so being it is not meant to be extended *ad preterita*.

The treaties bearing us to a direct and usual way of filing both wisely and indifferently set down by statute and ever observed to this day betwixt the Marches, we see not how we may safely condescend to any alteration thereof without a special warrant for our "securance."

Our wardens we have caused to be arrested to come and give their due attendance on this service. Whereof if none compear before our rising their absence shall be no impediment to our concurrence with you to the due reformation of whatsoever old or new abuses and setting down such order in time coming as may reduce both wardens and their wardenries to the performance of their duties under the obedience of the princes and their laws.

Signed : Dunkeld, George Howme, Fawdonsyde, Mr. G. Young.

1 p. *Slightly damaged by fire the missing portions being supplied above in brackets from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 286, which adds "Deliverit unto our opposites upon the 9 of Feb.," of which there is now no indication in the original.*

[1596-7. **371.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Feb. 10.]

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 251.Copy of the original letter in *Border Papers*, ii, No. 507.

1½ pp. *Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 308.*

James VI.

1596-7.

Another copy of the same letter.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 273.1½ pp. *Damaged by fire.*Feb. 11. **372. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.**Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 267.Copy of the letter in *Border Papers*, ii, No. 508.2 pp. *Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 318.*Feb. 20. **373. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

According to your late letter to me in favour of Mr. Brackenbury I have sent this bearer, Christopher Sheperson my servant, to take order with him in thankful manner and for his good contentment, being very willing to submit myself and the cause to your censure or to the arbitrament and award of wise friends indifferently to be named by him and me, who acknowledge myself greatly beholden to him for the money received of him and for kindness showed to me, which (God willing) I shall requite with all duty and "gratuity" in my power.

Your especial favour and goodness poured forth for me in this cause with Mr. Brackenbury and for the furtherance of my late book for her Majesty's grant of the lease in reversion for me (with other continual benefits to me) have so increased the heap of my debts to you as I acknowledge myself and my service to be straitly bound and devoted to honour and remember the same with all thankfulness, praying God to enable me to yield due testimonies of my duties to you, which with my whole power shall be always ready for you.

By my others to your father with these I have given advertisement of this broken estate running into further inconveniences and appearing irrecoverable by domestical remedy and without her Majesty's timely medicine to be speedily applied by fit physician whom I have expected and heartily wish to be employed and sent hither to prevent the danger of this present disease and to remove the burthen from my weak shoulders, which in truth suffice not to carry it rightly, as for her Majesty's service ought to be done and as this bearer can faithfully and in particular make known unto you; wherein it may please you to give him credit and for her Majesty's best service to tender my suit to be opened by him.

The Earl of Argyll and his friends remain ready to do all good offices for her Majesty. He desires to see foreign nations and to have her safe conduct for his passage through England, which I pray might be granted and sent secretly to him with all speed. Nevertheless, I have sought to persuade his stay as by my letter to your father will appear. Commending eftsoons this bearer and George Nicolson to your favourable furtherance. Edinburgh, 20 February 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk*: "Rec. at Whithall the xxvjth of the same" [Feb. 1596].

Feb. 20. **374. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.**

On the 8th hereof I received your last letter of the last of January, together with substantial answers and reasons devised and set down to the

James VI.

1596-7.

frivolous questions and answers proponed to the ministers here and to the submission to be subscribed by all the ministers of this realm, which answers I have quietly communicated to two or three learned and wise preachers presently employed for the answers to the articles and submission mentioned. These preachers have very much liked and commended the form and substance of the draft showed to them, heartily praying to be furthered by that device, both in their own labours and charge imposed upon them and also for the benefit and maintenance of the common cause of religion endangered by these strange courses and innovations entered and prosecuted here with all earnestness. In which respects I have ventured to "concredyt" a copy of the draft to their trust and secrecies, trusting that the mutual causes in these realms with her Majesty's service here shall thereby receive no little fruit and advantage.

For the advertisement of the great victory given to the States at Turnehaut I thank your lordship. The report of the same given forth by me has mightily cheered the religious and well affected and no less abated the pride of the bad and practising sort. Your lordship has enabled me greatly to profit her Majesty's service and comfort the lovers of the amity.

I thank you for your favourable goodness showed in the furtherance of the expedition of George Nicolson my servant's return to me to relieve my present weakness in these storms and with gracious comfort to himself. Wherein it may likewise please you to tender the great pains and diligence of this bearer, Christopher Sheperson, many years employed in her Majesty's service in this realm and elsewhere, whose good deserts with my own disability to reward him worthily constrain me by my pen and these presents to recommend him also to her Majesty's bounty and to be advanced by your favourable commendation. This error of presumption I humbly pray to be pardoned in me.

The Earl Bothwell continues excommunicated and so far misliked by the ministers as it may be thought a dream or some fine cunning to persuade that any of the ministers of Edinburgh have secretly sought him to return into Scotland to be their head for maintenance of their causes against their adversaries, as it seems by your letter that information has been given, and that some especial person shall come hither from France to reveal this to the King. This arrow is deemed to be drawn out of the quiver of the archer accustomed to shoot his shafts against the ministers here. I have imparted the matter to fit persons who give no such confident assurance to the contrary of this practised information as I dare not trust them and wish your lordship to cast an eye to the author of this tale. Mr. Alexander Bryde, Scottishman and known I think to your lordship as to Mr. Secretary, is lately returned from France through England with letters addressed by papists and others. This gentleman is suspected to be busy in this cause for Bothwell, wherein hitherto I find no manifest proof.

All the proceedings and success of the Commissioners for the Borders I refer wholly to their own advertisements. Thus much for some answer to the contents of your letter.

Albeit that the King with exceeding earnestness has sought to prove and manifest intended treasons and conspiracies against him and for the

James VI.

1596-7. murder of some of his Council by the noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers assembled in the Little Church at Edinburgh on 17 January last, yet his desire has not hitherto been effected and by many wise it is thought that he seeks a knot in a bulrush. Sundry of the eight barons wardred for this cause were appointed to be tried by assize at Leith the 11th hereof. The Lord Forbes should have been arraigned for the same on the 12th and sundry of the burgesses of Edinburgh on the 16th of this month. But at the arraignment of the barons so many assizers were lawfully challenged as no full assize could be got that day. Whereupon it was put over to the next day and the assize for Forbes was stayed. On the 12th hereof twelve of the assizers summoned were accepted, yet the Judge would not proceed, referring the matter to be further heard on the 14th then next following. On which day the twelve assizers before accepted were refused by the Judge, notwithstanding that they are known to be religious, wise, honest and substantial, and a new jury returned with the names of Sir Robert Kerr and others of the King's domestics and suspected adversaries to the parties arraigned, as well appeared in that all the new jury (except young Lochinvar (Loughenvarr) and Mac-Harston) were drawn and put off by manifest challenge for feuds by blood and other just causes, as thereby the assize remained by default of sufficient number of jurors. Therefore all the assizes against all the parties named are put over and discharged without day. The parties arraigned have been discharged if they would have put themselves in the King's will, which they refused and are committed to several wards, namely the laird of Duntreith (Duncreith) and Robert Hamilton of Inchmauchan are assigned to Inverness in the hands of the Earl of Huntly. This course (especially in the remove of the twelve sufficient persons once accepted and afterwards changed for the King's domestics and in warding of religious gentlemen under Huntly) is thought very strange and much lamented to be seen allowed by the King, who sometimes gave his own presence at Leith at the session and whilst those causes were debated. I have heard that Mr. Michael Cranston (Crankston), lately wardred for this cause and enlarged by the King upon promise to warn the King of any fault noted in him before he should speak thereof in pulpit, has hazarded secretly to notify to the King how deeply his subjects are wounded with the sight of these proceedings deemed to be against justice and termed by sundry to be tyrannical; and that without some timely reformation the preachers shall be constrained by their duties to God publicly to inveigh against them. It is also said that some other learned and godly ministers have in like quiet manner admonished the King. But what shall follow hereon is not yet known. The effects expected to be attempted at St. Johnston at the next Convention of the Estates there in the beginning of the next month are greatly and generally feared, as the ministers and others have presented their petitions and employed their best means for the stay of these matters and especially to adjourn the General Assembly of the Church to more fit time and place, wherein little hope of their wished success appears. For it is affirmed that a Councillor told the King that the field won by the banishment of Mr. Robert Bruce and the ministers is lost again by faint pursuit of the victory; so as they must have the devil in their play to bang out all matters as was done by Captain James

James VI.

1596-7. Stewart ; and that the names of some persons for that purpose have been given up, as the Lord Hume, Sanquhar, Spynie (who is much honoured by the disgrace that he lately gave to the laird of Cluny in single combat), Sir Robert Kerr, etc.

With these presents I send to your lordship the copies of the instructions given by the King to Mr. John Preston and others of his commissioners to the synodal of Lothian convened at Leith the 3rd hereof, and their answers to the articles proponed by the King's commissioners ; next the petitions presented to the King by the same synodal Convention and his answers thereunto ; thirdly the instructions given by the King to Patrick Murray to procure Huntly's absolution from the excommunication with other effects specified, which the ministers trusted should have been referred to the General Assembly according to the best order and some promise made in that behalf.

The articles showed by Murray (principal and continual agent for Huntly) are given out to be authorised and signed with the King's own hand. Yet some parts therein are noted to prejudice the accustomed order of discipline in this Church and the course once accorded, as it is come in question with many whether the King will acknowledge the whole form and substance of all those articles to have been commanded and warranted by him and his hand. But few or none think that Murray shall be hurt by the show thereof and travails therein. With the same articles given to Murray I send the effects of a letter addressed by the presbyteries in the North to the brethren here, together with Huntly's petitions to the convention of the ministers at Aberdeen. The view of these instruments will I think inform you in all circumstances thereof with better certainty than I can express in convenient manner within due compass of a letter.

The Earl of Huntly came to Aberdeen with his trumpet, many barons and gentlemen and in great number. The Countess his wife followed soon after with 100 horse. The bishop in pulpit (as I hear) commended his cause to the brethren and some good parts in himself, namely the preservation of the country from the rage and spoil of the barbarous Highlands men brought by Argyll (who then was the King's Lieutenant and employed by the King against Huntly) ; that he has conferred with the ministers and acknowledged the Church established in Scotland to be a part of God's true Church and he seems satisfied in the right administration and opinion of the Lord's Supper ; that he stands much upon his innocency, seeking to be " indelately " absolved from his excommunication ; and finding that he cannot obtain the same before the meeting of the commissioners for the General Assembly he begins to stagger in points offered. In all which the ministers in the North have sent hither their commission to inform and satisfy the King for the proceedings in the same. Errol had appointed to have been in Aberdeen with Huntly the 7th hereof, but I hear nothing of their meeting. It is said that they have resolved to be at Perth on 4 March next with their forces. Yet the King pretends that they shall not have access to him before their absolution from the excommunication. It is added that the King and Queen severally have written to Huntly to his great comfort, so as all the barons thereabouts (except Drume and others towards Forbes) follow him.

James VI.
1596-7.

The laird of Ladylands (a busy negotiator with the King of Spain and the Pope) is returned into this realm and still lurks about his own house and in parts near Glasgow. He has offered (as I hear credibly) upon two or three lines of the King's hand to come and reveal to him great secrets and the King being already moved in the same refuses hitherto to write as is required. The King has been also moved for the apprehension of Ladylands, wherein he seems pleased either to send one of his own servants to attach him or else to direct the provost of Glasgow to enclose his house and take him, the execution whereof is little looked for. Ladylands brought a letter to the Lord Sempill (Semple) from Colonel Sempill in Spain who has given out that Huntly and Errol refused to gain their peace in Scotland by the means of her Majesty and that they were very simple to seek support of the King of Spain with unseemly conditions.

Sir Walter Lindsay has attended at Dieppe for passage for Scotland. It is verily thought here that he shall bring advertisements and order for the address and employment of many thousand ducats to be sent by the King of Spain to this country.

A bark of Ireland lately arriving at Glasgow has taken in good store of powder and lead for the Earl of Tyrone. Whereupon I procured the Lord Treasurer's letter for the stay thereof and the King is pleased to command this stay by his own letter granted at the motion of the Lord Treasurer, who daily performs such good offices for her Majesty and her services as he worthily deserves very thankful regard. I heartily wish that it may please your lordship to acquaint Roger Aston with her Majesty's good acceptation of the Treasurer's commendable disposition and readiness herein.

The Earl of Argyll purposing to travel into foreign nations heartily desires to have her Majesty's safe conduct for his passage through England to be granted and sent to him with expedition. To satisfy his request I have promised to commend to you his earnest desire, wishing that by your means and speedy address of this safe conduct his continual goodwill and readiness for her Majesty may be entertained. Nevertheless, by my letter to him I have dissuaded his hasty departure from this realm in the condition of this stormy time, broken estate and rising of Huntly, his adversary. Which advice shall (I trust) be seconded with his honourable and wise friends. Yet always it will best content him to have her Majesty's safe conduct with speed.

The King purposing to besiege the house of Torthorell [Torthorwald] to apprehend James Douglas for the slaughter of Captain James Stewart intends to ride to the West Borders in the end of next month and to require the loan of her Majesty's cannon in Lord Scrope's custody at Carlisle. I have been solicited herein by the Lords Ochiltree and Sanquhar, whom I have left to Lord Scrope that upon this suit to him he may acquaint you therewith and in time the best order may be given.

The Session is begun and continues at Leith, for the King's wrath against Edinburgh cannot yet be pacified. Edinburgh, 20 February 1596.
Signed: Robert Bowes.

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

Enclosure with the same.

(Petitions proponed to his Majesty by the Synodal of Lothian convened at Leith, 3 February 1596.)

Sir, the present estate dangerous to religion, the common weal, your Majesty's crown and person have moved us in the fear of our God to assemble at this time for advising upon some "timouse" remedy to these great appearing evils. Being informed of your good affection towards the peace of the Kirk, we are bold to communicate to your Majesty our grief with the means that in our opinion may best serve for settling all this trouble. It is no small grief to consider the fearful desolation that is fallen in the Kirk, fearful because sudden but more fearful because of the enemies, their peaceable remaining in the country, sporting themselves and rejoicing at all our miseries. What were their traffickings against religion and present estate even during our peace is well known, neither can we judge them to be idle in such a storm. But alas what a judgment is this that, where all our counsel and power should have been turned against the enemies, we are committed against ourselves, detracting, suspecting and in such a hot pursuit one of another that we are become a talk of reproach amongst other people that hear of us. Doubtless, Sir, this beginning portends an overthrow to the estate and decay to religion, and so we must thank [*sic*, ? think] an extreme peril to your Majesty's person, for how can religion and your standing be now severed without the danger of both, considering their happy and blessed union these many years past. Next to God we esteem that in yourself lie the help and sure remedy of all these things. If ever occasion was offered your Majesty to give proof of your godliness, wisdom and clemency, [it] is even now. O what a love shall this beget to your Highness amongst your own subjects, what an estimation amongst strangers, when one shall see here another so dangerous a commotion well and surely quieted by your Majesty in an instant! We are bold to say more honour shall redound to you hereby than by any other kind of dealings. Remember we are your Majesty's subjects; we are professors of one religion with your Majesty and the Lord has made [us], how unworthy soever we be, preachers of life and grace to the people of your land. All this should bring a loving respect to us and a facile taking up of all controversies when they fall out. Neither are the debates of such moment that a friendly and familiar conference may not discuss them. Not [? only] the late incidents so weighty but also great matters have been overseen and wisely taken up by your Majesty at times before. But as we will not sift out causes of the trouble which in our judgment shall not work the peace that we desire, so we must humbly entreat you for a surcease of all further proceedings with the ministry in manner as has been used these months last.

And where divers proclamations have passed out slanderously to the ministry and hurtful to the liberties which by your favour we have this long time possessed; as also the stipends of certain our brethren have been discharged for this present year; we desire your Majesty in all humility that a proclamation may pass declaring your good intention towards us and the keeping of the liberty which by your laws is already

James VI.

1596-7. established, and to cause your officers [to] answer the ministry of their stipends as in the years before.

Because some of our number have been denounced rebels for not preaching in the pulpit of Edinburgh, which place we have now provided *ad interim*, we desire they may have your grace's favour and be relaxed from the hornings. And seeing this sort of charges to bring the ministry in slander as though they were the most disobedient subjects in the land, we humbly desire to be used by your Majesty as are your other subjects, like as we in all dutiful obedience shall go before the rest in good example.

If it may stand with your good pleasure we desire the General Assembly appointed at Perth the last of February to be continued to the ordinary time and place, and this for the ease of many brethren and our better resolution in matters that are then to be treated of.

We are informed that your Majesty has given commandment to some persons to pen the story of these late proceedings that the same may hereafter be committed to print, which as we think shall give offence to many within the country and bring your Majesty and people in the mouths of other nations, we beseech you to devise this matter otherwise and to put a stay to the same.

Last of all, to make a stable peace in the Kirk and cut away all occasion of sinisterous speeches touching your Majesty's proceedings during all this time, we must entreat you for the peace of our brethren the ministers of Edinburgh and their liberty to return in this country, which shall be honour to your Majesty as we are assured every way, a notable proof of your affection of [*sic*] the ministers of the gospel and an occasion to every man fearing God so to think of you as a father nourisher of the Kirk, who for the peace and quietness of the same has disposed yourself to an oversight of all these matters. So we commit your Majesty to the direction of His spirit who is ever with His own. Amen.

The effects of the King's answer given only by word to the five petitions of the Synodal of Lothian at Leith the third of February 1596.

1. His Majesty cannot grant a proclamation to this effect till all are agreed amongst them, and for his affection he has shown it sufficiently in all his edicts. As to the stipends of the ministry he has granted all except to them that subscribed the first declinatur and promises those a reasonable answer upon their suit to the Council.

2. His Majesty grants to relax the ministers upon condition they preach in Edinburgh as it is enjoined them.

3. His Majesty promises protection to all that shall continue in Perth and shall not meddle with the papists in any sort, neither at that time not between and the same and promises that all things done shall be orderly done and nothing concluded without the consent of the ministry in those things that concern them.

4. His Majesty's answer to the fourth is that strangers will mis-report all his doings except declaration be made of his proceedings, but he thinks it reasonable that nothing be put in print till some of the ministry be acquainted therewith to see that nothing be misreported slanderously.

5. To the last his Majesty makes show that he will agree, howbeit

James VI.

1596-7.

not at this time and upon trial, if they be innocent, he will count them as his good subjects; if otherwise he thinks they should be in his will but he cannot agree with this to be called a persecutor and that they should be thought to suffer for the Gospel, since he offends with nothing but the suspicion lying on them of the tumult and he quarrels [with] none of their preachings but Mr. Walter's in the day of that tumult.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *Endorsed*: "2. Petitions presented by the Synodal of Lothian to the King. The answers to the same."

Feb. 20. **375. GEORGE HUME TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 246.

[After our sundering yesternight there came to] mind the sympathy betwixt [the adamant and the ir]on whose conjunction is broken many times by force of [hand though no] force be of power to change their natures; neither could necessity (which now forbids our companying together) stay but rather [increase] the desire of the same, which for a day you might have helped if [you had] list. Which fault though we regret we must pardon, waiting [with] appetite the time of our next meeting, God willing; in the mean[time] visiting you by this occasion or (as occasion will be offered) in [such] sort as absents may, and wishing your good, which I had [r]ather behold, knowing it still yet by a more comfortable meeting no more to sunder.

[W]e received advertisement yesternight from Court approving our [d]ay of meeting (as ye heard). They think we should begin in Scotland, [where]fore we must either begin or end. His Majesty is to remove towards Perth on Wednesday, whereupon we are compelled to make the greater haste. He is well minded towards this our begun redress, whose good mind we look not to find diminished by our coming to him. His mind is rather hoped to change concerning the ministry and these of Edinburgh not already changed. Many of our ministry refuse to come to this Convention pretending that Huntly's power is there to be feared. We could have no more of John Burne but his promise and Andrew's (?) "not vyttless qho" counted it always sufficient but at Court we think to mend it for we will not forget your charge. I must for want of leisure pray you to make my most hearty commendation to my Lord of Durham and the rest of your associates of whom we cannot say but they mean and deal uprightly with us. Edinburgh, 20 February 1596. *Signed*: George Houme.

1 p. *Holograph. Damaged by fire, the missing portions above being supplied in brackets from the partial transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 306.*

Feb. 21. **376. ROBERT BOWES TO THE ENGLISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS.**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 240.

[Yesterday I received your letter of the 19 hereof together with some letters, notes] and writings very effectual for my [information in my] course here for her Majesty's service. The present time [has not] aptly served to get access to the King to negotiate the contents [of] your lordships' letter and of the notes sent to me. But with the next [op]portunity I shall do my diligence to expedite all things therein agreeable to your re-

James VI.
1596-7.

quest and for the benefit of the causes specified in the same. Of my doings and success therein your lordships shall be advertised speedily and so soon as I can address the same with any certainty, which I think cannot be effected before the return hither of the Commissioners for Scotland looked for this day and by whose good assistance I trust to prevail the better in my request for the common causes in Border matters.

At this present I know very few English fugitives remaining in Scotland and for any especial causes for her Majesty's service to be called for and delivered. Whereof I shall make inquiry and certify to you the names of such persons as shall be found here, together with their causes, qualities and cases. But in this behalf your lordships may receive most perfectly the instructions of her Majesty's several wardens and officers in the Marches, who can best delate to you the fugitives escaped and fled out of their several offices into this realm.

By the report of some of the Council I understand that, albeit the King and this estate can be pleased to agree to a meeting and conference of all the Commissioners at Carlisle, yet I perceive that they shall be drawn to Dumfries to finish all the causes for the West Marches. Nevertheless, I shall do my endeavour to procure the meeting and conference to be begun, proceeded and ended at Carlisle to prevent your lordships' wearisome travels to Dumfries.

Lastly, I behold some clouds threatening some storms to fall and hinder the wished expedition and success of these affairs for the Borders well and orderly hitherto begun and entered. For the prevention of the danger and inconvenience thereof I shall with all diligence employ my best means as shortly you shall have advertisement. Edinburgh, 21 February 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 p. *Slightly damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 305.*

Feb. 23. **377.** ANONYMOUS TO KING JAMES VI.

If by negligence or simplicity I have been in any place or society wherethrough your Highness has been offended or yet your laws broken or violated, with all humility I will put myself in your will and crave pardon for the same. If it would please you to do me that favour as to let me have access to your Majesty's presence I hope to give you full satisfaction of my part in all the proceedings of this late uproar, which from my heart I ever disallowed, knowing assuredly that your Highness of your goodwill and princely nature will never esteem me so barbarous as to have practised any kind of treason against your estate or person, whereby I will never cry God's nor your Majesty's pardon in any sort. From your Majesty's Castle of Edinburgh, 23 February 1596. *Unsigned.*

$\frac{1}{3}$ p. *No endorsement.*

Feb. 24. **378.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Mr. Thomas Nicolson who lay in the Low Countries this time past is arrived here. For certain sums he stood bound in for the laird of Logie he was constrained to keep himself close for a time, but upon his coming

James VI.

1596-7.

to me I have taken some order for him that he may do his affairs without fear. He has desired me to signify unto your Honour that he has something to communicate to you which he thought not fit to commit to writing, which done he leaves to your good pleasure and wisdom to be censured, for other occasion he had none to cross the seas. The cause why you have not been more "tymusly" informed hereof was his foresaid trouble. This 24 of February 1596. *Signed*: Ja: Hudson.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Feb. 25. **379. LORD BURGHLEY TO THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS IN SCOTLAND.**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 236.

You shall understand that the Queen has been [acquainted] with your last letters of the 22nd of this month and [upon] conference thereupon with her Council allows very well [of th]e manner of your proceeding, although she considers many [diff]iculties arising therein, to the which she cannot presently [gi]ve resolution without some further advertisement and advice also from you. And for that she perceives the opposite Commissioners mean to visit the King at St. Johnstone and afterwards to come to Carlisle, she understands not from yourselves what you will do in the meantime, but considering the others mean to inform the King of their proceedings, she thinks it very requisite that she should be also in some part informed by you how to proceed further for removing of the difficulties that are likely to arise by this treaty. Therefore she has commanded me expressly to require you to permit and send Sir William Bowes up in post to her Majesty by whom she may be both informed of your proceedings and you also further instructed how to manage this treaty to some good end. Therefore I require you, Sir William Bowes, in her name without delay to make your repair up hither in post, and if it shall serve that his coming up shall be disliked by the opposite Commissioners you may as you shall think good show them that as they purpose to repair to the King to inform him of their actions, so you may allege you think it to be your duty to inform her Majesty. In the meantime how you think to deal in the frontier matters is left to your discretions to remain where you will. Although I think if you should have any mind to return from that place in the mean season it would sound uncomfortable to the people of the country as despairing of the success of the treaty. Hoping shortly to see you, Sir William Bowes, and shortly also to procure your return, from the Court this 25th of February 1596. W. Burghley.

1 p. *Copy slightly damaged by fire. Addressed*: [To the reverend father in [God, my] good Lord the B. [of Durham] and others her [Majesty's Comm]issioners for [the Borders]. *At foot*: "Copia vera, T. Duresm." *Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 301.*

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 250.

Another copy of the foregoing letter.

1 p.

Feb. 26. **380. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.**

Upon receipt of the letters from the Bishop of Durham and the rest

James VI.

1596-7.

of her Majesty's Commissioners for the Borders and also from the Lord Scrope and all certifying the five several attempts done by Scottishmen in Gilsland within Lord Scrope's office in the time of this late treaty of the Commissioners at Berwick, I have at length opened to the King these barbarous outrages, laying before him how under truce and in the time of treaty and assurance her Majesty's subjects have been spoiled. Wherein I laid before [him] the insolent disobedience of his subjects against the proclamation for the peace, the open contempt of the King's power and authority, the careless regard of truce, treaties, faith, truth, promise or assurance and the breach of laws of nations and nature, as no good fruit can be expected either of the actions of the Commissioners lately past at Berwick or yet by their future travails and meeting for the determination and end of those causes. The King said it was not strange to see thieves and broken people "steile and reve" according to their nature and custom and marvelled to see me so much moved therewith. To this I replied that this disobedience, contempt and despite uttered and done in time of general restraint, truce and treaty ought not to be reputed as a common theft or "reife" in regard that the unseasonable and malicious attempts threaten the worst effects to follow thereon. I added that her Majesty cannot but see the dishonour nor digest the indignity offered thereby to her and her realm. Therefore I did in earnest manner call for honourable, due and "indelate" redress in these behalves, to be timely executed either by the King's ordinary authority and power or by just revenge or reprisal to be suffered and consented by the King and the State. After some offers to give order to Buccleuch to yield speedy redress for these facts, which offer and overture I find not sufficient to give full and seasonable amends for her Majesty's satisfaction, he agreed to send a special gentleman to Buccleuch and other officers to command them to yield "indelate" redress for the offences before the next meeting of the Commissioners on the 10th of next month and also to see the same made and executed, otherwise by his own power he would punish Buccleuch for his default and consent to reprisal to be taken by her Majesty's subjects. In which behalves he promised to confer with his Council and to advertise me of their resolution therein. For his better information I delivered to him the copy of the bills and complaints of her Majesty's subjects against the offenders. Yesterday he sent Sir John Carmichael to let me know that Andrew Murray was already employed and sent to Buccleuch and others to provide that these attempts should be "indelately" redressed, and that the Commissioners at their next meeting, and before their entry and treaty in any other cause, should make full amends and satisfaction in those bills. It is alleged that the like faults are committed in Scotland by Englishmen, which I have referred to the complaints and proofs of the parties grieved to be heard and determined by the Commissioners.

Where the Commissioners have found it requisite and accorded that sundry chosen persons of every special surname and claim in the Marches of both these realms should be delivered and kept for pledges and the execution and full accomplishment of the acts concluded by the Commissioners (the effects whereof are certified I trust to you by the Commissioners) I have moved the King for the confirmation of the same, which the King and Council (as he told me) have by their hands and subscriptions

James VI.

1596-7. after many arguments allowed. In future and fit time it may happily be thought convenient and consented that this order and assurance of pledges for performance of modern causes may likewise be continued for the surety and preservation of the peace and justice, which I leave to be attempted with the next and fittest occasion to be offered.

I have further moved the King that with his advice the Commissioners may hold their next conferences in Carlisle as they have done in Berwick, in respect that Carlisle is walled against all feuds and may well assure the safeties of the Commissioners and all persons resorting thither to them. This assurance of safety cannot be given in Dumfries, being open and unwalled, or in any other fit place in the Marches of Scotland subject to the great feuds presently reigning there and to the barbarous disobedience and contempt lately shown by Liddisdale and others of the West Marches. The King seemed pleased to allow of the Commissioners' conferences at Carlisle for convenient time. But it must (he said) be kept likewise at Dumfries for special matters to be treated there. It is thought dangerous to the Maxwells to pass through the bounds and lands of the Johnstones to Carlisle and to avoid the inconvenience it is thought meet to draw the Commissioners to Dumfries for the causes touching the Maxwells. In this I have spoken with the most part of the Commissioners for Scotland who are ready to advance this order for conference at Carlisle as I have proponed.

Albeit the King was earnestly moved by the petitions of the Synodal Convention of Fife, Angus and Mearns and otherwise instanted that the General Assembly of the Church (now appointed to be at Perth on the last hereof) might be adjourned until April next and holden at St. Andrews, yet he would not agree thereunto nor be stayed from Perth. Yesterday he removed to Linlithgow purposing to see the Prince at Stirling this day, and on the last hereof to be at Perth. Because he has commanded the ministers to show their obedience, every presbytery has chosen and appointed their commissioners, resolving to send them with such commission and instructions as by the copy of the same enclosed will be best known to your lordship. It is generally thought and expected that the commissioners appearing at Perth for the Church shall not in that place and at this Convention of the Estates escape some great disadvantage, howsoever they shall do and behave themselves.

I am informed that Patrick Murray, before sent to the provincial conventions of the ministers of the North with the King's commission and for the absolution of the excommunication of Huntly (and for other favours for him), is returned to Court with report that the presbyteries of Banff, Elgin and Aberdeen have heard and well allow and receive Huntly's submission and offers to them for the Church. Nevertheless, the appointed commissioners for some of these presbyteries named and of other places in the North have been personally here to inform the King how they have proceeded with Huntly and referred him and the cause to the next General Assembly of the Church. Murray's report and course herein are thought very strange, yet it is looked that the same shall turn to Huntly's profit and advantage.

Many of the principal officers and others of quality and credit in the town of Edinburgh have been quietly and earnestly (as I am credibly

James VI.

1596-7.

advertised) dealt with to put themselves in the King's will for the late tumult and faults in their town the 17th December last ; that it has been offered that after their submission they shall be quit by assize at their own nomination and receive all other favours to their contentment. Yet they cannot be drawn to give in this manner satisfaction to the King and Council, but have presented their supplication to be discharged from their entry in ward at Perth, which request is rejected after many fair words giving them hope of good success in their wished desires. The town had named and appointed 12 chosen burgesses to have answered this matter. But the King has (as I hear) refused all the persons chosen by the town, except very few, and commanded others, very religious, honest and substantial men, to endure the burden and charge at Perth, where it is thought fit assizes shall be found and taken to work effects most carefully sought and pleasant to the Court. But it may be that the extremities looked for shall not fall out as is feared.

Lord Forbes continuing in ward in the Castle here has been likewise tempted to put himself in the King's will. His case is very extreme, yet he has endured all storms and with the advice of his friends has offered himself to the King in form appearing by his letters to him, the copy whereof I send enclosed. Many others (as is firmly told me) have been inwardly pressed to submit themselves to the King's will. The effects following have been slender, yet looked to be amended at Perth.

John Forbes, the eldest son of Lord Forbes and begotten on the father's sister of the Earl of Huntly, was before allured and secretly conveyed (as I hear) into France by the means of Huntly and Mr. James Gordon the Jesuit in like sort as was done to his elder brother, who after his entry into [a] religious house in France died there. This wilful papist is professed a Capucin and named Archangel Capucin unworthy. It is said that he is called home by great personages for evil purposes, namely to seise himself in the possessions of his father and thereby to party Huntly and his actions with such strength as small encounter shall be against Huntly and him. His return amazes much the religious and well affected who wholly respect troubles.

The religious sort here are of opinion that this violent course against religion cannot long prevail without the aid of papists or Spaniards and upon recovery of their practices. Against all which the best have hitherto rested [upon] and still trust to her Majesty's goodness and support. Yet many are lately terrified with bruits that this cause betwixt the King and his Council against the ministers and religious wins such credit in England by the informations given from this realm as place and time shall hardly be got for the defence of the ministers and religious who remain at her Majesty's devotion. Therefore according to my first and general instructions and to the wise and grave advices given by your lordship I still seek to maintain the religion to nourish and preserve the mutual kindness betwixt her Majesty and the King, the happy continuance of the amity betwixt them and these two realms, the common peace in both nations and the honourable opinions with the devoted goodwill of the religious and well affected towards her Majesty. For which cause I have travailed to remove from the hearts of this good sort this idle fear conceived and to many of the wisest I have yielded sufficient satisfaction.

James VI.

1596-7. Now I pray to be directed how and how far I may proceed in this course with the religious and with best allowance of my actions therein.

The Lord Treasurer has broken his leg with the fall of his horse in the street in Edinburgh. Edinburgh, 26 February 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

4 pp. *Addressed and endorsed.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Commission and instructions of the Presbytery of Edinburgh to its commissioners at the General Assembly to convene at Perth, ultimo Febr. instant.)

"The sum of the commission to the commissioners of the Presbytery of Edinburgh."

The brethren appoint as their commissioners Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Patrick Galloway and Mr. John Spottiswood, ministers, to see and hear what shall be "proponit anent the intreating" of the difference of the civil and ecclesiastical judgments and matters concerning the policy of the Kirk and its external government, but no ways to proceed in reasoning, voting or concluding anything prejudicial to the constitutions of the Kirk. "Subscribed by the clerk of the Presbytery." *Unsigned.*

Instructions to the brethren.

1. First ye shall show that ye are come for obedience to his Majesty and not for that ye acknowledge this to be a lawful General Assembly, by reason it is not appointed by the last General nor to convocate by the advice of the commissioners of the last General Assembly as has been the practice of the Kirk at all times before in this country.

2. Item, ye shall show that ye may not condescend in any way to the reasoning of the matters of the policy, because the general Kirk to which ye are subject has already determined the same, which determination ye have also subscribed unto and none may call the same in doubt or put them in reasoning but the general self. Therefore ye shall desire his Majesty in all humility for a continuation of these reasonings till the ordinary Assembly which is to be at St. Andrews in April next.

3. If no continuation can be held and ye be urged to proceed ye shall protest for the liberties of the Kirk and keep yourselves always free of everything that shall be done thereanent.

4. Because this Assembly [is] convocated by his Majesty only for these differences, ye shall not mell in any manner with Huntly's receiving or any other thing belonging properly to the General.

5. Last, ye shall travail with the ministry, barons and noblemen that shall happen there to be convened that a uniform supplication may be made for the restoring of the ministers of Edinburgh to their flocks and behave yourselves herein prudently as accords.

2 pp. *Endorsed*: "Martii 1596. Brief of the Com. to the Com^{rs} of the Presbitery."

Feb. 26. **381.** ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Thomas Otterburne of Readhall and Thomas Hamilton of Preston, two gentlemen of Scotland, have desired me to certify to your Honour

James VI.

1596-7. that since their coming from Scotland in July last (as by their licences and passports appears) they have continually remained in this city of London, except that Hamilton passed to visit the Low Countries for the space of two or three months. They are now both desirous for obeying the will of their parents to return to their native country and pray that it may please you to grant them your passport for that effect. 26 February 1596. *Signed*: A. Douglas.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Addressed and endorsed.*

Feb. 28. **382. THE CONVENTION OF ESTATES AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.**

Printed in
Calderwood,
*History of the
Kirk of Scotland*,
v, 583-596.

The questions to be resolved at the Convention of the Estates and General Assembly appointed to be at the burgh of Perth the last day of February next to come.

Fifty-five questions drawn up by King James over his sign manual relating to the powers of the General Assembly of the Kirk, its constitution and its jurisdiction in relation to the civil jurisdiction, with a preface to the reader.

8 printed pp. (*small quarto*). Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the King's Majesty, 1597. *Endorsed*: "Questions propounded by K. Ja. to the Generall Convention at Perth, 1597."

Manuscript copy of the foregoing preface and questions.

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *In two English hands. Endorsed respectively* "The preface to the articles to be proponed," etc. *and* "The questions to be resolved at the Convention of the Estates and General Assembly at Perth the last day of Feb. 1596." *The copy of the questions appears to be in the handwriting of Bowes's clerk and there are slight errors in the numeration.*

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 346.

Another manuscript copy of the said preface and questions.

3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *In an English hand. Damaged by fire, a transcript made before the fire is in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 379-383.*

[1596-7. Feb.] **383. THE SCOTTISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS TO [THOSE OF ENGLAND].**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 301.
Calendared in
Border Papers,
ii, No. 515.

The bill against Lord Scroope, warden of the West March of England over against Scotland. *Undated.*

1 p. *Copy.*

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 342.

Another copy of the same.

1 p.

1596-7. **384. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.**

[Feb.]

There be a number of fair horses and mares sent to the King from Ireland. His Majesty is yesterday retired from this town to his journey to St. Johnston. Thither are many bishops, abbots and priors summoned and written for to "compaire." But the ministers do not intend to be there, for they suspect that all matters shall go against them and that not

James VI.

1596-7. without cause. For the papists in a manner say they were never more hated at the beginning of the Reformation as the ministers be now. How soon this Convention shall be ended the Lord Secretary shall be directed to France, but I have not yet learnt the cause but I shall know it before it be long, God willing.

Buccleuch would have made a "roadd" in your wardenry ere now if he had not been advised by his friends at Court to attempt nothing during the remaining of the Commissioners together. I think evil to write the words he spake to myself within these 8 days of your Honour, they be so bad and full of pride. Therefore your lordship had need with expedition to crave some assistance of the Queen to be in readiness to withstand his proud attempts that he means shortly to effect against your wardenry, having so great favour at the King and Queen's hands, especially as he makes brags of not a little to his own glory and will do more if the Queen do not prevent him in time, and says he has more friends of late within your office than he had before. But of that hereafter you shall know more. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 p. *In a Scottish hand. Endorsed: "2 Martii 1596. Scottish advises."*

[1596-7. 385. INSTRUCTIONS TO PATRICK MURRAY.
? Feb.]

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 212.

[Instructions to Patrick Murray to be proponed to the ministers of the North, especially to the presbytery of Aberdeen.

Imprimis, you] shall show unto them that of this last Convention of [our nobility] ordaining all ministers to acknowledge our authority in all matters [of sediti]on or treason or other civil and criminal matters and in [all their spe]eches quilk may import these crimes, albeit uttered by them in [pulp]it according to a form of a band found reasonable by our Council to be [sub]scribed by the said ministers under pains of "tyn-sale" of their stipends [and] benefices, quilk band ye shall present unto them and desire the same.

[Ite]m ye shall show them the great slander which the ministers of the town have done to the religion by the stirring up of the last uproar of the people against us, our nobility and Council, and by their seditious preaching, convocation [of the] barons out of the pulpit and exhorting of the rascal of the town to [ar]mour; and their writing to my Lord Hamilton and others of our nobility to make a plain rebellion against us. Quilk crimes they have accepted upon them and are denounced to the horn and fugitive from our laws for the same. And therefore ye shall desire the said ministry of the North and presbytery of Aberdeen by their act and declaration to disallow of such seditious and treasonable proceedings specially in [the] said persons of the said ministers of Edinburgh that to their taciturnity and overpassing of so great slanders they appear not to allow of the same.

Item, where we were informed that the Earl of Huntly's reasonable offers to satisfy the Kirk was [*sic*] refused by the said presbytery upon some secret promise made to the ministers of Edinburgh that the said satisfaction shall not be received without their advice, we will not believe that the presbytery of Aberdeen will acknowledge any supremacy of the

James VI.

1596-7. presbytery and ministers of Edinburgh above them ; quilk being altogether [un]lawful, we, our nobility and estates will never allow thereof. [As] to the pretended commissioners of the General Assembly their commission is found and decreed by us and our Council to have been [un]lawful from the beginning and therefore lawfully discharged [by] us. Quilk act ye shall in like manner show to the same pres[by]tery, so there is no present power or authority above the [sa]id presbytery of Aberdeen to stay them to accept the Earl's [re]asonable satisfaction in case the same be offered, since we and [our] Council have commanded them to accept the same petition (?) [that] the whole body of our realm may be of new unite in [one reli]gion and policy.

[Item], whereas one delay is intended quilk the General Assem[bly] upon pretence of the process of excommunication ratified by the [said] Assembly, it is no ways reasonable that there should be more [dela]y in the receiving and absolution of the penitent sinner [than] was used in the excommunication of him. But far greater haste [should be] used in the said absolution than was used in the said exc[ommunicatio]n if the rule of the scripture be observed. Therefore as one [presbytery] used the excommunication to the quilk the said Earl [was not sub]ject let [the other presbytery, even that] of Aberdeen to the quilk [he is subject, receive] in like manner his [satisfaction and give the absolution quilk] may be afterwards ratified [by the General Assembly as the said sen]tence of excommunication was [not ratified by the General Assembly till many months after the pronouncing thereof by the presbytery of St. Andrews within which the said Earl shared no residence.

Quhair any doubt may be cast in what form of satisfaction is reasonable in such a case of apostacy from religion and] rebellion to us, [the said doubt is resolved by an Act of Parliament] made in the year of God 157[2 anent the disobedient] quilk shall be received to our sovereign [lord's mercy, quilk Act] is imprinted amongst the rest of the [Acts made in favour of the] Kirk, wherein it is expressly ordained [that such persons as] have made defection from our obedience and have [been excommunicated be not] received to our mercy and favour. They sh[all give conversion [? *rectius* confession] of] their faith of new and "perverse" [? *rectius* profess] to continue in the [true] religion in time coming and maintain our authori[ty and that they shall] at uttermost of their power fortify, assist and m[aintain the true teach]ers and professors of Christ's religion against whatso[ever enemy, etc.], as at more length is contained in the said Act, [which com]prehends the form of satisfaction quilk shall be . . . both have made rebellion against us and also is . . . by the Kirk, so that no doubt or delay justly [can be preten]ded upon the form of the said satisfaction.

Item, ye shall present to the said ministry the [questions anent] the policy of the Kirk lately imprinted quilk w[e intend to have] friendly decided and agreed upon betwixt [us and the whole] ministry at the next Convention of our Estates [and General] Assembly, quilk we have appointed to be at Per[th the last of] February, to the quilk ye shall desire the said [Presbytery] to send one part of the most discreet of their [members], also show that we have convened here one nu[mber of the] discreetest ministers out of all presbyteries of . . . [here]about, who having

James VI.

1596-7. seen these questions have [declared to] us that there will be little question but the w[hole ministry] will agree to our intencion in all these contro[versies].

Item, ye shall show that we have granted [a commission] for the "plat" of this here to the quilk they may [send] for the affairs of their own pr[esbytery as] were in use of before, wherein they and every [of them] shall find our special favour as the bearer he[reof will show] more particularly, since our intencion is fully [to alter nothing] of our good will to the whole ministers, notwith[standing the] great wrong we have received of the inso[lent ministers] of Edinburgh, whose advice we believe [the presbytery] of Aberdeen will not now seek in [any matter], seeing they are denounced our rebels and f[ugitives from] our laws as said is.

2 pp. *Damaged by fire and much faded in part. As far as possible the missing words have been supplied above in brackets from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 265, 266.*

March 1. **386. JAMES VI TO THE LAIRD OF PHILORTH.**

Stowe MSS.
154, fol. 2.

"Right traist friend we greit you hartlie well. Hearing that ye have ane gyir falcon quilk is esteemit the best halk in all that cuntrie and meetest for us that have sa gude lyking of that pastyme, we have thairfor taiken occasion effectuouslie to requiest and desyre you seing halkis are but gifting geir and na utherwise to be accompted betwixt us and you being sa well and lang acquainted that of courtesie ye will bestow on us that your halk and send her heir to us with this bearer our servand, quhom we have anis earand directed to bring and carry hir tendilie. Querin as he shall report our hartie and speciall thankis, sa sall ye find us ready to requite your courtesie and gud will with na less pleasure in any the like sutes as occasion sall present. Thus resting persuadit of your pleasuring us heiranent we commit you in God's protection. From Perth the first of March 1596. Sic subscribitur James R."

"To our right traist friend the Laerd of Philorth."

1 p. *Copy.*

[? March 3.] **387. ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

There is come to this town four gentlemen of Scotland who have been at the schools in France. They are desirous to return into their own country. By post they have desired me to be named for their passport in respect they are known to me to be gentlemen of good houses. From my lodging at Mr. Hudson's this Monday at night. I have received all the letters your Honour sent me but my own name is left out. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

1 p. *Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk: "7 Mar: 1596."**

On a slip of paper annexed the four names following: James Borthuik, James Makmach, Archibald Gybson, Robert Murray.

* 7 March 1596-7 fell on a Friday.

James VI.

1596-7. 388. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

March 6.

I beseech you to make a good construction of my long silence which my so violent misfortune has only caused and for the dispatch of Nicolson I pray you believe I would have been glad to have sent him away sooner, if either his estate would have been relieved or if I could have procured that present to be sent with him which I knew you looked for. This bearer, Mr. Aston, has carried himself well to the Queen in particular and is now dismissed with a letter, whereof I send you the copy that you may accordingly govern yourself, for whom I assure you there is no friend you have would gladlier embrace occasion to do good. I send you herewith a passport for my Lord of Argyll and her Majesty's pleasure is in anywise that you shall entertain all good offers made unto her from the Treasurer of Scotland, the Prior of Blantyre, and to assure him that she will more respect him than any other for that she knows him to be wise, sound and religious.

I hope to get George Nicolson something because he has served you faithfully. And for yourself and desire to return I do not see how it can be speedily procured whilst this treaty lasts, but the Queen promises to choose some fit man that may succeed you in regard of the decay she hears in your health. I have at this time thought fit to refer you to Mr. Aston, whom Sir William Bowes shall follow to expostulate with the King, and surely when he shall come he will be able to acquaint you with their variable delays, for he is both wise and discreet and has fully informed her Majesty of their proceedings to her satisfaction. Within a two or three days I hope to dispatch Nicolson with some lease in reversion.
Undated.

Postscript.—I pray you in any wise make known to the Duke how kindly her Majesty takes his offer of good affection and readiness to perform good offices between the two crowns, which he shall never more zealously perform than she will princely accept and requite as occasion shall be offered.

1 *p.* *Draft with corrections and additions in Cecil's handwriting.*
Endorsed: "A copy of my master's letter to Mr. Bowes, her Majesty's Ambassador with the K. of Scots. 6^{to} Martij 1596."

Vol. lii, p. 160.

Copy of the foregoing letter with slight verbal variations.

1½ *pp.* *In the hand of Cecil's clerk.* *Headed:* "6^{to} Martij 1596. A copy of my master's letter to Mr. Bowes."

March 9. 389. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

By my other to your father sent with these presents I have certified the proceedings and conclusions at this late Convention of the Estates and General Assembly of the Church at Perth, together with the present occurrences here, all which I refer to the view of my letter, which I trust shall be showed to you.

MacLean is recovered of his sickness and returned home, remaining ready to be employed as her Majesty shall direct him and desiring to under-

James VI.

1596-7. stand timely her pleasure therein that he may prepare and furnish himself to do the best offices.

I am eftsoons advertised that there are frequent intelligences betwixt Spain and sundry of the principal free towns in the East, and that all sorts of provisions should be put in readiness for the King of Spain, and also great masses of treasure to be levied in these towns and parts for his furniture. It is thought that the greatest proportion of them shall be expended in the affairs touching this Isle and Ireland.

I am pressed much for the expedition of her Majesty's safe conducts to the Earl of Argyll and the laird of Easter Wemyss, who by some late occasions and accidents are moved to seek them with best speed and which I have thought good to commend to your knowledge and memory.

Edinburgh, 9 March 1596. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Addressed and endorsed.*

March 9. **390. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.**

The other day the Lord Treasurer and rest of the Council resiant here addressed the Lord Clerk Register to let me understand that forasmuch as the Maxwells and Johnstones had assembled great forces in the West Marches of this realm to revenge the feuds reigning amongst them and the King by his officers at arms had demanded the delivery of the houses of Muswald, Carlavarok and Terthorral [Torthorwald], in the same Marches, all which houses were still withholden and kept against the King, whereupon the King was resolved personally to pass into these parts on the 20th hereof to besiege these houses and pacify the country, before the execution whereof they thought that the meeting of the Commissioners for the Borders should little prevail or work requisite effects, therefore the King and his Council then at the Convention at Perth have thought meet and resolved to adjourn the appointed meeting of the Commissioners to have been on the 10th hereof until 10 April next, first at Greatney, then at Carlisle, and after as they shall accord. I have laid before them the great inconveniences likely to grow by the unseasonable delay of this former meeting at Greatney and Carlisle on the 10th instant, at which time redress was promised for the late attempts made by Liddisdale and others in the West Marches in England, and also by the breach of the meetings set down and prescribed by the Commissioners betwixt the Lord Eure and Sir Robert Kerr for filing the bills in the Middle Marches, wherein Lord Eure has 200 bills to be filed, more than Sir Robert can well demand. It is pretended that the King in person will provide amends in all these behalfs and open the way with best surety and expedition for the progress of the Commissioners in the further execution of their commission. All which I refer to the experience of the due performance of these effects promised.

On the last of February the King came to Perth to the Convention which was very slender at this time and whereat were present the Duke of Lennox, Lord John Hamilton, the Earls of Atholl, Montrose and Mar, the Lords of Ochiltree, Sanquhar and Spynie, of the Council the Lord President, Justice Clerk, Advocate and Sir Robert Melvill, and of Barons Balmoathie, Tullibardine, Cessford, Farniherst, Traquair, and the Con-

James VI.

1596-7.

stable of Dundee. The King (as I hear) was much offended with the noblemen summoned and absent, namely with the Earls of Argyll, Crawford, Marischal and Glencairn.

The Assembly of the ministers was great, namely from the North. They were first heard and it fell in question betwixt the King and them whether their assembly was with sufficient commissions to "intreat" and conclude in causes for the Church as a General Assembly for the Church. For many commissioners alleged their commissions to be limited by express instructions directing them to come for obedience of the King and his commandment, and not to acknowledge this to be a lawful General Assembly for reasons specified in their instructions, the copies whereof I sent before to your lordship. It is informed that the King, being highly offended therewith, said that if this be not a General Assembly there shall be none during his life. Whereupon the question was referred to the resolution of the ministers present [*in margin*: The great and good part of the presbyteries in the West were not called as others were by the King to this Assembly.] and by plurality of votes was determined that this Assembly was lawful and general. Thereon both the King proponed to them sundry articles to be concluded by them (the copy of which articles I send enclosed) and also the Assembly then united answered to the articles and to the effects appearing by the copy of their answers enclosed, which orders and acts accorded shall be enrolled in the register of the Church. The King is well pleased with the proceedings of the ministers at this time and purposes to be personally at the next General Convention to be holden at Dundee on the second Tuesday of May next, where the residue of his questions shall be resolved and all other matters ordered for the Church and for the benefit thereof. The Assembly presented to the King their petitions in the favour of Edinburgh and for the restitution of the four ministers of Edinburgh to their flocks. It was answered that the matter for that town appertained not to them but the cause for the ministers should be considered with the next opportunity. Whereupon it is thought that these four ministers shall be licensed to come into and remain in this realm upon sufficient caution to answer unto and be tried by assize in all matters to be objected against them, which (as I hear) is offered to be done on their behalfs; and that, nevertheless, the King will not suffer them to be restored unto their former places and functions in Edinburgh, which he will have served by others.

The burgesses of Edinburgh appearing at Perth for the whole town upon their summons and charge have been earnestly "instanted" (as I hear) to put themselves in the King's will for the late tumult in Edinburgh. For the better advancement thereof Sir Robert Melvill, Justice Clerk, the Advocate and Traquair were appointed to travail with and persuade these townsmen to satisfy the King's desire. Wherein these commissioners for the King dealt earnestly and offered largely to the burgesses that their submission should not be turned to their prejudice or discontentment; yet the townsmen would not submit. Afterwards the King with fair words and promises sought to draw them to yield unto him in this behalf, which they still refused. Yet the four bailiffs desiring to please the King offered to submit themselves to his will, only for themselves and not for the town. This the King would not accept,

James VI.

1596-7.

saying that he would never come in Edinburgh until they had rendered themselves to him and his will herein, and that time should not decrease but increase his wrath against them. Hereupon an assize was to have been summoned and called for the trial of the burgesses on the 7th hereof at Perth ; in which assize the Duke and the rest of the noblemen there present with other of the King's domestics were named. All which the advocates for Edinburgh challenged for such manifest causes as the assize was stayed. At length it was found out that 12 burgesses by name and the common clerk of Edinburgh were cited and charged to appear for the town at this Convention, and that William Alde, one of the 12 burgesses cited, was absent, and thereby the charge to be disobeyed and the whole town to be *contumax*. To this it was alleged that the King by his licence in writing had dispensed with William Alde's appearance at Perth in this case, and that the licence produced was found dated before the citation and charge. Therefore the whole town is discerned to be put to the horn. For the execution whereof by open proclamation in Edinburgh the charge is already awarded and given forth to put to the horn the provost, bailiffs, counsel, deacons and whole commonalty of Edinburgh. Which charge was published in Perth on the 7th hereof. Yet Edinburgh trusts to sustain no forfeiture of their goods thereby, and upon publication of it in Edinburgh they intend to pray a suspension for discharge of their forfeiture ; which suspension ought (as it is said) to be granted to them upon sufficient caution to answer unto and be tried according to the course of the laws. Some peaceable mediators labour to pacify and end this matter with the King's satisfaction.

The commission to the Secretary is ready to be employed and sent for the King's Ambassador to the French King to renew the ancient league and confederacy betwixt France and Scotland, to call for the sums of money due to the King of Scots for his mother, to seek as well the allowance of the privileges for the merchants of Scotland as also discharge of the imposts taken of them. The King moved that the burghs would contribute and give to the Secretary 2000 crowns towards his charge in this negotiation. It is said that this motion was not well liked by the burghs who seemed contented to contribute *pro rata* and at reasonable rate ; that then the King offered to bear his whole charges upon condition that the merchants in Scotland should pay to the King here such sums as should be abated in France for the imposts of wines bought by Scottishmen ; which matters are referred to the King's coming to Holyroodhouse. The laird of Easter Wemyss travelled before in these errands or in the most of them (as is I trust known to your lordship). He is purposed to return into France with speed, hoping by the favour of the French King towards him to do good offices for her Majesty in these and other behalfs. He desires her Majesty's safe conduct to pass through England as I have before certified. Roger Aston has (I think) commission to seek her Majesty's safe conduct for the Secretary, and it may be that he is acquainted with his errands.

The Bishop of Aberdeen and the presbyteries in the North have reported the good inclination and offers of Huntly for his submission to the Church. Albeit his present absolution from his excommunication (which was earnestly pressed) is referred to the next General Assembly to

James VI.

1596-7. begin at Dundee on 12 May next, sundry ministers are appointed and authorised to confer with him in the meantime, as by the articles sent herewith will appear to you. He is directed to reside in Aberdeen, which order is deemed by many to give him over large possession in such a port town, until his good meaning shall be better approved and the danger of Spanish forces drawing near the coasts of this Isle and Ireland be past. Angus and Errol (as I hear) shall have like favour and in their behalfs and benefits (namely for Huntly) very hot affections have been uttered at this Convention.

Sundry other causes touching bringing in of bullion, customs of silk, parchment, lace, linen cloth and such like have been treated in this Convention.

Many proclamations have been made here since the end of this Convention. Because they are grounded either upon the articles and effects mentioned herein or else concern common causes needless to be certified, I forbear to pester and trouble you therewith for this time.

The reports by word and letters have been so diverse and varying in the form and substance of the proceedings and conclusions at this Convention at Perth as I have been more curious to write certainly than hastily and thereby occasioned to be thus slow in this address.

The Lord Treasurer is fallen into a hot and dangerous fever with peril of his life, which with all good men is lamented.

The imposter come hither as a Capuchin and the son of Lord Forbes is discovered to be a cook and has deceived many. Edinburgh, 9 March 1596. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—This morning, 10 March, the provost, bailiffs, counsel, deacons and commonalty of the town of Edinburgh were put to the horn by proclamation published in Edinburgh, and the King's licence granted to William Alde to dispense with his appearance at Perth is therewith declared to be void.

4½ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk with notes of the contents and* "Rec. at the Strand the xvjth of the same [March 1596]."

Printed in Spottiswoode, *Hist. of the Church of Scotland* (3rd ed., London, 1668), pp. 438-442; Calderwood *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, v, 610-612, 614-617.

The enclosure in the same letter.

(Articles proponed by his Majesty to be concluded upon by this present General Assembly, with the answers of the Assembly.)

The 13 articles proposed by the King setting out *inter alia* the lawfulness of the crown or any of the pastors to reform the external policy and government of the Kirk in matters not essential to salvation, that the civil and political government of the country belongs to the King and his Councillors and is no ways pertinent to the spiritual ministry, the unlawfulness of the pastors naming in the pulpit any particular man except for notorious crimes, that every presbytery should take account of its pastors' doctrine, that there should be no excommunication until after three lawful citations with eight days interval between each, that there be no meetings or conventions of the pastors without the King's consent except in the case of their ordinary sessions, presbyteries and synods, that in all the principal towns no ministers be chosen without the consent of their own flocks and of the King, this order to begin at once in the planting of

James VI.

1596-7. Edinburgh, that seven or eight discreet ministers be authorised by commission to deal with the rest of the King's questions, and that the present Assembly commission the ministers of the North to absolve Huntly if he satisfy them, together with the several answers to them as here given, do not differ in substance from the accounts printed in Spottiswoode's and Calderwood's histories, except that the names of thirteen ministers only are here given as appointed to confer further regarding the King's questions, that of James Nicolson being omitted. The answer to the last article concerning the treating with Huntly for his absolution, with the eleven articles for trying him, are here as given in Calderwood. The document concludes with stating that these articles are likewise enjoined to the Earls of Angus and Errol and are to be reported to the next General Assembly, except the article concerning the Earl of Moray's slaughter.

$3\frac{3}{4}$ pp. *In the handwriting of Bowes's clerk.*

March 12. **391.** THE LAIRD OF BOMBY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Having occasion to send home two servants of mine called William McClellan and William (?) McClelland for some provisions for my remaining here and having your father's letter in her Majesty's name for my warrant here and being of purpose after their return to pass to the Bath again, where I have remained before, I desire I may have your warrant to them to pass home and return here safely again without trouble. As to their behaviour I shall answer for them by this present. London, 12 March 1596. *Signed* : T. Bomby.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, with address. Seal.*

March 12. **392.** HER MAJESTY'S SERVICE IN SCOTLAND AND THE BORDERS.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 276.

[Considerations of her Majesty's service in Scotland and the Borders fitted to the present estate of both, London, March 12, 1596, by Sir William Bowes. First draft.

The knowledge of the di[sease] is the first part in [curing :] the applying of fit medicine is the second, [with the] method observed in the two things propounded [may] be examined thus.

[In] Scotland religion under the providence of God [ha]ving been supported against foreign practices chiefly [by] her Majesty's protection seems to be drawn into [p]eril by these three occasions ; indiscretion of some ministers in managing some church affairs ; the King's offence stirred up against the whole discipline now showing itself in the taken opportunity ; the papists and aspiring time-pleasers taking the advantage of both to serve their divers ends. The oversights objected to the ministers seem to be : 1, the declining from his judgment in the matter of Black (Blake) wherein her Majesty is made a party to prevent her mediation ; 2, the letters of the ministers of Edinburgh to the Lord John Hamilton ; 3, the tumult at Edinburgh. These three the favourers of the ministers seem to answer thus : 1, the Act of Parliament has allotted the handling of such like *prima instantia* to the churchmen. Next the King has formerly both promised that power and given it to them, appearing by sundry instances. [Moreover Black obeys the King's censure and remains cen-

James VI.

1596-7.

sured accordingly*]; 2, To the second the ministers do wholly protest that the letter objected to [is] not theirs, neither wrote they to any such purpose; 3, to the third the world conceives that the tumult was raised [by] persons utterly unknown and the people after [the] usual manner suddenly armed at the cry for defence not [for offence], as appeared then by their peaceable and dutiful [guarding] of the King and his followers foremost hateful [unto them]; afterwards also by the strict course [taken in the examinations pursued ever since to find out such practice, yet none appeared; the King's offence doubted to be now showing rather] than now growing appears [thus by putting] the 4 ministers of Edinburgh [to the horn, by] not hearing their just apology, [by prose]cuting his propositions indeed [conceived] suppositions in his National Sy[nod at Perth] not admitting the humble petiti[ons of the ministers] excepting against the place, [by prosecuting] the attainder of the Lord Forbes [in favouring his] son's marriage with Huntly, [by such] undeserved favour to Huntly, a d[etected] practiser with Spain, a papist, a [wager (?) of war on] an earl of his name and blood, [a name] hateful to the religious of his nat[ion and] justly excommunicate by the Kirk. [That] the papists take this advantage [to supplant] religion wholly and the indifferent [statesmen] to stop the mouth of the bold m[inisters, impugn] the discipline, the diligent blow[ing of this] coal makes apparent by draw[ing the Scottish] Queen to unusual observance, by [pressing the] King to hazard his good conceit [with all] professors of religion, namely [of his] barons and boroughs, though [he expected] some storm from them by this oc[casion].

Now this disease growing to this [ripeness], which the greatness and generalness [of the cause], the natural headiness of that n[ation, the time] of the year and many other reasons, [it] offers consideration whether her [Majesty's now Ambassa]dor, a man sickly and grown [in suspicion with] the King for favouring the chur[chmen by finding them] surest and safest friends [to the amity with England, be fit to be continued there, or rather his nephew, likely to be taken for a shaft of the same quiver used in his place]; or rather [the] nephew used for some particular message [only] and else both withdrawn for the time to rest upon the Border ready for all sudden requisite employment, leaving some servant of Mr. Rob. Bowes in Scotland to entertain intelligences occurring.

2½ pp. *Much damaged by fire, the missing portions above being supplied in brackets from the transcript in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 327, from which the date and description are given. The transcriber has added: "N.B. Burghly writes on the back of this paper" but of this nothing now appears.*

March 13. 393. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO KING JAMES VI.

After we had received advertisement of the breaking up and departure into Scotland of your Commissioners and of the sundry difficulties arisen amongst them to the great hindrance (as it appears) of any good effect to the redress of the notorious disorders and wrongs upon the Borders by any good satisfaction further than in words and promises, we caused this bearer, our servant Sir William Bowes, to make his repair to us that

* This passage given in the transcript is now wholly missing in the original. Its interpolation here is probably indicated by the caret which appears here in the original.

James VI.

1596-7. thereby we might somewhat more particularly be informed of the whole proceedings during the time of their late meetings and conferences [upon the East Marches *struck out*]. Whereof having now had full information by him and from the rest, we have thought meet to return him again expressly unto yourself, and so to his charge of commissioner again, to the end not only to impart such matter unto you as we have given him in charge upon our consideration of the proceedings already passed between both our said Commissioners, but also some other things that are fallen out since. Wherein and in such other matter likewise that may hereafter happen during the time of their appointed meeting now again and which shall be requisite to be dealt in and communicated to yourself on our behalf for the better and speedier effect to ensue we desire you and so we trust you will give the said Sir William Bowes such favourable access and credit when he shall repair unto you that thereby we may have cause of assured hope of satisfaction from you at all times, agreeable both to the due course of justice and to the fortifying of the good amity between us and our realms and the maintenance of better quietness among our subjects on both parts, the "reciproke" * which ye may rest assured always to find at our hands if we shall once find any good and sound order taken on that side likely to continue, which now is in the highest degree of confusion, which we intend no longer to endure. So referring you to such credit as we have given him in divers particulars not fit for paper, we commend you, etc. *Undated*.

1 *p*. *Draft, with corrections and additions in the hand of Sir R. Cecil.*
Endorsed: "March 1596. Draught of a letter to the K. of Scotl. by Sir Wm. Bowes."

Copy of the foregoing letter. "Given at our Palace of Westminster the 13th of March 1596 in the 39th year of our reign.

1½ *pp*. *Endorsed*: "Mar: 1596. M: of her Majesty's letter to the King of Scottes."

Vol. lii, p. 165.

Another copy of the same letter, dated as in the preceding copy.

1 *p*. *In the hand of one of Sir R. Cecil's clerks and headed*: "A minute of her Majesty's letter to the K. of Scottes by Sir Wm. Bowes."

March 13. 394. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS FOR THE BORDERS.

Vol. lii, p. 162.

Certain principal points wherein her Majesty's Commissioners for Border causes require present direction to be given to them in writing by the most honourable the Lords of her Privy Council.

13th Martii, 1596. Where upon examination the act of the Lord Scrope resuming some of the spoils of his wardenry from Liddisdale in Scotland by force in sort as it is set down in a certain schedule containing the Scottish Commissioners' charge of the Lord Scrope with the answer thereunto made by the Commissioners for her Majesty, the said schedule

* "reciprocally" in the copies.

James VI.

1596-7. being signed by Mr. Secretary, it is determined by the Doctors of the Civil Law under their hands that the said act may be justified as a lawful reprisal, I, William Bowes, knight, in the behalf of the rest of the Commissioners for the better expedition of the service humbly beseech your Honours to give direction in writing to the several points following :—

1. We, her Majesty's Commissioners shall openly to our opposites confess the fact to be the Lord Scrope's, only denying the odious circumstances, and shall upon the ground aforesaid justify the said fact as a lawful reprisal and such as breaks not the treaty, but as armed justice resuming by necessary force what could not be obtained by peaceable justice, having already observed all due circumstances of requisition according to the treaties of peace standing still in force without any violation of the league of amity between the Princes.

2. If there were indeed any such burnings or death as is mentioned in the said charge, whether we shall answer them as accidents of war (a reprisal being termed by the lawyers *bellum particulare*) or otherwise to set blood for blood of ours murdered at other times and valuing the losses of burnings with burning of ours, or answer the same value by allowance of satisfaction to be given of ours for so much as it amounts unto.

3. Whether we shall account for the just value of the said reprisal allowing it in satisfaction of our losses so far as it reaches; and then whether the said value shall be set down by their oaths or ours, a point very material to be resolved upon seeing the huge value mentioned by them of 20,000*l.* sterling may greatly prejudice the Queen or her realm if it shall be subjected to their unconscionable swearing.

4. Because it may ensue upon this strict though just answer of reprisal that the opposites will therefore press us with their greatest advantage and thereupon are likely to pursue earnestly their former demands to have their fugitives delivered, such as were contained in a note by them given unto us and by us certified to your lordships, our humble desire is to be directed what answer we shall make to such their new demand for the delivery of the said fugitives.

5. If seeking yet their further advantage they shall happen to charge us (as lawfully they may) to answer all the great spoils made at the " roade " at Falkland by Bothwell or else to deliver such Englishmen as they shall bill and file to have been there, whether we shall promise delivery of the said Englishmen, or that her Majesty will by some other course draw the Scottish King to demand no more than filed the English ground.

6. If the Lord Scrope shall have failed in observance or report of any due circumstance to make the reprisal lawful, what course we shall take to avoid the great damage of the Queen or realm like to grow by their unconscionable swearing to so huge a value of 20,000*l.* or near thereabouts.

7. Our suit is that your lordships would be pleased with all expedition to give us the assistance of a civilian learned not only in matters of ordinary practice but in treaties and *Gentium jure*, who may both assist us in this important point of reprisal and pen our treaty orderly for the best advantage of the realm in time to come.

In this great circumspection and judgment must be used lest, if we once confess the Lord Scrope to take upon him the spoil of Liddisdale and afterwards in examination any necessary circumstance due to a lawful

James VI.

1596-7. reprisal shall be wanting, we cannot then deny to deliver Lord Scrope for so huge a sum or else we may be justly charged with denial of justice.

8. If your lordships allow of the course by us already taken for taking and delivery of pledges about the number of forty to be appositely named and chosen by us of their nation and by them of ours only by the common riding borderers and that without condition besides the nature of pledges to answer for their own facts if they shall be filed according to the several quality of the said offences, which we suppose to be the only means to stay the Borders from breaking as usually they were wont to do in all cases of extremity, then your lordships would be pleased to write your letters to the wardens to deliver such men as we shall demand to that purpose.

9. Whether we shall demand upon the end of the treaty at the hands of the Commissioners Sir Robert Kerre of Shesfurthe [Cessford] already filed to be absolutely delivered, or that because we doubt whether the treaty extends so far her Majesty will have both him and Buccleuch severally demanded afterwards at the hands of the King.

March 13.

Certain answers thought fit to be made to the questions propounded.

1. It is to be enquired by the Commissioners whether the Lord Scrope had any direction from hence and what it was, and if he had then may he confess that he did it by commandment from the Queen who could get justice at the King's hands upon many demands, and therefore for comfort of their people who had been spoiled and held themselves abandoned her Majesty was content he should repair her honour by taking some revenge, but for the performance of it with those circumstances that he must seek to excuse as well as he may, for that was never her Majesty's meaning.

2. By treaty of *primo Marie* both the wardens must join in valuation and so one thing compared with another both the spoils and the burnings and for the quantity and value of the spoils upon assize of both nations and none to be triers that are filed.

3. It is answered in 2.

4. They shall say they are not in the wardenry and next shall decline it by calling to see their warrants if that answer will not content them.

5. Bothwell's act has been sufficiently disfavoured by the Queen and for the Englishmen that were actors let them answer it and excuse it themselves as well as they can.

6. Answered in 2.

7. Answered in 2.

8. The pledges to be taken indifferently and of the greatest surnames of the riders.

9. Those 2 persons shall be demanded by the Queen.

They may send for D: Bennet the vice-chancellor from York upon any urgent occasion and use him as an assistant to the Commissioners, for which there shall be letters written to the Archbishop of York.

3½ pp. In the handwriting of one of Sir R. Cecil's clerks.

James VI.

1596-7.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 248.

A copy of the above answers. *Signed*: Essex; R. North; T. Howard; T. Buckehurst; Ro: Cecyll.

1 p. *Slightly damaged by fire. A transcript made before the fire is in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 307.*

[Cp. the draft of these answers by Burghley on March 10 in *Border Papers*, vol. ii, No. 554.]

Mar. 21.] **395.** [SIR WILLIAM BOWES] TO [THE BISHOP OF DURHAM].

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 249.

[1.

2. It seems] fitter to keep the desired date lest they [multi]ply delays with more colour.

[3. Letters] to be speedily sent to the wardens whom it con[cerns] to warn both their own people and to give notice to their opposites to keep that day of the 10th of April.

[4.] The breaches are not equal, therefore not well to be co[m]pared], theirs broken in the whole, ours in part; theirs by [the] King, the principal, ours by an under-minister. They g[ain] as having little to claim not already filed. We lose by this delay having in the East and Middle Marches 2000 bills not dealt in as yet. Therefore this default is prejudicial to the Queen, not to them.

5. Two Commissioners for either realm may sit at Berwick, whilst the other half sit at Carlisle. The division to begin after the greatest matters agreed upon before at Carlisle. The whole number to [be] reunited at the conclusion of this treaty. Here[in] the Lord Eure and Sir Rob. Carew to deliver their o[pinion] in writing with possible expedition.

6. Such as the Lords have set down in their instructions to Sir W. Bowes [*in margin* :* in the case of the Lord Scrope with Liddisdale], so as the due and lawful circumstances be observed. Our certificate and direction to be given by her Majesty's express commandment according to the Statute 4 Hen. 5.

7. The King to be earnestly solicited by her Majesty's Ambassador to perform his Commissioners' indent, &c. In the defe[ct] of his accomplishment to strengthen the Borders [with] forces.

[8]. His lordship may be pleased to signify his judgment there[of] by letters to the Bishop.

[9.] These or such other answers as may better like their wisdoms may be subscribed by their Honours.

1 p. *Copy. Slightly damaged by fire, the portions above in brackets being supplied from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 308, which gives the date and the names of the correspondents.*

March 21 & 23. **396.** ROBERT BOWES TO [LORD BURGHEY].

Since the King's return hither from the late Convention at Perth and the adjournment of the Commissioners' meeting at Carlisle as was appointed I have declared to the King that this untimely prorogation of the Commissioners' meeting and the delay of justice for redress of the

* Mostly wanting through damage by fire.

James VI.

1596-7. late attempts done by Liddisdale and others in the West Marches of England and also by the late breach of meetings prescribed by the Commissioners to have been kept betwixt Lord Eure and Sir Robert Kerr (Carr) for filing of the bills referred to their trial, wherein Sir Robert had failed to meet as was ordered, have offered first great wrong and despair to her Majesty's subjects oppressed with the outrages of Scots, next needless charges and disgrace to the Commissioners passed in journey within 16 miles of Carlisle before I could send them notice of this change of the former diet suddenly and unseasonably altered, and thirdly dangerous hindrance and defeat in the service done and to be done by the Commissioners herein, all which I amplified with some earnestness demanding "indelate" repair and order in the same. The King in his own person and act excused the "shooting" of the meeting and conference of the Commissioners at Carlisle on the 10th hereof. Nevertheless, his Council found it necessary to be done, in regard the country was broken and disquieted both by the great assembly of force gathered by the Maxwells and Johnstones and also by detention of 3 houses there summoned for the King and still kept against him; for the pacifying whereof he would resort into those parts about the 21st hereof. He alleged that like and greater offences had been done by Englishmen in Scotland during and since the sitting of the Commissioners at Berwick, all which might be (he said) well and seasonably redressed by the Commissioners; wherein he would for his part see execution done during his abode on the Borders. Lastly he said that Sir Robert Kerr affirmed that the deputies of Lord Eure and Sir Robert met at the first day and place limited and accorded on new meetings, which Sir Robert is ready to keep. The King promises to give his personal aid for the furtherance of the good fruits in the Commissioners' travails in these Border causes; wherein the hardest knots shall I think be found in the redresses to be given for the personal and several faults of Buccleuch and Cessford, in which behalves provident respect is needful to be taken for the manner of the same redresses to be executed with her Majesty's best liking and without impediments of justice in other causes.

The King is purposed and ready to enter to-morrow into his journey to the West Marches and to be attended by the Duke, the Lords Ochiltree and Newbottle, and the lairds of Ormiston, Carmichael and Traquair. The ordinary Council shall remain here. This journey has hitherto been so uncertain and doubtful as I was occasioned thereby to see some surety of the progress before I wrote thereof, and thereon I have the longer deferred this present address to your lordship.

The King will not accept any offers of the town of Edinburgh except they shall first come into his will. Wherein the King has said plainly (as I am informed) that he will never come in Edinburgh unless they shall first come in his will; that he will compel them at length to do so and that it shall cost them three score thousand pounds Scots for their fine. Nevertheless the town being assembled to deliberate on this matter has been (as I hear) ready to yield great sums of money to the King into his Treasury, not for advancement of courtiers; that they offer other large conditions but always refuse to come in the King's will as is pressed. The Council (namely the Advocate) have drawn (as it is told me) a form of the manner and substance of the submission demanded to be made by Edinburgh,

James VI.

1596-7. the copy whereof I send enclosed. Yet the town mislikes this draft and stands still under process of horning.

Supplication has been presented to the King and Council for the four ministers of Edinburgh presently at horn, praying that according to the ordinary course of the laws common to all the subjects of this realm they may be relaxed from the horn upon sufficient caution to abide their trial for all crimes to be objected against them at time and place to be appointed to them. It has been offered (as I hear) that they shall be relaxed upon caution to enter into and remain in ward until they shall be tried and that some "suspicious" [i.e. surmised] places for their wards have been assigned. Yet to draw them rather to acknowledge some fault and submit themselves to the King's pleasure for the same it has been advised (as is said) that they should rather sue to the King with humility than plead their innocency, and that for conference with them in this behalf licence is given to three other ministers to speak and deal with them as also to themselves to come within 2 miles of Edinburgh and no nearer; that the King's warrant was required for the safeties of their persons before the trial, which the King agreed to grant for himself but not for any other person. It is confidently reported that they are much threatened by papists and noblemen of great power. Yet it is hoped that the King shall be entreated to return his gracious countenance towards them.

The Earl of Errol has been and continued (as I am credibly informed) in Canongate these 10 or 12 days last past; that he was for some time lodged in Epy Leyrmonth's house there with the King's warrant and that sundry courtiers had frequent and secret resort to him; that he is appointed to give caution under 20,000*l.* Scots to obey the censures of the Church. It is also said that the Queen has sent very gracious messages to him as it is thought that he is entered into her especial grace; and that he intended to leave the band and company of Huntly and to join with the Earl of Argyll. In which behalf many wise men and loving Argyll doubt some hidden mystery to be herein to the greater danger of Argyll than prejudice of Huntly, whom the King (as it is thought) will not see hurt, and that Errol's course herein should be known to the King and other of Huntly's friends.

The Secretary has received his commission and instructions for the French King and prepares to enter into his journey in the beginning of the next month. The effects of his general commission (as is told me) are to seek the renewing of the ancient league and confederacy betwixt France and Scotland; the discharge of the new imposts and exactions raised upon the merchant state in Scotland; to crave the preferment and place of guard which by former league Scotsmen had heretofore; to sue for the tested debts owing to the King's mother; for the debts and arrearages owing likewise to her servants; that according to the ancient league none of the King of Scots' rebels shall be received and maintained in France, namely the Earl Bothwell. The like commission is given to the Bishop of Glasgow who is appointed to be the King's resident Ambassador in France and is furnished with commission and instructions for those effects. It is quietly told me that the Secretary has other secret instructions drawn by himself by the direction of the King and known only to the King and Secretary.

James VI.
1596-7.

My weakness and infirmity so daily increase and my recovery in this place is so desperate as I am enforced to make my most humble petition to her Majesty that for prevention of all danger and prejudice to come to her service by my insufficiency it may please her to call and relieve me from this charge in this realm or to grant and limit to me some liberty and time to take the air in England and refresh my old worn and wasted body. I pray your lordship's furtherance in the expedition of my suit and for the return of Nicolson to help me during my abode here and with some comfort to himself. Edinburgh, 21 March 1596.
Signed : Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After the closing up of these presents I understood that the King this day had received the town of Edinburgh into his grace and to complete the effects of their accords he had deferred the entry of his journey to Dumfries until the next day. Therefore that I might with some certainty certify you of the effects concluded betwixt the King and town and of the time of the King's entrance into his journey mentioned I have stayed the address until this day the 23rd hereof, whereon the King came to this town with great triumph and joy. He published in the Tolbooth his good mind and opinion towards this town and after departed towards Dumfries purposing to remain there some days and to draw to Peebles and other places of the Marches to pacify the countries, to establish justice and perform the effects promised for the same and for the aid of the Commissioners in their services and travails for the Borders. The copy of the articles thus concluded betwixt the King and Edinburgh I send enclosed.

4 pp. No address or endorsement.

Printed in
*Register of Privy
Council*, v. 374,
375.

The enclosure in the foregoing letter.

(The King's acceptance of the submission of the town of Edinburgh.)

At Holyroodhouse, 21 March 1596.

Certain commissioners for the provost, bailiffs, counsel and deacons of crafts of the burgh of Edinburgh appeared personally before the King and the Lords of Secret Council and presented certain "eikes" to the offers made to the King at Linlithgow, which were approved by the King and the said Lords upon condition (1) The house in the kirkyard formerly possessed by the ministers to be delivered to the King's absolute use ; (2) their council house to be made patent to the Exchequer ; (3) the ordinary ministry to be dispersed in every quarter of the town ; (4) the King will supersede the surety of the Session and members thereof within the town to the presence thereof in full number, whom the same chiefly concerns and by whose advice the surety must be made ; (5) 20,000 marks to be assigned to the furnishing of the King's house to be paid in four monthly instalments of 5,000 marks ; (6) none of the ordinary ministers now denounced as rebels to be admitted to serve in the town hereafter.

In consideration of the present humiliation of the provost, etc. the King accepts them in his favour and suspends the letters of horning against them passed at Perth.

"Sic subscribitur James R. Menmor [Menmuir] Secretarius."

James VI.
1596-7.

*Cp. Register of
Privy Council, v,
377.*

At Holyroodhouse, 22 March 1596.

Act remitting and discharging the provost, etc. of the burgh of Edinburgh from all actions, criminal or civil, which the King may have moved or may intend against them for not apprehending and warding of Mr. Robert Bruce, Walter Balcanquhal and William Watson or in suffering Mr. James Balfour to have liberty after he was taken or from any offences committed against the King on 17 December last ; order that proclamation be made hereof and that the King has accepted the said provost, etc. into his favour and has remitted all rancour and hatred of heart he may have against them for the said offences ; it being always understood that he may lawfully pursue any particular person or persons, inhabitants of the said burgh, who may have been guilty of the crime committed upon the said day.

Subscribed as above.

2½ pp. *Copy.*

March 23. 397. PETITION OF CHRISTOPHER SHEPERSON TO LORD BURGHELY.

Note of things to be done wherein I pray my Lord Treasurer's favourable furtherance and order to be given.

That it may please my Lord to procure her Majesty's warrant for payment of 835*l.* 6*s.* 4½*d.* due and payable for works done at Berwick in the year ended at Michaelmas last, 1596, over and above the receipts for that time.

That for the works to be done and already certified by the Governor and officers there his lordship will send order and warrant as is requisite for those works to be taken in hand and for payment for the same.

That my master being weak and "craysed" may with her Majesty's favour either be discharged of the service in Scotland lest his disability should be a hindrance to the same or else he may have leave for the better recovery of his health to abide some while in England, in which space the intelligence may be continued as was done heretofore.

That George Nicolson may be speedily dispatched to my master with the present for the child and directions in all things as shall be requisite.

That for the better proceeding and finishing of my master's book, whereby he may receive the benefit of her Majesty's grant procured by my Lord's especial favour and help for my master's relief, it may please his lordship to allow the particulars prepared to be passed in fee farm, whereof some are parcels of dismembered manors which her Majesty's warrant bears, for only entire manors ancient possessions of the Crown, Duchy of Cornwall and Principality of Wales are excepted, of all which no part is contained in the said particulars prepared. *Signed* : Christofer Sheperson.

¾ p. *Holograph. Endorsed by Sheperson* : " Christofer Sheperson for his master Robert Bowes, 23^o Martii 1596. His petitions to my L. Threasurer wherein he prayeth spedy order to be gyven."

March 23. 398. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Your two several letters of the 9th and 14th hereof I have received

James VI.

1596-7.

with the copy of her Majesty's letter to the King and her safe conduct for the Earl of Argyll, to whom I have sent the same with advertisement of her thankful acceptance of his good affection and readiness to do her all good offices. Upon return of the Earl's answer herein and of his resolution for his journey I shall timely give you knowledge thereof.

I have acquainted the Duke how kindly his offer of good affection is taken and that he shall never perform more zealously therein than her Majesty will accept princely and requite as occasion serves. He continues in his former devotion promising all good offices, purposing with the next opportunity and after his return from Dumfries with the King to confer further with me in this behalf ; wherein as I shall proceed with him I shall speedily advertise you.

Since the receipt of your letter I have not had apt opportunity to visit the Prior of Blantyre, Lord Treasurer here, and to communicate to him the effects contained in your letter touching him, all which shall be performed very shortly. In the meantime Mr. Aston has both well supplied the matter for the Treasurer's good satisfaction and also performed other good services for the benefit of the common causes.

I wish that Sir William Bowes's travail intended for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford may be prosperous and to her Majesty's good contentment. Yet I find here little hope of wished success therein, like as the experience of former proceedings in this realm and the present condition of this Court and estate much approves. Therefore I refer to provident regard and good consideration the progress of this course and device for the manner of redress for the offences in those two persons as the same may most honour and please her Majesty and be no impediment in the execution of justice in other causes determinable by the Commissioners for the Borders. In which causes for the Borders I have written partly to your father together with some other occurrents here, to the view of which letter I recommend you.

Your letters and kindness will testify the continual increase of your especial favour and goodness towards me and for the furtherance of my liberty for my comfort and of the help of Nicolson my servant for his relief. For these and your other manifold benefits to me I remain bound to serve you thankfully with hazard of all I possess, beseeching you still to employ your good means for the expedition of my discharge and liberty in this service, in which my weakness daily growing on me cannot yield due fruit and profit, as also of the return of Nicolson with some relief and comfort for himself and to help me in my decay of health not like to be recovered in this course of life. Edinburgh, 23 March 1596. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed :* " R'. 28th."

1597. 399. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.
March 30.
Vol. lii, p. 166.

My Lord and I have received your letters of 21 March to which for answer presently this I think requisite. First, that you make known to the King that the Commissioners of England will be ready at their day prefixed and that her Majesty expects that either the former proceedings shall come to some effect or else she shall wish it had never been ; for

James VI.

1597.

when the world sees this slender satisfaction after such an indignity, one upon another, as that of Buccleuch and Cessford to be followed on with all manner of delays in other things of less nature, and the Commissioners posted off daily without any satisfaction in substance executed to her Majesty's people, it had been very happy that the Queen had resolved upon some other course of revenge on those persons and Borderers which have so foully abused her than by treating and by Commissioners, in which she sees all things but wiredrawn and when it comes to issue nothing follows but evasions and delays, which ever will be the course when her Majesty suffers them to be so far beforehand with her that she and her people are driven to complain. You shall therefore plainly let the King know that her Majesty looks all things shall be executed according to the indents and that such courses as the Commissioners have agreed on may take place for delivery of the pledges at the first entry ; which being done may keep the Borderers from utter breaking, which when it shall happen Scotland will get little by the bargain. To-morrow Sir William Bowes will be gone from hence being stayed since his first upon the deferring of the Commissioners' session, a matter resolved on by the King without any mutual consent from her Majesty first had, though now she well assents to it. Letters are also written to the wardens that they shall summon their people to keep their day of the Commissioners' meeting at Carlisle or Dumfries upon 12 April. At the Court at Whitehall, 30 March 1597.

1½ pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk headed : " A letter from my master to Mr. Bowes, 30 Martii 1597."

[1596-7.] 400. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

March.

Vol. lii, p. 159.

That the evil motions be so well calmed in your town, my dear brother, it pleases me not a little, as also I can but most gratefully accept the care that you take to follow my advice in your speedy appeasing of such disorder : as likewise in kind sort I do take the sending of this bearer to satisfy my mind that order glads to see the well settling of fractions [*sic*] in your State ; and thereby perceive that you took me for such as will ever have watching regard to your best ordering of your affairs, as she that else should neglect you, for whom I have hitherto not wanted any heed to such occurrents as might concern you. And for such right judgment received with this my many thanks. As for the frantic man that showed in pulpit the " heidlenes " of his head I owe you most thankfulness for taking it so evil ; but of him I disdained myself to make mention of, but did refer both his punishment and all else to your best disposing. But now I pray you let me not in silence keep that which may " dissowe " our frank amity and let loose my dishonour. I must needs tell you that without more excuses, deferrings or lingerings Buccleuch (Bucklugh) and Cessford (Sesforde) must be rendered to my hands in my Borders according as all right and reason requires, and do trust that these were deferred to gratify me more by yourself than let alone to the Commissioner's charge. For God forbid that any so sinister counsel should be followed that might shake you with your best friend and dishonour you to the whole world that be spectators both what princes do

James VI.

1596-7. and what they suffer. Consider in right weights the burden of this cause and suppose it that no trifling in so urgent a point can be taken. For princes will bear anything but open dishonour, which enemies work and no friend ever tolerates. Regard therefore, my dear brother, the poise of this balance and redress those intolerable wrongs as kings for dignity and friends in amity ought to do. And with this assurance I will end troubling you with longer lines, with desire that God may prosper your good actions and have regard to keep your affectionate friends, amongst which never any shall go afore Your most affectionate sister.

$1\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed: "March. A letter from her Majesty to the K. of Scots with her own hand, sent by Mr. Ro: Aston."*

March. **401. REMEMBRANCES FOR SCOTLAND.**

1. The estate of Scotland being rent in the midst and like to fall into dangerous case unless the inconveniences be timely prevented, it is therefore needful to send a qualified person to pacify the troubles.

2. My master, finding his estate and body worn, disabled and diseased, desires either to be discharged of that service or that he may have leave to come and abide some space in England, in which time will be discerned both what course they will hold in Scotland when they are left to themselves in the absence of an ambassador, and also how he can recover his health.

3. Her Majesty's safe conduct for the Earl of Argyll to pass through England into foreign parts to be speedily sent to him.

4. Direction how to entertain the Duke, Lord Sanquhar and Conservator to draw them to proceed and yield good offices, and for their better satisfactions some clause may be inserted in Mr. Secretary's letter to be brought by Nicolson as it may be showed unto them.

5. The Prior of Blantyre, Lord Treasurer, being always ready to do good offices is to be remembered and her Majesty's thankful memory and good acceptance is to be signified with Roger [Aston].

6. The extremity of the dearth and rare scarcity of victuals in that country has been such as my master's inevitable expenses have above measure exceeded, the burden whereof has greatly oppressed him since his last return into Scotland. In case he shall be continued there he must needs have some increase of his entertainment or otherwise he will utterly perish and be discredited.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In Sheperson's hand. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk: "March 1596. Remembrances for Scotland."*

March. **402. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.**

At Mr. Mansfeld's being here I had great conference with him. After I had asked him if ever he had been in Scotland before, he answered that never but once in summer last and that was to confer with Buccleuch for certain broken matters of the Border, which he found strait to be obtained at that time, but now not so. For Buccleuch is not only friendly to him now but also to his master, the Lord Warden, for despite of your Honour.

James VI.

1596-7.

This matter, he says, is wrought by the industry of James Douglas, the laird of Spott and Thomas Carelton, who affirmed to Buccleuch that he had received many indignities and reproaches at your hands and all undeserved. Mansfeld said as much in his master's name and Buccleuch concluded telling at length how many ways he had wrought for the restoring of Kinmont but could no ways obtain the same without the stratagem that he performed, showing that your Honour had sent your man to complain at Berwick but sped not, and was also minded to complain at the West Marches. But he should complain of yourself for suffering Bothwell to remain within your dominions wittingly and willingly against the Queen's proclamations and edicts published in the contrary ; and that some of your men were personally with Bothwell at divers incursions in Scotland yet unpunished by the Queen of England, participating with him in treasons against our King, whose names will be given up in bill. Briefly such a bad man he knew not in all the world to bear office and specially such an office as you neither knew nor understood the mysteries thereof. I asked how could he so call you. He said that Thomas Carelton spared not to divulgate the matter in open audience, so that Buccleuch might the more audaciously speak to the matter. Thomas Carelton complaining would have another substitute in that room and would have Lord Eure to be a mean for the purpose. In this matter he entered very deeply with Mansfeld, who answered that he should certify his lordship of all matters of that purpose.

After he was convalesced he desired me to be a mean that he might speak with a friend of Buccleuch at Court who is one of the King and Queen's Council and that was the Abbot of Holyroodhouse. I first passed to my brother-in-law who is servitor to that Lord and told him the matter, desiring him to conduct me to his master, and I desired him to be present at the talking if that were possible. So as after I had conveyed the captain to the abbey and presented him to my Lord he was courteously received and desired to tarry dinner. But before dinner they talked all their purpose. The stuff for the first entry was generally of the disorder of the Borders, and in particular complaining of the Warden of the West Marches of England, who refuses meeting with his equals of Scotland, handles his own people at home with extremities without reason or order, and briefly has no care or skill in his office. Therefore, since there were great occasions to complain of him by Scotland for resetting and giving oversight to the King's rebels in England, he besought his lordship to inform his master thereof expressly as Buccleuch had great hope of him and his friendship. Thereupon he delivered a letter from Buccleuch to the same purpose, which I saw and read. In end he said, if his lordship would hold hand to the matter with the first opportunity, he doubted not but there was sufficient matter and mean working in England to cast you. So he concluded and then went to dinner. At which the captain according to the Dutch form of drinking acquaintance now frequent in Scotland was made so drunk that he lay in that abbey 24 hours after.

I beseech God Almighty to defend your Honour from your enemies both at home and abroad.

At this late Convention at St. Johnston few of the nobility compeered, at least not so many as were required ; few ministers also, fearing the

James VI.

1596-7. matter should have been *At sic volo, sic jubeo*, as I believe it shall yet so be. Always the few ministers that came controverted the matter, those of the province of Lothian affirming that this their meeting was not lawful. Those of Fife, Angus and Strathearn affirmed that it was orderly and lawful, orderly because it was required in due season, lawful by reason of the Prince's will, as all other conventions of the Kirk in old times by special command of the emperors. But when this matter was come to voting it was found to be just, lawful and extraordinary.

Then the King required of them to know if they had any matter to object against the questions that I sent afore. They answered that their number was not sufficient at that time and that they had no way provincially convened for that purpose ; therefore would defer their answers with his Majesty's licence to another General Assembly and that time is designed to be 10 May at Dundee.

They desired of the King and nobility that the ministers of Edinburgh should be relaxed from his horn, that they might be licentiate to write to them to come home and answer for themselves. That was denied *simpliciter*.

The King desired the magistrates and Council of Edinburgh there convened to render the keys of the ministers' houses to be used at his pleasure in time coming, that the ministers to be chosen in their places should be elected by the suffrages of the people, as it was from the beginning. This was granted.

Then their whole number was called upon name by name but two were found absent. Therefore the whole magistrates, officers and Council are "desernit" rebellious. This matter is like to engender great "start" and the burghs most like to make uproar against the King and his Councillors. God save all !

His Majesty is minded to be personally at Dumfries shortly well accompanied. Therefore men of wit speak plainly that Johnstone shall there be called in but then what I think your Honour may guess at opinions before written. Johnstone speaks plainly and so do many of the best of his guard that he thinks not himself assured of Buccleuch and albeit those of the Boneshowe and some Armstrongs now serve him as Lord Warden, yet if a "strate" come they tell him plainly that they must needs attend on Maxwell of duty.

Huntly is licentiate by open proclamation at St. Johnston to repair to the city of Aberdeen. Four ministers are commanded to confer with him to reduce him to the faith if it be possible and to report the effect betwixt the 20th day of April next that whether he consent to the religion or not he shall before 20 May retire from Scotland.

In the meanwhile the friends of the Earl of Murros [? Moray's] house are ordained to the Council to convene, to agree, to concord with Huntly to receive such honour, "sythment" and satisfaction at his hands as has been done for the like fact before ; and this to be done with diligence under pain to incur the King's indignation. All the people murmur against this.

The new Lord Treasurer by a fall that he got short "syne" is daily "lickned" to die. His Majesty has given the office in the meantime to Lord Ochiltree.

There was an evil example told the King in presence of his nobles of a

James VI.

1596-7. revolt made of old by the town of Bordeaux in France against a lieutenant of the King, which has so inflamed our King to do peace and appease the Kirk so that yesterday he caused the Treasurer to make arrestment upon all the burgh duties pertaining to this town. Next I am advertised by my Lord Advocate that they shall be summoned to produce all the writs of their privileges and immunities to be "cassed," annulled and "reven" in their presences, and the same shall be decreed to have no effect in time coming. The "playe" and punishment grows on so fast against this capital town that many of best wit and knowledge fear an evil end. Mr. Bowes whispered in my ear on Sunday at even last that wars were not far off from the King and his courtiers. He would fain be at home but cannot obtain licence as yet but deferring answers.

Your captain of Bewcastle is too familiar with Buccleuch, in sign whereof he lost a horse in Hawick lately, which has concerned (?) the best of Buccleuch's men to make inquiries in their parts but comes no speed.

3 pp. *Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil (?)*: "Martii 1596. Advises owt of Scotland sent by the L. Scroope."

[1596-7.] 403. — TO —.

?March.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 213.

[The sum of the letter come from Aberdeen.

The brethren are charged] under the pain of horning to give conference to the [Earl of Huntly. The] charges are directed to them to receive his offers, if they [agree to the] word of God and weal of the country, and absolve him from the [sentence of excommu]nication or then to compeer before his Majesty and Council and allege [the causes why] they do not the same.

[The Earl] of Huntly by his friends offers to subscribe the confession of [faith and] yet is not resolute upon the heads and articles thereof.

[He is not] instant in suiting as before.

[His Majesty] sent instructions with Patrick Murray to convene the brethren [in the North] and seek their subscription to the band.

[To dissolve] the ministers of Edinburgh as treasonable and seditious.

[To declare] the meeting of the commission of the General Assembly and thereby the [inhibition] given them by the commissioners to mell with Huntly.

[To use no] longer delay in his absolution nor was used in his excommunication, [and to take th]e form of satisfaction that is prescribed in the Act of Parliament [1596, enti]tled anent disobedience that shall be received to our sovereign . . . or quilk is nothing but to subscribe the confession of the faith and . . .

[To resolve] upon the printed questions against the last of February, and that . . . on this side of all presbyteries as is said, are content with . . . will agree thereto.

[To have] their synod upon the 8 of February to answer to all the . . . [inst]ructions.

[The penu]lt of January the Earl of Huntly kept the preaching [fore and af]ter noon, but removed at the prayer.

1 p. *Endorsed*: ". . . to the Synodal of Lothian." *Damaged by fire. Partial transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 266.*

James VI.

1597.

April 1.

Vol. lii, p. 167.

404. MEMORIAL FOR SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

A memorial of some things fit to be imparted to the King of Scots by Sir William Bowes. Primo Aprilis anno 1597.

When you shall be arrived at Carlisle you shall do well to hearken where the King is and because her Majesty has given you commission by her letter of credit to deal with the King particularly in all things incident to your joint commission with others, it shall be less needful where so much trust and opinion is grounded for you to be directed any further. Only to the intent things may the better go on it is thought convenient that if the King come near to the Borders you then let him know that her Majesty commanded you to see him of her part, especially having heard that he means to draw himself nearer to give furtherance to the treaty, which has much need of direction having hitherto been full of destruction and confusion. By which occasion you may lay before him what infinite injuries her Majesty has been content to put up [with] because she hoped that this commission should end it. In which you shall do well to note unto him those lewd acts of Buccleuch and Cessford, for which only at his hands she attends hourly full redress; as also to particularise unto him all other delays and evasions used since in the treaty for matter of less value. In all which you must move him seriously in her Majesty's name that he will show himself more resolute to hinder and correct all such disordered persons whereby the peace of the whole Borders is disturbed. Many other things I could remember but this is sufficient for you, to whom by that time you are arrived and have considered of things it will be open in what sort to proceed with him. If the King come to Dumfries you may mingle this compliment of visiting him with your going to him about business. But, if he shall be at Edinburgh and departed from the Borders before your coming down, then must you show the cause of your repair unto him to be only to make him see the necessity which appeared to have him dealt [*sic*, ? deal] withal in these businesses was the motive of her Majesty's directing your journey where you may expostulate in her name all such things as are wanting for the perfection of the treaty. And by the way take knowledge of one thing more, how much it has contented the Queen to hear that all things were so quiet between him and the ministers with their dependers, whereby he has taught them as well the weight of his power as of mercy in forgiving them.

You shall also when you are arrived at Edinburgh not fail to impart all things to her Majesty's Ambassador which concern the matter of this your negotiation with the King, and if you go not so far into Scotland you may by your letters let him know wherefore her Majesty has sent you to the King, lest he think himself to be made a "stayne."

You shall also join with my Lord of Durham and precisely remember to use all good means to end those bitternesses between the wardens of England whereby her Majesty holds herself dishonoured, and if they in whom you shall find most fault shall not be content to change their courses but for private quarrels hinder her service you shall join with my Lord of Durham and plainly let them know you will truly advertise what you find, which her Majesty commands you both to do without any manner of leaning to the right side or the left to the intent she may take other

James VI.

1597. order. For it not a little displeases her to hear out of Scotland itself what sport is made of the quarrels of the wardens in England one against another.

You shall also speak with the Lord Scrope concerning the matter of the Carletons and let him know that her Majesty has commanded you to let him know that she will not suffer them in any their lewdness against him ; and yet on the other side she wishes that he do not use more contention than is needful for the prejudice thereby grows to her service.

You shall also admonish Richard Lowther that though her Majesty allow of him for many services yet he shall in no wise be instrument of particular opposition against a nobleman, her Warden, but that he carry himself " respectively " as becomes him, and for the Greames to let them know that if they in anything carry themselves insolently against the Warden, her Majesty will not endure it, especially seeing she persuades herself that her Warden will not offer them injustice.

Many things else her Majesty has committed to your trust and this she would have given you under her hand but that you know one of her fingers is a little strained which hinders her signing.

You shall communicate both these instructions and such other particulars as her Majesty has committed unto you for your making your repair to the King [and] to the Bishop of Durham to the intent you may receive help from him in all times and occasions ; to whom her Majesty's pleasure is that you should give thanks both for his painful and discreet proceedings as also for that she hears he has been at charge in his expenses. At the Court at Whitehall, the first of April 1597.

Signed only by Mr. Secretary.

3½ pp. *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk.*

April 3. **405. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.**

The King continues at Dumfries purposing to begin and hold there his Justice Court on the 4th hereof and to keep the like court at Peebles on the 14th instant. He is presently minded (as I hear) to abide in those parts about Dumfries until or near the meeting of the Commissioners on the 10th. He seems desirous both to visit and speak with her Majesty's Commissioners and also that this meeting and diet shall be kept at the time and place accorded by him, and that her Majesty's Commissioners lodging at Carlisle and the others at Annan may frequently meet and confer together in the execution of their commissions at time and place in the fields to be mutually assigned by them all. [*In margin*: The extreme dearth is like to hasten the King's return before the time intended.] I have been oftentimes required by the Council here and the Commissioners to let them know her Majesty's pleasure and allowance of this meeting of the Commissioners in the West Marches on the 10th instant. Albeit I cannot give them any certainty before the receipt of her resolution to be signified to me, yet the King and Council appear resolute to send and the Commissioners are ready to be at the place and time prescribed for their next meeting. In which purpose I have left them, as I have already certified to the Bishop of Durham and other of her Majesty's Commissioners, to whom advertisement (I trust) is or shortly shall be

James VI.

1597. given of her determination in these behalfs, all which I refer to their further disposition and report.

The houses of Carloverock, Muswald (Mowswall) and Torthorwald (Torthorall) detained against the demand of the King's officers are now rendered to the King. Carloverock is committed to a servant of the Lord Hamilton's with caution to deliver it at the King's pleasure and that no rebels shall be received therein; Muswald to Dunlanrick and Torthorwald to the Lord Sanquhar upon like form and caution.

The most part of the Maxwells are come in to the King and thereon given assurance to Johnstone until 1 January next. The like assurance is moved by the King to be given by Dunlanrick to Johnstone. But Dunlanrick demands that Johnstone shall first build up the house of Ross before rased by Johnstone. It is like that for the quietness of the country the King will draw on some assurance betwixt them.

The ministers of Edinburgh still stand upon trial of their innocencies refusing to acknowledge any guiltiness or to put themselves as offenders in the King's will (as is instantly persuaded to be done) for the late tumult in Edinburgh. The conference continues betwixt these ministers and others by the King's commission and allowance, yet no conclusion is expected before the return hither of the King. Sundry articles before accorded at the late Convention and Assembly at Perth (and certified to your lordship) are like to be brought again in question that they may be revoked by the next Assembly of the Church to begin at Dundee 3 May next. But it is thought that the number appearing at that Assembly shall be so chosen and prepared and all things so provided and smoothed for the same as sufficient surety shall be seen for the accomplishment of all the King's desires or else that the Assembly shall be adjourned.

The presbytery of Aberdeen have ordained (as I hear) a public fast with prayers for the conversion and reconciliation of the Earl of Huntly, which sundry ministers here think strange and a novelty. But always Huntly and the rest are like to get their peace. They have prevailed to put their sons in the estate of their inheritance and they gape (as is said) for grace and good countenance in Court. Upon the view whereof the clouds threatening troubles are like to fall into sudden storms. Edinburgh, 3 April 1597. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2 pp. Addressed and endorsed.

April 11. **406.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Since my return into this country I have been so troubled with a pain in my right hand that I have not been able either to write or do anything, which is the cause I have not attended in Court nor followed the King in this late journey to the Borders. Although as yet I be not very able without great pains to write, yet upon my return to this town hearing by the Ambassador your Honour looked to have heard from me I have taken the greater pains to myself for the better discharge of my duty to acquaint you with my proceedings since my return.

I have delivered her Majesty's letter to the King with all other directions committed to my charge. Chiefly I have earnestly insisted that her Majesty may receive satisfaction in that which concerns her own

James VI.

1597. honour, which is the attempts committed by Buccleuch and Cessford, as also the enormities done to her people both by murder and theft. I have not only dealt with the King in this but with the Council, chiefly such as I have treated with and are well affected, seeing before them what benefit the King may receive by his honourable dealing with her Majesty who seeks nothing but the repairing of her honour and the wrongs done to her people there, by [which] he shall not only procure her Highness's honourable dealing with him but also win himself great honour among her people when they shall see him careful to do her honour and repair the wrongs done to themselves.

Her Majesty's letter was very well accepted in all things except in that which concerned the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford, in which I found not such willingness as I looked for or would wish. To deal plainly with your Honour I see it is not meant they shall be delivered. In all other things I find the King and others willing both to repair the wrongs done as also to take assured order in times to come. I see the account here that the bills on the West March will extend to so great sums, chiefly that raid ("rod") that was made in Liddisdale by Captain Carrel and his soldiers at the command of the Lord Scrope (Skorup) which is "extemtt" here will extend to 4 or 5000*l.* sterling, which sum they think will countervail those bills that are filed upon the Middle and East Marches. I perceive our wardens here would find how some calm course be taken between her Majesty and the King for redress of all matters past and then to give assurances for their good behaviour in time to come. This is that which they would be at but what her Majesty craves I am acquainted with and shall use all the means I can that she may receive satisfaction. I hope the King will respect his own honour and weal in that which so deeply concerns her Majesty. This will discover [itself] presently for, if he be willing to perform that which he professes to do, then upon the concluding of the Commissioners present redress will be made. Otherways her Majesty will see what she may look for. For the better furtherance of all these matters in my simple opinion it were meetest that some discreet man were sent hither upon the conclusion of the Commissioners, which I doubt not would work good effects and her Majesty resolved what she might trust unto. As for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford I know it is not meant. They have both dealt with me to be a mean at her Majesty's hand for them, which I have refused; neither will I meddle in that farther than I am directed. They seem as they would fain have her Majesty's favour and they would do good offices in times coming.

The King is looked for here within 4 or 5 days. Thereafter if anything be in Court worthy the writing your Honour shall be advertised. All matters ecclesiastical both concerning papist and protestant is (*sic*) referred to the Assembly at Dundee the 3rd of May. The banished ministers are licensed to return within two miles of this town to confer with the rest of their brethren against the day appointed. Here came one Home and said he was the Master of Forbes (Forbouses) but proved to be a counterfeit and is burnt in the cheek and scourged. That which I fear most is the loss of this Treasurer who is in great peril. He continues weaker and weaker and that which is most feared is that he is

James VI.

1597.

"beweessed" [bewitched]. These three Thursdays bypast between 10 and 11 in the night he has taken sudden passions that all the beholders thought he could not live one hour, yet with great zeal and frenzy crying upon God. If it continues this next Thursday then it will confirm that which is suspected. The papists esteem him the only enemy they have and, if any wrong be done him that way, no doubt they are the doers of it. Great will be the loss of this man. He is continually prayed for in all the churches and by all them that fear God. If God take him the King will lose the faithfulest man that ever he had and her Majesty will have a loss of him.

I have no further matter to write of for the present. If anything of consequence occur your Honour shall be advertised by another mean as you have directed and, if you will have me to write from time to time as matters occur, I shall with as great diligence and care as I can satisfy your expectation for the furtherance of her Majesty's service, wherein I shall neither spare pain nor peril. I beseech you direct your servant Mr. Welles that from him I may understand your pleasure and also of the receipt of my letters from time to time. Edinburgh, the 11 of April.
Signed : Roger Aston.

3½ pp. Holograph, with address. Seals broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk: "11 Apr. 1597. Mr. Roger Aston to my Mr. Rec. the sixth at Whythall."

April 11. **407.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

According to the contents and directions given me by your last of 30 March and in the absence of the King then at Dumfries and partly looked to be here within few days, which now are put over until the 13th hereof, I have made known to the Lord Treasurer and the Council here that her Majesty being pleased to assent unto the meeting of the Commissioners for the Borders near the time and at the place appointed by the King has given order both to her Commissioners to meet the opposites on the 12th hereof at the place before limited and also to the Wardens to summon the offenders and put in readiness all things requisite for that service; and that her Majesty firmly expects timely and effectual execution in the accomplishment of all accords, as well specified by the indents already passed by the Commissioners as also to be concluded in their further progress in that commission. I have earnestly (in her name) persuaded that the Commissioners at their first entry into these causes shall resolve and provide that pledges may be seasonably delivered for the assurance of redresses and as they have ordained and the King to myself has promised to be done on their parts, which I have urged to be effected with all expedition that the Borders thereby may the better be preserved in peace. With these I have called for the due punishment and redresses for the personal offences of Buccleuch and Cessford and that justice may be executed in all bills and complaints for the present quieting of the Borders and for future peace therein. In all which behalfs I have likewise conferred with the Commissioners for Scotland whom I find well disposed therein. The Lord Treasurer (then at some ease and since grievously diseased) undertook to recommend these matters

James VI.

1597.

to the King and his good consideration as he trusts that they shall be finished with wished effect and for her Majesty's good satisfaction. For the same he has addressed a gentleman to the King with his letters and the advices of himself and the Council here. All the Commissioners in like manner have promised to employ their endeavours and best means for the advancement of those Border affairs, which I heartily wish may take better end than many here look for. The Commissioners for Scotland are already at Dumfries with the King and to meet her Majesty's Commissioners to-morrow. Thus much for the Border causes and for answer therein to your letter. All others touching the same affairs I refer to the reports of the Commissioners and officers interested therein.

Sir James MacConnell has informed me and others that two Spanish ships with 500 soldiers, armour, weapon[s] and money were arrived in Ireland and come to the aid of O'Donnell with promise that he should be shortly furnished with greater forces by the King of Spain. I have been slow to credit or certify this report, which albeit it is become very common and believed by many, yet hitherto I cannot find it true and am thereby occasioned to write this uncertainly to you.

The contention betwixt Angus MacConnell and Macksorle [M'Sorley] much increases. M'Sorley has not only entered into and holds the possession of MacConnell's lands in Ireland but also claims all his lands in Scotland, alleging him to be a bastard. For the proof thereof M'Sorley purposes to be here very shortly and to present his petition and suit to the King in that behalf. MacConnell is come to Stirling attending the King's return hither. They both will seek her Majesty's favour. Therefore I pray to be directed how I shall deal severally with them.

It is told me that the King has lately by his letters given commission to Sir William Keith to entertain some especial kindness and intelligence with the State of Venice ; and that the same is intended rather for profit than practice, as to yourself may hereafter be better known than can presently be discovered by me.

It is given out that Errol has sounded the ports and coasts about Montrose, Behyve [? Bervie], Dundee and other places thereabouts ; that he came to Montrose disguised with three men and himself seemed to serve one of his own servants ; and that he is presently at Aberdeen and to return shortly into the Low Countries, as likewise Mr. Gilbert Browne, Abbot of New Abbey, and Abraham Crichton, Scotsmen, ready to pass with letters and practices. Charles Soyherles, a Fleming, and one of Errol's servants lately employed at Middelburg and Campheire in the affairs and intelligences for Huntly and Errol are directed to do special offices therein, which may (I think) be well discovered by Thomas Nicolson to whom these persons are (as it is told me) well known.

The Earl of Argyll has sent for MacLean and others of his chief friends to receive their advices for his journey into foreign parts and for other weighty affairs. He is (as I hear) purposed to yield thanks to her Majesty in his own person in case he shall proceed in his travel intended ; otherwise to give his thanks by his letters and confirm them with all good offices. At the end of this Convention I trust to be further advertised and I shall thereon advertise further and with speed.

James VI.
1597.

At the several and General Assemblies of the Church beginning in the end of this month of April and in the forepart of May next the proceedings betwixt the King and Church in the ecclesiastical causes will be debated and appear into what course they shall sort, which I leave to the experience of the success therein.

The Justice Court at Peebles is adjourned and the King entering this day into his return will be here on the 14th, whereupon I shall give further advertisement. In the meantime it may please you (and for my own duty) to acquaint my good Lord your father with the view of these presents. Edinburgh, 11 April 1597. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2½ pp. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk with notes of the contents and* "Rec. at Whithall the xvijth of the same [April 1597]."

[1597?]
April 16.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 238.

408. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO ROBERT BOWES.

[I received your letter by Mr. Fowels and therein a copy of letters from Sir Robert Cecil to you, for which both I heartily thank you.

Since our meeting here has] been hitherto mov[ed by us and has] received some towardness of acceptation by [our opposi]tes you will perceive by these enclosed papers [re]port is come hither of great murders and robberies com[mitted by] them of Liddisdale (Lidesdayle) in the Middle March (as is conjectured) for revenge and to procure security to the Liddisdale thieves lately taken stealing in Ridsdale and presently remaining in Hexham gaol. These and such like we find greatly dishonouring the action of public justice we have in hand and therefore we mean earnestly to repress them with severity and expedition.

Her Majesty has committed to me her letters of credit to the Scottish King, expressly to negotiate with him some material points for the advancement of this commission, I being to make my repair unto him as the necessary occurrents of this service shall require, wherein I am to be advised by my Lord of Durham. And for that my way must be through Liddisdale or near thereabouts to Edinburgh, where neither myself nor my message can expect any favour, I must entreat you as well in the name of my employment as of myself that you would procure me such especial safe conduct from the King with such further intimation as your discretion shall find fit of the King's favour to my safe passage, as I be not impeached or incur any dishonour to the Queen or disgrace to myself, praying you that I may be hereof advertised with the convenient speed you can.

Hitherto I am of opinion that it should best fit the Queen's service to assay how far our opposites can be drawn in the matter of pledged deliveries or other such important circumstances before my entry into Scotland and will, if I can, draw some one of the Commissioners to be with the King near about the time of presenting myself unto him. And for avoiding of delays I think it be very requisite to have the lairds of Cessford (Sesfurd) and Buccleuch (Bucklugh) at Edinburgh the same time if it can be fitly and secretly procured. Wherein I pray you let me receive your timely good advice and furtherance, for I am directed to acquaint you with my instructions and whole negotiation, as at our meeting I shall do more at large. From Carlisle this 16 of April. Your loving nephew.
Unsigned.

James VI.

[1597 ?].

1 p. *Draft or copy, damaged at the head by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 303, from which the portions above in brackets have been supplied. It is there described as "Copy of a letter from Sir William Bowes to my L. Ambassador."*

1597.

April 16.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 328.

409. SUMMONS TO THOMAS CARLETON AND OTHERS BY THE ENGLISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS.

. . . and every of you to make your . . . Majesty's Commissioners for Border causes at this . . . morrow in the afternoon between the hours of two and four [of the] clock concerning a writing exhibited under the hands of you or . . . of you, with others unto the jury of gentlemen of this county [of] Cumberland, appointed to inquire and present touching the said causes. At Mr. Edward Eighlonbye's house in the city of Carlisle this 16th of April 1597. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm, Will'm Bowes, F. Slyngisbe, Clement Colmore.

At foot: . . . [Thoma]s Carleton, esqr., land [bailiff o]f Gilsland, Lancloft . . . bailiff of Brompton, . . . Grayme bailiff of . . . , Anthony Carleton . . . Denton, Leonard . . . ne land-bailiff of Gilsland, . . . wedell of the Thorpe bailiff . . . Denton, Francis Caife bailiff . . . hitton, Andrew Foster of . . . orp, Clement Edward . . . of Willeavoy, and every . . . and he to give warning to . . . in these presents shall first come.

$\frac{3}{4}$ p. *Damaged by fire.*

April 20.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 321.

410. THE ENGLISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS TO LORD BURGHELEY.

Draft of the original letter calendared in *Border Papers*, ii, No. 600.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ pp. *Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 368 seqq.*

April 20.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 371.

411. LAIRD OF JOHNSTONE TO THE SCOTTISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS.

[I] received [your letter this Wednesday] desiring me to be [in Carlisle this day] with the rest of the Borderers, which [is impossible] for me to do as your lordships may understand in respect [the] Borderers must have one day or two days warning, and now seeing there is some accident fallen out between the two countries by "herriships" and slaughter that it is not possible to me to cause them to enter in Carlisle and suchlike, seeing misusing of my servants by the Grahams contrary the assurance and proclamations they will not enter for no promise that I is [*sic*] able to make them and say plainly that England will never keep it them, seeing they count nothing of me and my servants. And where your lordships say it is but the slaughter of a horse, I count neither of that horse nor all the horses I have. It is my servant's life they sought, which I think if it had been gotten I would have gotten no more mends for him than I get for the horse. And suchlike I have received a letter from Thomas Foules desiring me to be in Carlisle this Wednesday at night, which letter I got not till five hours afternoon. Nevertheless, I shall not

James IV.

1597.

fail to do all diligence that lies in me to convene the whole Border to the kirk of Gortney [Gretna] where I shall be present myself, providing that I may be lawfully advertised two or three days before, wherethrough I may get them convened, and if it be possible I shall bring them to Carlisle. For in respect ye know we could get no answer when I and they was [*sic*] there present, I think ye may as well appoint a new day that may be lawfully kept in respect ye are at home and we must travel out of our own country. And as for those men you have appointed for quitting and filing of bills ye shall understand the laird of Applegarth is out of the country. And as for Newby I cannot tell where he is. Ye ought to have advertised me before my departing if ye had craved such men. But always I shall do diligence to advertise them. At Lochmabane [Lochmaben] this Wednesday at five afternoon being the 20 of April 1597. Johnstone.

1 p. Probably a copy. Damaged by fire at the head. Incomplete transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 401.

April 21. **412.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHEY.

The King lately addressed to me Sir Robert Melvill and the Clerk Register to inform me of the great disorders on the Borders and threatening dangerous inconveniences and also to utter and offer his good mind and readiness with timely reformation to quench the troubles and prevent the perils. For the best surety thereof I desired audience, which was granted, and thereon I recounted to him the manner and circumstances of the great outrages done on the 15th hereof at Kilham in the East Marches of England by Liddisdale, as Sir Robert Carey had well certified the same to me and as (I trust) he has at large signified to your lordship. Of this attempt he was advertised by Sir Robert Carr [Kerr] declaring that the Scotsmen following their lawful "trodd" in recovery of their goods taken in Scotland by Englishmen encountered the Englishmen who troubled their "trod" and thereon the violence and hurt was done to them by the Scots with justification by the manner of the fact I have impugned as it rests to be tried. The King much complained on the late wrongs done in Liddisdale by Tyndale, namely against Martin, Elliott and Copshawe, whereunto the Tyndalemen had been provoked by two several "rodes" made in Tyndale by the Elliotts and others in Tyndale, as Lord Eure has (I trust) informed you in the particularities thereof. Because I had not then received advertisement from Lord Eure of the certainty of these attempts and of the late slaughter done in Tyndale by Buccleuch (who likewise justifies his doings in the pursuit of the offenders), all these are referred to further trial before the Commissioners.

Next I earnestly pressed the expedition and surety of due execution of the indents and accords already and to be concluded by the Commissioners for the reciprocal redresses, justice and peace in the Marches; that pledges of especial clans may be delivered for assurance of the redresses, and that all wrongs done since the first meeting of the Commissioners at Berwick or Carlisle may be "indelately" punished and reformed with due severity. In all which he has frankly offered and firmly promises that the acts and orders of the Commissioners shall (on his behalf and

James IV.

1597.

for this realm) be duly observed ; that by his writing subscribed with his hand he has directed his Commissioners to concur and proceed with their opposites for delivery of pledges to be chosen of the fittest persons and clans to assure the execution of all the redresses. He deeply protests to be careful and ready on his part to punish severely the offenders and offences committed since the assembly of the Commissioners, which insolencies he thinks to be purposely attempted by the evil affected and broken Borderers to break the Borders for their own impunity. Whereof he wishes that good trial may be taken and seasonable order prescribed by her Majesty to the wardens and officers in the Marches to stay all revenges, violence and disorders until the countries may be settled and established in peace and as the Commissioners may go forward in their action in hand, for furtherance of which effects he has requested me to write to her Majesty's Commissioners and wardens like as he will take precise and " indelate " order with his wardens and officers for the accomplishment of the same. Whereupon I have written to her Majesty's Commissioners, Lord Scrope, Lord Eure and Sir Robert Carey agreeable to the King's request and for sundry important respects I have moved that he would confirm the effects mentioned by his own letter to her Majesty ; which letter I send enclosed and for the convoy whereof I have stayed these presents some longer time than I purposed.

The ministers of Edinburgh have been quietly admitted to the King's presence. He has graciously received them, letting them know that he was glad that they gave place and removed from his wrath in due time and when he was so incensed against them by his own passion and the counsel of others as he would have dealt more sharply with them (if they had then fallen in his hands) than should perhaps afterwards [have] pleased him or could have been suffered by them without their great hurt. All matters were favourably wrapped up and they have kissed his hands. Yesterday they presented to the King and Council their petitions, offering to endure any imprisonment or give sufficient caution for their trial. But they were discharged and relaxed from the horn without any caution and now they are at liberty in this town of Edinburgh, where the estate is presently calmed. But what shall ensue at the next General Assembly of the Church at Dundee on 10 May next is uncertain. For the King still urges the approbation of the articles passed at the late General Assembly at Perth and to be satisfied at Dundee in the residue of his articles proponed to the ministers, who will hardly consent to the same in such sort as he expects.

M'Sorley (Macksorle) is come hither from Ireland seeking the King's favour in his suit against Angus MacConnell for all the lands and possessions of Angus in this realm. He alleges Angus to be a bastard offering to prove that his mother (descended of the house of Argyll) was married first to the Sheriff of Bute and that James MacConnell (father of Angus and elder brother of Sorlyboughie [Sorley Boy], father of this competitor) took her from her husband and without divorce married her and begat Angus. M'Sorley offers to the King very liberally for the tenant right of such possessions as appertain to the King and which Angus presently holds. They both have been severally with me offering to her Majesty with all humility their obedience, loyalty and services for the lands in Ireland now in the

James IV.

1597. possession of M'Sorley and in variance betwixt them. It may please you to direct me how I shall carry my course towards them and in preferment of either of them in their affairs.

Huntly has agreed to subscribe to the articles of religion proponed to him by the presbytery of Aberdeen, where he has conversed with the ministers, heard the sermons and received a preacher to attend on him for his better confirmation, as it is looked that at the next General Assembly he shall be discharged from his excommunication. By the benefit of the assignment of his lands granted to his son he has summoned (as it is said) his vassals to compound with him for their several possessions forfeited as well by himself as by the vassals in his fault and forfeiture ; so as they must compound with him and his son or otherwise lose their holds. By this it is thought that he shall levy above 50,000*l.* Scots and that presently he bestows great charge to repair and enlarge his house at Strathbogy (Straboggie). Errol now seeks (as I hear) to follow the course of Huntly but so faintly as it . . . * what shall succeed therein. Edinburgh, 21 April 1597. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

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

April 22. **413.** KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Madame and dearest sister. I am heartily sorry that so bad a subject should have ministered me occasion of writing at this time but the care I have to see these wicked courses interrupted that tend to both our dishonours and the trouble of our good subjects moves me to importune you with these few lines at this time. I doubt not, Madame, but ye consider that the good appearance of agreement amongst our Commissioners presently sitting is the greatest terror and discontentment that can fall out to all the thieves and broken men of both the realms for the redress is a comfort to all good and honest men and a loss only to men of their profession. This makes them to fear their time presently as I doubt not ye have heard of sundry unhappy accidents of late, for they think if they may hinder thereby the good success of this present meeting they gain enough. Therefore my only request unto you is that because our officers on every side will inform us partially in all these accidents according to their own particular affections it will therefore please you to keep one ear as a prince of justice for the Scottish part and I will most earnestly pray you to assure yourself that ye shall lack no satisfaction by justice that of reason can be required of the "faulteris" on my side, for as my princely honour and conscience bind me to hate all thieves and wicked men so am I obliged in thankfulness towards you according to that long avowed constant amity betwixt us, nor to bear with such as offend any of yours. And in the meantime I pray you to give speedy and strait order to your officers not to permit any injuries or revenges but to keep the peace as carefully as may be that thereby the good course begun may go forward to the maintenance of the amity, both our honours and contentments, the comfort of all good men and to the just punishment of all these disordered people. I have more particularly informed your Ambassador

* Small hole in paper.

James VI.

1597. of my mind in this matter to whose relation I remit me. From my palace of Holyroodhouse, the 22 of April 1597. *Signed* : James R.

1¼ pp. *Holograph. Addressed. Signet. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

April 22. 414. GEORGE NICHOLSON TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 330.

. . . who see no way . . . for their faults, as I pray God some of . . . for their own excuses and particulars, which will . . . [Com]missioners to prepare timely your own excuses also therein that . . . you proceed not according to your minds you may be blameless and if y[ou] . . . well yet your good travails may be the more noted and commended, by how . . . your labours will be soon hard and doubtful of good success in so hard a . . .

[O]n Tuesday night I came to the lead hill on Crawford Moor, where dealing with Mr. Bulmer anent the matter you know he has told me that he has taken order that 300*l.* shall be paid and signified the same and that the jewel remains in Mr. Swynnerton's hands, the master of the imposts for wines, and I understand there it is indeed so agreed unto and advertised the honourable party who [*sic*] I account well in that behalf, considering how I saw and noted things at the works as at my meeting with your worship you shall know fully.

On Wednesday I came hither and on Thursday, yesterday morning, delivered your letter to my master, who was glad thereof and sends you free passage from his Majesty for your safe coming hither, having before drawn the King to agree to your motion of pledges and to assure it under his hand. So as you will find the King ready to further all your motions for justice, the King being highly offended with these late stirs on the Borders and having now written to the Queen that he will do all that shall appertain him for the redress thereof on his part.* Upon advertisement of the time of your coming hither (and it be but 4 hours before) your lodging will be prepared very fit for you and your conference with my master, in effect both in one house, as well as ye can devise. For any of our coming to give you the convoy it will not need, but if it should upon your notice my master would send for the purpose. But, blessed be God, I see no appearance but you may come as safely as if it were in England, with the inconvenience only of evil lodging and fare, which you may the better comport by reason it cannot be holpen. And getting some of the Scots Commissioners to come with you you will be the better and surer guided. But all these to my master's letters.

This day at noon the 4 ministers of Edinburgh were relaxed from the horn, having before had both conference and good countenance of the King, who told them he was glad that they gave place to his passion and mind stirred up towards them by others, lest otherways in his fury he had done that to them which should have after grieved him when he could not have mended it. They offered sureties but the King would none but trust themselves,† in so far as both the parties, viz. the King and ministers,

* There are some traces here of a marginal note by Nicolson, but owing to the mutilated condition of the letter it is now indecipherable.

† There is a caret in the manuscript at this point, but if an insertion has been made in the margin it has now totally disappeared.

James VI.

1957. strive who shall now show greatest kindness to others. Yet the meeting at Dundee holds for the purposes known to you.

The Earl of Huntly gives good satisfaction to the ministers in the prescribed known form to you, whereby he will shortly be relaxed from horn and absolved from excommunication. But [Er]rol is not yet so forward nor resolved thereunto. No . . . but I hope you shall do good with the King for the good of the peace. [I desire] you to acquaint my good Lord of Durham herewith who [has asked ?] me to write to him. Edinburgh, 22 April 1597 in haste. *Signed* : George Nicolson.

1 p. *Holograph. Damaged by fire. Harl MS. 4648 gives only a brief summary of the contents of this letter (p. 439).*

April 27. **415. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Vol. lii, p. 171.

We have deferred as long as our own honour or the importunities of our subjects will permit it (who have repaired hither with pitiful outcries) to write unto the King in other style than whereby might still appear that howsoever the world censured the King's proceedings with us of late time, not only in tolerating the insolencies of his subjects that had wronged us but in rewarding them as though they had done good service, yet we that love to judge the best of those of whom we know the best has been deserved were very loth to discover by any actions that we had any conceit that these unkind proceedings are derived from lack of the King's own care or good will but rather through the factious credit and insinuation of those disorderly officers whose greatest maintenance is only by spoil and rapine. But now that we find that by our sparing and forbearing insolencies increase in them and misery in ours we require you plainly to inform the King of our griefs for our subjects and assure him that we will seek to relieve them by our own power without further request and not to be longer dallied with trust and expectation of the success of treaties in which there has appeared of late both at Berwick and now at Carlisle so many notorious delays and evasions specially by the wicked and cruel actions of his wardens. Therefore when you shall have particularly declared to the King the new affronts which those former delinquents have again offered to our subjects both in the East and Middle Marches, whereof you shall without any more protractions or being referred to this Convention or that give notice to our Commissioners to break the treaty ; which being done we doubt not but ere many days to redress our own injuries and turn the stream of the complainers another way. We have also commanded our servant William Bowes, knight, one of our Commissioners for the Borders both to inform himself of all the late wrongs from our wardens and to deliver to the King all particulars happened in the treaties and what we gave him in charge at his departure to say to the King and what by our letters since we have enjoined him to deliver plainly to the King, to whom you may also say that, if we should touch all the circumstances of his private proceedings with the chief ringleader of these proud and saucy attempts, even since we vehemently expostulated the same for crimes upon their own confession, we should surely lay before him, and that truly, such matter as he would think very strange that we knew and hardly could defend by the rules

James VI.

1597. of honour, amity or gratefulness. For the rest we require you to present our said servant to the King and to desire him to give him faith as to ourselves. At Whitehall.

1½ pp. *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed: "A letter from her Majesty to Mr. Robert Bowes. 27 April 1597."*

April 27.

Vol. lii, p. 173.

416. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

I doubt not but ere this time you are fully instructed of the late extreme outrages committed freshly by Buccleuch in the Middle March and by the opposites on the East Border, for Lord Eure has written of it hither and so has Sir Robert Carey and therefore it shall be needless to particularise the same more than to let you understand that her Majesty resolves speedily to strengthen her Borders with some horse and foot, for she sees all treaties tend to nothing else but delays. What she would have delivered to the King appears by her own letter to you as also to Sir William Bowes; which letter of yours her pleasure is that you should show the King, not as though you were so prescribed but as though you did it of yourself and for an argument of clear dealing with him. But where you are enjoined in one clause abruptly to break the treaty after you shall have declared our mind unto him, I am commanded by her Excellent Majesty to require you to forbear to direct the Commissioners for breaking of the treaty unless you may understand by conference with Sir William Bowes that there is no good appearance by continuing the same to have good justice done. And yet let not the King know any such instruction but see what he would do or say upon the reading of the letter. Further you shall understand that where the King has heretofore received divers cautions and intelligences which her Majesty has had from Spain it has been used to the Queen's disgrace as you well know, as though both letters and books were formerly contrived for particular ends to shadow somewhat else and not requited with that acceptance which her kindness did merit. Nevertheless, because her Majesty rather imputes this interpretation to the humours of some ill affected there than to himself, she having at this time received some matter fit for him to know, I am commanded to impart it unto you to take knowledge of it to the King. There is one Rolstone who has been long a pensioner in Spain who is very lately come over and has brought with him a book to the Queen and another to the Earl of Essex, wherein is much laboured the proving of the King of Spain's daughter's title to the crown after her Majesty as being the justest and most honourable. This is done with the privy of the Spanish King's secretest Council and hereby may the King well perceive that his continual labours (howsoever he makes other colours) tend only to the greatening of himself and his. By the brief herein enclosed you shall see the substance of this negotiation and by these leaves of the book you shall find that labour for the title. I think it not amiss to let you know also that the Queen indeed directly intends to send some forces to the Borders. In Spain we hear they provide for Ireland, and out of France since Amiens was lost we hear no novelty. Her Majesty requires you also to govern that point of breaking or continuing the treaty by the rule of your discretion, though you may make the King conceive that she

James VI.

1597. is absolute in it. And if you find it likely to succeed to purpose and that the King will in effect reform things, you may then seem to promise him that you will take upon you to write to her Majesty that the treaty may a while be suspended, otherwise if you shall hold it inconvenient to break it, then may you certify your opinions hither and direct the Commissioners accordingly. At Whitehall.

2 pp. *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed: "A copy of my master's letter to Mr. Robert Bowes. 27 April 1597."*

April 27. **417. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 306.

When you departed [we] delivered you our full pleasure how you should proceed [upon your arrival] at Carlisle and how you should address yourself to the King [upon] his approach to the Borders or upon any difficulties occurring [in the] treaties. Since which time we have received from our wardens no[thing] else but frequent advertisements both from the East and Middle [Marches] especially how daily they are spoiled and burnt by the incur[sions] from the opposite Borders and for more open show of injury Buccleuch (Bucklughe) himself, the King's officer, has been a fresh ri[n]gleader of the same. Whereby appears how little likelihood there is [that] such wardens will restrain their inferiors or the King himself [reform] anything, seeing he does not only tolerate but cherishes the[m when] they were found most faulty and has in lieu of punishm[ent] given some of them new honours and left us neglected in the e[yes of] the world with fruitless promises of satisfaction, by ex[pectation] whereof our people find themselves abandoned to utter ruin [and] misery. You shall therefore repair to the King and by the [means] of our Ambassador require speedy access, at which time you m[ay] plainly declare unto him the generalities above mentioned and [you shall] also furnish yourself with an abstract of all the main [wrongs] newly done us and deliver to the King how much it troubles u[s to] be requited with nothing but continual fruits of spoils [and] injuries where we have ever sown continual care and ki[ndness] and if it may be deemed that we do less value the estate [of] those poor creatures who are more remote from us than of [others] who daily are in compass of our eye, surely they shall be [deceived] for in our care for their preservation (over whom [God has constituted us] equally the only head and ruler) we never do [admit any inequality] or difference of care either for point of justice to [be administered by] ourselves or satisfaction to be procured from them th[at oppress] them. But we do see that time speeds on to the[ir loss, our] people are vexed, our Commissioners are tired [and ourselves delayed.] And therefore we require you, seeing all promises [are so little observed] and all references to conventions so partially cond[ucted, to let the] King know that we cannot deny the just and pi[tiful appeals] which our dear people make for protection and re[dress but will] enable them to make that unruly rabble of outlaws [and raveners] know and feel that they shall taste of a sourer [neighbourhood] than they have done of late, seeing they do nothing [but insult upon] our toleration of many injuries, whilst we are a[pt (out of respect] to the King only) to quietness. Given at our

James VI.

1597. [palace of Westminster] the 27th day of April in the 39th year o[f our reign,] 1597. *Superscribed* : Elizabeth R.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ pp. *Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 355, from which the passages above in brackets have been supplied.*

Harl. MS.
292, fol. 83.

Contemporary copy of the foregoing.

1 p.

Vol. lii, p. 172.

Another copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. "At Whitehall."

$1\frac{1}{4}$ pp.

April 27. **418. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.**

Vol. lii, p. 175.

I find by your letter how well you have performed all such things as were for the first committed to your charge. Seeing you had authority sufficient to go to the King and that by this time you are, I doubt not, fully acquainted with the outrages lately done, for this and all other things her Majesty's pleasure is you should no longer neglect your journey to the King for she has both formerly give you a letter of credit and has now again written to you her mind, and so has she done to her leiger Ambassador, with whom her pleasure is you should hold correspondency in all things. At Whitehall.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed* : "A copy of my master's letter to Sir William Bowes. 27 April 1597."

[1597.
c. April
27.]

419. SPEECHES TO BE DELIVERED BY SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO JAMES VI.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 300.

[A breviat of speeches to be delivered to the Scottish King by Sir William Bowes, knight, drawn out of Mr. Secretary's instructions.

1. To show the] cause of my repair unto him, letting him see [the] necessity appearing to have him deal withal in this business [and] the motive of her Majesty's direction of my journey.

[2. T]o lay before him what infinite injuries her Majesty has been content to put up, hoping they should be redressed by this commission.

[3.] To decipher the notorious attempts of Cessford (Sesforth) and Buccleuch (Bucklugh) for which her Majesty only at his hands attends hourly full redress.

[4.] To particularise unto him the delays and evasions used in this treaty for matter of less value.

[5.] To expostulate in her Majesty's name all such things as are wanting for the perfection of this treaty.

[6.] To move him seriously to show himself more resolute to hinder and correct all such disordered persons, whereby the peace of the whole Borders is disturbed.

[7.] To let him understand how much it has contented the Queen to hear that all things were so quiet between him and the ministers.

Out of her Majesty's letter.

To intimate unto him the recent incursions from his Borders into the East and Middle Marches especially. Wherein for more open show of

James VI.

1597. injury, Buccleuch himself, his Majesty's officer, has been a fresh ringleader. [To show how little likelihood there is that such wardens will restrain their inferiors. *Struck through.*]

How much it troubles her Majesty to be requited with nothing but continual fruits of spoils and injuries, where she has ever sown care and kindness.

To declare that her Majesty does no way less value the estate of these poor Borderers, so far remote from her, than of other her subjects who are continually in compass of her eyes.

To let him know that, since all promises are so little observed and all references to conventions so partially conducted, her Majesty cannot deny the just and pitiful appeals made by her dear people for protection and redress, but will enable them to make those unruly rabble of outlaws and raveners know and feel that they shall taste of a sourer neighbourhood than they have done of [late ?], since they do nothing but insult upon the toleration of [the]ir injuries.

1 p. *In Sir W. Bowes's handwriting. Slightly damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 349, 350.*

[1597. April 28.] **420.** [ROBERT BOWES AND SIR - WILLIAM BOWES] TO [LORD BURGHELY].

Cott. Calig.
D. ii. fol. 319.

[The enclosed bill exhibited by] us against [Buccleuch for his late hostile] practices in Tindale will inform your lordship [of the true ci]rcumstances of that odious attempt so far as hitherto we could re[ceive notice]. The original letter from Johnstone herewithal also sent will let you see how light an occasion he takes to keep himself and his people away from the course of justice expected by the commission.

The questions hereby arising which we are to present to your wisdoms for judgment and timely redress (as whereupon depends not only the whole weight of this service but also for anything I can see the peace between the realms or at the least the breaking of the Borders for a long time) may be these: first, whether this withholding of the Scottish wardens with their people from receiving justice here according to our opposites' indents, folded together with the last outrages committed against our East and Middle Marches and the combination of the offenders generally, which is mightily suspected, do spring from a former and further "platt" or from the fear of justice by this commission drawing to a point and accidental occasions in this height of displeasure born among the wardens have entertained rather than purposed these hard effects; secondly, if it be device how far this infection stretches toward the head, especially observing sundry important circumstances of the time and the place, whether there be not some catholic or Spanish practices hidden in it [through the traffic and intercourse of Jesuits, etc.*] And here, if zeal of my duty might free me from blame by presumption, it may be considered how aptly these strong adventurous and desperate Scottish wardens may give way to such practices in these parts and the rebels in Ireland, which if they be come to any ripeness what effect might follow on the

* The words here in brackets are a marginal insertion and almost wholly missing in the original.

James VI.

1597.

thrusting in of Dakers and Nevell in such a confusion of these Borders by malcontentments, distractions, contempt and hate of their governors, [and] these grown to such a head as I dare not divine of the sequel, [so can I not but earnestly commend unto God and your wisdoms these things] for reformation ; [thirdly (?), if no such practice be found herein] but that natural necessity arms them [to defend themselves in] participation of like danger must join [them together to under]go the hazard of one fortune, it offers speedy [consideration with what] art to stay these wild humours till we may com[pass them about] then how that King's notable facility at the least [may be so tempered] as he may take better taste and sense of these [evils, so as both] her Majesty and he may concur in some resolute speedy [and sound course to] be taken herein. And here to our great grief [our fear to offend] in unwary and untimely pursuit of just redress forces [us to bear these] indignities more patiently than becomes the m[a]jesty of the person whose action we have in hand. Yet will we endea[vour to entertain] the occasion and time in such sort as neither her [Majesty's honour be] touched with too little nor the profitable peace be [hazarded with too] much forwardness in our proceeding.

To this effect we make show of returning myself to acquaint [her Majesty of these] intolerable attempts and that there remains not[hing but arms in] revenge of these dishonourable hostilities. Yet have we [been contented] to continue this course of justice, such as it is, and [to bill Buccleuch] for his last attempt, as by the aforesaid copy [appears]. Moreover, albeit our indents have concluded the . . . and trial of the West Marches and Liddisdale at this . . . past and that both their wardens and [their people do] flatly refuse to repair hither, so [as we might justly] proceed to file them for not appearing according [to our former indent], yet have we yielded to forbear that strictness [so far as our indent] may by any such our assent be kept inviolate, [permitting our opposites] their own choice to repair to their M[arches, carrying our bills with them to see what number thereof they can file upon the honour of their warden or to essay what fruit may grow by their] persuasions to reduce them [to some obedi]ence of justice, and this we have yielded unto for [these rea]sons : first, to entertain the time until we might be [fur]ther directed from her Majesty and your lordships ; next, to decipher and understand whether (as is aforesaid) this grows from device or borderlike accident ; thirdly, to retain them in some hope of wading through these matters without extremity ; fourthly, for that if we should sit down and call the bills according to our indent, our people both of the Middle and West Marches make hitherto as small appearance as theirs by what default I must leave to the wardens to give account ; fifthly, for that we find ourselves so greatly straitened to answer the great bill of Liddisdale, which they press to be first on their side, we being loth to avow it as done by the Queen's commandment, whereby to give them any colour of quarrel in this tickle state of these affairs and the Lord Scrope utterly avoiding to answer it for himself, we are driven to promise that the same bill being verily sworn, or that oath justly qualified by an assize of just gentlemen after the manner it shall be allowed unto Liddisdale in the payment of their bills due to our nation, and which is indeed the only hope that Liddisdale can have emboldening them to undergo justice and to

James VI.

1597. yield and relieve their pledges if they can be had ; sixthly, for that we see not how our own people can avoid just blame of drawing on these mischiefs, namely, in this last of Buccleuch he avows constantly under his handwriting to the Commissioners that they of the Middle March entering Liddisdale the day before slew two men and drove away goods, which he rescuing in fresh pursuit was drawn into the extremity before rehearsed. But our men say they committed [no] such murder, that they were drawn in by device of a Scottish fugitive [who] was only suffered to escape when the English were slain, [and that it was done to recover the great spoil they had before suffered] upon the [10th and 11th instant ; out of which confusion and parity both] of outrages and reports and won-[derful distempers both in the opposite] Borders and our own what manifold vexa[tions are continually] springing both to your lordships and us that tr[avail herein I do most] earnestly recommend first to God, then to her [Majesty and your lordships for] timely information. *Unsigned and undated.*

3½ pp. Draft. Damaged by fire, the missing portions being supplied above where possible from the transcript made before the fire in Harl MS. 4648, p. 365, which gives the names of the correspondents and the date as above.

April 28.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 298.

421. SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS' ANSWERS TO THE ACCUSATION AGAINST BUCCLEUGH.

[Having seen and considered the heinous accusation laid] out by your lordships [against the laird of Buc]cleuch for his late attempt in Tindale, [exaggerated by] sundry crimes and circumstances impertinent both [to this] cause and treaty, we pray most earnestly your lordships to [hear] and weigh what may be answered to it with as great patience [as] you have lent to passion in the penning.

This accusation consists in these four heads : in murdering 35 of her Majesty's subjects by fire, water and sword ; in killing 24 Englishmen, whereof 16 were soldiers to her Majesty at Eslington ; in surprising her Majesty's castle of Carlisle ; and in combining himself with broken men of purpose to rebel against his sovereign. Which three last points you use as adminicles to induce your conclusion of a breach of the league and peace committed by the said laird by his last fact and for which you crave immediate delivery of his person. Whereanent it will please your lordships to be remembered that the bill of Eslington being wisely settled and composed by the order of former Commissioners is no ways comprisable within the compass of this treaty. The bill of Carlisle being an act void of all such hostility as you would charge it with, as will appear by trial, and which as ever it prove, it pleased the sovereigns to refer by letters to their order. And his combining with broken men to enter in rebellion against his sovereign having appearance rather of a surmise nor of a matter in deed and nothing pertinent to you, as it is there set down, serves rather to accumulate envy and malice to the party nor to induce against him the breach which you pretend. So that what way soever they be articulated they are both severally and jointly impertinent to the effect indented.

James VI.
1597.

Touching this late attempt, as the complaint preferred to us by your lordships gives evidence that you prefer it as parties for the Queen your sovereign, so must we earnestly protest that as commissioners and judges in such causes your lordships with indifference may hear and try before full credit what is alleged by the party, if not in full excuse at least in sufficient purgation of the breach pretended, which is that having the lordship and keeping of Liddisdale in heritage and finding the same to be [spoiled by] * sundry incursions of their opposites, but chiefly by that avowed and inexcusable hostility and invasion committed upon the most part of the [lan]ds thereof in August last by the Queen's your sovereign's waged [men] commanded for the time by Captain Carvell and Captain [Wilfer] and by direction of the Lord Scrope now warden, [assisted] with the whole force and power of this wardenry, [burnt and] laid waste and by new and incredible barbarities miserably [exhausted both of inhabitants and goods to his great interest] both in his honour a[nd] revenue and craving most humbly his Majesty's authority and order for repar[ation] of such great heirships and indignities] sustained by him, it pleased his [Highness to remit him and his] complaints to the order of Commissioners wh[o by disposing him to follow] and promising to that effect before his Ma[jesty to have the whole] inhabitants of Liddisdale complaining or . . . † ring on Saturday last, as he is . . . is advertised how four score broken men of [Tindale assisted by] a number of Scottish fugitives received and [entertained by the] warden on that Border, taking occasion [as appears by] the intelligence given them of the intention of [Liddisdale to come] here and supposing that they were on their [journey] they might come easily by their intent [to the ground] of Clivop pertaining to John Elliott of Copschaw [and there] unmercifully murdered Willie Ewart and Willie [Michelson, servants] to Copschaw, stole and conveyed away 30 [score head of cattle] and 15 sheep, whereof the said Copschaw b[eing advertised] and giving notice thereof to the keeper and cou[ntry], the said keeper following the duty of his office calls for a sleuthhound and sets him to the [scent and so] assisted with three score horse and forty footmen [followed the] trail that night and Sunday thereafter before [noon, at] which time the authors of that "stouth," being [detected] "cled" with the Scottish goods and sundry of the [country drawn] unto them, and casting for defence and keeping [of the goods] within them, were set on by the said [pursuers and some] of them slain in resisting, some others [retiring with] certain of the foresaid goods to peels and stre[nghs, refusing] to restore them or render to the mercy offered [by] fire to yield them to the owners with their liv[es ; which howsoever] the law established in lawful "tredds" and da[ily practised] betwixt the Marches, where parties find [resistance offered] by thieves and "lymmers" "cled" with their goo[ds may warrant or] excuse, yet wherein and what action soever [he has in your construction outreached the bounds of justice [in that fact by] over excessive a revenge, we cannot well [refuse you to let him] be arrested to his trial, what and wh[erein he has exceeded] and compeiring if by good

* The words "spoiled by" are omitted but have been supplied by the transcriber of Harl. MS. 4648.

† Harl. MS. 4648 gives "complaining and complained upon here" but this does not appear to be an exact transcript of the original.

James VI.

1597.

evidence he [clear not that] lawful following of all imposed hostilit[y and invasion]. If it can appear by trial that he [was otherwise accompa]nied nor might become a keeper dis[posing him to such a] lawful action; that in his f[ollowing, apprehending and] killing of notorious English [thieves accompanied with a number of Scottish fugitives possessed of Scot]tish goods [and refusing with resistance] to render to the followers he [has practised] acts of hostility; that he has of inten[tion] or knowledge taken the life of any woman, child or infant; that he has murdered 35 born subjects to her Majesty [un]just[ly] and unlawfully; that any fugitive of Scotland might challenge lawfully her Majesty's protection; that there was "brent" 10 houses; that any goods besides the Scottish, whereof the tenth was not recovered were intromitted with or divided that day with the followers, but by the contrary he let it not appear that whatsoever blood fell out that day was both provisedly occasioned and violently expressed out of his hand by provocation made him in such high degree, as with safe duty to his honour in that office he could not patiently put up, respecting both the persons and the attempters with whom these many years he and his house have been at "feed," their boldness in presuming to attempt such an incursion upon the very middest of his proper heritage against his special "domestian" servant, in this very time of our session upon such offences, assisted with a number of Scottish fugitives, whom they knew to be for their misdemeanour exiled forth of his bounds and standing highly in his disgrace and heaping thereby in "ane cumble" whatsoever indignity or contempt might possibly exasperate and enflame a heart endued with a regard of honour: if he make it nought to appear that in his rising to this following he has done that which lawfully became a keeper, even on the very Sabbath, upon the knowledge given him of the said murder and goods stolen in the night before in such a quantity by thieves and malefactors; that he was in good disposition to have presented his said people within this town to underlie their trial for whatsoever wastes, fires and murders imposed to them by this accusation according to his Majesty's direction given him in Dumfries when he was "thortourit" and impeded by this intervenient fact; and generally if he appearing to his trial do not sufficiently purge that day's following of the imposed breach of peace and treaties: then can we not refuse to let our said indent have full effect against him, with this provision always that the order which you require of him may be [fir]st practised upon his provokers given in particularly in bill [acco]rding to good equity and reason.

3 pp. *Damaged by fire, the missing portions being supplied above in brackets where possible from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648 (p. 347), which does not always strictly follow the original.*

April 29. **422.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Lord Sanquhar continuing his good devotion to her Majesty and to yield acceptable offices in the approbation thereof (as before he has offered and I have certified you) is now ready to enter into his journey for France and other foreign parts purposing to pass through England by the favour of her Majesty's safe-conduct granted therefor to him and shortly to visit

James VI.

1597. yourself to communicate to you the effects of his desires and of the good offices promised for her Majesty. All which I leave to his report to you and to such course as in the same shall be found best to be taken betwixt you and him, whose sufficient power may yield assured good fruits in the causes tendered. Therefore I have thought it my duty to accompany him with these presents and to recommend him and these to your furtherance that thereby and with the sight of her Majesty's good countenance he may be encouraged to proceed effectually with the actions offered. Edinburgh, 29 April 1597. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

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

April 29. **423.** ROBERT BOWES TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 362.

[Please your lordship and the rest of her Majesty's Commissioners. Soon after] my access unto and audience of [the King on Wednes]day last I was so sharply visited with an extreme [burning] ague (which guest I fear shall return, begin and be entertained with me beyond . . . fire) as thereby I was forced to prolong this address unto this time, . . . praying your lordships to accept the same in good part.

[Ac]cording to my last before these to your lordships and of the 25th hereof I have at length negotiated to the King the particularities in your letter of the 21st hereof ; wherein it has pleased him to answer and assure me that he well likes your proceedings with his Commissioners in all things at Berwick and in Carlisle and finds well that you have not denied or delayed dire concurrency with your opposites for the expedition of timely justice and of all good effects in those affairs.

He protests his earnest care and readiness to charge and file Buccleuch and his complices in their late outrage in Tindale, trusting that her Majesty and he shall concur therein in such sort as the best course shall be taken by their assents and directions and with your travails in this action for the punishment of all offenders and offences of what quality soever for the execution of redresses of former wrongs done. In performance whereof agreeable to the orders to be enacted by your lordships and his Commissioners he promises his personal aid and for the establishment of future justice and peace. And that for the accomplishment of those effects so far as by the labours of all the Commissioners may be compassed he has sent money and directions to his Commissioners to stay and proceed in these causes with your lordships, wherein he is also pleased to give to his Commissioners further and full instructions. The copy of the bill exhibited against Buccleuch and his complices for the late attempt in Tindale, with many others done by him in England and delivered by your lordships to your opposites is sent to the King and sundry copies thereof are gotten by courtiers and Buccleuch's friends, who both impugn and deny (as I hear) sundry particularities contained therein and also think and note the same to be devised with great severity against him. All which I refer to the conference and report of your opposites and to your own defence and justification as shall be found best therein.

The King allows not the excuse of the Liddisdale men certified by

* Good wax impression : a sheaf of arrows surrounded by the legend, " Terme de vie Sans Varyance."

James VI.

1597. your lordships and pleaded [in ?] Liddisdale to acquit them for their one compeirance before you and his Commissioners. In which behalf he has agreed to give "indelate" and full order in the same.

The King acknowledges his former accords with me that all wrongs attempted and done since the first meeting of the Commissioners at Berwick shall be first redressed by you and your opposites and before all or any other offences done before that time. In these behalfs I have written to the Lord Scrope by my several letters, which are (I trust) shown . . . viewed and considered . . . last and of the 22nd March last . . . to the King's memory, and which he approves as . . . procure his approbation in the same.

The two several papers enclosed in your lordships' last letter . . . agreeable to your advices given thereby to me, perceiving . . . of matters with you ; and in respect thereof I am moved . . . and in form appearing to your lordships. In haste and in weak condition of my body the 29th of Ap[ril] . . . Signed : Robert Bowes.

1½ pp. *Damaged by fire. The transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 392, from which the missing words at the beginning have been supplied, gives only a brief summary of the contents of the letter.*

April 30. **424. THE BORDER COMMISSIONERS.**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 325.

[A project for the speedy and safe finishing of this treaty offered to the consideration of the Commissioners on both sides by Sir William Bowes in his own hand. Carlisle, 30 April 1597.] *

[Whereas in the long tract of] this Commission begun about the 13 of [January last and con]tinued till this present day being the last of April, we [have] not as yet passed through the one half of the bills which have been presented unto us ; and whereas also there appear sundry important reasons to hasten this treaty to an end ; furthermore seeing the deep displeasure resting between the wardens of both the realms oppositely leaves us small hope of any good proceeding by course of justice in such bills as we shall leave over unto them to be filed and redressed, so as the said bills are like to perish to the disgrace of justice and complaint of the subject for inequality of distributing the law indifferently to all ;

Finally, where the general peril by our proceedings already is made manifest to the malefactors of both the realms so far forth as we see strong presumptions of general combination of the said trespassers by force to withstand as well our general provision already indented by way of pledges as the particular delivery for satisfaction of such bills as we have filed, so as the service is like to be drawn into this strait, either to frustrate our travails and do nothing or else to effect that which is worse than nothing, namely to break the Borders and to bring on a rebellious war in the Marches of Scotland and England ;

It offers necessary and indelayed consideration, first, by what ways and means to give indifferent justice to the subjects on both [sides with] such convenient expedition as the treaty may have an end [in d]ue sort and time ; secondly, that the decree of that justice may be put in execu-

* This is the title to this document given in the transcript of it made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648 (p. 371). It is impossible now to say how far it is a copy of the original.

James VI.

1597.

tion safely, distributing to good men their right [so] far as can be had and retaining the evil disposed in due obedience to satisfy for their faults past, and to forbear the like in time to come, for the effecting of both which most conveniently my opinion is as follows: first, seeing the wardens will not meet because of their displeasures nor the people of Liddisdale enter [or] appear to justice in any part of England because of their recent murders, fires, etc., so as public justice can be done by no usual and ordinary mean, I wish this unusual and extraordinary way be admitted for the necessity of the time, viz. that the Commissioners do religiously minister the oath specified in the treaty unto every of the wardens on both sides and to the keeper of Liddisdale, viz. that they shall use all lawful ways and means to the best of their powers to understand the full truth in every such bill as they present to the Commissioners for redress, so as the books of bills to be included in this treaty be subscribed by two of the Commissioners at the least within the prescribed time. According to the fore[said oath] every several warden or keeper shall at or before the—[day of May so fully] instruct himself whether every such bill be true or false [as he shall by writing signed under his own hand avow to be true by virtue of his oath with bills so] drawn [into a book and signed he shall present to the Commissioners of each] nation before the [said day of May. And then the said Commissioners] under their hands by testimony of their [honour and conscience that] they take the same to be true shall send them to their op[posites at a certain time] and place. All which several bills so certified [to be truly complained] upon shall be then instantly or within 10 days [acknowledged] “foule” by the said Commissioners and so returned to the w[arden to whom it] shall appertain.

In the meantime the Commissioners on both sides shall [order and digest] the indents passed and good constitutions to serve as [laws hereafter] especially travailing with their princes that suc[h pledges as are] interchangeably specified under the hands of the [Commissioners shall be] likewise interchangeably delivered at certain times and p[laces for the performance] of former indents agreeably thereto to give better [quiet to] the realms in time to come.

1½ pp. *Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 371, from which the passages above in brackets have been supplied.*

April.

425. BILLS AGAINST THE LAIRD OF BUCCLEUCH.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 326.

April '97. “Fouled” by the Commissioners, Matheson.

Complaineth Henry Bowes of Stelling, esquire, and Ralph Manfeild of Otterburn, [esquire], upon Sir Walter Scott, knight, laird of Buccleuch and keeper of Liddisdale for that he with his accomplices to the number of 100 men in warlike manner with sound of trumpet and ensigns displayed the 17th day of April '97 on the daylight about eight hours in the morning did enter and invade Tindale being within her Majesty's dominion and did cruelly of malice pretended kill, murder, burn and drown 30 of her Majesty's subjects or thereabouts and did unlawfully take William Robsoun *alias* Foulmouth and Richard Oliver out of their habitations and carried them prisoners into Scotland and did burn Thorneburne, Donkleywood, Stokoee, Hordley Hill house and divers other places to the loss and

James VI.

1597. damage of 500*l.* and from the foresaid places did masterfully by force of arms reave, steal, have receipt, take and drive away two hundred kine and oxen, forty score sheep, 200 "gayte" [goats?] and insight to the value of 100*l.* sterling, whereof we crave redress being done in the time of the sitting of the Lords Commissioners and contrary the proclamation of the Princes in that case made and provided; the names of persons burnt in their houses Henry Dod *alias* Prefeck, Michael Dod of Donkleywood, John Dod of Rye Close, Cuthbert Robson and others.

April '95. "Foule" by the Commissioners, Anderson.

Complaineth Catherine Dodd of Bruntbank, widow, upon Sir Walter Scott, knight, laird of Buccleuch and keeper of Liddisdale, for that he with his accomplices to the number of one thousand men in warlike manner with sound of [trumpet and ensigns displayed on Palm Sunday being in April '95 on the night did enter and invade Tindale being within her Majesty's] dominion and did cruelly of malice pretended burn this complainant's house and spoiled divers other places to the number of 20 houses to the loss and damage of 191*l.* sterling].

April '95 "Foule" by the Commissioners, Anderson.

Complaineth Gilbert Charlton of Bought hill upon Sir Walter Scott, knight, laird of Buccleuch and keeper of Liddisdale, for that he with his accomplices to the number of one thousand men in warlike manner with sound of trumpet and ensigns displayed four days after Palm Sunday being in April '95 in the night did enter and invade Tindale being within her Majesty's dominion and did come to Bought hill and cruelly of malice pretended kill and murder Rimon Charlton, Cuthbert Charleton his son, Cuthbert Charleton senior and John Charlton, all of Bought hill, and did masterfully by force and arms reave, steal, have receipt, take and carry away from the said place household stuff to the value of 6*l.* sterling.

Signed: Tobie Duresm., Will'm Bowes, F. Slyngesbe, [Cl. Colmore].

These three above-written bills are all filed upon [the] laird of Buccleuch by the Commissioners in [the] principal rolls.

2 pp. Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 372, from which the passages above in brackets have been supplied. The transcript adds also the signatures of the Scottish Commissioners but these are now missing in the original.

[1597, 426. [JAMES HUDSON] TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.
prob. early
in May.]

Lord Sanquhar is come here and bound for France but means to visit your Honour with certain French "accomplements." He was with Mrs. Barbara Ruthven all the afternoon and when I came in was shifted away quietly, so that it seemed that neither of them had desire that I should know that they had any conference. He is of the left hand and would seem otherwise. I know he had directions to her from some of her sex.

He desires passport for him and his horses being four and another young man named Robert Gib and his horse. They came from the

James VI.

1597. Borders the nearest way and have no passport, but my Lord has had divers of her Majesty. *Undated and unsigned.*

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In the hand of James Hudson, also address : lorted by Cecil : "Hudson."*

May 2. 427. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 345.

[This Monday the second hereof I received her Majesty's letter with sundry directions to me of great importance, with a copy of her letter to you whereby you are directed to communicate sundry effects to the King.] I am very loth to seek [access to the King's presence and] to impart to him the contents of the instructions [given me b]efore your repair hither, that the audience to be given by the King may [be joi]ntly and at one time granted to us both and as thereby we may at [one] time negotiate both our commissions together with the King. Therefore I have [re]solved to stay my access till Thursday next, trusting that by that time you will use such expedition as you may either be personally here present or else give me perfect knowledge of your diet, so as thereby I may either stay or proceed as occasion shall lead you and me. For, albeit by my former letter I have advertised you that the King would remove from hence on the 4th of this month or thereabouts, I now understand that he is determined to remain here until Friday next in the afternoon and then or on the next day to depart towards Dundee to the Convention of the States and General Assembly of the Church beginning there the 10th hereof. If your affairs, health and body may serve you to give your presence here before the King's departure from Holyroodhouse it will greatly further the causes in hand and deliver yourself from great labour and charges which otherwise you must endure. Of your certain resolution and diet in this journey and of the certainty of the time of your coming hither (where all things shall be ready for you) I pray you let me be perfectly advertised with all possible speed and by some sure and especial messenger travailing day and night therein, whose pains I shall recompense. Edinburgh, 2 May 1597. "Your very loving uncle." Signed : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *In the hand of George Nicolson. Damaged by fire, the passages above in brackets being supplied from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 379.*

May 2. 428. THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS TO THOSE OF SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 372.

[We have] received letters from Sir Robert Carey, lord warden of the [East Mar]ches whereby he gives us notice that according to our direction for holding days of truce at Reddon he sent his deputy and other officers to the said Reddon the 29th of April, where, having expected the opposites till two in the afternoon, they neither came nor yet any messenger from them. Whereupon his said deputy thought good to send to the next town in Scotland being Reddon, there to take witness of his repair to that place and so returned home again. Herein we find a second breach made by the same persons in that place of our indent. Secondly, where as by agreement between us letters have been written to the wardens and proclamations

James VI.

1597.

made that no new attempts should be committed by any of either side under pain of severe punishment to be further inflicted besides the known penalty due by law, notwithstanding such commandments horrible outrages have been committed, namely, two far exceeding any other of late years seen upon the Borders, the one at Killam, the other in Tindale by the Scottish officer himself. Thirdly, whereas for the chastisement of these notorious contempts and to repair the honours of our sovereigns it has been agreed between us that the recent attempts should be redressed by filing upon the wardens' honour and instant delivery made thereupon, according to which at certain times and places limited we have tendered our trespassers unto the keeper of Liddisdale but have not received his nor himself filed upon his attempts and accord aforesaid. Fourthly, where as well by general bruit spread upon the Borders of both the realms, as by the contempt of Liddisdale refusing to come hither to Carlisle and of Tindale to proceed in justice at the Ridingburne, besides many other great presumptions, suspicion is conceived of a general "complot" and combination already entered by those malefactors, which purpose to withstand by force both the course taken for pledges as also the satisfaction for former spoils and the obedience for amends hereafter, so as the effect of all our labours is like to be not only no redress at all but also the danger shown to the ill-disposed before the remedy applied timely is like to break the Borders and bring on a war to the great offence of both our sovereigns and detriment of both their realms.

We, therefore, her Majesty's Commissioners labouring to avoid these evils and foreseeing the peril like to be increased by your lordships' intended repair homewards instantly have thought fit to advertise you that Sir William Bowes is expressly addressed to the King from her Majesty to negotiate with him a good conclusion for his part to be "indeelayedly" effected in this action of justice, as her Majesty for her part is ready by us to do. And for that we hear the King sets forwards towards Dundee about the 6th instant, so as no one day can be deferred, to the end his Majesty may both be the better informed and the good concurrency hitherto holden between us in this last and chiefest part of our action may be more speedily perfected, we heartily entreat your lordships you would send some one of your [number sufficiently instructed to the King either to convey the said Sir William thither or to meet him there the 4th instant].

In the mean[time we require that your lordships] would continue in bringing [to a good end this treaty] until you may hear from the King . . . for his late trespass according to our agreement . . . entreated to stay the King's further resolution expe . . . or your associates return.

Signed: Tobie Duresm.; Will'm Bowes; F. Slyngebe; Cl. Colmore.

1½ pp. *Damaged by fire, the missing portions where possible being supplied above in brackets from the partial transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 402.*

May 2. **429. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL AT THE COURT.**

The many and effectual good offices done by Sir John Carmichael and his son Sir Hugh Carmichael, this bearer, justly occasion me to recom-

James VI.

1597. mend them to your good remembrance and favourable courtesies that they and others in their persons may be continued and encouraged to proceed in their good minds towards her Majesty and for the preservation of the happy amity betwixt these two realms. Edinburgh, 2 May 1597.
Signed : Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{4}$ p. *Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

May 3.

430. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Yesterday I received your last of 27 April, together with her Majesty's letter enclosed and directed to me, the extract of Anthony Relston's confession and the copy of her Majesty's letter to Sir William Bowes, who I trust will be shortly here that we may concur and proceed advisedly together for the best advantage and execution of the effects severally committed to our charge. This day I shall (with God's grace) employ myself and whole endeavours to prepare the way for the accomplishment of her Majesty's pleasure and directions with your advices and rules in this case of great importance.

The Commissioners (as I hear) will within 3 or 4 days perfect the examinations and filings of all bills and Buccleuch with his complices shall be filed for the late outrages in Tynedale, which being done this delivery may be best called for and cannot justly be denied. I perceive that the King with some of the well affected of the Council will show themselves careful to put in due execution all the indents and accords concluded by the Commissioners, and the King will promise and protest in person to see the same accomplished on his part and for this realm, wherein, albeit I shall take the strongest assurance that can be got, I shall proceed in the course commanded by her Majesty and always preserve the peace and amity by all the means I can find, as by my next I shall further advertise you. In the meantime these are to give you notice of the receipt of the letters mentioned.

The general report spread here of the coming of the Spanish navy to the Groyne in Biscay in great number and force much comforts the Papists and evil affected who now look for great and "indelayed" events to ensue thereon, and namely in Ireland and this realm.

The sister of Colonel Sempill is lately returned from Spain and arriving first at Dundee is come hither with packets of letters and with a cunning disguised person pretending to be her servant. I have sought that their letters might have been intercepted and themselves examined but the state of this town and of the ministry ordinarily authorised to execute the same is yet so broken as I can little prevail therein.

Mr. Robert Deniston, Conservator of the Scots merchants in the Low Countries, is ready to return into Zeeland, desiring to pass through England and to let you understand his mind to do especial and great offices to her Majesty. Surely his power may well afford very profitable effects and he seems to be right willing to yield them with all good will and sincerity. If you think it meet to make proof thereof, it may please you for his better comfort to give me some notice in your letter to me, signifying that his good will and offers are well accepted and he will be (I think) well pleased. I have recommended to you Lord Sanquhar who

James VI.

1597. will be shortly with you and of whom you may take such assay as you think fit. Edinburgh, 3 May 1597. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed. Seal. Endorsed with brief notes of the contents by Cecil's clerk.*

May 4. **431. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD EURE.**

Vol. lii, p. 176.

I have received your letter wherein I am sorry to find so desperate a state of Borders occasioned by the opposites, especially when the Commissioners and others are in treaty and after her Majesty had assented to the strengthening of the Border by the new charge of the horse maintained. But seeing these things are like to come to this extremity, I find her Majesty resolved to trust to no more such fruitless proceedings but will consider how by her own means to protect her own people. Therefore she has commanded me to write to you that she will strengthen you further either with foot or horse in some proportion. But where you ask a hundred foot, having already four score horse, she thinks the number too great and, considering how open a march the Middle March is, she would understand whether you would not rather have horse than foot. But where you write for 100 foot she means not to exceed the proportion of 50 and therefore if you had rather have horse than foot I pray you certify me what number of horse you would have instead of those foot. For all other things which shall happen there during this treaty I pray you acquaint the Commissioners with it to the intent they may take order if it may be without your being driven daily to send hither, seeing the matters of the Borders are principally referred to them. Thus being glad to find by the Commissioners that you three wardens are agreed I take my leave.

1 *p.* *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed*: "A copy of my master's letter to the Lord Eure. 4 May 1597."

May 5. **432. TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ELIZABETH AND JAMES VI.**

Printed in
Nicolson, Bp. of
Carlisle, *Leges
Marchiarum*
(1747), pp. 103-
119. Abstracted
in *Cal. Border
Papers*, ii, 316,
317.

"A treaty of peace concluded betwixt the most high prince Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland, Queen, and the most high prince James the Sixth of that name, King of Scots, and ended at Carlisle the fifth day of May, A.D. 1597."

The 36 articles of the treaty the signatories to which were Tobias, Bishop of Durham, Sir William Bowes, Francis Slingsby and Clement Colmer, the English Commissioners, and Peter, Bishop of Dunkeld, Sir George Hume and Andrew Ker of Fawdenside, the Scottish Commissioners.

Appended to this are:—

- (1) Letters patent of Queen Elizabeth dated at Westminster, 2 Oct., 38 Eliz., appointing her Commissioners as above.
- (2) Letters patent of James VI, dated at Holyroodhouse, 8 Jan., 1596[-7], appointing his Commissioners as above with the addition of George Young, archdeacon of St. Andrews, secretary depute.
- (3) The overtures thought most expedient for pacifying of the present estate of the Borders. (*Imperfect.*)

15 *pp.* *Copy.*

James VI.

1597.

S.P. 15/6,
fols. 94-102.

Another copy of the foregoing treaty with the commissions, including a complete copy of the overtures which are subscribed by George Young.
17 pp.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 366.

Another copy of the treaty with the two commissions. "In witness of the truth of all and every the premisses we have subscribed these presents with our hands at Carlisle, the fifth day of May, A.D. 1597." Signed: Tobie Duresm.; Will'm Bowes; F. Slyngeisbe; Clement Colmore.

9 pp. *Damaged by fire. A transcript of the treaty only made before the fire is in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 395 seqq.*

Lansd. MS. 263,
fol. 74.

Another copy of the treaty with the two commissions, with attesting clause and copies of the signatures of the English Commissioners as in the foregoing.

13½ pp.

May 6. **433. THE ENGLISH BORDER COMMISSIONERS TO ROBERT BOWES AND SIR WILLIAM BOWES.**

Cott. Calig. D. ii,
fol. 443.

. . . with the . . . [co]py of the Treaty of Border . . . and us which we have subscribed desiring . . . Bowes to set your hand thereunto likewise. We would have . . . but that we doubt they would take exception to our later words . . . ses with as great facility as Mr. George Younge did mislike our English. . . . be it we will not stick to accept of his translation thereof into Latin, if . . . will take the pains to do it and cause it to be sent us, nor forbear to send [the] translation, if we may know they will be contented to allow of it without further curiosity. But as he first drew the Scottish copy for the original, so [it] is most likely he shall hit nearest his own words and meaning. Always we shall be found ready to concur in any language with them that may most plainly and truly express the intentions of the Commissioners on both sides.

Here is at this present with us Henry Coupland, the Lord Eure's clerk, who reports unto us that he heard divers Scottish broken Borderers affirm and boast that when the time of the delivery of the pledges appointed shall come neither King nor "Keisur" shall make them enter, but they will ride and take out of England more than ever they did, avowing that they will have English Borderers as good and as many as themselves to join with them therein. Jock of the Cote was one among others that presumed thus to brag in Coupland's own hearing the other day when he was in Tindale for my Lord Eure to have held the meeting with Sir Robert Ker, who came not upon the occasion or pretext as you have heard for short and sudden notice. Now as the voices of a few may discover the meaning of many, so shall the better preventing of such a disloyal conspiracy of professed thieves and "lymmers" against honest true men of both nations. The King's Majesty or at least his Council would be made acquainted therewith and order taken that such lewd combinations may

James VI.

1597. be cut off. At Carlisle this sixth of May 1597. *Signed*: Tobie Duresm.; F. Slyngisbe; Cl: Colmore; Jo: Benet.

1 *p.* *Damaged by fire.* *Addressed*: "To our very honourable good Lords, Mr. Robert Bowes and Sir William Bowes, her Majesty's Ambassadors with the King of Scotland and to either of them.

May 7. 434. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Harl. MS.
292, fol. 85.

Copy of the original letter calendared in *Border Papers*, ii, No. 625. "At Carlisle, the 7th of May, 1597. Tobye Duresme."

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

May 8. 435. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD SCROPE.

Vol. lii, p. 176.

It does not a little please me to find both by your own writings and by your Lady, to whom I am not a little beholding out of her kindness to my wife (whose soul God has), that you are persuaded of my love towards you. Familiarity began between us in our younger years when neither of us thought of affairs. There has no accident since occurred to make diminution or alienation and therefore I desire you to believe that for your particular no man will be more ready in anything wherein I may do you honour or pleasure to demonstrate my good meaning towards you. I am sorry to find how you are thwarted by proud, unbridled subjects but you that have power and place will easily I doubt not make their malice fruitless. Yet must you imagine that there is not any such officer in England as you are that has to do with uncivil and lawless people but some malicious and audacious person will both inform and cross them. Neither can any man of my place refuse to hear them though I be never so apt to condemn them. The Queen has been informed by the Commissioners of the good conformity between you three wardens, the lack whereof by ill agreement has been occasion of great advantage to the opposites, who both knew it and made use of it. I see small likelihood of good success by the Commissioners' treaty. The Queen has written roundly to the King and intends to be no more a complainer for she will send to her Borders such forces as shall I hope turn the current of the complaints another way. She has written so much to the King to the which she looks for answer and because the Commissioners by the time you receive this will, as I conceive, either break the treaty or get proceeding to some good purpose I will crave pardon for referring all other particulars till my next, hoping then to send you word that you shall have 100 men out of Berwick as you had before.

1 *p.* *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed*: "A copy of my master's letter to the Lord Scroope. 8 May 1597."

May 10. 436. NOTES OF ACTS MADE IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT PERTH IN FEBRUARY.

Printed in
Calderwood,
History of th.
Kirk of Scotland,
v, 640-644.

"Apud Dundie decimo Maii 1597.

Notes in form of declaration of certain Acts made in the General Assembly holden at Perth in February last for explaining his Majesty's

James VI.

1597. and the Assembly's meaning for the satisfaction of such as then were not acquainted therewith, which are ordained to be registered in the Acts of this present Assembly."

One of the reasons moving the brethren to acknowledge the lawfulness of the Assembly at Perth was that the commissioners of the Kirk accorded with the King thereanent. The reason moving the Assembly to grant the second article concerning the reproving of his Majesty's laws was the King's earnest affection to religion and obedience to the Word. In the article ordaining that no man's name be expressed in pulpit except in notorious crimes the point of notoriety is further defined. In the article ordaining that no convention of pastors be without the King's knowledge and consent, the King's consent is declared to be extended to all forms of General or Special Assembly permitted by his laws according as they have warrant in the Word of God. In the article concerning provision of pastors to burghs it is declared that the reason was that the King promised where the General Assembly finds it necessary to place any person in any of the towns he and the flock shall either give their consent thereto or else a sufficient reason of the refusal.

"Answers to the rest of his Majesty's questions according as they were proponed by his Highness and commissioners in this present Assembly."

Anent the proposition moved by the King that before any weighty matters concerning the estate of him or his subjects be concluded his advice and approbation be craved thereto, the Assembly craves that in such matters that have not been treated of before his Majesty by himself or his commissioners would give his advice and approbation before any final conclusion and for better obedience to such like statutes he would ratify the same by Act of Parliament or Secret Council ; which he promised to do.

Other answers concern the uniform ordination of ministers, their jurisdiction and the election and conduct of proceedings of sessions, presbyteries and provincial assemblies.

The answer to the article touching summary excommunication is held over until the next General Assembly. In the meantime all such excommunications are suspended, except that in great crimes the Assembly ordains a public intimation of the same to be made and the committee to be suspended *a sacris* and prohibited *a privato convictu*.

"Extracted forth of the register of the Acts of the General Assembly by me Mr. Thomas Nicolson, clerk keeper and extractor of the said [register]."

Names of the commissioners : Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. James Nicolson, Mr. Alexander Douglas, Mr. James Melvill, Mr. Alexander Forbess, Mr. Thomas Balquhnan, Mr. William Cowper, Mr. George Gledstanes, Mr. Patrick Galloway, Mr. David Lindsay, John Porterfeild, John Clapperton, John Donkinson.

2½ pp. The names of the commissioners do not appear in the version printed by Calderwood. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil : " A copie of the severall Articles conteyned in the Acte."

James VI.
1597.
May 11.

437. SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Your Majesty's commandment by speech directing me in the commission for your Border affairs, as also addressing me to the King of Scots and your further pleasure given me in instructions by Mr. Secretary, both concurring in this that your Border wrongs might be righted with surety and expedition, to be advanced either by my immediate repair to the King, if I should find him upon his confines, or by my attending the commission at Carlisle until best opportunity of the service or fresh accident might by the Bishop of Durham's assent procure my entry into Scotland, have hitherto sorted to this effect.

At our meeting with our opposites, understanding by them that the King within one day was to return to Edinburgh, and they professing in good general terms that they had received commandment from his Majesty to proceed in this treaty in full course of justice, more particularly that he had approved our indent for pledges ; it seemed best to the Bishop and me that I should first assist the commission, especially because I was best acquainted with the directions given by my Lords of your Privy Council, in the great and important matter of reprisal taken at your commandment by Lord Scrope in Liddisdale. This being a cause wherein our opposites insisted earnestly, as hoping from thence to draw some great advantage to their other proceedings, it behoved us to use great circumspection, lest using your Majesty's name in defence of your warden to no great advantage of your realm (seeing in justice it must be accounted to the full value), we might thereby open a way to our opposites to defend their wardens in many of their outrageous attempts by the like plea (though their hostilities were much more injurious and less defensible) to the great prejudice of your expected satisfaction. In this cause, albeit I found all circumstances justifying Lord Scrope's act as a lawful reprisal, and was therefore warranted by direction from the Lords so to avow it, as it might make for the benefit of your service, yet in our best deliberation for the respect mentioned we chose rather to conceal your commandment in the said reprisal and finding the means in formal trial wholly to clean Lord Scrope, we let the filing of the bill fall upon such private persons as were contained in it ; showing then nevertheless a way unto the warden how at the time of general delivery he might satisfy the Scottish demand by paying them in their own hand of such spoils and murders as were by the Liddisdales far beyond their worth to be answered to your Majesty and your subjects under your said Warden's charge.

During this my employment in matters of the commission, the attempts of Tividale [Teviotdale] at Kilham and of Buccleuch in Tindale procured your letters, 27th ultimo, to be directed to me ; which coming to my hand late on the first of May according to your commandment specified therein I hastened my repair to the King. Yet, because in examination upon first notice given us of those attempts, our opposites justified both those actions as lawful " trodds " and avoided the murders by common course from time to time executed upon trespassers taken with a red hand as they affirmed your Majesty's people last slain in Tindale to have been, it seemed necessary for the behoof of your service that I should be furnished with some authentical matter to avoid these excuses

James VI.
1597.

and convince them of the fact ; which for that I could not sufficiently effect to the full before the 4th instant I was forced so long to defer my journey * ; at which time also we hastened the treaty to an end, and thereby drawing the Scottish Commissioners with me on the 5th I had their company for my safer convoy till I was past the places of danger ; where leaving them on the way and finding other fit convoy by their procurement I arrived here at Edinburgh on the 6th at 4 hours in the morning. First, I repaired unto your lieger Ambassador, acquainting him (as I was instructed) with all requisite particulars of this negotiation. He gave notice to the King of my address and desired audience. We received answer that his Majesty would hear us at length in the morning ; so the rest of that day was fitly employed in imparting our directions reciprocally and ordering such propositions as we had in charge.

In the morning were sent unto us from the King Sir George Hume of Wetherburne [Wedderburn] and Sir John Carmichael who conveyed us to the King's garden at the Holyroodhouse, whither after very short stay the King made his repair. To whom your lieger Ambassador presenting me with such special recommendation as it pleased your Highness to direct, after I had delivered your salutations and letters, he having read them drew us to the end of the alley and there stood still expecting my speech, to whom I delivered as follows : that your most high and excellent Majesty, finding from time to time that your people and Borders had sustained many invasions, murders, spoils, fires and mutilations from his wardens, officers and subjects under their charge, had, first in sacred reverence of that holy religion which had joined both your realms in one true worship of God before and beyond all other kingdoms upon the earth, next in most natural affection and kind care borne towards his person and to his people for his sake, long forborne the righting of your own and your people's most just cause by that armed justice so often made victorious over the most rich and mighty of your enemies, and chosen rather in a powerful "longanimitie" by example drawn from God to expect a redress by that peaceable justice which the leagues and treaties of amity had established and entertained between both your Majesties ; which continued course witnessed by so many of your letters and requisitions made by your Ambassadors his Highness could not but keep in fresh memory ; until now of later time the heaps of these wrongs were grown so huge and had put the excellent respects of amity aforesaid upon such terms of peril as in wise and honourable consideration thereof it had pleased both your Majesties to enter into a stricter course of putting end to these enormities ; of which the first part was both your Highnesses' proclamations in August last forbidding straitly any further attempts ; the second your commissions by your letters patent concurring in one uniform sort of justice under your hands, seals and promises of your princely words to ratify and put in execution such indents as your Commissioners on both sides should conclude ; the third, arising naturally from the two former being the life and honour of this princely action, was reciprocal performance of your Commissioners' indents conformed to the laws and treaties standing still in force. Now it had thus fallen out that, notwithstanding the honourable intentions of both your Majesties

* The words from "which for that" to "journey" have been underlined.

James VI.

1597. so overtly and strictly notified by both your proclamations, since that time Sir Robert Kerr, expectant laird of Sesforth [Cessford], warden of his Middle March, had made invasion with armed forces and surprised a fortress twenty miles within your Majesty's kingdom and therein taken your subjects prisoners, with other practices of hostility, besides about fifteen murders that the said Sir Robert had committed before and at sundry times upon your people. Likewise, Sir Walter Scott, laird of Buckclugh [Buccleuch], his Highness's keeper of Liddisdale, had not only since the proclamation but since the commission and a second proclamation most strictly conceived, declaring instant delivery of all unlawful offenders during that public action of justice, and the same solemnly published in great assembly, public place and presence of your Commissioners in both your Majesties' names, nevertheless invaded your country of Tindale with armed forces in most hostile manner with fire, sword and drowning, having slain about 30 of your subjects, driven the rest away from their habitations thereabouts, burned their houses, spoiled their goods and herein used all the effects of most odious hostility. Both these principal officers of his Majesty had not only deeply wronged your Majesty but also in high contempt of his Highness had directly refused to obey the commandments given them in writing by his Commissioners; namely, Sir Robert Kerr flatly refusing to meet either of your wardens of your East and Middle Marches now lastly at times and places indented; Sir Walter Scott denying to meet or to make delivery of the trespassers at Cannobie Holme for the recent attempts according to the Commissioners' indents. Therefore your Majesty, finding your long expected satisfaction not only yet longer deferred but even plainly frustrated in so many fruitless assays of redress by Commissioners, Ambassadors, letters or other means, and those means not only frustrated and without amends but encountered and dishonoured by new, outrageous and disgraceful attempts, and that at a time when all men's eyes were bent to look for remedy, at places near or under the seat of justice by persons public, bearing his royal authority, all falling into one point of indignity greater than your Majesty may endure, had now expressly sent me unto his Highness to demand in your name delivery of the said Sir Robert Kerr and Sir Walter Scott into your hands in towardness and execution of this most excellent action of justice whereunto his Highness rested by your mutual leagues and treaties obliged; the facts being by your Commissioners determined and delivery by your royal words to be performed by this my demand on his part, as your Majesty was for your part ready to yield him proportionable justice at his first demand and to proceed in the rest of your Commissioners' indents according to the first most honourable purpose intended by you both.

To this the King answered that he observed in my speech two heads, the general proposition and the particular demand. In the proposition he acknowledged with regret the misbehaviours of his Borderers from time to time and doubted not but as the last action of justice by commission had put the faulters in general fear of extremity by undergoing the penalty of the law, so had they to the uttermost of their power endeavoured to move all impediments for hindrance of those proceedings by new attempts. Always (he said) it should not be in the power of thieves and murderers

James VI.

1597.

to work any such offences or indignities between his kind sister and him but that he for his part would be now (as he had ever been) ready to concur with her in doing of justice ; conceiving that his good sister knew right well that his subjects on the Borders received a multitude of wrongs of like kind and did no less continually complain to him than did the other to her ; which both he doubted not and would do his full endeavour for his part that they might be straightened by this commission, which as he had with all good desire concurred to begin and continue, so would he also not fail to prosecute it to full effect.

Touching the other part of my speech, which was my particular demand of his two wardens, Cessford and Buccleuch, he conceived the ground thereof to be the crime of invasion, a matter which, albeit it had been curiously disputed between us, the Commissioners on both sides, yet as a thing not usually known or (that he could hear) mentioned in the treaties, he took witness of myself how much ado there was amongst us at Berwick about the baptizing of invasion and for our final agreeing either of the matter or of the name. For his own opinion he thought it a cause of higher nature than could either be committed or determined by subjects without their sovereigns and was therefore estimable only by the princes themselves as being a matter touching their honour. It seemed reasonable therefore that they should be reserved unto them, both the valuing thereof and the punishment. The act of Cessford (except that it pleased your Majesty to take it in so high offence) was a matter little hurtful to any Englishman in that, without blood or spoil, he only entered a house taking thence his servant, a prisoner unlawfully detained, and retired himself to his charge without further attempt. The murders wherewith he might be touched (as he was informed) were only of a sort of thieves being Scottish fugitives. The last action of Buccleuch was attempted in lawful pursuit of his " trodd " after the thieves of Tindale that had been conducted to spoil in Liddisdale by his own fugitives. The slaughter there committed by Buccleuch was only of thieves taken with the red hand, esteemed for lawful on the Border and of long continuance practised by both nations. So far as he could be informed, if Buccleuch had not forfeited his " trodd " by raising of fire, (which nevertheless he affirms constantly to have been done only to recover several parts of the stolen goods detained in those houses against him), he could not have been justly filed of that bill as endeavouring only to recover lawfully goods lost under his charge. The only circumstance which made him guilty being fire might more reasonably be recompensed with money than demand justly made for the delivery of his person. Albeit himself complained not so earnestly and his officers were less wise in managing their attempts, yet did he not doubt but his people received more hurt by two of your Majesty's officers of as great place and authority as Cessford and Buccleuch, namely Lord Scrope for the exceeding spoil and murder in Liddisdale and the Governor of Berwick for the slaughter of an honest gentleman, his subject, in his house at Wydeopen. He saw not, howsoever the matter might be carried under politic colours, but the substance and the wrong were equal to the other. To conclude, he said, that, as he had ever been no less sorry to give your Majesty offence than any of your own subjects could be, so would he in these things strain himself to give

James VI.

1597. you satisfaction. Only he must pause some small time after the expedient manner of other princes in causes of so great importance to advise with his Council and have further conference with his Commissioners to give a determinate answer to my demand.

The King having here ended his speech I prayed leave to inform him further and replied that in answer to that part of his distribution which concerned the general proposition, as it had pleased him to remember faults done on both sides from time to time to both your discontentments, so seemed it appurtenant to his princely wisdom and the true witness of God's justice in his heart that he should recount, compare and discern evenly the particulars of those wrongs formerly by his speech only generally mentioned and left in an indifferent opinion of equality. Which things, as they are best bestowed in the keeping of forgetfulness where the question only grows of revenge, so where the question is made only of honourable, just and peaceable (though "forslowed") recompense it is necessary to touch them lightly to the end that both the doer might be made guiltless of the divine burden and the sufferer delivered from worldly dishonour. It might please him therefore out of his own young and fresh memory to consider how many great invasions only religion and tender love to his Highness had drawn your Majesty to cover in his youth in just expectation of some honourable measure of recompense now in his riper years ; namely, that your warden had been twice taken prisoner, a principal piece of your realm at one time and at another time the deputy warden with sundry other gentlemen of good quality slain. Within the compass of his reign above three hundred of your subjects have been by his subjects horribly murdered without any redress. Lately his keeper of Liddisdale had surprised the castle of Carlisle, one of the principal fortresses of your kingdom ; his warden of the Middle March invaded and surprised another castle so far removed from the frontier. Lastly, his keeper of Liddisdale again with so notorious an invasion by the circumstances afore rehearsed most deeply touched your Majesty in honour. Seeing no such hostilities can be objected unto your officers or people, it rested that, as inequality had hitherto left you with the loss, so must justice now at the length give you satisfaction and amends. Touching the other part of his Highness's distribution specifying his acceptance of the word and matter of invasion, I put him in remembrance that the express words mentioned and only matter inquirable by both our commissions were these, viz. invasions, murders, thefts and other injuries, so as our authority being thereby established the matter offered itself in common reason that a public person furnished with his sovereign's authority, with armed forces and warlike ensigns, exercising acts of hostility, seeing no greater could be practised inquirable by Commissioners, we found such an act after long disputation fit to undergo that term of invasion mentioned in our commission. Whereupon we proceeded and filed the bill against Sir Robert Kerr by our mutual indent accordingly. Besides that fact we had filed Sir Robert Kerr of murder, who stands further to be charged with the slaughter of fourteen of your soldiers in pay offering then and there defence of your Borders under their captain ; a matter so notorious as being done by an invasion of above 2000 men it is not deniable. The act of Buccleuch had been too favourably excused unto his Majesty under the name of a lawful "trode,"

James VI.

1597. seeing he kept not the essential and necessary circumstances appointed by the treaties to make any "trode" lawful. For he entered Tindale with above 100 men, committed murders of many guiltless persons, no meddlers with his goods, of very pride and revenge, as may appear by his answers exhibited to the Commissioners in writing to the allegation against him made on your behalf ; wherein amongst other reasons he acknowledged his "feede" [feud] with your poor subjects of Tindale, which he had at other times sealed with many of their bloods as at his entry thither lately before this act for no other purpose than himself to kill seven of them on the night in their beds. So as both by forfeiture and murdering the innocent the bill against him stands filed justly as though he had no "trode" at all. Concerning the objections by way of compensation imputed to Lord Scrope and the Governor of Berwick, those causes had at several times earnestly been insisted upon by his Highness's Commissioners and finally after exact trial they were cleaned in such sort as they cannot lawfully be brought here in question. Now, therefore, I concluded that seeing your Majesty had so many and so just causes of demand, that the laws so evidently appointed delivery in such cases, that the fact and trial of those persons was already decided by the Commissioners to be subject to that law, there could be no question made in justice of his Highness's further resolution, either by advice of his Council or conference with his Commissioners, but "indelayed" and plain performance of his royal word and promise by delivery of the two trespassers aforesaid into your hands.

To this reply the King rejoined, yet in my conceiving rather amplifying than strengthening his former reason and excuse, which lest I be too tedious I am enforced to omit. His conclusion was that he would give me a reasonable answer, but for delivery of the persons he could not then though he would, seeing he was to pass on a necessary journey toward his Convention. But before his return he would cause Cessford and Buccleuch to be sent for and he thought I would be content to stay his return. Here I, being privy with your Majesty's lieger Ambassador's negotiation and that he was to present unto the King a stronger motive than the persuasion which I had used, surceased for the time, when he entering delivered such matter substantially and at large as will better appear unto you by the report of his own letters.

Upon signification made by your said Ambassador unto the King that your Highness's purpose was to draw some forces towards the defence of your Borders I took new occasion to add further that you would find it necessary so to do, not only to right your own cause but to break the combinations apparently entered by his Borderers with full purpose to withstand his commandment for pledges or other redress by this commission ; which if it should happen by want of timely applying his royal authority politically to have made sure their commanders, having been so lately in his hands, and by them to have procured his pledges secretly and speedily, as his Commissioners were often and earnestly moved by myself to signify unto him, how grievous it would be unto your Majesty to reap so many dishonours, where you had sown so many kind favours ; how discomfortable to the religious of his own people to see the happy amity grow into so hard terms ; how little it would satisfy his own heart

James VI.

1597. to have his denial of right the cause of so much bloodshed, I appealed to his own wisdom and conscience timely to determine. Here the King answered earnestly : nay, in truth he could not, nor would not, deny justice ; assuring us that whatsoever his Commissioners had concluded upon he would see performed ; praying us to have patience till these three might concur together, namely his return from Dundee which should be about the 17th instant, Cessford and Buccleuch's repair hither which he would not fail to procure before that time, and his Commissioners' conference with us in the meantime, wherein he would give them directions before his departure. I, beseeching his pardon that I might receive his pleasure directly to the end I might advertise your Majesty faithfully, repeated his last mentioned promise with these three points following it, whereunto again he assented with full confirmation as before, we promising to attend and expect it accordingly.

After the King's departure hence towards Dundee the Commissioners by his direction repaired to the lieger Ambassador and me and had conference with us, partly to satisfy a part of the King's former promise, partly to grow to some nearer point for the pledges, and partly to interpret the word of invasion, how it might be understood and of what quality in such bills as they had filed under that name ; but indeed chiefly (as I conceive) to find out what sort of satisfaction might content your Majesty in the point of my demand for the delivery of Cessford and Buccleuch. The effect of our answer was that the name of Invasion was drawn from our commission : the matter from common reason and the law of nations : the conviction *ex re nata* : our instance for delivery from many indignities of like kind heretofore received and no longer to be endured by your Majesty ; and if it were so that the respects of your Majesty's either desert of that nation or honour might obtain no other but strict law, they must expect your Highness would stand upon your demand already made by me so much the stricter, seeing the direct law appoints delivery for murder, and direct conviction had filed Cessford and Buccleuch of murder, direct delivery must needs follow not of justice only by the treaties but by the honour of the King's word given in his commission under his hand and seal. And if they desired mercy at your hand, where now under God it only rested, they must assay it not by provoking your greatness by strait indents but by moving your clemency in free, timely and rightful satisfaction. Edinburgh, 11 May 1597. *Signed* : Willm. Bowes.

7½ pp. In the handwriting of Robert Bowes's clerk. 4 Seals. Addressed. Endorsed* : " Rec. at Greenwich the 17 [May 1597] ", and by Cecil's clerk : " This letter signifies the day that he took his journey into Scotland."

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 363.

Copy of the foregoing letter. *Unsigned.*

5 pp. Damaged by fire. Partial transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 392 seqq.

May 11. 438. ROBERT BOWES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Before the receipt of your Majesty's letter to me of 27 April last I was advertised that the Commissioners for the Borders had fully proceeded

* The seal is that used by Robert Bowes.

James VI.

1597.

in all bills and complaints brought before them ; that they had declared Buccleuch (Bucklugh) and young Cessford guilty in the offences objected against them and had resolved to end their conferences and thereon to depart in sunder. By this occasion I was prevented to break the treaty of these Commissioners as you by letter directed me. Thinking it then best to travail to procure honourable redresses for all former faults with the quenching of these present troubles and establishment of future peace and justice in the Marches, I stayed for the repair hither of Sir William Bowes that we might join in our negotiation to the King for the advancement of the effects mentioned and especially for delivery of Buccleuch and young Cessford (Sesford) now convicted and by us therefore demanded to be delivered to your officers.

On Saturday, the 7th hereof, agreeable to your pleasure signified to me, I presented to the King Sir William Bowes, who being well received and performing all requisite compliments delivered your Majesty's letter to the King with report of all the effects committed by you to his charge. Whereunto such answers and debate have been made by the King and such replies and defence returned to him by Sir William, together with such promises given by the King for redresses demanded by Sir William and myself as the view of his letter shall (I trust) yield you good information and contentment.

Albeit the Commissioners had finished their treaty, yet it appeared to me that the notice of the contents and sight of your letter to me and to be communicated to the King should much move him to give you the more seasonable and due satisfaction for the redresses demanded. Therefore, I proceeded first by word to acquaint him with the whole sum of your letter to me. After Sir William had ended with him I began to recount to him the first part of your letter, declaring that your Majesty had forborne as long as your own honour and the importunities of your subjects exhibiting their pitiful outcries could permit ; and howsoever the world censured his proceedings with your Majesty in tolerating these insolencies of his subjects attempting these wrongs and in rewarding them as for good service done to him, yet your Majesty always loving to judge the best of whom you know that the best is deserved (as I noted that you had done at his hands) would be loth to discover by action that you had any conceit that these unkind proceedings were derived from lack of his own care or good will, but rather through the factious credit and insinuation of his disordered subjects. To these he answered that he did never like or allow of the insolencies committed but always restrained the attempt of them so far as he could. He denied to have rewarded any of the executioners of these facts. Wherein, albeit I put him in memory that he had very lately and since the execution of these outrages promoted young Cessford to be Gentleman of his Chamber, yet he affirmed directly that he had granted that place and preferment to Cessford before his late offence objected against him. Further the remembrance of your good deserts towards him seemed to him to be some sort of exprobaton of your benefits employed on him ; which benefits as he acknowledged to have been kind and great, so he showed a readiness of thankful memory thereof with desire to requite them to the uttermost of his power ; adding that for your Majesty and in his care to preserve to him your good will he had lost the

James VI.

1597.

French King, refused the liberal offers of other princes, digested many hard things and always applied himself to please and keep the amity with you, as presently he pretends to be resolved to perform the same.

Where I informed him of the griefs of your subjects thus oppressed and of your resolute purpose to relieve them by your own power without further requests or expectation of success of treaties and that you had commanded me to break the treaty of the Commissioners, he seemed much stirred, saying that to such things as your Majesty would do or must do he could not answer but provide for the best, as well to continue and nourish the happy amity and good course with you (which by his speech he held in high estimation), as also to have due respect to himself, his subjects and realm. Upon occasion given by Sir William Bowes and myself, still insisting upon the delivery of Buccleuch and young Cessford, he entered into some overtures for the accomplishing of the redresses, promising directly that he would execute the indents concluded by the Commissioners. For the entrance into particular course for the same (and especially for delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford) he offered to direct his four Commissioners for the Borders to confer with Sir William and myself, to command by his letters Buccleuch and Cessford to be here before him on the 17th hereof, and at that time he would return hither from the Convention of the Estates and Assembly of the Church meeting at Dundee the 10th hereof and thereon proceed to resolve and take good and full order in these affairs for your Majesty's contentment and the benefit of the common causes. Albeit that Sir William and I still urged his present assent for the timely delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford as persons convicted and by justice to be delivered, yet, because he was then ready to pass that day towards Dundee and had no time to deliberate with his Council herein, we received the effects offered, resting on his promise to be further satisfied for your Majesty at his return prescribed.

Soon after he sent to us his Commissioners with whom we had long debate and contended much on the definition of the word Invasion and of the quality of the offences of Buccleuch and Cessford, for they denied that Invasion was expressed in any treaty or any particular pain imposed thereon. They thought that Buccleuch and Cessford were convicted for crimes redressable by money and like satisfaction and ought not to be delivered. Wherein it was readily answered that, howsoever the term of Invasion is omitted to be plainly expressed in the treaties, the fact is condemned and punishable, at least in degree of lesser facts ; that Buccleuch and Cessford were declared guilty of murders of her Majesty's subjects, for which they ought to be delivered and suffer death at your Majesty's pleasure. Albeit they would not agree with us in the matter of invasion, they denied not but that Buccleuch and Cessford were convicted of murders and ought to be delivered for the same by the rules of the treaties, notwithstanding that the execution has been rarely put in practice but referred to the princes. Whereupon it was moved that for the honour of the sovereigns, for the allowance of the actions of the Commissioners, for the execution of laws against offenders, for pacifying the Borders, preservation of future peace and justice, Buccleuch, Cessford and the other offenders reciprocally on both sides should be delivered agreeable to the laws and quality of their crimes, and that the mercy to be shown to any offender

James VI.

1597.

delivered (in any respect to be had of him) should be referred to the pleasures and considerations of the sovereigns. Which motion (moved by us) partly liked for the present is like to be further examined at our next meeting intended about the 17th hereof. The rest of these Border causes will appear to your Majesty by the letter of Sir William Bowes, who by many reasons debated the same with the King and also with these Commissioners.

The residue of the contents in your Majesty's letter I opened to the King and upon apt occasion I offered to him the view of your letter, which he well perused giving in effect the answers before expressed.

Finally, it may please your most sacred Majesty to have gracious respect unto my decayed and diseased body and estate, disabled by my infirmities to yield the duties requisite in your services, which by my weakness may be endangered and prejudiced against my will and power. Edinburgh, 11 May 1597. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

3 pp. *Addressed*. 4 Seals. *Endorsed* : " Rec. at Grenewich the 17."

May 11. 439. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

Upon the end of the treaty of the Commissioners for the Borders Sir William Bowes came hither with her Majesty's letter to the King, which he has delivered with full report of all things committed to his charge, as by his own letters is so sufficiently certified as I have chosen to forbear to trouble you with needless repetition therein.

This morning I have received the letter of John Achinross (agent for MacLean and known to your lordship) to such effects as by the sight of the same will best be known to you ; for which purpose I send enclosed his letter, beseeching you to return therewith such instructions for my answer to him and for such course to be taken in this cause as shall best please her Majesty to direct. By other intelligences I have been advised that the troubles in Ireland are like to be kindled again, but of the certainty thereof I can give no assurance, neither of the new entrance and proceedings betwixt O'Donnell and MacLean (McKlayne) further than in the letter of Achinross is advertised. The truth in sundry parts of his letter touching the present estate and condition of Ireland is known (I trust) to you and therefore I have thought it meet to recommend this cause to your wise consideration and always to attend for direction therein. Angus MacConnell departed from Court with some malcontentment. M'Sorley (McKsorle) has been greatly honoured by the King. He is knighted and advanced with the gift of inheritance of 40*l.* by year in Islay of the King's possessions. In receipt of all his honours he still reserved his loyalty and faithful service to her Majesty. In some secret conferences with the King he received (as I hear) favourable graces. He has presented the King with some Irish horses and after great expenses is returned towards Ireland.

The King is presently at the Convention of the Estates and Assembly of the Church begun yesterday at Dundee. The Convention is gathered to deliberate for the customs of the imposts, revenues, coin and other matters for the King's estate and benefit. It is thought that the noblemen especially called thereunto shall yield their endeavours to advance all the King's

James VI.

1597. desires to be effected in the General Assembly. Many of the noblemen repairing to Dundee will be accompanied (as I hear) with great numbers and forces of their friends and followers. The presbyteries in this realm have made choice and employed especial commissioners to keep better unity and concord amongst them than was done at the last Assembly at Perth and both to re-examine the acts passed by plurality of votes at Perth and also to answer sufficiently to the residue of the King's articles to be further proponed touching the discipline of the Church and the jurisdictions ecclesiastical and civil. The resolution herein is hitherto uncertain for it is looked that the most part of the commissioners in the North (with many others) shall concur with the opinions of the courtiers, and that the matter shall be either won again by the greater part of this Assembly or else that it shall be adjourned. The issue of these proceedings at Dundee are [*sic*] of importance and shortly to be known.

Sundry of the ministers in several presbyteries in the North travelling with the Earl of Huntly for his reconciliation to the Church have certified his good inclination and readiness in reformation and have declared the same in writing, the copy whereof I send enclosed. It is mightily laboured and looked that Huntly at this Assembly at Dundee shall be absolved from his excommunication and thereon be received to the bosom of the Church, as before I have advertised your lordship. It is not like (as I am informed) that this course and the success thereof shall bring and keep this realm in quietness. Yet the King has lately (as I hear) declared his mind towards Huntly and with such gracious speeches entertained as well the ministers late at horn as also the rest resorting to him, as good hope is conceived that religion and discipline of the Church shall be strengthened and peace and good order established, except some evil counsellors shall hinder the progress thereof.

That my present decay in health and weakness in body and estate do not prejudice her Majesty's services in my charge here I have made humble petition in my letter to her to be graciously respected therein, and that my liberty and discharge from this service may be granted I pray your good help and furtherance. Edinburgh, 11 May 1597. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Seal. Endorsed.*

Enclosure with the preceding.

(John Auchinross to Robert Bowes.)

Without doubt the Earl of Tyrone (Teireone) has of late received great quantity of armour and gold from Spain and O'Donnell (Odonill) has of new directed some gentlemen to my master desiring earnestly his assistance accompanied with two thousand men, to whom offer is made of gold, silver and other furnishing. This "mekle" my master has willed me to let your lordship know with diligence seeing they are new come to him and that you make her Majesty and Council acquainted herewith, so that if they esteem not of his service he must license his men to go over to Ireland, whom he has stayed to this present giving them sustentation, accorded to them use of his land, and by whom he has stayed others of mind to go over to Tyrone.

James VI.

1597.

It is of truth that there is (*sic*) two "pallionis" [pavilions] made in Glasgow. The one will hold as is esteemed three hundred men, the other will hold three score with a bed as use is in the end; which bed is made of Spanish wide "taffatie" curtains in "braw form trymly frenzeit." Some say they were made to my Lord Flemyng, yet few or none of this land needs this form. But as I hear they go to Tyrone and were "stentit out" in the castle close of Glasgow on Thursday, the fifth of May. Your lordship's "moyan" may have sure trial hereof. I doubt not but James McSoirll [M'Sorley] is your own, and yet if the Earl has furnished him partly in this his voyage the truth will cry hereafter. As occurrents are let me know with the bearer, my boy, that my master may be acquainted therewith whither he goes, immediately after his return and from whom ("quhomfra") he is presently come. Dumbarton (Dunbertane) the 8 of May 1597.

As I heard from Ireland I have ever written to John Cunyngham to be shown to your lordship.

My master in his letter has him heartily recommended to your lordship and desires to know of your welfare and good health.

It was the general that met with the Earl without doubt. The Earl had a servant in Edinburgh named Flemyng. Whether he returns with James McSorell [M'Sorley] or not I know not. There is exceeding famine in Ireland and divers are coming here for victual.

As your lordship will employ me I am ready to do you service. *Signed*: Johnne Achinros.

1 p. *Holograph, also address*: "To my speciall guid Lord, my Lord Bowes Ambassito^r." *Endorsed*.

May 11. 440. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Since my last of the 3rd hereof to you Sir William Bowes is come hither and on the 7th received with me access unto and audience of the King. He delivered to him her Majesty's letter with full report of the effects committed to his charge. Whereupon he has received such answers and overtures for the expedition of redresses demanded by him and me in Border causes as by his letters to come to your view will best appear and as thereby I need not (I think) trouble you with needless repetition.

Albeit the Commissioners for the frontiers were ready to depart "on sonder" before the receipt of her Majesty's letter to me directing me to break their treaty, yet with the good advice given me by your letter and for sundry other important causes briefly certified by my letter to her Majesty I have thought it meet to forbear to break the treaty as I was directed and nevertheless to communicate to the King by word and by fit show to him of her Majesty's letter to me the whole sum of the said letter. Of all my doings and success I have given account by my letter to her Majesty here enclosed, which it may please you to present to her.

I have put the King in memory of the former cautions and intelligences touching Spain before delivered to him, which I noted to be used to her Majesty's disgrace as I specified some particularities agreeable to your letter to me. Therewith I began to open to him the negotiation of Anthony Rolston lately come from Spain and crept into England. But

James VI.

1597. in the entry of my discovery of Rolston's errands he interrupted me partly and first acknowledged her Majesty's kindness in sending to him the intelligences of Spain with the practices of Dolmans and Parsons by their book set forth to advance the title of the King of Spain's daughter to the crown of England. He acquitted himself by his speech against all reports given out that he anywise interpreted that matter to her Majesty's disgrace but that he was both favourably warned and also kindly respected by her therein. Touching Rolston's affairs he declared himself to be already acquainted not only with a great part of the particularities expressed in your letter to me but also with sundry other effects intended (as he said) to be practised in that cause. For he seemed to understand which especial competitors of the crown of England should be first tempted for the marriage of the Infanta ; how the same should be compassed and to what ends. But he rested upon her Majesty's providence and wisdom to defeat the course of such distributors of her crown and upon such overtures as she would easily espy. For this advertisement he rendered very hearty thanks to her. Albeit I found him informed in this matter, I proceeded both to open to him the residue of Rolston's actions and of all other things contained in the note enclosed in your letter to me and therewith I showed him the note mentioned. All which he took in good part, pretending to be little moved with the danger of any prejudice to fall to him by that plot.

In the end of my letter to her Majesty I have sought for her gracious respect to be given to my weakness that the same do not in any way prejudice her service in my charge. I trust she will be pleased for the benefit of her own service graciously to tender my age and disability that I may have liberty and be discharged of this weighty burden. Edinburgh, 11 May 1597. *Signed* : Robert Bowes.

1½ pp. *Addressed. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* : " R' 16 [May]."

May 11. **441.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

Since my last letters unto your lordship of 27 April, our treaty drawing towards an end, sundry great bills were pressed upon us by our opposites as the bill of Falkland (Fawklande), the bill of Cannabie against the chief of our Grahams for occupying ground in Scotland of the Lord Hume's against his will, the arrearages whereof amount near 10,000 marks sterling, the bill of demand of the fugitives heretofore exhibited unto your lordships, all which with sundry other difficulties straitening us and how we passed through them I had before this time certified to you. But my new address by her Majesty's letters into Scotland, my labour to convince Buccleuch (Bucklugh) directly of his last attempt in Tindale, the offer of performance of delivery for the recent bills made by us in several places within the ground of Scotland to show her Majesty's forwardness in justice and manifest the Scottish wardens' disobedience in breaking our indents, and lastly the ordaining of some good constitutions to meet with such Border mischiefs as experience had taught us, especially murders and " feedes " [feuds], and those to be drawn in some good form for closing up the treaty, all which joined together with many other too tedious to recite falling into the end of our work, did so detain me as I was forced to

James VI.

1597. commend the certificate thereof unto my Lord of Durham at such better leisure as he should have after the Scottish Commissioners' and my departure with them into Scotland. Here I must for one part humbly crave her Majesty's pardon and yours with the rest of my Lords' favourably to excuse if in our treaty some oversights may be found to have slipped us in ordering and penning thereof, being a matter which I confess would have required a riper and better digested deliberation. But my repair to the King was so hastened by her Majesty's letters and by his Highness resorting to his Convention at Dundee, besides that there appeared so important reasons for me to be accompanied to Edinburgh with the Commissioners as time served not in that point to do our duties and desires as we would. Since that time how my negotiation with the King has succeeded my advertisement in answer to her Majesty's letters of directions given to me on that behalf will give you to understand. Wherein if I shall have discharged myself with less judgment than diligence, so as I doubt not but I must appeal from my defect to her Majesty's grace, I beseech you to vouchsafe me your accustomed favour in excusing my defects by want of training or former acquaintance with such like affairs. Edinburgh, 11 May 1597. *Signed*: Willm. Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed. Seal. Endorsed.*

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 373.

Copy of the foregoing letter. *Unsigned.*

1 *p.* *Damaged by fire. Partial transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 403.*

May 11. **442.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

By my advertisement addressed unto her Majesty accounting for my employments in her service by direction of her speech and by instructions received from your Honour, and lastly by her Highness's letter of the 27th ultimo to myself, you will perceive how far my negotiation with the King has hitherto proceeded. In my advertisement, my weakness of memory having omitted some things which the straitness of time permits not to amend by writing it over again, I must crave pardon to insert it here by you to be imparted to her Majesty if you think meet. My first omission is not to have remembered that the Scottish Commissioners were with the King and fully informed him in all their proceedings on Friday in the afternoon, being the 6th instant, before our audience given by the King in the morning following. Next, I omitted in the King's speech his objection of the receipt of Bodwell [Bothwell] whom he termed a notable conspirator against his person. Thirdly, he objected that we thought it much that he should use any oversight of his wardens for killing some poor thieves but we willingly entertained many of his fugitives which had wrought treason against his person and estate. Since our audience I understand that the King holds himself not satisfied with our answer to the demand of his Commissioners heretofore made by them and exhibited by us unto your Honours and lastly renewed the day before our departure, the effect whereof was that upon inquisition by us made we found not that they remained within the compass of the Borders, which we took to be the limits of our commission, and if they shall be received in any other

James VI.

1597. part of the realm we doubt not but upon such demand made as the treaty prescribes her Majesty will therein give honourable satisfaction. Our said answer is agreeable to the instructions given by all your Honours to me at my late attendance on you for this service.

I am advertised that the King is much troubled how to satisfy her Majesty in the delivery of Sesforth [Cessford] and Buckclugh [Buccleuch] with the safety of their persons ; and not the least for that if they should be delivered and find her accustomed clemency they might be returned home in some opportunity to his no small disadvantage. I think it be in question to send an ambassador unto her Majesty to mediate some honourable and indifferent way of her satisfaction. Wherein, albeit we stand stedfastly at our obstinate demand, yet we deny not the mercy her Majesty may be pleased to show if they be delivered into her hands, lest a desperate evil force them to entertain a desperate remedy in breaking of the Borders, which I see sundry causes to fear.

In discharge of my duty by accounting for the remain of the instructions given me by your Honour and not hitherto satisfied by my former letters I think meet to advertise you that her Majesty's message being done both to Lord Scrope and Lord Eure wrought effect in very good shows of their honourable and firm reconciliation. The Carletons and Grahams dutifully attended and submitted themselves to such her Majesty's pleasure and commandment as I delivered unto them by her direction.

Upon examination of the cause between Lord Scrope and Thomas Carleton given us in charge by letters from all your Honours evidence was given by one man against the said Thomas deeply touching him with March treason, and indeed with the very destruction of his office in Gilsland ; which charge is both encountered and recoutered with such high protestations as we were enforced to leave it to higher wisdoms or truth itself to be determined. Thus hoping upon the King's return to find a ready dispatch from hence to attend the affairs of my mean estate and beseeching you of your accustomed favour to excuse unto her Majesty the weakness of my carriage of her so important affairs, I commit your Honour to the grace of God. Edinburgh, 11 May 1597. Signed : Willm. Bowes.

1½ pp. Addressed. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's Clerk : " R' 16 [May]."

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 373 v.

Copy of the foregoing letter. *Unsigned.*

1½ pp. Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 403.

[1597.] **443. REQUISITIONS OF THE ENGLISH AMBASSADORS TO BE**
[Before
May 12.] **PRESENTED TO JAMES VI.**

Cott. Calig.
D. ii, fol. 304.

[That whereas it appears unto his Highness by the] former de[clar-
ation given in by us, her Majesty's Ambassadors, that she neith[er can nor
will expect] any other means than the effect and indelayed [execution of]
the commission to give an end to these endless dishonours [and] intoler-
erable injuries thus long sustained by herself and [her] people in the
particulars before rehearsed ; and that this resolution has proceeded so

James VI.

1597. far that I, Robert Bowes have shown unto the King her Majesty's express commandment under her own hand that I shall break the treating of the Commissioners, except the notorious invasions, murders and spoils done within her realm during and under the said treaty may be first redressed.

Whereas I, William Bowes, am ready to make known unto his Majesty the particular facts and convictions of the said invasions as being expressly sent by her Majesty to that end ; and lastly, whereas upon due examination it may easily appear unto his Majesty that untimely discovery to the multitude of malefactors of the intended delivery of pledges has drawn the whole Borders into desperate terms and danger of breaking by seeing their general conviction already passed to subject them to the payment of such huge sums as there is no choice left to the chief ring-leaders but either beggary or death, so as instead of satisfaction to be given her Majesty there can be expected no other but increase of these outrages, drawing to a very war by the rebellious combinations of such armed numbers of the trespassers aforesaid, if it be not even now instantly by his Majesty's great wisdom and present order prevented.

We, therefore, her Majesty's Ambassadors, out of our most dutiful and entire regard to the religious and happy amity thus long preserved, do instantly beseech his Majesty that seeing the peril rehearsed can endure no delay and finding the opportunity of his Commissioners instantly attending able and ready to give him information, and us, her Majesty's Commissioners, ready on her behalf not to require only but to put in effect whatsoever shall be found expedient, he would be pleased :

First, to admit a conference in his presence of us with his Commissioners for Border causes whereby he may be informed how far these her Majesty's last grievances have been proceeded in ; as also to understand this summary estate of his Border affairs and to the intent the indent for pledges (esteemed on both sides to be the only mean of performing the purpose of this commission) may be [put in effect ?]

[Secondly, that his Highness with all] possible expedition [would be pleased to direct letters of commandment to his warden] of the West March, to his [warden of the East March and to Sir Robert] Kerr, his warden of the Middle March [that they under pain of his] highest displeasure to their uttermost power [attend upon his] Majesty at Dundee upon Thursday being the [12th instant] bringing with them such persons as the [Commissioners of England] have under their hands named to the [Commissioners of Scotland] under their several charges, and not to depart from [his] Highest before his especial leave obtained.

Thirdly, whereas her Majesty being advertised of the [said peril] . . . king the Borders is levying of forces to send thi[ther for the] necessa[ry] defence of her own people if she be not insta[n]tly informed] of the very effecting of her satisfaction in performa[n]ce of the] Commissioners' indents, we do eftsoons beseech h[is Majesty] before his departure hence to give us such as[sured matter of ground] as whereupon we may advertise her Majesty to forbe[ar her] levies as unnecessary or otherwise that her forc[es] being come to the Borders shall find those tresp[assers abandoned] of the King's protection and an instrument thereof given us [under] hand and seal that she may proceed to take her

James VI.

1597. [own remedy] upon them or theirs without breach of the league and am[ity] sworn and established between the princes.

1½ pp. Draft. Damaged by fire. Transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, pp. 352, 353, from which the portions above in brackets have been partly supplied.

May 13. **444. ACTS OF THE CONVENTION OF ESTATES AT DUNDEE.**

Printed in *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, iv, 118-123.

"At Dundye the 13 day of May 1597."

Copy * of the following Acts, *viz.*—

Act anent the restraining of the home bringing of English cloth and other English wares and merchandize made of wool.

Act against transporting gold and silver out of the realm, fixing the value of currency and ordering that foreign money shall not have "course" in the realm but be brought to the "coyngninghouse" as bullion.

Act anent the payment of the customs and the home bringing of bullion.

Act against the export of great burn coal.

Act restraining the export of home grown wool and prohibiting the bringing into the realm of foreign craftsmen to work the same.

Act for the coinage of 2*d.* pieces of copper for the relief of the poor.

Act ordering the payment of customs on all cloths and other wares brought into the realm at 12*d.* for every poundsworth.

4 pp. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil: "An Act established by the King of Scots for reformation of many disorders in that realm."

Another copy of the foregoing.

4¼ pp. Endorsed: "13 May 1597. Proclamation in Scotland."

May [14]. **445. ANSWERS OF THE EARL OF HUNTLY TO THE ARTICLES.**

Answer to the heads proponed to the Earl of Huntly by the Commissioners of the General Assembly.

We, the ministers of Angus, Mearns, Aberdeen and Moray appointed commissioners by the last General Assembly holden at Perth for trial of the Earl of Huntly's obedience to the particular injunctions set down by the said Assembly imponed to his lordship for declaration of his repentance for the offences committed by him as they are mentioned in the said directions, testify and declare that we have found him obedient and willing to satisfy in all humble manner, to continue and persevere in his earnest suit for reconciliation with the Kirk, and after long conference and ripe advisement to have consented to the fulfilling of the said whole conditions, whereof the particular answer follows.

The answer of the Earl to the articles in which he states that he appeared at Aberdeen on 22 March and there awaited conference with the commissioners; that they brought him after reasoning a convenient space to confess the verity in the whole grounds of religion *affirmativé* and resolved his doubts by the Word of God. He acknowledges the reformed Kirk of Scotland as the true Kirk, declares his conjunction to

* This or the copy following is perhaps the enclosure referred to in No. 454 below.

James VI.

1597. the same, and is ready to subscribe the confession of Faith. He will banish out of his company all Jesuits, seminary priests and excommunicated papists. He will satisfy for his apostacy in the place appointed at the discretion of the commissioners. He expresses his unfeigned grief for the slaughter of the Earl of Moray and will satisfy the party and make offers to that effect as he has given the King a blank to be filled up with particular "assythment." He remits all rancour for any occasion or deed offered to him by the countrymen in the King's service. He agrees that the present commissioners or so many of the whole three provinces as shall be meetest for the work, with the lairds of Petlurge, Clunye [. . . (*blank*)] [shall] set down an order for provision of his kirks, which he promises to execute immediately after his absolution. By the advice of the commissioners he promises to take a minister and to entertain him in his own house. He confesses that by his public offences he gave sufficient matter to the Kirk for the sentence of excommunication against him.*

1½ pp. *Endorsed*: "May 1597. Answer to the heads propounded to the E. Huntley."

May 14. 446. ANSWERS OF THE EARLS OF ERROL AND ANGUS TO THE ARTICLES.

Printed in
Calderwood,
*History of the
Kirk of Scotland*,
v. 635-640.

Dundee, 14 May 1597. The answers of the two Earls acknowledging the reformed Kirk of Scotland, promising to expel from their company and bounds all Jesuits, priests and excommunicated papists, and to subscribe the confession of Faith before the commissioners so soon as they shall obtain their absolution, etc. are here severally given as in Calderwood under ten heads, except that in Errol's case heads 8 and 9 have here erroneously been run together and head 10 is numbered 9.

The which report made by the said commissioners in discharging their commission the General Assembly presently convened ratifies and allows as agreeable and answerable to the ordinance of the last Assembly held at Perth in all points, and therefore ordains the said report to proceed further with the said Earls in the said matter and receive a full satisfaction and to crave the present accomplishment thereof so far as possible can be done. They are to confess the verity of the whole grounds of our religion *affirmativé* and confess [*sic*, ? refuse] and detest all heads of papistry contrary to the same, to acknowledge the reformed Kirk of Scotland to be the true kirk and themselves members thereof, to subscribe the confession of Faith before their absolution, etc. The Earl of Huntly before his absolution is to ask God's mercy for the Earl of Murrays [Moray's] slaughter. The Earls are to renew their promise of remitting all rancour and malice of heart against any gentlemen in their country that have pursued or any ways troubled them and by the advice of the commissioners they are to make choice of a minister who shall be entertained in their house. To remove all slander from the Earl of Huntly and especially that which arose upon the slaughter of Mr. William More committed

* The answers are numbered 1 to 12 as in the version printed by Calderwood and in substance are to the same effect. But there are considerable variations in the wording between the two versions and a slight variatoin in the numbering though not in the order of the answers.

James VI.

1597. during his lordship's remaining in Aberdeen the Earl is to provide such remedy that the mother of the said William may be satisfied and such "asythment" made for him and for her husband's slaughter as the commissioners shall think expedient. The commissioners shall have power after the accomplishment of the said promises to absolve the Earls from their excommunication and receive them again in the bosom of the Kirk.

4 pp.

May [14.] 447. THE BISHOP OF DUNKELD TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Cott. Calig.
D. ii. fol. 329.

"[This is the puir pedral qhuais pack was tane away in Berwick and notwithstanding all we did for recovery] off it [zit can find nathing] bot in place off some [satisfaction] q^{lk} wes lukit for is now menassid. . . . His request to you presentlie [is that he] may haiff ane letter fra you and [m]e to the governo^r and maior of Berwick [that he] may haiff access there as uther Scottish[men] hes to wss his travfik and in doing thereof [not] to be trublit or menassit." At Ed^r [Edinburgh] the [xii]ij (?) of May 1597. Signed : Dunkeld.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph. Addressed* : "To his very guid lord S^r W^m Bowis ambassaddur presentlie for the Quenis M. of Ingland in Scotland." *Damaged by fire. Partial transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 374.*

May 15. 448. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

The 15 of May 1597.

The Convention is likely to break up from Dundee and come to Edden' [Edinburgh]. At the first meeting the King demanded to have the Lords restored, to which the Kirk replied and said it should not be because the said Lords were traitors. To the which the King answered and said that so were they too, and greater traitors because they made mind to put hand to his person and to slay his nobility, and bade them either temporise themselves or he would deal with them other ways nor ever he had done, saying that if it were his pleasure to forgive them what had they to do therewith? The cause of this great favour proceeds of this as "extrene" [extraneously?] was told me, that the Duke de Mane [Maine] in France is laying "all plat" to agree France and Spain with purpose to agree and send forces into Ireland by soliciting of your Irish bishop now resident in Spain and from that place to draw their forces for England by the way of Scotland, and lest the foresaid Earls should be by rigour offered them drawn to effect that faction which the King suspects they would do if they were banished, therefore he thinks it greater policy to pardon them nor to deal by extremity, seeing they are great and may do "mickell," yea and would do "mickell" or [ere] they lost their estates in Scotland. This was told me. By the next ye shall get wit of more. Idem.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Endorsed* : "15 May 1597. The copy of a letter sent me out of Scotland."

James VI.

1597. 449. BILL OF ROBERT BOWES FOR SERVICES IN SCOTLAND.

May 19.

The bill of sundry sums of money defrayed in her Majesty's services in Scotland by me Robert Bowes, her Ambassador there.

First for carriage of packets and letters betwixt Berwick and Edinburgh and sent as well to me from Court, the Commissioners for the Borders and the Wardens as also by me, for and in her Majesty's services from 29 Nov. 1596 until the last of March then next following inclusive.

41*l.* 10*s.*

The charges both of my servant at Perth with horse hire during his abode at the late Convention of the Estates there, as also of others sent unto Stirling and Linlithgow whilst the King was there, and unto other places for her Majesty's services.

12*l.*

For intelligences and rewards to several persons in this time.

52*l.*

Summa totalis

105*l.* 10*s.*

19 May 1597. Make an order for payment hereof.

Signed : W. Burghley.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p.* Endorsed : " Mr. Bowes bill for intelligences."

May 21. 450. LORD BURGHLEY TO [? THE BISHOP OF DURHAM].

Cott. Calig.
D. ii. fol. 441.

. Comis dated you are safely come home whereof I am glad and according to the of your letter I have received the 2 originals of the [tr]eaty concluded at Carlisle by the Commissioners on both parts of the realms. I have also received by him a copy of the Scottish requisition for the delivery of rebels and fugitives. with your own answer thereunto. Besides these I have received 2 verdicts of the gentlemen of the Marches for the East and Middle in one book and for the West alone in another, which you require to be perused with speed, so as some speedy remedy may be had against the calamities of those countries. Your lordship besides in your letter gives commendation to the Lord Scrope for his wisdom, although he show himself over zealous in his own causes. And sorry I am that your lordship and the Commissioners could not make some good end and peace betwixt his lordship and Mr. Lowther, Carleton and the Grahams, wherein by a letter this day received from Lord Scrope I perceive your lordship did deal, but yet as he writes many times your leisure did not permit you to deal so thoroughly as you desired. And so I see the matters left still in raw terms to the disquiet of the country. I have also received two extracts in writing of the evil estate of religion in those countries, the causes whereof seem in your opinion to be these hereafter following. The abridgment of the authority of the Commission Ecclesiastical, whereof the papists are acquainted, but your lordship does not express in what points the same is abridged, as I could wish you had done. I should have begun with the first cause alleged by you which I think to be the principal : that is the default in the pastors, either by their governance in teaching or by their non-residence upon their cures : a matter very general through the realm, and by order remembered commonly to the bishops of the realm. But therein I find small hope of amendment. A third cause of decay of religion is the incommodity taken by the recusants upon the statute whereby they

James VI.

1597.

are confined within five miles of their own houses. But you do not express how that inconvenience happens. For a fourth cause you allege the doubtfulness of the statute for the 20^l. a month upon recusants, making it doubtful by whom and for whom and in some places to whom it . . . moved in . . . think the statute is very . . . doubts. But in one point not so . . . think good to let your lordship know that . . . any man is a recusant though himself . . . husband is to pay a fine or to deliver . . . until it be paid. A case fully res . . . judges and so generally executed is many par. . . . A first cause there is by you alleged . . . in proceeding, by suffering the obstinate offender. . . . And last of all the disorderly sending of letters . . . offenders to be enlarged, which I am sorry to see . . . to have been by noblemen and counsellors, wherein . . . free I have challenged some of them, who have . . . their faults, excusing them by the persuasion of . . . the parties offending were thereby to be removed . . . not succeeded. And therefore I hope it will be sta . . . do conclude that the lack of sudden searches ge . . . made at many places at once are discontinued . . . whereof is in your lordship and others, Commissioners put in . . . namely, the counsellors of the Commission at York, . . . may do well to advertise the inconvenience of . . . and to put remedy unto it in time by common con- . . . Thus your lordship sees I have by my answer repe . . . of your letter. And for that the consideration of . . . contained in your letters are to be imparted to her Ma . . . I do forbear at this time by my private letter . . . particular opinion, meaning very shortly to procu . . . from her Majesty and the Council for your better . . . in the things required. And yet th . . . that I wish your lordship would cause to be extr . . . the treaty, such articles as you shall . . . for all the wardens to understand to be observed . . . by them in their several offices. And . . . shall be informed of the King of Scots . . . resolutions to Sir William Bowes . . . them . . . otherwise to for . . . according as her . . . shall find cause, upon the return of Sir William Bowes with the Scottish King's answers. And for the putting of the treaty into parchment to the intent also to confirm it under the great seal, the same shall be answered to your lordship after the return of Sir William Bowes. And so minding to dispatch your servant to avoid further charge I return him with this my letter with allowance to him for his journey and with letters to the receiver to make full payment to your lordship and the rest of the Commissioners according to the days of your employment. From this Court xxjth of May 1597. Subscribed: "Your lordship's assured loving friend, William Burghley.

Postscript.—In perusal of your treaty which I have numbered to be 36 articles, though in none of your copies there be any such notes of numbers which were convenient, [I] see as I have noted by my numbering that in the 24 article there is to be certified by the wardens before the last of June next the names of fugitives, and in the article by me numbered the 25th that before the 10th of June the wardens shall interchange their rolls with the opposites, by which two articles the contents to be observed would be . . . ught of, whether the same shall be performed

James VI.

1597. before the return of Sir William Bowes. And yet in the mean season both those two articles and all the rest would be extracted, and sent to the wardens, who may suspend the execution of the treaty until the answer come from Sir William Bowes. Will'm Burghley.

3 pp. Copy. Damaged by fire.

May 23 (?) 451. ADVERTISEMENTS FROM SCOTLAND.

On Saturday last the King and his Council convened at the palace of Holyroodhouse. They consulted beforehand *pro et contra*, some with the King as it were to reason, other part of Sir William Bowes for the Queen of England, others with Buclugh [Buccleuch] and Sir Robert Ker for the part of Scotland. Then all sort of objections were in a manner discoursed, amongst them before the time of the Council, and when these parties had done their privy consultations, the King caused the ordinary macer convene the Council in general. Herewithal the two Ambassadors of England were sent for and being all set Sir William spake to this effect :

As justice was the rule whereby all worldly purposes should be governed, so the crowns of princes, the welfare of their commonwealths were maintained by the same, albeit his present negotiation to his Majesty, his estates and honourable Council was in special directed to let them know so far as in reason lay and by the mutual old laws contracted and established by both the realms is set down that by what way any several wrong is accomplished it shall be punished according to the tenour of the law made for that purpose. And albeit he was there presently to crave justice yet he protested solemnly that he was not to offend any noble or gentlemen in Scotland but only to crave the accomplished satisfaction of a general law. And because Buccleuch had committed slaughter of late and raised fire now in time of peace, he alleged by his law book of the Border there presently produced the form of the punishments. And our Council being well advised craved the sight of that book and by reason our Scottish law book was written in the like form and for the like cause and at the like time we desired them to cast up the law in our book, which was immediately "collationat" and read word by word and found conform in all points. Then Sir William craved the persons offenders to be rendered in England to be used at the Queen's discretion and conform to a law, rather than worse should ensue.

This matter received such answer that it could not stand with the honour of the sceptre to transfer the King's justice to another prince considering he was valid of himself and of a "bent" good will to punish any offender against the common peace of the two realms or the particular peace of his own, and further, because it seemed to his Majesty and Council that by that form of petition his authority was "vilipended," in that case he desired the Ambassadors to be content of a flat answer, to wit that he would not deliver them.

And because in the end of his proposition he adjoined these words "rather than worse should ensue," he was willed to declare his full meaning in these words.

Robert Bowes answered that of Buccleuch had before committed a great indignity against the honour of England invading one of the Queen's

James VI.

1597.

chief houses, taking from thence with violent hand a lawful prisoner, and that he in his mistress's name had divers times complained to his Majesty therein and was refused such punishment as was craved both then and now, and that his Majesty and estates had taken no better order "sensyne"; upon the which occasion Sir Robert Ker, warden of the Middle March, had attempted the violent surprising of another house of the country and therefrom had brought another lawful prisoner greatly offensive to the quiet estate of England, and no redress made for that fact either. Therefore in that respect his words might be well interpreted, *quod vim vi repellere fas est*.

Then the King said: "How now, Mr. Bowes, it would seem that you by words too sharp would rather break the common peace betwixt my sister and me than any of these men of whom you now complain. But before all be done, I will demand you more at large of this matter"; and withal desired that Buccleuch should be called in to answer before the Council for himself.

But he beforehand was so well instructed by my Lord of Holyroodhouse and my Lord Advocate that he made a very formal short oration, *perfricta fronte*, making his lawful excuse for the invading of the Castle of Carlisle, the which because it was sufficiently discoursed before he doubted not but his Majesty nor the Ambassadors would call that matter any more in account.

As to the second he cleared himself so finely as was provable to the whole Council so that he moved them all to a smiling countenance and his Majesty too. For he concluded that his accusation by his appearance ended greatly to his honour, because that, as the justice of England is good "lovable of the self," so he doubted not but it would no ways allow of such malefactors as were both enemies to the quiet of England and Scotland, and because he according to his offices followed lawfully stolen "geire" and finding the offenders stand so stiffly to their defence he could do no less than rid them out of the way that they should not have power to offend in the like sort at any time to come. And since he had offended no honest lawful subject of England but had rooted out such unprofitable vermin as served for no good use he merited rather to have thanks and a good reward of the Queen of England than so to be accused by her Ambassadors. And this moved a new matter for sport which was conveyed notwithstanding with "dissimilat" countenance, and so he ended and was commanded to remove.

Then the King asked Sir William Bowes what he meant by his words, but he spake nothing. So Robert Bowes presented for answer a private letter of the Queen's, which the King caused openly to be read. The letter imported, if his Majesty would not execute such requisite justice against those men who had so highly offended her, she did him to understand by that letter that she must and would take a revenge by herself for she could not sit with such a wrong doubled.

But I should have told beforehand how the King craved of Mr. Bowes what reason he had to speak the words preceding and if he meant war and hostility he desired him rather to show a warrant or else to call back those words again, and so for satisfaction without any more ado he presented the letter foresaid, which highly moved all the Council, in such

James VI.

1597. sort that a flat answer of defiance was given in these terms : since it was her Majesty's will so to say, so it should be his Majesty's will by a like letter to answer by these same terms, that he must and would be defensive as she should or would be offensive.

So Sir William should have had no further occasion to remain but this Monday* morning to receive his answer as was then concluded in Council. But in the meantime letters were brought from London this day Monday at 9 hours. The tenour thereof is not yet divulged for he sent word to the King that he had yet more to say. And whatever that be your Honour shall be advertised hereafter in the own season.

3 pp. *Endorsed* : " 27 May 1597. Scottish Advertisements sent by the Lord Scroope."

May 27. **452.** ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS ON THE STATE OF SCOTLAND.

Notes concerning the present estate of Scotland consisting in a Prince Sovereign and two factions in religion.

It may be supposed that the Prince cannot do all that he would in that realm by reason that the dealing of both factions by outward appearance is more " invalescit " than the estate of a weak governed monarchy will permit, which is necessary to be removed.

The protestant faction may be thought to be divided in two sorts of people, whereof the one is a certain number of preachers of the blessed Word and some of them thought to be more insolent than their calling will afford.

The other of a number of professors of the Word such as noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses and townsmen whereof never one will assist their ministry against the King so long as he remains, " and " [even] if it were but by outward show, professor of their religion.

The present estate of that realm is such that never a nobleman will countenance the ministry, such excepted as has private quarrels to debate that will be contented for some time to receive their assistance for palliation of their proper designs.

It may therefore be supposed the ministry to be weak unless the King shall be brought to be more inclined in affection to them than he is or that is believed he shall be, unless her Majesty shall be a mediator for them. And that specially in respect that at this time it is thought that the present troubled estate of the Earl Bothwell and their particular estate full of necessity have caused them and her Majesty to condescend that he shall be their protector, and the continuance may perhaps be so long as the accidents fallen out shall permit.

The faction that are supposed to be papists, albeit some of them have been too busy to traffic and deal in foreign parts, yet crave they not any alteration of religion in that realm, neither any toleration excepting for their own persons, and that not publicly but in private manner.

It appears to be necessary for maintenance of public tranquillity and the continuation thereof that her Majesty should have both these factions tied unto her by some bond obligatory, which appears may be performed without incongruity by dealing for both the parties as after follows.

* ? 23 May.

James VI.
1597.

All that has hitherto stayed her Majesty to intercede for the Earl Bothwell was by reason that he remained charged with practising against the King's person, which blot is now by the King's own consent removed as by his proof and the King's own letters to her Majesty appears. In respect whereof her Highness may without scruple intercede for the remanent [of] his doings, as proceeding from necessity and an earnest desire to recover his good grace.

All that the other faction craves is nothing but that the hard dealing of her Majesty's ministers employed in that realm against them may be removed and that her Highness might remain satisfied that the King their sovereign might declare himself so favourable as to let them be participants of his good grace ; which her Majesty may do by advising the King to deal with them as her Councillors have dealt with the recusants of this realm, provision always being made that their dealing in foreign parts may cease ; for which also they shall give bond to her Majesty as has been heretofore set down by articles from my Lord Treasurer.

As concerning the liberty of conscience that some have travailed may be tolerated in that realm, such order may be taken both with the King and his nobility that no mention shall be made thereof at any time hereafter.

Rests to dilate the manner how the King may be induced to the performance of these premisses.

The general form how it may take effect is already set down in a ticket delivered to Sir John Fortescue. The particularities shall be set down when her Highness shall be pleased to let be understood which of the forms conceived therein she best likes.

The grounds are two whereupon all these practices in Scotland have been founded that have been so deeply dealt in to by some of our nobility in foreign parts, and that now of late is imprinted in the hearts of some about the King that hold him to a furtherance thereof.

The one to sue for some motion to move her Majesty to come to some final resolution with the King agreeable to his desire.

The other, if that shall not be accorded, that it may appear to all men that he is not destitute of the favour of foreign potentates to assist him to recover his right if any would oppose themselves thereunto.

As the disease consists in two several parts, so the remedies may be drawn to two points and any one of them be apparent [*sic*, ? by appearance] may salve the sore.

The first may be done by taking some such final concord with the King as all other princes may understand that it will be travail and charges vainly bestowed to make any essay to withdraw him from her Highness's directions. How that may be performed is known by some resolution heretofore spoken of almost seven years since, which at that time was crossed [i.e. thwarted]. What her Majesty will now do therein is to be left to herself.

The other to make choice of some in credit with the King and noblemen that may show to the King by way of advice how necessary it is for him to have her Majesty's favour and that there remains great esperance that her Highness may be induced upon his good behaviour at some time to yield to his reasonable desires. And that may let the whole noblemen,

James VI.

1597. as well protestants as papists, as counsellors understand what danger may follow if he shall take any other course which in the end may be imputed to themselves. Any of these two proceedings being well and "adapateratly" used may induce the King to yield to the whole premisses and the noblemen to make such suit unto her Majesty that she may live in quietness hereafter void of all suspicion of these foreign practices.

3½ pp. *In the hand of Archibald Douglas. Endorsed by Burghley:*
"Arch. Dowglass. 27 Maii 1597."

May 30. **453.** ROBERT BOWES AND SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Upon Thursday the 19th instant late in the night the King returned from Dundee to Holyroodhouse. The next day we required audience, whereunto it was answered that the King was to bestow that day with his Council in advising upon our former demand and would advertise when he should be ready to give us hearing. The same day in the evening Sir George Hume of Wetherburne [Wedderburn] and Mr. George Younge declared unto us from the King that if we had no other matter to deliver unto him than that which he heard before he desired we would have conference with his Council the 21st. We answered that we had some further matter to deliver unto the King and therefore required to attend upon him first. Audience being granted, the King sent Sir William Stewart, laird of Traquare [Traquair], and Mr. George Younge, who conducted us into the garden, where after a while the King gave his presence; to whom we recounting his message last mentioned understood his pleasures how far some particulars by her Majesty's letters addressed personally to himself he desired should be imparted with his Council. Consequently, remembering our former demand of Sesforde [Cessford] and Buckclugh [Buccleugh] to be delivered into the Queen's hand upon reasons already alleged in part, we should further upon that point depending to be negotiated with his Majesty these other four. First, the stay of the Borders from breaking in this general fear of justice and absence of officers. Secondly, the entry of pledges according to the Commissioners' indent. Thirdly, the "indelayed" delivery for the recent attempts. Fourthly, to give order for the proceeding in ordinary and usual course of justice in delivery of the bills filed by the Commissioners. To these the King answered that according to his former promise made to us Cessford and Buccleuch were presently attending to undergo such resolution as upon further deliberation after our conference with his Council we should receive from his own mouth. For the rest he would likewise take care to satisfy us to the full. In the meantime he requested us to have conference with his Council who should instantly be ready for us.

Here the King retiring left with us Sir John Carmichael and Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, who after some small stay conducted us to the Council Chamber where were set at the table the Duke, the Earl of Mar, the Lords Hume, Seton and Ohiltree [Ochiltree], with the President and the rest of the King's Council, except the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary. There were also all the Commissioners for Border causes with the Lords of the Session and some other persons of quality. Being set we declared

James VI.

1597. unto them the King's desire of that conference and according to that desire we recounted summarily the requisition before made on her Majesty's behalf to effect the indents concluded in the late commission, and therein principally the demand made of Sir Robert Ker and Sir Walter Scott to be delivered into her hand upon reasons and grounds drawn into this method. First, the known laws standing in force between the princes and the realms. Secondly, the apparent and convicted facts subject to those laws. Thirdly, the execution and performance to put the premisses in effect. The prosecution of these heads being enlarged into many reasons and debated by the space of near three hours shall be signified apart as being too long to have place here. They may be briefly comprised thus. The law was considered, first, in the League made at Berwick in '86, defensive and offensive ; secondly, in the treaties of peace ; thirdly, in the indents of the late commission. From the League it was reasoned that the same being made offensive and defensive against all invaders, albeit principally it might be understood of foreign invasions, yet could not the equity thereof but imply much rather that princes themselves or the wardens should not invade. Now, therefore, because these two had often invaded and thereby broken the League and their sovereign's oath, it rested that they should be delivered for this high fact to the Queen. This was answered by the President that the King was bound to the League no further than in sort as the same was observed to him ; which being not kept in that traitors and fugitives were not delivered upon demand, therefore the King finding good matter to forbear delivery ought not to be urged by this reason. We replied that we desired rather to entertain occasions to remember and compare merits of kindness and amity than slight matters to the contrary ; that the League bound not the Queen to delivery of traitors or fugitives simply but at her choice either to deliver them or drive them out of her dominions, which she both had done and was ready to do. From the treaties it was reasoned thus. First, the treaty Elizab. Art. 14 is *in hec verba* : If any person of either realm shall come within the other to make shout or raise fray, bear armour or with force make any impediment to the warden of that realm in execution of his office, the person so doing shall be reputed a public offender against the treaty of peace, so that if he shall happen to be slain, hurt or apprehended by the warden of that realm, he shall be used as a subject of that realm where he committed the offence without any challenge or claim of the prince or officer of the country from whence he came. And if it shall happen the said offender to return into his own country after the committing of the said offence, it shall be lawful for the warden offended to bill for him and being found foul of the crime to be delivered to the warden offended to be punished by him at his discretion and as a subject of the realm where he offended. The facts of Buccleuch and Cessford being directly against the treaty it followed necessarily that by the virtue thereof they were to be delivered. This was answered by the President that the clauses entry, raising fray, bearing armour, etc., were to be understood conjointly with troubling of the warden, which they had not done. This we avoided, showing the particle " or " to be disjunctive. Neither could such facts be reasonably taken for no impediment to the warden, to spoil his people, to take them prisoners and detain

James VI.

1597. them, not availing his letters of requisition for their delivery, the slaughter of multitudes of the principal men defending his March ; all which both these knights aforesaid had done. From sundry other treaties we proved that murder was to be delivered for by express words, and these men being thereof convicted therefore to be delivered. This was answered by the President that, though sharp punishment were specified by the law-makers, it was rather *in terrorem* than with purpose to have such severity executed ; as might appear in that scant one or two precedents could be given in many ages of men delivered for slaughter. It was replied that it could not be reasonably imagined that Christian princes or their commissioners would estimate sheep and oxen to be redressed and leave unvalued and unpunished the blood of their subjects ; and, howsoever want of religion and negligent officers had tolerated this mischief heretofore, yet was the law directly established and thereupon the execution now justly demanded by the Queen. From the commission we proved that the occasion thereof was expressed to be mutual redress of invasions, murders, spoils and other injuries ; which being fortified by the word of both the princes in patent letters under their hands and seals, and so by one consent being made a contract of justice between them ought to take effect in satisfying the Commissioners' indents, which have filed the two knights aforesaid, and that they therefore have been justly demanded by the Queen. This was answered by Mr. Edward Bruce that the commission gave authority to the Commissioners only to inquire and (as he termed it) to "cognosse," but the satisfaction reserved to the King. This was easy to reply unto, that the law was ordained by the treaties, the fact determined by the Commissioners, the ratification of their act warranted by the honour of the King. The second of the three heads first mentioned was the facts committed by the aforesaid two knights of invasion, murder, spoil, etc., whereof they were already convicted by the Commissioners and might be convicted yet much further of the same kind, if the particulars should be referred to their own honours. This was answered with many circumstances alleged to lessen the outrages, as rescuing their servants unlawfully taken prisoners, following their lawful "trods," cutting off notorious thieves for whom they could get no answer, and such like. It was replied that these pleas neither weakened the law nor avoided the conviction of the facts and therefore could be no just impediment to hinder the demanded delivery. The third of the three heads first mentioned was execution and performance proved from the premisses by justice itself convincing from the holy oath of the League, from direct and plain law in the Treaty, from express conviction under the commission fortified by the King's honour and promise that it should be put to effect.

Furthermore, we proved by example of former experience, delivery of wardens for trespasses less heinous than these men had committed, namely, King Henry VII delivered Sir William Heron then his warden of the Middle Marches for the slaughter of Sir Robert Kerr, laird of Cessford, committed by two private men without the privity of the said Sir William (as the Kerrs themselves confess), whereupon, albeit his life was spared, yet was he kept many years prisoner in Scotland. This was denied by the King's Council but by us constantly avowed. Likewise, we alleged

James VI.

1597. the delivery of Sir John Carmichael unto the Queen for the matter of the Reidswire. To this Sir John Carmichael answered that he was indeed delivered, yet not simply but upon condition, which he endeavoured to prove, in that (said he) it appeared plainly before England and Scotland that neither he nor his were the beginners of that attempt. Here I, Robert Bowes, put Sir John Carmichael in remembrance that I was one of the Commissioners to her Majesty in that cause, affirming upon my knowledge that he was delivered simply. Whereat Sir John relenting, yet still extenuating the delivery that it was for no fault, we pressed it further that his delivery was both simple and just, inferring that, if it were then found agreeable to justice to deliver the keeper of Liddesdale for those small faults, what justice could now deny the delivery of these two notorious trespassers in so horrible and many crimes by them committed.

All which and many other reasons by us alleged, how true and forcible soever, could prevail nothing but that they having set down a resolution not to deliver them interpreted the law to their own purpose, extenuated the facts, and directly concluded that the punishment was to be reserved to the King himself. For final answer whereunto we delivered this speech, viz.—that seeing the league, treaties and commission concurred in one express law appointing their delivery; seeing the fact expressly convicted by the said commission; lastly, seeing her Majesty had by her Ambassador expressly sent demanded performance agreeable to the direct course of justice; it must be manifest to the world that not only the direct denial but the very forbearance of delivery broke the leagues, treaties and promises aforesaid, and that the King keeping the said offenders in his grace and protection could not but in their persons protect their faults and thereby involve himself in their guiltiness, leaving the Queen to have her remedy by justice of another nature. These words were so understood by Mr. Edward Bruce as a threatening and by him answered in such sort as seemed to offend both the councillors present and afterwards the King himself.

Upon Monday the 23rd we required audience of the King but by occasion of long consultations had in many important points of this negotiation, and amongst others to appoint a fit Ambassador unto her Majesty, we were deferred until Thursday in the afternoon. At which time attending upon his Highness in his chamber of presence we recounted unto him our conference (according to his desire) had with his Council upon the 21st aforesaid. Which conference, because it had largely debated the effect and reasons of her Majesty's negotiation formerly propounded to him, as also for that we looked now to receive such honourable and final answer as the apparent justice of the cause required, we thought meet to repeat unto him summarily such grounds and reasons as we had alleged to fortify our demanded delivery of Cessford and Buccleuch into her Majesty's hand. The first reason was drawn from the holy religion conformably professed by both their Majesties, which because it severely punished the committers of murder with death and involved the perpetrators in accessory guiltiness, if they drew not God's powerful sword given to that end, to deliver both their Majesties and their kingdoms from the peril of that judgment, it is necessary to submit these two great

James VI.

1597. commanders in bloodshed to receive punishment according to the law.

The second reason was drawn from the amity entertained between their Majesties by kindred, kindness, continual great good and rare merit passed between them, in which case gratuity and retribution as deepest duties of honour could not admit the light value of two so notorious malefactors to be so much as mentioned in the hazard of so precious a thing or to be continuing memorials of so many injurious dishonours unredressed to the Queen. The third reason was drawn from the peace between the realms by these two and their followers so many years turned into the worst kind of war, and that easily to be proved by this argument. The civil lawyers call every reprisal *bellum particulare*. Now if it be a particular war the recovery of his own goods by a private man, a public person entering and spoiling, surprising fortresses, burning and killing, must needs make a war more than particular. The fourth reason was drawn from her Majesty's person, that the conscience of her holy profession, the dignity of her estate, the right of her kingly office could no longer either forbear the protection of her people or "foresloe" the repair of so many and great indignities thus long endured without redress; especially that her Majesty could not of very justice deny unto her people the execution of her ancient and statute law, 4 Hen. V, appointing reprisal, namely against Scotland in case of justice denied or delayed. Fifthly, we reasoned for the person of his Majesty himself that very conscience to bear the burden of so much innocent blood as must be spilt if the cause should be righted by arms, the honour of his amity, handwriting and promises, and especially that promise now lately signified from him by us to the Queen, besides his wisdom easily persuading him that seeing satisfaction must necessarily be made how much fittier it should be done *integro foedere* than *foedere rupto*; and that then the League was directly broken to the Queen, when to the final demand of her Ambassador he had forborne to make delivery, albeit he denied not in plain words the private respect of two persons could no way so much import him. The sixth argument was drawn from the persons of the two trespassers demanded. That seeing they had lately made three so notable invasions and stood guilty of 57 murders within the ground of England; furthermore, seeing they had showed so high contempt as well against the proclamations as against sundry [of] the Commissioners' indents, and that instead of guardians of peace they had of late years continually practised all sorts of hostilities not only in their own persons but also by their servants and followers, who have slain and spoiled multitudes of the Queen's people, the world expects that both for their facts and for example they should receive their just punishment by the law inflicted, being to that end to be delivered to the Queen.

The other reasons above mentioned in our conference with the Council drawn from the League, from the treaties and from the commission were here also recited to the King, with such conclusion of demand thereupon deduced as was by us then delivered as aforesaid.

To this the King answered that he thought it fruitless to reason thas matter any further seeing the diversity of apprehensions in such cases at readily brought forth contention as conclusion. For, first, there would

James VI.

1597. grow difference between him and us for the interpretation of the law, whether it were so strait as we urged it or no. Next, whether the facts were of so high nature as we made them. Thirdly, the persons being as confessed them deserving to be punished, whether it were not fitter that punishment should be inflicted by himself than by the Queen, seeing no precedents can be found wherein he had received the like at her hands, though he had delivered sundry unto her and had demanded but not received divers greater trespassers against him than these were against her. That he had therefore required us to confer with his Council that we might understand from them their judgment in these circumstances last mentioned ; in which opinion likewise his nobility of the late Convention and generally all the wisest of his people with whom he had conference concurred together, affirming it greatly dishonourable both to himself and his realm that he should deliver so great officers and persons of such worth from under his own punishment to be executed in a foreign country, since he had delivered the Earl of Northumberland, Orurke [O'Rourke] and others but never received any such like from the Queen. Nevertheless, as he would not in any sort deny the demand, so must he earnestly entreat his good sister that she would be content he might punish his wardens himself, saying that he would send an Ambassador unto her expressly to that end. In the meantime, for that one part of our demand which was the delivery of Cessford and Buccleuch, he desired us to supersede till he might see what conclusion his negotiation might find with the Queen.

Touching the other parts of our demand commended unto him in our second audience, namely for staying of the Borders, for delivery of pledges, for recent bills, and for the course of ordinary justice hereafter, he had taken special care in them all ; and, albeit he had been in purpose to have committed his said two officers to prison as the beginning of their punishment, yet upon special consideration of keeping the Borders unbroken for the present and for delivery of the pledges and straining the credit of these two great commanders with their ill affected followers, he had appointed themselves to make " indelayed " delivery of the said pledges together with the recent bills and that without all delay to be answered to our wardens at such time as should be agreed upon between us. In the mean season they should keep the Borders in quiet at their peril. And this (he said) might be his answer to our former propositions and demands.

Hereunto we replied that the written treaty expressly appointed delivery for murder ; that these men were thereof already convicted by his own appointment ; that the honour of his royal word given under his hand and seal bound his proceeding to execution, which by the said law consisted not in punishment to be inflicted by him but that they should be delivered to the Queen ; that therefore it could not now be justly made a matter of choice either in his Highness or in his Convention or Council when, how or where to punish them, but a thing already concluded and determined in his League, treaties and commission by himself and his body politic, and therein his said Conventions, Councils and who-soever of his had already agreed and expressed (not now to be called back) that they should be delivered upon demand for these trespasses to

James VI.

1597. the Queen. And since her Majesty had directed an express Ambassador unto him to make such a demand, that not only denial but delay and the not satisfying her by her said Ambassador were the very breach of the League, treaties, commission, etc. So as her Majesty might justly at all times after the return of her Ambassador right herself by arms and could not in justice by her own laws deny her people reprisal.

Touching her disposition to any longer expectation of whatsoever promise, that her Majesty had by her letters severally directed us plainly to declare to his Highness that she saw that time spends [*sic*, ? speeds] on to her subjects' loss, her people vexed, her Commissioners tired, herself disappointed, and therefore since all promises were so little observed and all references to Conventions so partially conducted, she could no longer deny the just and pitiful appeals which her dear people made for protection and redress, but would enable them to make that unruly rabble of outlaws and raveners know and feel that they shall taste of a sourer neighbourhood than they had done of late, seeing they did nothing but insult upon her toleration of injuries, whilst she was apt (out of respect to the King only) to quietness.

Touching his Highness's demand of Bodwell [Bothwell] and his other fugitives, we had answered before that the leagues and treaties had left it to her Majesty's choice to deliver or drive away such persons, which she had performed accordingly. And for the delivery of the late Earl of Northumberland and O'Rourke it was indeed honourable courtesy, yet such as her Majesty had right well deserved at his hands.

Concerning that other part of his Majesty's speech that according to our desire he had given order for stay of the Borders, answering of the recent bills and entry of pledges to be done by his wardens, we declared further unto him that we had presented those points in the second audience and place as depending upon our former principal and main ground of her Majesty's satisfaction first signified in the demanded delivery of Cessford and Buccleuch and as the chief indents of the late commission. Which demand, if it could take no place, we could no appoint any certain times or places for proceeding in those accessory and subsequent points last mentioned without her Majesty's pleasure further known. If, therefore, his Highness should give particular order therein and especially for delivery of the last great attempts in Tynedale, Kilham and the other recently committed since the commission began, we should advertise her Majesty thereof so as we might instantly receive such his order to be signified together with his answer then given unto us.

In his last audience these matters were debated at great length by the space of three hours, wherein we pressing seriously the honour of his promise, conscience of the blood, kindness to the Queen, and the exceeding heart grief that all the well affected in his kingdom would conceive upon the breach of that precious amity, he showed himself very greatly perplexed between the truth of these reasons and the vehement persuasion so highly touching him in honour presented unto him by his Lords Councillors and others of best note. Lastly, concluding very directly that he must be a just prince and would do justice only, he desired earnestly that he might travail with the Queen for remitting his two wardens to his own punishment. At the ending of these speeches we required of his Highness that Cessford who had made stay in the matter of Kilham by persuading

James VI.

1597. his Majesty that the complaint was untruly enforced in most material circumstances might be sent for, which the King agreed to and directed his letters without delay to the same effect commanding him to repair to his presence yesterday. But he has excused himself by meeting the Lord Eure, so as to the end we might write more certainly in this and some other parts of the King's order to be given in the stay of the Borders, recent bills and pledges as above mentioned, which he has now referred altogether to his wardens under the peril of his high displeasure, we thought good to stay our letters two days longer than otherwise we had done. I beseech your Honour that I, William Bowes, may speedily receive her Majesty's directions for my return, seeing my stay here can no further profit her service and the greatest affairs of my private estate urgently require my present attendance upon them. Edinburgh, 30 May 1597.
Signed : Robert Bowes. Willm. Bowes.

9 pp. *Addressed. Endorsed.*

Harl. MS. 292,
 fol. 87.

Copy of the foregoing letter. 31 May 1597. *Unsigned.* 10 pp.

May 31. **454.** ROBERT BOWES AND SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO LORD BURGHELY.

It is concluded at this Convention of the Estates lately holden at Dundee that no English cloths or other English wares or merchandise made of wool shall be brought into this realm. The coins of this realm in silver shall be rated at 50s. the ounce and no foreign coins of gold or silver shall be current within this realm but be used as bullion and brought to the King's coininghouse. The merchants shall bring into the realm bullion agreeable to the Acts of Parliament in that behalf. No burn coal (otherwise called sea-coal) shall be transported out of this realm. No wools shall be carried out of this realm but provision shall be made that the wools shall be wrought within the realm. One hundred stone weight of copper (mixed with other metal) shall be coined by a mill for twopenny pieces for the poor and customs shall be paid for all cloths, wares and merchandise brought into this realm from foreign nations at 12*d.* in the pound, like as by the notes of the same Acts (which for your better information are sent enclosed*) it may at more large appear to your lordship.

The burgesses in all the burghs here trading in England for English cloths and wares made of English wools are greatly prejudiced and grieved with the restraint of their trade. By the fall of the moneys the prices of all sorts of grains are raised to extreme rates, as the people generally cry out against the Act. The poor of this nation suffice not seasonably to provide that the wools of the realm shall be wrought within the land, whereby great inconveniences are expected. All the merchants adventurers much repine against these customs erected for foreign merchandise.

The King in person acquainted the noblemen and others assembled at this Convention with the troubles of the Borders and that her Majesty by her Ambassadors had demanded the delivery of the lairds of Bucklughe [Buccleuch] and Cesford [Cessford], two of his officers in the Marches of this realm, for offences done personally and severally in England by them ;

* See No. 444 *supra* (p. 550).

James VI.

1597. wherein it is credibly informed that the noblemen generally withstood and dissuaded the delivery of these two principal officers and persons of good calling, and also in words uttered their readiness in defence of the cause and parties.

The declarations of the presbyteries of Moray, Aberdeen, Mearns (Mernes), with other brethren, for the trial of the obedience and reconciliations of the Earls of Angus, Huntly and Errol were presented in the King's presence to the Assembly of the Church lately convened at Dundee and the answers of the same Earls were therewith exhibited. [*In margin* : the particular answer of Huntly is before sent to your lordship.] Wherein the good dispositions and offers of these Earls are so well commended by the commissioners of the presbyteries as they shall be absolved from their excommunications. Yet sundry of the brethren in this Assembly still suspecting the integrity of those reconciled Earls have therefore committed to the consciences and charge of the commissioners for this trial the future inconveniences to grow by new revolts and practice of these reformed persons received into the bosom of the Church at the report and commendation of the commissioners mentioned. The lairds of Geithe [Gight] and young Bonyngton [Bonyton] shall be likewise discharged from their excommunications. The Lady Levingston [Livingstone], excommunicated and nevertheless attending on the young princess, craved by bill to be referred to the censure of Linlithgow in respect that she could not safely resort to Stirling [Stryvling] her ordinary presbytery, in regard of the feud continuing betwixt the Earl of Mar and the Lord Livingstone her husband. This petition was granted, as the great excommunicates shall be thus absolved against the minds of some brethren impugned by the greater part at that Assembly. It has been given out that Errol was at Dundee in the time of this Assembly, yet it is thought that he with the other two shall not get presence in Court so suddenly and with such open favours as has been looked for. Huntly and Errol protest deeply (as I hear) that they have not dealt with the King of Spain or the Pope, or with any of their ministers, against the religion, sovereigns or realms in this isle since their late departure out of this realm ; wherein they are not credited at all hands.

At this Assembly of the Church and in presence of the King the articles before drawn by the King (the copy whereof is before sent to you) were examined and brought in question, as well in the branches before resolved at the Assembly at Perth as in the residue referred to this Assembly at Dundee. Albeit they were much controverted and sundry articles impugned by learned brethren, yet at length and by the greater number they were accorded and concluded as the King and the Assembly have well agreed thereon. For the accomplishment of all the conclusions resolved in this Assembly or requisite to be further examined or provided for the benefit of the Church fourteen learned and discreet ministers are chosen and appointed by the Assembly to deliberate and determine therein and to plant ministers in the Church of Edinburgh and generally in all other churches void of present incumbents. The names of these fourteen commissioners and the effects of the acts enacted at this Assembly are certified by the notes of the same and sent herewith for your more full information.

James VI.
1597.

The four ministers of Edinburgh lately at horn appeared before the Assembly and laid down and commended their offices to the disposition of the Assembly. It is doubtful whether the fourteen commissioners will restore them to their functions and places in Edinburgh without the King's assent, which is not like to be readily granted. For it is verily thought that the King will take Mr. Robert Bruce into his own service and that the other three shall be placed in other churches. Mr. David Black and Mr. Robert Wallace (lately warded for reproachful speeches uttered in pulpits) are set at liberty. Order shall be taken by the fourteen commissioners for the restitution of their former rooms in St. Andrews. This kind of proceedings in all the behalfs mentioned is not generally approved by the ministers in this realm. Nevertheless it is received with hope that the peace in the Church shall be best preserved and established by the same.

By letters of good credit it is advertised that the laird of Ladylands, returned into this realm from his negotiations with the King of Spain and the Pope, has banded with some of the Montgomeries, Stewarts, Murrays and others being papists. They have prepared and rigged a ship furnished with armour, weapon, powder, lead and other requisites for war with intention to take and surprise the island and house of Ailsa (Aylsaie) in the mouth of Clyde and keep the same for the benefit of their Catholic friends domestic and foreign. This piece is of good strength and may much annoy those west parts of Scotland. Upon discovery hereof and for prevention of the inconvenience this island and house are seized by the means of Mr. Andrew Knox, minister of God's word at Paisley (Paseleye) and one who before this has performed great and especial good offices for the common cause of religion and the amity betwixt these two crowns. This whole cause is opened to the King that in season he may defeat the enterprise and duly punish the practisers. Wherein the King pretends to be careful and ready to provide "indelately" the best remedies as the pursuit of the execution of the course pretended will shortly manifest the truth and success therein.

The King ready this day to ride to Linlithgow has directed the fourteen commissioners for the General Assembly of the Church to be with him at Linlithgow for such things as he shall there propone to them. Wherewith the commissioners are much perplexed, for by the order of the Assembly they were appointed to convene at Edinburgh and they had agreed to be there to-morrow to enter and proceed in their commission. It is thought that the King draws them to Linlithgow (Lithquo) the more readily to effect his own desires with such number of the commissioners as shall there appear and shall be there left to themselves and to their own and only advices. Edinburgh, the last of May 1597. *Signed* : Robert Bowes. Willm. Bowes.

3 pp. Addressed. Seal. Endorsed.

INDEX.

The figures refer to the pages in the text.

ABBEVILLE : 270.

Abercromby, Robert, Jesuit : in Scotland, 182, 183 ; has dealt with Caithness, 219.

Aberdeen : 124, 175, 216, 343 388, 501, 507, 550, 552 ; a commission to the ministry of, to receive Huntly's offers, 423 ; Huntly has offered his submission to the presbytery and ministers of, 424 ; presbytery and burgh of, to be at National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460 ; Huntly petitions the convention of ministers at, 466 ; Huntly and his Countess arrive at, with many barons and gentlemen, 466 ; presbytery of, approves Huntly's submission, 474 ; presbytery of, the King's instructions to be proposed to, anent the absolutism of Huntly, 478-80 ; Huntly directed to reside in, 485, 500 ; brethren of, required to give conference to Huntly, 501 ; presbytery of, have ordained a public fast with prayers for conversion of Huntly, 504 ; Huntly has agreed to subscribe to the articles of religion proposed by the presbytery of, 512 ; ministers of, commissioners for trial of the Earl of Huntly's obedience, 550, 567.

—, letter dated at, 60.

—, Bishop of. *See* Cunningham, David.

—, minister of. *See* Blackburne, Peter.

Aberganny, Laird of. *See* Kennedy of Bargany.

Abergeldie, Laird of. *See* Gordon.

Achinros, John. *See* Auchinross.

Acknowll, Lady of. *See* Bellenden.

Admiralty Court of England, the : 245, 263.

Ailsa, island of : Ladyland's attempt to take, 568.

Aire. *See* Ayr.

Airth, Laird of. *See* Bruce.

Aishbie, Mr. *See* Asheby, William.

Albert, Archduke : 271.

Alde, William, bailiff and burgess of Edinburgh : 33 ; absent from the Convention at Perth, pleads the King's licence, 484, 485.

Aldebrandino, Cardinal : 272.

Allen, William, Cardinal : 258, 259 ; said to have helped Philip II to get James excommunicated, 106 ; since his death the faculties have not been conferred in the English Colleges, 109.

—, secretary to. *See* Baynes.

Almain. *See* Germany.

Alnwick : 70.

Ambassadors : from the King of Denmark.

See under Denmark.

—, English to Scotland. *See* Bowes, Robert ; Bowes, Sir William.

— to renew the league with France. *See under* France.

Amiens : loss of, 515.

Amsterdam : a book printed in, 93 ; a ship of, at Edinburgh, 118.

Anagrams : on name of James VI, 80-2.

Anderson, Mr., of Newcastle : 60 ; confers on the state of the Middle Marches, 70.

—, — : 526.

Andrews (Andrew, Andro, Androw, Andrewes), John, clerk depute of the Privy Council : 298, 344, 357, 367, 372, 373, 385.

Angus : presbytery of, 40 ; horners in, prosecuted, 297 ; synodal convention of, 474 ; ministers of, affirm lawfulness of General Assembly at Perth, 500 ; ministers of, commissioners for trial of the Earl of Huntly's obedience, 550.

Angus, Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of : married to Margaret, widow of James IV, 338.

—, [William, 10th] Earl of : 132 ; his friends devising for his good, 5 ; has been dealt with, to withdraw from Huntly and Errol and agree with the King, 7 ; chief quarrel against him that he caused the papist Earls to enter into agreement with Bothwell, 8 ; some of the spirituality procurer for, 10 ; R. Douglas travelling for, 19 ; in the north in the Mearns, 23 ; his being in the Mearns openly spoken of, 32 ; R. Douglas to procure benevolence for, 39 ; to be conferred with by the ministers for his conversion, 40 ; Assembly refuses to allow the ministers to have conference with, 45 ; in disgrace for having welcomed Bothwell, 104 ; seems to be seeking the Kirk and advised to seek Elizabeth's favour, 134 ; whether Elizabeth shall stir the King and religious against, 138 ; is quietly drawn near to Edinburgh seeking his peace, 162, 167, 168 ; not likely to be received by the General Assembly, 174, 175 ; his submission mistrusted by the ministry, 191 ; is agreed with Lennox for Tantallon, 193 ; alleged to confirm James's secret instructions to John Cecil, 277 ; great instance secretly made for, 303 ; will depart out of the realm and his son pay

- Lennox for his interest in his father's lands, 306; has compounded with the King and Lennox, 311; still obstinate in religion, 317; suits made to the King for, 337; said to have been licensed to return, 343; discovered to have been secret in St. Johnstone, 346; sundry commissioners of the Kirk conferring about the reception of, 346, 347; Elizabeth desires to know the King's intention as to allowing him to live in Scotland, 347; said to have been given licence to abide in Scotland and for the ministers to receive, 358; proceedings of the Council against, 388; is deferring his offers and suit, 424; hot affections in favour of, uttered at the Convention at Perth, 485; articles enjoined to, 486; acknowledges the reformed Kirk of Scotland, 551; trial of, at Dundee, 567.
- , *See also* Catholic Earls.
- , [Elizabeth Oliphant]. Countess of: summoned by the Kirk for non-attendance at church, 23.
- , William: left in London by D. Foulis to deal for part of James's gratuity, 338.
- Annan: 503.
- Annandale: a foray in, between the Maxwells and the Johnstones, 48.
- Anne of Denmark, Queen, wife of James VI: at St. Johnstone abiding James's return, 6; frames herself to follow the King's will, 6; travails for Johnstone, 10; displeased at King's purpose to abide in Linlithgow, 11; has met King at Linlithgow, 13; not favourable to Mar at Falkland, 18; not aminded to go to Stirling but makes motion to go to Dundee, 18; King intends to take her to Linlithgow, 18; with King, at Falkland, 21; is frank for Ochiltree, 21; her evil will for Mar remains, 22; entertains the King more lovingly, 22; matters between and Mar hanging in the balance, 23; King intends she shall not come hastily to Edinburgh, 24; is to go to Dundee, St. Andrews, Dunfermline and Linlithgow, 24; continues quarrel against Mar, 25; solicits King to have Pluscarden made Chancellor, 25; thinks Thirlestane has been the overthrow of all her courses, 28; thinks to win King by fair entertainment, 29; has joined King at Perth, 32; to return with King to Falkland, thence to Dunfermline, Linlithgow and Stirling, 33; the dead Chancellor will be blamed for her motion anent the Prince, 34, 35; coming from Perth to Falkland and thence to Dunfermline, 39; said to be seeking favour for Huntly and Errol, 40; comes from Dunfermline to Linlithgow, 41; is "steared" to insist on Mar as Chancellor, 44; not to be at Linlithgow before 15 Oct. 1595, 45; continues her purpose anent Mar, 45; gives herself to please the King, 46; her intention to take Prince Henry from Mar, 47; on very kind terms with the King, 47; continues her ill will to Mar and Blantyre, 50, 51; keeps young Lady Mar at her chamber door, 51; expected to go to Stirling with the King 52; agreed with Mar, 54, 56; thought to be fair to prevail with King in matter of the Chancellor's place, 55; jealousies between, and Mar, occupy time of Council, 56; will advance the President for the Chancellor's place, 57; to go to Stirling, 59, 61; to winter in Edinburgh, 61; to go to Stirling to see the Prince, 74, 76; blames the late Chancellor for the past troubles, 75; is thoroughly reconciled with Blantyre, 75; has no will for journey to Stirling, 77; at Stirling, to leave for Edinburgh, 87; insists with Mar for stay of his day of law, 87, 88, 92; her failure makes her begin again to "think much" with Mar, 88; her birth solemnised, 89; her Council making means to be employed to better the King's living, 90; her Council has offered the King a sufficient rent, 93; parties Dunipace against Mar, 95; her important suit to Mar to continue his day of law, 96; her Council with Blantyre to correct abuses in the King's affairs, 99; likely to rule all, 100; thought to be with child, 101; thinks worse of Mar, 101; described as a Lutheran, 105; tells King of gift of 1000*l.* to her and recommends her Council to him, 112, 116; members sworn on her Council, 113, 116; her Council to be joined with the King's to form the Council of 8 or Lords of the Exchequer (Octavians), 115; great with child, 118, 119; makes very much of Mar, 123; the King follows the advice of her councillors, 133; letter from Elizabeth to (28 Jan. 1595-6), 135; would have Lord Maxwell for some friend, 136; question as to how far Elizabeth should warn her against preferring any suspected in religion, 138; whether Elizabeth should prevent her from drawing the Prince out of Mar's custody, 138, 140; her desire for Elizabeth's portrait, 138; Elizabeth would have advised regarding any alleged differences between her and the King, 140; reported to be secretly reconciled to the Church of Rome, 141; Bowes has audience with, and delivers Elizabeth's letter, 148, 149; says she will follow Elizabeth's advice, 150; tells Bowes that the attempt to get the custody of the Prince was first broken to her by the late Chancellor, 150; says she warned the King of the plot to surprise his body in Edinburgh, 150; confesses the attempts to draw her to Rome and promises to acquaint Elizabeth with any future attempts, 150, 151; has received Bowes very well, 154; denies that Bowes has revealed the nature of Elizabeth's credit to her, 161; is sending a reply to Elizabeth's letter by Foulis, 161; not pleased with favour shown to Mar, 163; the King to meet at Dunfermline, 192; wishes to be delivered at St. Andrews, 213; kinsmen of, 228; a Lutheran favours Catholics rather than Calvinists,

228; Mar likely to be brought into the favour of, 238, 240; J. Hudson had directions to present the loving commendations of, to Elizabeth, 251; is retired to Dunfermline till she be convalescent after her birth, 252; the King abides one night with, at Dunfermline, 253; Burghley finds new councillors preferred for, evil disposed, 266; the chief furnishers of, 278; Dunipace favourably received by the King at request of, 282, 284; Airth similarly received, 284; her delivery expected within 10 or 12 days, 294; the Countess of Huntly with, 296; the Countess has left, 301; delivered of a daughter, 306; has made great labour for Huntly being received in the King's favour, 313, 317; Lady Huntly highly countenanced by, 326; question of custody of her daughter to be reserved to the King and, 336; has pressed the King to accept Huntly's offers, 337; birthday of, 346; Elizabeth's pleasure at her safe delivery, 347, 348; has removed from Linlithgow, 354; thanks Elizabeth for her message to her, 355, 356; has sent to bring Lady Huntly to the princess's baptism, 359; attacked by David Black in his sermons, 368, 369, 381; Elizabeth refers the naming of the young princess to, 373; feared Lady Huntly will estrange her from the ministers, 385; golden coffer for the princess delivered to, by the town of Edinburgh, 387; Lady Huntly reported to have drawn into questionable courses, 390; is ready to advance the Lord President, 392; the King has sent for, to Linlithgow, 400; Lady Huntly's influence with, 404; at Holyroodhouse with the King, 415; Buccleuch in good countenance with, 422; Sir Hugh Carmichael is Johnstone's friend at Court with, 422, 423; asks for the escheat of Lord Lindsay for one of her maids, 425; offers to be a mean to restore the ministers' houses in Edinburgh to their wives, 429; has written to Huntly to his great comfort, 466; Buccleuch in great favour with, 478; drawn to unusual observance by the papists and indifferent statesmen, 487; has sent gracious messages to Errol, 493.

Anspach, Hertzech of. *See* Hertzech.

Antwerp : 25, 29, 34, 146, 153, 255, 268, 292.

Appin. *See* Stewart of the.

Applegarth, Laird of : 510.

Aquitaine : 340.

Archibella (Arbella), the Lady. *See* Stewart.

Arbuthnot, George : 211; a passport asked for, 212.

Archbut, John, servant of Bishop of Ross : apprehended, 77.

Archduke, the. *See* Albert.

Archibald, John ("filius") : 91, 118, 187.

Ardkinglass (Arkinlas), Laird of. *See* Campbell.

Ardnamurchan (Ardnemorrhough), McKaene of. *See* MacIan.

Argyle : 14, 17, 201; MacLean takes journey to, 19; kirk of, destitute of the ministry of the Word, 183.

Argyll, house of : territories and high heritable offices won by, for loyalty and valour, 202; rising of, grew by the ruin of the MacDonalds, 202; holds James MacConnell in great jealousy, 203.

—, Archibald Campbell, 4th Earl of (the old Earl Archibald) : imprisons Allaster MacConnell, 202; his third and last wife, 202; captures James MacConnell, 203.

— [Catherine] MacLean, Countess of, 3rd wife of 4th Earl : marries afterwards Callough O'Donnell, 202; bears John O'Neill two sons, 203; marries afterwards John Stewart of the Appin, 203.

—, Archibald Campbell, 5th Earl of (Earl Archibald the Younger) : matches his sister with Laughland Oge MacLean, 204; unsuccessfully entreats the liberty of James MacConnell, 204; brings up Laughlan MacLean, 204.

—, Colin Campbell, 6th Earl of : countenanced Angus MacConnell against MacLean, 204.

—, Archibald, 7th Earl of : presents MacLean to the King, 4; likely to make war on the Irish rebels, 5; doubtful whether Elizabeth wishes to continue his employment in Ireland, 9; MacLean reports Capt. Thornton's matter to, 12, 13; MacLean has been with, 14; Elizabeth's friendship with, advised, 14, 15; Angus MacConnell coming to speak with, 16, 17, 20; Mar thinks to have as a partisan, 20; MacLean is returned to, 23; his natural love for his cousin MacLean, 23; a reasonable sum should be bestowed on, to withstand advances of Irish rebels, 24; offers made by, for and against Irish rebels, 26, 27; desires revenge on Tyrone for hanging of Hugh O'Neil, 27; Lord Lieutenant of all the Island and Out Isles of Scotland, 27; MacLean desires Elizabeth to befriend, 28; is ready to assist Elizabeth against the Irish rebels if King gives leave, 30, 31; for Elizabeth's cause has refused to accept tribute from O'Donnell, 31; Angus MacConnell has asked his mercy, 36; for some occasions will not refer a request to the King, 37; MacLean has been with, 41; contentment of, would do Elizabeth much good in Ireland, 45; Irish rebels in fear of, 55; gets Huntly's men in Lochaber placed under subjection to him, 58, 59; said to be making another army to revenge death of Caddell, 59; expected to invade the friends of the Catholic Earls in the north, 62; feared invasion by, of the North, 78; his wife brought to bed of a daughter, 78; MacLean has moved to refuse to aid Tyrone, 94; has come to Edinburgh for partying Mar in his action against the Livingstones, etc., 95; has left Edinburgh with Mar, 101; Nicolson speaks with, to keep friendship with Elizabeth, 101; MacConnell asks mercy of,

103 ; is asked to send a ship with powder and lead to Tyrone, 103 ; is travelling with the Octavians that he may not be charged with new duties, 122 ; with Mar in Edinburgh, 123 ; question of the course to be taken by Elizabeth with, for service against her rebels in Ireland, 138, 144 ; King will use the service of, in drawing the Isles to his obedience, 149 ; none for or from, has resorted to Bowes, 151 ; expected to aid MacLean against the rebels in Ireland, 157, 158 ; occupied in the pursuit of Ardkinglass for the murder of Caddell, 157, 162 ; visits Bowes and offers all good offices to Elizabeth, 165, 166 ; his former willingness to have stayed the Scottish forces passing into Ireland, 165 ; does not look for quietness to be continued in Ireland, 166 ; like still to proceed against Ardkinglass, 168 ; MacLean suggests he could furnish 1,000 men for Elizabeth's service in Ireland, 170 ; MacLean must be charged by, if he is to serve Elizabeth in Ireland, 171 ; his goodwill for MacLean's proposals desired, 173 ; does not approve of motion to petition for recovery of former privileges of Scottish merchants in France, 175 ; Forbes wishes his appointment as King's Lieutenant in the North, 175 ; with the King at the General Assembly, 176 ; to have conference with the dean of Limerick, 181, 185, 186 ; Bowes offers election of general of all the regiments to be employed against the Irish rebels to, 186 ; may be drawn to raise 2,000 and above for Elizabeth's service in Ireland, 187 ; to Cecil (16 April 1596), 188 ; should be moved by good means to appoint MacLean to Elizabeth's service in Ireland, 194 ; MacLean purposes to be with, at Stirling or Castle Campbell, 195 ; the King purposes to use the service of, to obtain his duties from the Islanders, 196 ; has been drawn by the Dean of Limerick to employ his forces in Elizabeth's service in Ireland, 198 ; given to think that he is little regarded in England, 198 ; territories of, 201 ; his late encounter with Huntly, 208 ; reasons why his special furtherance is necessary for Elizabeth's service in Ireland, 208, 209 ; his affection much solicited by young O'Donnell, 210 ; may be moved against Tyrone by information of his intercourse with Huntly, 211 ; MacLean has come to, at Castle Campbell, 219 ; has obtained the King's licence to travel and remain in foreign parts, 238 ; MacLean requires directions of, to serve Elizabeth, 241 ; desires Elizabeth's licence for his passage in coast of England, 246, 248 ; Catholics who shed their blood in the field against, 261 ; not pleased that Col. Stewart is made Lieutenant of the Isles, 281, 284 ; is living at home with little contentment, 282 ; Bowes has written for a passport for, 285 ; his goodwill may be fruitful, 285 ; appointed to attend upon Col.

Stewart in the Isles, 291 ; some unkindness expected between Lord John Hamilton and, 295 ; excuses himself by sickness from repairing to the King, 311 ; thought he might be induced to support MacConnell, 312 ; the King has sent to, to draw him to his presence, 318 ; his friends much divided, 318 ; is looked for shortly, 327 ; present in Council at the trial of David Black, 381 ; moved to take up with Huntly, 389 ; MacLean rides to, at Stirling and with him is received into the King's favour at Linlithgow, 403 ; a secret messenger sent to, from the ministers of Edinburgh, 406 ; Cecil pressed for a decision anent the offers of, 413 ; says that the Octavians had taken office for life, 425 ; great troubles will be raised between Huntly and, 429 ; may be dealt with for forces against the Irish rebels, 437 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 459 ; desires safe conduct from Elizabeth, 463, 467 ; the barbarous Highlands men brought by, against Huntly, 466 ; Cecil sends passport for, 481 ; Bowes much pressed for the safe conduct for, 482 ; absent from the Convention at Perth, 483 ; Errol said to be intending to join with, 493 ; safe conduct to, received, 496 ; request that the same be speedily sent, 498 ; seeking advice for his journey into foreign parts, 507.

—, —, special guide of. *See* Erskine, George.

—, Master of (Archibald, afterwards 8th Earl of) : to be dealt with to join the Spanish faction, 219.

—, Bishop of. *See* Campbell, Neil.

Armagh : cathedral church of, 204 ; a principal garrison necessary near, 210.

Armitage, the. *See* Hermitage.

Armstrong of Kinmont, William, foray of, 180 ; forcible taking of, out of Carlisle Castle by Buccleuch, 191, 197, 217, 223, 234, 235, 244, 245, 253, 269, 288, 332, 364, 499 ; Thomas Musgrave taken by, 292 ; a notorious thief, 384.

Armstrongs, the : 180, 500.

Arnett, John : in "lite" for provostship of Edinburgh, 33.

Arran, James Stewart, 1st Earl of, the old Chancellor (Captain James Stewart) : said to be bargaining for the Chancellery, 49 ; banished from Court in exile with Angus MacConnell, 206 ; killed by Douglasses (2 Nov. 1596), 360 ; by his means the King given power in all causes, 392 ; references to former acts of, 404, 465, 466 ; the King purposes to apprehend James Douglas for the slaughter of, 467.

Arthur of Brittany : 340.

Arundel, [Henry FitzAlan, 19th or 12th] Earl of : 338.

Asheby (Aishbie), William, envoy to Scotland in 1588 : 256.

Aston, Roger : 101, 352, 399 ; letter to Bowes from (4 Sept. 1595), 6 ; is glad

Elizabeth has dealt so with the King, 6; prays that Elizabeth may be moved to comfort his estate, 7, 9; will never omit any jot of his duty to Elizabeth and his country, 7; a daughter born to, 7; to Cecil (9 Sept.), 8; Cecil thinks his token too apt or unwise, 8; his letters intercepted in England, 9; to Bowes (22 Sept.), 21, (3 Oct.), 28; has written to Bowes, 32; to Cecil (15 Oct.), 42; his wife has received black velvet at Cecil's direction, 42; to Bowes (15 Oct.), 43, (20 Oct.), 46; desires Elizabeth's picture, 46, 76; is helpful in all things for Elizabeth, 47, 76; to Nicolson (25 Oct.), 49; to Bowes (26 Oct.), 49; has secret credit with Blantyre, 50; has procured King's answer to Elizabeth's letter, 52; to Bowes (6 Nov.), 55; hopes the President will not get the Chancellorship, 57; informs Nicolson of MacConnell's plans to invade the Isle of Man, 58; to Bowes (16 Nov.), 60; is sure to Elizabeth, 63; to Bowes (1 Dec.), 75; in great doubt concerning two passengers driven on shore, 76; Bowes to requite for his good will, 87; speaks with the King regarding proclamation restraining letters abroad, 88; to Bowes (16 Dec.), 92; thinks Tusser a cozenor, 93; to Bowes (22 Dec.), 96, (29 Dec.), 98; is most bound to Elizabeth, 99; informs Nicolson regarding formation of the new joined Council of 8, 115; Nicolson moves to get certain letters concerning Elizabeth found on an Irishman sent by James to her, 117; to Bowes (12 Jan. 1595-6), 118; the King reserves, to be in ordinary, 122; to Bowes (18 Jan.), 126; has given goshawks etc. to Bowes's servant, 126; to James Hudson (20 Jan. but probably returns 1597-8), 131; thinks the sending of the King's ambassadors to England likely to be deferred, 136; to be comforted for his great pains for Elizabeth and his services continued, 139; desires Bowes's speedy return, 142; to Cecil (25 Feb. 1595-6), 154; has received 100*l.* from Bowes, 154; has been a persuader to draw Bowes into Scotland, 154; Bowes has employed in services for Elizabeth, 242; the King sends his excuse to Bowes by, 265, 266; to Cecil (28 July 1596), 289; (25 Oct.), 348; complains of his letters to England being intercepted, 348; to Bowes (31 Oct.), 353; J. Hudson has written in furtherance of, 354; to Cecil (22 Dec.), 404; a copy of R. Bruce's last letter to Lord Hamilton sent by, 410; sends two copies of the ministers' letter to Lord Hamilton, 417; Bowes sends with a letter of recommendation to Cecil, 440; has been sent with the King's letter to Elizabeth, 447; ready to enter on his journey, 452; will show Burghley the examinations against the town of Edinburgh, 453; Burghley requested to acquaint, with Elizabeth's acceptance of

the Lord Treasurer of Scotland's good disposition to her, 467; to Cecil (3 March), 480; has carried himself well to Elizabeth and now dismissed with a letter, 481; his commission to seek Elizabeth's safe conduct for Secretary Lindsay, 484; has performed good services for the common causes, 496; letter from Elizabeth to James sent by, 498; to signify Elizabeth's acceptance of Blantyre's good offices, 498; to Cecil (11 April 1597), 504; sees that the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford is not meant, 505.

Athelston Moor: murders committed in, 71.

Atholl, [John Stewart, 5th] Earl of: dies without heir male, 5, 6; his purchased lands fall to his daughters, 6; they are not to be disposed without good advice, 6; rumoured that his eldest daughter will marry brother of Lennox, 11; to be buried at Dunkeld, 21; dealings for his earldom, 21; proposals for the marriage of his daughters, 21.

—, [Mary Ruthven], Countess of: brought in bed of a daughter, 5; has got the lands of the late Earl to herself for life, 13; her plans for disposal of earldom, 21; means to make her daughters great countesses, 32; her marriage to Lord Innermeath (created Earl of Atholl), 174.

—, [John Stewart 6th Lord Innermeath, *q.v.* 1st] Earl of (the new Earl): appointed to attend upon Col. Stewart in the Isles, 291; at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 459; at the Convention at Perth, 482.

—, earldom of, rumoured that Lennox's brother will get it, 11; inheritance of, and lands to come to Lady Atholl's daughters, 13; claimants for, 32.

Auchinross (Achinros), John, servant of MacLean, agent in matters of Ireland: 4, 38, 94, 104, 157, 159, 170, 171, 172, 219, 242, 543; "Fluors," cipher for, 13; MacLean's proposals for delivery of Elizabeth's "token" to, 14, 15, 17, 36; to Nicolson (19 Sept. 1595), 15; to Bowes (20 Sept.), 19, (9 Oct.), 41; his honesty in presenting Tyrone's token to him to MacLean, 42; his letters referred to, 45; to Nicolson (3 Nov.), 53; is at Court at Linlithgow to hinder Angus MacConnell, 53; to Bowes (14 Nov.), 57; has come to Edinburgh on his master's affairs, 57; says that Ireland will stir again, 123; is bearing MacLean's letter to Bowes, 169; is bringing MacLean's answers to Sir R. Cecil, 182, 184; willing and able to yield good offices for the Irish service, 185; his good offices should be used, 186; may be able to abate MacLean's demands for payment of the troops for Ireland, 187; reward to, to be considered, 193; for conclusion of the services to be rendered in Ireland by MacLean, may come up again to London, 194; return of, to Scotland expected,

- 196; 30*l.* paid to, by Cecil's order, 214; employed by MacLean to Cecil to obtain MacNeill's pardon, 222, 224; has delivered 150*l.* from Elizabeth to MacLean, 241; to Cecil (8 June 1596), 242; has received 30*l.* from Bowes, 242; to Bowes (8 May 1597), 544.
- Aulde, William. *See* Alde.
- Aumale, Duke of: 228.
- Austria (Austrich), Cardinal of: 213, 240, 254, 314.
- Avdin, cipher for Q. Elizabeth. *See* Elizabeth.
- Avignon: 351.
- Avowry, trial by, in the Marches: 333, 334, 365, 433, 434.
- Ayr (Aire), Sheriff of: 136.
- Ayton (Eyton): 162.
- B. (? BUCCLEUCH). *See* Scott of Buccleuch, Sir Walter.
- Badan, Marquis of: 275.
- Baillard (Ballyard), John, skipper: 116, 123.
- Balkanquhal (Macanker, Balquanquel), Walter, minister at Edinburgh: 495; commends Queen Elizabeth, 371; preaches the sermon in the New Kirk on 17 Dec. 1596, 394, 395, 404; to appear before the Council at Linlithgow, 402; a signatory of the letter to Lord Hamilton, 405, 408, 417; the King quarrels only with his preachings on the day of the "tumult," 470.
- Balcomy, Laird of. *See* Learmonth.
- Balentyne, Master William: the greatest enemy to the religion and state of England, 111.
- Balfour (Barfour), Henry: 418.
- , James, minister: sent by the presbytery of Edinburgh to thank the King for his wisdom anent Huntly, 306; brings the petitions of the convention at Edinburgh (17 Dec. 1596) to the King, 396; to appear before the Council at Linlithgow, 402; the Council let escape out of their hands, 423, 495.
- Balmuto (Balthothie), Laird of. *See* Boswell.
- Balquhanan, Thomas: a commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
- Baltazar (Balthazar), Don, *alias* of Walter Lindsay, *q.v.*
- Balwery (Balwarie), Laird of: 269, 460.
- Bande, the, in North Ireland: 224.
- Banff: presbytery of, approves Huntly's submission, 474.
- Bankheid, the: 303.
- Barcelona: 65, 271, 366, 367.
- Barclay (Barkeley) of Ladyland, Sir Hugh: 257, 258; glorious end of, 261.
- , —, (Ladylandes), Hugh: has returned from Rome and Spain to the papist lords in Brussels, 219; as Don Hugo (incorrectly identified at first with Sandilands) brings letters to Rome from the Catholic Earls, 267, 271, 285; practices of, with the King of Spain and the Pope, 294, 295, 296; said to have been sent to Scotland with gold, etc. for the Catholics, 343; is returned and lurking near Glasgow, 467; has banded with certain papists to take the island and house of Ailsa, 568.
- , of Tolly (Towye or Tobie Barkley), [Patrick]: stays a servant of Errol, 163; a friend of the Ladies of Huntly and Errol, 183.
- Bargany (Bargeny), Laird of. *See* Kennedy.
- Baron, Jaques: dealt with, to provide the delivery of 12,000 crowns in Scotland, 426, 427; has remained a good while in Scotland, 430.
- Barra (Barray). *See* MacNeill of Barra.
- Bascavill on the river of Bristol (Brisco): 35, 37.
- Bass, Laird of. *See* Lauder of the Bass.
- Bath (the Bath): 298, 486.
- Bayhall, Laird of. *See* Lindsay.
- Baynes, —, secretary to Cardinal Allen: 321.
- Beale, Steven, Ambassador of the King of Denmark: 244, 248.
- Bean, Roger: 276.
- Bearnois, the. *See* Henry IV, King of France.
- Beaton, James, Lord [Archbishop] of Glasgow: another ambassador desired in Rome in his room, 111.
- Beer: import of, from England for Scottish royal household, 133.
- Bell, Thomas: 34, 154; R. Godfrey to (15/25 Jan. 1595–6), 120; (24 Feb./5 Mar.), 152.
- Bellenden of Auchnoull (Acknowll), Sir Lewis, Justice Clerk, widow of: marries Earl of Orkney, 304, 306.
- Beltit, the "Lauland" named: 42.
- Bennet (Benet), Dr. Jo., Vice-Chancellor at York: 490, 532.
- Bervie (?) (Behyve): 507.
- Berwick: 62, 63, 90, 92, 133, 135, 143, 162, 342, 413, 420, 431, 438, 492, 499, 510, 514, 523, 524, 537, 553; the last treaty at, 71; soldiers of, sent to withstand misrule in Marches, 102; a fit paymaster for, requested, 249; pay to the garrison at, completed, 302, 309; plot of Scottish catholics to take from the English, 321; garrison of, 330; treaties made at, in 1587, references to, 332, 364, 386, 391, 440, 457, 473; proposed that commissioners of the Borders for the East and Middle Marches meet at, 336; victuals for the garrison of, 345; a "daft bruit" that Cessford has slain Sir Wm. Bowes in the fields of, 413; the English Border commissioners at, 427; English and Scottish commissioners to meet at, 432; English commissioners at, 451, 452, 458; English wardens at, 458; injuries given to Cessford by the garrison of, 459; Tolbooth at, 459; two commissioners for either realm may sit at, 491; moneys due for works at, 495; 100 men out of, may be sent to Lord Scrope, 532; league made at, in 1586, 560.
- , letters dated at, 441, 461.
- , Deputy Governor of, 94.

- , Governor of: 63, 91, 552; to justify the slaughter of Daugleish, 364; accused of the slaughter of a Scot, 537, 539; and *see* Carey, John.
- , Mayor of: 552.
- , Surveyor of the victuals at. *See* Vernon, Robert.
- , Treasurer of. *See* Bowes, Robert.
- Berwick Sands: 411, 439.
- Bewcastle: captain of, 501.
- Biscay: Spanish army preparing at, 65, 66.
- Black (Blake), David, minister in St. Andrews: 446; sometime a school-master in England, 352; denies he uttered any words against Elizabeth, 352; has said Queen Elizabeth was an atheist, 353; Bowes has delivered to the King the information against, 359; prays to be tried in England, 359; the information against, 362; first declinature of, 362, 372; proclamation summoning, before the Council, 368, 369; Bowes renews his request for the punishment of, 370; his declinature subscribed by most of the presbyteries, 370; thought that Buccleuch and other witnesses will refuse to give testimony against, 371; new summons against, upon a new libel, 372; second declinature of, 375; petition that the interlocutor in the process intended against, be not used in any action against any minister anent his doctrine until the question of the limits of the civil and spiritual jurisdictions be resolved in a General Assembly, 377, 378, 379; process against, 380-382; sentence and decree against, 382; account by R. Bowes of the proceedings against, 383-386; ministers who subscribed the declinature of, to be stayed, 393; convicted of treason and put in ward, 398; Aston's account of the proceedings against, 404; Elizabeth's pleasure anent the proceedings against and punishment of, desired, 414; the proceedings against, to be reported to the Convention at Edinburgh, 423; pensions of the 24 ministers signing the declinature of, to be stayed, 424; the accuser of, 426; obeys the King's censure, 486; the frantic man that showed in pulpit the "heidlenes" of his head, 497; is set at liberty, 568.
- Blackburne, Peter, minister at Aberdeen: appointed a commissioner by the General Assembly, 179; Huntly tenders his submission to the Kirk by, 388.
- Blackness Castle: 203, 409.
- Blackwater, the, near Armagh: a principal garrison necessary on, 210.
- Blairquhan (?), (Blaquhan), Laird of: reports to the King the petitions of the Convention in the Little Kirk, Edinburgh, 395, 405; meets the King at Leith, 412.
- , —, servant to. *See* Kennedy, James.
- Blanks, the. *See* Spanish Blanks.
- Blantyre, Prior of. *See* Stewart, Walter.
- Blaquhan, the Laird, ? Blairquhan, q.v.
- Bog of Gight (Geight, Bogggygeyth), Huntly's house: Huntly seen openly in, 346; Huntly's offers directed from, 360.
- Bogg, John, the King's porter, 123.
- Bologna: 107.
- Bomby (Bombie, Bumbe), Laird of. *See* MacLellan.
- Boneshowe, the: 500.
- Bonyton (Bonington, Bonnyton, Boyntoun), Laird of. *See* Wood.
- Bordeaux: 66, 116, 123, 501.
- Borderers, the: no word heard of, 22; information regarding pay of Scottish, serving in Ireland, 27; King wishes them to come to him at Linlithgow, 41, 45; to be at Linlithgow 1 Nov. 1595, 49, 50; services of, for Ireland, held unfit by some English servitors, 187; few of those charged to be in Edinburgh on 15 July 1596 appear, 281; general form of caution to be taken of all, 282; outrages done by the Scottish far exceed those by the English, 291; serving as soldiers in Berwick, 321; to meet the King (in Edinburgh), 406; spoil of, feared in Edinburgh, 408; in head to enter Edinburgh by force of, 413; if they break utterly Scotland will get little by the bargain, 497; Elizabeth values the estate of, 518; Scottish, affirm they will not enter pledges, 531; the King acknowledges the misbehaviours of, 536; combinations of, to withstand the command for pledges or other redress, 539.
- Borders: 46; the King has given good orders for the quietness of (Sept. 1595), 3; Chancellor assures King of good rule in, 5; peace to be maintained in, by other than the ordinary course, 6; nothing goes well in, 10; are now extreme loose, 12; but evil rule in and like to be worse, 13; a raid to be made in the West, 24; Cessford's activities in, 31, 32; unaccustomed stirs arising on East Marches with the Mars, 32; causes of, 35; chiefs of, shortly to attend King for taking order for justice and peace to be kept, 39; King is minded to pass to, 46, 47; Elizabeth does not know well the state of, 47; the three wardens should be answerable for all in, 47; James's willingness to redress wrongs on, 48; James will pass to, if Borderers do not compear at Linlithgow, 50, 51; James will content Elizabeth on, 52; his difficulties in keeping them in order, 52; Cessford has given King good contentment anent, 53; men of, to meet for pacifying of troubles, 55; nothing but drifts for order of causes of, 55; affairs of, to be continued till meeting of Council (24 Nov. 1595), 56; measures of the King for restoring order in, 65; the King busy in affairs of, 68; treaty relating to, concluded by the Earl of Rutland, 70; Scrope obtains redress for faults done on West Borders, 74, 75; the Council in hand about the affairs, of 76; deadly feud on West Border to be settled, 87; Council takes measures for quieting, 89; King daily occupied about the settling of,

92, 97; matter of Mar's day of law delays settlement of, 96; inhabitants of, ordered to cease from violence against the English, 112; orders to be made by England for the peace of, 139, 141; Bowes moves King in matter of, 148; King proposes to journey to Dumfries to quiet the West, 167; the journey like to be stayed by the extreme dearth, 174; Bowes sends to Sir R. Cecil for direction in causes of, 184; the King's measures for preserving peace of, 190, 197; Nicolson is directed to tell the state of the causes of, to Cecil, 194; the Council's proposed measures for, 212; the Council to take order for, 215, 218; alleged practices of the papists and Spainards to break, 217, 221; Act concerning officers on, 237; new and late troubles risen on, 239, 240; Buccleuch and Cessford have written to Eure proffering service on, 240; measures taken by King and Council for the peace of, 243; Elizabeth willing that commissioners be appointed for, for other causes than that of Buccleuch, 250; disorders on, great and general, 265; weakness of the English, will make the Scottish councillors bolder, 266; flame raised on, by Buccleuch and others, 268; officers and others on, to give assurance for good execution of their offices, 270; mischief feared upon, 279; troubles on, increase, 281, 283, 284; more than disordered, 286; all the chief men of, have given in surety for their kin, friends and servants, 290; fines and daily outrages on, 291; Lord Hume solicited by Buccleuch to raid the East Borders, 292; "rodes" alleged to be made by Englishmen in, 293; bonds taken by the King for preserving order in, 293; condition of the bond, 295; matters of, certified to Burghley, 296; letters sent from the Council to the officers of, to keep the peace, 297; new forces said to be gathering on, for some enterprise on England, 297; proclamation for keeping the peace on (3 Aug. 1596), 298; the King to advise with his Council anent the great outrages begun on, 300; the King desires all wrongs done on, to be redressed by commissioners of each realm, 304, 309; proclamations of Elizabeth for peace between, 306, 307; Bothwell has many friends on, 311; Elizabeth thinks matters of, shameful and inhumane, 319; method of trial of complaints in, by avowry not convenient for redress of English complaints, 333, 334; a Convention to meet on 2 Nov. 1596 to conclude on all causes of, 349; Lord Hume may be a good instrument for the quietness of, 350; if the meeting of the Commissioners is delayed, great troubles will arise in, 358; Scottish instructions concerning causes of, 363-365; protraction of the meeting of the Commissioners threatens great dangers to, 370; all attempts in, since the Treaty of 1587, to be redressed by the Commissioners, 391; first meeting of Com-

missioners may be adjourned, 407; order taken for the quieting of the West, 416; definitions of the word "invasion" by the Border Commissioners in, 432, 434, 537, 538, 540, 542; ordinary trial in, by avowry, *see* Avowry; wasted by continual spoil and murders, 434; Cessford and Buccleuch the evil firebrands of, 434; negotiations between the English and Scottish commissioners relating to trials for offences in, 440, 441; troubles expected to follow on, 454; hostile invasions lately made upon, 457; the King intends to ride to the West Borders, 467; expedition of affairs of, threatened, 471; outrages in, reported by Bowes to the King, 473; considerations for Elizabeth's service in, by Sir W. Bowes, 486, 487; the notorious disorders and wrongs upon, 487; the delivery of pledges in, 490; the King will see redress done for offences on, during his abode there, 492; the King has gone to aid the Commissioners in their travails for, 494; pledges for, to be delivered to the Commissioners, 497, 506, 510, 511; memorial of matters concerning to be imparted to the King by Sir W. Bowes, 502, 503; the King's journey to, 504; the King gives audience to R. Bowes anent the disorders in, 510, 511; the King highly offended with the late stirrs on, 513; Elizabeth's threat to break the treaty, 514-516; outrages committed by the Scots on the East Border, 515; Elizabeth resolved to strengthen with horse and foot, 515; the King to be moved to correct all persons disturbing the peace of, 517; causes of the breaking of, 518, 519; catholic or Spanish practices suggested in, 518; proceedings of Commissioners threaten to break, 524, 528; Elizabeth has assisted to the strengthening of, with horse or foot, 530; overtures for pacifying, 530, 531; Cecil sees small likelihood of the success of the treaty, 532; audience of Sir W. Bowes with the King anent the troubles in, 534-540; the like audience of R. Bowes, 541, 542; R. Bowes has forborne to break the treaty of, 545; English grievances in, laid before James, 549; Elizabeth levying forces to defend her people in, 549; English and Scottish law books of, 555; demands to stay them from breaking put forward by the English Ambassadors, 559, 565; the King acquaints the Convention at Dundee with the troubles in, 566. *See also under* Marches.

—, Commissioners for (Scottish), 439; names proposed for, 305, 309, 310, 312; draft of the commission for, with names, produced to Bowes, 335; the King desires expedition for the uniting of, 342; commissioners unwilling to serve, 345; time of meeting of, to be concluded at a Convention on 2 Nov. 1596, 349; the King and Convention bent to prolong the meeting of, 352, 353, 357; claim that first meeting of, should be in Scotland, 357;

instructions for, 363-365; Dunkeld and Fawdonside appointed, 369, 370; date and place of first meeting fixed, 372, 373; Elizabeth desires to know their precedents for having the first meeting in Scotland, 374; grounds for the claim to hold the first meeting in Scotland, 386, 387; Elizabeth's safe conduct for, requested, 391, 413, 414; another may be appointed in Fawdonside's place, 407; date of meeting may be adjourned, 407; James Hume may be appointed, 408; the four appointed to meet the English commissioners at Foulden on 12 Jan. 1596-7, 414; Elizabeth's passport for, 420, 427; arguments with the English commissioners as to priority and procedure, 432-435; authority of, restrained by their commission, 441; motions to be made to, 449; motions handled by, 449-451; safe conduct for, 452; to follow the course of the Borders in the matter of Cessford's fact at Swinburn, 453; answers required from, by the English commissioners, 456-458; report well of Sir W. Bowes, 458; at Berwick, 458, 459; have given good testimony so far as their limited power gives them leave, 460; offers to, from English commissioners, 461; answers of, 462; think that they should begin in Scotland, 470; King may agree to meeting of, at Carlisle, but likely to be drawn to Dumfries to finish causes of West Marches, 471; mean to visit the King at St. Johnstone and afterwards go to Carlisle, 472; should hold next conference at Carlisle, 474; to the English commissioners (Feb. 1596-7), 477; adjournment of meeting with the English commissioners 482; the breaking up and departure into Scotland of, 487; charges of, against Lord Scrope, 488; claim of 20,000*l.* sterling against the English, 489; demand the delivery of their fugitives, 489; two may sit at Berwick and two at Carlisle, 491; lodging at Annan, 503; R. Bowes has conferred with, 506; already at Dumfries with the King, 507; to be assayed how far they can agree in the matter of pledges, 508; Laird of Johnstone to (20 April 1597), 509; the King has directed to proceed for delivery of pledges, 511; good appearance of agreement with the English commissioners, 512; allegations to, by Buccleuch, 520; answers of, to the accusation against Buccleuch, 520-522; all wrongs done since first meeting of, to be redressed by, with their opposites, 524; a project for the speedy finishing of the treaty by, 524, 525; the English commissioners to (2 May), 527; their intended repair homeward, 528; treaty of peace (5 May 1597) signed by, 530; accompany Sir W. Bowes into Scotland, 535; the King must confer with, before replying to Sir W. Bowes, 538; insist upon trial of the acts of Lord Scrope and the Governor of Berwick, 539; conference of, with R. and Sir W.

Bowes, 540, 542; press sundry great bills on the English commissioners, 546; with the King on 6 May 1597, 547; the English Ambassadors request a conference with, in the King's presence, 549; requisition of, for the delivery of rebels and fugitives, 553; present in Council, 559.
—, Commissioners for (English): 464; appointment of, urged by James, 308, 309, 316, 324, 325; persons suggested for, 312, 313; asked by James that the Bishop of Durham be not one, 327; names of and instructions to, 328-334; letters patent of appointment of, 335; form of the commission approved by the King and Council of Scotland, 335; to be informed of postponement of day of meeting, 353; date and place of first meeting of, fixed, 372, 373; Elizabeth's instructions for the times and places of meetings, etc. requested, 391, 414; to meet the Scottish commissioners on 12 Jan. 1596-7 at Foulden, 414; Bowes has advertised of the first meetings, 415 James's passport for, requested, 420; already entered on their journey to Berwick, 420; a safe conduct prepared for, 427; are at Berwick with the Scottish commissioners, 427; Lord Eure meeting, 431; to Burghley (19 Jan. 1596-7), 432; have agreed with the Scottish commissioners to meet at Berwick, 432; arguments of, with the Scottish commissioners as to procedure, etc., 432-435; to Burghley (24 Jan.), 438; a bill for the ransom of R. Bowes's father to be presented to, 439; negotiations between, and the Scottish commissioners, 440, 441; at Berwick, 451, 452; offers of motion made by, 456-458; to Burghley (2 Feb. 1596-7), 459; travails of, likely to warn thieves and murderers to stand on their own guard, 460; offers from, to Scottish commissioners, 461; answers to the offers of, 462; R. Bowes to (21 Feb. 1596-7), 470; the wardens of the Marches can best delate to, the fugitives escaped into Scotland, 471; Burghley to (25 Feb.), 472; Elizabeth allows well of the proceedings of, 472; should hold next conference at Carlisle, 474; the Scottish commissioners to (Feb. 1596-7), 477; meeting of, adjourned from 10 March to 10 April, 482; instructions for (13 March), 488-491; may send for Dr. Bennet, vice-chancellor of York, as an assistant, 490; two may sit at Berwick and two at Carlisle, 491; adjournment of meeting at Carlisle has wrought great wrong to English subjects, 491, 492; causes determinable by, 496; will be ready at the day prefixed, 496, 503; the King desires to speak with, 503; ordered to meet their opposites on 12 April, 506, 507; summons by, to Thomas Carleton and others, 509; to Burghley (30 April 1597), 509; Bowes has written to, at the King's request, 511; good appearance of agreement with the Scottish commis-

- sioners, 512; notice to be given to, to break the treaty, 514; the said notice to be foreborne unless justice cannot be done otherwise, 515; R. Bowes to (29 April 1597), 523; a project for the speedy finishing of the treaty by, 524, 525; bills against Buccleuch filed by, 525, 526; to the Scottish commissioners (2 May), 527; will perfect the examinations and filings of all bills, 529; treaty of peace (5 May 1547), signed by, 530, 531; to R. and Sir W. Bowes (6 May), 531; have informed Elizabeth of the good conformity between the wardens, 532; have fully proceeded in all bills and complaints brought against them, 540, 541; Elizabeth's instructions to Bowes to break the treaty of, 541, 542, 545, 549; fail to make peace between Lord Scrope and Mr. Lowther and others, 553.
- , Treaty of peace for. *See* Treaty.
- , Wardens of. *See* under Marches.
- Borthwick, [James, 8th], Lord: 93; interferes in a quarrel in Edinburgh in which his brother is hurt, 114, 115.
- , James: 480.
- Boswell of Balmuto (Balmoithie): 460, 482.
- Bothwell (Bodwell), [Francis Stewart], Earl of: attempts by the papist Earls to draw him to them, 8; may be drawn whither Burghley would have him, 8; believed to be sent for by King, 11; three witches that dealt with, 43; Angus had given welcome to, 104; King charges Buccleuch with having dealings for, 115; a man come from, to Brussels, 120; said to have been honoured by the King of France and to be received in England, 124; report of his coming to England not believed, 126; steps proposed by Elizabeth for recovering the King's grace towards, 138; alleged to be covertly kept in England to work King James's ruin, 161; alleged plot of, to surprise Orkney, 197; Archibald Douglas accused of trafficking with, 213; has joined with the Spaniards and the papist lords, 219; reported dead in Paris, 303; suspected to have covertly returned to Scotland, 311; negotiated the last league between Elizabeth and James, 387; Elizabeth alleged to have sent for, 422; continues excommunicated and disliked by the ministers, 464; raid of, at Falkland, 489, 490; not to be received and maintained in France, 493; suffered to remain in England against Elizabeth's proclamations, 499; a notable conspirator against the King's person, 547; present troubled estate of, 557; being charged with practising against the King's person has stayed Elizabeth from interceding for him, 558.
- , [Margaret Douglas, daughter of the 7th Earl of Angus], Countess of: received to favour, 10; complains to King of her son, 11; banished from Court, 79.
- , John, Abbot (or Lord) of Holyroodhouse: sent by King to talk with a man with a message from the Catholic Lords, 12; reported to be employed by King to christen Lady Errol's child, 13; proposed as a commissioner for the Borders in place of Newbottle, 357; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; discusses Border matters with Mr. Mansfeld, 399; instructs Buccleuch how to reply to the demand for his delivery, 556.
- Bought hill [? co. Northumb.]: 526.
- Boulogne: 199.
- Bound road, the (between England and Scotland): 432.
- Bourne (Borne), —: hanged by Sir Robert Carey, 330, 364.
- Bournes (Burnes), the: disorders committed in the Marches by, 330, 349, 364.
- Bowes, Henry, of Stelling: 525.
- , Sir George, father of Sir William and brother of Robert: 438.
- , Ralph, son of Robert: 345; has completed the pay to the garrison at Berwick, 302, 309.
- , Robert Treasurer of Berwick, resident English Ambassador in Scotland: letter from Colville (1 Sept. 1595), 3; Nicolson to (1 Sept.), 3; Aston to (4 Sept.), 6; his presence desired in Scotland, 6; his return to Scotland expected shortly, 7; Dr. MacCartney to (10 Sept.), 10; Colville to (10 Sept.), 11; Duncan MacDougall to (11 Sept.), 12; Dr. MacCartney to (11 Sept.), 12; G. Nicolson to (12 Sept.), 12; MacLean to (12 Sept.), 14; his presence in Scotland very necessary, 14, 16, 17, 20; has reported MacLean's good will and advised him of Elizabeth's honourable token to be sent him, 15; MacLean to (19 Sept.), 17; Nicolson to (19 Sept.), 18; Auchinross to (20 Sept.), 19; Colville to (21 Sept.), 20; rumoured that he is to return to Scotland, 21; Aston to (22 Sept.), 21; Nicolson to (22 Sept.), 22, (24 Sept.), 23; Lord Deputy of Ireland to (3 Oct.), 26; Aston to (3 Oct.), 28; Nicolson to (3 Oct.), 30; has sent MacLean word of Elizabeth's token to him, 31; will have great power on his return to Scotland to do good in Border causes, 32; R. Godfrey to (3/13 Oct.), 33; Nicolson to (4 Oct.), 34; MacLean to (5 Oct.), 36; C. Eggarton to (5 and 7 Oct.), 38; Colville to (7 Oct.), 39; Nicolson to (8 Oct.), 39; to Sir R. Cecil (9 Oct.), 41; Auchinross to (9 Oct.), 41; Aston to (15 Oct.), 43; his presence much desired in Scotland, 43; his wife come to London, 44; Aston to (20 Oct.), 46; Nicolson to (20 Oct.), 46; J. Colville to (25 Oct.), 48; at his coming to Scotland King will take assured course with the Borderers, 49; Aston to (26 Oct.), 49; his presence in Scotland would do Elizabeth's service much good, 50; his presence desired by James, 51; Nicolson to (26 Oct.), 51; Colville to (1 Nov.), 52; Nicolson to (2 Nov.), 53; Colville to (5 Nov.), 54; Nicolson to (6 Nov.), 54; Aston to (6 Nov.), 55; his return to Scotland desired by Aston, 57; Auchin-

ross to (14 Nov.), 57; Nicolson to (15 Nov.), 58; Aston to (16 Nov.), 60; J. Colville to (16 Nov.), 61; Nicolson to (19 Nov.), 61; T. Nicolson to (20 Nov.), 62; G. Nicolson to (27 Nov.), 62, 64; MacCartney to (28 Nov.), 66; Aston to (28 Nov.), 66; James Colville of Easter Wemyss to (29 Nov.), 69; his return to Scotland long looked for, 69; Nicolson to (1 Dec.), 72; Aston to (1 Dec.), 75; hacks to be sent to, from Scotland, 76; Nicolson to (5 Dec.), 77; MacCartney to (4 and 5 Dec.), 78; Colville to (7 Dec.), 87; on his return to Scotland Aston's good will to be requited, 87; Nicolson to (15 Dec.), 88; Aston to (16 Dec.), 92; MacLean to (20 Dec.), 94; Nicolson to (21 Dec.), 95; Aston to (22 Dec.), 96; J. Colville to (22 Dec.), 97; to Sir R. Cecil (24 Dec.), 98; disease in his side prevents his attendance on Cecil, 98; Aston to (29 Dec.), 98; the King understands he will be very shortly coming to Scotland, 99; J. Colville to (29 Dec.), 99; asked by Colville to send his commendations to Blantyre, 100; Nicolson to (29 Dec.), 100; is expected very shortly in Scotland, 101; Nicolson to (7 Jan. 1595-6), 112; the Provost of Edinburgh's going to England deferred pending decision as to his return to Scotland, 114; Colville to (7 Jan.), 116; Nicolson to (11 Jan.), 116; Aston to (12 Jan.), 118; his presence much wanted in Scotland, 119; Colville to (12 Jan.), 119; Nicolson to (16 Jan.), 121; Robert Bruce wishes he were in Scotland, 124; Colville to (17 Jan.), 125; Aston to (18 Jan.), 126; Nicolson to (25 Jan.), 134; his return to Scotland, 134; the King angry with, 135; the bearer of a letter from Elizabeth to Anne, 135; Nicolson to (29 Jan.), 135; his licence to come to Scotland, 135; articles for, anent his embassy to Scotland, 137-139; leaves London for Scotland (3 Feb.), 139; the answers to his articles, 139-142; his long absence from Scotland to be excused by reason of his private causes, 139; Nicolson to (7 Feb.), 142; will find himself more welcome than ever in Scotland, 142; to Burghley (11 Feb.), 143; at Wetherby, hurt by a fall from his horse, 143; Cecil to (18 Feb.), 144; to Burghley (24 Feb.), 146; his arrival in Edinburgh and audience of the King, 146-148; has oftentimes persuaded the King to enter into open action with the Papist Earls, 148; to Elizabeth (24 Feb.), 149; to Cecil (24 Feb.), 151; has been very well received by King and Queen, 154; Cecil to (4 Mar.), 155; Elizabeth well satisfied with his proceedings with the King and Queen, 155; ordered to hasten to bargain with MacLean, 155, 156; to Cecil (6 Mar.), 156, (9 Mar.), 160, (10 May), 160; his feebleness of body, 160; Queen Anne denies that he reported the nature of the credit sent by Elizabeth to her, 161; Duncan MacDougall to (13

Mar.), 164; his bedfellow, 164; to Cecil (16 Mar.), 165; sees Argyll who offers all good offices to Elizabeth, 165; has not opened to Argyll his dealings with MacLean, 166; to Burghley (16 Mar.), 167; MacLean to (18 Mar.), 168; answers to his proposals made to MacLean, 168-172; to Cecil (26 Mar. 1596), 173; to Burghley (26 Mar.), 174; anon. to (1 April), 180; to Cecil (2 April), 181, (5 April), 184; to Burghley (5 April), 184; to Cecil (5 April), 185; his instructions to G. Nicolson, 185-187; was never in Ireland, 187, 194; desires a placard to give a friend some time a horse, 187, 194, 200, 214, 414; to Cecil (16 April), 188; to D. Foulis (18 April), 189; to Burghley (18 April), 190; dares not urge the ministry to receive the submission of the Catholic Earls, 191; Archibald Douglas's practices against, 191; prays that he may have some plate lent to him for the time of his service, 194, 200, 214; to Cecil (26 April), 194, (30 April), 195; to Burghley (30 April), 196; requests for augmentation of his diet, plate, etc. to be urged by Nicolson to Cecil, 200; alleged practices to discredit in Scotland, 200; action he might take in enlisting Argyll's and MacLean's services for Elizabeth, 208, 209, 211; to Burghley (7 May), 212; to Cecil (7 May), 214; his suits for plate, increase of diet, etc. to be urged by Sheperson, 214; to Burghley (12 May), 214; to the Privy Council of England (12 May), 216; his audience with the King concerning Buccleuch's attempt at Carlisle, 216-218; to Cecil (18 May), 219; to Burghley (18 May), 220; Act of Parliament anent the demand of, for the delivery of Buccleuch, 223; to Cecil (27 May), 224; to the Privy Council of England (2 June), 233; sets forth his demands for redress to Elizabeth of the wrong done her by Buccleuch, 234, 235; to Burghley (2 June), 236, (8 June), 239; to Cecil (8 June), 241; Privy Council of England to (16 June), 244; to Cecil (21 June), 246; Laird of Easter Wemyss to (12 May), 247; to Burghley (21 June), 248; his assistance in obtaining redress for Mr. Offley, 250, 251; craves for more information from England of affairs abroad, 251; to Burghley (28 June), 252; debates the cause for redress for Buccleuch's action with the Lord Treasurer and others, 253; to Burghley (3 July), 262; reports his audience with the King at Dunfermline and his further proceedings for redress for Buccleuch's outrage, 262-264; to Burghley (5 July), 264; his further interview with the King anent Buccleuch's fact, 265; Burghley regrets his want of success with the King, 266; instructions to, from Elizabeth by Cecil (11 July), 266-268; to Burghley (13 July), 268; the King has written to D. Foulis unknown to, 278, 279; to Burghley (18 July), 280; to the Privy Council of

England (18 July), 283; reports his further proceedings with the King and Council for redress in Buccleuch's case, 283; to Lord Hunsdon (18 July), 284; his hard labour in pressing for redress for Buccleuch's action, 284; to Cecil (18 July), 284; again asks relief for the increase of his entertainment, etc., 285; James has retired his letter to Elizabeth from the hands of, 286; Elizabeth to (25 July), 287; knows Aston's special interest in Blantyre, 289; to Cecil (29 July), 290; to be with the King at Dunfermline, 291; is agitated at privy dealing of some of the Octavians with Buccleuch, 291; to Burghley (3 Aug.), 292; to Cecil (3 Aug.), 295; wishes the King to beware to favour Huntly, 296; to Cecil (6 Aug.), 296; to Elizabeth (10 Aug.), 299; his audience with the King at Dunfermline, 299, 300; to Burghley (10 Aug.), 301; to Cecil (10 Aug.), 302; has advertised the King of Huntly's return, 303; to Burghley (19 Aug.), 304; Cecil to (27 Aug.), 307; A. Douglas denies he has ever meddled with, 308; the ministers said to have been ordered by the King to have no dealing with, 308; to Burghley (4 and 5 Sept.), 309, (5 Sept.), 312; suggests persons suitable to be English commissioners for the Marches, 312, 313; to Cecil (5 Sept.), 313, (17 Sept.), 315, 316; to Burghley (17 Sept.), 316; to Cecil (20 Sept.), 318; to Elizabeth (23 Sept.), 323; reports his audience with the King at Linlithgow (21 Sept.), 323-325; to Cecil (23 Sept.), 325; suffering from a great cold, 325; to Burghley (23 Sept.), 326; a copy of the English commission for the Borders sent to, 328; passport issued by, 334; to Burghley (4 Oct.), 335; the form of the King's commission for the Borders delivered to, 335, 337; stays his former course against the forfeited Earls, 337; to Burghley (12 Oct.), 342; not meant to be touched by James's proclamation anent trafficking with foreigners, 343; to Burghley (16 Oct.), 345, (20 Oct.), 345; is bidden to represent Elizabeth at the baptism of Princess Elizabeth, 347; to Burghley (26 Oct.), 349, (1 Nov.), 352; R. Aston to (31 Oct.), 353; to Elizabeth (10 Nov.), 354; reports his audience with the King on 5 Nov., 354-356; to Burghley (12 Nov.), 357; has delivered to the King the information against David Black, 359; to be dealt with for any untowardness in the Border commissioners or wardens for Scotland, 364; has required justice of the King against Black, 369; to Burghley (27 Nov.), 369; renews his request for the punishment of David Black, 370; declaration as to first meeting of the Border commissioners delivered to, 372, 373; Cecil to (28 Nov.), 373; Elizabeth consents that he be used for her at the baptism of Princess Elizabeth as the King wishes, 373; to Burghley (14 Dec.), 382; is sending G. Nicolson to London,

383; to Cecil (14 Dec.), 383; instructions given to Nicolson by, 383-393; asked as to the punishment to be given to Black, refers the matter to the King, 385, 386; formerly a commissioner for the Borders, 386; carried Princess Elizabeth at her baptism, 387; suffering from his old disease, 388; has been sounded with the offer of devotion to Elizabeth by the Catholic Earls, 389; to Cecil (17 Dec.), 394; to Burghley (21 Dec.), 399; his departure from Edinburgh intended by the King but the message not delivered, 400; his course disliked of the Catholic crew who carry the sway at the Court, 400; decay of his health, 400; to Cecil (21 Dec.), 403; will repudiate Elizabeth being an actor in the tragedy at Edinburgh, 406, 407; to Burghley (25 Dec.), 407; to Cecil (26 Dec.), 409; Sir W. Bowes to (1596 or 1597), 411; an anonymous writer to (c. 1 Jan. 1596-7), 412; increase of his entertainment urged by G. Nicolson, 413; a note of such things as he desires Elizabeth's instructions in, 414; being sickly and weak prays assistance, 414; to Burghley (4 Jan.), 414; to Cecil (4 Jan.), 417; Cecil to (6 Jan.), 419; Cecil has moved Elizabeth for the return of, 419; to Burghley (10 Jan.), 420, (13 Jan.), 423; to Cecil (13 Jan.), 426; to Burghley (16 Jan.), 427; to Cecil (16 Jan.), 429; to Sir W. Bowes (18 Jan.), 431; the troubles in Scotland have prevented, from going to Berwick, 431; matter in controversy between John Layton and, anent East Layton, 436; to Sir W. Bowes (24 Jan.), 438; a suit to, for money defrayed for his father's ransom, 438; to Cecil (31 Jan.), 440, (1 Feb.), 451; is sending Sheperston to Cecil, 452; to Burghley (1 Feb.), 452; to Sir W. Bowes (1 Feb.), 458; Sir W. Bowes (1 Feb.), 458; Sir W. Bowes to (6 Feb.), 460; to Cecil (20 Feb.), 463; his book for a lease in reversion, 463; to Burghley (20 Feb.), 463; to the English Border commissioners (21 Feb.), 470; to Burghley (26 Feb.), 472; audience of, with the King on the subject of Border outrages, 473; had advised the King the Border commissioners should next meet at Carlisle, 474; his efforts to maintain the religion and preserve the amity between Elizabeth and James, 475; Sir R. Cecil to (6 March), 481; his return cannot be speedily procured but Elizabeth promises to choose a fit man to succeed him, 481; to Sir R. Cecil (9 March), 481; to Burghley (9 March), 482; considerations whether being sickly and grown in suspicion with the King he is fit to be continued in Scotland, 487; to solicit James to perform his Border commissioners' indent, 491; to Burghley (21 and 23 March), 491; has declared to the King the great wrong to Englishmen by the prorogation of the meetings of the Border commissioners, 491, 492; daily increase

of infirmity of, 494, 496; desires to be discharged of his service in Scotland, 495, 496, 498; grants in fee farm prayed for, 495; to Cecil (23 March), 495; Cecil to (30 March 1597), 496; if continued in Scotland some increase of his entertainment necessary, 498; said that wars were not far off from the King and his courtiers, 501; would fain be at home but cannot obtain licence, 501; Sir W. Bowes to impart his negotiations with the King to, 502; to Burghley (3 April), 503; to Cecil (11 April), 506; Sir W. Bowes to (16 April), 508; to Burghley (21 April), 510; his audience with the King anent the disorders on the Borders, 510, 511; sends Sir W. Bowes a safe conduct from James, 513; Elizabeth to (27 April), 514; to obtain access to James for Sir W. Bowes, 515, 516; Cecil to (27 April), 515; Sir W. Bowes to hold correspondence with, in all things, 517; to Burghley (28 April), 518; to Cecil (29 April), 522; seal of, 523 *n.*; to the Bishop of Durham (29 April), 523; visited with a burning ague, 523; to Sir W. Bowes (2 May), 527; to Cecil (2 May), 528, (3 May), 529; English Border commissioners to (6 May), 531; obtains audience for Sir W. Bowes from the King, 535; to Elizabeth (11 May), 540; reports his audience with the King anent the Borders, 541-543; disabled by infirmities to yield the duties of his office, 543, 544, 546; to Burghley (11 May), 543; Auchinross to (8 May), 544; to Cecil (11 May), 545; has forborne to carry out Elizabeth's directions to break the Border treaty, 545; requisitions to be presented to James by, 548-550; will break the Border treaty unless the invasions, etc. are redressed, 549; bill of, for services in Scotland, 553; argues before the Council of Scotland the demand for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford, 555, 556; produces Elizabeth's letter threatening revenge if she did not receive satisfaction for the offences of Buccleuch and Cessford, 556; to Cecil (30 May), 559; his conferences as joint Ambassador with Sir W. Bowes with the Privy Council and the King for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford, 559-566; was one of the Commissioners who obtained the delivery of Sir John Carmichael, 562; to Burghley (31 May), 566.

—, Robert, in Durhamshire: 334; the Bishop of Durham desired to deal with, for a payment due to D. Foulis, 376.

—, Sir William, nephew to Robert Bowes: 132, 543; to Burghley (29 Nov. 1595), 70; reports on the state of the Middle Marches, 70-72; suggested as a commissioner for the Borders, 312, 313; a commissioner for the Borders, 328, 461, 509, 526, 530, 531; letters patent of appointment of, 335; to Burghley (28 Nov. 1596), 375; to R. Bowes (1596 or 1597), 411;

grandfather and father of, 411, 438; has lived 7 years on the Border, 411; a "daft bruit" that Cessford has slain, 413; Lord Eure to (17 Jan. (1596-7), 431; R. Bowes to (18 Jan.), 431; to Burghley (19 Jan.), 432; to Cecil (19 Jan.), 433; R. Bowes to (24 Jan.), 438; to Burghley (31 Jan.), 440; conference between, and Wedderburn, 449; to Burghley (1 Feb.), 458; R. Bowes to (1 Feb.), 458; good report of, by the Scottish Commissioners, 458; to Burghley (3 Feb.), 459; to R. Bowes (6 Feb.), 460; to Cecil (10 Feb.), 462; to Burghley (11 Feb.), 463; G. Hume to (20 Feb.), 470; to be sent up in post to report proceedings of Border Commissioners to Elizabeth, 472; has informed Elizabeth of the said proceedings and is to be sent to expostulate with James, 481; considerations by, of Elizabeth's service in Scotland and the Borders, 486, 487; questions his fitness to be employed in his uncle's place, 487; Elizabeth desires James to give him favourable access and credit, 488; requests the Privy Council for direction upon certain points, 489; to the Bishop of Durham (21 March), 491; R. Bowes wishes his travail for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford may be prosperous, 496; to leave London on 31 March, 497; memorial of things to be imparted by, to the King of Scots, 502, 503; to R. Bowes (16 April 1597), 508; desires safe conduct to pass into Scotland, 508; G. Nicolson to (22 April), 513; safe conduct from James to, 513; commanded to inform James of wrongs committed in the Borders, 514-516; Elizabeth to (27 April), 516; Cecil to (27 April), 517; speeches to be delivered by, to James, 517, 518; to Burghley (28 April), 518; project of, for the speedy finishing of the treaty by the Border commissioners, 524, 525; R. Bowes to (2 May), 527; expressly addressed from Elizabeth to James, 528; expected shortly in Edinburgh, 529; English Border commissioners to (6 May), 531; to Elizabeth (11 May), 534; report of his audience with James anent the delivery of Cessford and Buccleuch and other Border matters, 534-540; conference of, with the Scottish Border commissioners, 540, 542; R. Bowes presents to the King, 541; his audience with the King referred to, 545; to Burghley (11 May), 546; to Cecil (11 May), 547; requisitions to be presented to James by, as joint Ambassador with R. Bowes, 548-550; Bishop of Dunkeld to (14 May), 552; confirmation and execution of the Border treaty to await the return of, from Scotland, 554, 555; presents his demand for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford to the Privy Council, 555; to Cecil (30 May), 559; relates as joint Ambassador his conferences with the Privy Council and the King anent the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford, 559-566; requests Elizabeth's

- directions for his return, 566; to Burghley (31 May), 566.
- , —, drafts and copies in the hand of, 449, 451, 518.
- Boyde, Alexander, servant of the Earl of Cassillis: a passport required for, 435, 439.
- Boyer, Captain, of Berwick: 87, 91, 92.
- Brabant: 153, 219.
- Brackenbury, Mr.: 463.
- Brades Will. *See* Graham.
- Braid, Laird of. *See* Fairlie.
- Brand, John: to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456.
- Brandenburg, Marquis of: a daughter of, 30.
- Brandon, Eleanor, grand-daughter of Henry VII: right of issue of, to the succession, 338, 340.
- , Frances, grand-daughter of Henry VII: right of issue of, to the succession, 338-340.
- Brechin, Bishop of. *See* Campbell, Alexander.
- Brekeley, Henry: 345.
- Brittany: 79; the truce in, broken, 420.
- Brompton (? Brampton, co. Cumb.): 509.
- Broughty (Broutty): fortifying of, 76.
- Brown (Browne), Gilbert, Abbot of New Abbey: in Scotland, 182, 183; said to be intending to return to the Low Countries, 507.
- , Hugh, bailiff of Edinburgh: 33; a ship of, 116.
- Bruce, Edward, Abbot or Commendator of Kinloss: one of the King's commissioners to the General Assembly, 178; Hudson has delivered Elizabeth's pleasure to, 279; appointed to advise in the trial of those partaking in the "tumult" in Edinburgh, 418; the King's commission to, to discuss the suspension of David Ogle, 454; a King's commissioner to the synodal of Lothian, instructions to, 455, 456; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; replies to the demand of the English Ambassadors for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford, 561, 562.
- , Robert, minister at Edinburgh: 112, 117, 495; called to comfort Chancellor, 18; again sent for to see Chancellor, 23, 24; has gone to Chancellor in great haste, 28; the conversion of Angus referred to, 40; tries to persuade the Goodman of North Berwick to be Provost of Edinburgh, 41; to make the Chancellor's burial sermon, 45; empowered to make search for suspicious letters from beyond sea, 59; to inquire concerning Dolman's book, 100; Nicolson speaks with, concerning the going of the Provost to England, 101; declares in pulpit the King will withstand the Spaniards and has rejected Huntly and Errol's suits for licence to come home, 101; an Irishman examined in his presence, 118, 120; believes the King wronged by false informations, 124; the discoverer of foreign practices, 124; appointed a commissioner by the General Assembly, 179; reports to, the King the petitions of the convention in the Little Kirk, Edinburgh, (17 Dec. 1596), 395, 405; to Lord Hamilton (18 Dec.), 398, 399; proclamations for the arrest and appearance of, at Linlithgow, 401, 402; the co-signatories of his letter to Lord Hamilton, 405, 408; last letter of, to Lord Hamilton (27 Dec. 1596), 409; copy of the letter to Lord Hamilton confessed by 417; has declared the religion to be in hazard, 423; his Apology, 453; field won to the King by his banishment lost by faint pursuit of the victory, 465; may be taken into the King's service, 568.
- , —, his man. *See* Ewart, Peter.
- , Robert (? a Catholic agent in Flanders): said to be in great strait, 153.
- , [William], Laird of Airth (Young Airth): combines against Mar, 20; Mar's proposed incursion on, forbidden by King, 26; has banished three Bruces, 33; not under agreement now with Mar, 55; offer to Mar for slaughter of Forrester not accepted, 57; summoned by Mar to answer the law, 64; the Provost of Edinburgh a dealer between Mar and, 77; his day of law with Mar, 92, 95; has presence of the King by the Queen's means, 284.
- Bruces, the: the matter with Mar to be referred to the Queen's order, 95; Mar to take and give assurance with, 136.
- Brunswick: Col. Stewart has been in, 30; the King of Denmark in, 30.
- , Duke of: married to sister of Christian IV of Denmark, 228.
- Bruntbank, [? co. Northumb.]: 526.
- Brussels: 30, 34, 120, 343; Logie imprisoned in, 153, 219; the papist lords at, 219; Scottish passengers from Rome and Spain trafficking in, 419.
- Bryde, Alexander: suspected to be busy for Bothwell, 464.
- Buccleuch, Laird of. *See* Scott of Buccleuch.
- Buchan (Boughan), Laird of. *See* Forbes.
- Buchanan, [George]: 227.
- Buckhurst, [Thomas Sackville], Lord: 62, 63, 64, 90, 491; F. Tusser to (16 Dec. 1595), 94.
- Buckie (Buckye), Laird of. *See* Gordon.
- Bullion: Acts anent the home bringing of, 550, 566.
- Bulmer, Mr.: 513.
- Bumbe (Bomby). *See* McLellan.
- Burghley, [William, 1st] Lord, Lord High Treasurer of England: 38, 63, 98, 125, 158, 189, 196, 458, 558; letter to, from A. Douglas (8 Sept. 1595), 7; reference to his sickness, 8; A. Douglas to (24 Sept.), 25; his long absence from Court, 25; A. Douglas to (11 Oct.), 42; Sir W. Bowes to (29 Nov.), 70; his pleasure desired respecting disposal of Mr. Tusser, 78; letter from, concerning Tusser received by Nicolson, 90; Nicolson sends him another letter from Tusser, 92; Tusser has written to, 94; A. Douglas to (21 Jan. 1595-6), 133; writes the instructions for

- R. Bowes, 142; Bowes to (11 Feb.), 143, (24 Feb.), 146; A. Douglas to (2 Mar.), 155; Bowes to (10 Mar.), 160; accused in an anonymous letter of having inward courses to King James's prejudice, 161; R. Bowes to (16 Mar.), 167, (26 Mar. 1596), 174; has entered with the Dean of Limerick in affairs for Ireland, 185; R. Bowes to (18 April), 190; wishes the Scottish ministers to receive the submission of Angus, 191; D. Foulis to (26 and 27 April), 195; R. Bowes to (30 April), 196; D. Foulis to (3 May), 211; R. Bowes to (7 May), 212, (12 May), 214, (18 May), 220, (2 June), 236, (8 June), 239; MacLean has written to, 242; D. Foulis to (10 June), 243; R. Bowes to (14 June), 243, (21 June), 248; D. Lawe to (23 June), 249; R. Bowes to (28 June), 252, (3 July), 262, (5 July), 264; to Cecil, (10 July), 266; R. Bowes to (13 July), 268, (18 July), 280; D. Foulis to (25 July), 286; R. Bowes to (3 August), 292; passport signed by 298; R. Bowes to (10 Aug.), 301, (19 Aug.), 304; D. Foulis to (24 Aug.), 306; is lame of his hand, 307; alleged dealings of, with Archibald Douglas, 307; D. Foulis to (2 Sept.), 308, (3 Sept.), 309; R. Bowes to (4 and 5 Sept.), 309, (5 Sept.), 312; persons suggested by, as fit commissioners for the English Marches, 312, 313; R. Bowes to (17 Sept.), 316, (23 Sept.), 326; copies of Border ordinances sent to 332, 364; D. Foulis to (29 Sept.), 334, (2 Oct.), 334; R. Bowes to (4 Oct.), 335, (12 Oct.), 342, (16 Oct.), 345, (20 Oct.), 345; the reduction of James's gratuity partly imputed to, 349; R. Bowes to (26 Oct.), 349, (1 Nov.), 352, (12 Nov.), 357, (27 Nov.), 369; is unwell, 373, 374; Sir W. Bowes to (28 Nov.), 375; R. Bowes to (21 Dec.), 399, (25 Dec.), 407, (4 Jan. 1596-7), 414, (10 Jan.), 420, (13 Jan.), 423, (16 Jan.), 427; English Border commissioners to (19 Jan.), 432; Sir W. Bowes to (19 Jan.), 432; questions of, as to Scottish ecclesiastical terms, 435; G. Nicolson to (24 Jan.), 435; English Border commissioners to (24 Jan.), 438; Sir W. Bowes to (31 Jan.), 440; R. Bowes to (1 Feb.), 452; Sir W. Bowes to (1 Feb.), 458; English Border commissioners to (2 Feb.), 459; Sir W. Bowes to (3 Feb.), 459, (11 Feb.), 463; R. Bowes to (20 Feb.), 463; to the English Border commissioners (25 Feb.), 472; R. Bowes to (26 Feb.), 472, (9 March), 482; the Laird of Bomby has his letter for his remaining in London, 486; R. Bowes to (21 and 23 March), 491; Sheperson's petition to, on behalf of R. Bowes (23 March), 495; has received Bowes's letter of 21 March, 496; R. Bowes to (3 April 1597), 503; English Border commissioners to (20 April), 509; R. Bowes to (21 April), 510; R. and Sir W. Bowes to (28 April), 518; R. Bowes to (11 May), 543; Sir W. Bowes to (11 May), 546; orders payment of R. Bowes's bill for services in Scotland, 553; to ? the Bishop of Durham (21 May), 553; R. and Sir W. Bowes to (31 May), 566.
- , —: drafts, notes in letters, etc. in the hand of, 282, 284, 435, 491, 559.
- , —: clerk of, endorsements on letters, etc. by, 25, 42, 149, 185, 193, 199, 216, 218, 270, 282, 284, 287, 295, 302, 306, 309, 312, 313, 343, 345, 353, 360, 372, 421, 435, 436, 454, 467.
- Burghs, the: proposed taxation of, towards charge of Ambassadors to France, 237.
- Burgundy, house of: 230.
- Burne, John: 470.
- Burnes, the. *See* Bournes, the.
- Burntisland: 91, 224.
- Bute, Isle of: Angus MacConnell in, 311.
- , sheriff of, wife of. *See* Campbell, Anne.
- Butler, John, of Newcastle: 123; given 100*l.* Scots, 124.
- Butter, Patrick, servant to Huntly: brings letters from Huntly and Errol, 193, 199; escaped arrest in Montrose, 199; sent to Scotland to certify the Spaniards' resolution to come true, 219.
- CADDELL, Laird of. *See* Campbell of Cawdor.
- Cadiz (Cales): success of English navy and army at, 302.
- Cadstreyme (? Coldstream, *q.v.*).
- Caife, Francis, bailiff: 509.
- Cairncross (Kerncorse), Nicholas: 143; attempting to reconcile Buccleuch and Cessford, 134.
- Caithkyns, Edward: 402.
- Caithness, [George Sinclair, 5th] Earl of: has sent three witches to Linlithgow, 43; said to be entirely Catholic, 104; has been dealt with by the Spanish faction, 219.
- , —: his uncle's son. *See* Sinclair, —.
- Caithness (shire of): witches sent from, to the King, 43.
- Calais (Callyce): 292, 353, 360, 430; taking of, by Spain, 191, 194, 196, 199, 255.
- Calder, Laird of. *See* Campbell of Cawdor.
- , Sheriff of: 136.
- Cales. *See* Cadiz.
- Callendar (Callender): the King taking his pastimes about, 248; the King at Lord Livingstone's house at, 306.
- Calvinism and Calvinists: 105, 108, 228.
- Cambridge University: 336.
- Cambuskenneth, Abbot of. *See* Erskine, Adam.
- Campbell. *See* Castle Campbell.
- Campbell of Ardkinglass, —: pledge for James MacConnell's safe return, 203.
- , —: [John]: Argyll is pursuing for the murder of Cawdor, 157; arraigned by the Privy Council for the said murder and large sums offered for his life, 162; trial of, put over to new day, 168; Argyll wishes the trial of, to proceed, 238; favour shown to, offends Argyll, 282.

- of Cawdor (Calder), house of, 318.
- , —, Laird of (Calder, Caddell), Sir John: murder of, 59, 157, 162, 238, 282; MacConnell's offer by, for his remission, 175.
- of Glenorchy [Sir Duncan]: expected to side with Mar, 21; Menteith married to his sister, 78.
- of Lawers, James, young Lawers, (Laws, Luce), (Junior): proposes to send an Irish captain to abide in Tyrone's company for Elizabeth's private service, 11; feud between, and the MacFarlanes to be agreed, 49, 52; offers to procure MacCondochy's service to Elizabeth in Ireland, 166, 187, 194; informs Bowes of the proceedings of Tyrone and O'Donnell, 188; desires answer as to acceptance of his services by Elizabeth, 189; of no great experience or judgment but valiant, 209; if Elizabeth does not accept his services will be driven to resort to O'Donnell, 220.
- of Lochinvar, [—] (young Lochinvar): motion that he should be warden of West March, 89; in Edinburgh, refuses to be warden, 92, 96, 97; commanded to remain at Dumfries, 237; meets the King at Leith, 412; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; on the jury to try the persons arraigned for the "tumult," 465.
- , Alexander, Bishop of Brechin: 318, 459.
- , Anne, half-sister to 4th Earl of Argyll: married to the Sheriff of Bute and has one daughter by him, 203; married to James MacConnell and has six sons and a daughter by him, 203; entreats his liberty of John O'Neill but refused, 204; jealousy of the Campbells against the MacConnells not taken away by reason of, 211; alleged to have been married to James MacConnell without divorce, 511.
- , Archibald: a minister of the Earl of Argyll, 27.
- , Dioness, Dean of Limerick: R. Bowes expects the coming of, 165; to meet Argyll, 181; has delivered Burghley's letter to Bowes, 184; Bowes advises to give Argyll a general account of Irish matters and the rebels there, 185; is departed to Argyll at Stirling; commends his brother, the provost of Kylmon, to govern Argyll's forces for Elizabeth against the Irish rebels, 186; the contention between, and the Bishop of Limerick, 186, 188, 196, 198, 246; the bishopric of the Isles provided for, 186, 199; is returning to Limerick, 196, 199; has drawn Argyll to agree to employ his forces in Elizabeth's service in Ireland, 198; will send the pedigree of the Campbells, 199; his account of the Western Isles of Scotland and the descent, connexions, etc., of the Islanders, 201-211; his brother, 204; a licence for, requested from Elizabeth, to accompany Argyll on his travels, 246, 248.
- , Lady Jane, (sister of 5th Earl of Argyll): married to Lauchlan Oge MacLean, 204; afterwards married old M'Leod of Harris, 205; afterwards married MacIan of Ardnamurchan, 205.
- , Neil, Bishop of Argyll: 459.
- Campbells, the: few of the Isles or on the Irish frontiers towards Argyll will fight against, 198; house of, called Redshanks by the bishop of Limerick, 198; pedigree of, 199; the MacDonalds will be loth to serve against, 209; the better sort of, are favourers of religion, trusty and valiant, 209; might be divided into garrisons for service in Ireland, 210; their grudge against the MacConnells not taken away by reason of Anne Campbell, 211.
- Campion, Father: 258.
- Camprons, the: sept of, 207.
- Campvere (Campheire, Camphere, Camphire): 507; the Conservator for the Scots nation at, 282, 284, 303.
- , by cipher Foy, *q.v.*: letters dated at, 154.
- Cannabie: the bill of, 546.
- Holme: 536.
- Carden, Laird of: his sons' cause against Elphinstone, 114, 116.
- Careltan, Thomas. *See* Carleton.
- Carey (Cary), George: has written to MacLean to take steps for release of John MacNeill, a prisoner at Exeter, 35-37.
- , Sir John: 125.
- (Cary, Carye), John, Governor of Berwick: 87, 90, 302, 330, 342.
- (Carie, Cary), Sir Robert, warden of the East Marches: 123, 190, 197, 309, 333, 491, 510, 511, 527; Bowes has asked to certify the Privy Council of England of all wrongs done by Scottishmen on the Borders, 212; to inform the commissioners for the Borders of Cessford's invasion, 329; to inform them of his hanging of one Bourne (Borne), 330, 364; Cessford ordered to administer justice to, for outrages in the East Marches, 342; has advertised growth of disorders in the East Marches, 345; has written of recent outrages in the Borders, 515.
- (Carye), Mr., of London: 214.
- Carlaverock (Carlevirock): 260; the King demands the delivery of the house of, 482; house of, committed to a servant of Lord Hamilton's, 504.
- Carleton, Anthony: 509.
- , (Careltan, Carltan), Thomas: 421, 499; summons by the Border Commissioners to, 509; evidence against, charging him with March treason, 548; Border Commissioners fail to make peace between Lord Scrope and, 553.
- Carletons, the: 503; submit themselves to Elizabeth's pleasure, 548.
- Carlisle: 133, 280, 472, 502, 503, 509, 510, 514, 516, 523, 528, 534; Buccleuch's forcible taking of Will of Kinmont from, 191, 197, 199, 213, 214, 216, 217, 220, 223, 233-236, 238, 239, 242, 244-246,

- 248, 252, 253, 262-265, 268, 269, 279, 280, 283, 284, 293, 299, 303, 304, 332, 358, 364, 392, 538, 556; a raid planned about 252; cannon at, James to request loan of, 467; James may agree to meeting of Border commissioners at, 471, 474, 482; is walled against all feuds, 474; two commissioners for either realm may sit at, 491; adjournment of meeting at, 491, 492; commissioners to meet at, or Dumfries on 12 April 1597, 497; the bill for surprising the castle of, 520; treaty signed at, 530, 531, 553.
- , letters, etc. dated at, 508, 509, 524, 532.
- , [John Mey], Bishop of: 333, 365.
- Carlton. *See* Carleton.
- Carmichael, Sir Hugh (son of Sir John): sent by Queen Anne to Lady Huntly, 359; is Johnstone's friend at Court with the Queen, 422; recommended to Sir R. Cecil, 528.
- , James, minister: charged to depart home, 368.
- (Carmichell), Sir John, Laird of Carmichael: Nicolson hopes he will accept a wardenry in the Borders, 55; suit with Ennerwike, 60, 62, 113; is in Lennox's faction at Court, 67; in the new Council, 75; likely to be warden of the West March, 87, 89, 96, 116; is meetest for the wardenry but seeks too large allowance, 97; is appointed warden of the West March, 99, 101; requires men and money to do meet service, 102; held overcostly for wardenry of West Marches, 167; has lost the placard for horses for the King, 301; chosen as a commissioner for the Marches, 305, 310, 312, 332, 335; unwilling to serve on the commission, 345; treaty at Berwick made by, in 1587, 364; desires excessive allowance for his expenses as a Border commissioner, 369; is Johnstone's friend at Court with the King, 422; to assist the Octavians, 425; a Councillor of Scotland, 446; to be at National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; informs Bowes of the King's measures against Buccleuch, 473; to attend the King in the West Marches, 492; recommended to Sir A. Cecil, 528; takes R. and Sir W. Bowes to the King at Holyroodhouse, 535; takes them to the Council Chamber, 559; delivery of, to Queen Elizabeth, for the matter of the Reidswire, 562.
- Carneborough (Carnebrocke) Castle: 205, 206.
- Carnegy of Colluthy, David: to be one of the Octavians (Lords of the Exchequer), 115, 116; is sworn, 117; appointment of, 127; instructions to, 127, 128; form of oath subscribed by, 130; to be present at National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460.
- Carr. *See* Kerr.
- Cars, —, a messenger to treat with Mar: 20.
- Carvell (Carrel, Carroll), Captain Robert: 133; raid of, in Liddisdale, 297, 301, 505, 521.
- Cary. *See* Carey.
- Cassano, Lewis, Bishop of (Episcopus Cassanensis, pater Cassonius): James's alleged commission to, to treat with Clement VIII, 225; a Cardinal's hat asked for, 227; one of the Catholics most able to serve James abroad, 233.
- Cassillis, [John, 5th] Earl of: on his way to Edinburgh to assist Mar in his action, 95; said to be entirely Catholic, 104.
- , —, servant to. *See* Boyde, Alexander.
- Castile, Kings of: 339, 342.
- Castle Campbell (Campbell), near Dollar: 195, 219.
- Catholic Earls (traitorous, forfeited or forfeited, excommunicated, Papist, the Earls of the North): a man with a message from, 12; "the Crewe" preparing for a new day, 23; their return expected, 32; their return feared by the Kirk, 59; content at favour shown to Walter Lindsay by Spain, 68; thought they shall be aided with 6,000 foreign forces, 134; question of stirring the King and religious against, in Elizabeth's name, 138; breach of confederacy between, and Bothwell, 138; part of the gold sent by the Pope to Scotland delivered to, 147; attempts to persuade the King to enter into open action against, 149; a mystery that their wives and friends are countenanced in the Scottish Court, 155; their return thought likely to endanger the religion, King and Estate, 168; Jesuits and papists entertained in Scotland in hope of the return of, 182; intelligence of, brought to Burghley, 211; are seeking the King's leave to return to Scotland with liberty of conscience, 215; alleged practices of, to break the Borders, 217; the Pope and King of Spain reported to have concluded all matters for the return of, to Scotland, 219; agents of, to present petitions to the General Assembly that they be received on submission to the King and Kirk, 221; the ministers like to impugn their suit, 221; the King's proceedings against, avert the Pope and King of Spain from him, 230; the Kirk presents petitions anent the livings of, 237; agents of, withdraw their suits from the Convention, 237; act for respiting the execution of the bonds of, 238; have sent James Crichton to Scotland, 249; arrival of, expected in June 1596, 252; friends of, think peace shall proceed between France and Spain, England invaded, etc., 254; practices of, with Spain, 266; letters from, brought to Rome, 267; named as the best guides for the Spanish forces to land in Scotland, 268; Ogilvy brings letters from, to Father Cecil, 271; the King will withstand all Spanish practices to be attempted by the means of, 294, 295; the ministers will advise that they be kept out of the realm,

301; the Kirk not content with the King's measures for dealing with, 303; alleged dealings of Archibald Douglas with, 307; gold for, suspected to be sent to Scotland, 311; the well affected in Scotland desire they should be put out of the realm until they submit in better manner, 313; griefs of the ministers against increase, 326; Bowes stays his former course against, 337; thought to have in head some secret plots for Spain and Catholics, 347; offers of, 349; cause between, and the ministers like to work trouble, 351; are well favoured in Court, 351; King and Convention expected to have proceeded against sundry ministers for speeches against, 353; the King denies he has given licence or toleration to, to remain in Scotland, 355; the ministers exclaim against the favour given to, 358; the Duke of Lennox said to have compounded with, 358; the ministers object the Act of Cautionary against the return of, 359; propositions anent, by the King and Council to the ministry and the answers thereto, 361, 362; affirmed by David Black to have returned to the realm with the King's consent, 368; the Kirk seeks justification of its course against, 370; proclamation touching, 371; the King accused of giving fruitful actions to, 371; Elizabeth desires to know the King's uncertain proceedings with, 374; the General Assembly advertises the King of the dangers by the remaining in the country of, 375; Black's allegation of the King's treachery in the matter of, 381; Bowes has been sounded with the offer of their devotion to Elizabeth, 389; the Octavians alleged to be persuading the King to restore, 393; some think the designs of, will be greatly advanced by the events following on the "tumult" of 17 Dec. 1596, 406; expected that orders will be taken for the warding and due submission of, 401; vehemency of the ministers against the home-coming of, has brought on their controversy with the King, 404; the King will not deal with, before they have satisfied the Kirk, 406; Nicolson presses Cecil for the resolution anent, 413, 414; a Parliament to be summoned for the immediate reformation or banishment of, 416; sudden coming in of, proves support likely to be yielded them from Spain, 419; have been admonished to be quiet and secret, 421; the King fears Elizabeth's wrath in the matter of, 421; the King desires timely order to be taken with, 423; offences done in Scotland by, 430; coming home and protection of, against the laws will cause jealousy and alteration in the State, 445, 446; Elizabeth thinks the King's private love for, may blind him to their treason, 448.

— See also Angus; Errol; Huntly.
Catholicism: suggested means of establishing in Scotland, 104–111.

Catholics (Papists): Elizabeth's fears of their prevailing in Scotland, 26; orders for imprisoning and removing of, 64; ministers urge punishing of, 66; the King speaks against in the Council, 67; two from France apprehended, 77; all adversaries to the Christian religion as embraced in Scotland to be imprisoned, 79; Scottish peers thought to be, not likely to take arms against James in the interests of Catholicism, 104; suggested means of winning Elizabeth's favour for, 110; names of, in Scotland, 182, 183; rejoice at report of capture of Calais by Spain, 194; intelligence of the actions of, abroad, 219; considerations proving James's good affection for, 227–229; the King of Spain ready to succour, in Scotland, 272–276; deceitful offers of, to the King, 295; Scottish, have promised to take Berwick from the English, 321; gold and promises of succour from Spain to be brought to, 343; the ministers dispute whether the King can have dealing with, before they have satisfied the Kirk, 349; rumoured jealousies between Catholic councillors of the King and some of his Chamber, 401; 26 ministers to inform of, lurking in the realm, 425; the ministers not to meddle with, at the General Assembly in Perth, 469; fears that the King's violent course against religion cannot long prevail without the aid of, 475; take advantage of the discussions between the King and the ministers, 486, 487; esteem the Treasurer (Blantyre) their only enemy, 506; practices of, suggested in the Borders, 518; comforted by report of the coming of the Spanish navy to the Groyne, 529; do not crave alteration of religion in Scotland or toleration except for their own persons, 557; crave that Elizabeth will advise James to deal with them as she has dealt with the recusants, 558; Ladyland's attempt to secure Ailsa for, 568.

— See also Jesuits.

Cattans, the: sept of, 207.

Cavers, town of: spoiled by Henry Woddrington, 391.

Cawdor, Laird of. See Campbell.

Cecil, Sir Robert: 94, 132, 458, 508; referred to as Mecnas by Colville, 3, 25; asked to be a means to relieve Roger Aston's estate, 7, 9; Aston to (9 Sept. 1595), 8; has sent warrant for conference with MacLean as to affairs in Ireland, 9; Colville to (10 Sept.), 9; Colville does not doubt his usual kindness, 11; MacLean to (12 Sept.), 14; has directed Thornton's visit to Duart, 15, 19; has been written to, for MacLean's token, 16; MacLean has written to, 17; Thornton has letters for, 23; his letters to the Lord Deputy of Ireland regarding Capt. Thornton, 27; not ready to further Logie's suit, 30; said to have given direction for Elizabeth's token to MacLean, 31; to be asked to intercede for pardon of J. MacNeill,

35-37; R. Bowes to (9 Oct.), 41; Aston to (15 Oct.), 42; his present to Mrs. Aston, 42; J. Colville of Easter Wemyss to (29 Nov.), 69; letter to, from James Hudson of 16 Dec. 1600 referred to, 80*n*; G. Nicolson to (15 Dec.), 87; his letter concerning Francis Tusser, 91; R. Bowes to (24 Dec.), 98; J. Colville to (28 Dec.), 98; to R. Bowes (18 Feb. 1595-6), 144; R. Bowes to (24 Feb.), 151; R. Aston to (25 Feb.), 154; to R. Bowes (4 Mar.), 155; R. Bowes to (6 Mar.), 156, (9 Mar.), 160, (10 Mar.), 160, (16 Mar.), 165, (26 Mar. 1596), 173; D. Foulis to (27 Mar. and ? 28 Mar.), 178; R. Bowes to (2 April), 181; D. Foulis to (4 April), 184; R. Bowes to (5 April), 184, 185; G. Nicolson with Auchinross and Cunningham sent to, by Bowes, 185, 190; instructions to Nicolson from Bowes to be opened by, 185-187; has entered with the Dean of Limerick in the affairs for Ireland, 185; D. Foulis to (13 April), 187; Argyll to (16 April), 188; R. Bowes to (18 April), 188; D. Foulis to (18 April), 189; R. Bowes to (26 April), 194, (30 April), 195; memoranda of things to be brought before, by G. Nicolson, 200, 201; D. Foulis to (14 May), 218; Bowes to (18 May), 219; D. Foulis to (20 May), 221; MacLean to (24 May), 222; R. Bowes to (27 May), 224; MacLean to (8 June), 241; R. Bowes to (8 June), 241; J. Auchinross to (8 June), 242; J. Cunningham to (9 June), 243; R. Bowes to (21 June), 246; had promised the Laird of Easter Wemyss satisfaction, 147; D. Foulis to (23 June), 249; J. Hudson to (25 June), 250; Burghley to (10 July), 266; first styled the Queen's principal secretary, 266; draft letter by, to Bowes (11 July), 266; J. Hudson to (14 July), 278; to Lord Scrope (14 July), 279; D. Foulis to (16 July), 280; Bowes to (18 July), 284; D. Foulis to (21 and 22 July), 286; R. Aston to (28 July), 289; Bowes to (29 July), 290; Bowes refers to a letter of, 294; Bowes to (3 Aug.), 295, (6 Aug.), 296, (10 Aug.), 302; to Bowes (27 Aug.), 307; Bowes to (17 Sept.), 315, 316; (20 Sept.), 318; D. Foulis to (22 Sept.), 323; Bowes to (23 Sept.), 325; D. Foulis to (24 Sept.), 327; (5 Oct.), 338; R. Aston to (25 Oct.), 348; the reduction of James's gratuity partly imputed to, 349; Lord Sanquhar (?) to (? Oct.), 351; J. Hudson to (5 Nov.), 354; (20 Nov.), 365; to R. Bowes (28 Nov.), 373; D. Foulis to (Nov.), 376; Bowes will satisfy as to the genuineness of Brunswick's offers of submission, 392; R. Bowes to (17 Dec.), 394; (21 Dec.), 403; R., Aston to (22 Dec.), 404; R. Bowes to (26 Dec.), 409; G. Nicolson to (3 Jan. 1596-7), 413; R. Bowes to (4 Jan.), 417; to R. Bowes (6 Jan.), 419; R. Bowes to (13 Jan.), 426; (16 Jan.), 429; Sir W. Bowes to (19 Jan.), 433; A. Douglas to (23 Jan.), 435; (26 Jan.),

439; R. Bowes to (31 Jan.), 440; notes on a list of Councillors of Scotland by, 446 447; R. Bowes to (1 Feb.), 451; Sir W. Bowes to (10 Feb.), 462; R. Bowes to (20 Feb.), 463; J. Hudson to (24 Feb.), 471; A. Douglas to (26 Feb.), 476; R. Aston to (3 March), 480; to R. Bowes (6 March), 481; R. Bowes to (9 March), 481; the Laird of Bomby to (12 March), 486; signs as a privy councillor, 491; R. Bowes to (23 March), 495; to R. Bowes (30 March 1597), 496; signs memorial for Sir W. Bowes, 503; Aston to (11 April), 504; R. Bowes to (11 April), 506; to R. Bowes (27 April), 515; to Sir W. Bowes (27 April), 517; instructions of, to Sir W. Bowes, 517, 518; R. Bowes to (29 April), 522; J. Hudson to (? May), 526; R. Bowes to (2 May), 528; (3 May), 529; to Lord Eure (4 May), 530; Bishop of Durham to (7 May), 532; to Lord Scrope (8 May), 532; his late wife, 532; R. Bowes to (11 May), 545; Sir W. Bowes to (11 May), 547; R. and Sir W. Bowes to (30 May), 559.

—, —, notes, corrections and endorsements of, in letters, etc., 69, 172, 201, 209-211, 222-224, 238, 239, 245, 246, 265, 266, 330 *note*, 333, 343, 352, 360, 372, 398, 420, 447, 488, 501, 527, 533, 550.

—, —, clerk of, endorsements on letters, etc. and copies of letters by, 9, 10, 15, 43, 86, 87, 98, 135, 139, 142, 145, 152, 156, 158, 160, 167, 174, 182, 188, 189, 194, 196, 214, 218, 220-224, 241-243, 247, 249-251, 255, 256, 279, 280, 285, 289, 290, 291, 296, 298, 301, 303, 307, 315, 318-320, 323, 325, 327, 334, 338, 345, 348, 349, 354, 357, 365, 374, 376, 396, 401, 403, 407, 409, 410, 413, 414, 416, 417, 420, 427, 431, 435, 439, 440, 463, 472, 480, 481, 485, 488, 490, 497, 498, 503, 506, 508, 513, 515, 516, 517, 523, 529, 530, 532, 540, 546, 548.

—, —, a servant of. *See* Welles.

—, (Cecilius), Father John, English priest, 322; said to be of moderate ability and dishonest, 229; notes out of the book of, relating to the forgeries and follies of William Crichton, 257-261; sent to Rome by the King of Spain, 257; would discover nothing when living in England, 258; the seminaries in Spain due to, 259; accuses Crichton of being the discoverer of the Spanish Blanks, 261; has been practising in Scotland in favour of the King of Spain, 267; has been in Spain with the King there, 267; brings Pury Ogilvy to the Duke of Sessa in Rome, 271; negotiations between Sessa, Ogilvy and, 271-274; agrees to depart with Ogilvy for Spain, 274; is embarked towards Genoa, 276; alleged secret instructions to, from James to treat with the Pope, 277, 278; allegations against the proposals of Ogilvy and contrary memorials made by, to the King of Spain, 365-367.

Cessford, Laird of. *See* Kerr.

- Chalmer (Chamber, Chambers), George : licence to, to pass beyond seas to Huntly, 156; has delivered the Countess's letter to Huntly, 213; has returned with answer, 219.
- Chamberlain, Lord, to Queen Elizabeth. *See* Hunsdon, Lord.
- Chanonry (Channarrye), the, in Ross : Huntly arrived at, 253.
- Charing (Char') : letters received at, 38, 42, 44, 46, 48, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64-66, 69, 75, 76, 87, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99, 100, 103, 116, 121, 124, 126.
- Charlton (Charleton) of Boughthill : Cuthbert, senior : 526.
- , Cuthbert, son of Rimon : 526.
- , Gilbert : 526.
- , John : 526.
- , Rimon : 526.
- Chillingham, co. Northumb. : 431.
- Chisholm, Sir James, Master of the Household : a catholic, 105.
- , William, Bishop of Dunblane : 105, 228.
- , William, Bishop of Vaison (Vason) : the Pope sends into Scotland, 320; the King said to have desired the Pope to make him a cardinal, 351.
- Christian IV, King of Denmark (brother of Queen Anne) : 228; in Brunswick, rumoured intentions of, 30; would move in James's defence if Spain tried to force him by arms to catholicism, 104; coronation and marriage of, 181, 192; ambassadors from, to be sent to Scotland, 196; their arrival daily looked for, 212; James may be sure of the help of, for his alliance with the Pope, 232; ambassadors from, have not yet arrived, 238; has sent his ambassador to the Cardinal of Austria, 240; ambassador of, to James has arrived at Dunbar, 244, 252 (*and see* Beale, Steven); James's ambassador to, to be appointed, 244; James's ambassadors to, appointed, 248, 252 (*and see under* Denmark); James said to have inquired as to help from, 277; return to Scotland of James's ambassadors to the coronation of, 337.
- Christians, the : succeeding very well against the Turk, 30.
- Christmas (Yule) : observance of, in England, 373.
- Civil Law, Doctors of : 489.
- Clan Donalds, the : assisters of the Irish rebels, 164.
- , *See also* MacDonald of Dunnyveg, Angus; MacDonald of Sleat, Donald Gorme.
- Clan Ranalds (Clanranelles), the : controversy between M'Leod of Harris and, 206.
- Clapperton, John, minister : charged to depart home, 368; a commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
- Clarence, George, Duke of : 341.
- Clark, William : affixes seal to Henry VIII's will, 341.
- Claud, the Lord, and his son, great stir between, 11.
- Clement VIII, Pope : 219; alleged agreement with Henry IV of France, 64; could not find sufficient money to force James by arms to Catholicism, 104; will give no money in Scotland till he have further assurance of the King, 111; distributes many benefices in Ireland, 119; his bull absolving Henry IV of France, 124; alleged commission from, to deal with James, 125; has been assured of Queen Anne's probable change of religion, 141, 150; his efforts to tempt James with gold, 146, 147; false reports to, of James's inclination to Catholicism, 193; Errol reputed to be seeking James's commission to treat with, 199, 215; James will not consent to the offers of, 215; alleged negotiations of James with, 225-227; reasons for James joining with, 230-233; has shown himself peculiarly affected to James and the realms of England and Scotland, 231; John Cecil sent to, by the King of Spain, 257; practices of certain subjects of James with, 267, 296; Ogilvy alleges that James is seeking his help, 271; entangled with the affairs of Poland and Hungary, 275; desirous that all men should approve the absolution given to the Bearnos (Henry IV), 275; is deceived by those who would have persuaded him of James's intentions, 276; will not make any succours in money to the Scottish catholics, 276; understood that he will send an agent secretly into Scotland, 277; James understood to have inquired of help from, 277; Father Cecil's alleged secret instructions from James to treat with, 277, 278; practices of alleged agents of James with, 294; sends the Bishop of Vaison to Scotland, 320; Scottish catholics have assured that they have great friends in England, 321; alleged negotiations of James with, 322; James has asked, to make the Bishop of Vaison a Cardinal, 351; has granted James 30,000 crowns upon certain conditions, 351; knows Philip II seeks conquest and not the advancement of the Catholic religion, 429; negotiations with, by pretended agents of James VI, 430; Ladyland a busy negotiator with, 467; Huntly and Errol protest they have not dealt with, against religion, 567; Ladyland's negotiations with, 568.
- Clercke, David, shipowner : 224.
- Clerk, Justice, 321. *And see* Bellenden.
- Clivop, ground of : 521.
- Closeburn, Laird of. *See* Kirkpatrick.
- Cloth : act restraining the import of English cloth and other woollen wares, 550, 566; act for payment of customs on, 550, 566; Scottish burgesses grieved with the restraint of their trade, 566.
- Clovelly (Devon) : 35, 37.
- Cluny, Laird of (Cluny Gordon). *See* Gordon of Cluny.
- Clydero, —, catholic priest : 321.

Coal: act against the export of great burn or sea coal, 550, 566.

Cochran, Patrick, bailiff of Edinburgh: 403.

Cockburn of Clerkington, Sir Richard: Secretary: newly married to Lord Sinclair's daughter, 10; maintains Walter Quin, 79; has found better favour in England, 135; makes out licence for Bowes's return to Scotland, 135; shall shortly yield his office to John Lindsay, 163; Lord Privy Seal, 446, 460.

—, of Ormiston, [Sir John], Justice Clerk: 446; the King has agreed with Lord Seton and, 114; to assist the Octavians, 425; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; at the Convention at Perth, 482; appointed to try to persuade the burgesses of Edinburgh to submit to the King's will, 483; to attend the King in the West Marches, 492.

—, Samuel: 155.

"Cockelandes": making of, 65.

Coinage (coynzie), the: the commodity of, shortly to cease, 45; bronze, profit of, 129; act concerning price of foreign coins, 237; act for punishment of false coiners, 237; act against foreign money having currency in the realm, 550; act for coinage of 2*d.* pieces of copper, 550, 566.

Coldenknows, Laird of. *See* Hume.

Coldstream (?) (Cadstrayme), Pringle of. *See* Pringle.

Coleraine: a principal garrison necessary at, 210.

Coll: letter dated from, 169.

Collesse, David: 142.

Colluthy, Laird of. *See* Carnegie.

Colmore (Colmere), Dr. (Clement), of Durham: confers on the state of the Middle Marches, 70; suggested as a commissioner for the Borders, 312, 313; a commissioner for the Borders, 328, 461, 509, 526, 528, 530-532; letters patent of appointment of, 335.

Colonna: part of, in conquering the New World, 259.

Colonsay (Collosse), Island of: 204.

Colville (Colvill) of Easter Wemyss, James: letter from, to Sir Robert Cecil (29 Nov. 1595), 69; to R. Bowes (29 Nov.), 69; secret advises probably from, 111; appears pinched with necessity, 247; to R. Bowes (12 May 1596), 247; Elizabeth's safe conduct desired for, 482; proposed to return into France, 484.

—, of Strathrudie, John: letter to Robert Bowes (1 Sept. 1595), 3; fears Cecil is offended with him, 3; to Cecil (10 Sept.), 9; alleged plots of, against the Chancellor, 10; to Bowes (10 Sept.), 11; will be found to do good offices to Elizabeth, 13; to Bowes (21 Sept.), 20; goes to Lord John Hamilton, 21, 25; to Bowes (24 Sept.), 24; proposal that he should be Keeper of Great Seal or Secretary, 26; dealing to agree with Mar and others for slaughter of D. Forrester, 33; expected

to be able to do good service for England on the Chancellor's death, 35; to Bowes (7 Oct.), 39; hopes on the Chancellor's death the door will be no more barred on him, 39; to Bowes (15 Oct.), 44, (25 Oct.), 48, (1 Nov.), 52, (5 Nov.) 54, (16 Nov.), 61; busy at Stirling about marriage of his daughter, 75, 87; to Bowes (7 Dec.), 87; said to be especially shot at by the proclamation against sending letters abroad, 89; to Bowes (22 Dec.), 97; to Sir R. Cecil (28 Dec.), 98; to Bowes (29 Dec.), 99; persuades Blantyre to correspond with Nicolson, 102; to Bowes (7 Jan. 1595-6), 116, (12 Jan.), 119; to Bowes (17 Jan.), 125; no danger shall alter his zeal for Elizabeth's service, 125; his good offices to Elizabeth to be recognised, 139; Buccleuch has lately given up kindness with, 199; needs relief and will deserve it, 200.

—, Alexander, Abbot of Culross; 460.

Combs, Richard; 111.

Commingshall: 248.

Condé, the little Prince of: to be instructed in the Roman religion, 124.

—, Princess of; to justify herself of her husband's death, 124.

Connaught: coast of, preyed on by MacNeil of Barra, 206; rebellious confederacy of most of, 207; preys and spoils of, brought by O'Donnell to Tyrconnel, 210; O'Donnell has attacked some Englishmen in, 254.

Conservator of the Scottish nation in the Low Countries. *See* Denneston.

Constable, Henry, son of Sir Robert: thought the writer of Dolman's book, 100.

—, the, of France: 420.

Convention of Estates (National Council): Linlithgow, 29; (Oct. 1595), 45, 47; is delayed to 1 Nov., 48, 50, 51; expected that the Chancellery will fall to some one at, 49; intended for taking order with King's affairs, 51; matters hoped to be resolved upon at, 52; Nicolson proposes to ride to Linlithgow to learn conclusion of all things there, 53; Lennox and Mar only noblemen at, 54; enters into counsel with King, 54; to meet in Edinburgh (24 Nov.), 60; at Edinburgh (24 Nov.), business done at, 78, 79; another great one to hold at Edinburgh, 24 Dec., 79; moved to call a, and matters to be determined at, 175; to meet in Edinburgh (20 May 1596), 192, 196; summons to, 211; business of, 211; plurality of votes in, likely to stop redress being made for Buccleuch's action at Carlisle, 214; likely to continue to end of May, 218; action of, upon Bowes's demand for redress for Buccleuch's action, 234-236, 252, 264, 265, 268, 280, 283; various acts of, 237; to be held at Edinburgh (?), 292; to be held at Edinburgh on 11 Aug. 1596 to consider Huntly's submission, 294; the greatest number appointed for, greatly affected to Huntly, 302; at Falkland (ended 14 Aug. 1596), report of pro-

- ceedings at, by Bowes, 304-306; references to, 307, 308, 367; meeting at Falkland postponed, 313; to meet at Dunfermline (28 Sept.), 316, 317; Huntly hopes to obtain his desires at, 317; offers of Catholic Earls thought to be presented at, 326; assembly at, very slender, 336; matters considered at, 336; ordained at, that none of the King's subjects should have intelligence in matters of state with any foreign person, 337; to meet at Holyroodhouse on 2 Nov. 1596, 349; bent to prolong the meeting of the Commissioners for the Borders, 352; expected to have proceeded against sundry ministers for speeches against the Catholic Earls, 353; at Edinburgh from 3 Nov. 1596, dilatory proceedings of, against the Border Commissioners, 357; to meet at Edinburgh on 5 Feb. 1596-7, 390, 395; to be summoned at Stirling or Linlithgow with all speed, 396; summoned to be at Linlithgow on 3 Jan. 1596-7, 401; at Edinburgh, dissolution of, 421; proceedings of, 423; to be held at St. Andrews on 28 Feb. 1596-7, 424, 478, 479; names of those to be at, 459, 460; to be held at St. Johnstone (Perth) (March 1596-7), efforts expected to be attempted at, greatly feared, 465; many of the ministers refuse to go to, fearing Huntly's power, 470; questions to be resolved at, 477; proceedings at, 481, 482 (*and see under* Perth); to be held at Dundee on 12 May, 483; few of the nobility at St. Johnstone, 499; Acts of, at Dundee, 550, 566, 567 (*and see also under* Dundee); likely to break up at Dundee and come to Edinburgh, 552.
- Copenhagen (Kibbenhaffn): 181.
- Copranne, —, of Dublin, merchant: 224, 225.
- Copshawe. *See* Elliot, John, of Copschaw.
- Cornwall, Duchy of: 495.
- , in East March of England, 240.
- Cornwell, Robert: to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456.
- Corstorphine, Laird of. *See* Forrester.
- Corunna (the Groyne), 529.
- Cote, Jock of the: 531.
- Coupar [Angus], abbacy of: 32.
- , in Fife. *See* Cupar.
- Coupland, Henry: clerk of Lord Eure, 531.
- Cowbardie, Laird of: a friend of the Ladies of Huntly and Errol, 183.
- Cowper, William: a commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
- Cowsandonne, 204.
- Coylte, 201.
- Craig (Graig), Laird of: a friend of the Ladies of Huntly and Errol, 183.
- Cranston, Michael, minister of Crawford: entered into ward in Edinburgh castle, 401; to appear before the Council at Linlithgow, 402; to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456; secretly notifies King how his subjects are wounded by his proceedings against the persons concerned in the "tumult," 465.
- Crawford, [David Lindsay, 11th] Earl of: 446; has grant of abbacy of Coupar, 32; ready to assist parties against Mar in his day of law, 96; said to be entirely catholic, 104; the King busy to draw Lord Glamis and the Master of Glamis to agreement with, 142; meets Angus, 167; desires a safe conduct to London, 168; may be appointed ambassador to France, 175; may be sent as an ambassador to Christian IV's coronation, 192; a licence to pass through England requested for, 200; a promise to make, sworn man of the King of Spain, 219; Elizabeth's safe conduct into France requested for, 246, 248; is noted to be young and frank and is under process and censure of the Kirk, 247; Bowes has written for a passport for, 285; countenances the guarding of the Octavians, 291; passport granted to, 296; to assist the Octavians, 425; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 459; absent from the Convention at Perth, 483.
- of Kerse, [David]: 136.
- : parson of and the mines in, 117.
- , Moor: lead hill on, 513.
- Crawmont: minister of. *See* Cranston.
- Credo, John: mariner, 224.
- Creswell, Father: 257.
- Crew ("Crewe"), the. *See* Catholic Earls.
- Crichton of Sanquhar (Saccar, Santkware), [Robert, 8th] Lord: 446, 466; cousin germane to Drumlanrig, is under severance with Johnstone, 53; said to be entirely Catholic, 104; inquires if there is any ill opinion of him in England and desires a passport for Italy, 125; his dealing in foreign parts well known to Burghley, 155; meets Angus, 167; may be sent as an ambassador to the King of Denmark's coronation, 192; Father Crichton has promised to make, the King of Spain's sworn man, 219; commanded to remain at Dumfries, 237; desires safe conduct through England into France, 248; provokes Orkney to single combat but stayed by King, 248; is assured of a liberal share in a good portion of gold to be distributed by the Cardinal of Austria, 254; purposes to be in the Low Countries in Aug. 1596, 254; Bowes has written for a passport for, 285; passport granted to, 296; went from Flanders to Scotland to confer with the King, 321; letter from (?), to Sir R. Cecil (? Oct. 1596), 351; removal of, out of court requested by the Convention at Edinburgh, 397; charged to levy horse-men for the King, 408; Cecil asked to send Bowes a letter to be shown to, 413; the acceptance of his offers requested from Cecil, 414; at point of excommunication for papistry, 424; ready to travel into foreign parts, 427; has solicited loan of cannon at Carlisle to James, 467; at the Convention at Perth, 482; how his good offices to Elizabeth may be best entertained, 498; house of Torthorwald committed to, 504; desires a safe conduct

- from Elizabeth, 522, 526; with Mrs. Barbara Ruthven, 526; recommended to Cecil by Bowes, 529.
- (Crichton), Abraham : 507.
- , James, servant to Errol : 219; in Scotland, pretends to have commission from the King of Spain, 249.
- , (Creighton, Crichton), William, Father, Jesuit : in the Netherlands, 34; letters from Lord Herries received by, 59; letter from, to Herries intercepted, 61; his great charity to the Scottish College, 107; is mother's uncle of a man appointed to go to James, 120; to make Lord Sanquhar sworn man to King of Spain, 219; notes out of John Cecil's book relating to the forgeries and follies of, 257–261; had taken upon him the whole plotting of the invasions, 258; violent courses and turbulent spirit of, 259; blamed for seeking to defend James without commission, 260; concluded to be the discoverer of the Spanish Blanks, 261; chief director of Lord Sanquhar in his dealings with James, 321; the King said to have sent a letter of credit to, to deal with the Pope in money matters, 351.
- Crisiolo, Father : 274.
- Cromarty, tutor of. *See* Urquhart of Tullo, John.
- Culross, Abbot of. *See* Colville, Alexander.
- Cumberland, county of : 509.
- Cuming, —, of Irvine (Urwyn) : 38.
- Cunningham (Cuninghame), David, Bishop of Aberdeen : appointed ambassador to the King of Denmark, 248; summoned by the Kirk, 351; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596–7), 459; commands Huntly's cause in pulpit, 466; has reported good inclination of Huntly, 484.
- , George : 111.
- , John, burgess of Edinburgh, merchant : 174, 545; has given MacLean word of Elizabeth's promised token, 31, 57, 94; Bowes is sending, to MacLean, 151, 152; has been sent to MacLean, 156, 159; believes that MacLean will invade rebels in Ireland, 157; memorial given him by Bowes to be communicated to MacLean, 158, 159; to Bowes (8 Mar. 1595–6), 159; conveys Bowes's commendations to Duncan MacDougall, 164; not yet returned from MacLean, 165, 173; MacLean has received Bowes's letters from, 169; has brought MacLean's answers to Bowes, 182; sent by Bowes to Sir R. Cecil, 185; his good offices should be used, 186; reward to, to be considered, 193; return of, to Scotland expected, 196; 20*l* paid to, by Cecil's order, 214, 242; to Cecil (9 June 1596), 243.
- Cunninghams, the : deadly feud between the Montgomeries and, to be pacified, 100, 102.
- Cupar (Coupar) in Fife : synodal convention at, sends commissioners to the King to stay Huntly's suits, 317; presbytery of, 460.
- Customs, the : act for reduction of, to old rates, 237; acts anent the payment of, 550, 566.
- DACRES (Daker, Dakers), Lord : 233, 321, 519.
- Dagger, Christopher : 49 *n*.
- Dagleish (Daglish, Daungleish), John : slaughter of, 330, 364.
- , Nicoll, minister : charged to depart home, 368.
- Daker. *See* Dacres.
- Dalkeith : the King intending to lodge at, 396, 400; General Assemblies, etc., may be held in, 418.
- Danywel, the Lord : 132.
- Danzic (Dansick, Danske) : 232 *note*, 430.
- Darcy, [John, 3rd] Lord : suggested as a commissioner for the Marches, 312.
- Darnley, Henry Stewart, Lord (father of James VI) : murder of, 445.
- Davidson, John, minister : charged to depart home, 368.
- Dead Water, the : attempt by Englishmen upon, 180, 191.
- Deareth : extreme, in Scotland, 74, 89, 135, 174, 184, 192, 194, 285, 317, 413, 498, 503; James requests grain from England for relief of, 94, 95; a general fast ordered for, 122.
- Deinoidleill (? Dunolly, *q.v.*).
- Delacarca, Captain John : 276.
- Dembton. *See* Denneston.
- Denmark (Dania) and the Danes : 132, 181, 224, 229, 248, 252; Col. Stewart in, 29; diversity of sects in, 106; the Orkneys in the former possession of, 201; ambassadors from, *see under* Christian IV.; James's ambassadors for, not to start before 1 August 1596, 282 (*and see under* Christian IV.); James sees the ambassadors for, embark at Dundee, 297.
- , the daughter of. *See* Margaret of Denmark, Queen of James III.
- , the King's secretary of, 30.
- , King of. *See* Frederick II; Christian IV.
- Denneston (Deniston, Denniston, Dembton), Robert, Conservator of the Scottish nation in the Low Countries (Holland and Zeeland) : 93, 100, 216; agent for James VI's merchants in the Low Countries, 268; the Earl of Errol in the custody of, 282, 284, 303; Errol's escape from, 311; proclamation announcing his suspension from office but restoring him until his part in Errol's escape is known, 365, 371, 373, 388; never intended to punish, for Errol's escape, 388; offers to serve Elizabeth in the Low Countries, 409, 529; Bowes may entertain the offer of, 419; informed of the good acceptance of his offer, 430; how his good offices may be best entertained, 498; is ready to return into Zeeland, 529.
- Denton (? co. Cumb.) : 509.
- Derby, Earls of : heirs of, and title to throne of England, 93, 338.

- Derry, Bishop of: the chief practiser between the Spaniards and Tyrone, 210.
- Dersy, Laird of, provost of St. Andrews: 382.
- Derwent, the river: 72.
- Desmond in Ireland: 206.
- Devon, [Edward Courtenay, 3rd] Earl of: descent of issue of, from Henry VII., 338.
- Dickson, Alexander: to G. Nicolson (21 Sept. 1595), 21; has reported the homecoming of MacQuhirrie, 23.
- Dieppe: 467.
- Dinant: Earl of Huntly and J. Morton at, 25.
- Disputarius, grammar of: 116.
- Dixon, —, of Aberdeen: a traveller for Errol by sea taken, 124.
- Dixson, Robert, Scottishman: passport for, 334.
- Dod, *alias* Prefeck, Henry: 526.
- , John, of Rye Close: 526.
- , Michael, of Donkleywood: 526.
- Dodd, Catherine, of Bruntbank, widow: 526.
- Dolman (Doleman), Robert: his book on the titulars to the throne of England, 93, 366, 546; King much offended with, 100, 126, 148; question of Elizabeth's knowledge of, 137; his book said to be compiled by Parsons, 140, 148.
- Donald Gorme. *See* MacDonald of Sleat, Donald.
- Donavertye. *See* Dunaverty.
- Donkinson, John: a commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
- Donkleywood [? co. Northumb.]: 525, 526.
- Donovack. *See* Dunnyveg.
- Dorset, Henry [Grey, 3rd] Marquess of: marriage and issue of, 338.
- Douai: English College of, 108.
- Dougall, John, merchant and burges of Edinburgh, 12.
- Douglas (Douglass), of Drumlanrig [Sir James]: feud with the Johnstones, 45; a foray of, in Annandale, 48; written for to attend Convention, 51; at Linlithgow to obey King's order, 53; report of his being there contradicted, 54; excuses himself from following Herries against the Johnstones, 56; not to depart from Edinburgh but upon caution, 59; to be warded for preserving peace, 65; is committed to ward, 74, 76, 79; to be compelled to satisfy Lord Scrope, 89; in ward in Edinburgh castle, 92, 97; suggested for warden of West Marches, 96; has refused the wardenry, 97; refuses to give caution, 113, 114; pledges to be taken of, for keeping good order, 116; will shortly be at liberty, 136; bond taken of, for order in the Borders, 293; assurance taken betwixt Herries and, for the quieting of the West Borders, 416.
- of Spott, James: 40, 499.
- of Torthorwald (Torthorall), James: Captain James Stewart killed by, 360; the King intends to apprehend, 467.
- , Alexander: a commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
- , Archibald: 132; letter to Lord Burghley from (8 Sept. 1595), 7; leave sought for his return home, 22; to Burghley (24 Sept.), 25; likely to have credit to advance Angus's cause in England, 32; has written that Huntly and Errol's return to favour would be by the Queen's means, 40; to Burghley (11 Oct.), 42; attempts to obtain leave to come home, 68; is suiting for the King part of the lands that pertained to Lady Lennox, 97; to Burghley (21 Jan. 1595–6), 133; (2 Mar.), 155; refers to his cousin Lord Sanquhar, 155 (*and see* Crichton of Sanquhar); a letter pretended to have been written by some about him attacking D. Foulis, 161; his efforts to shake Bowes's credit with the ministers, 191; is setting about that Huntly finds over great favour in England, 198; to answer to the Council for usurping the name of ambassador and for trafficking with Bothwell, 213; his practices against Bowes, 215; advertisements from (Aug. 1596), 307, 308; accusations against, by D. Foulis, 307, 308; accused by Bowes as author of certain brawling matter, 308; says Elizabeth will not suffer him to leave England because of his knowledge of state secrets, 316; to Sir R. Cecil (23 Jan. 1596–7), 435; (26 Jan.), 439; (26 Feb.), 476; on the state of Scotland (27 May 1597), 557–9.
- , —, his brother: 133.
- , —, his cousin Archibald, son of the Earl of Morton: returned from Italy, 25.
- , George: 306.
- , James, Abbot of Melrose (Mewross, Mewtus): complaint against Cessford, 13; gone to Langnewtown to collect his tithes, 21; opposed by Cessford, 21, 24; matter between, and Cessford's cousin, 32; matter of tithes between him and Cessford concluded, 39; tithes in question between, and A. Ker, 53; to be at the National Convention, (Feb. 1596–7), 460.
- , James, servant of the Provost of Lincluden: slain, 47.
- , Margaret, daughter of Margaret, Queen Dowager of James IV: 338.
- , Richard (nephew of Archibald Douglas): 133; has dealt with Angus to withdraw himself from Huntly and Errol, 7; is willing upon conditions to reveal to Elizabeth practices intended against her, 8; at Falkland travelling for Angus, 19, 22, 32; will shortly be in London, 32; expected to be coming to procure benevolence for Angus, 39; comes to London, 42; sues to James for his uncle's leave to come home, 68; proclamation restraining letters abroad to prevent G. Nicolson writing to, 89; has spoken with the King and excused his behaviour, 99; his return to Scotland has deferred the Provost of Edinburgh's embassy to England, 133.
- , William, Provost of Lincluden, Collector of Scotland: a servant of, slain,

- 47; follows Herries against the Johnstones, 56; is in Lennox's faction at Court, 67; may draw Cessford from association with Buccleuch, 74; in the new Council, 75; has given over his office of Collector, 99, 112; is like to be displaced, 102; ordered to show himself contented with his discharge or leave Edinburgh, 115; commanded to "dimit" his office, 116.
- , —, sheriff of Teviotdale: 391.
- Douglasses: two sons of fathers killed by Captain James Stewart's means, avenge their deaths, 360.
- of Drumlanrig; encounter of, with the Maxwells, 47.
- Dover: 92, 292.
- Doward. *See* Duart.
- Drum (Drume), Laird of. *See* Irvine of.
- Drumlanrig, Laird of. *See* Douglas.
- Drummond, Edward: sent by the King with a letter to the Pope, 351; of intention to go secretly to Scotland, 351.
- of Medop, —, a messenger to treat with Mar, 20.
- Dryburgh, Abbot of. *See* Erskine, David.
- Duart (Doward): 171; meeting of MacLean and Thornton at, 14, 15, 17, 27, 28; Thornton sails from, 19; MacLean returned from, to Inveraray, 23.
- , letters dated at, 14, 15, 28, 94.
- , Castle of, 9, 14, 27, 103.
- , Laird of. *See* MacLean.
- Dublin: 224.
- , Castle of: 203; letter dated at, 26.
- , St. Patrick's Cathedral, 202.
- Duffus, Laird of. *See* Sutherland, William.
- Dumbarton: 14, 15, 165; lords and freeholders to meet the King at, 222; those appointed for reducing the Isles to obedience to meet at, 291; the King's intended progress to, 306; the King has returned from, 310.
- , letters dated at, 42, 545.
- , Castle: 132; Hamilton is victualling, 114; he requests munitions from England for, 139.
- Dumfries, town of: 282, 496, 500, 502, 506, 522; accompanies Herries to Johnstone's bounds, 56; King may go to, to quiet those parts, 137, 167; the dearth there like to stay the King's journey to, 174; Sanquhar and others commanded to remain at, and execute office of the west wardenry, 237; proposed that the Commissioners for the Borders meet for the West Marches at, 336; Border Commissioners likely to be drawn to, 471; is open and unwall'd, 474; departure of the King for, 494; Commissioners to meet at, in Carlisle on 12 April 1597, 497; King proposes to hold his Justice Court at, 503; the Scottish Commissioners at, 507.
- Dunaverty (Donavertye) castle, in Kintyre: 206.
- Dunbar: 244, 252; presbytery of, 460.
- Dunblane, Bishop of. *See* Chisholm, William.
- Duncreith, Laird of. *See* Edmonstone of Duntreath.
- Dundee: 507, 528, 529, 532, 540; Queen makes motion to go to, 18; Queen is to enter, 24; the General Assembly at, 177; the King rides to, 294, 297, 299; the King met the Countess of Huntly at, 307; burgh of, at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336; presbytery and burgh of, to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; Convention of Estates and General Assembly to be held at, in May 1597, 483, 485, 500, 504, 505, 511, 514, 527, 542, 544, 547; the King at, 543; request by the English ambassadors that the wardens of the Scottish Marches attend upon the King at Dundee, 549; Acts of the Convention at, 550; submission of the Catholic Earls at, 550, 551; Convention likely to break up at, and come to Edinburgh, 552; the King returns from, 559; proceedings at the Convention, etc. at, 566-568.
- , Constable of. *See* Scrymgeour of Dudhope.
- Dunfermline: 265, 268, 294; the Queen to go to, 24; King and Queen to go to, 33, 39; King and Queen come from, to Linlithgow, 41; the King to meet Queen at, 192; the Queen retired to, till she be convalesced, 252; the King at, 253, 262, 281, 282, 284, 291, 292; the Council to meet at, 293; Countess of Huntly with the Queen at, 296; meeting of Council at, put over to Falkland, 297; Bowes sees the King at, 299; the Countess of Huntly has left, 301; the King at, 302; the King returns to, 306, 310; the Court at, 313; the Convention to meet at, 316, 317, 326; the King at, 335; the Convention at, 336, 337, 355, 367; proclamation dated at, 344; the King goes to, 354.
- Dunglass: 162; Lady Hume takes the plate and best stuff at, 41; the King goes to, for hunting, 162, 167.
- Dunipace (Donnypese, Dunnipas), Laird of. *See* Livingstone.
- Dunkeld: Earl of Atholl to be buried at, 21.
- , Bishop of. *See* Rollock, Peter.
- Dunlanrock: house of Muswald committed to, 504; to give assurance to Johnstone, 504.
- Dunnage: 136.
- Dunnyveg (Donovack) in Islay: 205, 206. *And see* MacDonald of Dunnaveg.
- Dunolly (Dunollycht, Dunollis, Deinoidleill) in Lorne: 159.
- , letters dated at, 12, 160, 164.
- , MacDougall of. *See* MacDougall.
- Dunoon (Downon): castle of, 202.
- Duntreath (Duncreith), Laird of. *See* Edmonstone.
- Dunbyrrselllds, escheats of: 54.
- Durham: 312.
- , Tobias [Matthew], Bishop of: 431, 470, 534; might be appointed a commissioner for the Borders, 310, 312, 313; James requests that he be not one of the commissioners, 327; a Border commissioner, 328, 461, 472, 503, 509, 514, 526,

- 528, 530, 531, 532, 547; to inquire especially of defections in going to church and of recusants in the Borders, 332, 333, 365; letters patent of appointment of, as a commissioner for the Borders, 335; a person of his degree desired for the Scottish commission, 346; the Bishop of Dunkeld not thought by Bowes to be of the degree and quality of, 370; desired to deal with Robert Bowes for a payment due to D. Foulis, 376; has been advertised of the meeting of the Border commissioners, 415; Sir W. Bowes to (21 March 1596-7), 491; Sir W. Bowes to get the help of, 502, 503, 508; R. Bowes to (29 April 1597), 523; to Sir R. Cecil (7 May), 532; Burghley to (21 May), 553.
- , bishopric of, 196; impoverishment of, through Border troubles, 72.
- Durhamshire: 334.
- Dutch, the. *See* United Provinces.
- Dyell, James, Burgess of Edinburgh: entered into ward in Edinburgh Castle, 401; to appear before the Council at Linlithgow, 402; to be tortured in the Tolbooth, 416.
- EASTER WEMYSS, Laird of. *See* Colville, James.
- Ecclesiastical Commission of England, the: 333, 553.
- jurisdiction: claim to, as distinct from the civil by the Kirk, 376, 378, 379, 384, 385, 393, 404, 442-446; causes subject to the censure of the Kirk, 443.
- Edgar [the Atheling], great nephew of Edward the Confessor, 339.
- Edger, Captain James, Scottishman: a licence for to return to France, requested, 184, 189; the licence granted, 200.
- Edinburgh: 12, 170, 270, 281, 282, 293, 353, 354, 476, 502, 508, 534, 535, 545, 547, 553, 568; ready access by factioners to the King at, 6; St. Giles's church, 12; some men of, labouring for R. Douglas, 22; meetings at, between the Master of Glamis and others, 24, 26, 29; very earnest to have the High School scholars punished, 33; four churches intended to be built at, 33; a day of law to be at, between Mar and his neighbours, 52; Convention of Council to be continued at, (24 Nov. 1595), 54, 56, 60; King comes to for the Council, 66; to be provided with necessities for fortifying of Leith against Spain, 73, 76; King and Queen to be at, for the winter, 76, 77, 87; another Convention to be held at, 24 Dec., 79; order to be taken in, for settling the deadly feud on West Border, 87; barons at, 92; the town in arms during expected trial anent the slaughter of David Forster, 95; west port of, 111; the King's under receivers and chamberlains of his rents to find surety in, 130; Bowes's arrival in, 146; an alleged plot to surprise the King's body in, 150; Angus drawn near to, 162; General Assembly at, 168, 174; asked that particular persons be sent to the burghesses of, for recovery of their former privileges in France, 175; burgh of, recommends petition for import of peas and beans from England, 192; Convention of Estates to meet at, (20 May 1596), 192, 196, 211; Council to meet at, 197, 218, 220; the King comes to, 264; Convention of the Estates to be held at (11 Aug. 1596), 294; an Englishman hanged at, 304; the Princess Elizabeth to be baptised at, 336; commissioners of the Kirk convening at, 346, 349; principal officers of, to attend the princess's baptism, 356, 358; 10,000 marks Scots given to Princess Elizabeth by, to be paid on her marriage, 387; the Convention of Estates to meet at, on 5 Feb. 1596-7, 390, 395; 24 burghesses of, ordered to depart from the town, 395; reported that the Council has billed four score more to be put out of, 395; the town to be abandoned by the Session, 396; the return to, of the discharged commissioners of the Kirk and banished burghesses besought, 397; the Session withdrawn from, 400; by proclamation all noblemen and others not being burghesses commanded to depart from the town within 12 hours, 400; commissioners from, to the King, 406; the King preparing to come to, very strong, 406; nine commissioners from, well accepted by the King, 408, 415; terms of peace to, likely to be made by the King, 408; four burghesses of, put to the horn, 409; the King comes to, on 1 Jan. 1596-7 and takes command of the town, 412, 415; in head to enter, by force of Borderers, 413; the King has mitigated his wrath against, 415; keys of the ports of, presented to the King, 415; the King comes again to, on 2 Jan., 416; acts of late Convention against, severe and will be mitigated, 421; advices from (11 Jan. 1596-7), 421-423; the King's malice heavily bent against, 422; Lord Hume and Cessford have said they would burn the town of, 423; Roger Woodrington carried prisoner to, 432; Elizabeth's letter to James in the hands of many of, 452; officers of, to be tried at Perth for the late tumult respited, 453; Privy Council alleged by James to be seeking the kindness of the town, 454; King's wrath against, cannot yet be pacified, 467; many of principal officers and others in, dealt with to put themselves in the King's will, 474, 475; King has refused nearly all the persons chosen by, and commanded others to bear the charge of their appearance at Perth, 475; proceedings for burghesses of, at the General Assembly at Perth, 483, 484; the town ready to yield great sums of money into the King's Treasury, 492; the King has received the town into his grace, 494; terms of the King's acceptance of the submission of, 494; Elizabeth is pleased the evil motions in, are so well

- calmed, 497; arrestment on all the burgh duties pertaining to, 501; the King is looked for in, 505; Convention likely to come to (May 1597), 552.
- , letters, etc., dated at, 5, 12, 13, 19, 22-24, 26, 29, 33, 35, 41, 45, 48, 52, 53, 55, 58-62, 64-66, 69, 75, 76, 78, 79, 87, 92-94, 96, 103, 115, 118, 124, 135, 137, 143, 149, 151, 152, 154, 158-160, 163, 166, 168, 172-174, 176, 182, 184, 185, 187, 189, 190, 193, 195, 196, 199, 213, 214, 216, 218, 220, 221, 223, 224, 235, 238, 241-244, 247, 249, 254, 264, 265, 270, 282-285, 290-292, 295-298, 301-304, 306, 309, 312-314, 316, 318, 319, 325, 327, 334, 337, 343, 345, 347, 351, 353, 357, 360, 361, 368, 372, 373, 379, 383, 396, 399, 401, 403, 409, 416, 417, 421, 426, 427, 429, 431, 439, 440, 452, 453, 459, 463, 467, 470, 471, 476, 482, 485, 494, 496, 504, 506, 508, 512, 514, 523, 527, 529, 530, 540, 543, 544, 546-548, 552, 566, 568.
- , letters received at, 17, 36, 49, 164, 169, 180, 247, 354, 377.
- , bailiffs of: 19, 114; names of those chosen, 33; in the New Kirk on 17 Dec. 1596, 394; offer to submit to the King's will only for themselves, 483. *See also* Macmurrion, John; *and infra*, provost, bailiffs and council of.
- , burgh of: at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336; no general or synodal assemblies or presbyteries to be held within, 418, 422, 424; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460.
- , Canongate (Cannagaite) in: 311, 416, 493.
- , Castle: Herries and Drumlanrig committed to ward in, 74, 76, 79, 92, 97; Johnstone in ward in, 92, 97; Donald Gorme and other prisoners in (*c.* 1590), 203; scheme of the Queen's Council to remove Mar from possession of, 213; five ministers and ten burgesses to be delivered to the constable of, 400; ministers and burgesses put in ward in, removed to Blackness, 409; Forbes committed to ward in, 425.
- , letter dated at, 471.
- , constable of. *See* Reid, James.
- , Castlehill: 412.
- , College of: regent of. *See* Rollock, Robert.
- , common clerk of: 484.
- , crafts of: 19; an uproar of, 114, 115; deacons of, 402, 403, 418.
- , dean of the Gill. *See* Udward, Sanders.
- , the Great Kirk in, 371; the King in, 415; names of ministers to supply the pulpit of, 456.
- , High School at, a barring out at, and a bailiff shot, 19; scholars of, to have assize for slaughter of Macmurrion, 33; son of Lady Huntly to be brought up in, 162.
- , Little Kirk of: meeting of the ministers, noblemen, barons and burgesses in, the "tumult" in Edinburgh (17 Dec. 1596), an account of, 393, 394; references to, 395, 396, 399, 401, 402, 408, 416, 471, 475, 478, 483, 486, 487, 495, 504; the commissioners from, bring their petitions to the King but retire without effecting anything, 396; articles proposed by, to the King, 396-398; adjudged by Act of Council to be treason, 396, 400, 407, 418, 425; R. Aston's account of, 404, 405; constantly affirmed to have been devised in England, 406; a Parliament to be summoned for the punishment of the persons guilty of, 416; the magistrates and body of the town universally guilty of, 418, 423; confirmed to be treason, 425; alleged to have been caused by practice of some in Court, 426; the commissioners for the trial of, have presented the depositions taken, 453; the King's desire to prove treason, etc. intended at, has not been effected, 465; some of barons warded for, appointed to be tried by assize at Leith, 465; all the assizes against all the parties discharged without day, 465.
- , Market (Mercate) Cross of: 412; proclamations at, 128, 375, 377, 411, 418.
- , ministers (ministry) of: certain of, unlawfully devising rules prejudicial to the King, charged to depart home, 368, 385, 399, 394; hear of Huntly's submission and offers, 388; to forbear to preach against any Acts of the King and Council, 393; the King makes overture to, 395; four put to the horn, 409; houses formerly inhabited by, to be possessed by the King, 418, 424, 429; certain, convene in, with the King's licence, 428; the Kirk of, to be provided with a dozen chosen ministers, 447; departed ministers to be summoned before General Assembly, 454; unlikely that any have secretly sought Bothwell to maintain their causes, 464; the King will relax from horning if they preach in the town, 469; the King's mind is hoped to change concerning, 470; supplication to be made for the restoring of, 476; the great slander to religion done by, 478; the King will never allow any supremacy of, 479; the great wrong the King has received by the insolent ministers, 480; proceedings for the restitution of the four ministers at the General Assembly at Perth, 483, 484; the four ministers protest that the letter to Lord John Hamilton objected to is not theirs, 486, 487; they are put to the horn, 487; hope that the King will release them, 493, 500; they still refuse to acknowledge any guiltiness, 504; banished ministers licensed to return within two miles of the town, 505; they are graciously received by the King and relaxed from the horn, 511, 513; ministers to be planted in the town, 567; the King unlikely to consent to the restoration of the four ministers, 568.
- , Nether Bow of: 412, 415.

- , New Kirk at, General Assembly sits in, 176; the ministers and others in, on 17 Dec. 1596, 393.
- , presbytery (or presbyteries) of: thanks the King for his wisdom anent Huntly, 306; entreats the King to proceed against Huntly, 310, 317; has writtten to the brethren in the north to excommunicate the Countesses of Huntly and Errol, 326; the Moderator and brethren of, band offered to the King by, 379, 380; churches in the town should be supplied by, 428; did not allow of the departing of the four ministers from, 447; to provide the kirk with qualified ministers, 455; to answer if they consented to the late ministers eschewing their trial, 455, 456; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596–7), 460; commission and instructions to the commissioners of, at the General Assembly at Perth, 476; the King will never allow any supremacy of, 479.
- , provost of. *See* Hume of North Berwick, Alexander.
- , provost, bailiffs and council (magistrates) of: send commissioners to the King to pacify his offence against the town, 400; proclamation for the arrest of Robert Bruce and others by, 402; the choice of, to be with the King's knowledge and advice, 415; to enter their persons in ward in Perth, 418; to take a general research of the inhabitants of, 422, 425; report to the King they find nothing worthy of memory and are to be tried by a jury, 448; put to the horn, 484, 485; offers of, to the King, 494; act remitting them from all actions criminal and civil for not warding the four ministers, 495; the proceedings against, at the Convention at Perth, 500.
- , Tolbooth of: 113, 282, 376, 412, 416, 493; scholars of high school put in, 19; scholars again called into, 33; Master of Glamis is agreed with Mar in, 74; Mar's action against the slaughterers of David Forster to be held in, 95; David Black appears before the King and Council in the inner house of, 383; the King at Council in (17 Dec. 1596), 393–395, 399–402, 405; the low Tolbooth to be kept for the Exchequer, 418; Council sits in, 454.
- , treasurer of. *See* Jackson.
- , the "tumult" in (17 Dec. 1596). *See* above Little Kirk.
- , West Port of: 412, 415.
- Edmonstone (Edmestoun): letter dated at, 252.
- , of Duntreath (Duncraith), [Sir John]: to be charged to be before the Council for the attempt at Edinburgh, 401; is committed to ward, 416, 465.
- Edward the Confessor: 339.
- Edward III, King of England: statute of, concerning the succession, 339, 340; Edward Balliol paid homage to, 340; claim of, to crown of France, 340.
- Edward, Clement: 509.
- Edward Balliol, King of Scotland: pays homage to Edward III., 340.
- Egg (Eigg): 172.
- Eggarton, Charles: to Bowes (5 Oct. 1595), 38, (7 Oct.), 38; his wife, a daughter of Sir Henry Gates, 38.
- Eglinton, [Robert Montgomerie], Master of: feud with Glencairn, 122; intends to make peace, 134.
- Eighlonbye, Edward: 509.
- Elgin: synodal assembly of the presbyteries in the diocese of Moray at, 358, 360; Huntly has offered his submission to the presbytery and ministers of, 424; presbytery of, approves Huntly's submission, 474.
- Elizabeth, Queen of England ("her Majesty"): referred to as Avdin by Colville, 3; her letter to King delivered (Aug. 1595), 3; King willing to satisfy her in redress to wronged subjects, 6; Angus moved to reveal to her proceedings of the papist Earls, 7; Richard Douglas would reveal upon conditions practices intended against her, 8; asked to relieve Roger Aston's estate, 9; Argyll's employment for, in Ireland, 9; shall have Colville's heart and service, 11; a galleon from, to speak MacLean, 12; Colville will be found to do good offices to, 13; her friendship with Argyll advised, 14; her "token" to MacLean, 14, 15; MacLean will venture himself and friends for, against Tyrone, 17; expends yearly in Ireland more than she profits thereby, 17; her complaints against Buccleuch and Cessford expected by King, 18; her token to MacLean necessary to secure his credit amongst the Islesmen, 20; Argyll and MacLean will serve her in Ireland if employed together, 23; desires James not to dispose rashly of office of Chancellor, 25; her reason for so doing, 26; offers by Argyll and MacLean to assist against Irish rebels, 26, 27; advised to befriend Argyll, 28; supposed abroad to be assisting the Turks, 30; Argyll is willing to assist against Irish rebels if James gives him leave, 30, 31; to be asked to pardon John MacNeill, 35–37; if MacLean aids she may have a great rent from Ireland, 42; her letter to James delivered at Linlithgow, 46, 76; her picture desired by Aston, 46, 76; does not know well the state of the Borders, 47; James to (24 Oct. 1595), 48; Aston has moved James to answer her letter, 49; James disposed to satisfy, 51; James will content on the Borders, 52; will find MacLean constant and honest, 57; great marvel that she has not one in Scotland to work for the good, 60; Tusser desires G. Nicolson to forward letters to, 62; James will satisfy concerning the reducing of the Borders to the wardens, 65; James will hazard his life for the defence of, against Spain, 67; desire in Scotland for a warmer dealing between her and James, 68;

J. Colville of Easter Wemyss offers service to, 69; James further protests his desire to support her against Spain, 73; an ambassador to be sent to, from Scotland, 76, 79; well allows of G. Nicolson being left in Scotland, 87; Col. Stewart protests he will serve, 89; believed purpose of James's ambassador to, 93, 96; MacLean's token of 1000 crowns from, is long of coming, 94; James to (20 Dec. 1595), 94; J. Colville attributes to her James's preservation and the planting of the religion in Scotland, 98; James determined to send some one of trust to, 98; Blantyre is of good mind to, 102; is to prefer an Englishman to the lands of the O'Neills and O'Donnells, 103; would be forced to move in James's defence if Spain were to help in forcing him by arms to Catholicism, 104; her encouragement of the Scottish ministers, 105; the King of France suggested as an instrument to win her realm over to Catholicism, 110; James has of late condemned all practisers against, 115; Scottish ministers pray earnestly for, 115; James thinks she does not trust him, 118; Lambe said to have discovered all to, 118; is styled the unlawful pretended queen in intercepted letters from Rome, 119; is suspected by James of belittling him, 121; Colville protests his zeal for her service, 125; the Pope and Philip II. reported to be trying to induce James to concur against, 125; believed to favour and trust the Kirk, 134; her letter to Queen Anne (28 Jan. 1595-6), 135; errands of James's intended ambassadors to, should be stayed, 137; her relations with Queen Anne, 138; the course to be taken by, regarding Argyll and MacLean's services against her rebels in Ireland, 138; question of her action against the Papist Earls, 138; reasons to be alleged for her inability to supply James with more money, 140; ready to give Queen Anne friendly advice regarding alleged differences between her and the King, 140; thinks Queen Anne abused by those who advise her to have the Prince removed from Mar's custody, 140, 141; her goodness to Cessford, 141; is resolved to use the service of the Scots in Ireland with the least charge, 144; will consider how best she may save MacNeill without seeming to pardon a murder, 145; her letter to James delivered by Bowes, 146; has espied the plots of the Spaniards against her, 147; James expresses his intention to aid her against the Spaniards, 147; her inability owing to her heavy charges to relieve James in his burthens to raise forces in the common cause, 148; D. Foulis to be sent to, by James, with discoveries from Rome, etc., 148; R. Bowes to (24 Feb. 1595-6), 149; her letter to Queen Anne delivered by Bowes, 149; necessity of a warmer dealing between James and, 154; does not

believe that the Spaniards will descend on Scotland, 155; did not refuse help to extinguish the French in Scotland, 155; is ready to make over moneys to MacLean, 155, 156; Queen Anne is sending a letter to, 161; James VI to (12 Mar. 1595-6), 163; has good opinion of Argyll, 165; offers of service to, in Ireland by Argyll and Lawers, 166; James proposes to send Sir Robert Melville to, 168; MacLean desires to be employed and acknowledged as her servant, 169; D. Foulis desires audience of, 178; forces that may be raised in Scotland for her service in Ireland, 187; James requests denizations for two Scottishmen of, 188; James protests he would not wish the shortening of her days to gain the crown of England, 193; matters anent the employment of MacLean in her service in Ireland, 193, 194; James acknowledges her honour and renown to sound above all princes in Europe, 198; James is ready to join with her in aiding the French King, 198; thought that Argyll's forces shall do her special service in Ireland, 198; her service will be greatly advanced by contentment given to MacLean, 214; James disposed to give redress to, against Buccleuch, 214, 218; Tyrone and O'Donnell said to have submitted to, 219, 220; Act of Parliament concerning the demand for the delivery of Buccleuch to, 223; James alleged to be seeking Clement VIII's aid against, 225, 226; has incited James for 17 years to persecute the Catholics, 227; James has refused to enter into a strict treaty with, 228; sought the excommunication of James, 229, 273; has always tried to alienate him from the Catholics, 229, 273; desired him to marry the King of Navarre's sister, 229; catholic reasons why James should not have any true amity with, 230, 231; her hand in the blood of both James's parents, 230; demand of, for redress for Buccleuch's outrageous fact, 235, 236; will stay the payment of the yearly gratuity to James until redress given for Buccleuch's fault, 236; James to, anent Buccleuch's attempt (4 June 1596), 238; her overthrow before the end of the summer reported to have been declared by Jesuits and others, 240; Foulis desires audience of, 243; MacLean is beholden to, for furthering his suit to the Council, 244; to James (24 June 1596), 249; refuses to appoint commissioners to inquire anent Buccleuch's assailing of Carlisle Castle, 250; James protests that the annuity he has from her is properly his, 256; he has offered to hazard his own person for her defence against the Spaniard, 256; to James (June or July 1596), 262; protests against the trial by commissioners of Buccleuch's malefact, 262; Bowes delivers her letter to James, 265; instructions of, to Bowes by Cecil (11 July), 266-268; has knowledge from Rome of

practices of certain subjects of James with Spain and the Pope, 267; alleged to be persuading Henry IV to put away his wife and marry the Lady Arabella, 267, 273; means only to keep James in subjection, 272; alleged to be resolved, if "straited" by James, to send to Rome and feign herself catholic, 273; James to be liberated from, 275; the Pope knows James to be oppressed by, 276; has promised James help and given him new hope of his succession, 277; has desired certain places in Scotland from James, 277; James thinks her second refusal of his gratuity strange, 278; James sets out his services to, in a letter to D. Foulis, 278, 279; has directly declared her pleasure against the trial of Buccleuch's action by commissioners, 281, 284, 293; Scots ministers praying for the success of the navy and army of, 282; James has restrained his resolution to write to, 286; Foulis has a letter from James to deliver to, 287; to R. Bowes (25 July), 287; finds James's letter full of strange arguments, 287; sets out her complaint against Buccleuch, 287; holds his crime should never have been referred to a Council, 288; her gratuity to James proceeded only out of good will and not by contract, 288; craves further than will be granted in Scotland, 290; good success of her navy and army, 290; shall understand that Musgrave is a more lawful prisoner than Kinmont was, 292; alleged persecution by, of a certain Bishop, 292; is assured that the practices of Ogilvy and others have no ground from James, 294, 296; satisfied with James's assurance that he will withstand all Spanish practices, 295; R. Bowes to (10 Aug. 1596), 299; James will advise with his Council how best to satisfy for Buccleuch's punishment, 300; the league defensive and offensive lately concluded between James and, 300; asked to command captains of her ships on coast of Ireland to aid Col. Stewart, 301; her letter to James delivered, 302; said to be persuaded to accept what redress James shall yield for Buccleuch's fact, 303; James's proposal of redress to, 304; proclamations of, for peace betwixt the Borders, 306, 307, 310; suggested that Huntly ask, to mediate for him with James, 307; her good pleasure in his proposals for the Borders daily expected by James, 310; the well affected in Scotland will be offended by her mediation for Huntly, 313; to R. Bowes (12 Sept. 1596), 314; expresses contentment with James's dealing with Buccleuch, 314; has concluded a league with the French King, 314, 315; will not allow A. Douglas to leave England because of his knowledge of state secrets, 316; James had expected to be acquainted with the league of, with France, 317; to James (21 Sept. 1596), 319; thanks James for the punishment given to Buccleuch but wishes him to be

rendered to her or her warden, 319; R. Bowes to (23 Sept.), 323; league of, with the French King, reported by Bowes to James, 323; has sent the Garter to the French King, 324; James willing to enter a league with her and others against the King of Spain, 324, 325; D. Foulis to (26 Sept.), 327; amount of her gratuity to James, 327; instructions for her commissioners for the Borders, 328-334; expects a further satisfaction for Buccleuch's violent act than his warding, 332; asked to accept the dedication of Princess Elizabeth, 336; James advised to require her allowance for him to be declared the second person to the crown of England, 337; refuses 1000 l. of James's gratuity, 338; her pleasure for the temporary liberty of Buccleuch desired by James, 342; desires Scrope to confirm the dutiful affections of the Graymes to herself, 344; asked to be a witness at the baptism of Princess Elizabeth, 346; to Bowes (23 Oct. 1596), 347; desires to know James's intention as to allowing Huntly and Angus to live in his realm, 347; bids Bowes to represent her at the baptism of Princess Elizabeth, 347; gives Bowes private warrant to consent if necessary to Buccleuch's temporary liberty, 348; the reduction of her gratuity to James imputed to Burghley and Cecil rather than to her, 349; words against, reported to be uttered by David Black, 352; called by him an atheist, 353, 362, 368, 381, 404; James will not allow anything that concerns her honour to be spoken, 354; James complains to, of the author of *The Færie Queene*, 354; D. Foulis imputes his crosses to some councillors and not to, 354; R. Bowes to (10 Nov. 1596), 354; desires to know from James himself what favour he has shown to the Catholic Earls, 355; Bowes informs James of her acceptance of his dedication of the princess to her, 355; whole honour of the princess's baptism to be ascribed to, 358; a present to the princess and rewards to officers expected from, 358; James has followed the lead of, in everything, 366; religion and virtues of, commended by Walter Balcanquhal, 371; consents that Bowes shall be used for her at the baptism of Princess Elizabeth in such form as James shall please, 373; will send some remembrance to the princess, 374; complains that James favours the Catholic Earls underhand, 374; wishes Bowes to inquire as to the genuineness of Buccleuch's offers of submission, 374; Black found guilty of the slander against, 385; the last league of, with James, 387; the only godmother to Princess Elizabeth, 387; offer of the devotion of the Catholic Earls to, 389; her honour touched by the suggestion of her being privy to designs on Buccleuch's life, 391, 392; MacLean offers his service to, with 2 or 3000 men, 403; Bowes will

repudiate her being an actor in the tragedy at Edinburgh (Dec. 1596), 406, 407; James will send a copy of the minister's letter to Hamilton to, 408; Conservator of the Scottish nation in the Low Countries has offered to serve, 409; matters for which the instructions of, are desired by Bowes, 414; Buccleuch's offer to render himself to the clemency of, 417; intends to send a gentleman to James when she knows his mind, 419; will send one to see the young princess and bring some present, 419; passport of, for the Scottish Border Commissioners, 420; wrath of, feared by James in the matter of the Catholic Earls, 421; alleged to have sent for Bothwell, 422; letter of, to James, received by Bowes, 426, 428; letter of, received by James, 429; does not challenge power of ministry of divine offices in the Church, 443; has written a passing sharp letter to James, 447; James has sent a reply by Roger Aston, 447; copy of her letter to James of 5 Jan. 1596-7, 448; insists on just satisfaction from Cessford, 449; Lennox will offer his good devotion to, 452; copy of her letter to James very common, 452; Huntly has promised to reveal all secrets intended against, 454; the Lord Treasurer of Scotland's good offices for, 467; allows well of the proceedings of the English Border Commissioners, 472; Bowes's efforts to maintain the amity between, and James, 475; R. Aston has carried himself well to, 481; desires all good offers made by Blantyre to be entertained, 481; takes kindly Lennox's offer to perform good offices between her and James, 481; laird of Easter Wemyss hopes to do good offices for, with Henry IV of France, 484; considerations of her service in Scotland and the Borders, 486, 487; to James (13 Mar. 1596-7), 487; desires James to give Sir W. Bowes favourable access and credit, 488; copy of her letter to James and safe conduct for Argyll received, 496; sees all things done by the Border Commissioners but wiredrawn, 497; did not consent to the deferring of the session of the Border Commissioners, 497; to James (Mar. 1596-7), 497; disdained to mention "the frantic man" [David Black], 497; is dishonoured by the quarrels between the wardens of the Marches, 502; a strained finger hinders her signing, 503; Aston has delivered her letter to James, 504; Argyll purposes to thank in person, 507; McSorley and Angus MacConnell offer obedience to, for lands in Ireland, 511; James to, (22 April 1597), 512; to R. Bowes (27 April), 514; a book proving the Infanta's title to succeed her, 515; to Sir W. Bowes (27 April), 516; R. Bowes has received her letter, 527, 529; has assented to the strengthening of the Borders, 530; treaty of peace with James VI (5 May), 530, 531; letters patent of, appointing the Border

Commissioners, 530, 531; has written roundly to James anent the Borders, 532; Sir W. Bowes to (11 May), 534; purposes to draw some forces towards the defence of the Borders, 539; R. Bowes to (11 May), 540; James's statement of what he has suffered in order to keep the amity with, 541, 542; question of sending an ambassador to, to mediate regarding Cessford and Buccleuch, 548; is levying forces to defend her people in the Borders, 549; Buccleuch claims that he merits a good reward of, 556; reason staying her from interceding for Bothwell, 558; favour of, necessary to James, 558; can no longer deny the appeals of her people of the Borders, 565.

Elizabeth, Princess, daughter of James VI: birth of, 306; baptism and custody of, to be discussed, 317, 326; to be baptised 28 Nov. 1596 and given the name of the Queen of England, 336; thought that Seton shall have the bringing up of, 336; proposed to adjourn the baptism of, to 12 Dec., 346; Elizabeth consents to Bowes representing her at the baptism of, 347, 355, 373; baptism of, again appointed for 28 Nov., 350, 356, 370; persons to attend the baptism of, 356, 358; Wedderburn to be knighted at, 369; many noblemen and others come to Edinburgh for the baptism of, 371; Elizabeth will send some remembrance to, 374; description of the baptism of, 387; Elizabeth's gift to expected, 387; 10,000 marks Scots to be paid on her marriage given to, by Edinburgh, 387; custody of, given to Livingstone and she is sent to Linlithgow, 388; Nicolson presses for Elizabeth's present to, and the warrant for 39 l. given in rewards at the baptism of, 413, 414; Elizabeth will send some one to see, and bring some present, 419; Cecil trying to get the present for, to send by Nicolson, 481; petition that Nicolson may be dispatched with the present to, 495; Lady Livingstone an attendant on, 567.

Elliot (Elliott), of Copschaw, John: wrongs done against, 510, 521.

—, Martines: a notorious thief, 384.

—, William: his sheep taken at the Dead Water, 191.

Elliots (Ellottes), the: take an English prisoner near Durham, 72; raids by, in Tynedale, 510.

Elphinstone (Elphingstowne, Elveston) [Alexander], Master of [afterwards 4th Lord]: combines against Mar, 20; his cause against the laird of Carden's sons, 114.

—, of Innernochtie, James (afterwards Lord Balmerino): 132; of the Queen's Council, 90, 113, 116; is sworn one of the Octavians, 117; appointment of, 127; instructions to, 127, 128; form of oath subscribed by, 130; has a brother in France, 257; removal of, from the Council requested by the Convention at Edinburgh, 397; some of the King's Council alleged to

- have pricked the ministers against, 425 ; accusation against, 426 ; a Councillor of Scotland, 446.
- , Michael : the matter against, and others to be tried by the Convention, 51.
- , Jesuit : 123 ; said to have commission from the Pope and Philip II to treat with James, 125 ; brother of James, 426.
- Emden : 232.
- Emperor (of Holy Roman Empire). *See* Rudolph II.
- Empire (the Holy Roman), Princes of, 89, 93. *See also* Germany.
- Enderwick. *See* Ennerwike.
- England : a new force in Spain possibly intended for, 29 ; France and Spain thought to be accorded to the prejudice of, 52 ; thought that agreement between France and Spain will force her to do better to Scotland, 55, 57 ; Spaniards armoured ready to land in, 64 ; James declares his readiness to defend against Spain, 67 ; verses on the claims of James VI to the succession to the crown of, 80–86 ; proclamation restraining letters abroad said not to be meant against, 88 ; question of sending a Scottish ambassador to, 90 ; a book on the titulars to the throne of, 93 ; the risks of torture and death for Catholics in, 108 ; measures suggested for advancing Catholicism in, 110, 111 ; James's desire to have good rule kept with, 113 ; Huntly and Errol wish to send R. Godfrey to their friends in, 121 ; will be put at by Spain, 123 ; the Spanish preparation against, 125 ; James's annuity from, 129 ; a mightier Spanish army ready against, than in 1588, 140 ; Col. Stewart alleged to have been hindered in his mission to the United Provinces by letters from, 148 ; resolution of the Spaniards to come to, through Scotland, 219 ; union of realm of, with those of Scotland and Ireland perilous to the King of Spain, 229 ; reasons preferred by Catholic fugitives to James to join with the Pope for an enterprise upon, 230–233 ; navy of, the help it could give in keeping the Turks in subjection, 232 ; expected to be mightily invaded, 254 ; persons with plans to the prejudice of, passing every day through Zeeland, 255 ; bruits against the wished success of the navy and army of, 270 ; not expedient to the Pope that Philip II should be master of, 271 ; James has been given new hope of succession to the crown of, 277 ; good success of the navy and army of, 290 ; false bruits of daily defeats of the navy and army of, 291 ; complots of Spain against, to be discovered, 294 ; lands in, held by the Earl of Lennox and claimed by James, 300 ; success of navy and army of, at Cadiz, 302 ; Buccleuch's complaints of injuries from, 303 ; the King of Spain against James for the crown of, 322 ; James advised to require allowance for his declaration as the second person to the crown of, 337 ; James's right of succession to the crown of, 338–342 ; complaint of interception of letters from Scotland to, 348 ; religion professed in, attacked by David Black, 353, 362 ; Cessford charged with many great outrages in, 370 ; observance of Christmas in, 373 ; the women of, as common as the "calsay stanes," 381 ; the "tumult" in Edinburgh constantly confirmed to have been devised in, 406 ; murders and dishonours offered to, by Cessford and Buccleuch, 412 ; expected provisions of Spain against, 482.
- , Church of : Elizabeth does not challenge authority of ministry of divine offices in, 443.
- , Marches of. *See* Marches (English).
- , Privy Council of : 236, 279 ; asked to travail with Elizabeth for release of J. MacNeill, 35, 37 ; the wardens of the Marches asked to certify, of all wrongs done by Scottishmen, 212 ; letter of, requiring redress for Buccleuch's outrage at Carlisle, received by Bowes, 213, 214 ; letter from R. Bowes to (12 May 1596), 216 ; (2 June), 233 ; letter from to Bowes (16 June), 244 ; its review of the action of Buccleuch at Carlisle, 244–246 ; its action in the case of Edward Johnston, 245, 246, 263, 264 ; Bowes has received letter of, 248 ; Bowes seeks to deliver the reply of, anent Buccleuch's action to the King, 252, 253 ; Bowes delivers the reply to the King, 262, 280 ; Bowes to (18 July), 283 ; to Lord Scrope (15 Oct.), 344 ; complaint against Sir W. Bowes to, 411 ; questions submitted to, by the Border Commissioners and answers to, 488–491 ; directions from, touching Lord Scrope's reprisal in Liddisdale, 534.
- Englefeld, Sir Fr. : 257, 321.
- English catholics : reasons preferred by fugitives amongst, to animate James to join with the Pope, 230–233 ; names of those joining with Scottish catholics to influence James, 321 ; suffered to wander in the Marches, 332, 333.
- cloth. *See* Cloth.
- Colleges, the : dispute with the Jesuits, 109. *See also* Douai ; Rome.
- merchants spoiled upon the sea by Scotsmen, 224, 225.
- prisoners in the Borders, alleged tyrannous tortures inflicted on, 218.
- soldiers : less adapted for employment against the rebels in Ireland than the Scots, 436–438.
- Englishmen : Errol on the soulless knavery of, 146.
- Ennerwike (Enderwick), laird of : suit with Carmichael about Fenton, 60, 62, 113.
- Ernestus, [Archduke] : proposed marriage to the Infanta of Spain, 229.
- Errol (Erroll, Arrolle), [Francis Hay, 9th] Earl of : 104, 132, 153 ; Angus moved to withdraw from, 7 ; caused to enter into agreement with Bothwell, 8 ; at Liège, 25 ; said to have licence to return, 32 ;

said to have quarrelled with Huntly, 34; the Queen said to be seeking favour for, 40; his return home not certain, 40; the General Assembly and, 45; his friends looking for foreign forces, 62; treasure said to be carried to, for Spain's "adoes," 64; seems to depend for his return on the King's favour only, 78; thought that his friends are to make offers to King and Kirk for his return, 96; some think Dolman's book came from, 100; his friends' suits for his return said to be rejected, 101; hereditary constable of Scotland, 105; believed he is to be recalled to Court, 107; rumoured that he has come home, 118; a man under the patronage of, to be sent to Scotland, 120; will charge R. Godfrey to go to England, 121; a traveller for, taken, 124; whether Elizabeth shall stir the King and religious against, 138; writes to Thomas Nicolson 21 Feb.-2 Mar. 1596, 145; his return to Scotland with Spanish forces and gold not speedily expected, 162; fears the earldom shall be restored to his elder brother, 163; thought that the General Assembly will be pressed to receive him, 168; advertised that he will sue to the General Assembly, 175; his travails to recover his country by submission mistrusted by the ministry, 191; alleged to have practised with the King of Spain, 192; said to have secretly entered Scotland, 193; reputed to be seeking commission from James to treat with the Pope, 199, 215; sent for by the Cardinal of Austria, 213; rumoured to have arrived in the North of Scotland, 216; intelligence of the proceedings of, in Rome, Spain and elsewhere, 221; Act of Parliament suspending further execution against, 222, 238; a Catholic kinsman of the King, 228; reputed to be turning to England to recover his own country but determined to remain Catholic, 240; reputed to have declared the overthrow of Elizabeth before the end of the summer, 240; Crawford thought to have great credit with, 246; taken at Middelburg on his way to Scotland, 255, 264, 268, 303; alleged to confirm James's secret instructions to John Cecil, 277; at Campvere with the Conservator of the Scots nation, 282, 284, 303; has escaped from the Conservator and suspected to be in Scotland, 311; said to have resorted to the Cardinal of Austria, 314; still obstinate in religion, 317; said to have landed at Stanehyve, 326; his sister, Lady Livingstone, a notorious papist, 336; has met Huntly at Aberdeen, 343, 346; sundry commissioners of the Kirk conferring about the reception of, 347; has not yet made any suit to the King, 355; the King denies he has given toleration for his remain in Scotland, 358; the Conservator to the Scottish nation in the Low Countries suspended for the escape of, 365; proclamation against the return of, 367, 372, 388; certified he has com-

mission from the Prince Cardinal to traffic with the rebels in Ireland, 371; will no longer keep intelligence with the King of Spain, 388; daily advertisements that he is secretly employed by the King of Spain, 389; his friends say he will never change his religion, 389; is deferring his offers and suit, 424; town of Perth subject to the forces of, 454; had appointed to be in Aberdeen with Huntly, 466; said to have refused to gain his peace in Scotland by Elizabeth's means, 467; hot affections in favour of, uttered at the Convention at Perth, 485; articles enjoined to, 486; is in the Canongate, 493; said that he intends to leave Huntly and join Argyll, 493; rumour that he intends to return shortly into the Low Countries, 507; is seeking faintly to follow Huntly's course, 512; not yet so forward or resolved as Huntly, 514; acknowledges the reformed Kirk of Scotland, 551; trial of, at Dundee, 567; protests that he has not dealt with Spain or the Pope against the religion, etc., 567.

—, See also Catholic Earls.

—, elder brother of. See Hay, Alexander.

—, servant to. See Crichton, James.

—, [Elizabeth Douglas], Countess of: tolerated to repair Slains castle, 10; is brought in bed, 13; keeps a great house and in great honour, 23; was granted enjoyment of all her goods, etc., during her husband's banishment, 105; is returned to her ward for preventing troubles in the North, 123; proposed that she reside in St. Andrews, 183; has departed from her ward in St. Andrews without warrant, 216; liberty to, to gather her husband's rents during his banishment, 222; the brethren in the North asked to excommunicate, 326.

Erskine, (Erskyn, Areskeyn), Adam, Abbot of Cambuskenneth: 460.

—, David, Abbot of Dryburgh: 460.

—, George (servant of Argyll): 4; to Nicolson (9 Sept. 1595), 9; "Playne," cipher for, 13; has informed Nicolson of Thornton's departure, 30; wishes Elizabeth to make friends with Argyll in time, 31; is especially devoted to Elizabeth, 165; Bowes purposes to use his good offices, 166; a placard for an English horse for, 187; the special guider of Argyll, 194, 200.

—, James: 318.

—, Thomas, the King's servant: MacLean has written to, regarding J. MacNeill, 37; the matter against and others to be tried by the Convention, 51; the King writes by, to Mar, 88; thought to have received letters from the Catholic Earls, 216; informs Mar of the reception of Dunipace and Airth by the King, 284.

Esk, Grahams of. See Grahams.

Eslington, co. Northumb.: 520.

Essex [Robert Devereux, 2nd] Earl of: Buccleuch's former letters to, 139;

- Logie imprisoned in Brussels for having written to, 153; accused in an anonymous letter of having inward courses to King James's prejudice, 161; reported to have defeated Medina Sidonia, 302; signs as a privy councillor, 491; a book proving the Infanta's title to the English crown brought to, 515.
- Estates, the (of Holland). *See* United Provinces.
- Eure [Ralph Eure, 3rd] Lord, warden of the Middle March: 333, 370, 491, 510, 511; King well allows of Elizabeth's choice of, 47; rolls delivered to, by Sir J. Forster, 70; oppressed with many difficulties, 72; advertised of R. Bowes's being at Newcastle, 143; the Scottish wardens ordered to keep their ordinary meetings with, 190, 197; has justified the foray at the Dead Water, 191; Bowes has asked to certify the Privy Council of England of all wrongs done by Scottishmen on the Borders, 212; Buccleuch and Cessford have written to, offering service for peace on the Borders, 240; meeting between Buccleuch and, 243, 244; scoffed at for appointing doubtful days of meeting, 252; to inform the commissioners of the Borders of Cessford's invasion, 329; a diligent collection of ordinances for the Borders made by, 331, 364; written to, for redress for the spoiling of Cavers, 391; to Sir W. Bowes (17 Jan. 1596-7), 431; demands the redelivery of Roger Woodrington, 432; has 200 bills to be filed in the Middle Marches, 482; breach of meetings between Cessford and, for filing of bills, 492; desired to be a mean (? for a new warden for the West March), 499; has written of outrages in the Borders, 515; Sir R. Cecil to (4 May 1597), 530; meeting of, with Sir Robert Kerr, 531; reconciled with Lord Scrope, 548; Cessford meets, 566.
- , —, Clerk of. *See* Coupland, Henry.
- Ewart, Willie: murder of, 521.
- , Peter, Robert Bruce's man: 412.
- Exchequer (Checker), the, of Scotland: the low Tolbooth in Edinburgh to be kept for, 418; goods of those intercommuning with the fugitive ministers to be brought into, 424; Court of, in England, 436; council house of the ministers in Edinburgh made patent to, 494.
- , Lords of, or the Octavians (the Eight): steps towards formation of Council of, 115; are now sworn, 119; commission to, proclaimed, 122; reforms proposed by, in the King's house, 122; all matters now directed by, 125; begin very sharp, 126; appointment of, 127; the King's instructions to, 127, 128; the articles craved by and granted, 129, 130; the form of the oath taken by, 130; directions set down for, 130, 131; the Kirk and others suspicious of, 134; the Queen's four judged to be seeking the greatest offices, 134; demand duties for the King from the Islanders, 196; commission and authority to, ratified by the Convention, 237; some of, gaping for the office of Chancellor, 240; now govern all, 252; of opinion that the King cannot deliver Buccleuch to Elizabeth without dishonour, 253; will so husband the King's revenues that he can dispense with Elizabeth's gratuity, 264; owing to the dealing of, with the King's affairs, Elizabeth's refusal of the gratuity will not work the like effects as in times past, 278; suspicion that certain of, will be privily murdered, 291; privy dealing of some of, with Buccleuch, 291; Guise faction prevails much with, 298; have given process of horning Argyll, 318; most part suspected to be of the Roman religion, 393; alleged plot of, to stir up the ministers and inhabitants of Edinburgh against, 393, 394; discharged from granting pensions, etc., to ministers not subscribing the "band" of the King and Council, 411; have resigned their offices and may be made a novemvirate with the addition of Montrose, 421; Argyll holds that they had taken their offices for their lives and vacancies amongst them must be filled by the remainder, 425; certain lords and others to be named to assist them, 425; four of, put at Blantyre, 426; expectation of some of, in the distribution of offices defeated, 429; termed Lords Advisers by Cecil, 446.
- , President of. *See* Stewart, Walter, Prior of Blantyre.
- Exchequer House, the: order of, for the better expedition of business in, 254-5;
- Exchequer, the, of England: Court of, 436.
- Excommunication, summary: 533.
- Exeter: a Scottishman imprisoned at, 35, 37, 58, 138, 159, 221, 222, 241; *and see* MacNeill, John.
- Eyemouth (Heymouth): 302.
- Eyton. *See* Ayton.
- FAERIE QUEENE, THE. *See* Spenser, Edmund.
- Fairfax (Farefax, Fayrfax), Sir William: suggested as a commissioner for the Marches, 312, 313.
- Fairlie of Braid [Alexander]: 416.
- Falkirk: opponents of Mar to convene at, 20.
- Falkland, 5, 299; King will go to, 3; King at, 18; King and Queen at, 21; R. Douglas has been at, 22; King and Queen to return to, 33, 39; the great bill of, 71; King proposes to remove to, 192; King at, 253; King going to, 282; meeting of Council to be at, 297; the King at, 300, 301; the convention at, 304, 305, 307, 308, 336, 355, 367; the King going to, 310; convention at, put over to Linlithgow, 313; Bothwell's raid at, 489; the bill of, pressed by the Scottish Border Commissioners, 546.
- , licence dated at, 286.
- , instructions for Border causes dated at, 363.

- Farlie, David, called the Laird of Farlie : 225.
- Farnyherst. *See* Kerr of Fernihirst.
- Fast : a general, ordered, 122, 137.
- Fawdenside, Laird of. *See* Kerr of Fawdenside, Andrew.
- Fenton : suit concerning, between Enner-wike and Carmichael, 62, 113.
- Fenton Barns : 455.
- Fentrye. *See* Fintry.
- Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain : 259.
- Fermanagh in Ulster : 201.
- Fernihirst. *See* Kerr.
- Ferrara, Duke of : a catholic kinsman of James, 228.
- Ferrybridge (Ferrybrigg), co, York : 143.
- Feuds : agreeing of, 64, 73 ; measures taken for settling, 78 ; the King minds to accord generally, 99, 116 ; the three principal, 100 ; shall not hinder concurrency against Spain, 114 ; King continues very earnest to compound all, 119, 136.
- Fife : proclamation to be sent into, declaring the form of the sedition in Edinburgh, 401 ; synodal convention of, 474.
- , presbytery of, 40, 45, 298 ; affirms the lawfulness of the General Assembly at Perth, 500.
- " Filius." *See* Archibald, John.
- Findlater, Laird of. *See* Ogilvy, Sir Walter.
- Fintry (Fentrye), Laird of. *See* Graham.
- Firth, the. *See* Forth.
- Fitzherbert, —, a catholic : 321.
- Flabarne, Michael : 402.
- Flanders : 216, 271, 272, 274, 276, 277, 285 ; an army from, said to pass towards Paris, 10 ; letters from, intercepted, 61 ; Italian troops for, 65 ; advertisements from, of Spanish preparations, 68 ; English Catholic rebels in, 110 ; French ambassador for, 124 ; a ship from, 125 ; plots to bring a Spanish navy from, to Scotland, 267 ; Purve Ogilvy's dealings in, 366.
- , the rebellious Estates of. *See* United Provinces.
- Fleming (Flemyng) [John, 6th] Lord, (afterwards 1st Earl of Wigtoun) : combines with others against Mar, 20 ; to be at Chancellor's burial, 55 ; not under agreement now with Mar, 55 ; his offer to Mar for slaughter of Forrester not accepted, 57 ; said to be entirely catholic, 104 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460 ; pavilions and beds said to be made for, 545.
- , — : a servant of the Earl of Tyrone, 545.
- Florence : 272, 320.
- , Duke of : has entered into hard dealings with Savoy and intends the like with Spain, 62 ; Purve Ogilvy was with, 272, 321.
- Flour, — : the Laird of Cessford slain by, 386.
- Flours, cipher for John Auchinross, *q.v.*
- Forbes, [John, 8th] Lord : has no fear of Argyll's rumoured invasion of the North, 78 ; wishes Argyll or Mar to be King's Lieutenant in the North, 175 ; has not banded with Huntly, 371 ; in the New Kirk, Edinburgh, on 17 Dec. 1596, 393, 405 ; reports to the King the petitions of the convention in the Little Kirk, 395 ; to be charged to appear before the Council for the attempt at Edinburgh, 401 ; committed to ward, 425 ; thought that he shall be tempted to agree old feuds with Huntly, 425 ; a Councillor in Scotland, 446 ; the assize for, for the "tumult" stayed, 465 ; opposes Huntly, 466 ; has been tempted to put himself in the King's will, 475 ; attainer of, prosecuted by the King, 487.
- of Buchan, [Thomas] : 311.
- (Forbess), Alexander : a commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
- , John (eldest son of Lord Forbes) : secretly conveyed into France by Huntly, 475 ; a Capuchin claiming to be, discovered to be an imposter, 485, 505.
- Foreign craftsmen : act prohibiting the bringing into the realm of, to work home-grown wool, 550.
- Foreigners : proclamation against correspondence with, 77.
- Forrester (Forester, Forster, Foster), of Corstorphme : 460.
- of Gården, [Alexander] : offers of honours to, 20, 33.
- , Andrew : 509.
- , Captain Daniel : come from Bothwell to Brussels, 120.
- , David, the killers of, 11 ; offer of 1,000 marks to his wife and children, 20 ; the slaughter of, 29 ; all those at his slaughter banished and 2,000 marks offered to his wife, 33 ; his slaughter likely to bring great inconvenience, 57 ; Mar's day of law for the slaughter of, put off, 95, 114 ; Mar pressed by the King to agree for the feud of the slaughter of, 163, 240.
- , George, and George his son : murdered in 1579, 330, 364.
- , Sir John, sometime Warden of the Middle Marches of England : Cessford's complaints against, 32 ; confers with Sir W. Bowes and others on the state of the Marches, 70, 71 ; sequestration of the wardenry from the son of, 332.
- , John, servant of Lord Hunsdon : murder of, 330, 364.
- , John, of Farlie : 225.
- , Richard : his son at the High School, Edinburgh, put in the Tolbooth but released upon caution, 33.
- , William : murder of, 330.
- Forsters, the : a King's officer hurt by, 123.
- Forsyth, William : 381.
- Fortescue, Sir John : 90, 558.
- , Sir Thomas : 439.
- Forth, Firth of : 267, 299 ; esteemed the key of Scotland, 277.
- Foulden (Fowldon, Fowltowne) Kirk near Berwick : first meeting of Border Commis-

- sioners proposed at, 357; meeting to be held on 12 Jan. 1596-7 at, 372, 373, 386, 414; meetings of former commissions at, 386; Scottish commissioners challenge their beginning to be at, 432.
- Fouler, William. *See* Fuller.
- Foulis (Fouels, Fowels, Fowles, Fowlis), David: 196, 213, 269, 310, 315, 316; grudges small service received for the King in London, 12; will give Nicolson the answer of Elizabeth's letter, 49; appointed to gather certain tithes in question between Melrose and A. Ker, 53; may be employed as leger ambassador to England, 90; expected to be going to England, 96; to go to England with the Provost, 101; has found better favour in England, 135; the King purposes to send to Elizabeth, 148; ready to enter on his journey to Elizabeth with the King's letters, 158; Bowes recommends, to Cecil, 160; is bringing a letter from Queen Anne to Elizabeth, 161; his sufficiency as an envoy attacked, 161; to Sir R. Cecil (27 and 28 Mar. 1596), 178; (4 April), 184; (13 April), 187; (18 April), 189; R. Bowes to (18 April), 189; has made complaint of the raid at the Dead Water, 191; is petitioning for the transport of peas and beans to Scotland, 192; to Burghley (26 and 27 April), 195; has good hope of Elizabeth's favourable disposition to James, 199; to Burghley (3 May), 211; to Cecil (14 May), 218; is persuading the King to give redress for Buccleuch's action, 220, 241; to Cecil (20 May), 221; has certified the King of the stay of Elizabeth's yearly gratuity to him, 236, 253; the King has sent his letter to Elizabeth to, 239; to Cecil (23 June), 249; has received a second refusal of Elizabeth's gratuity to James, 251; the King to (30 June), 256; informed Elizabeth of the King's intention to withstand Spanish practices against him, 266; the King has written to, unknown to Bowes, 278, 279; like to have broken J. Hudson's credit with the King, 279; to crave Elizabeth and her Council's full resolution and return with speed, 279; to R. Cecil (16 July), 280; will be revoked if the King's letter to Elizabeth is not well received, 281, 284; to present the King's letter to Elizabeth, 283; to R. Cecil (21 and 22 July), 286; to Burghley (25 July), 286; has confirmed reports of success of English navy and army, 291; has told Elizabeth of James's intention to withstand all Spanish practices, 294, 295; James had instructed the Secretary to frame the letter to, 299; letters delivered to the convoy of, received by Bowes, 302; affirms that Elizabeth is persuaded by him to accept such redress for Buccleuch's fact as James shall yield, 303; James's letter to Elizabeth sent to, 304; will report James's proposals for commissioners of the Marches, 305, 309; to Burghley (24 Aug.), 306; accusations of Archibald Douglas by, 307, 308; to Burghley (2 Sept.), 308; (3 Sept.) 309; desires Bowes's certificate of Buccleuch's entry into ward, 316; to Cecil (22 Sept.), 323; James desires his return with contentment for the delivery of the gratuity, 323, 324, 325, 327; to Cecil (24 Sept.), 327; to Elizabeth (26 Sept.), 327; to Burghley (29 Sept.), 334; (2 Oct.), 334; requires a pass for his trunks, 334, 335; to Cecil (5 Oct.), 338; his sudden parting, 338; has returned to Scotland discontented with receiving 3,000 *l.*, only for the King, 346; imputes the reduction of the King's gratuity to Burghley and Cecil rather than Elizabeth, 349, 354; reports brought by, have stirred up matters between the ministers and the Catholic Earls, 353; to Cecil (Nov.), 376.
- , Thomas (brother of David): 44, 101, 117, 132, 315, 319, 508, 509; 1,000 *l.* required to be delivered him for the King, 137; a chief furnisher of the King and Queen, 278; receives letters forwarded by David Foulis for the King, 302; the goldsmith, 308; complains of the delay of payment of the King's gratuity from England, 316; cautioner of, for payment of sums to Mr. Nysbit, 334.
- Foulmouth. *See* Robsoun, William.
- Fowldon, Fowltowne. *See* Foulden.
- Foy (? a cipher for Campvere, *q.v.*): letter dated at, 62.
- Foyle, Lough: 171.
- France (Gallin) and the French: 38, 77, 78, 116, 132, 156, 164, 200, 231, 246, 248, 249, 271, 285, 339, 343, 389, 435, 464, 475, 522, 526; the Duke of Lennox's brother in, 21; thought to be accorded with Spain to England's prejudice, 52, 57; pleasure in the news of the agreement with Spain seen in Scotland, 55; letters from, concerning Spanish preparations against England and Scotland, 72; a young man from, taken prisoner at Leith, 79; certain ships arrive from, 118; peace with Spain prognosticated, 124; supply of munition to, from England, 141; Elizabeth's great charges for, 148; Sanquhar thought to be intended to be sent to, 155; Elizabeth did not refuse help to extinguish the power of, in Scotland, 155; James asked to send an ambassador to, 175; great losses to Scottish merchants trading in, 175; licences to go to, asked for, 184, 189; question of an ambassador to, from Scotland, 211; James should not assure himself upon, 230; both the League and Spain keep yet some part of, 233; late miseries of, 233; change of the ambassadors from Scotland to renew the league with, 237; the peace betwixt Spain and, thought to proceed, 254; suspicion raised in the good progress of the causes in, 270; James has little hope of succour from, 277; great talking at the Scottish Court of apparent peace between Spain and, 292; league between England and, 314, 315; claim of Edward III to kingdom of, 340,

- 341; the Nuntio in, 351; the Lord Secretary to be directed to, 478; four gentlemen of Scotland from the schools of, 480; embassy to, to renew the ancient league with Scotland, 484, 493; sums of money due from, to James for his mother, 484, 493; privileges for merchants of Scotland to be sought, 484, 493; none of the King of Scots' rebels to be received in, 493; no novelty from, since the loss of Amiens, 515; alleged plot to agree with Spain to send forces into Ireland, 552.
- , King of. *See* Henry IV.
- Fraser of Philorth, [Alexander]: the King desires his falcon to be sent him, 480.
- Fredelithburgh (? Frederiksberg): letter dated at, 181.
- Frederick II, King of Denmark, father of Queen Anne: 228.
- Frye, Patrick, mariner: 224.
- Fuentes, [Don Pedro de Toledo], Count of: 123, 272.
- Fuller (Fouler, Fwllar), William: the King writes verses against, 65, 66.
- Fullerton, Adam: 22.
- GAJETANO, Cardinal: 275.
- Galashiels: 297.
- Galliglas, MacDonald of. *See* MacDonald of Galliglas.
- Galloway: 354.
- Galloway, Patrick, one of the King's ministers: appointed a commissioner by the General Assembly, 179; discharged the King's house, 371, 392; refuses to subscribe the Act of Council, 409; a commissioner of the presbytery of Edinburgh at the General Assembly, 476, 533.
- Garden, Laird of. *See* Forrester.
- Garlies (Garleish), Laird of: in Edinburgh, 92, 96; commanded to remain at Dumfries, 237.
- Garter, Order of the: given to Henry IV of France, 324; James's desire for, 324.
- Gates, Sir Henry: daughter of. *See* Eggarton, Charles.
- Geddes (Geddye), John: papers found in the hands of, 193.
- George, Sir. *See* Hume of Primroknewe, Sir George.
- General Assembly: (Oct. 1595) must first allow of conference with Angus, 45; to meet at Edinburgh, 23 Mar. 1595–6, 168; thought that it will be pressed to receive the Catholic Earls, 168; at Edinburgh (Mar. 1596), 174, 375; the King's speech at, 176–178; Moderator of. *See* Rollock; the act of, made at Dundee, 177; the King's instructions to his commissioners to, 178, 179; answers of, to the King's propositions, 179, 180; commissioners appointed by, 179; griefs of, to be "menit" to the King, 182, 183; articles proposed for the mend of the griefs, 183, 184; Nicolson to inform Burghley and Cecil of the proceedings of, 190; petitions concluded by, anent the forfeited Earls presented to the Convention, 237; at Edinburgh (30 Nov. 1596), articles proposed to the King and Council by, 375, 376; Act discharging the commissioners of, 377, 390, 398; proposal that the Act be annulled, 377, 378; sundry of commissioners of, accompany David Black at his trial, 383; ministers sue that all questions arising out of the proceedings against Black be decided by, with the Council, 385; ministers refer Huntly's submission to, 388; to be convened with expedition, 396; not to be held in future in Edinburgh, 418; the assent of, necessary before Huntly's submission can be accepted, 424; to be held at St. Andrews on 28 Feb. 1596–7, 424; Moderator of, protests that proceedings of certain ministers convened with the King's licence shall not prejudice the General Assembly, 428; to be held at St. Johnston on 28 Feb. 1596–7, 428, 453; matters to be referred to, 428, 429, 454; to proceed against the four ministers of Edinburgh with excommunication, 447; ministers and others petition for the adjournment of, 465; ministers trust Huntly's absolution will be referred to, 466; the King promises protection to all that shall continue at, and not meddle with the papists, 469; the King will not agree to the adjournment of, to St. Andrews in April, 474; instructions of the presbytery of Edinburgh to its commissioners at, 476; the commissioners are not to acknowledge it to be lawful, 476; the King's fifty-five questions for, 477, 479; the King desires no delay in the ratification of Huntly's absolution by, 479; proceedings and conclusions at, 481, 483, 484, 487; determined by plurality of votes that the Assembly is lawful, 483, 500; the next to be at Dundee on 12 (or 3) May, 485, 500, 504, 505; articles proposed by the King at Perth, 485, 486; proceedings between the King and Kirk to be debated in, 508; note of Acts made in, at Perth, 532, 533; Huntly's answers to the heads proposed by, 550, 551; answers of the Earls of Errol and Angus to the articles of, 551, 552; proceedings of, at Dundee, 567, 568.
- , *See also* Dundee; Perth.
- Genoa: 274, 276.
- Germany (Almain): 285; Col. Stewart's errand to the Emperor and Princes of, 89, 93; principal princes of, to attend coronation of Christian IV, 181; James refused to enter into treaty with the Protestant Princes of, against the Catholics at Elizabeth's bidding, 229.
- , *See also* Empire.
- Gib, Robert: 526.
- Gibson (Gybson), Dr., of York: suggested as a commissioner for the Marches, 312, 313.
- , Archibald: 480.
- , James: case of, 393.
- Gifford, D., catholic priest: 321, 366.
- Gight (Geight, Gethe). *See* Bog of Gight.
- , Laird of. *See* Gordon.

- Giles, Henry, of Southampton : 224.
- Gilsland (Cumberland) : attempts by Scottishmen in, 473 ; land bailiffs of, 509 ; Carleton charged with the destruction of his office of, 548.
- Glamis, [Patrick, 9th] Lord : expected to side with Mar, 21 ; the King is trying to draw to agreement with Crawford, 142 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460.
- , [Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar], Master of, Lord Treasurer : has had quiet meetings with Buccleuch and Cessford, 24 ; has been privily in Edinburgh, 26, 29 ; refused abbacy of Coupar, 32 ; will do the best he can for himself on death of Chancellor, 34 ; has lately been in Edinburgh, 39 ; still sticks with Buccleuch and Cessford, 41 ; tries to have Mar made Chancellor, 44 ; the King has no good liking of, 46 ; expected to be "put at" by the Convention, 47 ; is likely to be disgraced, 50 ; not yet written for to attend Convention, 51 ; Queen trying to remove King's malice from, 51 ; to be reconciled with Mar, 54-56, 67 ; the Queen thought to favour for Chancellor's place, 55 ; King will not have his service, 55 ; Sir G. Hume thought to favour, 56 ; not sent for to the Council, 56 ; intention that he shall not have the Chancellorship, 57 ; has excused himself from meeting King, 59, 60 ; concord to be made with Mar, 61 ; has good countenance of the King, 64 ; in Lord Hume's faction at Court, 67 ; is agreed with Mar and Blantyre, 74, 75 ; is required to leave the Council, 74, 75, 90 ; said to be of purpose to work himself Chancellor, 76 ; has left Edinburgh, 90, 93, 102 ; is malcontent and at his plottings, 134 ; is still quiet, 136 ; very sorry for Buccleuch and Cessford's emulation, 137 ; the King busy to draw to agreement with Crawford, 142 ; stays Collesse from pursuing him to the horn, 142 ; has surrendered his office of Lord Treasurer, 163 ; obtains the release of Buccleuch from ward, 270.
- Glansesk (?) (Glanseske) : 204.
- Glasgow, Lord [Archbishop] of. *See* Beaton, James.
- , Bishop of : appointed to be resident ambassador in France, 493.
- , town or burgh of : 15, 16, 53, 225 ; favours men of Trebayne, 5 ; wine and aqua-vitæ for Tyrone seized at, 6 ; Lady Bothwell comes to complain to King at, of her son, 11 ; merchants from, know of Tyrone's attempts to obtain MacLean's favour, 42 ; letters from abroad to some of, intercepted, 123 ; Irish rebels get powder from, 141 ; Tyrone has merchants dealing for him in or near, 210 ; certain of the Council to meet the King at, 310 ; the King has returned from, 310 ; Col. Stewart has drawn his companies to, 311 ; MacConnell has come to, 318 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460 ; provost of, directed to take Ladyland, 467 ; a bark of Ireland at, takes in powder and lead for Tyrone, 467 ; two pavilions made in, 545 ; castle close of, 545.
- Glaynes in Ireland. *See* Glens.
- Gledstanes, George : a commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
- Glenbervy (Glenbarvy), Laird of : 45.
- Glencairn, [Alexander Cunningham, 5th] Earl of : sometime Ambassador to Elizabeth, 203 ; appointed governor of Kintyre and Islay, 203.
- , [William Cunningham, 6th] Earl of : his daughter married to Lauchlan MacLean, 204.
- , [James Cunningham, 7th] Earl of : feud with the Montgomeries, 122 ; excuses himself to King but intends to make peace, 134 ; committed to ward, 136 ; the King has punished by the purse, 142 ; the King has written to, promising care for the advancement of religion, 396 ; the King has sent for, 401 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 459 ; absent from the Convention at Perth, 483.
- Glenmoriston (Glenmornestoun, Glemvcreston) : 172.
- Glenorchy (Glenorchour, Glenorquhart). *See* Campbell of.
- Glens (Glaynes, Glynnnes) in Ireland : 196, 201, 206, 360 ; *and see* MacDonald of Dunnyveg.
- Gloucester, Thomas, Duke of : 339.
- Glynnnes in Ireland, the. *See* Glens, the.
- Godfrey (Godfray), Robert : letter from, to Bowes (3-13 Oct 1595), 33 ; to Thomas Bell (15-25 Jan. 1595-6), 120 ; to Bell (24 Feb.-5 Mar.), 152 ; to Bowes (24 Feb.-5 Mar.), 154 ; letters of, returned by Bowes to Cecil, 165 ; to be warned that his dealings begin to be discovered, 200.
- Gordon of Abergeldie, [Alexander] : a friend of the Ladies of Huntly and Errol, 183.
- of Buckie, [John] : a friend of the Ladies of Huntly and Errol, 183.
- of Cluny Crichton, [Sir Thomas] : anxious to prevent Lady Huntly from being drawn from her catholic religion, 162 ; friend of the Ladies of Huntly and Errol, 183 ; Lord Spynie to (26 Jan. 1596-7), 439, 453 ; disgraced by Lord Spynie in single combat, 466 ; to assist in providing for Huntly's kirks, 551.
- of Gight, William : anxious to prevent Lady Huntly being drawn from her catholic religion, 162 ; friend of the Ladies of Huntly and Errol, 183 ; discharged from excommunication, 567.
- of Newton, John : papist, in Scotland, 182, 183.
- of Pitlurg (Petlurge, Petlury), Sir John : says that Bonyton has been taken for Huntly, 294 ; denies Huntly's return, 305 ; sent with other barons to exhibit Huntly's offers to the synodal assembly at Elgin, 358 ; "propones" the offers of Huntly, 360 ; to assist in providing for Huntly's kirks, 551.

- , Father James, uncle of Huntly : 258 ; in the Netherlands, 34 ; would be the best instrument to advance Catholicism in Scotland, 108 ; reported speeches against England, 240 ; is ready to leave the Low Countries for Scotland, 352 ; Huntly has been greatly abused by, 429 ; has secretly allured Lord Forbes's eldest son to France, 475.
- Goshawks : 126.
- Gowrie, [William Ruthven, 1st] Earl of : death of, attributed to Captain James Stewart's accusations, 360.
- Graham (Grayme)—, bailiff : 509.
- of Fintry, David : a glorious martyr, 261.
- , " Aibbeis " Sande : 421.
- , Brades Will : house of, assaulted, 298, 301.
- , Geordeis Sande : 421.
- , William : carried off prisoner by Buccleuch, 297.
- Grahams (Grames, Graymes, Greames), the : matter between, and Buccleuch, 32 ; stayed upon suspicion of the outrage at Carlisle, 279, 280 ; Elizabeth desires Scrope to confirm the dutiful affections of, to herself, 344 ; Buccleuch has obtained the favour of, 421 ; not to carry themselves insolently against the warden, 503 ; misuse Johnstone's servants, 509 ; bill against the chief of, 546 ; submit themselves to Elizabeth's pleasure, 548 ; Border Commissioners fail to make peace between Lord Scrope and, 553.
- of Esk : a great incursion in Scotland by, 12.
- Graig, Laird of. *See* Craig.
- Grand, Monsieur le : to go to Italy, 124.
- Grange, Laird of : 47.
- Grant, Laird of [John Grant of Freuchie] : 172.
- Gray, [Patrick, 5th] Lord : said to be entirely catholic, 104.
- , Patrick, Master of : licence to pass beyond seas to, with special protection, 285, 286 ; drawn to offer composition for his father and himself, 297 ; seeks licence to go to Spa, 318 ; has offended James Stuard, 322.
- Greames, the. *See* Grahams.
- Greatney : Border Commissioners to meet at, 482.
- Greenwich : letters, etc., dated at, 200, 265, 280, 289, 307, 315, 320.
- , letters received at, 182, 193, 196, 216, 218, 220, 221, 242, 243, 247, 301, 303, 312, 318, 319, 325, 540, 543.
- Gregory XIII, Pope : provided for the education of Alexander Seton, 107 ; his liberality to the Scottish College, 107.
- Gretna (Gortney) : kirk of, 510.
- Grey, Lady Katherine, daughter of the Marquess of Dorset : marriages of, to the Earl of Pembroke, and Earl of Hertford, 338 ; issue of, declared illegitimate, 339.
- Groynne, the. *See* Corunna.
- Grymson, John : 219.
- Guise, house of : 298.
- , (Guyse), Duke of (Monsieur de) : is master of Provence, 124 ; a catholic kinsman of James, 228.
- Guyne, Captain, an English pirate : 167, 188, 190.
- Gybson. *See* Gibson.
- HADDINGTON : Thirlestane to be buried at, 45 ; presbytery of, suspends David Ogle, 454-456 ; presbytery and burgh of, to be at National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460.
- Haeveld, Thomas, deputy warden of England : 223.
- Hall, [Edward] : English history of, 445.
- Halton, Laird of : 416.
- Hamburg (Hamborow) : 29, 232 ; a ship of, 63, 78, 100 ; four ships of, driven into Orkney, 216.
- Hamilton, town of : 24, 53, 306, 310 ; King at (1 Sept. 1595), 5 ; friendship between the Chancellor and Mar to have been made at, 6 ; Countess of Bothwell received to favour at, 10.
- Hamilton, Lord John (Lord Hamilton) : 132 ; Colville goes to, 21, 25 ; alliance between Lennox and, to be travailed, 25, 39 ; has had quiet conference with Mar and Tullibardine, 52 ; the motion with Lennox and his daughter, 52 ; presents Angus MacConnell to the King, 61 ; described as a heretic by the catholics, 105, 228 ; is victualling Dumbarton, 114 ; his requests to England for munitions for defence of Dumbarton Castle, 138, 139 ; moves Mar and Argyll to mitigate their passion against Ardkinglass, 168 ; Angus MacConnell's eldest son is serving, 175 ; with the King at the General Assembly, 176 ; reconciliation between Buccleuch and, 238 ; has stayed for MacConnell's benefit the King's composition with MacLean, 240, 242 ; countenances the guarding of the Octavians, 291 ; some unkindness expected between Argyll and, 295 ; to attend the princess's baptism, 358, 373 ; the King has written to, that he will be careful for the advancement of religion, 396 ; letter of Robert Bruce to (18 Dec. 1596), 398, 399, 409, 412 ; the King has sent for, 401 ; the signatories of the letter to, from Bruce and others, 405, 408 ; delivers a copy of the ministers' letter to the King at Linlithgow, 406, 408, 412 ; last letter of Robert Bruce to (27 Dec. 1596), 409 ; the two copies of the ministers' letter to, 416, 417 ; in great reputation and commended to hold on his hat in the King's presence, 422 ; Lord Maxwell and his brother transferred to the hands of, 422 ; Buccleuch would be great with, to extirpate Johnstone, 448 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 459 ; the ministers of Edinburgh have written to, to rebel against the King, 478 ; at the Convention at Perth, 482 ; the letter to, from the ministers of Edinburgh, 486, 487 ; house of Carlawerock committed to a servant of, 504.

- , —, sister's son of. *See* Huntly, Earl of.
- , (Hammiltowne) of Drumcarnie, Thomas : of the Queen's Council, 90, 113, 116 ; is sworn one of the Octavians, 117 ; appointment of, 127 ; instructions to, 127, 128 ; form of oath subscribed by, 130 ; written for to come to the King, 136 ; some of the King's Chamber alleged to have pricked the ministers against, 425 ; alleged to have been nourished in Paris in papistry, 426 ; the King's advocate (Lord Advocate), 446, 460, 482, 483, 492, 501 ; instructs Buccleuch how to reply to the demand for his delivery, 556.
- of Inchmauchan, Robert : committed to ward in Inverness, 465.
- , of Priestfield, 10.
- , of Preston, Thomas, a Scottishman : 476, 477.
- , John, uncle of Dr. MacCartney, 10 ; his brother of Priestfield, 10.
- , John, Advocate : removal of, from the Council, requested by the Convention at Edinburgh, 397.
- , John, of Glasgow : 225.
- , Robert : committed to ward, 416.
- , Captain : hasty coming of, from the French King, 270.
- , Doctor : one of the complices in the murder of Henry III of France, 426.
- Hanford, John, merchant of London : 91.
- Harlaw, battle of, 202.
- Harlawe, John : 114.
- Harrington (Herrington), co. Cumb. : foray of, 180.
- Harris, Lord. *See* Herries.
- , (Harrisie, the Heariche). *See* M'Leod.
- Hart, Andrew, bookbinder : 402.
- Harwich : 94.
- Hatton, Sir Christopher : 258.
- Haudon, Laird of : 240.
- Haukins, Doctor : 64.
- Haulte, Father. *See* Holt.
- Hauger, Mr. : 121.
- Hawick : 292, 501.
- Hay, Alexander, eldest son of the 8th Earl of Errol : the earldom conveyed to his younger brother owing to the wants and impediments seen in him, 162 ; his brother fears the earldom may be restored to him, 163.
- , Alexander, of Armacher (or Auchmachie) : a friend of the Ladies of Huntly and Errol, 183 *and note*.
- , Father, Jesuit : 352.
- , John, Clerk Register : 446.
- , Walter : to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456.
- Haye, Peter : 311.
- Haywood, Father : 258.
- Heariche, the. *See* M'Leod of Harris.
- Helsker : 172.
- Heneage (Hennig, Henning), Sir Thomas : 9 ; Buccleuch's former letters to, 139 ; Aston's letter to, intercepted, 348.
- Henneson, Maunse, of Denmark : 224.
- Henry, Prince of Scotland (Henry Frederick), the dead Chancellor will be blamed for the Queen's motion anent, 35 ; the Queen's intention to take him from Mar, 47 ; agreement for the Queen to see at Stirling, 74 ; is noted to be but a weak child, 88 ; might be won over easily to Catholicism, 108 ; Mar asked to effect economies in his household, 136 ; question of Elizabeth's advice as to the custody of, 137, 138, 140 ; the attempt to get the custody of, said to be first broken to the Queen by the late Chancellor, 150 ; his custody must be provided for, if Mar goes abroad, 163 ; Elizabeth might procure a regent for, if called to the throne in his minority, 231 ; promise by pretended agents of the King to deliver him to the King of Spain as a pledge, 267, 272, 273 ; Elizabeth's good will shown in the late baptism of, 355 ; the King purposes to see, at Stirling, 474.
- , guardian of. *See* Mar, Earl of.
- Henry II, King of England : 339.
- Henry V, King of England : statute, *anno* 4, appointing reprisal against Scotland for justice denied, 563.
- Henry VII, King of England : descendants of, 338 ; delivers his warden of the Middle Marches to the Scots, 561.
- Henry VIII, King of England : 256, 288 ; failure of issue of, 338 ; will of, 340, 341.
- Henry III, King of France : murder of, 426.
- Henry IV, King of France : alleged agreement with the Pope, 64 ; though a good catholic not likely to stand aside if Spain tried by arms to force James to Catholicism, 104 ; would not favour heretics unless against Spain, 106 ; suggested as an instrument to win over England to Catholicism, 110 ; James will not change his religion as he did, 118 ; has dispatched Du Villeroy (Vele de Roy) to Spain, 122, 124 ; reported to have honoured Bothwell, 124 ; is absolved by the Pope's bull, 124 ; expected to accord with Philip II, 125 ; Elizabeth deeply charged with the help of, 140 ; asks for an ambassador from Scotland and the renewal of the ancient league between the kingdoms, 175 ; a Scottishman serving at La Fère, 184, 200 ; James's ambassadors to Denmark may repair to, to renew the league, 192 ; his open defection in religion, 198 ; James is ready to join Elizabeth in aiding, 198 ; as King of Navarre James refused to enter into a strict treaty with, 228, 229 ; Elizabeth wished James to marry the sister of, 229 ; alleged to be confederate with the Council of Scotland, 257 ; named in derision the Prince of Berne (the Bearnois), 267, 273, 275 ; Elizabeth alleged to be persuading to divorce or kill his wife and marry the Lady Arabella, 267, 273 ; intercepted letters to Philip II, presented to, and copies sent by him to James VI, 270, 285 ; the Pope desires all men should approve the absolution given to, 275 ; Elizabeth has concluded a league with, 314, 315, 317 ; she has yielded him

- 2,000 men for defence of his maritime provinces, 315; Elizabeth's league with, reported to James, 323, 324; Elizabeth has sent the Garter to, 325; James's willingness to negotiate a league with him, Elizabeth and other protestant princes against Spain, 324, 325; sends the Constable against the Duc de Mercure, 420; Laird of Easter Wemyss hopes to do good offices for Elizabeth with, 484; the effects of Secretary Lindsay's commission to, 493; James VI alleges he has lost, through his care to preserve Elizabeth's good will, 542.
- Hepburn of Waughton : 460.
- , Adam : to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456.
- Hermitage (Armitage), the : 461.
- Heron, Sir William, warden of the Middle Marches (temp. Henry VII) : 561.
- Herries (Harris), [William Maxwell, 5th] Lord, Warden of the West Marches : attempts done against Scrope by the men of his wardenry, 18; Newbattle and Traquair to assist him in giving Scrope redress, 22, 23; King has written to, to do justice to Scrope, 39; should have an officer over him for Elizabeth's contentment, 47; written for to attend Convention, 51; to obey the King's order, 53; not at Convention at Linlithgow, 54; to meet other men of Borders for pacifying troubles, 55; passes to Johnstone's bounds but put to flight, 56; excuses himself from meeting King, 59; mention of receipt of letters from, to Crichton and others, 59; letters to, from Crichton and others intercepted, 61; to take order regarding disorders on the Borders, 65; is committed to ward, 74, 76, 79, 92, 97; to be compelled to satisfy Lord Scrope, 89; suggested for warden of West Marches, 96; has refused the wardenry, 97; said to be entirely catholic, 104; refuses to give caution, 113, 114; has taken and given assurance with Johnstone, 136; held unfit for wardenry of West Marches, 167; reconciliation between Buccleuch and, 238; to be committed until good order be taken for peace in the Marches, 243; at Court, 281; has refused office of warden of West Marches, 282; with the King at Dunfermline, 284; summoned to appear at the Convention, 292; bond taken of, for order in the Borders, 293; meets the King at Leith, 412; assurance betwixt, with Drumlanrig and Johnstone for the quieting of the West Borders, 416; commanded not to be at Court with Johnstone, 422; privy intelligence between, and Johnstone, 422; the Maxwells bear no further company, 422.
- Herrington, ? Harrington, *q.v.*
- Hertford, [Edward Seymour, 1st] Earl of : descent of children of, from Henry VII, 338.
- Hertzech of Anspach : brother "barnes" with the Marquis of Brandenburg, 30.
- Hesse, Prince of : 228.
- Hewart, Peter : to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456.
- Hexham, co. Northumb. : letter dated at, 431; gaol, 508.
- Heymouth. *See* Eyemouth.
- Highlanders, the : dependants on Atholl, order taken with, 32; proceedings of Tyrone and O'Donnell with, 270.
- Highlands, the : 214; MacLean and Mackenzie of great power in, 149, 151; new forces in, preparing to aid Tyrone and O'Donnell in Ireland, 151, 157, 158, 169; many of, already passed into Ireland, 220; proclamation for the reduction of, 222; great obedience and profit will be given to the King in, 360. *See also* Scotland, North of.
- Hirdmeston, Laird of. *See* Sinclair, Thomas.
- Holland : 146, 168, 228, 229, 409, 426.
- *See also* United Provinces.
- Holstein (Holst) : 30.
- Holt (Haulte), Father : letters from Lord Herries received by, 59; should have the distribution of moneys amongst the papists in Scotland, 111; James's alleged petition to Clement VIII to warn, against intermeddling with secular matters, 226; the King has shown good affection to, 228; sends the articles concerning Pury Ogilvy to Rome, 257; found favour in Scotland, 259; opposed to Father Crichton's party, 321.
- Holyroodhouse : 167, 168, 192, 244, 280, 283, 380, 381, 484, 527, 535, 559; the King returns to, 174, 216; the King and Convention assemble at, 237; the King has left, 248; the King to meet his Council at, 253; Convention to meet at, 349; baptism of Princess Elizabeth to be at, 350, 356, 358, 371; the King escapes to, from the Tolbooth on 17 Dec. 1596, 394; the commissioners from the convention in the Little Kirk to attend on the King with their petitions at, 396, 400; the King and Queen at, 415; proceedings of the Privy Council at, 417; the King and Council convened at, 555.
- , letters, warrants, etc., dated at, 66, 77, 95, 97, 99, 112, 119, 126, 127, 132, 134, 156, 164, 211, 222, 365, 367, 369, 372, 373, 379, 380, 382, 407, 513, 530.
- , Abbot or Lord of. *See* Bothwell, John.
- Home, *see* Hume.
- Hoppringill. *See* Pringle.
- Hordley Hill house, [? co. Northumb.] : 525.
- Horners : the King puts in practice the laws against, 102, 116, 119, 136; the King thought to be proceeding against, 294; prosecuted in Angus, 297.
- Hornings : register of, 131.
- Household, Master of the. *See* Chisholm, Sir James.
- Howard de Walden, Thomas, 1st Lord : 491.
- Hudson, James : 348; reference to his letter to Sir R. Cecil of 16 Dec. 1600, 80 n.; Col. Stewart has written to, from the Low Countries, 90; R. Aston to (20 Jan.

- [probably 1597-8]), 131; the King to (24 Jan. 1595-6), 133; to Cecil (25 June 1596), 250; was with the King when he was informed of Elizabeth's refusal of his yearly gratuity, 251; to Cecil (14 July), 278; is in better estate with the King than ever he was, 279; to Cecil (5 Nov.), 354; (20 Nov.), 365; (24 Feb. 1596-7), 471; Roger Aston lodging with, 480; to Sir R. Cecil (? May 1597), 526.
- Hudspithes, the, of Cornwall in the East March: 240.
- Hueston, Mr.: 29.
- Hugo (Ugo), Don: *alias* of Barclay of Ladyland, *q.v.*; incorrectly identified as Sir James Sandilands, 267.
- Huguenots: 125.
- Hull: ships of, 62, 224.
- Humbie, Laird of. *See* Lawson of Humbie.
- Hume (Home), Lord: a former commissioner for the Borders, 386.
- , [Alexander, 6th] Lord, (afterwards 1st Earl of Home): 446, 466; seeks the ward and marriage of the Chancellor's son, 10; "convoy" for R. Douglas to the King, 22; secret meeting with the Master of Glamis and others, 29; gets an English boy imprisoned in the Tolbooth released upon caution, 33; Nicolson hopes he will get the wardship of the Chancellor's son, 35; appearance of a separation between, and his Lady, 41; his faction at Court, 67; goes to England for hunting but not for state matters, 74; all well between him and Lady Hume, 74; is left out of the new Council, 75; said to be entirely Catholic, 104; has delivered a letter with advertisements of the Spaniards, 123; Tyrie has written to, 125; commission sent to, to hold justice courts in the Marches, 133; Angus hopes by his means to obtain the King's favour, 162; desires a placard from Elizabeth for two horses, 168, 194, 200, 350, 414; the best neighbour of England, 200; though a Catholic was made captain of the King's guard, 227; Sanquhar sends his challenge to Orkney by, 248; Elizabeth will grant no placard to, unless recommended by the wardens, 285; solicited by Buccleuch to make a raid on the East Borders, 292; summoned to compeer before the Convention, 292; bond taken of, for order in the Borders, 293; summons to Ogilvy at the suit of, 296; at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336; may be a good instrument for the quietness of the frontiers, 350, 351; said to have the grant of Lord Lindsay's escheat, 401; charged to levy horsemen for the King, 408; meets the King at Leith, 412; has said he would burn the town of Edinburgh, 423; to assist the Octavians, 425; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; ground of, occupied by the Grahams, 546; present in Council, 559.
- , Lady (wife of 6th Lord): has taken plate and best stuffs at Dunglas to Fife, 41; all well between her and Lord Hume, 74.
- of Coldenknows, [John]: brother of, *see* James *infra*.
- of Galashiels, John: 297.
- of North Berwick, Alexander, Provost of Edinburgh: goes to King at Falkland for justice for death of a bailiff, 19; Goodman of North Berwick again chosen, 33; he excuses himself, 41; is to accept office, 46; the high school children called before, 48; empowered to examine and search for suspicious packets from beyond sea, 59; in the new Council, 75; proposal to send him to Queen Elizabeth, 76, 77; a dealer between Mar and Airth, 77; loth to be sent into England, 90; has now undertaken the journey to Elizabeth, 93; entertains Dunipace and Airth not to appear against Mar, 95; uncertain whether he will go to England, 96, 97; talk of his being sent to England renewed, 100, 101; is weary of his place, 102; his going to England deferred until Bowes's return, 114, 121; quells a tumult, 114, 115; his apparel already made for his embassy, 116; with the King, 117; an Irishman examined in his presence, 118, 120; expected to set forwards about 1 Feb. 1595-6, 122; principal point of his commission to England, 125; his going to England deferred, 133, 134; the King earnest to have him gone, 136, 142, 143; wishes to await Bowes's return, 142; chosen as a commissioner for the Marches, 305, 310, 312; to attend the princess's baptism, 358; in the New Kirk on 17 Dec. 1596, 394; order to, to apprehend Robert Bruce and others, 402.
- of Polwarth (Pollard), [Patrick]: sent to Bowes by the King to report certain Border matters, 391.
- (of Primroknowe), Sir George (afterwards Earl of Dunbar): 142; is the Chancellor's for life, 3; tells of the King's favour to MacLean, 4; will do his best for the amity, 5; coldness between, and Mar, 5; brother-in-law of Cessford, 11; travails for King to visit Chancellor, 11; has been with King at secret trysts, 19; suggested connexion with a motion to lay hands on the King, 26; a very good instrument for the amity, 39; said not to like the dealings for Angus, 40; has gone to comfort Lady Thirlestane, 41; has met Buccleuch and Cessford on the Borders, 46; has written to King in their favour, 47; Montrose is dealing by, to be Chancellor, 50; suspected to be a favourer of the Master of Glamis but now reconciled with Mar, 56; one of the chief rulers in Scotland, 100; advises Melville not to seek his discharge, 113; sent to will the Comptroller and Collector to show themselves contented with their discharge, 115; with the King, 117; an Irish priest examined in his presence, 120; is suspicious of the Octavians, 134; D. Foulis accuses Archibald Douglas to, 307; his

poverty relieved by the goldsmith Foulis, 308; gentleman of the King's Chamber, 446.

— of Wedderburn, George: a commissioner for the Borders, 310, 312, 335, 369, 370, 386, 414, 446, 461, 462, 530; to be knighted at the princess's baptism, 369; present in Council at trial of David Black, 381; conference of Sir W. Bowes with, 411, 439, 449, 458; has spoken for Sir Robert Kerr, 412; highly commends Sir W. Bowes, 438; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; to Sir William Bowes (20 Feb.), 470; takes R. and Sir W. Bowes to the King at Holyroodhouse, 535; sent by the King to R. and Sir W. Bowes, 559.

—, —: claiming to be Master of Forbes is proved a counterfeit, 505.

—, David (brother of the Laird of Wedderburn): 458.

—, James (brother of the Laird of Coldenknows): may be appointed a Border commissioner, 408.

—, Thomas, 5.

Hunais, the two: 172.

Hungary: 275, 339.

Hunsdon, [Henry Carey, 1st] Lord, Lord Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth: 243, 279, 364; Robert Bowes to (18 July 1596), 284; a servant of, murdered, 330; warden of the Middle March (in 1587), 332; a former commissioner for the Borders, 386.

Hunter, Alexander, bailiff of Edinburgh: 402.

—, Andrew: charged with sending forged letters to England, 89; answers Col. Stewart's bill and is passed over by the King, 102.

—, Master: his warrant for transport of wheat, 195.

—, Thomas: 402.

Huntingdon, [Henry Hastings, 3rd] Earl of: a former commissioner for the Borders, 386.

—, [George Hastings, 4th] Earl of: claim to throne of England, 341.

Huntly, [George Gordon, 6th] Earl of: 104, 132, 315, 507; MacLean's service against, 4; tenants of, 5; Angus moved to withdraw from, 7; caused to enter into agreement with Bothwell, 8; remains at Dinant, 25; not yet come down from Rome, 29; said to have licence to return, 32; said to have had a quarrel with Errol and to be returning to Scotland, 34; an agent of Tyrone said to be in his country in Scotland, 38; the Queen said to be seeking favour for, 40; his return home not certain, 40; the General Assembly and, 45; his men in Lochaber put under subjection to Argyll, 58, 59; his friends looking for foreign forces, 62; treasure said to be carried to, for Spain's "adoes," 64; seems to depend for his return on King's favour only, 78; thought that his friends are to make offers to the King and the Kirk for his return, 96; his

friends' suits to the King said to be rejected, 101; described as cousin and brother-in-law of the King, 105; said to have been allowed to have mass celebrated when in the royal palace, 105; believed he is to be recalled to Court, 107; rumoured that he has come home, 118; will charge R. Godfrey to go to his friends in England, 121; whether Elizabeth shall stir the King and religious against, 138; to be inquired for at Liège, 146; will buy of no man but R. Godfrey, 152; Godfrey has advertised of the state of affairs in Scotland, 153; is mindful to repair to Antwerp, 153; G. Chalmer licensed to go to, to persuade him to cast off all heresies, 156; his return to Scotland with Spanish forces and gold not speedily expected, 162; thought that the General Assembly will be pressed to receive him, 168; advertised that he will sue to the General Assembly, 175; his travails to recover his country by submission mistrusted by the ministry, 191; alleged to have practised with the King of Spain, 192; letters from, to great courtiers and others alleged to have been brought to Scotland, 193, 199; alleged to find over great favour in England, 198; a vassal to, 207; Argyll's late encounter with, 208, 211; his practises with Tyrone may move Argyll against that Earl, 211; sent for, by the Cardinal of Austria, 213; advised by the Countess to seek recovery of his country by submission to the King and Kirk, 213; rumoured to have arrived in the north of Scotland, 216; intelligence of the proceedings of, in Rome, Spain and elsewhere, 221; Act of Parliament suspending all further execution against, 222, 238; a Catholic kinsman of the King, 228; reported to be turning to England to recover his own country but determined to remain Catholic, 240; reported to have declared that Elizabeth shall be overthrown before the end of the summer, 240; Crawford thought to have great credit with, 246; assurance of, offered for performance of the King of Spain's promises, 249; has arrived at the Chanonry, 253; the Pope does not bestow any good on Don Baltazar (Lindsay) for, 275; confidently informed that he is lurking in Scotland, 282, 284; conflicting reports as to his being in Scotland, 294; a Convention to be held to receive the submission of, 294; the King will hunt, if in the realm, 296; for verity that he is come home, 298; the King dealt with by factions for and against, 299; offers of, to be presented to the Convention, 301; some of the ministers prepared to prove that he is in the realm, 302; said to have landed at Eyemouth, 302; is returned in Scotland, 303; the King opens the causes in the Convention for the submission of, 305; the ministers advise his offers be not heard, 305; the King stays the voting and the cause is

referred to him and such as he shall choose, 306; Cecil advises that he should ask Elizabeth to be a mediator for him to the King, 307; offers for relief of the banishment of, sent by the Countess to the King, 307; said to be seeking quiet access to the King in the west, 310; power in the North likely to be impaired, 311; great labour made by the Queen and others for his being received into the King's favour, 313, 317; offers and petitions of, to be laid before the Convention, 317; the ministers impugn, 317, 318, 319; some of Argyll's friends suspected to be ready to band with, 318; griefs of ministers against, increase, 326; cause of, remembered at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336; ordered that his offers be not heard before he retire out of the realm and is reconciled to the Kirk, 337; whispered that the King has licensed his return, 343; has met Errol openly at Aberdeen, 343; seen openly in Bog of Gight, 346; sundry commissioners of the Kirk conferring about the reception of, 346, 347; Elizabeth desires to know the King's intention as to allowing him liberty to live in Scotland, 347; has exhibited his offers for his satisfaction to the Kirk, 355; the King denies he has granted any toleration for the remain of, in Scotland, 358; offers of, to the synodal assembly at Elgin, 360, 361; articles to be performed by, before he receive licence to remain in Scotland, 367, 372; proclamation against the return of, 367, 372, 388; has banded with all the barons about Edinburgh except Lord Forbes, 371; suspected he will not agree to send his son to the King, 371; favour alleged by the ministers to have been granted to, in trial for murder, 384; articles permitting, to remain in Scotland upon performance of conditions, 388; has tendered submission to the Kirk, 388; will no longer keep intelligence with the King of Spain, 388; daily advertisements that he is secretly employed by the King of Spain, 389; Argyll moved to take up with, 389; Lady Huntly said to have put the King in hope of great matters to be effected by, 390; offers of, thought very reasonable, 404; remains very quiet in the north labouring with the ministers, 407; sister's son to Lord Hamilton, 409, 410; Nicolson presses Cecil for the resolution anent the offer for, 413; the ministry of Aberdeen to receive the offers of, 423; offers his submission to the presbyteries of Aberdeen and Elgin, 424; the Kirk and presbyteries in the North to hear and consult of the offers of, 424; looked he shall be a great courtier, 424; thought that Forbes shall be tempted to agree old feuds with, 425; offers to make amends and give contentment to the Kirk, 429; confessions and offers of, sent by the King to Elizabeth, 447; revenge of murder of Moray like to be prosecuted

if he obtain countenance in court, 453; remove of Session to Perth thought to be in favour of, 453; has promised to reveal all secrets intended against religion, Elizabeth and James, 454; cannot be fully received into the Kirk before the meeting of the General Assembly, 454; town of Perth subject to the forces of, 454; persons committed to ward in the hands of, 465; instructions given by the King to procure his absolution, 466; goes to Aberdeen with many barons and gentlemen, 466; his cause commended in pulpit by the bishop, 466; said to have refused to gain his peace in Scotland by Elizabeth's means, 467; ministers fear his power in Perth, 470; presbyteries of the North have referred him to the next General Assembly, 474; secretly conveyed John Forbes to France, 475; the presbytery of Edinburgh will not mell with his being received, 476; reasonable offers of, to satisfy the Kirk refused by the presbytery of Edinburgh, 478; the presbytery of Aberdeen to which he is subject charged to give him absolution, 479; the Bishop of Aberdeen has reported the good inclination and offers of, 484; is directed to reside in Aberdeen, 485, 500; ministers of the North to absolve if he satisfy them, 486; the King's undeserved favour to, 487; Errol said to be intending to leave the band and company of, 493; four ministers to confer with, 500; Earl of Moray's friends to receive satisfaction from, 500; offers to subscribe the confession of faith, 501; kept the preaching on 30 January but removed at the prayer, 501; is like to get his peace, 504; has agreed to subscribe to the articles of religion proponed by the presbytery of Aberdeen, 512, 514; is repairing and enlarging his house at Strathbogy, 512; expected to be absolved from his excommunication at the Assembly at Dundee, 544; answers of, to the heads proponed by the commissioners of the General Assembly, 550, 551; acknowledges the reformed Kirk of Scotland, 550; expresses grief for the slaughter of the Earl of Moray, 551; to provide remedy for the slaughter of William More, 551, 552; trial of, at Dundee, 567; protests that he has not dealt with Spain or the Pope, against the religion or sovereigns of the isle, 567.

—, —. See also Catholic Earls.

—, —, his uncle. See Gordon, Father James.

—, Henrietta Stewart, Countess of, (sister of the Duke of Lennox): receives money from the Earl's tenants, 5; keeps a great house and in great honour, 23; said to be coming to Court, 32; no such thing as her coming to Court, 40; has set the gentlemen in the North against Argyll, 78; was granted enjoyment of all her goods, etc., during her husband's banishment, 105; is returned to her ward for preventing troubles in the North, 123;

- is coming to her ward in Stirling, 134 ; wishes to send Chalmer to the Earl to persuade him to cast off all heresies, 156 ; suspected she will be drawn from her Catholic religion by Lennox, 162 ; her son to be taken from her and brought up in Edinburgh, 162 ; the King will not allow her suit for the investment of her son with his father's possessions, 167 ; proposed that she reside in St. Andrews and her eldest son trained in religion, 183 ; has advised her husband to seek recovery of his country by submission to the King and Kirk, 213 ; liberty to, to gather her husband's rents during his banishment, 222 ; denies that the Earl is in Scotland, 294 ; with the Queen at Dunfermline, 296 ; has gone to the King at Falkland, 301 ; has brought Huntly's offers to the King, 307 ; has treated her friends for Huntly's relief, 317 ; great favours shown to, in Court, 318 ; the brethren in the North asked to excommunicate, 326 ; entreats many to be present at the Convention, 336 ; sends Pitlurg and others in the Earl's name to the synodal assembly at Elgin, 358 ; brought by the Queen to the princess's baptism, 359 ; her eldest son to be brought to Edinburgh to be pledge for the performance of his father's covenants, 359 ; offers of, on behalf of the Earl, 360, 361 ; feared that she will estrange the King and Queen from the ministers, 385 ; has brought her eldest son to the King as pledge for his father, 388 ; reported to have drawn the Queen into questionable courses, 390 ; her removal out of Court requested by the convention at Edinburgh, 397 ; so wrought with the Queen and others that the King was drawn to hear Huntly's offers, 404 ; exhibits her bill to the convention at Edinburgh declaring the Earl's offers to the presbyteries of Aberdeen and Elgin, 423, 424 ; has obtained the King's grant for the assignation of the earldom and lands to the eldest son, 424 ; process of excommunication against, stayed, 424 ; follows the Earl to Aberdeen with 100 horse, 466.
- , Earls of: reported of old MacDonald's vassals, 202.
- IBARRA (Ibaria, Ybaria, Yberia), Estevan (Stephen) d': 271, 272, 273, 366 ; dealings with, by pretended agents of James, 267.
- Icolmkill, Icolmikle. *See* Iona.
- Idiaquez, Don John de, secretary to the King of Spain : 274, 366 ; Duke of Sessa to (21 Feb. 1596), 276 ; knows how to deal with John Cecil, 278.
- Inchkeith : 73.
- Inchmurrin (Inchemeren) : King at (Aug. 1595), 3, 5 ; King's intended progress to (Aug. 1596), 306 ; King has returned from, 310.
- Ineskonnell (? Inchkenneth) in Argyll, castle of : 204.
- Innermeath (Invernethe), [John Stewart, 6th] Lord, afterwards Earl of Atholl, *q.v.* : seeks earldom of Atholl, 32 ; created Earl of Atholl, 174 ; the marriages between him and the Countess of Atholl and of his two sons with the Countess's two daughters, 174 ; to be at National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460.
- Innernochtie, Laird of. *See* Elphinstone, James.
- Innes, Laird of (Robert Innes of that Ilk) : "propones" the offers of Lord Huntly, 360.
- "Invasion" : definition of, in the Borders. *See under* Borders.
- Inveraray : palace of, 9 ; MacLean is returned to, 23, 30 ; Angus MacConnell at, 103 ; MacLean's servant at, killed, 311. —, letters dated at, 16, 17, 20, 36, 37.
- Inverness : 294, 465.
- Invernethe, Lord. *See* Innermeath.
- Iona (Icolmkill, Icolmikle, Ycolmkyll) : nunnery of, 172.
- Ireland : 270 ; matters of, MacLean's employment in, 4, 37 ; rebellion in, seven years preparing, 4 ; the Islesmen should be stayed from, 5 ; doubtful whether Elizabeth desires Argyll's continued employment in, 9 ; the Islandish men and, 10 ; rebels in, overthrown by Capt. Thornton, 13 ; 900 Islesmen from, stayed by MacLean, 15 ; 400 or 500 better men of mind to go over to Ireland, 15 ; great slaughter in, on the English nation and Tyrone's partakers, 16 ; Elizabeth expends yearly more in, than she profits thereby, 17 ; MacLean can stay the 400 or 500 men for, 17 ; pursuit on both sides by the English necessary to secure obedience, 20 ; nothing of any certainty from, 23 ; Argyll and MacLean will serve Elizabeth in, 23, 30, 31 ; a reasonable sum should be bestowed on them to withstand the advances made by the rebels, 24 ; Argyll and MacLean's offers for assistance against the rebels, 26, 27 ; a new force in Spain possibly for, 29 ; the rebels have got armour and gold and are looking daily for men out of Spain, 31 ; MacLean's service to Elizabeth in, will be advanced by her pardoning his kinsman, J. MacNeill, 36 ; nothing certain nor good from, 41 ; MacLean could obtain a great rent for Elizabeth from, 42 ; contentment of Argyll and MacLean would do much good for Elizabeth in, 45 ; rebels in, in fear of Argyll and MacLean, abstaining from hostility, 55 ; Angus MacConnell's schemes to send men to O'Donnell, 58 ; new troubles thought to be rising in, 64 ; Menteith can do good offices in, 78 ; a gentleman from, to James, *see* Quin (Walter) ; MacLean has constrained Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorm to return from, 94 ; Nicolson afraid to enter into matters of, with Argyll, 101 ; offer by Tyrone and O'Donnell to give their lands in, to James, 103 ; 6,000 Spaniards should descend in,

111; Tyrone said to be preparing for a greater stir in, 118; the Pope distributes many benefices in, 119; will stir again, 123; services of Argyll and MacLean against Elizabeth's rebels in, 138; charge to Elizabeth of suppression of rebellion in, 140, 141; Tyrone may stir a new trouble in, 143; Elizabeth is resolved to employ 3,000 or 4,000 Scots in, if at less charge than English soldiers, 144; how MacLean is to be paid for the service of Scots in, 145; the King of Spain's great preparations against, 146, 147; Elizabeth's great charges for, 148; some of Spanish forces in Low Countries to be sent to, 149; new forces in the Isles and Highlands of Scotland preparing to aid Tyrone and O'Donnell, 151, 157, 158, 163; good hope of pacifying the troubles in, 152; if the country does not submit on the conclusion of the truce Elizabeth will send 6,000 more men to, 156; MacLean with the aid of Argyll expected to invade the rebels in, 157; inquiries as to the services MacLean can give against the rebels in, 158, 159; men of, banded against Elizabeth and hope for relief of Spaniards, 164; Argyll's former willingness to stay the Scottish forces passing into, 165; Argyll does not look for quietness to be continued in, 166; MacLean sets out his proposed services to Elizabeth in, 169-172; numbers of men that should be provided for service against the rebels in, 170; the part of, not brought to the obedience of England for many hundred years, 171; James's consent hoped for MacLean's proposals for service in, 173; MacLean ready to invade the rebels in, 182; report of progress with MacLean for affairs of, sent to Cecil by Bowes, 184; instructions in the causes for, given by R. Bowes to G. Nicolson for Cecil, 185-187, 190; O'Donnell increasing his forces in, 188; Lawers and MacCondochy ready to pass into, 189; order for restraint of export of powder, etc. from Scotland to, 190; if services of MacLean, etc. are to be used in, agreement must be made, 193, 194; Spanish succours to Tyrone in, generally looked for, 194; report that rebels in, have broken up with Elizabeth's commissioners, 195; Argyll drawn to serve Elizabeth against her rebels in, 198; questions of the employment of the Scottish Islanders against Tyrone in, 207-211; Elizabeth's service in, will be greatly advanced by contentment given to MacLean, 214; many Scottishmen are already passed into, 220; union of realm of, with England and Scotland perilous, to the King of Spain, 229; enterprises in, lost by failure of Spain to keep her promises of help, 233; Elizabeth's service in, may be advanced by release of MacNeill, 240; MacLean's readiness to serve Elizabeth in, 241; powder reported to be left in, by ships of Spain, 254; Angus MacConnell has continually assisted

Elizabeth's rebels in, 290; condition of matters for, thought in Scotland to be changing, 295; signs of the renewal of the troubles in, 297; claimed that concurrency between Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the King's Lieutenant of the Isles will profit both sovereigns in the affairs of, 301; Angus MacConnell will be punished for resorting to, 304; rebellious sort in, to be aided by Scottish Catholics, 343; bruits of arrival of great forces of Spaniards in, thought untrue, 360; Errol said to have commission to traffic with the rebels in, for the King of Spain, 371; reported that Huntly and Errol will join the King of Spain's forces to be sent to, 389; rumours of arrival of Spanish companies in, groundless, 392; Colonel Stewart offers Elizabeth his service in, 392; forces for the King of Spain to be sent into, 403; protection of the realm of, offered to James, 421; naval army providing in Spain for, 427; opinions of G. Nicolson on the state of the services of, and as to the prosecution of the rebels in, by Scots, 436-438; a bark of, at Glasgow, takes in powder and lead for Tyrone, 467; horses sent to James from, 477; expected provisions of the King of Spain for, 482; danger of Spanish forces drawing near coasts of, 485; two Spanish ships rumoured to have arrived in, 507; Angus MacConnell's lands in, seized by M'Sorley, 507; M'Sorley and Angus MacConnell offer obedience to Elizabeth for lands in, 511; report of provision for, in Spain, 515; rebels in, 518; great events expected in, from Spain, 529; troubles in, like to be kindled again, 543; O'Donnell trying to obtain men for, from MacLean, 544; exceeding famine in, 545; alleged plot to agree France and Spain to send forces into, 552.

—, Council of, 209, 246, 248.

—, Lord Chancellor of, 199.

—, Lord Deputy of, 9, 14, 15, 17, 19, 23, 31, 171, 187, 199, 246, 248, 295; MacLean of Duart to (12 Sept. 1595), 27; must appoint MacLean's landing place, 209; should use the Campbells with great courtesy, 210; concurrency between, and the King's Lieutenant of the Isles likely to aid in affairs for Ireland and the Isles, 301; to be asked to stay forces being sent by O'Donnell to the Isles, 311. *See also* Russell, Sir William.

—, Lord General of, 210.

—, Knight Marshal of, 14, 17, 19, 171; has gotten great "skaith," 16; Thornton has letters for, 23.

—, "primate" bishop of: 117, 119, 149. Irish horses: presented to James VI, 543. Irishman, an (a priest): arrested in Edinburgh with letters and books from Rome, 116, 117; examined by the King, 118, 120; came from Le Havre (Newhaven), 123; is not very straitly handled, 125; continues still in prison, 149.

Irishmen : three arrived at Leith from Calais to be examined by the Council, 353 ; suffered to depart for Ireland after examination, 360.

Irishry, Irish Scots. *See* Scots.

Irshwilliam, — : 123.

Irvine (Urwyn) : 38, 225.

Irvine of Drum (Drume), [Alexander] : 466.

Isabella, Queen. *See* Ferdinand.

Islay (Iayllay, Ilahi, Illahi), Isle of : 159 ;

James MacConnell takes a lease of, 203 ; dissensions about lands in, 205 ; lands in, in variance between MacConnell and MacLean, 240 ; 40l. a year in, given to M'Sorley, 543.

—, governor of. *See* Glencairn, Alexander, Earl of.

Isles, the (Western Isles) : 214 ; King intends to draw to his good obedience, 149 ; new forces in, preparing to pass to Ireland to aid Tyrone and O'Donnell, 151, 157, 158, 169 ; MacLean can stay all dwellers in, from helping the Irish, 170 ; notes on the division of, with the names of the chieftains, 172 ; kirk of, destitute of the ministry of the Word, 183 ; the dean of Limerick proposed to be advanced to the bishopric of, 186, 199 ; few of, will fight against the Campbells, 198 ; the Dean of Limerick's account of, and the descent, connexions, etc. of the Islanders, 201–211 ; the King's intention to make a progress to, 211 ; many of, are already passed into Ireland, 220 ; proclamation (act) for the reduction of, 222, 238 ; the King's journey to, ratified by the Convention, 237 ; Col. Stewart to be the King's Lieutenant in, 270 ; obedience of, very near at a point, 290 ; Col. Stewart and those appointed to assist him in, to meet at Dumbarton, 291 ; King's proceedings in, like to be hindered, 295 ; concurrency between the Lord Deputy of Ireland and the Lieutenant of the Isles likely to profit the affairs of, 301 ; trumpet and tabering preparation for, 304 ; Col. Stewart intending to pass over into, 311 ; intended wars in, expected to cease, 318, 343 ; great obedience and profit will be given to the King in, 360 ; Col. Stewart's journey to, stayed, 392.

—, Lord Lieutenants of, 202 ; *and see* Argyll, Earl of ; Stewart of Houston, Sir William.

—, Lords of, 203 ; taken prisoners by James V, 203 ; hold their lands upon yearly rents of the King, 203 ; most of them committed for non-payment of the King's rents, 203.

Islesmen (Islanders, Islandish men) : returned from Ireland with grief, 4 ; should be stayed from Ireland, 5 ; small regard of punishment of, against Irish, 10 ; 900 from Ireland stayed by MacLean, 15 ; all others of the Isles may join with Argyll and MacLean, 20 ; MacLean will make obedient to Argyll, 37 ; must all come to Argyll, 41 ; services of, for Ireland,

held unfit by some English servitors, 187 ; the King purposes to employ Argyll to obtain his duties from, 196 ; the dissensions of, and their causes, 205–207 ; questions touching their employment against Tyrone in Ulster, 207–211 ; are more expert upon sea than land, 207 ; the King's preparations against, 211 ; proceedings of Tyrone and O'Donnell with, 270. *See also* Isles, the.

Italian soldiers : to be sent to Flanders, 65.

Italy : 25, 124, 125, 199, 232, 240, 258, 285, 321, 389.

—, princes of : moneys said to have been offered by, to James VI, 193 ; James alleged to be seeking the help of, in his claim to the throne of England, 271, 277 ; suspicions of, of the King of Spain, 272, 273 ; many persuaded the King of Spain will shortly invade England, 355 ; Ogilvy's pretended mission to, 366.

JACKSON, John, treasurer of Edinburgh : 33.

James III, King of Scots : his marriage to Margaret, the daughter of Denmark, 201.

James IV, King of Scots : 201 ; marriage of, to Margaret Tudor and issue of, 338.

James V, King of Scots : the Lords of the Islands taken prisoners by, 203 ; descent of, from Henry VII of England, 338.

James VI, King of Scots : looked for, in Edinburgh (4 Sept. 1595) and thence goes to Falkland, 3 ; at Inchmurrin, Elizabeth's letter delivered to, 3 ; has given order for the quietness of the Borders, 3 ; his friendship for Elizabeth and readiness to remedy faults of his wardens, 4 ; receives MacLean in favour, 4 ; goes hawking, 4 ; at Hamilton (1 Sept. 1595), 5 ; is most willing to give redress to wronged subjects of Elizabeth, 6 ; will never offend Elizabeth, 6 ; his progress drawing to an end, 6 ; to go to Perth and with the Queen to Stirling and Linlithgow, 6 ; has written to the Chancellor in his illness, 6 ; willing to help Aston's estate but has not the means, 7 ; indifference to Chancellor's state of health, 10 ; rides to Falkland, 11 ; to abide here (?Edinburgh) and Linlithgow all winter, 11 ; small service received for, in London, 12 ; has met Queen at Linlithgow, 13 ; is likely to order redress for Lord Scrope's complaints, 13 ; Nicolson has delivered Scrope's complaints to, at Falkland, 18 ; marvels that complaints against Buccleuch and Cessford come not, 18 ; intends to take Queen to Linlithgow and thence to Stirling, 18 ; being much persuaded to go to Chancellor, 18, 19 ; requests stay of trial of scholar at Edinburgh for death of a bailiff there, 19 ; treats well young Plessie, 21 ; at Falkland with the Queen, is going to Perth to take order for country of Atholl, 21 ; refuses to employ R. Douglas, 22 ; minded to go to Linlithgow on his return from Perth, 22 ; purposed to remain there and in Stirling all the winter, 22 ; has sent for Newbattle and

Traquair to assist Herries in giving Scrope redress, 22, 23; moved again to go to the Chancellor, 23; has proclaimed himself enemy to Elizabeth's rebels in Ireland, 23; thought he would have been stayed from going to Chancellor, 24; advised to make Blantyre Chancellor, 25; forbids Mar's preparations for an incursion on Bruce and Livingstone, 26; rumoured motion by Master of Glamis and others to lay hands on, 26; said to be minded to visit Chancellor, 26; his proclamation against Scottish Irish rebels, 26; at Perth, going to Stirling and Linlithgow, 28; had done well to have gone to the Chancellor, 28; has appointed Council to come to Linlithgow, 29; a packet directed to, from Anthony Ottorron, 30; likely to permit Argyll to serve Elizabeth against the Irish rebels, 31; has commanded Cessford not to stir in the Borders, 32; thought he will agree to the remission of Angus, 32; has ridden to Perth, 32; the earldom of Atholl not in his hands, 32; to return to Falkland, thence to Dunfermline, Linlithgow and Stirling, 33; alleged to have given Huntly power to return to Scotland, 34; Argyll and MacLean have not yet made end with, 35-37; coming from Perth to Falkland and thence to Dunfermline, 39; has written twice to Herries to do justice to Scrope, 39; is shortly to take order for peace in the Borders, 39; his supposed policy of "lying upon advantage" in the matter of the restoration of Angus, 40; takes little care for the loss of the Chancellor, 41; will have the Borderers to come to him at Linlithgow, 41; not minded to be hasty in filling Chancellor's place and his views thereon, 43, 44; his epitaph on the Chancellor referred to, 44; will reform the West March, 46; has no good liking of the Master of Glamis, 46; is minded to pass to the Borders, 46, 47; will allow of Elizabeth's choice of Lord Eure as warden of the East March, 47; orders the Maxwells and Douglasses to appear before him, 47; will be well advised how to bestow the Chancellorship, 47; on very kind terms with the Queen, 47; to Elizabeth (24 Oct. 1595), 48; Aston has moved to dispatch his answer to Elizabeth's letter before Convention meets, 49; will make no Chancellor yet but has promised not to do so without advice of Mar and Blantyre, 50; if the Borderers compeer not at Linlithgow he will pass to the Borders, 50; is minded to make some new councillors, 50; will satisfy Elizabeth according to her desire, 51; rests upon going to West Borders if certain Borderers do not come to the Convention, 51; Convention to take order with his affairs and decide upon place of his winter residence, 51; intends to keep the Chancellor's place void, 51; looked he will go to Stirling with the Queen, 52; intends to content Elizabeth on the Borders, 52; reconciled

with Mar, 54; to be in Stirling, 54; agrees the Queen and Mar in the Council, 54; sees none worthy of Chancellor's place, 55; will not have the service of the Master of Glamis or the company of Buccleuch and Cessford, 55; is coming to Edinburgh, 55; may profit by the abstinence taken between France and Spain for evil will of England, 57; refuses Angus MacConnell permission to invade the Isle of Man, 58, 61; comes to Edinburgh, 58, 59, 61; returned to Linlithgow, 59, 61; takes order for receipt of suspicious packets from beyond sea, 59; cause of his coming to Edinburgh, 60; to winter in Edinburgh, 61; attempt to persuade him to enter in friendship with Spain, 61; nothing heard of his going to Stirling, 61; stands fast to Sir J. Carmichael, 62; has letters from the Duke of Florence and the King of Poland, 62; again goes to Edinburgh, 64; wishes general agreements to withstand Spain, 64; has given orders for musters, etc., 64; promises Nicolson to take order to satisfy Elizabeth concerning the Borders, 65; secret offers of 50,000 ducats alleged to be made to, 65; says he will be Elizabeth's lieutenant against Spain, 65; suspected to have made verses against William Fuller, 65, 66; at Edinburgh, 66; speaks in the Council touching the imminent dangers from Spain, 67; prepared to hazard his life both for Scotland and England, 67; has made choice of Blantyre, Melville and Traquair to guide him in his affairs, 68; busy in Border affairs, 68; wish for a warmer dealing between him and Elizabeth, 68; his letter to Archibald Douglas as to leave to return home, 68; has privy advertisements of Spanish preparations, 72; intends to declare to Elizabeth his goodwill against Spain, 73; declines to believe that the Spanish forces are intended for his advancement in England, 73; has authorised Blantyre to convene Council, 73; agrees Mar and Blantyre with the Master of Glamis and Buccleuch, 74; is going to Linlithgow, 74; takes measures to satisfy Scrope in the Borders, 75; begins to take matters stoutly upon himself, 75; goes to Linlithgow, thence to take the Queen to Stirling, and thence to Edinburgh for the winter, 76, 77; is given a pamphlet in verse by an Irishman, 76; to take upon him to compose controversies among noble personages, 78; rejoiced at the verses of Walter Quin, 79; Quin's anagrams on his name, sonnets, etc., laudatory of, 80-86; to leave Stirling for Edinburgh, 87; deals very earnestly with Mar for staying his day of law with the Livingstones and Bruces, 88; is resolved to see proclamation against letters sent abroad executed, 89; has a Council for quieting the Borders, 89; the Queen's Council making means to be employed to better his living, 90; daily occupied with Border affairs, the enormities of the

country and the ordering of his patrimony, 92; the Queen's Council has offered to make him a sufficient rent to entertain his estate, 93; will allow intelligence to pass between him and Elizabeth and their ministers, 93; to Elizabeth requesting grain from England (20 Dec.), 94, 95; prevails on Mar to hold over his day of law, 95, 96; thought that offers may be made to, for return of Huntly and Errol, 96; enters on the settling of the Borders, 97; thinks the late Chancellor has not done his duty, 97; thought he will accord Mar and his enemies, 97; his preservation attributed by Colville to Elizabeth, 98; will be found most frank and ready to concur with Elizabeth in all things tending to her preservation, 98; thinks he has been evil served by his own officers, 99; the managing of his affairs committed to Blantyre with the Queen's Council, 99; has been assured that Lady Arbella is not like to live, 99; is much offended with the book (Dolman's) on the titulars to the throne of England, 100, 126; the embassy to England comes from him only, 101; is well devoted to the good cause, 101; says he is doing what he can for justice to Scrope, 101, 102; since the Chancellor's death begins to be seen King, 102; offer by Tyrone and O'Donnell of their lands to hold of him, 103; suggested means for inducing to declare himself a Catholic, 104-111; his tolerance towards the Catholics, 105; his ill will to the ministers, 105; his power said to be concentrated in the nobility, 106; reputed fear of excommunication, 107; suggestion of an emolument to, to secure his tolerance of the Catholics, 107; would hold dear any pretext to suppress the insolence of the ministers, 107; has never shown great fervour to Calvinism, 108; suspects the Jesuits, 109; has better right to the succession in England than Arabella, 109; forms a new Council, four members from his own and four from the Queen's for the ordering of his revenues (Octavians), 113; gives Johnstone commission to keep good "neighbourhead" with England, 113; has penned a proclamation himself, 114, 116; wishes the Provost of Edinburgh to proceed to England, 114; intends no feuds shall hinder concurrency against the Spaniards, 114; stays the ministers from entering into excommunication with regard to David Forrester's slaughter, 114; angry at a tumult in Edinburgh, 115; has of late condemned all practisers against Elizabeth, 115; exasperated with the late seditious book made in favour of Spain, 116, 148 (*and see* Dolman); swears his new Council for ordering of his whole living (Octavians), 117; says he will only use in his causes such as are hangable, 117; thinks Elizabeth does not trust him, 118; will never consent to change his religion as the French King did, 118; examines

an Irishman arrested with letters from Rome, 118, 120; promises to send Elizabeth intercepted letters concerning her, 119; thinks himself neglected by the absence of an English resident ambassador, 120, 121, 126; is anxious to hasten his ambassador's going to England, 121, 122; the Octavians reforming the needless charges of his house and intending to augment his living by 100,000*l.* yearly, 122; proceeding in agreeing feuds for a general concurrence against the Spaniards, 122; angry at return of advertisements from Jesuits, 123; Bruce believes to be free of all practice and wronged by false informations, 124; will not receive Henry IV's ambassador if that King has honoured Bothwell, 124; the Pope and Philip II said to seek his concurrency against Elizabeth and the Huguenots, 125; the ministers and he never so great, 126; his instructions to the Octavians, for the administration of his revenues expenses of his household, etc., 127, 128; disposal of his annuity from England, 129; a gentleman to be sent from, to France, 133; his pains to reform abuses 133; to James Hudson (24 Jan. 1595-6), 133; desires a licence for import of beer from England, 133; does not intend any hurt to any that were of the assise of his mother, 134; angry with R. Bowes, 135; promises to see justice done in the matter of an English ship taken by the Earl of Orkney, 136; is effecting economies in his and the Prince's household, 136; may go to Dumfries to quiet those parts, 137; errands of his ambassadors to Elizabeth should be stayed, 137; common bruits as to his intelligence with Spain or other Catholic prince, 137, 140; his requests for 1,000 *l.* from Elizabeth, 137; MacLean requests Elizabeth's letters to, in his favour, 138; Elizabeth proposes to recover his grace towards Bothwell, 138; Bowes to try to find out why he is sending special persons to Elizabeth, 139; Bowes to incense to take Spain as his enemy, 140; earnest for his ambassadors' speedy departure to Elizabeth, 142, 143; in dislike of the Master of Glamis gives good countenance to Spynie, 142; is no pacifier of Buccleuch and Cessford, 143; gives audience to Bowes (22 Feb. 1595-6), 146-148; expresses his purpose to aid Elizabeth against the Spaniards, 147; has refused the gold offered him by the Pope, 147; had hoped that Elizabeth would have relieved his burthens in raising forces in the North in the common cause, 148; has directed Orkney to send English ship he has stayed to Edinburgh, 148; is sending D. Foulis to Elizabeth as to discoveries made in Rome, etc., 148; intends to draw the Isles to his good obedience, 149; the Queen relates how she warned him of a plot to surprise his body in Edinburgh, 150; intends to use MacLean and Mackenzie to draw the Isles

to him, 151 ; a book treating against his right of heritage of England, 153 ; most necessary that there be a warmer dealing between Elizabeth and, 154 ; advised by Elizabeth to bridle the parties of the Papist Earls, 155 ; need not mistrust help from Elizabeth if invaded by Spain, 155 ; hoped that he will allow MacLean to invade the rebels in Ireland, 157 ; has put D. Foulis in readiness to be sent to Elizabeth, 161 ; inquires of Bowes the nature of the credit sent by Elizabeth to his queen, 161 ; Burghley and Essex accused of having inward courses to the prejudice of, 161 ; refuses large sums for the life of Ardinglass, 162 ; is coming to Dunglass to hunt about Ayton, 162 ; says he will not give Huntly and Errol leave to return without advice of the Estate and the ministers, 162 ; to Elizabeth (12 Mar. 1595-6), 163 ; hoped that he will consent to stopping of Scottish aid to rebels in Ireland, 166 ; has ridden to Dunglass for hunting, 167 ; purposes to journey to Dumfries for establishing quietness in the West Borders, 167 ; will not allow of Lady Huntly's suit, 167 ; his charge necessary for MacLean to serve Elizabeth in Ireland, 171 ; overtures for resisting the rebels of, 172, 173 ; his consent hoped for MacLean's proposals of service in Ireland, 173, 186 ; is resolved to take "indelate" order with the Isles, 174 ; returns to Holyroodhouse, 174 ; the dearth about Dumfries may stay his journey there, 174 ; is very ready to establish religion and provide fit stipends for every pastor, 174, 177 ; is pressed to send an ambassador to France, 175 ; favours MacLean, 176 ; his speech at the General Assembly (March 1596), 176-178 ; his heart and affection have been towards the religion, 176 ; his instructions to his commissioners to the General Assembly, 178, 179 ; the answers of the General Assembly to his propositions, 179, 180 ; no ministers in their preachings have given occasion to judge evil of, anent the planting of kirks, 179, 180 ; if he urges the delivery of Kinmont he intends no justice to England, 180 ; A. Sinclair to (2 April 1596), 181 ; asked to attend or send noblemen to coronation of Christian IV, 181 ; Auchinross to present some suit for MacLean to, 182 ; "griefs" of the General Assembly "menit" to, and articles to be proponed to for the mend of the same, 182-184 ; the General Assembly asks him to prosecute his purpose to fill all the kirks with pastors at sufficient stipends, 183 ; orders the restitution of the ship taken by Orkney, 185 ; requests English denization for two Scottishmen, 188 ; measures taken by, for maintaining justice and peace in the Borders, 190, 197 ; has departed to Stirling, 191 ; desires Orkney to have redress for his goods taken by Englishmen, 192 ; at Stirling, purposing to remove to Falkland and

Dunfermline, 192 ; is minded not to go to coronation of King of Denmark but to send his ambassadors, 192 ; denies success of attempts to draw him to Rome, 193 ; should be moved by good means to appoint MacLean to Elizabeth's service in Ireland, 194 ; has appointed R. Bowes to be with him, 27 April 1596, 195 ; purposes to employ Argyll to obtain his duties from the Islanders, 196 ; returns to Edinburgh, 196 ; has promised immediate execution of justice in the Borders, 197 ; protests he will party Elizabeth against all her enemies, 198 ; is unlikely to grant any of the requests of Huntly and Errol, 199 ; intends to make a progress to the Isles, 211 ; rode to Stirling and purposes to return to Linlithgow, 212, 213 ; reported letter of, declaring war against the King of Spain, 213 ; disposed to give Elizabeth redress against Buccleuch, 214 ; has been tempted to join with the Pope and Spain but will never consent, 215 ; returns to Holyroodhouse, 216 ; Bowes's audience with, concerning Buccleuch's attempt on Carlisle Castle, 216-218 ; returning from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, 220 ; is resolved to repair to the Isles and Highlands, 222 ; is willing to send commissioners to the Borders to try the allegations against Buccleuch, 223 ; alleged negotiations of, with Clement VIII, 225-227 ; considerations proving his good affection for the Catholics, 227-229 ; Catholic kinsmen of, 228 ; Elizabeth sought his excommunication by the Pope, his marriage to the sister of the King of Navarre, etc., 229 ; reasons for his joining with the Pope for an enterprise upon England, 230-233 ; Elizabeth's hand in the blood of both his parents, 230 ; asks Bowes to deliver his demands in writing for redress for Buccleuch's action at Carlisle, 234 ; asks the Convention to content Elizabeth in the matter, 234 ; very willing to yield speedy redress but wishes the cause to be committed to the trial of commissioners, 235, 237 ; alone in the Council was earnest to give Elizabeth redress, 236, 251 ; Elizabeth's yearly gratuity to, will be stayed until redress given for Buccleuch's fault, 236 ; falls in water in rescuing his hawk, 237 ; his journey into the West Isles concluded by the Convention, 237 ; to Elizabeth, anent Buccleuch's attempt at Carlisle (4 June 1596), 238 ; is loth to cause any stay of payment of Elizabeth's yearly gratuity, 239 ; has compounded with MacLean for some lands in Islay, 240 ; is not yet hasty to bestow the office of Chancellor, 240 ; at Stirling travelling the reconciliation of Mar and Livingstone, 240 ; measures taken by, with his Council for the Borders, 243 ; ambassador of, to Denmark to be appointed, 244 ; has an especial liking of MacLean, 244 ; has thanked Elizabeth for the justice shown to Edward Johnston, 246 ; is taking his pastimes about

Callendar and other places, 248; reputed to have been asked by Denmark to enter into league with other protestant princes against Spain, 248; stays the single combat between Sanquhar and Orkney, 248; Elizabeth to (24 June 1596), 249; Elizabeth accuses of being seduced by evil information, 250; thought the refusal of Elizabeth's gratuity very strange news, 251, 253; the new love for religion and the amity rests wholly in, his boroughs and the ministers, 251; goes to Dunfermline and Falkland, 253; Octavians think he cannot now deliver Buccleuch without disgrace, 253; is resolved to have Buccleuch before him and the Council, 253; States of Zeeland to (29 June 1596), 255; to D. Foulis (30 June), 256; the annuity from Elizabeth is properly his promised for contentation of his lands, 256; has always refused to embrace offers made to him by England's enemies to revenge his mother's death, 256; his alleged commission to Pury Ogilvy to treat with the King of Spain, 257; Scottish nobility's appeal to Spain that he be not excommunicated or his title prejudiced, 260; Crichton blamed for defending without commission, 260; Elizabeth to (June or July), 262; Bowes attends on, at Dunfermline, 262; audience of, to Bowes and his refusal to deliver Buccleuch to Elizabeth, 262, 263; still thinks that commissioners will best dispose of the cause for Elizabeth's satisfaction, 264; the Octavians will so husband his revenues that he may forbear Elizabeth's gratuity, 264; comes to Edinburgh, 264; Bowes delivers Elizabeth's letter to, touching Buccleuch's fact, 265; is content to try Buccleuch's fact by ordinary form of trial, 266; Elizabeth has been informed of his intention to withstand all Spanish practices against him, 266; she has perfect knowledge of the practices of certain subjects of (Pury Ogilvy and others) with Spain and the Pope, 267; alleged by pretended agents of, to be inwardly disposed to Catholicism, 267; further debates with Bowes anent redress for Buccleuch's action, 268-270; copies of intercepted letters of Philip II sent to, 270; Ogilvy alleges he has been sent by, to procure help from the Pope and the princes of Italy, 271; Ogilvy's negotiations with Sessa in his pretended mission on behalf of, 271-274; his liberation from Elizabeth to be sought, 275; the Pope declares he is deceived by those who would persuade him of the catholic intentions of, 276; said to have sent to Rome, France, Holland, Denmark and Italy to know what succours he may obtain, 277; Elizabeth has of new given him hope of succession to the crown of England, 277; alleged secret instructions of, to John Cecil to treat with the Pope 277, 278; thinks it strange Elizabeth has

twice refused the year's gratuity, 278; the chief furnishers of, 278; has written to D. Foulis unknown to Bowes, setting out his services to Elizabeth, 278, 279; Bowes has sent his letter to Elizabeth by Foulis, 281; outwardly appears still desirous to content Elizabeth anent Buccleuch, 281, 283, 284; receives Dunipace at the Queen's request, 282, 284; ambassadors of, for Denmark not to start before 1 August 1596, 282; is going to Falkland, 282; Airth has presence of, by the Queen's means, 284; desires a placard from Elizabeth for ten horses, 285; licence of, to the Master of Gray, 285; has restrained his resolution to write to Elizabeth, 286; Foulis has a letter from to deliver to Elizabeth, 287; Elizabeth finds his letter full of strange arguments, 287; her gratuity to him proceeded out of goodwill only, 288; matters not well framed between Elizabeth and, 289; if the mischievous matter of Buccleuch were put to some point all other things would settle between Elizabeth and, 290; joyful at good success of the English navy and army, 290; at Dunfermline, 291; desires all offences in the Borders to be redressed by commissioners, 293; sincere intention of, to withstand all Spanish practices, 294, 295; Elizabeth is sure that Ogilvy's practices have no ground from, 294, 296; rides to Dundee, 294; his proceedings in the Isles like to be hindered, 295; has summoned Pury Ogilvy to appear within sixty days, 296; will hunt Huntly if in the realm 296; is ridden to Dundee to see his ambassadors embarked for Denmark, 297; puts over the meeting of Council from Dunfermline to Falkland, 297; resolved to make a fort at Lough Aubery, 298; mightily dealt with by factions for and against Huntly, 299; argues for the trial of Buccleuch's fact by commissioners, 299; will advise with his Council how best to satisfy Elizabeth for the punishment of Buccleuch, 300; the league defensive and offensive lately concluded with Elizabeth and, 300; claim of, to the lands in England of his grandfather the Earl of Lennox, 300; his care to quench the fire and storms on the Borders, 300; desires a placard to buy ten horses in England, 301; thought to know of Huntly's being in the realm, 302; has appointed certain lords and ministers to conclude upon the Catholic Earls, 303; an Englishman hanged for slandering, 304; his offer of redress to Elizabeth for Buccleuch's fact, 304; desires that commissioners be appointed for both realms for peace in the Marches, 305, 309; allures the Convention to refer Huntly's cause to him with the advice of such as he shall choose, 306; goes to the Queen at Dunfermline on the birth of his daughter, 306; suggested that Elizabeth mediate for Huntly with, 307; met the Countess of Huntly at Dundee,

307; said to have ordered the ministers to have no dealing with Bowes, 308; names his commissioners for the Borders, 310; returned to Dunfermline from his pastimes in Inchmurrin and other places and passing to Falkland, 310; Angus has compounded with, 311; much offended with the Conservator for Scotland at Errol's escape, 311; resolute to hold Buccleuch in ward at Elizabeth's pleasure, 311; has promised to put Huntly out of the realm before hearing his offers, 313; Elizabeth content with his dealing with Buccleuch, 314; she desires him to be informed of her league with the French King, 315; desires to know Elizabeth's reason for restraining Archibald Douglas, 316; greatly tempted by Huntly's friends, 317; had expected to have been acquainted with Elizabeth's league with France and the United Provinces, 317; has sent to draw Argyll to his presence, 318; at Stirling, purposing to go to Linlithgow, 318; Elizabeth to (21 Sept. 1596) 319; alleged negotiations of, with Clement VIII, 322; the King of Spain is against, for the crown of England, 322; gives Bowes audience at Linlithgow, 323; the league between Elizabeth and the French King reported to, 323, 324; his desire for the Garter, 324; is willing to join Elizabeth, the French King and protestant princes in a league against Spain, 324, 325; well advised by Blantyre anent pacifying the troubles between the ministers and the Catholic Earls, 326; MacConnell submits to, 326; expects expedition of Elizabeth's commissioners to the frontier and the speedy return of Foulis with the gratuity, 327; amount of Elizabeth's gratuity to, 327; to be asked to grant a like commission for the Borders as that of Elizabeth, 328; approves Elizabeth's commission and orders one in like form for Scotland to be framed, 335; custody of his daughter reserved to Queen Anne and, 336; declares that Huntly's offers shall not be heard before he retire from the realm and is reconciled to the Kirk, 337; advised to require Elizabeth's allowance to be declared the second person to the crown of England, 337; 1,000 *l.* of Elizabeth's gratuity unpaid, 338; right of succession of, to the crown of England, 338-342; desires Elizabeth's consent to the release from ward of Buccleuch to prepare his bills for the commissioners of the Borders, 342, 350; whispered he has licensed Huntly to return, 343; D. Foulis has brought back 3,000 *l.* only of the gratuity, 346; certain of his counsellors wish the gratuity to be no more demanded, 346, 349; at Stirling at baptism of Mar's daughter, 346; Elizabeth desires to know his intention anent Huntly and Angus's liberty, 347; Foulis imputes the reduction of the gratuity of, to Burghley and Cecil rather than Elizabeth, 349; some controversy fallen out between, and

the ministers, 349; has summoned a Convention at Holyroodhouse on 2 Nov. to conclude in all Border causes, etc., 349; desires a placard to buy twelve horses and geldings in England, 350; reported letters of, to the Pope in favour of the Bishop of Vaison, and to Father Crichton to deal with the Pope in money matters, 351; intends to try the matters objected against David Black, 352, 354; expected to have sharply proceeded against sundry ministers for speeches against the Catholic Earls, 353; desires the day for the meeting of the Border Commissioners postponed, 353; complains to Elizabeth of the author of *The Faerie Queen*, 354; goes to Dunfermline, 354; report of R. Bowes's audience with, 354-356; denies he has given the Catholic Earls licence to remain in the country, 355; thanks Elizabeth for her goodwill in the matter of the princess's baptism, 355; cannot with assent of his nobility and Estates deliver Buccleuch's body to Elizabeth, 356; denies he has given toleration for the remain of Huntly and Errol in the realm, 358; has promised the ministers his mediation in the controversies anent the Catholic Earls, 359; the information against David Black delivered to, by Bowes, 359; has conceived great offence against Edmund Spenser and desires his trial and punishment, 359, 360; displeased at the murder of Captain James Stewart, 360; propositions "proposed" by, to the ministry anent the Catholic Earls and the answers thereto, 361, 362; discharges but temporarily restores to his office the Conservator in the Low Countries, 365; Pury Ogilvy's memorials concerning his wish to be reconciled to the Apostolic see, 366; has never shown any sign of wishing to become a catholic, 366; articles set down by, to be performed by Huntly, 367; accusations made against, by David Black, 368, 369; appoints the Border commissioners, 369; deeply offended with Black's declination, 370; bruited that he gave fair words to the ministry and fruitful actions to the Papist Lords, 371; declaration of, for the meeting of the Border commissioners, 373; Elizabeth desires to know his uncertain proceedings with the Catholic Earls, 374; articles proposed to, by the General Assembly (30 Nov. 1596), 375, 376; Acts of Council, etc., craved of, by the ministers, 377-379; band offered to, by the Kirk, 379, 380; David Black's allegations against, 381; troublesome effects risen between, and the ministers, 383; Council has denied that he is competent judge in the libel against Black, 384; dangerous troubles between, and the ministers expected, 385; the last league of, with Elizabeth, 387; proceedings of, against the Catholic Earls, 388; with his Council is proceeding against the ministers,

in very open and bitter actions, 390 ; has a special trust in the Lord President, 392 ; by Act of 1584 is judge generally in all causes, 392 ; at Council in the inner house of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on 17 Dec. 1596, 393-395, 399-402, 405 ; escapes to Holyroodhouse, goes to Linlithgow and returns to Edinburgh, using great mercy, 394 ; orders 24 burgesses of Edinburgh to depart from the town, 395 ; the Council prevents, from answering the petitions of the convention in the Little Kirk, Edinburgh, on 17 Dec. 1696, 395 ; resolved to stay at Dalkeith and thence remove to Linlithgow or Stirling, 396 ; has signified to several his care for the advancement of religion, 396 ; articles proponed to by the noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministry convened at Edinburgh, 17 Dec. 1596, 396-398 ; Robert Bruce's letter to Lord Hamilton shown to, 399 ; intending to lodge in Dalkeith but advised by the Council to remove to Linlithgow, 400 ; has sent for the Queen and resolved to withdraw from Edinburgh, 400 ; Aston's account of the controversy between, and the ministers, 404-407 ; is preparing to come to Edinburgh very strong, 406 ; is purposed to remove Fawdenside from the Border commission, 407 ; terms of peace to the town of Edinburgh expected from, 408 ; resolved to be at Leith on 31 Dec. 1596 with a force of over 5,000 horsemen, 408 ; "band" of, to be subscribed by the ministry, 410, 411, 442 ; comes to Leith (31 Dec. 1596), 412, 415 ; comes to Edinburgh on 1 Jan. 1596-7 and takes command of the town, 412, 415 ; makes a great harangue to the people, 412, 415 ; reported that he will be favourable to the town, 412, 413 ; a placard for 12 horses requested from Elizabeth, 414 ; is resolved to send his four Border commissioners to Foulden on 12 Jan. 1596-7, 414 ; has mitigated his wrath against the town of Edinburgh, 415 ; comes to Edinburgh on 2 Jan. and hears the sermons, 416 ; to possess the houses in Edinburgh formerly inhabited by the ministers, 418 ; thought that support from Spain to the Catholic Earls may force him from the religion and the amity, 419 ; protection of realm of Ireland offered to, 421 ; malice of, heavily bent against Edinburgh, 422 ; long oration of, to the nobility and Council in Edinburgh 423 ; sends a warrant which had not passed the signet for the expulsion of the burgesses of Edinburgh named, 426 ; a letter pretended to have been written by John Rutherford put in the hands of the porter of, 426 ; letter to, from Elizabeth received by Bowes, 426, 428 ; Sir W. Keith soliciting support for, in Venice, 427 ; grants licence to certain ministers to convene in Edinburgh, 428 ; dislikes much of the proclamation putting the ministers to the horn, 429 ; Elizabeth's

letter delivered to, 429 ; purposes to write to Elizabeth with his own hand, 430 ; cherishes Cessford and Buccleuch the evil firebrands of the Borders, 434, 435 ; must be moved to agree to the employment of Scots against Irish rebels, 437 ; answers and objections of the ministers to the band required by, 442-446 ; by the band made spiritual head of the Kirk, 442 ; has sent a reply to Elizabeth's letter by Roger Aston, 447 ; assembles a convention of ministers at Leith, 447 ; orders the magistrates of Edinburgh to suffer the censure of a jury, 448 ; copy of Elizabeth's letter to, of 5 Jan. 1596-7, 448 ; Elizabeth fears his love for the banished lords may blind him to their treason, 448 ; Roger Aston is taking his letter to Elizabeth, 452 ; grieved that copy of Elizabeth's letter to him is very common, 452 ; secret letter foisted into his porter's hands, 453, 455 ; approves that Huntly shall be charged to reveal all secrets intended against him and Elizabeth and religion, 454 ; offended with Council for sitting in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, 454 ; commissioners of, for the synod of Lothian, instructions to, 455, 456, 466 ; the grace that the Border commanders find with, 460 ; his desire to prove treason, etc. by those assembled in the Little Kirk has not been effected, 465 ; his proceedings against the persons concerned in the "tumult" deeply wound his subjects, 465 ; his instructions to procure Huntly's absolution, 466 ; has written to Huntly to his great comfort, 466 ; purposes to apprehend James Douglas for the slaughter of Captain James Stewart, 467 ; petitions proponed to, by the synodal of Lothian, 468, 469 ; his answers to the petitions, 469, 470 ; cannot agree to be called a persecutor of the ministry, 470 ; is to move to Perth, 470 ; an anonymous writer to (23 Feb.), 471 ; audience of, to Bowes on the subject of Border outrages, 473 ; commands Buccleuch to yield redress for the same, 473 ; allows the Border commissioners to meet at Carlisle but insists that they meet at Dumfries for special matters, 474 ; will not agree to the general assembly being adjourned until April at St. Andrews, 474 ; removed to Linlithgow (25 Feb. 1596-7), 474 ; fears that his violent course against religion cannot long prevail without the aid of papists and Spaniards, 475 ; his fifty-five questions to the General Assembly, 477, 479 ; horses sent to, from Ireland, 477 ; journeying to Perth, 477 ; Buccleuch in great favour with, 478 ; his instructions to Patrick Murray to be proponed to the ministers of the North, especially to the presbytery of Aberdeen, 478-480 ; to the Laird of Philorth (1 Mar.), 480 ; demands the delivery of the houses of Muswald, Carlawerock and Torthorwald, 482 ; comes to the Convention at Perth, 482 ; much offended with the noblemen absent from

the Convention, 483; well pleased with the proceedings of the ministers at Perth, 483; will not suffer the four ministers of Edinburgh to be restored, 483; will never come to Edinburgh until the townsmen submit to his will, 484; sums of money due to, from France for his mother, 484; articles proposed by, to the General Assembly at Perth, 485, 486; his offence against the whole discipline of religion, 486, 487; Elizabeth to (13 Mar.), 487; to be solicited to perform his Border commissioners' indent, 491; excuses the putting off of the meeting of the Border Commissioners on 10 March and promises to further the good fruits of the commissioners' travails, 492; is ready to enter on his journey to the West Marches, 492; will not accept any offers of the town of Edinburgh except they first come into his will, 492; hoped that he will release the four ministers of Edinburgh from the horn, 493; has received the town of Edinburgh into his grace, 494; has departed towards Dumfries, 494; copy of Elizabeth's letter to, received, 496; Elizabeth to (Mar. 1596-7), 497; said to be inflamed to appease the Kirk, 501; memorial of things to be imparted to, by Sir W. Bowes, 502, 503; intends to hold justice courts at Dumfries and Peebles, 503; Aston has delivered Elizabeth's letter to, 504; is expected in Edinburgh, 505; at Dumfries, 506, 507; said to be seeking special intelligence with Venice, 507; proceedings between, and the Kirk in ecclesiastical causes to be debated, 508; gives audience to Bowes anent Border disorders, 510, 511; receives the ministers of Edinburgh and relaxes them from the horn, 511, 513; to Elizabeth (22 April 1597), 512; highly offended with the late stirs on the Borders, 513; R. Bowes to show his letter from Elizabeth to, 515; cautions and intelligences received by Elizabeth from Spain, to be imparted to, 515; cherishes his wardens in the Marches when found most faulty, 516; speeches to be delivered by Sir W. Bowes to, 517, 518; likes well the proceedings of the Border Commissioners, 523; to leave Edinburgh for Dundee (6 or 7 May), 527, 528; will promise to see the indents, etc. accorded by the Border Commissioners accomplished, 529; treaty of peace between Elizabeth and (5 May), 530, 531; letters patent of, appointing the Border Commissioners, 530, 531; Elizabeth has written roundly to, anent the Borders, 532; answers to his questions proponed to the General Assembly at Perth, 533; audience given by, to Sir W. Bowes anent Border outrages, 535-540; R. Bowes reports the substance of his letter from Elizabeth to, 541; has lost the French King through his care to preserve Elizabeth's goodwill, 541, 542; at the Convention at Dundee, 543; thanks Elizabeth for advertising him of the

Spanish negotiations of Rolstone, 546; terms Bothwell a notable conspirator against his person, 547; much troubled how to satisfy Elizabeth in the delivery of Cessford and Buccleuch, 548; requisitions of the English ambassadors to be presented to, 548-550; demands the restoration of the Catholic Lords, 552; convenes his Council at Holyroodhouse, 555; refuses to deliver Buccleuch and Cessford to Elizabeth, 555; replies to Elizabeth's threat of revenge that he must remain defensive, 557; is not destitute of the favour of foreign potentates, 558; necessary for him to have Elizabeth's favour, 558; returns from Dundee to Holyroodhouse, 559; the punishment of his wardens to be reserved to, 562, 564, 565; the English ambassadors recount their conference with his Council on 21 May to, 562, 563; his answers to them, 563-566; his assent to the restoration of the four ministers of Edinburgh unlikely, 568; ready to ride to Linlithgow, 568.

—, Advocate of, none to be chosen for the time being, 129.

—, Chamber of: rising jealousies between some of, and the Catholic councillors, 401; the Council has some of the gentlemen of, in great jealousy, 425; plan to disappoint of the escheat from Edinburgh, 454.

—, Guard of, *see* King's Guard.

—, Household of: 1,000 marks paid for charges of, shortly to cease, 45; economies to be effected in, 127, 128.

—, —, Master of, *see* Chisholm, Sir James.

—, parks and forests of: measures for the stocking of, 128; "decreits" of removing anent, 131.

—, porter of, *see* Bogg, John.

Jentown, John: 131.

Jesse, Monsieur, Frenchman: 343.

Jesuits: 246; should refrain from meddling in affairs of state in England and Scotland, 109; hold that only by conquest could Catholic religion be restored in England and Scotland, 109; might be removed from England as most vexatious to the Queen, 110; college of, at Liège, 146; and excommunicated papists in Scotland, names of, 182, 183; alleged to have newly entered Scotland with assurances to their friends, 193; reported speeches of, against England and Elizabeth, 240; have sent James Crichton into Scotland, 249; Huntly offers to banish all, out of his bounds, 305, 361; gold for the Papist Earls suspected to be sent to Scotland by, 311; English, opposed to Father Crichton's party, 321; proclamations and articles against the Scots ministers translated and sent to, 389, 425; suggested traffic of, in the Borders, 518; Huntly, Errol and Angus will banish all, out of their company, 551. *See also* Catholics.

John, King of England : 340.

Johnstone (Johnson, Johnston), Sir James, Laird of Johnstone: has good countenance of the King, 5, 10; the Queen travails for, 10; is to redress Scrope's complaints, 39; at feud with Herries, 39; should have an officer over him for Elizabeth's contentment, 47; Buccleuch has "kythed" himself with, 47; written for to attend Convention, 51; Buccleuch expected to be with, 51; Sanquhar is under severance with, 53; late slaughter between Maxwell and, 54; puts Herries to flight, 56; commanded to keep peace until 24 Nov. 1595, 59; has had privy conference with James, 65; Buccleuch favours, 74; is sent for and will be committed to ward, 76; was in Edinburgh but "demittit," 79; day of justice between Mar and, 79; in ward, to be compelled to satisfy Lord Scrope, 89; in ward in Edinburgh Castle, 92; may be chosen as warden of West Marches, 96, 97; the deadly feud between him and Maxwell to be pacified, 100; is set at liberty upon bond and given commission to keep good "neighbourhead" with England, 113; pledges to be taken of, for keeping good order, 116; Herries has taken and given assurance with, 136; is like to be preferred for the wardenry of the West Marches, 167; to be committed until good order be taken for the peace of the Marches, 243; seeks leave to join with Cessford and "quit a common" with Buccleuch, 264; appears to give assurance for good order on the Borders, 270; in Edinburgh, 281, 284; like to be chosen warden of the West Marches, 282; bond taken of, for order in the Borders, 293; charged to levy horsemen for the King, 408; meets the King at Leith, 412; to execute the office of wardenry, 416; commanded not to be at Court with Herries, 422; privy intelligence betwixt Herries and, 422; special friends of, at Court, 422, 423; Buccleuch's intention to extirpate, 448; thinks not himself assured of Buccleuch, 500; assurance to be given to, by the Maxwells and Dunlanrick, 504; to the Scottish Border Commissioners (20 April 1597), 509; keeps himself and his people from the course of justice, 518.

—, David, of Newby, burgess of Edinburgh: entered into ward in Edinburgh Castle, 401; to appear before the Council at Linlithgow, 402.

—, Edward, of the Bow : 402.

—, Edward, of Edinburgh, Scottish merchant: justice received by, from Elizabeth and Council, 167, 245, 246, 263; a commission for post horses to Scotland requested for, 178.

—, John, of Newby, burgess of Edinburgh: entered into ward in Edinburgh castle, 401; to appear before the Council at Linlithgow, 402.

Johnstones, the: Scrope's complaints against, to be redressed, 39; matters hot between, and the Maxwells, 45; order expected for quieting the deadly feuds with the Maxwells, 48; daily enormities committed between, and the Maxwells, 50; have obeyed the King's order and are at Linlithgow, 53; overthrow the Maxwells, 54; the King forces to settle their feud with the Maxwells, 102; dangerous for the Maxwells to pass through the bounds of, 474; have assembled great forces against the Maxwells, 482.

Jowsey (Jousse), Robert: one of the chief furnishers of the King and Queen, 278.

Junior. *See* Campbell of Lawers, James.

Justice Clerk. *See* Bellenden.

Justice, College of: to convene in Perth, 418.

—, Senator of. *See* Preston, John.

KAR. *See* Kerr.

Keile. *See* Kiel.

Keith: 24.

Keith, Sir William, gentleman of the Chamber: takes his journey, 28; in Venice, inquiring as to aid to be obtained for James, 277, 427; James said to have given commission to, to entertain especial kindness with Venice, 507.

Kenele (near Linlithgow): 52.

Kennedy of Bargany, [Gilbert]: in the New Kirk, Edinburgh, on 17 Dec. 1596, 394; reports to the King the petitions of the convention in the Little Kirk, 395, 405; is persuaded to withdraw from the others, 396; meets the King at Leith, 412.

—, James, servant to the Laird Blaquhan: a safe conduct asked for, 249.

Kerncorse, Nicholas. *See* Cairncross.

Kerr (Carr, Kar, Ker) of Cessford, Sir Robert, Warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland (temp. Hen. VII): slaughter of, 386, 561.

—, Sir Robert (styled Cessford): 466; ordered to maintain the Border peace by other than the ordinary course, 6; with his brother-in-law Hume has his folk upon an hour's warning, 11; complaint of the Lord of Mewtus [i.e. Melrose] against, 13; King expects complaints against, by Elizabeth, 18; has his agent with the Queen, 18; is doing great justice to England, 19; will resist the Abbot of Melrose, 21; has had meetings with the Master of Glamis and Buccleuch, 24; proceedings between Melrose and, 24; has been privily in Edinburgh, 26; secret meeting with Master of Glamis and others, 29; has complained of being denied justice in the Borders but ordered by King not to stir, 31, 32; thought he may depart realm on death of Chancellor, 39; matter of tithes between him and Melrose concluded, 39; is shortly to attend the King for taking order in the Borders, 39; still sticks with the Master of Glamis and Buccleuch, 41;

tries to have Mar made Chancellor, 44 ; seeking to obtain King's favour, 46 ; intends to purge himself of all matters with the King, 47 ; fears that his party will shoot at Mar's life, 51 ; has contented King anent the Borders, 53 ; to be reconciled with Mar, 54-61, 67 ; King will not have the company of, 55 ; has excused his attendance on King, 60 ; King has ordered to come in, 64 ; to take order for quiet in the Borders, 65 ; warden of the Middle March but cannot answer for the whole, 71 ; some think he may be drawn from his association with Buccleuch, 74 ; to be in Edinburgh to agree with Mar, 75 ; is reconciled with Mar and Blantyre, 77 ; received in Court again, 79 ; will not apparently be with Mar on his day of law, 88 ; displeased with Buccleuch, 115 ; is to be in Edinburgh, 118 ; his killing of Story, 123 ; quarrel with Buccleuch, 134, 137 ; redress to be demanded of, for his attempts against English Borders, 139 ; Elizabeth's goodness to, to the safety of his life, 141 ; matters between, and Buccleuch grow quick, 142, 143 ; the King orders to keep his ordinary meetings with the English wardens of the Marches, 190, 197 ; to be called to the meeting of the Council, 218 ; has written to Eure proffering service on the Borders, 240 ; is looked to be drawn into single combat with Buccleuch, 240, 254 ; to be committed until good order be taken for peace in the Marches, 243 ; called scarce worthy of credence (? by Buccleuch), 252 ; Johnstone seeks to join against Buccleuch, 264 ; has challenged Buccleuch to single combat, 270 ; in Edinburgh, 281, 284 ; his cautionary to include his combat with Buccleuch, 282 ; summoned to compeer at the Convention, 292 ; bond taken of, for order in the Borders, 293 ; late attempt by, in Middle Marches of England, 310 ; his open invasion of England to be reformed before the commissioners for the Borders inquire into other offences, 329 ; is threatening revenge upon certain English surnames, 330 ; commits outrages in the East Marches, 342, 349 ; may be removed from the wardenry of the Middle Marches, 342, 350 ; alone of the officers of the Borders attends the Convention, 357 ; charged with many great outrages in England, 370 ; charged to levy horsemen for the King, 408 ; murders and dishonours offered to England by, 412 ; a "daft bruit" that he has slain Sir William Bowes in Berwick, 413 ; said to be deadly sick, 413 ; has said he would burn the town of Edinburgh, 423 ; act of, in assaulting Swinburn Castle defined as "invasion," 432, 434, 452, 453, 458-459 ; Scottish commissioners agree to arrest, 433 ; an evil firebrand of the Borders is cherished by the King, 434, 435 ; bill and complaint against, 439 ; his act of hostility and invasion against Elizabeth the

highest, 449 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460 ; on the jury to try the parties arraigned for the "tumult" in Edinburgh, 465 ; cannot demand as many bills in the Middle Marches as Lord Eure, 482 ; at the Convention at Perth, 482 ; the delivery of, to Elizabeth to be demanded by the Border Commissioners, 490, 496, 497 ; breach of meetings between Lord Eure and, for filing of bills, 492 ; is ready to keep new meetings accorded with Lord Eure, 492 ; Elizabeth attending hourly redress for lewd acts of, 502 ; the delivery of, is not meant, 505 ; due punishment for the personal offences of, demanded, 506 ; Sir W. Bowes desires him to be present in his audience with the King, 508 ; justifies outrages committed in the East Marches, 510 ; notorious attempts of, in the Borders, 517 ; meeting of, with Lord Eure, 531 ; delivery of, to Elizabeth demanded by the Border Commissioners, 536, 537, 541, 542, 548, 555, 556, 559-565 ; the King excuses the acts of, 537 ; filed of murder, 538 ; the King promises to send for, 539, 540, 542 ; promoted to be Gentleman of the King's Chamber, 541 ; convicted of murders, 542 ; his attendance on the King at Dundee requested by the English ambassadors, 549 ; excuses himself from attending on the King, 566.

— of Fawdenside, Andrew : a Border commissioner, 369, 386, 447, 461, 462, 530 ; born on the Borders and near in blood to Cessford, 370 ; brings the petitions of the Convention at Edinburgh (17 Dec. 1596) to the King, 396 ; to be charged to be before the Council for the attempt at Edinburgh, 401 ; the King purposed to appoint another Border commissioner in his place, 407, 409 ; has good friends in Court and may be continued in the commission, 408 ; is being sent as a commissioner, 414.

— of Fernihirst (Farnyherst, Ferneheres), Andrew : is careful to do justice in the Middle March, 46 ; no complaints against him, 47 ; to take order for quiet in the Borders, 65 ; has to answer for one part of the Middle March, 71 ; both Buccleuch and Cessford seeking the friendship of, 143 ; to be committed until good order be taken for the peace of the Marches, 243 ; in Edinburgh awaiting the order of King and Council, 284 ; bond taken of, for order in the Borders, 293 ; at the Convention at Perth, 482.

— of Newbottle, Andrew : is attempting to reconcile Buccleuch and Cessford, 134.

— of Newhall, Andrew, his leading of his tithes, 13.

—, Sir Andrew : sent by Cessford to the King with complaints of denial of justice in the Borders, 32.

—, Andrew : tithes in question between, and the Abbot of Melrose, 53

—, Clement, bailiff of Edinburgh, 33.

—, George : has returned from Rome and Spain to the papist lords in Brussels, 219.
 —, Sir John : both Buccleuch and Cessford seeking friendship of, 143.
 —, Sir John, of Hersell : 292.
 —, Sir Robert : desires passport for London, 78.
 Kerry (Kyerye) : 206.
 Kerse, Laird of. *See* Crawford.
 Kiel (Keile) in Holstein : 30.
 Kilconquhar, Fife, minister at. *See* Rutherford, John.
 Kilham (Killam), [co. Northumb.] : great outrages done at, 510, 528, 534, 565.
 Kilmun (Kylmon), provost of, eldest brother of the dean of Limerick : recommended as colonel of Argyll's companies against the Irish rebels, 186 ; sues to serve with MacLean's forces in Ireland, 194 ; offers to serve Elizabeth, 198.
 Kinge, Adam : apprehended by the ministers, 77.
 King's Guard : Captain of, a catholic, 105.
 King's Lynn, [co. Norfolk] : 94.
 Kinloss : commendator of. *See* Bruce, Edward.
 Kinmont, Will of. *See* Armstrong, William.
 Kintyre : 201 ; James MacConnell takes letters patent of, 203 ; Angus MacConnell's house in, surprised by the sons of Sorley Boy, 343, 360.
 —, governor of. *See* Glencairn, Alexander, Earl of.
 Kirk (Church, Church of Scotland) : some of, think Chancellor troubled in mind, 18 ; hopes of good offices to, by Chancellor, 23 ; summons Lady Angus for non-coming to kirk, 23 ; some of, expect Angus to find favour and the papist Earls to return, 32 ; Angus expected to find favour with, 39, 40 ; the synodal assembly considers the conversion of Angus, 40 ; fears the rumoured agreement between France and Spain, 55 ; fears the return of the Papist Earls, 59, 213 ; thought that offers may be made to, for return of Huntly and Errol, 96 ; believed to be favoured and trusted by Elizabeth, 134 ; is suspicious of the Octavians, 134 ; assembly of, to meet 23 Mar. 1595-6, 162 ; Huntly advised to submit to, 213 ; commissioners for, present petitions to the Convention anent the forfeited Earls, 237 ; Crawford under process and censure of, 247 ; greatly " flade " for the Spaniards, 298 ; not content with the King's measures for concluding about the Catholic Earls, 303 ; the offers of Huntly for submission to, discussed in the Convention, 305, 306 ; Huntly's offers not to be heard until he is reconciled to, 337 ; sundry commissioners of, conferring about the reception of the Catholic Earls, 346, 347 ; has petitioned the King for the remove of the Catholic Earls, 351 ; the Catholic Earls must satisfy, of their repentance before being permitted to

reside in the realm, 355 ; cause of the Catholic Earls proceeds to the grief of, 358 ; the Catholic Earls not to be received in favour with the King before they have satisfied, 362 ; commissioners for, appear before Council for approbation of their privileges and justification of their course against the Catholic Earls, 370 ; Acts of Council, etc., annulling Acts contrary to the commissioners of, craved of the King by the ministers (Dec. 1596), 377-379 ; the band offered by, to the King, 379, 380 ; claim that treasonable words uttered in pulpit should be tried in first instance by, 380 ; hopes that the charge to the commissioners of, to leave Edinburgh will be discharged, 385 ; commissioners of, receive comfortable answer from Queen Anne, 385 ; Huntly tenders his submission to, 388 ; commissioners of, put in hope that the King will explain the faults in the Acts against the ministers, 390 ; since the Act of 1592 has had the judicatory of all causes ecclesiastical, 393 ; commissioners of, commanded to depart from Edinburgh, 394 ; the division between the King and, 397 ; the proceeding against the liberties of, 397 ; ratification by Act of Council of all the proceedings of, prayed by the convention at Edinburgh, 17 Dec. 1596, 398 ; Cecil pressed for a decision as to Bowes's course anent the matters between the King and, 413, 414 ; a charge to be directed to, to hear Huntly's offers, 424 ; petition that the late acts, etc., in prejudice of the liberty of, may be rescinded, 429 ; troublesome estate of, 431 ; Burghley's questions as to terms used in the government of, 435 ; the band to the King makes him spiritual head of, 442 ; causes subject to the censure of, 443 ; Elizabeth's advice to the King anent his quarrel with certain members of, 448 ; the fearful desolation fallen in, 468 ; ministers petition for a stable peace in, 469 ; commissioners for, at Perth not expected to escape some great disadvantage, 474 ; the presbytery of Edinburgh to protest for the liberties of, 476 ; Huntly's reasonable offers to satisfy, 478 ; the King's printed questions anent the policy of, 479 ; proceedings between the King and, in ecclesiastical causes to be debated, 508 ; commissioners of, accorded with the King as to lawfulness of General Assembly at Perth, 533 ; no convention of pastors to be without King's consent, 533 ; questions touching the discipline of, and the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction to be debated at Dundee, 544 ; good hope of strengthening the religion and discipline of, 544 ; acknowledged by Huntly, 550 ; acknowledged by Errol and Angus, 551 ; called traitors by the King, 552 ; hopes for the preservation of peace in, 568. *See also* General Assembly ; Ministers.

Kirkcaldy : 298.

- Kirkpatrick, [Thomas], Laird of Closeburn : in Council, advises concerning quiet in the Borders, 89 ; in Edinburgh, 92.
- Kirkwall (Kirkway) in Orkney : English ship stayed at, 148, 167.
- Knapdale : 201.
- Knockfargus (Ireland) : letters dated at, 38.
- Knowes, James : a friend of the Ladies of Huntly and Errol, 183.
- Knox, Andrew, minister at Paisley : prevents Ladyland from taking Ailsa, 568.
- , John : Thirlestane has repented of his partial information against, 44 ; the King accustomed to speak ill of, 227.
- Knyghtson, —, a Scotsman : 224.
- Kyerye. *See* Kerry.
- Kylmon. *See* Kilmun.
- LADYLAND (Ladylandes), Laird of. *See* Barclay.
- La Fère : 184, 200.
- Lag, Laird of : in Council, advises concerning quiet in the Borders, 89 ; at Edinburgh, 92.
- Lake, in West Marches of England : 297.
- Lamb (Lambe), Andrew : reads his brother's letter to the King, 68.
- , Gilbert : advertisements of, from Spain, 64, 65, 66, 68 ; has refused to be general pilot of proposed Spanish army of invasion, 68 ; said to have gone to London and discovered all to the Queen, 118.
- , —, his brother. *See above* Andrew.
- Lanark : sheriff clerk of. *See* Robertstone, John.
- Lancaster, house of : 230.
- , John, Duke of : 339, 342.
- Langnewtown : 21.
- Lauder of the Bass, [George] : 460.
- Law, James : to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456.
- Lawe, David, Scottishman : petitions for release from prison, 249.
- Lawers (Laws, Luce), Young. *See* Campbell of Lawers.
- Lawson (Lauson) of Humble, James : 438.
- , Mr. (executor to Sir W. Bowes's grandfather) : 411.
- Layton, Mr., of Sepa : 436.
- Layton, East : 436.
- League, the : 233.
- Learmonth of Balcomy, [James] : 382.
- Ledington. *See* Lethington.
- Leffer. *See* Lifford.
- Le Havre (Newhaven) : 123.
- Leith : 63, 90, 91, 277 ; measures proposed for the fortifying of, against Spanish invasion, 73, 76 ; a young man from France landed at, and taken prisoner, 79 ; three Irishmen arrived at, from Calais, 353 ; the King expected at, with over 5,000 horsemen, 408 ; the King arrives at, 412, 415 ; answers by a convention of ministers at, to some inquiries of the King, 447 ; synodal assembly of Lothian at, 454, 455, 466, 468, 469 ; some of barons warder for the "tumult" to be tried by assize at, 465 ; the Session continues at, 467.
- Lennox, Henry [Stewart, Lord Darnley] Earl of [sic] : descent of, 338.
- , [Ludovick Stewart, 2nd] Duke of, ("the Duke") : 132, 446 ; has agreed with Angus for his rents, 10 ; rumours that his brother will get earldom of Atholl, 11 ; is suitor for the earldom of Atholl for his brother, 21, 32 ; alliance between, and Lord Hamilton to be travailed, 25 ; advises King to make Blantyre Chancellor, 25 ; Colville is labouring to knit up the marriage betwixt him and Hamilton, 39 ; thought that he shall keep the seal, 40 ; has been a suitor for the Chancellorship but refused, 43 ; has been refused the seal, 44 ; is altogether for Mar to be Chancellor, 50 ; the motion with, and Hamilton's daughter, 52 ; at Convention (Oct. 1595), 54, 56 ; to name one for keeping Great Seal, 54 ; to have the profit of the Great Seal but no commandment, 56 ; the President feasts for his favour in the matter of the Chancellorship, 59 ; names of those in his faction, 67 ; Montrose is with, 68 ; in the new Council, 75 ; said to be a Catholic, 104 ; has been declared by King nearest to Crown, 105, 228 ; said to have attended mass in the royal palace, 105 ; loved and greatly esteemed by King, 107 ; as chamberlain of Scotland to keep good order in the royal house, 129 ; is gone to meet Lady Huntly, 134 ; undertakes to draw Lady Huntly from her religion, 162 ; may be appointed ambassador to France, 175 ; with the King at the General Assembly, 176 ; suggested that he attend coronation of Christian IV, 181, 192 ; is agreed with Angus for Tantallon, 193 ; has advised Huntly to submit to King and Kirk, 213 ; to broach the matter of the return of the Catholic Earls to the King, 221 ; a catholic kinsman of the King, 228 ; likely to bring Mar into the Queen's favour, 238 ; has returned from the King at Dunfermline, 282 ; to speak with his sister, the Countess of Huntly, 296 ; very strait against Angus, 303 ; Angus's son will pay, for his interest in the earldom and lands of Angus, 306 ; Angus has compounded with, 311 ; lieutenancy of, in the North discharged, 311 ; at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336 ; reported to have pressed the King to accept Huntly's offers, 337 ; to attend the princess's baptism, 356, 358, 373 ; as King's Lieutenant in the North said to have compounded with the Catholic Earls, 358 ; present in Council at the trial of David Black, 381 ; supports Bowes at the baptism of the princess, 387 ; looks to have 2,000*l.* Scots yearly out of the Chancellor's office, 392 ; Lady Huntly's influence with, 404 ; hopes to recover Lord Forbes's liberty, 425 ; to assist the Octavians, 425 ; will be ready to offer Elizabeth his good devotion, 452 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 459 ; Elizabeth takes kindly his offer to

- perform good offices between her and James, 481; at the Convention at Perth, 482; named in the assize for the trial of the burgesses of Edinburgh, 484; to attend the King in the West Marches, 492; his offer of good affection to Elizabeth kindly taken, 496; direction desired for the best entertainment of his good offices, 498; present in Council, 559.
- , —, servant of. *See* Smallett.
- , Lady: lands of, 96, 97.
- , [Matthew Stewart, 4th] Earl of, (grandfather of James VI): lands in England claimed by James, 278, 300.
- Leslie, John, Bishop of Ross: in the Netherlands, 34; servant of, apprehended, 77; one of the Catholics most able to serve James abroad, 233.
- , Sir Patrick, Abbot of Lindores: 460.
- , of the Peel, Alexander: papist, in Scotland, 182, 183.
- Lethington (Ledington), Laird of. *See* Maitland.
- Levant seas, the: 232.
- Levies: shires and towns for, 77.
- Leyrmonth, Epy: 493.
- Liddell, water of: 297.
- Liddisdale (Liddesdale, Lidesdayle): Buccleuch is responsible for, 71; superior strength of the Scots in, 71; English prisoner in, 72; keeper of, 223, 363 (*and see* Scott of Buccleuch, Sir Walter); spoils by English in, 297, 301, 304; keepership of, not under authority of the warden, 329; disorders in the West Marches attempted by some of, 349; Buccleuch to prepare his bills, rolls, etc., in, for the Border Commissioners, 352; Buccleuch to answer for his people of, 449; men of, will not hazard answering for their faults at Berwick, 461; barbarous disobedience lately shown by, 474; redress promised for the late attempts by, 482; Lord Scrope's act in resuming spoils from, 488, 489, 491; delay of redress for the late attempts in, 492; raid of Captain Carrel in, 505; great murders and robberies committed by, 508, 510; bill of, pressed by the Scottish Commissioners, 519; murders and robberies in, alleged by Buccleuch, 520, 521; the King allows not the excuse of the men of, for non-appearance before the Border Commissioners, 523; will not appear to justice in England, 525; contempt of, in refusing to go to Carlisle, 528; Lord Scrope's act in, justified as a lawful reprisal, 534; spoil in, by the men of Tynedale, 537; keeper of, formerly delivered to Queen Elizabeth, 562.
- Liège: 320; Earl of Errol at, 25; Jesuits' College at, 146.
- Lifford (the Laffer, Lyffer) in Ireland: 210; castle of, 210.
- Ligon, —, English catholic: 321.
- Limerick: 196, 199.
- , Bishop of. *See* Thornburgh, John.
- , Dean of. *See* Campbell, Dioness.
- Lincluden, Provost of. *See* Douglas, William.
- Lindores, Abbot of. *See* Leslie, Sir Patrick.
- Lindsay (Linsey) of the Byres, [James, 7th] Lord: in the New Kirk, Edinburgh, on 17 Dec. 1596, 393, 405; seeks to enter the Tolbooth, 394; reports to the King the petitions of the convention in the Little Kirk, 395, 405; words between, and the Lord President, 399; to be charged to appear before the Council for the attempt at Edinburgh, 401; charged with treason, makes default, 425; benefit of escheat of, asked for one of the Queen's maids, 425; desires to have a quiet retreat in England, 427; a Councillor of Scotland, 446.
- of Bayhall, Robert, brother to the Lord Secretary: murdered by John Wedderburn, 342.
- , David, minister in Leith: the conversion of Angus referred to, 40; empowered to examine and search for suspicious packets from beyond sea, 59; apprehends an Irishman with letters, etc., from Rome, 118; appointed to go with the Provost of Edinburgh to England, 134, 136; appointed a commissioner by the General Assembly, 179; advises that Huntly's offers should not be heard, 305; sent by the presbytery of Edinburgh to thank the King, 306; the ministers may authorise to confer with Angus, 317; charged to depart home, 368; preaches in Edinburgh, 1 Jan. 1596-7, 412, 415; to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456; a commissioner of the presbytery of Edinburgh at the General Assembly, 476, 533.
- , Sir James: has promised to make Crawford the King of Spain's sworn man, 219.
- , James: a practiser, letters from, found, 124.
- , John, parson of Menmuir: of the Queen's Council, 90, 113, 116; is sworn one of the Octavians, 117; nothing so much feared as his being made Chancellor, 126; appointment of, as a Lord of the Exchequer (Octavians), 127; instructions to, 127, 128; form of oath subscribed by, 130; is made Lord Privy Seal, 163; Lord Secretary, sent to report to Bowes the conclusion of the Convention anent redress for Buccleuch's action at Carlisle, 234, 253; has a brother in Spain, 257 (*and see* Lindsay, Sir Walter); a subtle "satorik" man, 279; careful that order be given for peace on the Borders, 298; Bowes has travailed with, to settle the matter of Buccleuch's fact, 300; illness of, 317; is come to Court, 326; English commission for the Borders shown to, 335; present in Council at trial of David Black, 381; makes overtures for the King to the ministers of Edinburgh, 395; accused of being near to an apostate, 426; does not remember passing a safe conduct for the Border commissioners, 427; a Councillor of Scotland, 446; to be at the National

- Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; to be directed to France after the Convention, 478; commission as ambassador to France is ready, 484; the effects of his commission to the French King, 493; not present at the Council, 559.
- , —, signatures of, 286, 494.
- , —, brothers of. *See* Lindsay of Bayhall; Lindsay, Sir Walter.
- , Robert: 224, 241.
- , Mr. or Sir Walter: 257; knighted by King of Spain, 64, 65, 68; agent for the Catholic Earls in Spain, 215, 216; to bring into Scotland 100,000 crowns to corrupt the nobility, 219; disguised as Don Balthazar, has brought letters to Rome from the Catholic Earls, 267; arrival of (as Don Baltazar) at Rome, 271; the Pope advised to give no dispatch to, 275, 276; advertisements made by, to Sessa for Philip II, 277, 278; brother to the Secretary, 279 (*and see* Lindsay, John); confidently informed that he is lurking in Scotland, 282, 284; practices of, with the King of Spain and the Pope, 294-296; continues in Brussels suiting for aid and money for Scotland, Scotland, 343; at Dieppe for passage to 467.
- Linlithgow (Lethcoo): 117, 415, 418, 494, 553; King and Queen to go to, 6; King expected to abide in during winter, 11, 22; King intends to take Queen to, 18; the Queen to go to, 24; King to make his rendezvous at, all winter, 28; Council appointed to come to, 29; King and Queen to go to, 33; King will have the Borderers meet him at, 41; Queen not to arrive at, before 15 Oct. 1595, 45; Elizabeth's letter delivered at, 46; King and Queen at, 49; a conference near, of Hamilton, Mar and others, 52; Angus MacConnell at, with the King, 58; King returns to, 61; King to ride to, 74, 76; the royal household to be left at, 77; King and Queen have come from, 88; the King going to, 212, 213, 216; the King to return from, 220; King returns from, 237; Council to meet at (20 Sept. 1596), 313, 316; the King purposed to go to, 318; the King gives Bowes audience at, 323; Angus MacConnell at, 326; the King returning to, 346; Princess Elizabeth sent to, 388; the King goes to, from Edinburgh after the tumult on 17 Dec. 1596, 394, 400, 405; the Convention to be summoned at, or at Stirling with speed, 396; certain ministers and burgesses of Edinburgh to appear before the Council at, 400-402; Convention summoned to be at, on 3 Jan. 1596-7, 401; Argyll and MacLean with the King at, 403; Hamilton delivers the ministers' letter to the King at, 406; the Lords of Session to remove to, 422; presbytery and burgh of, to be at National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; the King has removed to, 474; Lady Livingstone referred to the censure of, 567; the fourteen commis-
- sioners for the General Assembly summoned to, 568.
- , letters, etc. dated at, 7, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49, 51, 53, 57, 239, 349, 354, 402, 403.
- , Convention of Estates at. *See* Convention.
- Little, *alias* Laird Little, William: 402.
- Livingstone (Leviston), [Alexander, 7th] Lord: combines with others against Mar, 20; to be at the Chancellor's burial, 55; not under agreement now with Mar, 55; offer to Mar for slaughter of Forrester not accepted, 57; the King has ordered to come peaceably to the day of law with Mar, 88; comes to Edinburgh for day of law with Mar, 95; Montrose countenances against Mar, 96; the deadly feud between Mar and him to be pacified, 100, 102; has left Edinburgh with his friends, 101; said to be entirely catholic, 104; complains to the King of the Laird of Carden's sons, 114; the King travelling the reconciliation of, with Mar, 240; the King at the house of, 306; makes suit for the custody of Princess Elizabeth, 336; ministers grieved at intention to give him the custody of the princess, 359; custody of the princess given to, 388; charged to levy horsemen for the King, 408; to assist the Octavians, 425; a Councillor of Scotland, 446; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; feud with Mar continues, 567.
- , [Eleanor (Hay), daughter of 8th Earl of Errol], Lady: an obstinate papist, 336, 359, 388; excommunicated but attending on the princess, allowed to be referred to the censure of Linlithgow, 567.
- of Dunipace, [John]: combines with others against Mar, 20; has been conferring with the Master of Glamis and others, 24; Mar's proposed incursion on, forbidden by King, 26; Blantyre trying to arrange matters between him and Mar about the slaughter of Forrester, 29; offer to Mar for the slaughter not accepted, 57; summoned by Mar to answer the law, 64; his day of law with Mar, 92; the Queen parties against Mar, 95; is favourably received by the King at the Queen's request, 282, 284; sent by the Queen to bring Lady Huntly to Court, 359.
- Livingstones, the: matters between, and Mar hanging in the balance, 23; have banished two Livingstones, 33; "plattes" of, anent the chancellorship, 47; matter with Mar to be referred to the Queen's order, 95; Mar to take and give assurance with, 136.
- Lochaber (Loughaber, Loughquhaber): Huntly's men in, put under subjection to Argyll, 58, 59.
- , the two Lairds of. *See* Lochaber (*infra*) and MacRanald.
- , Laird of: his eldest son pledged to Argyll, 58, 59; married to a daughter of Allaster (Cavanaghe) MacDonald, 203; head of the Camprons, 207.

- , young : a scholar and cousin germane to MacLean, 207.
- Lochinvar (Lochquhenvar, Loughenvarr), Laird of. *See* Campbell.
- Lochmaben : houses of, 113.
- , letter dated at, 510.
- Lodesman, Thomas : 91, 92.
- Logan, James : to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456.
- Logie, Laird of. *See* Myrecairnie ; Wemyss.
- Londesdal, Kester, a servant of R. Bowes : 126.
- London : 25, 32, 78, 111, 118, 168, 223, 334, 477, 557 ; ships of, 63, 91, 224, (*and see under* Ships) ; letters from Bowes opened by the post in, 242.
- , letters dated at, 41, 98, 178, 184, 188, 189, 195, 212, 218, 243, 249, 280, 286, 287, 306, 309, 323, 327, 334, 335, 338, 365, 486.
- , letters received at, 3, 6, 7, 11–14, 18–26, 29, 34, 39, 41, 143, 158, 163, 167, 168, 174.
- , the Rose and Tabard in Gracechurch Street : 121.
- Long, John : to seal the King's letter, 49.
- Loretto : 271.
- Lorne : 201.
- Lorraine : Scottish College founded in, 107.
- , Duke of : might influence James to become catholic, 109 ; a kinsman of James, 228.
- Lothian : presbytery of, 40.
- , synod of, 501 ; instructions to the King's commissioners for, 455, 456, 466 (*see also* Leith) ; petitions proposed to the King by, 468, 469 ; the King's answer to the petitions, 469, 470 ; affirm that the General Assembly at Perth is not lawful, 500.
- Lough Aubery : 298.
- Louis XII, King of France : wife of. *See* Mary, Princess.
- Louvain : Scottish college at ; 107.
- Low Countries (the Dutch provinces). *See* United Provinces.
- , Conservator to the Scottish nation in. *See* Denneston, Robert.
- , (Spanish Netherlands) : 25, 40, 72, 90, 122, 162, 167, 240, 246, 254, 267, 296, 302, 311, 314, 352, 389, 427, 430, 471 ; some of the Spanish forces in, to be sent into Scotland, 147, 149 ; suspected persons from, in Scotland, 148 ; proceedings of the Papist Earls in, 221 ; loss of towns of the King of Spain in, 233 ; rumour of forces to be sent from, to Scotland, 451, 452 ; Errol said to be intending to return to, 507.
- Lowther, Richard : must not be instrument of opposition against Elizabeth's warden, 503 ; Border Commissioners fail to make peace between Lord Scrope and, 553.
- Lubeck : 63, 232.
- Lubeckers : 78.
- Luce (Lawers). *See* Campbell of Lawers.
- Ludquharne ? (Lutwharne), Laird of, 162.
- Lyffer. *See* Lifford.
- Lynn. *See* King's Lynn.
- Lyon heralds : three at a proclamation, 114.
- McAlLEN, Hector, foster father of Lauchlan MacLean : 204.
- McAllesters, sept of : 205.
- MacCartney, James, Doctor of Medicine : to Bowes (10 Sept. 1595), 10 ; to Bowes (11 Sept.), 12 ; (28 Nov.), 66 ; (4 and 5 Dec.), 78 ; forwards book of verses of Walter Quin, 80–86 ; to — (27 June 1596), 252 ; advices from (July 1596), 292 ; (11 Aug. 1596), 303, 304 ; (? Jan. or Feb. 1596–7), 447, 448.
- McCarty-More, country of : 206.
- McCoilles, the Laird. *See* MacDougall.
- MacCondochy (MacKendowye, McKondochy) : Nicolson tries to have conference with, 44 ; Lawers offers to procure his service to Elizabeth in Ireland, 166, 187 ; his only son as hostage, 166 ; Tyrone and O'Donnell call for him and his companies, 188 ; desires answer as to acceptance of his services by Elizabeth, 189 ; is being pressed to join O'Donnell, 220.
- MacConnell (McConnail, McOnell) Angus. *See* MacDonald of Dunnyveg.
- , Sir James : 507.
- MacConnells, the. *See* MacDonalds.
- McCoy HARRISSE. *See* M'Leod.
- MacDonald (MacConnell, MacDonnell), Allaster, *alias* Alexander fitz John, surnamed Cahanaghe : imprisoned in Dunoon by the Earl of Argyll, 202 ; dies in Dublin, 202 ; his sons and daughters, 202, 203.
- of Dunnyveg and the Glens, Angus (Angus MacConnell, son of James MacConnell) : his son Angus in Ireland with 500 (or 600) men, 13, 16 ; is coming to Inveraray to speak with Argyll and MacLean, 16, 17, 20 ; has asked Argyll's mercy for offences committed against him, 36 ; Auchinross has informed of his redelivery of Tyrone's token, 42 ; has received no answer from Tyrone, 53 ; came to Glasgow and passed to Hamilton to come to Court, 53 ; his suit in Argyll's name, 57 ; has placed his son Angus in his lands in Ireland, 58 ; collusive agreement made between his son Angus and his bastard son, 58 ; got good countenance from the King at Linlithgow, 58 ; his request to invade the Isle of Man refused, 58, 61 ; MacLean has constrained to return from Ireland, 94 ; has dealt earnestly with MacLean to obtain his favour for Tyrone, 103 ; busy raising 1,000 men for Tyrone, 103 ; a mean used to make contention between his bastard son and his lawful sons, 104 ; with McOdeill making preparation for Ireland, 159 ; prepared to aid O'Donnell, 163 ; lord of Kintyre, 164, 204 ; little likely to annoy MacLean, 165 ; had given Captain Thornton pledges for his good behaviour, 166 ; is mending his galleys for transport of armed men to Ireland, 169 ; had offered 10,000 marks Scots for his remission, 175 ; his suit has not prevailed, 176 ; his quarrels with MacLean and his offence done to the King, 190 ; has kept a solemn Easter, 196 ; his hope

- and comfort in the Spaniards, 196; imprisoned (c. 1590) in Edinburgh Castle, 203; was countenanced by Earl Colin of Argyll against MacLean, 204; married to MacLean's sister, 205; great bloodsheds between MacLean and, 205; forced by the King's warrant to enlarge MacLean, 206; promised to assist Argyll against Huntly but came not, 211; lands in Islay in variance between MacLean and, 240, 242; has promised to compound with MacLean but like to be committed if he appear, 244; has continually assisted Elizabeth's rebels in Ireland and is determined to stand out, 290; will be punished for his resorting to Ireland, 304; in the Isle of Bute, expected to draw 3,000 Irishmen into the Isles to withstand Col. Stewart, 311; Argyll might support, 312; offers caution to the King for his obedience, 318; has submitted himself to the King, 326; sends his son James MacConnell to the King with commission to submit, 343; looked by many that he will again to his double bias, 343; Tyrone has sent footmen to the aid of, 360; has compounded with Colonel Stewart for the King, 360; quarrel between, and M'Sorley much increases, 507; is come to Stirling attending the King's return, 507; alleged to be a bastard by M'Sorley, 511; offers obedience to Elizabeth for lands in Ireland, 511; has departed from Court with some malcontentment, 543.
- , son of, in Ireland, 13, 53, 58; has now left Tyrone, 104; is suitor to the King for his peace and possessions, 174; is making suit for his father's remission, 175.
- , his eldest and base son, Archibald: is preparing to go over to Tyrone, 143; his father has left him in the Glaynes in Ireland, 196.
- , Archibald Rowee, base son of: has contracted with O'Donnell to levy soldiers for Ireland, 220.
- of Fermanagh: posterity of, vassals of Maguire, 201.
- of Galliglas in Tyrone: 201, 202.
- of Sleat, Donald Gorme the elder: married to a daughter of Allaster (Cahanaghe) MacDonald, 203.
- , Donald (Donald Gorme MacConnell, MacDonald Gorme): overthrown in Ireland by Capt. Thornton, 13; is written for to vow obedience to Argyll, 36; MacLean has constrained to return from Ireland, 94; is written to, to come in to Argyll, 103; is preparing to go over to Tyrone, 143, 163; Thomas O'Burke sent to, by Tyrone, 164; had given pledges to Captain Thornton for his good behaviour, 166; is mending his galleys for transport of armed men to Ireland, 169; suitor to the King for his peace and possessions, 174; has taken prisoner MacLeod Harris, 196; imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle (c. 1590), 203; calls a general meeting of the MacDonalds against MacLean, 205; dissension with M'Leod of Harris, his brother-in-law, 206; has promised to compound with MacLean, 244; compounding for continued possession of his lands in the Isles, 270.
- , Alexander Carraghe (son of James): 204.
- , Allester, *alias* Alexander Oge, son of Allaster (Cahanaghe): 202; taken prisoner by John O'Neil, 204; tutor for many years of his nephew Angus, 204.
- , Angus surnamed Islay (Illa), son of Allaster (Cahanaghe): 202; his son Archibald married to daughter of Anne Campbell, 203.
- , Archibald (son of James): 204; O'Donnell has compounded with, to serve him with 500 men, 254.
- , Colle (son of James): 204.
- , Donell Ballaghe, son of Allaster (Cahanaghe): 202, 203.
- , Donald Gorme (son of James): 204.
- , James, son of Allaster (Cahanaghe): 202; supplants his elder brother Donell Ballaghe, 203; marries Anne Campbell, 203; policy of, to get favour with the Earls of Argyll not successful, 203; coming to a parley with the 4th Earl of Argyll is carried away but ransomed by old Lauchland MacLean, 203; his sons, 204; entitled laird of the Glens (Glynnnes), 204; his death and burial in the cathedral church of Armagh, 204; his daughter by the daughter of MacFie of Colonsay married to John O'Neil, 204; no controversy with the MacLeans in lifetime of, 205; took his wife away from the Sheriff of Bute and married her without divorce, 511.
- , James, eldest son of Angus: 58; delivered as a pledge to MacLean, 205; brings a commission from his father to compound with the King, 343; the King will keep him in his service and house, 343.
- , Reynald (son of James): 204; a pledge for MacLean's safe return, kept in Carneborough Castle, 205, 206.
- , Sorley Boy (Sowerly Boye, Sowrly Bowy, Surleboye), son of Allaster (Cahanaghe): 202, 511; taken prisoner by John O'Neil, 204; kills John O'Neil at Cowsandonne, 204; wholly employed to subdue the Route, 204; sons of, surprise Angus MacConnell's house in Kintyre, 343; (*and see* M'Sorley, James).
- MacDonalds (MacConnells), the: sept of, descent of, 201–205; grow to greatness by usurpation in Scotland and always most hateful to its princes, 202; ruin of, led to rise of house of Argyll, 202; a general meeting of, against MacLean, 205; rhymes and songs in disgrace of, 206; Tyrone may deal with, to invade MacLean's country in his absence, 208; will be loth to serve against the Campbells, 209; of Kintyre, experienced in the service of Ulster, 209; the Campbells'

- jealousy of, not removed by Anne Campbell, 211.
- MacDougall [MacKoule] of Dunolly in Lorne (the Laird McCoilles), Duncan : letter to Bowes (11 Sept. 1595), 12 ; J. Cunningham confers with, 159 ; a man Bowes may keep to aid, 160 ; writes to Bowes (13 Mar. 1595-6), 164 ; will inform Bowes of all news he hears anent Ireland, 164 ; in the New Kirk, Edinburgh, on 17 Dec. 1596, 394.
- McEphyne. *See* MacFie.
- MacFarlanes, the : feud between, and Lawers, 49, 52.
- MacFie (McEphyne) of Colonsay (Collosse) : daughter of, 204.
- MacHarston, Laird of : 465.
- McHugh O'Manys, family of, 202.
- MacIan (McKaene, MacKaine), family of, 202.
- , of Ardnamurchan (Ardnemorrough),
- , marries Lady Jane (Campbell), 205.
- MacKendowye, McKondoquhy. *See* MacCondochy.
- Mackenzie (MacKennye), family of, 202.
- , [Kenneth], Laird of : King will use service of, in drawing the Isles to his obedience, 149, 151 ; his sister married to MacLean's eldest son, 149, 151, 157 ; informs Bowes of new forces in the Isles and Highlands preparing to pass into Ireland, 157 ; believes MacLean will invade the rebels in Ireland, 157 ; bearer of a letter from MacLean to Bowes, 158, 159 ; MacLean ordained him to speak with Bowes, 169 ; to assist Col. Stewart in the Isles, 270, 291.
- Mackintosh (McEntoish, McEntoshe, McIntosh), family of, 202.
- , a tenant of Huntly, 5 ; to assist Col. Stewart in the Isles, 270.
- Mackoule of Lorne. *See* MacDougall of Dunolly in Lorne.
- MacLean (McLayne, McClean, McLaine) old Lauchlan : married to daughter of Allaster (Cahanaghe) MacDonald, 202 ; his daughter married to 4th Earl of Argyll, 202 (*and see* Argyll) ; ransoms his brother-in-law, James MacConnell, 203 ; no controversy with the MacConnells in lifetime of, 205.
- , Lauchlan Oge (son of old Lauchlan) : marries sister of 5th Earl of Argyll, 204 (*and see* Campbell, Lady Jane).
- of Duart, Lauchlan (son of Lauchlan Oge) : received to King's favour, 4 ; his good service against Huntly, 4 ; his employment in Irish matters asked for, 4 ; much feared in Ireland, 4 ; expected "token" to, from Elizabeth, 5 ; desired to meet Capt. Thornton at Duart, 9 ; a galleon from Elizabeth sent to the Sound of Mull to speak to, 12 ; is gone to Capt. Thornton and returned to Argyll, 12 ; is too long delayed, 13 ; "Patt," cipher for, 13 ; to Robert Bowes (12 Sept. 1595), 14 ; his meeting with Thornton, 14, 17 ; his arrangements for the delivery of Elizabeth's token to him, 14, 17 ; to Cecil (12 Sept.) 14 ; has not spared to hinder Tyrone, 15 ; is to return to Argyll, 15 ; has stayed 900 from Ireland of the Isles, 15 ; is doubtful whether to stay 400 or 500 men who are of mind to go to Ireland, 16 ; marvels of the stay of the token, 16 ; Angus MacConnell coming to speak with, 16 ; has some recommendation to Nicolson, 16 ; to Bowes (19 Sept.), 17 ; well known how he has hindered the aiding of Tyrone, 17 ; will not spare expenses in hindering Tyrone, 17 ; Tyrone is busy for his favour, 19 ; is making provision for service with Elizabeth, 20 ; Thornton's coming to, will put Tyrone in great fear, 20 ; returned from Duart to Inveraray, 23 ; his natural love for Argyll, 23 ; a reasonable sum should be bestowed on, to withstand advances of Irish rebels, 24 ; offers made by, for aid against Irish rebels, 26, 27 ; desires revenge on Tyrone for hanging of Hugh O'Neil, 27 ; to the Lord Deputy of Ireland (12 Sept.), 27 ; will do Elizabeth service if Argyll be joined with him, 30 ; is expecting Elizabeth's token of 1,000 crowns, 31 ; to Nicolson (5 Oct.), 35 ; pleads for the release of his kinsman, J. MacNeill, 35-37 ; to Bowes (5 Oct.), 36 ; Elizabeth may be assured of his service, 36 ; still marvels at the stay of the token, 36, 42 ; Tyrone anxious to procure his favour, 41, 42 ; he may obtain a great rent for Elizabeth from Ireland, 42 ; his friends angered by his refusing Tyrone's offers, 42 ; Nicolson advises that his suit for MacNeill should be regarded, 45 ; Tyrone is to direct a servant to, 53 ; Irish rebels in fear of, 55 ; forfeited, Auchinross works to have him rehabilitated, 57 ; the receipt of Elizabeth's token will assist him with his charges, 57 ; looks that MacNeill shall receive favour, 58 ; Angus MacConnell seeking to have a grant in fee of certain of his lands, 58 ; obtains Huntly's men in Lochaber to be in subjection to Argyll, 58, 59 ; Argyll makes much of him, 59 ; to Bowes (20 Dec.), 94 ; has refused to aid Tyrone, 94 ; thinks his token from Elizabeth long of coming, 94 ; Nicolson will write to, 101 ; Angus MacConnell's dealings with, for his favour for Tyrone, 103 ; of old he is of the realm of Ireland, 103 ; course to be taken by Elizabeth with, for his services against her rebels in Ireland, 138 ; the satisfaction of his expectation of 1,000 crowns from Elizabeth, 138 ; Bowes is to inquire what services he will do Elizabeth in Ireland, 144 ; Elizabeth will consider how best she can save the life of his kinsman MacNeill, 145 ; Cecil asks that a man be sent from, with his instructions to England, 145 ; King will use service of, in drawing the Isles to his obedience, 149 ; his eldest son married to Mackenzie's sister, 149, 151 ; his great power in the Isles and Highlands, 149, 151 ; has been laboured to party Tyrone and

O'Donnell, 151; Bowes is sending J. Cunningham to, 151, 152; Bowes to hasten to bargain with and moneys to be offered to, 155, 156; in Tíree, 156, 160; believed that he will stop Scottish companies arming for Ireland and himself invade the rebels there with sufficient numbers, 157; memorial for, from Bowes, as to the services he is ready to give against the rebels in Ireland, his expenses, etc., 158, 159; Bowes to (26 Feb. 1595-6), 159; the Englishman that was with, 164; Bowes expects his readiness to serve Elizabeth and will provide for 500 French crowns to be paid him, 165; Bowes has not opened to Argyll his dealings with, 166, 186; to Bowes (18 Mar. 1595-6), 168; answers of, to the proposals made by Bowes, 168-172; the forces he can provide for Elizabeth's service in Ireland, their pay, etc., 170; Cunningham has not yet returned from, 173; is suitor to the King for his peace and possessions, 174; the King favours, 175, 176; his answers are being sent to Cecil by Auchinross, 182, 184; is ready to invade Tyrone with 2,000 footmen, 182; recommended as general of the regiments to be employed against the Irish, 186; Bowes's instructions to Nicolson for delivering the answers of, anent matters in Ireland to Cecil, 186, 187; his services for Elizabeth may be always ready upon gift of the token expected, 187; the quarrels between MacConnell and, 190; the token for, to be considered, 193; purposes to be with Argyll at Stirling or Castle Campbell, 195; his writing to O'Donnell done upon policy to learn Tyrone's mind, 201; imprisoned (c. 1590) in Edinburgh Castle, 203; was brought up by his uncle the 5th Earl of Argyll, 204; his mother and foster father had the government of, 204; his uncle John, 204, 205; his marriage to the daughter of Glencairn displeased the 6th Earl of Argyll, 204; his sister married to Angus MacConnell, 205; his quarrels with the MacConnells, 205; carried prisoner to Dunnyveg, 205, 206; MacConnell forced to enlarge by the King's warrant, 206; young Lochaber his cousin germane, 207; reasons why he may not be able to undertake the weight of the service for Elizabeth in Ulster with his own forces, 207, 208; his people not inferior to those of Ulster, 208; is valiant, wise and trusty and should be used as a chief but not a sole instrument in Ulster, 208; some chief man of the Campbells should be joined with him in the Ulster action, 209; Cecil has given good contentment to, 214; Bowes is expecting to see in Edinburgh, 214; has accepted Elizabeth's liberality thankfully, 219; to Cecil (24 May 1596), 222; presses again for John MacNeill's liberty, 222-224; in Edinburgh, 238; will be employed by the King to reduce the Isles to obedience, 238; the King and Council

have compounded with, for lands in Islay, 240; to Cecil (8 June 1596), 241; has received 150 *l.* from Auchinross, 241; presses for the liberty of John O'Neil's sons and for the release of MacNeill, 241; Bowes has supported against MacConnell, 242; seal of, 242; accounts himself Cecil's boon friend, 243; has compounded with the Council for all the possessions of the King in his tenure, 244; to assist Col. Stewart in the Isles, 270, 291; Angus MacConnell expected to invade for the slaughter of 12 of his men, 311; continues to offer his service in Ireland, 392; in the Little Kirk, Edinburgh, on 17 Dec. 1596, 393, 403; seeks to enter the Tolbooth, 394, 403; has been honoured with knighthood, 403; is received into the King's favour, 403; offers his service to Elizabeth with 2 or 3,000 men, 403; Cecil pressed for a decision anent the offers of, 413; may be drawn to lead the Scottish forces against the Irish rebels, 437; is recovered of his sickness and ready to be employed as Elizabeth shall direct, 481; Argyll has sent for, 507; proceedings between O'Donnell and, 543, 544; desires to know of Bowes's welfare and health, 545.

MacLellan (McClellan), [Thomas], Laird of Bombie: in Council, advises concerning quiet in the Borders, 89; in Edinburgh, 92, 96; passport for, to go to Bath, 298; to Sir R. Cecil (12 Mar. 1596-7), 486; is of purpose to pass to Bath again, 486.

—, William: two servants of the Laird of Bombie so named, 486.

M'Leod of Harris (McCloyde Herries, McCoy HARRISSE, McCloyde of the Heariche) family of, 202.

—, old: a daughter of Allaster (Cavanaghe) MacDonald married to, 203; afterwards marries Lady Jane (Campbell), 205; controversy between the Clan Ranalds and, 206.

—, [Roderick, Tutor of MacLeod]: has not returned from Ireland, 4; Argyll has ordered to retire from Ireland, 9; in Ireland assisting the rebels, 13; lately come from Ireland and ready to return there with fresh power, 157; taken prisoner by Donald Gorme, 196; has promised to compound with MacLean, 244.

—, William, son of old M'Leod Harris: dies without issue, 205; disension between, and Donald Gorme, 206.

— of Lewis (McCloyde, McKloyd Leos), family of, 202.

—, old: 206.

—, [Torquil]: his coming expected by Angus MacConnell, 196; has promised to compound with MacLean, 244.

Macmurren (Macmorren), John, bailiff of Edinburgh, killed at the high school, 19, 33.

MacNeill (Neale, Neill, Neyle) of Barra: a "dependar" of MacLean, 35, 37;

- reported the best seafaring warrior in the Isles, 206; accustomed to prey on the coast of Connaught, 206.
- MacNeill, John**, kinsman of MacNeill of Barra (John Neill): imprisoned at Exeter, 35, 37; MacLean pleads for his life, 35-37, 45; Nicolson's goodwill for the relief of, 53; MacLean looks that he shall receive favour, 58; question of Elizabeth's grace to be showed to, 138, 145; is reprised against the next assizes and to be favoured further, 159; MacLean's gratitude for Elizabeth's favour to, 171; request that he be sent to Duart, 171; his discharge and liberty to be brought before Cecil, 200; D. Foulis writes on behalf of, 221; not yet freed of his ward, 222, 223; his wife in London, 223, 224; further requests for his liberty, 224, 240-242.
- McOdeill**: making preparation for Ireland, 159.
- MacO'Neill, Angus**: 291.
- MacQuhirrie** (McKwherry, Makwhirrie, Mcquerie, Mackquherry), [Alexander], Jesuit: is come home, 21, 23, 182, 183; to certify the Spaniards' resolution to come to Scotland, 219; Huntly has been greatly abused by, 429.
- MacRanald in Lochaber**: Laird of, his eldest son pledged to Argyll, 59.
- M'Sorley** (McSolril, Surley, Surleboye), James, son of Sorley Boy (*v.* MacDonald): reported to be detained by the Queen's officers in Ireland, 163; invades MacConnell's house in Kintyre, 343, 360; contention between MacConnell and, much increases, 507; seeks the King's favour in his suit against MacConnell, 511; offers obedience to Elizabeth for the lands in Ireland in his possession, 511, 512; knighted and greatly honoured by the King, 543; is returned towards Ireland, 543; believed to be friendly to England, 545.
- Macanker, Walter**. See Balcanquhal.
- Madrid**: 366, 367.
- Magellan**: part of, in conquering the New World, 259.
- Maguire**, —: 100 *n.*; posterity of MacDonnell of Fermanagh, vassals of, 201.
- Maine** (Mane, Mayne), Duke of: a catholic kinsman of James, 228; plotting to agree France and Spain to send forces into Ireland, 552.
- Maisterton, Gilbert**. See Masterton.
- Maitland, Sir John**, Chancellor. See Thirlestane, Lord.
- , of Lethington, [James]: rumoured to have come home, 118.
- Makmach, James**: 480.
- Maknaught, Roger**, bailiff of Edinburgh, 402.
- Mallory, Sir William**: suggested as a commissioner for the Marches, 312, 313.
- Mallye, Grany ny**: 206. *And see* O'Mallye.
- Mallye, the**: 206.
- Malvasia** (Malnasia), Papal nuncio in Flanders: 272, 273.
- Man, Isle of**: Angus MacConnell (MacDonald of Dunnyveg) seeks permission to invade, 58, 61; rumour that Spain was to take, 64.
- Manfeild, Ralph**, of Otterburn: 525.
- Mansfeld, Mr.**: in Scotland, a conference with, 498, 499.
- Mantua, Duke of**: a catholic kinsman of James, 228.
- Mar, John Erskine, Earl of**: 132, 446; the Chancellor said to have some enterprise against, 3, 5; coldness between, and Sir G. Hume, 5; friendship with the Chancellor to have been made at Hamilton, 6; hatred between, and the Chancellor increases, 11; will not hear of offers made by the killers of Foster, 11; had no good countenance of Queen at Falkland, 18; travail for an assurance between, and his neighbours has taken no effect, 20; opponents and partisans expected by him, 20, 21; is at Stirling, 21; is suitor for Lennox's brother for earldom of Atholl, 21; proposal that he marry Atholl's eldest daughter and become Earl of Atholl, 21; Queen's evil will for, remains, 22; matters between him and the Queen, the Chancellor and the Livingstones hanging in balance, 23; intends to have his day of law, 24; Queen continues her quarrel against, 25; persuades King to have Blantyre made Chancellor, 25; his motives for so doing, 26; preparation for an incursion on Bruce and Livingstone forbidden by King, 26; advertised there is an intention against him by the Master of Glamis and others, 29; said to be joined with the King in getting return of the Papist Earls, 32; honours offered to, for D. Forrester's slaughter, 33; is pressed to assure with his neighbours, 39; attempts to have him made Chancellor, 44; his promise to MacCondochy, 44; the Queen continues her purpose anent, 45; travelling to have him made Chancellor, 46; the Queen's intention to take Prince Henry from, 47; thought he or Blantyre will get the Chancellorship, 47; J. Colville hopes he will be Chancellor, 49; to meet Blantyre for agreeing feud between Lawers and the MacFarlanes, 49; has obtained King's promise that no Chancellor be made without his advice, 50; Queen's ill will to, 50, 51; fears that party of Buccleuch and Cessford will shoot at his life, 51; has had quiet conference with Hamilton and Tullibardine, 52; great instance made with, for assurance with his neighbours, 52; at Convention at Linlithgow, 54, 56; reconciled with King and to be reconciled with Glamis, Cessford and Buccleuch, 54-56; agreed with Queen, 54, 56; no great favour between him and the Master of Glamis, 54; not under agreement now with Livingstone, Fleming and the Bruces, 55; jealousies between Queen and, occupy time of Council, 56; Sir G. Hume now reconciled with, 56; will not hear

of offers made him for slaughter of Forrester, 57; concord with the Master of Glamis and the lairds, 61, 64, 67; day of law between him and his neighbours, 61; has summoned Dunipace and Airth, 64; is in the Duke's faction at Court, 67; Montrose is one of the faction, 68; his side account the Chancellor's place shall be for one of their friends, 74; the King agrees him and Blantyre with the Master of Glamis and Buccleuch, 74, 75; in the new Council, 75; the Provost of Edinburgh a dealer between, and Airth, 77; is reconciled with Cessford, 77; day of justice between Livingstone and, 79; Queen tries to make him stay his day of law without success, 87; act meant to accord him with his neighbours, 87; refuses to yield in the matter of his day of law but is made to promise to come in peaceable manner, 88; has written sharply to Blantyre, 88; his day of law likely to breed trouble, 92; the King persuades to put off his day of law, 95-97; the deadly feud between him and Livingstone to be pacified, 100, 102; Colville fears will go down before the Queen's rule, 100; has rode home to Stirling with his friends, 101; hereditary keeper of Stirling Castle and guardian of the Prince, 108; might be won over to Catholicism, 108; King angry with, for not apprehending Carden's sons, 114, 116; at Edinburgh with Argyll to answer for suffering the Forsters to escape, 123; Sheriff of Stirlingshire, 123; moved by the King to effect economies in the Prince's household, 136; to take and give assurance with the Livingstones and Bruces, 136; the Queen's attempts to draw the Prince from his custody, 138; Elizabeth on his preferment to office of Chancellor, 138; Elizabeth would advise the continuance of his custody of the Prince, 140; pressed by the King to agree for the feud of the slaughter of David Forrester, 163; thought that he shall seek licence to travel abroad, 163; like still to proceed against Ardkinglass, 168; does not approve of motion to petition for recovery of former privileges of Scottish merchants in France, 175; Forbes wishes his appointment as King's Lieutenant in the North, 175; with the King at the General Assembly, 176; scheme of the Queen's Council to remove, from the possession of Edinburgh Castle, 213; sent to report to Bowes the conclusion of the Convention anent redress for Buccleuch's action at Carlisle, 234; Buccleuch now fawns upon, 238; is likely to be brought into the Queen's favour, 238; is like to be Chancellor, 240; the King travelling the reconciliation of, with Livingstone, 240; has gone to the Bray of Mar, 282, 284; at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336; in quarrel with Livingstone, 336; the King at the baptism of the daughter of, 346; to

attend the princess's baptism, 358, 373; present in Council at the trial of David Black, 381; supports Bowes at the princess's baptism, 387; sent to the Convention in the Little Kirk, Edinburgh, by the King (17 Dec. 1596), 395; charged to levy horsemen for the King, 408; meets the King at Leith, 412; appointed to the West Port and Castlehill, Edinburgh, on 1 Jan 1596-7, 412, 415; hopes to recover Lord Forbes's liberty, 425; to assist the Octavians, 425; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 459; at the Convention at Perth, 482; present in Council, 559; feud with Livingstone continues, 567.

—, [Annabella Murray], old Countess of: at Stirling, 33.

—, [Mary Stewart], Countess of, young Lady Mar: has come to Linlithgow but kept at Queen's chamber door a long hour, 51; well affected to the catholic religion, 108; sister of Lady Huntly, 167.

—, "Bray" [? braes] of: 282, 284.

Marches (Scottish): justice courts to be holden on, 133; the King very willing to redress all attempts by Scottishmen in England, 167; the King's measures for maintaining justice and peace in, 190, 197; mutual justice to be done by the wardens of, 212; wrongs done in, should be redressed by commissioners of both realms, 234, 235; measures taken by the King and Council for peace in, 243; laws of, 263; all possessioners in, to be bound, 293; the King's letters to his officers and others on, to preserve peace, 300; inconvenience in, by division of offices by appointing keepers of countries not under the authority of the wardens, 329, 330, 363; the King has ordered the wardens of, to deliver their bills, etc., to the commissioners for the Borders, 335, 336; daily attempts troubling the peace in, 357; officers of, charged to be in Edinburgh on 17 Nov. 1596, 357; discontinuance of the meetings of the wardens of, 363; inquiry to be made of the strength of the wardenries of, in horse and foot, 364; inquiry to be made as to those who have of late left their habitations in, 364; custom as to meeting of wardens of, with the English wardens, 386; wardens of, have delivered their rolls of offences to the Council, 387; wardens' rolls have been exchanged with those of the English wardens, 407; complaints redressable by the wardens in, 433; wardens of, should be called to a grand assize, 441; wardens of, to make account to the Border Commissioners of their doings, 450; wardens of, have been "arrested" to attend upon the Border Commissioners, 462; chosen persons to be kept for pledges in, for execution of the Commissioners' Acts, 473, 474; no assurance of safety can be given in any place in, 474; the King will take order with his wardens and officers of, for staying disorders, 511; delays and

evasions by the actions of the wardens of, 514; the King cherishes his wardens when found most faulty, 516; withholding of the wardens of, from receiving justice, 518, 519; the law of "trodds" daily practised in, 521; displeasure between the wardens of, 524, 525; disobedience of the wardens of, in breaking the indents with the English commissioners, 546; English ambassadors request that the wardens of, be commanded to attend the King at Dundee, 549; an instance of the delivery of a warden to Queen Elizabeth, 562.

———. *See also* Borders.

———, Commissioners for. *See under* Borders.

———, East: proposed that the commissioners for the Borders meet for, at Berwick before 8 Nov. 1596, 336; grand assize for, 449; breviat of bills filed for, 459.

———, Middle: 131, 363; commissioners for the Borders for, to meet at Berwick before 8 Nov. 1596, 336; the King somewhat disposed to remove Cessford from the wardenry of, 342; grand assize for, 449; filing of bills for, 482.

———, Warden of. *See* Kerr of Cessford.

———, West: 131, 174, 363; King will place an indifferent warden on, 46; another warden to be appointed for, 56, 65; deadly feud on, to be settled, 87; Carmichael likely to be new warden, 87, 89; persons proposed for wardenship of, 96, 97; Carmichael appointed warden, 99; no warden yet appointed for, 137; Johnstone likely to be appointed warden of, 167; alleged attempt by Englishmen in, 180; Sanquhar and others commanded to execute the office of warden in, 237; choice of a warden for, remitted to the Council, 282; commissioners for the Borders for, to meet at Dumfries, 336; Johnstone to execute the wardenry of, 416; Border Commissioners may finish causes of, at Dumfries, 471; the Maxwells and Johnstones have assembled great forces in, 482; the King ready to enter on his journey to, 492; meeting of the Commissioners in, 503; bills on, will extend to great sums, 505.

——— (English): the wardens need not have troubled Elizabeth with their causes (Sept. 1595), 4; the wardens being chosen by the Borderers accused of partiality, 71; misrule in, soldiers of Berwick sent to withstand, 102; redress of wrongs done in, 234, 235; officers of, 291, 293, 294; hoped that Elizabeth will command her officers of, to preserve peace, 297, 298, 300, 301; complaints of the wardenries of, to be heard by the Commissioners for the Borders, 329; want of ordinary meetings of the wardens of, 329, 363; lack of usual days of wardenry courts in, 331; inquisition to be made of the strength of every wardenry in horse and foot, 331;

collection of ordinances made in, to be made, 331; defections in church going in, 332; papists and recusants in, 332, 333; daily attempts troubling the peace in, 357; custom of the wardens of, in meetings with the Scottish wardens, 386; wardens of, and delivery of rolls of offences, 387; wardens of, to be written to for the safety of Buccleuch, 391; the wardens' rolls have been delivered, 407; the wardens of, have been advertised of the meeting of the Border Commissioners, 415; complaints redressable by the wardens in, 433; justice and strength in the government of the wardens necessary for the peace and happiness of, 434; wardens of, should be called to a grand assize, 441; to make account to the Border Commissioners of their doings, 450; to confer with the Border Commissioners, 459; to give the names of escaped fugitives to the Commissioners, 471; chosen persons to be kept for pledges in, for execution of the Commissioners' Acts, 473, 474; bills in, 491; quarrels of the wardens of, 502, 503; James desires Elizabeth to order her wardens and officers in, to stay all disorders, 511; displeasure between the wardens of, 524, 525; good conformity between the wardens of, 532; offences against officers of, committed in James VI's early years, 538; evil estate of religion in, 553; an instance of the delivery of a warden for trespasses in Scotland, 561.

———. *See also* Borders; Marches (Scottish).

———, commissioners for. *See under* Borders.

———, East: 240, 363; spoils committed on, by Scots, 308; outrages by Cessford in, 342, 349; growth of disorders in, 345; grand assize for, 449; breviat of bills filed in, 459; hostages proposed from, 461; meetings of the Border Commissioners upon, 488; bills upon, 505; outrages committed in, 510, 514, 516-518; Sir Robert Kerr refuses to meet the warden of, 536; verdicts of the gentlemen of, 553.

———, deputy warden or warden of. *See* Carey, Sir Robert.

———, Middle: 363, 508; no cause of complaint against Fernihirst in, 46, 47; Sir W. Bowes's report on the state of, 70-72; little religion or justice in, 70; the English spoil less and lose more than the Scots in, 70; near 200 Englishmen murdered in, since 10 Eliz., 71; late attempt by Sir Robert Kerr in, 310; grand assize for, 449; attempts against, by Buccleuch, 449; hostages proposed from, 461; filing of bills for, 482, 491, 505; affronts to English subjects in, 514; recent incursions in, 516-518; people of, make small appearance before the Commissioners, 519; alleged entering of Liddisdale by the men of, 520; openness of, 530; Sir Robert Kerr refuses to

- meet the warden of, 536 ; verdicts of the gentlemen of, 553.
- , —, wardens of. *See* Heron, Sir William ; Forster, Sir John ; Hunsdon, Lord ; Eure, Lord.
- , West : foray by the Armstrongs in, 180, 181 ; growth of disorders in, 345, 349 ; delay of redress for late attempts in, 492 ; Buccleuch minded to complain at, 499 ; meeting of the Commissioners in, 503 ; people of, make small appearance before the Commissioners, 519 ; verdicts of the gentlemen of, 553.
- , —, warden of. *See* Scrope, Lord.
- Margaret of Denmark, Queen of James III : the Orkneys given to Scotland as her dowry, 201.
- , Princess, daughter of Henry VII : marriage of, to James IV and issue of, 338, 340 ; second marriage to the Earl of Angus and issue of, 338 ; right of issue of, to the English succession, 338, 340.
- Marischal (Marshall), [George Keith, 5th] Earl : has had meetings with the Master of Glamis and others, 24 ; he and his wife were at parting, but now agreed, 41 ; on his way to Edinburgh to assist Mar in his action, 95 ; offers his services to preserve obedience in the North, 175 ; to attend the princess's baptism, 358 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 459 ; absent from the Convention at Perth, 483.
- Mars, the : stirs on the East Marches arising with, 32.
- Marseilles : letters intercepted at sea near, 270, 285.
- Martin, — : wrongs done against, 510.
- , Doctor : certifies the Chancellor to be past danger, 23.
- , William, Jesuit : 351.
- Mary of Guise, Queen Regent of Scotland : 202.
- , Queen of Scots (King's mother) : all things done to her to hurt of King's patrimony called back, 99 ; her imprisonment said to be due to the Scottish ministers, 106 ; James intends no hurt to any that were of her assize, 134 ; Elizabeth's hand in the death of, 230 ; unjustly and cruelly murdered, 232 ; James has always condemned offers made by England's enemies to revenge the death of, 256, 278 ; descent of, from Henry VII, 338 ; dishonourable effects against, alleged by James VI in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, 359 ; James's alleged desire to avenge the death of, 366 ; her upbraiding of Darnley led to the loss of her good will towards him, 445 ; moneys from France for, due to James, 484, 493.
- , (Tudor), Queen of England : 341.
- , Princess, daughter of Henry VII : marriage of, to Louis XII, King of France, 338 ; marriage of, to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and issue of, 338.
- Masterton (Maisterton), Gilbert : 189, 195.
- Matheson, — : 525.
- Maurice of Nassau, Count : his letters on the taking of Errol expected by James, 264.
- Maxwell, [John, 9th] Lord : 500 ; late slaughter between, and Johnstone, 54 ; the deadly feud between him and Johnstone to be pacified, 100 ; pledges to be taken of, for keeping good order, 116 ; the Queen would have him for friend, 136 ; though a catholic was retained in the King's service, 228 ; Buccleuch has compounded with, 264 ; Herries to answer for his people, 282 ; Herries has transferred, and his younger brother in Lord Hamilton's hands, 422.
- , Sir James : to return the names of all who promised any plenishing of the King's parks, 131.
- of Pollok (Poke), [Sir John] : slain in a raid against the Johnstones, 56.
- , Captain Robert : 260.
- , — : some letters from abroad from, 59, 61.
- Maxwells, the : the King burdens for truce, 10 ; their power in the Borders, 10 ; matters hot between, and the Johnstones, 45 ; encounter of, with the Douglasses of Drumlanrig, 47 ; order expected to be taken to quiet the deadly feuds with the Johnstones, 48 ; daily enormities committed between, and the Johnstones, 50 ; have obeyed King's order and are at Linlithgow, 53 ; have been overthrown by the Johnstones, 54 ; the King forces to settle their feud with the Johnstones, 102 ; bear Herries no further company, 422 ; dangerous for, to pass through the bounds of the Johnstones, 474 ; have assembled great forces against the Johnstones, 482 ; have given assurance to Johnstone, 504.
- Maxwell's inheritance : 113.
- Mearns : Earl of Angus in, 23, 32.
- , presbytery of, 40 ; synodal convention of, 474 ; ministers of, commissioners for trial of the Earl of Huntly's obedience, 550, 567.
- Mecenas, Colville's cipher for Sir Robert Cecil, *see* Cecil.
- Mecklenburg (Medlingburg) : Col. Stewart in, 29, 30.
- Medicis, Don Pedro de : 274.
- Medina Sidonia, Duke of : reported defeat of, by Essex, 302.
- Medop, Drummond of. *See* Drummond.
- Melluyn in Daskin : ship laden at, 136.
- Melrose (Mewross, Mewtus), Abbot (Laird or Lord of). *See* Douglas, James.
- Melville (Melvill, Melvin) of Muredocairney, Sir Robert, Vice-treasurer : 446 ; empowered to examine and search for suspicious packets from beyond sea, 59 ; is in Lennox's faction at Court, 67 ; chosen with two others to guide the King in his affairs, 68 ; in the new Council, 75 ; may be sent to Queen Elizabeth, 76 ; loth to be sent into England, 90 ; one of the chief rulers in Scotland, 100 ; wishes to be discharged, 113 ; King gives him evil words, 113 ; is to do nothing without the

- hands of five of the Octavians, 117, 119 ; not well contented with Blantyre's promotion to be Lord Treasurer, 163 ; has surrendered his office but King desires his service in Court, 168 ; feels too old to be employed on service to Elizabeth, 168 ; advertises Bowes of the King's measures for the peace of the Borders, 190, 197 ; sent to report to Bowes the conclusion of the Convention anent redress for Buccleuch's action at Carlisle, 234 ; explains Huntly's offers to the ministers at the Convention, 305 ; present in Council at trial of David Black, 381 ; sent to the presbyteries in Edinburgh with the King's letter for Sanquhar, 424 ; to be present at National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460 ; at the Convention at Perth, 482 ; appointed to try to persuade the burgesses of Edinburgh to submit to the King's will, 483 ; reports the disorders in the Borders to R. Bowes, 510.
- , Andrew, minister : charged to depart home, 368 ; convocation in St. Andrews made by, 382.
- , James, minister : appointed a commissioner by the General Assembly, 179 ; charged to depart home, 368 ; a commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
- Menmuir, parson of. *See* Lindsay, John.
- Menteith, [John Graham, 6th] Earl of : desires passport for London, 78 ; is married to Glenorchy's sister, 78.
- Mercure (Mercury), Duc (Monsieur) de : 124, 420.
- Merton, John, Jesuit. *See* Myreton.
- Mewross. *See* Melrose.
- Mewtus. *See* Douglas, James.
- Michelson, Willie : murder of, 521.
- Middelburg (Middelburgh, Midleburghe) : 507 ; the Earl of Errol taken at, 255, 264, 303 ; Logie beheaded at, 419.
- , letters dated at, 34, 121, 255.
- Milan : 65, 272.
- Milford Haven : Spanish army proposed to be landed at, 65, 68.
- Ministers (ministry) : look to be dealt with plainly in the matter of Angus, 32 ; decide that commissioners should be sent to the King to know his mind in the matter of the Catholic Earls, 40 ; none of them to have conference with Angus until allowed by the General Assembly, 45 ; move the King to prepare by musters, etc., against catholic attempts, 64 ; to give the names of all suspected in religion to the King and Council, 73 ; cause Adam Kinge and John Archbut to be apprehended, 77 ; to convene the people in armour at first call to resist Spanish incursions, 79 ; the King has much ill will towards, 105 ; arrogance of, due to Elizabeth's encouragement, 105 ; reputed hatred of, by the nobility, 106 ; were the source of many of Scots' imprisonment, 106 ; the King would hold dear any pretext to suppress the insolence of, 107 ; on putting off of day for law for David Forrester's slaughter proceed to excommunication but stayed by King, 114 ; accuse King of Spain of intentions for crown of England, 115 ; have moved that the commission to the Octavians may not prejudice them, 122 ; willed by King to make a general fast, 122 ; they and the King never so great, 126 ; King will not permit Papist Earls to return without advice of, 162 ; King desires that all kirks should have, with fit stipends, 174, 177, 178, 179 ; none of, has given occasion in his preaching to judge evil of the King anent the planting of kirks, 179, 180 ; above 400 parish kirks destitute of, 183 ; those helped by the assignations of 1595 delayed of justice by the Lords of Session, 183, 184 ; desired by Burghley to receive the submission of Angus, 191 ; mistrust the travails of the Catholic Earls to recover their country by submission, 191 ; recommend petition for the import of peas and beans from England, 192 ; are like to impugn the suit of the Catholic Earls for their return, 221 ; hated by James because they aspire to democracy, 228 ; hate Queen Anne because of her favours to Catholics, 228 ; act for provision for, 237 ; Bowes might confer secretly with, as to Queen Anne's councillors, 266 ; begun to make public prayers for the success of Elizabeth's navy and army, 282 ; will advise that the forfeited rebels be kept out of the realm, 301 ; will entreat the King to satisfy them as to Huntly being in the realm, 302 ; advise that Huntly's offers be not heard, 305, 306 ; at the Convention at Falkland, 307 ; said to have had order from the King to have no dealing with Bowes on his return to Scotland, 308 ; suspect that Errol is crept into realm, 311 ; desire Huntly to be put out of the realm, 313 ; openly inveigh against Huntly's requests, 317, 318 ; griefs of, against the forfeited Earls increase, 326 ; trust firmly on the King's promise, 326, 337 ; mightily inveigh against the Catholic Earls, 343 ; controversy between the King and, as to his dealing with excommunicated papists before they have satisfied the Kirk, 349 ; cause between the excommunicated Earls and, like to work trouble, 351 ; matters between, and the Catholic Earls stirred up by reports brought by D. Foulis, 353 ; exclaim against the favour given to the Catholic Earls, 358 ; the King has promised his mediation in the controversies anent the Catholic Earls, 359 ; the propositions to, of the King and Council anent the Catholic Earls and their answers thereto, 361, 362 ; certain of, unlawfully devising rules prejudicial to the King charged to depart home, 368 ; proclamation prohibiting conventions of, without the King's licence, 368, 371, 372, 390 ; have obtained a proclamation touching the Catholic Earls, 371 ; claim of, to have a spiritual jurisdiction distinguished from

the civil, *see under* Ecclesiastical jurisdiction; proposed declaration for rescinding the Act prohibiting convocations of, 377; Acts of Council craved of the King by, 377-380; the King's intention in the proclamation prohibiting unlawful conventions of, declared, 382; troublesome effects risen between the King and, 383; given fair words in their appeal for their privileges but nothing accorded between them and the King, 384; put in hope that the proclamation against ecclesiastical conventions will be qualified, 384, 385; Huntly's submission and offers reported to, 388; the King and Council proceeding against in very bitter actions, 390; a sermon on the wrong offered to, 390; the "tumult" in Edinburgh raised by, 393, 394, 395, 396; the "tumult" discerned to be treason, 396; petition that a commission for modification of the stipends of, be given, 398; the stipends of, discharged, 398; Aston's account of the late controversy between the King and, 404-407; pensions of all, refusing to subscribe Act of Council to be stayed, 409; "band" of the King and Council to be subscribed by, 410, 411; benefices and stipends of those not subscribing to be "tyned," 411; order to be put to, to subscribe to the King's absolute power in civil and criminal causes, 416, 419; two copies of the letter from the three, to Lord Hamilton, 417; Cecil writes they proceed so brainsickly as the adverse party will make their infinite advantage, 419; Acts of Convention against, severe and will be mitigated, 421; order to be taken for restraining the declamations of, in pulpits against the King and government, 423; proclamation against such declamations, 424; 26 of especial quality to inform of papists lurking in the realm, 425; convene in Edinburgh with the King's licence, 428; pray not to be pressed with the band, 428; troublesome estate of, 431; the band required of, with their answers and objections thereto, 442-446; by the band of 1584 bound only to ecclesiastical persons, 442; malicious proceedings of, reported by the King to Elizabeth, 447; a convention of, at Leith summoned by the King, 447; do not approve the King's form of procedure for the General Assembly at Perth, 454; Burghley's answers to the frivolous questions proposed to, 464; petition for the adjournment of the General Assembly, 465; trusted Huntly's absolution would be referred to the General Assembly, 466; petition the King to surcease all further proceedings with them in the manner of the last months, 468; petition that their stipends be restored, 469; the King has granted all stipends to, except to those who signed the first declinatur, 469; the King agrees not to put his late proceedings against, in print till some of them be

acquainted therewith, 469; the King cannot agree to be called a persecutor of, 470; many refuse to go to the Convention at Perth fearing Huntly's power there, 470; cause of the King and Council against, 475; do not intend to be at Perth, 477; more hated than the papists at the beginning of the Reformation, 478; required by the King to acknowledge his authority in all matters of sedition or treason, 478; assembly of, at the General Assembly at Perth very great 483; indiscretion of, in managing some Kirk affairs, 486; few present at the General Assembly at St. Johnstone, 499; uniform ordination, jurisdiction, election, etc., of, 533; weak unless the King be brought to be more inclined to them, 557; fourteen chosen by the Assembly at Dundee to carry out its conclusions, etc., 567, 568.

Minto (Mentoo), Laird of. *See* Stewart.

Mollison, Thomas, 156.

Moncoffer, Laird of: murdered, 439, 453.

Montagu (de Monte Acuto), Edward: witness to Henry VIII's will, 341.

Montgomeries, the: the deadly feud between, and the Cunninghams (Glencairn) to be pacified, 100, 102, 122; Glencairn to give and take assurances with, 136, 142; Ladyland bands with, 568.

Montgomery, George: seeks to be denizenized in England, 160, 188; James writes to Elizabeth to recommend, 163, 164; a passport to France for, requested, 184; the "lat" in the pretence of, 222.

—, Matthew: 225.

Montrose, town of: 193, 199, 219, 507.

Montrose, [John Graham, 3rd] Earl of: 446; travelling to have him made Treasurer, 46; some think he shall be Treasurer, 47; is dealing underhand to be Chancellor, 50; is likely to be Treasurer, 50; or Chancellor, 51; expected at Convention at Linlithgow (Oct 1595) but came not, 56; an intention he shall not have the Chancellorship, 57; is in the new society with Lennox and Mar, 68; in the new Council, 75; in Edinburgh to countenance Livingstone against Mar, 96; has left Edinburgh, 101; to come in to settle a feud but excuses his coming by sickness, 136; present in Council at trial of David Black, 381; gapes for the office of Chancellor, 392; may be added to the Octavians, 421; to assist the Octavians, 425; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 459; at the Convention at Perth, 482.

Moray (Murray, Murros), diocese of: presbyteries of, 358, 360; ministers of, commissioners for trial of Huntly's obedience, 550, 567.

—, [James Stewart, 2nd] Earl of: his sisters, escheats of the Dunybirsselds obtained for, 54; murder of, 429, 453, 486; friends of, to receive satisfaction from Huntly, 500; Huntly expresses his

- grief for the slaughter of, and is to ask God's mercy therefor, 551.
- , [James Stewart, 3rd] Earl of: plan to marry him to Atholl's elder daughter and make him Earl of Atholl, 32.
- , —, brother of, plan to marry to Atholl's younger daughter and make him Earl of Moray, 32.
- More, William: Huntly to provide remedy for the slaughter of, 551, 552.
- Morton (Merton, Myreton), [James Douglas, 4th] Earl of: death of, attributed to Captain James Stewart's accusations, 360.
- , [William Douglas, 6th] Earl of: never sees Atholl, 5; expected to side with Mar, 20; said to be entirely catholic, 104.
- , —, his son Archibald. *See* Douglas.
- , John, Jesuit: 105; gone from Antwerp to Dinant, 25; has been liberated by the King, 228; found favour in Scotland, 259.
- Moumford, Francis, Englishman: said to have been sent by Tyrone to Spain for forces, reputed to be in Scotland, 38.
- Mowbray (Moubrey, Mowbrey), Francis: 293, 301.
- Moysie (Mossye, Moysse, Moyses), David: Great Seal committed to the custody of, 54, 56, 59, 74.
- Mull (Mula, Mullae): 156, 169, 172, 205, 206.
- , Sound of, 9: a galleon sent to, from Elizabeth to MacLean, 12.
- Murdocairney (Murdocairnie), Laird of. *See* Melville.
- Murray, Earl of. *See* Moray.
- of Tullibardine, [William]: expected to side with Mar, 20; has had quiet conference with Hamilton and Mar, 52; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596–7), 460; at the Convention at Perth, 482.
- , Andrew: sent to Buccleuch to see redress given for Border offences, 473.
- , Captain: 382.
- , Colonel: with Henry IV at Abbeville gets copies of intercepted letters to Philip II sent to James, 270, 285.
- , Gideon: sent by the King to Bowes to report certain Border matters, 391.
- , Patrick: summoned by the Kirk, 351; instructed by the King to procure Huntly's absolution, 466, 501; reports certain presbyteries in the north allow Huntly's submission, 474; the King's instructions to, 478–480.
- , Robert: 480.
- Murrays, the: Ladyland bands with, 568.
- Musgrave, John, (son of Sir Simon): spoils in Liddisdale done by, 297, 301.
- , Thomas: taken by Kinmont, 292.
- Musselburgh: 418, 422.
- Musters: orders for, 64, 66, 73, 79; the Sessions broken up for, 137.
- Muswald: the King demands the delivery of the house of, 482; house of, committed to Dunlanrick, 504.
- Myrecairnie (Myrecanarne), Laird of Logie: present in Council at trial of David Black, 382.
- Myreton. *See* Morton.
- NAPLES: 267, 274.
- Nassau. *See* Maurice of.
- National Convention, the. *See* Convention of Estates.
- Navarre, King of. *See* Henry IV, King of France.
- Navy, the English: great charges for preparation of, 148.
- Neale (Neill), John. *See* MacNeill, John.
- Nevell, —: 519.
- Nevers, Monsieur de: death of, 124.
- Nevin, Hugh, late bailiff of Irvine: 225.
- New Abbey: Abbot of. *See* Brown, Gilbert.
- Newbottle (Newbottle), Mark Ker (Carr), Abbot or Lord of: 446; to assist Herries in giving redress to Scrope, 22, 23; in Lennox's faction at Court, 67; may draw Cessford from association with Buccleuch, 74; in the new Council, 75; chosen as a commissioner for the Borders, 310, 312, 335; excuses himself by sickness from serving on the commission, 345, 346; the King says he has recovered and shall join with the rest, 350; proposed to appoint the Lord of Holyroodhouse in his place, 357; Bishop of Dunkeld appointed in his place, 369; to assist the Octavians, 425; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596–7), 460; to attend the King in the West Marches, 492.
- Newby, Laird of: 510.
- Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 60, 70, 94, 143, 302.
- , letter dated at, 72.
- Newhall. *See* Kerr of.
- Newhaven. *See* Le Havre.
- Newton: John Gordon of. *See* Gordon.
- Neyle, John. *See* MacNeill.
- Nicolson (Neccolson, Nicholson, Nicolsone), George, Bowes's servant: 36, 38, 131, 188, 189, 394, 415, 527; to Bowes (1 Sept. 1595), 3; rode to the King at Inchmurrin, 3; has told Bowes of the King's answer to Elizabeth's letter, 6; George Erskine to (9 Sept.), 9; has sent MacCartney's petitions, 11; to Bowes (12 Sept.), 12; asked that Elizabeth's "token" to MacLean be sent to, 14, 15, 17; Auchinross to (19 Sept.), 15; to Bowes (19 Sept.), 18; the token for MacLean should be hastened to, 20; A. Dickson to (c. 21 Sept.), 21; to Bowes (22 Sept.), 22, (24 Sept.), 23, (3 Oct.), 30, (4 Oct.), 34; MacLean to (5 Oct.), 35; to Bowes (8 Oct.), 39; has given Mrs. Aston velvet from Sir R. Cecil, 42; to Bowes (15 Oct.), 44; has delivered Elizabeth's letter at Linlithgow, 46; to Bowes (20 Oct.), 46; R. Aston to (25 Oct.), 49; to Bowes (26 Oct.), 51, (2 Nov.), 53; Auchinross to (3 Nov.), 53; to Bowes (6 Nov.), 54; goes to Linlithgow 54; sees nothing but drifts for order of Border causes, 55; further request that MacLean's token be delivered to, 58; to Bowes (15 Nov.), 58; G. Strachan to (16 Nov.), 60; to Bowes (19 Nov.), 61, (27 Nov.), 62, 64; reports his proceedings

- with Tusser, 62, 63, 64 ; to Bowes (1 Dec.), 72 ; in great doubt concerning two passengers driven on shore, 76 ; to Bowes (5 Dec.), 77 ; to Sir R. Cecil (15 Dec.), 87 ; Elizabeth well allows of his being left in Scotland, 87 ; to Bowes (15 Dec.), 88 ; proclamation against letters abroad not meant against, 88 ; further report on proceedings with Tusser, 90, 91 ; his suspicions of him, 92 ; to Bowes (21 Dec.), 95, (29 Dec.), 100 ; speaks with T. Foulis and others anent the going of the Provost to England, 101 ; Blantyre is persuaded by Colville to correspond with, 102 ; to Bowes (7 Jan. 1595-6), 112, (11 Jan.), 116, (16 Jan.), 121, (25 Jan.), 134, (29 Jan.) 135, (7 Feb.) 142 ; Bowes has certified of his being on the way to Scotland, 143 ; has informed Argyll and MacLean of Bowes's returning to Scotland, 151 ; sent to Cecil by Bowes, 182, 184 ; matters entrusted to, 185 ; Bowes asks for some relief for, 185 ; Bowes's instructions to, 185-187 ; matters he is to advertise Burghley of, 190, 191 ; memorial of things to be considered for his dispatch with Burghley and Cecil, 193, 194 ; is commended by Bowes for some recompense for his services, 194 ; memoranda of things to be brought before Sir R. Cecil by, 200, 201 ; asks for grant of a lease in reversion, 201 ; a grant of 20*l.* to, 214 ; Cecil's token to J. Cunningham received from, 243 ; Bowes asks Cecil for the relief of, 247 ; Bowes is sending to London to sue for Elizabeth's directions, 383 ; instructions given by Bowes to, 383-393 ; Bowes desires his return with speed, 396, 431 ; to Cecil (3 Jan. 1596-7), 413 ; requests his speedy dispatch to Scotland, 413 ; is angry with Cecil for not dispatching him, 419 ; to Burghley (24 Jan.), 435 ; willing to venture his life in Ireland with the Scots, 436 ; prays for remembrance of his suit for relief in his age, 436 ; opinion of, for the prosecution of the Irish rebels by Scots, 436-438 ; Bowes commends to Cecil, 463 ; Bowes thanks Burghley for expediting the return of, 464 ; Sir R. Cecil hopes to get him something for his faithful service, 481 ; Bowes asks Burghley for the return of, 494 ; petition that he may be speedily dispatched to Bowes with the present for the princess, 495 ; Cecil's help for the relief of, 496 ; to Sir W. Bowes (22 April 1597), 513.
- , George : lately taken at Antwerp, 153.
- , James, minister : 486 ; appointed a commissioner by the General Assembly, 179 ; charged to depart home, 368 ; brings the petitions of the Convention at Edinburgh (17 Dec. 1596) to the King, 396 ; commissioner to the General Assembly at Perth, 533.
- , Thomas : to Bowes (20 Nov. 1595), 62 ; Errol to (21 Feb.-2 Mar. 1596), 145 ; his brother, misfortune of, 145, 146 ; has something to communicate to Sir R. Cecil, 471, 472 ; may well discover offices supposed to be done for Huntly and Errol in the Low Countries, 507.
- , Thomas, clerk keeper and extractor of the register of the General Assembly 533.
- Noell, Mr. : 63.
- Nonesuch, co. Surrey : 333.
- Norfolk : 192.
- Noris, Mr. : his part in founding the seminaries, 259.
- Normandy : 340.
- North, Roger, 2nd Lord : 491.
- North, the. *See under* Scotland and Highlands.
- , Earls of. *See* Catholic Earls.
- North Berwick : 136.
- , Laird (goodman) of. *See* Hume, Alexander.
- North Water, the : David Black to be in ward north of, 382, 384, 404.
- Northam, (co. Devon) : 35, 37.
- Northern Earls, the. *See* Catholic Earls.
- Northumberland : Lord Lieutenant in parts of, 70 ; English Border commissioners inquire as to decays in, 433.
- Northumberland, [Thomas Percy, 1st] Earl of : delivered by James VI to Elizabeth, 564, 565.
- , [John Dudley], Duke of : 341.
- Nuntio, the, in France : 351.
- Nycoll, William, of Northam (Devon) : 35, 37.
- Nysbit, Mr., burgess of Edinburgh : 334.
- O'BURKE, Thomas, son of Richard William : 164.
- Ochiltree (Ocoltry, Occultry, Ochiltrie, Ogle-tree), [Andrew, 3rd] Lord : 446 ; Elizabeth may be assured of, 6 ; plan for him to become Earl of Atholl, 21 ; seeks earldom of Atholl, 32 ; sent by the King to the convention in the Little Kirk, Edinburgh, on 17 Dec. 1596, 395 ; persuades Bargany to withdraw from the commissioners of the convention, 396 ; meets the King at Leith, 412 ; appointed to guard the Cross and Tolbooth at Edinburgh on 1 Jan. 1596-7, 412, 415 ; to assist the Octavians, 425 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460 ; has solicited loan of cannon at Carlisle to James, 467 ; at the Convention of Perth, 482 ; to attend the King in the West Marches, 492 ; office of Treasurer given to, during Blantyre's illness, 500 ; present in Council, 559.
- Octavians, the. *See* Exchequer, Lords of.
- O'Donnell (Odonell, Young O'Donnell) : has an army in Ireland, 4 ; Argyll not likely to break friendship with, without occasion of some quarrel for which cause could be found, 31 ; Angus MacConnell's arrangement to send men to, 58 ; is of mind to give his lands to James, 103 ; has had his provision of powder from Glasgow, 141 ; has been making means to call MacLean, 149, 151 ; Bowes will learn from MacLean the proceedings of,

- 151, 152; new forces in the Isles and Highlands of Scotland preparing to aid in Ireland, 157, 158, 163, 169; is now submitting himself with pretence of humility to Elizabeth, 165; proposals to reduce that part of Ireland defended by, 171; although offering obedience to Elizabeth has greatly increased his forces, 188; seeks to agree MacLean with Tyrone, 201; may make offers to the younger brothers and "loose" men of Argyll, 208; the MacConnells of Kintyre commonly entertained by, 209; his offers to Argyll, 210; said to have submitted to Elizabeth, 219; has contracted with Archibald Rowee for the levy of soldiers in Scotland, 220; good to find some mean to move discord between Tyrone and, 241; has compounded with Archibald MacDonald and attacked some Englishmen in Connaught, 254; proceedings of, with the Islanders and Highlanders, 270; expected to send 3,000 Irishmen to Angus MacConnell in the Isles, 311; two Spanish ships rumoured to have come to the aid of, 507; proceedings with MacLean for assistance, 543, 544.
- , Callough : 202, 210.
- , Hugh Gawlagh, son of Callough : 202.
- , Manys : 210.
- O'Donnells, the : a gentleman of England to be preferred to all the lands of, 103.
- Oenus, Hugo. *See* Owen, Hugh.
- Offley (Ogley), Mr. : ship of, taken by Earl of Orkney, 136, 148, 167, 185, 188, 189, 192, 215, 250.
- Ogill (Ogle), David, minister : the King proposes he may be admitted to preach where he shall appoint, 447; suspended for preaching before the King in Edinburgh, 454; his release from suspension required by the King, 455; his suspension not for obedience to the King, 456.
- , Richard : to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456.
- Ogilvy (Ogleby, Oglevie, Ogleywy) of Airlie, [James, 6th] Lord : appointed ambassador to King of Denmark, 248, 252; returns from Denmark, 337; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596–7), 460.
- , Master of : 19.
- of Findlater, Sir Walter : propones the offers of Lord Huntly, 360.
- of Pourie Ogilvy (Pury Ogleby, Ogleywy), John : suspected to be Thomas Bell's friend with Huntly and Errol, 121; James's alleged commission to, to treat with Clement VIII, 225, 227; the like to conclude an alliance with the King of Spain, 257; articles against, sent to Rome, 257; the negotiation of, 258; his pretensions to be sent by James to Spain and Rome, 267; Father Cecil brings, to the Duke of Sessa, 271; the points of his negotiation, 271; his negotiations with Italian princes and with Sessa, 272–274; desires to be employed in the King of Spain's service, 272; is presented with a golden chain and departs for Spain, 274; is embarked towards Genoa, 276; said to have been sent to Spain by James with knowledge of Elizabeth, 277; Elizabeth is sure his practices have no ground from James, 294–296; charged by the King to appear within sixty days, 296; the King had liked his advertisements from the Low Countries, 296; negotiations of, in Rome and Spain, 320–322; minute to, 322; summary of the memorials of, 365–367; his letters from James VI suspected to be forged, 366; is now detained at Barcelona, 366.
- Gilbert, the King's servant : 216.
- Ogle. *See* Ogill.
- Oliphant, Master of : 41.
- , John : 130, 131.
- , William : 418; a King's commissioner to the synodal of Lothian, instructions to, 454–456.
- Oliver, Count : 276.
- , Richard : 525.
- O'Mallye, his country : 206. *And see* Mallye.
- O'Neil (O'Neale, O'Neill, Oneele) : 201; the Campbells commonly entertained by, 209.
- , Art. : his son with MacLean, 103.
- , Hugh, kinsman of Argyll and MacLean of Duart : hanged by Tyrone, 27; a former servant of, sent by Tyrone to MacLean, 53; Tyrone alleges he "schoitnit" for preservation of his own life, 103; his son with MacLean, 103.
- , John : the sons of, should be set as liberty and hold some of their fathers, lands of Elizabeth only, 201; takes James MacConnell and his brothers prisoners at Glanesk, 204; is killed at Cowsandonne, 204; his son Henry, prisoner with Tyrone, 204; MacLean asks for the liberty of the sons of, out of Tyrone's hands, 241.
- , John : his sons Hugh Gawlagh and Arte, 203.
- O'Neils, the : a gentleman of England to be preferred to all the lands of, 103.
- Oola (Ulla) in Connaught : 206.
- Orange, Prince of : restored to his lands by Philip II, 64, 65; is going to Flanders, 68.
- Orde, James : sent to receive Huntly's caution and bonds, 388; Elizabeth's answer to the motion of, desired, 414.
- Orfley, Mr. *See* Offley.
- Orkney Islands : alleged plot of Bothwell to surprise, 197; given to crown of Scotland by Denmark, 201; English ship stayed in, 215 (*and see* Offley, Mr.); four ships of Hamburg bound for Spain driven into, 216; a ship of Hull brought into, 224.
- Orkney, [Patrick Stewart, 2nd] Earl of : 216; takes an English ship and goods, 136; directed by King to attend him and send the ship to Edinburgh, 148; not to be allowed to plead reprisal for his goods taken by English pirates, 167; with the King at the General Assembly, 176; the order for the restitution of the ship taken

- by, 185, 188; craves satisfaction for goods and gear taken from him by Captain Guyne, 188-190; Foulis asks where he may move the matter of, 189; the King desires he may be satisfied for his goods taken by Guyne, 192; suggested as ambassador to Denmark, 248; single combat between Sanquhar and, stayed by the King, 248, 249; returned from the King at Dunfermline, 282; to be married to the Lady of Acknowll (widow of Justice Clarck), 304; marriage of, 306; at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336.
- , Master of: 439.
- Ormiston, Laird of. *See* Cockburn.
- O'Rourke (Orurke), [Brian]: delivered by James VI to Elizabeth, 564, 565.
- Ostend: expected to be shortly besieged and taken, 254.
- Oth (?), Father: 105.
- Otterburn, [co. Northumb.]: 525.
- Otterburne, Thomas, of Readhall, a Scottishman: 476.
- Ottorron, Anthony, an Italian: 30.
- Owen (Oenus), Hugh: 229, 321.
- PAGET (Pagett), Lord: witness to Henry VIII's will, 341.
- , Mr.: 233, 321, 366.
- Paisley (Paseleye): minister at. *See* Knox, Andrew.
- Pansfoote, —, English Catholic: 321.
- Papist Earls, the. *See* Catholic Earls.
- Papists. *See* Catholics.
- Paris: 155, 249, 352, 426; an army from Flanders to pass towards, 10; Bothwell reported dead in, 303; greatness of the sickness in, 306.
- Parliament of Scotland: Act suspending further execution against Huntly and Errol, 222; Act concerning the demand for the delivery of Buccleuch to Elizabeth, 223; to be summoned to resolve for the punishment of the persons guilty of the "tumult" in Edinburgh, 416; the summons of, passed over in silence, 423; Acts in favour of the Kirk, 479; Acts for reformation of many disorders in the realm (Dundee, May 1597), 550. *See also* Convention of Estates.
- Parma, Prince of: 229.
- Parsons (Persons), Father Robert, Jesuit: 257; holds conquest necessary to restore Catholicism in England, 109; said to have compiled Doleman's book, 140, 148, 546; James's alleged petition to Clement VIII to warn, against intermeddling with secular matters, 226; Philip II's designs on England shown in the book of, 229; in his book opposes James's title to England, 229; one of the catholics most able to serve James abroad, 233; his part in founding the seminaries, 259; opposed to Father Crichton's party, 321.
- Patt, cipher for MacLean of Duart, *q.v.*
- Peas and beans, licence for transportation of, into Scotland desired, 189, 192; granted, 195.
- Peebles: 494, 503, 508.
- Peel (Peill), the. *See* Leslie.
- Pembroke, [William Herbert, 1st] Earl of: 341.
- , [Henry Herbert, 2nd] Earl of, married to Frances [*sic, rectius* Katherine], daughter of the Marquess of Dorset, 338.
- Pendlebury, Nicholas, of London, fishmonger: 345.
- Pernon, Sieur de, 124.
- Perth (St. Johnstone): the Queen at, 6; the King going to, 21, 22; King at, 28, 32; King and Queen coming from, 39, 41; Queen did not come with King from, 45; burgh of, at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336; Angus discovered in secret in, 346; College of Justice to convene in, 418; the Court and Session to be settled at, 424, 425; a Convention to be held at, on 1 Mar. 1596-7, 447, 465; remove of the court and session to, 453; General Assembly appointed to convene at, 454, 474, 476, 477; subject to the forces of Huntly and Errol, 454; presbytery and burgh of, to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; Huntly and Errol said to have resolved to be at, 466; the King promises protection to all that continue at the General Assembly in, 469; the King is to move to, 470; Border Commissioners mean to visit King at, 472; the men of Edinburgh petition to be discharged from their entry in ward at, 475; the King journeying to, 477; Convention and General Assembly at, references to proceedings at, 481-484, 487, 491, 494, 499, 500, 504, 511, 544, 550, 551, 567; note of acts made in General Assembly at, 532, 533; charges of Bowes's servant at, 553.
- , letter dated at, 480.
- Peryman, Richard, of Aldborough: 136.
- Petarro, Laird of: brings the petitions of the Convention at Edinburgh on 17 Dec. 1596 to the King, 396.
- Petit, John: letter from (21 Sept.-1 Oct. 1596), 320, 367 *note*.
- Petlurge (Petlury). *See* Gordon of Pitlurg.
- Phelippes (Phillips), Thomas: 261, 322, 367.
- Philip II, King of Spain (the Catholic King): rumoured invasion of England and Scotland by, 79 (*and see* under Spain); rumoured intention to levy men for, in Scotland, 93; alleged devices of, to prosecute his claim to the English throne, 106; his aid of the Scottish College, 107; suggested method of robbing him of his influence over English Catholics in Flanders, 110; his threatened conquest of England, Scottish proclamation in reference to, 111, 112; James condemns for practising against Elizabeth, 115; Scottish ministers accuse of having intention for the crown of England, 115; a man appointed to take gold to some of his "folks" in Scotland, 120; expected to accord with Henry IV, 125; alleged commission from, to treat with James, 125; the lawful successor of England, 126 (*and see* Doleman); said to have a

mightier army ready against England than in 1588, 140; Logie not to meddle with his affairs in the Low Countries, 146; his preparations against Britain and Ireland, 146, 147; Tyrone is persuaded of aid from, in Ireland, 173; advice of the General Assembly desired as to resisting, 177; Huntly and Errol alleged to have practised with, 192; large sums said to have been offered by, to James VI to draw him to Catholicism, 193; James VI will party Elizabeth against, 198; an alleged letter of James declaring war against, 213; a ship to have been sold to, wrecked in Orkney, 216; Scottish peers to be made sworn men of, 219; James's alleged petition to Clement VIII that he will not favour the claim of, to the throne of England, 226; reasons for his always planning to invade England, 228, 229; has sought the excommunication of James, 229; if James showed favour to the Catholics, he might obtain the help of, 230, 231, 233; a pretendant to England by the right of the house of Lancaster, 230; Huntly and Errol have promised to leave, 240; James reported to have been solicited to enter into league against, 248; James Crichton pretends to have commission from, 249; alleged to be confederate with the Council of Scotland, 257; not to expect assistance from the nobility of Scotland in his private interests, 257; practices of certain subjects of James with, 267; the pretended agents of James, recommended to, 268; letters from the Duke of Sessa to, intercepted at sea, 270-276, 285, 296; not expedient to the Pope that he should be master of England and Scotland, 271; not his intention to make himself monarch of the whole world, 272; is willing to succour the Catholics in Scotland, 275; should not attempt to dispossess James of his kingdom if he really professed the Catholic religion, 276; envy of, in Rome, 276; places in Scotland he should make himself sure of, 277; enterprise of, against Scotland, 278; practices of Ogilvy and others with, 294, 296; James has offered Elizabeth his personal assistance against, 317; against James for the crown of England, 322; James's readiness to enter into league against, 324, 325; title to throne of England through John, Duke of Lancaster, 342; three Irishmen in service of, 353; many Italian princes persuaded he will shortly invade England, 355; summary of the memorials made to, by Pury Ogilvy and of the contrary proposals by John Cecil, 365-7; Errol said to have commission to traffic with the rebels in Ireland for, 371; Huntly and Errol will no longer keep intelligence with, 388; daily advertisements that Huntly and Errol will join his forces to be sent to Britain or Ireland, 389; forces for, to be sent into Ireland, 403; seeks not the advancement of the

Catholic religion but conquest, 429; negotiations with, by pretended agents of James VI, 430; 50,000 crowns to be sent for, into Scotland, 430; many thousand ducats expected to be sent by, to Scotland, 467; provisions to be put in readiness for, thought to be expended on England and Ireland, 482; promise of, to furnish O'Donnell with forces, 507; a book proving his daughter's title to succeed Elizabeth brought over with the privy of his Council, 515; Huntly and Errol protest they have not dealt with, against religion, etc., 567; Ladyland's negotiations with, 568.
 —, his daughter. *See* Spain, Infanta of.
 —, his sister's son. *See* Prince Cardinal, the.
 Philorth, Laird of. *See* Fraser.
 Pinkie field, battle of: adduced by James VI as an example of the old Scottish wars, 177.
 Piracy, old matters of: 22.
 Pirates, English: 190. *And see* Guynes.
 Pitlurg, Laird of. *See* Gordon.
 Plessie, young: well treated by King, 21.
 Pluscardine (Pluscarden), Prior of. *See* Urquhart, Lord.
 Poland (Polonia): 275.
 —, King of: 62, 132.
 Pollard, Laird of. *See* Hume of Polwarth.
 Pollogg, Robert, minister: the conversion of Angus referred to, 40.
 Pollok, Laird of. *See* Maxwell.
 Pont, Robert: to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456; commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
 Pope, the: 255; challenge of, to both spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, 443. *And see* Clement VIII; Gregory XIII; Sixtus V.
 Porter, Mr.: 131.
 Porterfeild, John: a Commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
 Portugal, Kings of: 339, 342.
 Prefeck. *See* Dod, Henry.
 Preston, John, of Fenton Barns: one of the King's Commissioners to the General Assembly, 178; makes overtures for the King to the ministers of Edinburgh, 395; appointed to advise in the trial of those partaking in the "tumult" at Edinburgh, 418; commission to, to discuss suspension of David Ogle, 454; a senator of the College of Justices, a King's commissioner for the synodal of Lothian, instructions to, 455, 456, 466.
 —, Richard: the King writes by, to Livingstone, 88.
 Price, Richard, factor: 136.
 Priestfield (Preistisfeild). *See* Hamilton.
 Primrose (Prymerose), Archibald: understands Colville's hopes for favour, 3; will inform Cecil of kindness desired by Colville, 9; Colville's references to, 11, 25, 39, 44, 53, 54; thought to be on his journey, 97; is returned, 100; Colville at hard point that he has not sped, 102.

Prince Cardinal, the, Philip II's sister's son : 64, 65, 68 ; said to have given Errol commission to traffic with the Irish rebels, 371.

Pringle (Hoppringill) of Coldstream (?) (Cadstreyme) : slain, 292.

Pringles, the : 330, 364.

Prior, the. *See* Stewart, Walter, Prior of Blantyre.

Privy Council (Secret Council, Council) of Scotland : some of, appointed to meet King at Linlithgow, 22, 29 ; to meet on 24 Oct. 1595, 43, 46 ; Convention of, to be continued at Edinburgh (24 Nov.), 54, 56 ; King informs he sees none worthy of Chancellor's place, 55 ; meeting of (1 Nov.), matters before, 56 ; convening of, at Edinburgh (27 Nov.), 66 ; the King addresses concerning the dangers from Spain, 67 ; Blantyre is authorised to convene, 73 ; the Master of Glamis and others required to leave, 74, 75 ; measures taken by, for help in dearth, quieting Borders, etc., 89 ; occupied in arraignment of Ardkinglass, 162 ; to be summoned shortly to take measures for the Borders, 190 ; few of, left in Edinburgh, 191 ; King intends to return to, 196 ; to resolve on means of pacifying the Borders, 197 ; have convened to deliberate on Border matters, 212 ; to convene (20 May 1596) to give redress for Buccleuch's fact and other Border causes, 214, 215, 218, 220, 243 ; MacLean has compounded with, 244 ; the Privy Council of England reviews the Act of, anent Buccleuch's action at Carlisle, 244-246 ; some of, will rejoice at Elizabeth's refusal to grant the King the year's gratuities, 251 ; the King to have Buccleuch before, 253 ; prohibits all to resort into Huntly, 253 ; order for the better expedition of business in the Council House, 254, 255 ; the Kings of Spain and France alleged to be confederate with, 257 ; Bowes accuses, of delaying justice by its act anent Buccleuch's outrage, 263 ; the King sees again anent Buccleuch's fact, 265 ; further act of, anent Buccleuch, 265, 266 ; Bowes debates the act with most of the members of, 269 ; has refused the grant of certain places to Elizabeth despite the King's willingness, 277 ; many of, insist on trying Buccleuch's fact by commissioners, 281, 283 ; to choose a warden of the West Marches, 282 ; Elizabeth thinks its course in not giving her timely reparation preposterous, 288 ; to meet at Dunfermline, 293 ; meeting postponed to Falkland on 11 Aug. 1596, 297 ; Buccleuch to appear before, 298, 303 ; to meet at Linlithgow, 313, 316 ; approves form of Elizabeth's commission for the Borders and orders one in like form for Scotland to be framed, 335 ; extract from Acts of, 344 ; three men claiming to be Irish to be examined by, 353 ; David Black to appear before, 359, 362 ; pro-

positions of, to the ministry anent the Catholic Earls and the answers thereto, 361, 362 ; the Conservator to the Scottish nation in the Low Countries to appear before, 365 ; David Black summoned before, 368, 369 ; accusations against by Black, 369 ; Border commissioners appointed by, 369 ; convened 27 Nov. 1596, 370 ; fix date and place of first meeting of Border Commissioners, 372, 373 ; articles proposed to, by the General Assembly (30 Nov. 1596), 375, 376 ; Acts, etc. of, craved of the King by the ministers (Dec. 1596), 377-380 ; process against David Black before, 380-382 ; sentence and decree of, against Black, 382 ; troublesome effects risen between the King and, and the ministers, 383 ; Bowes's account of the proceedings against Black in, 383, 384 ; wardens of the Marches deliver their rolls of offences done by Englishmen to, 387 ; proceedings of, against the Catholic Earls, 388 ; is proceeding against the ministers in very bitter actions, 390 ; with the King in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (17 Dec. 1596), 393, 395, 401, 402 ; reported many in Edinburgh billed by, to be put out of the town, 395 ; the Convention at Edinburgh (17 Dec. 1596) asks for certain members of, to be removed, 397 ; at Linlithgow with the King, 400 ; ministers and burgesses of Edinburgh to appear before, at Linlithgow, 402 ; "band" of, to be subscribed by the ministry, 410, 411 ; sundry barons and burgesses of Edinburgh examined before, 416 ; proceedings of, 6-8 Jan. 1596-7, 417-419 ; long oration of the King to, 423 ; has some of the King's Chamber in great jealousy, 425 ; list of members of, 446, 447 ; James offended with, for sitting in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, 454 ; cause of, against the ministers and religious, 475 ; band approved by, to be subscribed by all ministers, 478 ; finds it necessary to put off the meeting of the Border Commissioners at Carlisle, 492 ; burgh of Edinburgh appears before, 494 ; ministers of Edinburgh present their petition to, 511 ; the King must advise with, before replying to Sir W. Bowes, 538 ; discusses the demand of the English ambassadors for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford, 555-557, 559-562.

—, clerk depute of. *See* Andrews, John.

—, of England. *See under* England.

Proclamations : for a general wapenschaw (27 Nov. 1595), 66 ; against intelligence to foreign nations (1 Dec.), 77, 100 ; not meant against England, 88, 93 ; for a general wapenschaw (2 Dec.), 77 ; for defence of the realm (2 Jan. 1595-6), 111 ; is solemnly proclaimed, 114 ; for the reduction of the Isles and Highlands of Scotland (22 May 1596), 222 ; for keeping the peace on the Borders (3 Aug. 1596), 298 ; against trafficking with foreigners in matters of state (29 Sept. 1596), 343,

- 344; not meant to touch Bowes, 343; restoring Robert Denneston to his office of Conservator to the Scottish nation in the Low Countries (20 Nov. 1596), 365, 373; against the return of the Earls of Huntly and Errol (22 Nov. 1596), 367, 372; to discharge the commission of ministers (24 Nov. 1596), 368, 377, 378, 381, 394; prohibiting conventions of ministers (24 Nov. 1596), 368, 372, 381; proposed declaration for rescinding, 377, 378; a declaration of the King's intention in, 382; summoning David Black before the Council (24 Nov. 1596), 368, 381; for the appearance of Mr. Robert Bruce and others before the Council (20 Dec. 1596), 401; for the Provost of Edinburgh and others to arrest the persons named in the preceding proclamation (20 Dec. 1596), 402.
- Protestant faction in Scotland: divided in two sorts of people, 557.
- Provence (Provance): 124.
- Prymerose, Archibald. *See* Primrose.
- Purdie, George: 380.
- Puritans: growing every day stronger, 233.
- QUEEN, the. *See* Anne of Denmark; Elizabeth.
- Regent of Scotland. *See* Mary of Guise.
- Quin (Quinnus), Walter, Irishman: delivers a treatise of poesie to the King and is maintained by the Secretary, 79; his anagrams, sonnets and verses laudatory of the King, 80–86; thinks Henry Constable made Dolman's book, 100; entertained in the King's service, 112, 120; oration presented by, 125.
- Ramsay (Ramsaye), Alexander: papist, in Scotland, 182, 183.
- , George: to preach in the Great Kirk of Edinburgh, 456.
- , Richard: 224.
- , —: 121.
- Randolph, [Thomas], (formerly English ambassador in Scotland): promised a yearly payment to James VI, 300.
- Read, James: 136.
- Recusants: in the English Marches, 553, 554; in England, Scottish Catholics crave that they may be dealt with as, 558.
- Reddon: days of truce at, 527.
- Redshanks, offensive term applied to the house of Campbell: 198.
- Redswire (Reidswire, Reidswyre), the: rode of, 386, 562.
- Reid, James, constable of Edinburgh Castle: 403.
- Reillys (Reylies), the: rebellious confederacy of, 207.
- Relston, Anthony. *See* Rolstone.
- Renfrew: 225.
- Reres, Laird of: 382.
- Rheims (Rheyms): the seminary at, 259.
- Richard I, King of England: 340.
- Richard II, King of England: 445.
- Richardson, James: his sister married to T. Sinclair of Hirdmeston, 155.
- Richeson, Robert, shipmaster: 224.
- Richinson, James: 114.
- Richmond (co. Surrey): letters dated at, 135, 145, 156, 345, 348.
- , letters received at, 38, 49, 51–53, 78, 118–120, 149, 151, 152, 160.
- Richmond, (co. York): two wealthy men's houses at, assaulted by Scottish Borderers, 72.
- Richmondshire: attempts by Scottish Borderers in, 72.
- Ridingburne, the, [co. Northumb.]: 528.
- Ridsdale: 508.
- Robert, the Lord (?): 224.
- Robertson, John, sheriff clerk of Lanark: 131.
- , Walter, notary: 156.
- Robson, Cuthbert: 526.
- Robsoun, *alias* Foulmouth, William: 525.
- Rollock (Rooke), Peter, Bishop of Dunkeld: said to be sent ambassador to Denmark, 252; a Border commissioner, 369, 386, 414, 446, 461, 462, 530; deemed by Bowes a bishop rather in name than in deed, 370; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596–7), 459; to Sir William Bowes (14 May 1597), 552.
- , Robert, minister in Edinburgh, regent of the College of Edinburgh: to bring up Lady Huntly's son in religion, 162; moderator of the General Assembly, 176; brings the petitions of the Convention at Edinburgh (17 Dec. 1596) to the King, 396; acknowledges his subscription to the letter to Lord Hamilton, 408, 412, 417; a commissioner to the General Assembly, 533.
- Rolstone (Relston), Anthony, a pensioner in Spain: 515; confession of, 529; negotiation of, 545, 546.
- Rome: 65, 107, 111, 141, 219, 221, 240, 247, 257, 276, 320, 321, 351, 425, 426; Hugh Ven sent to, by Philip II, 106; English College of, 108; an Irishman with letters and books from, arrested in Edinburgh, 116–119, 149; priests and suspected persons from, in Scotland, 148; Inquisition in, 258; Elizabeth has knowledge from, of practices of certain subjects of James, 267; Father Cecil brings Pury Ogilvy and other Scots Catholics to, 271; Scottish passengers trafficking from, 419.
- , letters dated at, 275, 276.
- , Spanish ambassador in. *See* Sessa, Duke of.
- , Church of: Queen Anne reported to the Pope to be secretly reconciled to, 141, 150.
- , Emperors of: references to the practice of, in matters ecclesiastical, 444, 445.
- Rona: 172.
- Ross, house of: rased by Johnstone, 504.
- Ross (Rosse), Bishop of. *See* Leslie, John.
- Ross, [Robert Ross, 5th] Lord: dead upon the hurt of his gun, 55.
- , [James Ross, 6th] Lord: Blantyre has the ward and marriage of, 55.
- , John: case of, 393.

- Rothouse : reported dead, 41 ; death contradicted, 45.
- Route (Roote), the, in Ireland : 204.
- Rowee, Archibald. *See under* MacDonald of Dunnyveg.
- Rudolph II, Emperor : Colonel Stewart's offers to, 89, 93 ; levying of men for the service of, against the Turks, 232.
- Russell, Sir William, Lord Deputy of Ireland : handles the Irish rebels hotlier than they looked for, 5 ; writes to Bowes (3 Oct. 1595), 26.
- . *See also* Ireland, Lord Deputy of.
- Rutherford (Rathford, Rotheforth, Rutherford), John, minister at Kilconquhar ; letter pretended to have been written by, seized in the hands of the King's porter, 426 ; accuser of David Black, 426 ; a Councillor of Scotland, 446 ; may be admitted to preach where the King shall appoint, 447 ; anonymous letter to the King attributed to, 455.
- Ruthven, Mrs. Barbara : 526.
- Rutland, [Roger Manners, 6th] Earl of : Border treaty concluded by, 70, 386.
- Rutledge, [Thomas, of Kilham] : imprisonment of, 3.
- Rye Close, [? co. Northumb.] : 526.
- ST. ANDREWS (Sentandry) : 277 ; the Queen to enter, 24 ; proposal that the Ladies of Huntly and Errol reside in, 183 ; the Queen wishes to be delivered at, 213 ; Countess of Errol has departed from her ward in, 216 ; Buccleuch committed to ward in the castle of, 304, 311, 316, 332 ; the ministers very "quike" in their sermons at, 349 ; ministers of, stir up rather to a rebellion than obedience, 353 ; sermons preached by David Black in the kirk of, 362, 368, 375 ; convocation in, made by David Black and Andrew Melvill, 382 ; testimonial of University of, to Black, 384 ; is being prepared for the Session, 400 ; Convention and General Assembly to be held at, on 28 Feb. 1596-7, 424 ; burgh of, to be at National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460 ; proposed to adjourn General Assembly to, in April, 474, 476 ; the sentence of excommunication of Huntly pronounced by, 479 ; order to be taken for the restitution of the former ministers of, 568.
- , archdeacon of. *See* Young, George.
- , minister of. *See* Black, David.
- , provost of. *See* Dersy, Laird of.
- St. Colme (St. Coslme), Lord. *See* Stewart, Henry.
- St. Davids : a preacher of, alleged to be persecuted by Elizabeth, 292.
- St. Johnstone. *See* Perth.
- St. Lucas : 259.
- St. Margarets bay (Scotland) : 277.
- St. Troud : letter dated at, 146.
- Sancy (Sansie), De : to go to England, 124.
- Sandie, Geordeis : would have a raid made about Carlisle, 252.
- Sandilands (Sandeland, Sandelandes), Sir James : 136 ; Don Hugo supposed to be, 267 ; the supposition incorrect, 285.
- Sanquhar (Santhware), Lord. *See* Crichton of Sanquhar, Lord.
- Savoy : 62.
- Saxony, Prince of : 228.
- Scotland : Bowes's return to, very necessary 14, 16, 17, 20 ; a Jesuit prisoner in, 25 ; advices from (25 Sept. 1595), 25, 26 ; a new force in Spain possibly intended for, 29 ; rumoured agreement between France and Spain thought likely to force England to do better to, 55 ; Spaniards rumoured ready to land in, 64, 65, 68 ; preparations in, against Spanish invasion, 73 ; extreme dearth of victuals feared in, 74 ; grounds laid for a more solid and constant government than before, 75 ; levies in, 77 ; no talk in, but of the Spaniard, 87 ; ordinances being made to help the extreme dearth, 89 ; the King asks grain from England for relief of, 94, 95 ; planting of the religion in, attributed to Queen Elizabeth, 98 ; proposed means of establishing Catholicism in, 104-111 ; names of peers of, thought entirely Catholic, 104 ; the greater part of the nobility Catholic, 106 ; not more than four or five priests to be found in, 107 ; not the risks of torture and death for Catholics in, to be found in England, 108 ; an ambassador to go from Spain to, 111 ; defence of, proclamation for, 111, 112 ; a man from Errol appointed to go to, 120 ; instructions as to any Englishman or other stranger giving intelligence to England as to matters in, 139, 142 ; some of the Spanish forces in the Low Countries to be sent to, 147, 149 ; Elizabeth does not believe the Spaniards will descend on, 155 ; Elizabeth did not refuse help to extinguish the French in, 155 ; numbers of soldiers of, proposed for Elizabeth's service in Ireland and their pay, 170 ; help of soldiers of, necessary for Elizabeth's victory in Ireland, 171 ; overtures for resisting foreign and intestine enemies of the religion and state of, 172, 173 ; dearth found generally in, 174 ; French King offers renewal of ancient league between France and, 175 ; fashion of old wars of, seen in Pinkie, 177 ; ambassadors of Christian IV to be expected in, 181 ; great number of forces from, to be sent to Ireland, 182 ; rebels and enemies of the King in, lands of and proposals for disposal of, by the General Assembly, 182, 183 ; Jesuits and excommunicated Catholics in, names of, 182, 183 ; 5,000 footmen may be raised from, for Elizabeth's service in Ireland, 187 ; licence required for transportation of peas and beans to, 189, 192, 195 ; order for restraint of export of powder, etc. from, into Ireland, 190 ; Nicolson is directed to report on the state of, to Cecil, 194 ; Orkneys annexed to crown of, on birth of James IV, 201 ; question of an ambassador from, to France, 211 ; resolution of the Spaniards

to come to, 219; union of realm of, with those of England and Ireland perilous to the King of Spain, 229; the charge of the ambassadors for renewing the league with France, 237; placards for buying and carrying horses in England into, 247; Englishmen and Scots with plans to the prejudice of, everyday passing through Zeeland to, 255; advices from, 257; nobility of, intercede for James in Spain, 260; places fit for King of Spain's navy to land in, set down by pretended agents of the King, 267, 277; not expedient to the Pope that Philip II should be master of, 271; Philip II ready to succour the Catholics in, 272-276; the King of Spain's enterprise against, 277, 278; is in a reasonable good obedience, 290; advices from (July 1596), 291; "rodes" made by Englishmen in, 293; complots of Spain against, to be discovered by Huntly, 294; advices from (9 Aug. 1596), 298; two armies of Spaniards rumoured to be coming to, 299; advices from (11 Aug. 1596), 303; advertisements from (Aug. 1596), 307; pestilent fever and famine in, 317; complaint of interception of letters from, to England, 348; Elizabeth asks for the precedents for the first meeting of the Border Commissioners being held in, 374; hasty innovations expected in, 382, 383, 394; grounds for the claim that the Border Commissioners should first meet in, 386, 387; articles proposed by the nobility and ministry of, at the Convention at Edinburgh, 17 Dec. 1596, 396-398; some of account from England urged to be sent to pacify the troubles in, 413; complots for alteration or toleration of religion in, 430; 50,000 crowns to be sent for the King of Spain into, 430; list of Councillors of, 446, 447; advices from (? Jan. or Feb. 1596-7), 447, 448; plots to draw to the course of Spain, 451; passports to, desired, 477; advices from (Feb. 1596-7), 477; passports desired for four gentlemen of, from France, 480; embassy to France to renew the ancient league with, 484, 493; merchants of, privileges for, to be sought in France, 484, 493; considerations for Elizabeth's service in, by Sir W. Bowes, 486, 487; occasions drawing religion into peril in, 486; will get little by the utter breaking of the Borderers, 497; remembrances for, by Sheperton, 498; advices from (March 1596-7), 498; Dutch form of drinking acquaintance now frequent in, 499; travel as safe in, as in England but with evil lodging and fare, 513; English prisoners carried into, 525; advices from (15 May 1597), 552; alleged plot to draw French and Spanish forces from Ireland to England by way of, 552; advertisements from (? 23 May), 555-557; A. Douglas on the state of, in the matter of religion (27 May) 557-559; reprisal against, for justice denied (Stat. 4 Hen. V), 563.

—, North of: great preparation in, against feared invasion by Argyll, 78; an appointment of a King's Lieutenant in, desired, 175; Lennox's lieutenancy in, discharged, 311; presbyteries in, to hear Huntly's offers, 424; three of the presbyteries of, have allowed Huntly's submission, 454; presbyteries of, have written to the ministers in Edinburgh anent Huntly, 466; presbyteries of, inform the King how they have proceeded with Huntly, 474; James's instructions to be proponed to the ministers of, anent the absolution of Huntly, 478-480; great assembly of ministers from, at Perth, 483; presbyteries of, report Huntly's good inclination and offers, 484, 544; ministers of, to absolve Huntly if he satisfy them, 486; ministers in, to be convened, 501; commissioners from, to the General Assembly expected to concur with the courtiers, 544.

—, Borders of. *See* Borders.

—, Chamberlain of. *See* Lennox, Duke of.

—, Collector of: to be none hereafter, 119; *see also* Douglas, William, Provost of Lincluden; Stewart, Walter, Prior of Blantyre.

—, Comptroller of: to be none hereafter, 119; *see also* Seton of Parbroath; Stewart, Walter, Prior of Blantyre.

—, dearth in. *See* Dearth.

—, Eleemosynar of. *See* Young, Peter.

—, Great Seal of: Keeper of, 26, 45; committed to David Moysie's custody, 54, 56, 59.

—, Isles of. *See* Isles.

—, Justice Clerk of. *See* Cockburn of Ormiston.

—, Lord Advocate of. *See* Hamilton of Drumcairn, Thomas.

—, Lord Chancellor of, deputation of, to be deliberated, 45; plots for the vacant office of, 47; the office to be filled at the next Convention, 54; there will be no Chancellor as yet, 56; the President working all means to be, 60; feared that John Lindsay may become, 126; Elizabeth's interest in the appointment of, 138; office still in the King's hands, 163; Earls of Argyll almost successively chosen, 202; the Lord President now stands for, 392; Lennox thinks to have yearly 2,000*l.* Scots out of the office, 392.

— —. *See also* Thirlestane.

—, Lord Clerk Register (Clerk of the Registry) of: 130, 131. *See also* Skene, Sir John.

—, Lord High Stewards of: 202.

—, Lord Justices General of: 202.

—, Lord President of. *See* Urquhart, Lord, Prior of Pluscardine.

—, Lord Privy Seal of. *See* Stewart, Walter, Prior of Blantyre; Lindsay, John; Cockburn of Clerkington.

—, Lord Treasurer of: 128; *and see* Glamis, Master of; Stewart, Walter, Prior of Blantyre.

—, Secretary of: 26, 188; *and see* Cockburn of Clerkington; Lindsay, John.

—, Vice-Chancellor of. *See* Stewart, Walter, Prior of Blantyre.

—, Vice-Treasurer of. *See* Melville, Sir Robert.

Scots: English merchants spoiled upon the sea by, 224, 225.

—, Irish (the Irishry): 207; usual pay of, when serving in North of Ireland, 27; question of employment of, by Elizabeth, 144; Nicolson's opinion as to the prosecution of the Irish rebels by, 436-438.

Scott of Buccleuch (and Branhholm), Sir Walter, Laird of Buccleuch: 131, 498; ordered to maintain the Border peace by other than the ordinary course, 6; is crafty, 10; the Chancellor had made all the Borders for him, 10; King expects complaints against by Elizabeth, 18; has his agent with the Queen, 18; is doing great justice to England, 19; has had meetings with the Master of Glamis and Cessford, 24; has been privily in Edinburgh being informed of the King's secret commission to take him, 26; secret meeting with the Master of Glamis and others, 29; if Chancellor die is minded to leave the country, 29; will travail to remove the King's suspicion of him, 32; the matter between him and the Grahams, 32; thought he may depart the realm on death of Chancellor, 39; is shortly to go to King for taking order in the Borders, 39; has lately had a meeting of his men and friends, 39; still sticks with the Master of Glamis and Cessford, 41; tries to have Mar made Chancellor, 44; seeking by all means to obtain King's favour, 46; has "kythed" himself with Johnstone, 47; is shortly to purge himself with the King, 47; expected to be with Johnstone and to work great mischief, 51; fears that his party will shoot at Mar's life, 51; will shortly content King in Border matters, 53; to be reconciled with Mar, 54, 55, 156; King will not have the company of, 55; has excused his coming to town to meet King, 59, 60; concord to be made with Mar, 61, 67; King has ordered, to come in without his friends, 64; answers for Liddisdale, 71; is agreed with Mar and Blantyre, 74; is required to leave the Council, 74; his favouring of Johnstone may draw Cessford from him, 74; has conferred with Mar and Blantyre, 75; received in Court again, 79; Mar has asked to be with him on his day of law but likely to lie off, 88; protects the Trunballs against Cessford, 115; King intends to charge with having dealings for Bothwell, 115; is quiet in Edinburgh, 118; excuses his attendance on the King, 122; malcontent and at his plottings, 134; quarrel with Cessford, 134, 137; redress to be demanded of, for his attempts against English Borders, 139; his former letters to Essex and

others promising devotion to Elizabeth, 139; may have professed papistry in Rome but in England professed the contrary, 141; matters between, and Cessford grow quick, 142, 143; enormities caused by, in his office in West Marches, 180; the King orders to keep his ordinary meetings with the English wardens of the Marches, 190, 197; his forcible taking of Will of Kinmont out of Carlisle Castle, 191, 197, 213-218, 220, 223, 233-236, 238, 239, 242, 244-246, 248, 252, 253, 262-265, 268-270, 280, 281, 283, 284, 289, 293, 299, 300, 303, 304, 332, 358, 364, 538; the King promises to content Elizabeth for the fault of, 198; seeks licence to travel to Italy, 199; has lately given up kindness with John Colville, 199; to be called to the meeting of the Council, 218; his impunity may effect breach of the Borders, 221; Act of Parliament concerning the demand for the delivery of, to Elizabeth, 223; keeper of Liddisdale, 223; the King wishes his fault to be tried by commissioners, 235, 237; reconciliation made between, and Hamilton and Herries, 238; fawns upon Mar, 238; has written to Eure offering his concurrency for the administration of the Borders and his submission to Elizabeth, 240; is looked to be drawn into single combat with Cessford, 240; to be committed until good order be taken for peace in the Marches, 243; his meeting with Eure, 243, 244; reputed to be factious and seditious, 246; called "a night largin" by Elizabeth, 250; B. (? Buccleuch), described as secret, haughty and dangerous, 252; the King resolved to have him before the Council, 253; his quarrel with Cessford like to draw them to single combat, 254; the King protests that the not rendering of, is not a just cause for Elizabeth's withholding of his annuity, 256; called "the Locrine" by Elizabeth, 262; has left Johnstone and compounded with Maxwell, 264; appears to give assurance for good order on the Borders, 270; challenged by Cessford to single combat, 270; cannot be chosen warden of the West Marches by reason of his affair with Scrope, 282; Elizabeth sets out her complaint against, 287, 288; Elizabeth's high displeasure against, 290; his fact against England esteemed good service to the King, 291; has solicited Lord Hume to raid the East Borders, 292; summoned to compeer before the Convention, 292; is pernicious and wily, 292; bond taken of, for order in the Borders, 293; has taken William Graham prisoner, 297; excuses his appearance before the Council by a fall from his horse, 297; complains of great spoils done in Liddisdale, 297, 301; to appear before the Council at Falkland, 298; has passed over to the King at Falkland, 300, 301; King and Council seem to intend to ward, 301; cited to compeer before the King

and Council, 303; has given licence to his countrymen to ride in upon English land, 303; has received many injuries from England, 303; "peteit" by the King and Council, 304; commanded to ward at St. Andrews to yield Elizabeth satisfaction, 304, 311, 316; Elizabeth is content with the warding of, 314; but wishes him rendered to her or her warden, 319; the warding of, 323-325, 327, 332; the King wishes to release from ward to prepare his bills, etc. for the commissioners of the Borders, 342, 346, 350; Elizabeth will consent if Bowes finds it vain to contest it to the temporary release of, from ward, 348; has liberty to go into Liddisdale to prepare his bills etc., 352; the King cannot with assent of the nobility and Estates deliver the body of, to Elizabeth, 356; Elizabeth not pleased that the cause of, be tried by the Border Commissioners, 357; since his liberty from ward pretends all good offices for justice in his limits, 358; named by the King as a witness in the trial of David Black, 359; thought that he will not be a witness against Black, 371; Elizabeth wishes inquiry to be made as to the genuineness of his offers of submission, 374, 392; his life said to be sought by Englishmen, 391; question of redress by the King's order for his outrage at Carlisle being to Elizabeth's liking, 392; charged to levy horsemen for the King, 408; murders and dishonours offered to England by, 412; came not in at Edinburgh on 1 Jan. 1596-7, 413; Cecil pressed for a decision anent the matters of, 413, 414; offer to render himself to Elizabeth's clemency, 417; of his old opinion of malice towards England, 421; the Scottish Border Commissioners to reason for his favour against Elizabeth's complaint, 421; is in very good countenance with the King and Queen, 422; an evil firebrand of the Borders is cherished by the King, 434, 435; would be great with Hamilton for the extirpation of Johnstone, 447; motion to arrest, to answer for attempts on the Middle March, 449; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; answer of men of Liddisdale to, 461; commanded to yield immediate redress for Border offences, 473; advised not to make any raid whilst the Border Commissioners are sitting, 478; the delivery of, to Elizabeth demanded by the Border Commissioners, 490, 496, 497, 548; had wrought many ways for the restoring of Kinmont, 499; Johnstone thinks not himself assured of, 500; Captain of Bewcastle too familiar with, 501; Elizabeth attending hourly redress for lewd acts of, 502; the delivery of, is not meant, 505; due punishment for the personal offences of, demanded, 506; Sir W. Bowes desires him to be present in his audience with the King, 508; justifies his late slaughter in Tyne-

dale, 510; outrages committed freshly by, in the Middle March, 515-518; bill against, for hostile practices in Tynedale, 518, 519; accuses the men of the Middle March of entering Liddisdale, 520; answers of the Scottish Border Commissioners to the accusations against 520-522; hereditary keeper of Liddisdale, 521, 525; the King is ready to charge and file for his outrage in Tynedale, 523; bills filed against, 525, 526; the English Commissioners have not received his bills, 528; bills against, for the outrages in Tynedale will be shortly filed, 529; attempts of, in Tynedale, 534, 546; delivery of, to Elizabeth demanded by Sir W. Bowes, 536, 537, 540-542, 555, 556, 559-565; his act too favourably excused as a lawful "trode," 538; the King promises to send for, 539, 540, 542; convicted of murders, 542; called in before the Council to answer the demand for his delivery to Elizabeth, 556.

—, Master Alexander: 111.

Scottish College, the. *See* Louvain.

Scrope, [Henry, 9th] Lord, of Bolton: 312.

—, [Thomas, 10th] Lord, of Bolton, Warden of the West Marches of England: 252, 333, 370, 461, 467, 491, 511, 524; complaints of, against the Scots, 13; his complaints delivered to King at Falkland, 18; King takes measures to assist Herries in giving him redress, 22, 23, 39; reports that disorders on Borders likely to be past remedy of the wardens, 64, 65; obtains redress from King for faults done on West Borders, 74, 75; King and Council consider measures for doing justice to, 89; cannot be satisfied until a Scottish warden of the West Marches is appointed, 96; the King is doing what he can to satisfy, 101, 102; Johnstone asked to make known his commission for good order in the Borders to, 113; Scottish wardens ordered to keep their ordinary meetings with, 190, 197; informs Bowes of the forcible taking of Will of Kinmont from Carlisle Castle, 191; Bowes has asked to certify the Privy Council of England of all wrongs done by Scottishmen on the Borders, 212; his action in detaining Will of Kinmont, 217, 234, 235, 244, 245, 253, 263, 265, 269, 332, 364, 365; R. Cecil to (14 July 1596), 279; Buccleuch's particular with, 282; Privy Council of England to (15 Oct.), 344; has advertised growth of disorders in the West Marches, 345; proposed in the Convention that the matters against, be left to Elizabeth's order, 357; has certified attempts done by Scottishmen in Gilsland, 473; bill against, by the Scottish Border Commissioners (Feb. 1596-7), 477; question of the act of, in resuming spoils from Liddisdale being a lawful reprisal, 488-490; complaints against his discharge of his office, 499; advices out of Scotland sent by, 501; instructions to,

- to be given by Sir W. Bowes, 503; avoids answering the great bill of Liddisdale, 519; alleged to have given direction for the raid on Liddisdale, 521; Sir R. Cecil to (8 May 1597), 532; early familiarity of, with R. Cecil, 532; act of, in Liddisdale justified as a lawful reprisal, 534; his exceeding spoil and murder in Liddisdale, 537; the cause had been tried by the Scottish Commissioners and cleaned, 539; reconciled with Lord Eure, 548; commended for his wisdom but over zealous, 553; Scottish advertisements sent by, 557.
- , Lady: 280; her kindness to Lady Cecil, 532.
- Scrymgeour of Dudhope, [Sir James], Constable of Dundee: 460, 483.
- Seaton, Seatown. *See* Seton.
- Selby, Captain: 49 *n*.
- , Sir John: 60.
- Seminaries, the: 259.
- Sempill (Semple, Simple), [Robert, 4th] Lord: said to be entirely Catholic, 104; is come home and suspected to be a Bothweller rather than a papist, 137; a promise to make him the King of Spain's sworn man, 219; charged to levy horsemen for the King, 408; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; letter brought to, from Col. Sempill, 467.
- , Colonel: 105, 257; has promised to make Lord Sempill sworn man to the King of Spain, 219; the King has shown good affection to, 228; gives out that Huntly and Errol refused to gain their peace in Scotland by Elizabeth's means, 467; sister of, lately returned from Spain, 529.
- , George, minister: may be admitted to preach where the King shall appoint, 447.
- , Matthew: a passport to France for, requested, 184.
- Sessa, Duke of, Spanish ambassador in Rome: is persuaded to recommend to Philip II the requests of the pretended agents of James VI, 268; letters of, to the King of Spain and Idiaquez intercepted at sea, 270-278, 284, 285, 294, 296; advertisements made to, by Don Baltazar (Lindsay), 277, 278.
- Session, the, Court of (the Sessions) broken up for the musters, 137; to be transferred to Stirling, 396; withdrawn from Edinburgh and St. Andrews being prepared for, 400; at Leith, 467.
- , Lords of the: 127; to attend the Chancellor's burial, 45; delay justice to the ministers helped by the assignations made in 1595, 183, 184; with the King and Council in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh on 17 Dec. 1596, 395, 401; charged to admit nullity of "tyning" of benefices of ministers, 411; to remove to Linlithgow, 422; to be settled at St. Johnstone, 424, 425; present in Council, 559.
- , President of. *See* Urquhart, Lord.
- Seton: the Montgomeries at, 142.
- Seton (Seatown), [Robert, 6th] Lord: said to be entirely Catholic, 104; King has agreed with Ormiston, 114; as Admiral, goods of an English ship come to the hands of, 224; suggested as ambassador to Denmark, 248; expected to have the bringing up of Princess Elizabeth, 336; purposes to bring up his son at Cambridge, 336; charged to levy horsemen for the King, 408; meets the King at Leith, 412; appointed to guard the Nether Bow, Edinburgh, on 1 Jan. 1596-7, 412, 415; advises the burning of the ministers' houses in Edinburgh, 424; to assist the Octavians, 425; a Councillor of Scotland, 446; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; present in Council, 559.
- of Parbroath, David, Comptroller: not yet written for to attend Convention, 51, 56; is in Lord Hume's faction at Court, 67; is required to leave the Council, 74, 75, 90; has given over his office, 99, 112; ordered to show himself contented with his discharge or leave Edinburgh, 115; commanded to "dimit" his office, 116.
- , Alexander. *See* Urquhart.
- , Laird of. *See* Young, Peter.
- Seville: reported taking of, by the English, 302.
- Sharpe (Sharp), John, (advocate before the Lords of the Sessions): given Doleman's book to answer, 100; chosen as a commissioner for the Marches, 305, 310, 312; appointed to advise in the trial of those partaking in the "tumult" in Edinburgh, 418.
- , Patrick, minister: appointed a commissioner by the General Assembly, 179.
- Shaw (Cha, Shawe), Robert: 91.
- , William: though a Catholic made master of works (*praefectum architecturae*), 228.
- Sheperson, (Shepperson), Christopher, Bowes's servant: 302, 309; to urge Bowes's and Nicolson's suits to Cecil, 214; Bowes's packets to, have been opened by the post in London, 242; Bowes asks Cecil for the relief of, 247; directed by Bowes to receive Burghley's order anent a paymaster for Berwick, 249; in London, 315; to be sent with Elizabeth's present to Princess Elizabeth, 374; is being sent by Bowes to Cecil, 452; sent to take order with Mr. Brackenbury, 463; has been many years employed in Elizabeth's service, 464; petition of, to Burghley, 495; remembrances for Scotland by, 498.
- Ships: galleys, etc. for transport of men to Ireland, 169-172; English, spoiled at sea by Scots, 224, 225; two Spanish, rumoured to have arrived in Ireland, 507. *See* also Hamburg.
- (named): *Hope Well* of Dunnage, taken by the Earl of Orkney, 136; *The Flying Swallow* of London, crayer, 224; *The John* of Hull, 224.
- Sicily: viceroy of. *See* Ventimiglia.

- Simple, Colonel. *See* Sempill.
- Simpson, —, Englishman: taken prisoner by the Elliots, 72.
- Sinclair, [Henry, 5th] Lord: his daughter newly married to the Secretary, 10; pleads for his young relative accused of killing a bailiff at the high school of Edinburgh, 19, 33; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596–7), 460.
- of Hirdmeston, Thomas: his marriage, 155; returning from Paris desires a passport to Scotland, 155.
- , A.: letter from, to James VI (2 April 1596), 181; copy of, sent to Burghley, 192.
- , —, son of the Earl of Caithness's uncle, a scholar at Edinburgh, charged with shooting of a bailiff, 19.
- Sixtus V, Pope: 106; saying of, of the Spaniards, 275.
- Skene (Skein), John, Lord Clerk Register: 243, 244; with Lennox's faction at Court, 67; Nicolson speaks with, about the Provost's going to England, 101; is sworn on the Queen's Council, 113; to be one of the Octavians (Lords of the Exchequer), 115, 116; is sworn, 117; appointment of, 127; instructions to, 127, 128; form of oath subscribed by, 130; suspicious of the Octavians, 134; brings the Act of the Convention anent Buccleuch's fact to Bowes, 235; Bowes debates the cause for redress for Buccleuch's fact with, 253; Act of Council certified by, 266; employed with Col. Stewart to negotiate a league against Spain, 324, 325; gives Bowes the draft of the King's commission for the Borders, 335; informs Bowes of date and place of first meeting of Border commissioners, 372; informs Bowes that Fawdenside may be removed from the Border commission, 407; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596–7), 460; sent to inform Bowes of the adjournment of the meeting of the Border commissioners, 482; sent to inform Bowes of the disorders on the Borders, 510.
- Skrigges, Mr.: 49 *n*.
- Skye (Skihanagh): 172, 206.
- Slains (Slayins): castle demolished by King being repaired by Countess of Errol, 10.
- Sleat (Slait): 172.
- Slingsby (Slyngisbe), Francis: confers on the state of the Middle Marches, 70; a commissioner for the Borders, 328, 461, 509, 526, 528, 530–532; letters patent of appointment of, 335.
- Smale, William, bailiff of Edinburgh: 33.
- Smalllett, Jo: 24; servant to the Duke of Lennox, at Linlithgow, 55.
- Smyt, George: 134.
- Soissons, Comte de: 124.
- Sonnets: laudatory of James VI, 80–82.
- Sorley (Surley), James. *See* M'Sorley.
- Sorley Boy (Sowerly Boye, Sowrly Bowy). *See* MacDonald.
- Soun (Son), Patrick: papist, in Scotland, 182, 183.
- Southampton: 224.
- Soyherles, Charles, a Fleming, servant to Errol: 507.
- Spa in Germany: 318.
- Spain (Hispania) and the Spaniards: 25, 117, 118, 132, 246, 258, 274, 276, 321, 339, 374, 389, 425; likely to make war on England, 5; Irish rebels expected aid from, not forthcoming, 23; preparations making in, 29; men from, daily expected in Ireland, 31; Tyrone said to have sent for forces from, 38; thought to be accorded with France to England's prejudice, 52, 57; pleasure in Scotland in the news of the agreement between France and, 55; James to be dealt with to enter into friendship with, 61; James wishes general agreements to withstand, 64; reported ready to land in England and Scotland, 64; rumoured intended invasion of the Isle of Man by, 64; army of, preparing at Biscay, 65, 66; James speaks in the Council touching the imminent dangers from, 67; advertisements of the great preparations by, 68, 72, 73; measures taken by James to resist, 73, 76, 78, 79; James's ambassador to Elizabeth to inform her of the preparations of, 93, 96; title of Infante of, to English throne, a book on, 93; confirmed that preparations of, against Britain are great, 98; no more heard of preparations of, 101; reasons why the help of, to compel James by arms to Catholicism would be unlikely of success, 104; Jesuits maintain that arms of, necessary to restore Catholicism in England and Scotland, 109; 6,000 from, to descend in Ireland, 111; an ambassador to go from, to Scotland, 111; James intends nothing shall hinder concurrency against, 114; seditious book in favour of, 116; preparations of, to invade Britain, 122, 123; peace with France prognosticated, 124; Dumbarton Castle being fortified against, 139; Elizabeth has espied their plots against her, 147; James's provisions to resist, 147; heavy charge of, 148; suspected persons from, in Scotland, 148; Elizabeth expects invasion by, but not in Scotland, 155; hope of relief from, by men of Ireland, 164; motion to bring armour and weapons from Low Countries to Scotland for defence against, 167; taking of Calais by, 191, 194, 196, 199, 255; MacConnell's hope and comfort in, 196; rebellion in Ireland procured by permission of, 210; James will not consent to join with, 215; ships bound for, driven into Orkney, 216; alleged practices of, to break the Borders, 217; resolution of, to come to Scotland and thence to England, 219; rumoured dangerous enterprises for, by the Papist Earls, 221; James should get what he can from, but not make the country his chief stay in any enterprise, 233; failure of, to keep promises of help, 233; peace betwixt

- France and, thought to proceed, 254 ; a large proportion of powder left in Ireland by ships of, 254 ; James has offered to give up with, and to defend Elizabeth, 256, 278 ; the seminaries in, 259 ; practice of Scottish nobility in, on behalf of James, 260 ; Elizabeth informed of James's intention to withstand all practices of, against him, 266 ; plans by Catholic plotters to bring navies of, from Flanders and Spain to Scotland, 267 ; Pope Sixtus V's saying concerning, 275 ; great talking at the Scottish Court of apparent peace between France and, 292 ; 60 galleys of, making ready in Antwerp, 292 ; James will withstand all practices of, 294, 295 ; plots of, against England and Scotland to be discovered, 294 ; the Kirk greatly " flade " for, 298 ; two armies from, rumoured to be coming into Scotland, 299 ; reported defeat of, by Essex, 302 ; army of, pressing the French King, 314, 315 ; Pury Ogilvy's negotiations in, 320 ; succours from, for the Catholics in Scotland to be promised by Ladyland, 343 ; Catholic Earls thought to have in head some secret plots for, 347 ; the Catholic Earls thought to be awaiting comfort from, 359 ; bruits of arrival of great forces of, in Ireland, 360 ; Pury Ogilvy's negotiation in, 365-367 ; rumours of arrival of companies of, in Ireland groundless, 392 ; Huntly seems to dislike of, 407 ; support in Scotland thought likely from, to the Catholic Earls, 419 ; naval army providing in, for Ireland, 427 ; afraid to land in Ireland but under the protection of some armed party to receive them, 437 ; plots to draw Scotland to the course of, 451 ; fears that James's violent course against religion cannot long prevail without the aid of, 475 ; frequent intelligences between, and sundry of the free towns in the East, 482 ; danger of forces of, drawing near Britain and Ireland, 485 ; Huntly a detected practiser with, 487 ; two ships of, rumoured to have arrived in Ireland, 507 ; cautions and intelligences respecting James received by Elizabeth from, 515, 545 ; report of provision for Ireland in, 515 ; practices of, suggested in the Borders, 518 ; report of the coming of the navy of, to the Groyne, 529 ; Tyrone has received armour and gold from, 544 ; alleged plot to agree with France to send forces into Ireland, 552. *See also* Philip II.
- , ambassador of, in Rome. *See* Sessa, Duke of.
- , Infanta of, claims to the English succession, 106, 148 ; proposed marriage to Archduke Ernestus, 229 ; a book proving her title to the crown of England, 515, 546.
- , King of. *See* Philip II.
- Spanish Blanks (the Blanks) : the Catholic nobility of Scotland accused of, 260 ; Crichton concluded to be the discoverer of, 261.
- Speir, William, burghess of Edinburgh : to be tortured in the Tolbooth, 416.
- Spenser (Spencer), Edmund (Edward) : the second part of *The Faerie Queene* of, not to be sold in Scotland, 354 ; James desires the trial and punishment of, 359, 360.
- Spire, George : murder of, 330.
- Spott, Laird of. *See* Douglas.
- Spottiswood, John, minister : a commissioner of the presbytery of Edinburgh at the General Assembly, 476.
- Spynie : fortifying of, 76.
- Spynie (Spina), [Alexander Lindsay, 1st] Lord : the King in dislike of the Master of Glamis gives good countenance to, 142 ; meets Angus, 167 ; may be appointed ambassador to France, 175 ; to the Laird of Cluny (26 Jan. 1596-7), 439, 453 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460 ; much honoured by disgrace given to the Laird of Cluny in single combat, 466 ; at the Convention at Perth, 482.
- Srabane. *See* Strabane.
- Stainhurst, — : 202.
- Stanehyve : 326.
- Stanley, Sir Ar., a catholic : 321.
- , Sir William : 233.
- Star Chamber, Court of : 436.
- Stelling (Stellin), [co. Northumb.] : 525.
- Stephen, King of England : 339.
- Stewart (Steward, Stuart), Lady Arabella (the Lady Arbell or Arbella) : reported sick and not like to live, 99 ; James has better right to the succession in England than, 109 ; Elizabeth alleged to be trying to procure the marriage of, to Henry IV of France, 267, 273.
- of the Appin, John : marries the Countess of Argyll, 203.
- of Houston, Sir William, Commendator of Pittenweem (Colonel Stewart) : has been in Denmark, Mecklenburg and Brunswick, 29, 30 ; denies that his errand to Germany was a colour for the King's Spanish courses, 89 ; protests he will serve Elizabeth, 89 ; has written out of the Low Countries to James Hudson, 90 ; has arrived in Edinburgh, 93 ; the Emperor and princes of Germany have well accepted his offers, 93 ; is willing to serve Elizabeth, 93 ; his bill against Andrew Hunter, 102 ; was sent by James into the United Provinces to procure support against the Spaniards, 148 ; to be the King's lieutenant in the Isles, 270, 281, 284, 291 ; is preparing to subdue Angus MacConnell, 290 ; to be sent with better speed into the Isles, 295 ; Elizabeth's captains of ships off Ireland to be asked to aid, 301 ; has drawn his companies to Glasgow, 311 ; employed to negotiate a league with Elizabeth, the French King and others against Spain, 324, 325 ; is returned with MacConnell, 327 ; sent into Kintyre to take possession of MacConnell's house, 343 ; has compounded with MacConnell for the King,

360; offers Elizabeth his service in Ireland, 392.

— of Minto, [Sir Matthew], brother of the Prior of Blantyre, 7.

—, Henry, Lord St. Colme: brother of, slain by Huntly, 302.

—, Walter, Prior or Commendator of Blantyre, Keeper of the Privy Seal, afterwards Lord Treasurer: 446; advises King as to disposal of earldom of Atholl, 6; examines factor of goods alleged to be transported to Tyrone, 7; Chancellor has left his kindness for his office to, 24; King persuaded by Lennox and Mar to make Chancellor, 25; reasons for Mar's solicitations, 26; advertised of an intention against him by the Master of Glamis and others has been in Stirling, 29; said to be seeking the Chancellorship, 33; Nicolson expects he will be the new Chancellor, 35; has been written to, concerning MacLean's service to Elizabeth, 36; thought that he shall supply Chancellor's place until King be further advised, 40; sends his opinion to the King on filling the Chancellor's place, 43; thought he or Mar will get the Chancellorship, 47; the King looks for his coming to the Convention, 48; to agree feud between Lawers and the MacFarlanes, 49, 52; has obtained King's promise that no Chancellor be made without his advice, 50; Queen's ill will to, 50; is wise, godly and honest, 50; afraid Queen will get Pluscardine made Chancellor, 51; assures Colville that the office of Chancellor is to be filled, 54; has most credit for the Chancellor's place, 55; has the ward and marriage of Lord Ross, 55; may help MacLean to be rehabilitated, 57; is very strong with the King, 64; is made Vice-Chancellor, 67; is on the side of the Duke and Mar, 67; chosen with two others to guide King in his affairs, 68; is authorised to convene the Council, 73; with Mar is agreed with the Master of Glamis and Buccleuch, 74, 75; the Queen is reconciled with, 75; in the new Council, 75; is like to bear the sway, 76; foresees the Master of Glamis's purpose to work himself Chancellor, 76; is reconciled with Cessford, 77; accused by Mar of moving the King to stay his day of law, 88; tells Nicolson that the proclamation against correspondence with foreigners not meant against England, 88; managing of King's affairs committed to, as chief agent, 99; one of the chief rulers in Scotland, 100; Bowes is asked to make his commendations to, 100, 102; with his advice the King puts in practice the laws against horners, etc., 102; Colville finds him of good mind to Elizabeth, 102; is sworn on the Queen's Council, 113; President of the Checker, disputes precedence with Pluscardine, 113; is working for the formation of the Council of 8 (Octavians), 115; to be one of the Octavians, 116; thinks he should supply

the vacance of the Broad Seal, 116; prevented by illness from subscribing the commission, 117; appointment of, as one of the Lords of the Exchequer (Octavians), 127; instructions to, 127, 128; form of oath subscribed by, 130; will concur with the four Octavians of the Queen's side so long as they run an upright course, 134; protests his service to Elizabeth, 134; MacLean requests Elizabeth's letters to, in his favour, 138; Elizabeth on his preferment to office of Chancellor, 138; is made Lord Treasurer, 163; advertises Bowes of the King's measures for the peace of the Borders, 190, 197; desires Elizabeth's placard for a horse, 194, 200; requires of Bowes a note of all wrongs done by Scottishmen in the English Marches, 212; debates the cause for redress for Buccleuch's action with Bowes, 253; rides to the King at Dunfermline, 281, 284; has returned from Dunfermline, 282; desires a placard from Elizabeth, 285; proposes to Aston that a frequent intelligence should pass between the two great councillors of Elizabeth and James, 289, 348; joyful at the good success of the English navy and army, 290; delivers copies of the bonds for order in the Borders to Bowes, 293; careful that order be taken for peace in the Borders, 298; Bowes has travailed with, to settle the matter of Buccleuch's fact, 300; solicits Bowes for order to English captains of ships on coast of Ireland to Col. Stewart, 301; has warned King that undue favour shown to Huntly will offend many, 302; approves Buccleuch's committal to ward, 304; ordered to meet the King at Glasgow, 310; suggests to Bowes the sort of persons Elizabeth might appoint commissioners for the Marches, 310; illness of, 317; recovered and has given wise advice for pacifying the ministers and the Catholic Earls, 326; English commission for the Borders shown to, 335; opinion of, on matters like to fall between the King and the ministers, 353; has leave to go to Galloway, 354; is the tongue of the troop, 354; a placard for two horses for, requested from Elizabeth, 414; offices of Comptroller and Collector given to, 426, 429; expected to pacify the various divisions in the country, 429; the Lord President said to be trying to disappoint of the fine from Edinburgh, 454; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; good offices of, for Elizabeth, 467; has broken his leg with the fall of his horse in Edinburgh, 476; Elizabeth will more respect him than any other, 481; informs Bowes of the adjournment of the meeting of the Border Commissioners, 482; fallen into a dangerous fever, 485; Bowes has not had opportunity to visit, 496; Elizabeth's acceptance of his good offices to be signified to, 498; daily expected to die, 500; grows weaker, 505;

- feared to be bewitched, 506; papists esteem him their only enemy, 506; has undertaken to recommend Bowes's requests regarding Border matters to the King, 507; not present at the Council, 559.
- , —, his brother. *See* Stewart of Minto.
- of Traquair, Sir William: to assist Herries in giving redress to Scrope, 22, 23; is in Lennox's faction at Court, 67; chosen with two others to guide King in his affairs, 68; in the new Council, 75; chosen as a commissioner for the Marches, 305, 310, 312; Newbottle appointed in place of, 335; on Newbottle's resignation, the King wishes to appoint in his room, 346; present in Council at trial of David Black, 381; to assist the Octavians, 425; a Councillor of Scotland, 446; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460; at the Convention at Perth, 482; appointed to try to persuade the burgesses of Edinburgh to submit to the King's will, 483; to attend the King in the West Marches, 492; sent by the King to R. and Sir W. Bowes, 559.
- , Andrew: 91.
- , Colonel. *See* Stewart of Houston.
- , Captain James, the old Chancellor. *See* Arran, Earl of.
- , Robert: obtains a warrant for certain escheated books, 354.
- , Robert, late bailiff of Glasgow: 225.
- Stewarts, the: Ladyland bands with, 568.
- Stirling: 75, 78, 101, 134, 163, 167, 181, 185, 186, 195, 267, 277, 400, 553; a watch kept at, 5; King and Queen may go to, 6, 13; Queen not aminded to go to, 18; opponents of Mar to go to, 20; King going to, 28; Blantyre has been in, 29; King and Queen may go to, 33, 52; Queen to go to, 59, 61; Queen to see the Prince at, 74, 76, 77; King and Queen have been at, seeing the Prince, 88; a King's officer beaten at, 114, 116; the King departs to, 191, 192, 212; the King has been hunting about, 216; the King at, 240, 248, 310, 318, 323; burgh of, at the Convention at Dunfermline, 336; baptism of Mar's daughter at, 346; the Session to be transferred to, 396; a Convention at, or at Linlithgow to be called with speed, 396; Argyll at, 403; the King purposes to see the Prince at, 474; MacConnell attending the King's return to, 507.
- , letters dated at, 9, 10, 21, 44, 53, 188.
- Castle: hereditary governor of. *See* Mar, Earl of.
- , presbytery of: 460, 567.
- Stirlingshire: Sheriff of, 123.
- Stokoee, [? co. Northumb.]: 525.
- Stoner, —, English Catholic: 321.
- Story, —: Cessford's killing of, 123.
- , Jerry: 91.
- Strabane (Strabane): a principal garrison necessary at the ford of the Laffer near, 210.
- Strachan, George: letter from, to G. Nicolson (16 Nov. 1595), 60.
- Strand, the. *See* Westminster.
- Straquhan, William: 365.
- Strathbogy (Straboggye), Huntly's house: 10, 512.
- Strathearn: ministers of, affirm lawfulness of General Assembly at Perth, 500.
- Stuard, James: 322.
- Stuartt, Robert. *See* Stewart.
- Suffolk, Charles Brandon, 1st Duke of: marriage to Mary Tudor and issue of, 338.
- Sunderland: 196.
- Surleboye, James. *See* M'Sorley.
- Sussex, [Robert Ratcliffe, 5th] Earl of: 64.
- Sutherland, [John Gordon, 12th] Earl of: said to be entirely Catholic, 104.
- of Duffus, William: "propones" the offers of Lord Huntly, 360.
- Swinburn (Swynborne) Castle, (co. Northumb.): 432; Cessford's attempt at, 452, 453, 458, 459.
- Swynnerton, Mr., master of the imposts for wines: 513.
- Sym of Whithaugh (Whythawch): Buccleuch's commission given to, 303.
- TALBOTT, George: 277.
- Tantallon (Tomptalloun): 193.
- Taxation of the burghs towards the charge of ambassadors to France refused by the Convention, 237.
- Tayler, John, master of *The Flying Swallow*: 224.
- Tees, the river: 72.
- Tempest, Robert, catholic priest: 321.
- Teviotdale (Tividale, Tyvidale): superior strength of Scots in, 71; sheriff of, *see* Douglas; attempts of, 534.
- Teviotdales (Trindayles), the: 461.
- Thames, the river, 91.
- Theobalds: 279.
- Thirlestane, Sir John Maitland, Lord, Chancellor: reported sick, 3; said to have some enterprise in hand against Mar or the King, 3, 5; assures King of good rule in the Borders, 5; to have been reconciled with Mar, 6; deadly sick, 6; has promised to reveal great matters if he recovers, 10; King's indifference to his state of health, 10; ward and marriage of his son, 10; his support of Buccleuch in the Borders, 10; his sickness supposed feigned, 11; the hatred between Mar and, increases, 11; said to be past the danger, 13; has fallen very sick again, 18; greatly touched in conscience, 18; has his agent with the Queen, 18; King much persuaded to go to, 18, 19; like to recover, the King takes great care for, 21; falls sick again but reported past danger, 23; the ministers pray for his life, 23; matters between, and Mar hanging in the balance, 23; amends very well, comforted by Bruce and other ministers, 24; the King would have been stayed from going to, 24; undoubtedly in great danger, 24; his life despaired of, 25; the King said to be minded to visit, 26; certain he will

- not live, has greatly repented his former life, 28; matters hanging on his life, 28, 29; fallen evil again and ministers sent for to him, 33; death of, 34, 39; will be blamed for the Queen's motion anent the Prince, 35; his faction is headless, 39; unexpected matters must follow on his death, 39; has refused to advise King as to his estate, 40; King takes little care for his loss, 41; his death regretted because no one qualified to take his place, 43; reported to have died very penitently, 44; epitaph on, 44 *note*; to be buried at Haddington, 45; his children to be ward to none, 45; resolution of all matters on his death referred to Convention, 49; "plattes" of, with others against the King not to die with him, 51; burial of, 55; is blamed for all the past troubles, 75; King thinks he did not do his duty, 97; since his death the King begins to reign, 102; kept Buccleuch and Cessford friends, 115; King thinks he was misused by, 117; the attempt to gain the custody of the Prince said by the Queen to have been first broken to her by, 150; kept back Blantyre from advancement, 289.
- , [Janet Fleming], Lady, wife of Chancellor: has written to Robert Bruce to comfort her husband, 18; Sir G. Hume gone to comfort from the King on the death of her husband, 40; her intentions for her husband's burial, 45; has had good words of the King, 59; must procure new friendship in Court or her late husband will be "far spoken on," 102.
- Thomond, in Ireland: 206.
- Thompson, Patrick, apothecary in Edinburgh: 161.
- Thornburgh, John, Bishop of Limerick: contention betwixt the Dean of Limerick and, 186, 188, 196, 198, 246; uses offensive words towards Argyll and the Campbells, 198.
- Thorneburne, [? co. Northumb.]: 525.
- Thornton, Captain George: has anchored before Duart Castle and wishes to confer with MacLean, 9; MacLean has gone to meet, 12; his overthrow of the rebels in Ireland, 13; his meeting with MacLean, 14, 15, 17; MacLean desires to be joined with, in Elizabeth's service, 15; his coming to Duart directed by Cecil, 15; his coming to MacLean will put Tyrone in a "frey," 16; desires to pursue Scottishmen in Ireland, 18; had not Bowes's letters to MacLean, 19; sailed from Duart, 15 Sept. 1595, 19; his coming to MacLean will put Tyrone in great fear, 20; has letters to Cecil and others, 23; Lord Deputy of Ireland has received offers made by Argyll and MacLean from, 26; his information regarding forces to be raised by Borderers against Irish rebels, 27; has discharged very honestly his commission, 27; MacLean desires to have him joined with him in Elizabeth's service, 28; has promised speedy delivery of MacLean's letters, 30; had taken pledges of good behaviour from MacConnell and Donald Gorme, 166; to be asked to stay forces from Ireland being sent to the Isles, 311. *And see* Tourany.
- Thornydkes: feud between Montrose and others, 136.
- Throgmorton, —: 233.
- Thwaites, —: carried away prisoner by Scotsmen, 181.
- Tindale. *See* Tynedale.
- Tiree (Tarrei, Terrye), Isle of: 156, 160, 173.
- Tirye, Father. *See* Tyrie.
- Toddrigg (Todrigg), George, bailiff of Edinburgh: 115, 402.
- Toledo: 365, 366.
- , Cardinal of: 124, 272.
- Tomptalloun. *See* Tantallon.
- Torry, Laird of. *See* Wardlaw.
- Torthorwald (Terthorral, Torthorall), house of: the King demands the delivery of, 482; committed to Lord Sanquhar, 504.
- , *See* Douglas of Torthorwald, James.
- Torture, use of, in examination of witnesses: 416, 418, 422, 425.
- Toshe, Malcolm: chief of the Cattans, a vassal of Huntly: 207.
- Tottenham (Tothname), [co. Middlesex]: letter dated at, 354.
- High Cross: letter dated at, 251.
- Tourany, Captain, (? Captain George Thornton, *q.v.*): 164.
- Towye Barkley, Laird of. *See* Barclay.
- Traill, Captain: 382.
- Traquair (Trackquare, Trackware), Laird of. *See* Stewart.
- Treaty of peace for the Borders (5 May 1597): 530, 531, 553, 554.
- Trebayne, the men of, 5.
- Tresham (Tressam), —, English Catholic: 321.
- Tridentine Council, the: 445.
- Trindayles, the. *See* Teviotdales.
- Trotternish (Trontornes, Trontyrnes): 172, 206.
- Trunballs, the. *See* Turnbills.
- Tullibardine (Tillibarn), Laird of. *See* Murray.
- Tullo, Laird of. *See* Urquhart.
- "Tumult," the, (17 Dec. 1596). *See under* Edinburgh.
- Turkey (the Turk, the Turks): Elizabeth reported to be the mover of, in the wars, 30; the English navy might keep in subjection, 232.
- Turnbills (Trunballs), the: 123; Buccleuch protects against Cessford, 115; Buccleuch has priority with, 143.
- Turnhout (Turnehaut, Belgium): victory of the States at, 464.
- Tusser, Francis: desires Nicolson to forward letters to Elizabeth, Burghley and others in England, 62-64; blown back to Edinburgh by the wind, 78; Cecil sends directions for dealing in the matter discovered by, 87; further meeting with Nicolson, 90; professes to be employed in matters of great moment, 91; was in the Gatehouse for debt, 92; Aston

- thinks him a cozener, 93 ; to Lord Buckhurst (16 Dec. 1595), 94 ; has shipped and gone, 100.
- Tynedale (Tindale) : 531 ; raids and outrages in, 510, 518, 520, 521, 523, 525, 526, 528, 529, 534, 536, 537, 539, 546, 565 ; refusal of, to proceed to justice at the Ridingburne, 528.
- Tynedalemen, the : 510.
- Tynemouth : 244.
- Tyrconnel : 210.
- Tyrie (Tirye, Tyry), Father [James] : 273 ; sees the chimaeras of James's religion are but deception, 275 ; Ogilvy has discovered himself to no man so much as, 277 ; with Crichton a chief ringleader in the dealings of the Scottish Catholics, 321.
- , Thomas, servant of Lord Hume : 123, 125.
- Tyrone, [Hugh O'Neil], Earl of : 138 ; has one army ready in Ireland, 4 ; hope of his success by the West of Scotland, 5 ; wine and aqua vitae for, seized at Glasgow, 7 ; proposal to send an Irish captain to bide in his company for Elizabeth's private service, 11 ; has the favour of the Islanders, 15 ; has wrongfully received name of Earl of Tyrone and has lost it, 15 ; has inflicted great slaughter (skaith) on English, 16, 20 ; MacLean has hindered the aiding of, 17 ; is busy for MacLean's favour, 19 ; Thornton's coming to MacLean will put him in great fear, 20 ; offers by Argyll and MacLean to assist Elizabeth against, 26, 27 ; revenge upon, desired by Argyll and MacLean for hanging of Hugh O'Neil, 27 ; the Earl said to be much increased with horsemen but expected to run into the south parts as Lord Deputy goes north, 31 ; MacLean expects to be employed by Elizabeth to deprive him of his new made earldom, 37, 38 ; said to have sent to Spain for forces to be sent him in Ireland, 38 ; has lost all he expended on Scottishmen, 41 ; tries to obtain MacLean's favour, 41, 42 ; is to direct a servant to MacLean, 53 ; MacLean has refused to aid, 94 ; dealings to win MacLean's favour for, 103 ; is of mind to give his lands to James, 103 ; MacConnell busy raising 1,000 men for, 103 ; MacConnell's son Angus has now left, 104 ; a letter to, found on an Irishman, 117, 118, 149 ; said to be getting friends for a greater stir for Ireland, 118 ; has had his provision of powder from Glasgow, 141 ; likely to stir a new and greater trouble in Ireland, 143 ; has been making means to call MacLean, 149, 151 ; Bowes will learn from MacLean the proceedings of, 151, 152 ; new forces in the Isles and Highlands of Scotland preparing to aid in Ireland, 157, 158, 163, 169 ; has sent Thomas O'Burke to Angus MacDonald, 164 ; is now submitting himself with pretence of humility to Elizabeth, 165 ; Argyll promises to inquire of the inward mind and purpose of, 166 ; proposals to reduce that part of Ireland defended by, 171 ; is persuaded that Spain will send him aid, 173 ; MacLean is ready to invade with 2,000 footmen, 182 ; the dean of Limerick's proposals for action against, 185, 186 ; although offering obedience to Elizabeth is seeking more men from Scotland, 188 ; expected that Spain will speedily succour in Ireland, 194 ; friends of, expected by Angus MacConnell, 196 ; O'Donnell seeks to agree MacLean with, 201 ; Henry O'Neil, prisoner with, 204 ; question of the employment of the Islanders against, in Ulster, 207-211 ; his martial discipline acquired in England, 207 ; may make offers to the younger brothers and "loose" men of Argyll, 208 ; his courage likely to be abated if the Campbells follow Argyll, 209 ; has merchants dealing for him in or near Glasgow, 210 ; Argyll may be moved against, by information of his intercourse with Huntly and the papists, 211 ; said to have submitted to Elizabeth, 219 ; the liberty of the sons of John O'Neil out of the hands of, desired by MacLean, 241 ; has delivered his pledges, 254 ; proceedings of, with the Islanders and Highlanders, 270 ; sends footmen to the aid of MacConnell whereof many drowned, 360 ; a "pollitiker" rebel than ever Elizabeth had, 437 ; the Scottish Irish in deadly feud with, 437 ; powder and lead taken for, at Glasgow, 467 ; has received great quantity of armour and gold from Spain, 544 ; pavilions and beds in Glasgow to go to, 545.
- UDWARD (Udders, Uddertes), Nicholas : in "lite" for provostship of Edinburgh, 33.
- , Sanders, dean of the Gill : 33.
- Ugo, Don. See Hugo.
- Ulla. See Oola.
- Ulster : questions touching the employment of the Islanders of Scotland against Tyrone in, 207-211 ; men of, reputed timorous, 208 ; three principal garrisons necessary in, 210.
- Ulva (Ullowaye, Ulowey) : 172.
- United Provinces (States of Holland, the Dutch, Low Countries, the rebellious Estates of Flanders) : would move in James's defence if Spain tried to force him by arms to Catholicism, 104 ; diversity of sects in, 106 ; thought likely to return to Spain, 125 ; supply of munitions to, from England, 141 ; Col. Stewart's mission to, alleged to be hindered by England, 148 ; Scottish company in France in pay of, 189 ; James said to have inquired as to help from, 277 ; desire to know James's pleasure regarding the Earl of Errol, 282 ; sundry Scots captains levying men for, 312 ; Elizabeth will notify of her league with France, 315 ; league of Elizabeth with France and, 317 ; victory at Turnhout of, 464.

- Urquhart, [Alexander Seton], Lord, Prior of Pluscardine, Lord President : 446 ; Queen wishes to be made Chancellor, 25, 50, 51, 55 ; Elizabeth opposes his becoming Chancellor, being a "suppost" of Rome, 26 ; employed as mediator between Queen and Mar, 56 ; begins to creep in credit with King, 57 ; is making suit for the Chancellorship, 57, 58, 59 ; empowered to examine and search for suspicious packets from beyond sea, 59 ; is working all means to be Chancellor, 60, 67 ; somewhat aback at appointment of Blantyre to be Vice-Chancellor, 67 ; is on the side of Lord Hume, etc., 67 ; of the Queen's Council, 90, 113 ; described as a Catholic, 105, 107, 227, 228 ; acquired sound learning at Rome and the degree of Doctor at Bologna, 107 ; President in the Sessions, disputes precedence with Blantyre, 113, 116 ; is sworn one of the Octavians, 117 ; appointment of and instructions to, 127, 128 ; the oath subscribed by, 130 ; sent to report to Bowes the conclusion of the Convention anent redress for Buccleuch's action at Carlisle, 234 ; is advertised of the arrival of Huntly in Scotland, 253 ; the King goes to the house of, 264 ; summoned by the Kirk, 351 ; appears before the ministers upon summons of excommunication for dealing with Huntly, 358 ; present in Council at trial of David Black, 382 ; now stands to be Chancellor, 392 ; removal of, from the Council requested by the Convention at Edinburgh, 397 ; words between Lord Lindsay and, give alarm to the town of Edinburgh, 399 ; some of the King's Chamber alleged to have pricked the ministers against, 425 ; alleged to have sung a mass at Rome, 426 ; has offered to deliver the men of Edinburgh from the charges against them, 453 ; to be at the National Convention (Feb. 1596-7), 460 ; at the Convention at Perth, 482 ; present in Council, 559 ; replies of, to the demands of the English ambassadors for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford, 560, 561.
- of Tullo, John, tutor of Cromarty : "propones" the offers of Lord Huntly, 360.
- Urwyn. *See* Irvine.
- , John. Huntly has arrived at his house, 253.
- VAISON, Bishop of. *See* Chisholm, William.
- Valencia : 366.
- Valentia (Valensia), island of, in Kerry : 206.
- Vaughan, Francis : suggested as a commissioner for the Marches, 312.
- Vele de Roy. *See* Villeroy, Du.
- Velshinghame. *See* Walsingham.
- Ven, Hugh, Englishman : sent to Rome by Philip II, 106.
- Venetians, the : 321.
- Venice : 272, 277, 320, 427 ; James said to be seeking special intelligence with, 507.
- , letter dated at, 321.
- Ventimigla, Dom John, Marquis of Vyrace, viceroy of Sicily : 259.
- Vernon, James : 63, 90.
- , Robert, surveyor of the victuals at Berwick : 345.
- Verses : in Latin, Italian, English and French, laudatory of James VI, by Walter Quin, 80-86.
- Villeroy, Du (Ve de Roy) : dispatched to Spain, 122, 124, 126.
- Virgil, Polidore : 340.
- Vyrace, Marquis of. *See* Ventimigla.
- WAAD (Wade), [William], clerk of the Privy Council in England : 90.
- , a young man with Francis Tusser : 63, 91, 92, 100.
- Waldegrave, Robert, printer to the King : 112, 477.
- Wales, Principality of : 495.
- Wallace, Robert, minister : 568.
- Walsingham (Velshinghame), Sir Francis : 69.
- Walter, Mr. *See* Balcanquhal, Walter.
- Wapenschaws : 66, 77, 87.
- Wardlaw of Torry, [Andrew] : 460.
- Ware, [co. Herts] : 143.
- Wastraw, [? Westerhall *q.v.*].
- Wat, John, deacon of the deacons of Edinburgh : 403.
- Watson, Patrick, of Irvine : 225.
- , William, minister of Edinburgh : 402, 405, 495 ; a signatory of the letter to Lord Hamilton, 405.
- Waughton, Laird of. *See* Hepburn.
- Wear, the river : 72.
- Wedderburn (Wedderburne), Laird of. *See* Hume.
- , John, Scottishman : fled into England, is wanted for many murders, 342.
- Welles Mr. : a servant of Sir R. Cecil, 506.
- Wemyss, Laird of : 133 ; offers to serve Elizabeth against the Spaniards, 74 ; his boy returned from the King of France, 122 ; to be answered in his suit to Elizabeth, 139, 142 ; is amazed not to have received any comfort from Elizabeth, 166 ; two daughters of, newly married, 166 ; his distressed case, 166, 167 ; the articles negotiated by, for the renewal of the league between France and Scotland, 175 ; T. Nicolson bound in certain sums for, 471.
- of Logie, John : letter from (3 Oct. 1595), 29 ; Errol on his danger and means of relieving, 146 ; is in prison in Brussels for writing to the Earl of Essex and others, 153, 219 ; is beheaded at Middelburg, 419.
- , Easter (Estvemies), Laird of. *See* Colville, James.
- , —, letter dated at, 247.
- Westerhall (?), (Wastraw), 10.
- Westminster : letters dated at, 335, 420, 488, 517, 530.
- , Gatehouse at, 92 ; the Strand in, letter received at, 485.
- Westmorland, Earl of : 233, 321.
- Wetherby, [co. York] : 143.

- Whitehall : letters dated at, 497, 503, 515–517.
 —, letters received at, 357, 396, 401, 403, 409, 417, 427, 440, 463, 506, 508.
 Whithaugh (Whythawch, Whytehaugh) : 303, 349.
 Whittingham, Laird of : 40.
 Whytehead, George, of Sunderland, gentleman : acquits himself of consorting with Bothwell, 196, 197.
 Wide Open (Wydeopen), [co. Northumb.] : 537.
 Wilfer, Captain : 521.
 Willeavoy : 509.
 Williamson, Nicholas, Englishman : 249.
 Wilson (Vilson), Thomas, Scottishman : detained prisoner by A. Douglas, 25.
 —, Thomas, shoemaker, recommended by the King for denization in England, 188.
 Windham (Wyndham), Roger : Edward Johnston's case against, 245, 246.
 Witches : three, that dealt with Bothwell, 43.
 Woddrington (Woodrington), Henry : Cessford's complaints against, 32 ; takes and spoils the town of Cavers, 391.
 —, Roger : taken prisoner by Cessford, 432.
 Wood of Bonyton, younger [James] : papist, in Scotland, 182, 183 ; said to have been taken for Huntly, 294 ; denied release from horning, 424 ; a Councillor of Scotland, 446 ; discharged from excommunication, 567.
 Wool : act restraining the export of home grown, 550, 566.
 Wydeopen. *See* Wide Open.
 YBARIA, Yberia, Stephen de. *See* Ibarra, Estevan d'.
 Ycolmkyll. *See* Iona.
 Yester, [James Hay, 7th] Lord : 460.
 York : 312, 554.
 —, vice-chancellor at. *See* Bennet.
 —, [Matthew Hutton], Archbishop of, 490.
 Young (Younge), George, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, Clerk of Council : a commissioner for the Borders, 335, 369, 370, 386, 462, 530, 531 ; unwilling to serve on the commission, 345 ; informs Bowes that the wardens of the Marches for Scotland had delivered their rolls to the Council, 387 ; has been informed by Bowes that the English wardens have delivered their rolls, 407 ; is being sent as a commissioner to Foulden, 414 ; to assist the Octavians, 425 ; highly commends Sir W. Bowes, 438 ; a Councillor of Scotland, 446, 447 ; dislikes the English of the Border treaty, 531 ; sent by the King to R. and Sir W. Bowes, 559.
 — of Seton, Peter, Eleemosynar : to be one of the Octavians (Lords of the Exchequer), 115, 116 ; is sworn, 117 ; appointment of, 127 ; instructions to, 127, 128 ; form of oath subscribed by, 130 ; appointed ambassador to the King of Denmark, 248 ; desires a placard from Elizabeth, 285 ; returns from Denmark, 337 ; to be at National Convention (Feb. 1596–7), 460.
 —, Robert : 286.
 Youngs, (Yonges, Younges), the : disorders committed in the Marches by, 330, 349, 364.
 ZEELAND : 29, 30, 228, 229, 273, 409, 426, 529 ; the States of, to James VI (29 June 1596), 255.
 ZOUCHE (Zouch), [Edward, 11th] Lord : his persuasions to James to enter into open action against the Papist Earls and the confederates of Spain, 148.