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PART 1

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PREFACE

THE present volume is the last in a series which was begun in 1898. It has, therefore, appeared advisable to follow the pattern of the previous volumes both in form and content. The basis of the text is again the series of State Papers (Scotland) preserved in the Public Record Office, London, supplemented by kindred material drawn from the collections in the British Museum. Although a few incidental documents have been added from elsewhere, no attempt has been made to draw extensively on other sources. In accordance with the practice adopted in earlier volumes of the Calendar the language and many of the names in the documents have been modernised and formal phrases have been omitted. With these qualifications the Calendar is an extended transcript.

The documents were transcribed by the late Mr. M. S. Guiseppi of the Public Record Office, who was also responsible for the original selection. The index is largely the work of Mrs. M. Kirkpatrick (Miss Anne Stevenson), who has given great service at every stage of the work. The editor's thanks are also due to the Rev. William James Anderson of the Scottish Catholic Archives, to Mr. Peter Walne of the Berkshire Record Office and to the Marquis of Salisbury and his archivist Miss Clare Talbot, who have all allowed the use or reproduction of documents in their custody, and to Professor C. J. Fordyce of Glasgow University for his help in preparing the text of the various Latin documents. A particular debt of thanks is due to Dr. C. T. McInnes, formerly Curator of Historical Records in the Scottish Record Office. He has made the transcripts of a number of additional documents that were not included in the original selection. He has also visited the Public Record Office on several occasions to compare the transcripts with the originals and to his skill as a palaeographer has been due the possibility of identifying the handwriting of several anonymous letter writers.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Acts of Parl. Scotland	Thomas Thomson and Cosmo Innes (eds.). *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland.* Edinburgh. 1814–75.
Balfour	*The Historical Works of Sir James Balfour.* Edinburgh. 1825.
Bellesheim	A. Bellesheim. *Gesischte der Katholischen Kirche in Schottland.* Eng. Trans. Hunter-Blair. Edinburgh. 1887–90.
Birch, *Memoirs*	Thomas Birch (ed.). *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth from the year 1581 till her death from the original papers of Anthony Bacon esquire.* London. 1754.
Border Papers	*Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland, 1560–1603.* Edinburgh. 1894–6.
Bruce, *Correspondence*	John Bruce (ed.). *Correspondence of King James VI of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and others in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.* Camden Society. 1861.
Calderwood	David Calderwood. *The True History of the Church of Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation unto the end of the reign of King James VI.* Wodrow Society. 1842–9.
Camden *Annales*	William Camden. *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha.* Eng. Trans. London. 1688.
Carey, *Memoirs*	Earl of Cork and Orrery (ed.). *Memoirs of the life of Sir Robert Carey written by himself.* Edinburgh. 1808.
Colville's *Letters*	David Laing (ed.). *Original Letters of Mr. John Colville, 1582–1603.* Bannatyne Club. 1858.
C.S.P.	*Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547–1603.* Edinburgh and Glasgow. 1898–1965.
Dodd-Tierney	Charles Dodd. *The Church History of England from 1500 to the year 1688.* M. A. Tierney (ed.). London. 1839–43.
d'Ossat	*Lettres du Cardinal d'Ossat avec des Notes Historiques et Politiques de M. Amelot de la Houssaie.* Amsterdam. 1714.
Forbes-Leith	W. Forbes-Leith. *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI.* Edinburgh. 1885.
Hailes	Lord Hailes (ed.). *The Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James I.* Edinburgh. 1766.
Harlay	P. Laffleur de Kermaingant. *L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henry IV. Mission de Christophe de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont, 1602–5.* Paris. 1895.

H.M.C. Cecil	*Historical Manuscripts Commission. Calendar of Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House.* London. 1883.
Misc. Scot. Hist. Soc.	*Miscellany of the Scottish History Society.*
Pitcairn	Robert Pitcairn (ed.). *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland.* Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs. 1829–33.
R.M.S.	*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum.* Edinburgh. 1822–1914.
Reg. P.C. of Scotland	*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland,* 1st Series. Edinburgh. 1877–98.
S.H.R.	*Scottish Historical Review.*
Scots Peerage	Sir James Balfour Paul (ed.). *The Scots Peerage.* Edinburgh. 1904–14.
Spottiswoode	John Spottiswoode. *History of the Church of Scotland.* M. Russell (ed.). Spottiswoode Society. 1851.
S.P. Dom.	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic. Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth and James I.* London. 1856–72.
S.P. Ireland	*Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland. Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth.* London. 1860–1912.
Teulet	A. Teulet. *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVI^e siecle.* Paris. 1862.
Thorpe's *Calendar*	M. J. Thorpe (ed.). *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland.* Edinburgh. 1858.
Thumery	*P. Laffleur de Kemaingant. L'Ambassade de France en Angleterre sous Henry IV. Mission de Jean de Thumery, Sieur de Boisise, 1598–1602.* Paris. 1886.
Warrender Papers	A. I. Cameron and R. S. Rait (eds.). *The Warrender Papers.* Scottish History Society. 1931–2.
Weldon	Sir Anthony Weldon. *The Court and Character of King James.* London. 1650.
Winwood	Ralph Winwood. *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I.* Edmun Sawyer (ed.). London. 1725.

INTRODUCTION

The English Succession

The apparent ease with which James VI of Scotland mounted the throne of England must not obscure the fact that the question of Elizabeth's successor had for many years been a matter of great uncertainty. This uncertainty, and its resolution, dominates the present volume. James regarded himself as the true heir to the English throne. With the death of Elizabeth the line of Henry VIII would end and the title could be held to pass to James as the descendant of Margaret, the elder daughter of Henry VII. Yet James could not feel secure in his inheritance. Henry VIII by his will had given precedence to his younger sister Mary, whose representatives survived in the noble houses of Seymour and Stanley. Moreover, the house of Hastings traced its lineage to Edward III as well as to Clarence, the brother of Edward IV. Again James was an alien of a race unpopular in England while his cousin Arbella, daughter of Darnley's brother Charles, boasted a descent from Henry VII transmitted through forbears all born on English soil, and was herself born and bred in England. Finally it might be held that his title was defeated by the statute of 1585 which disabled from any claim to the crown any person condemned for " any act attempted " or anything compassed or imagined against Queen Elizabeth's person. James's mother, Mary, had been so condemned.

Apart from these and other difficulties there was also the question of religion. The wars of the counter-reformation still continued. During the reign of Elizabeth, England had been the champion of Protestantism in Western Europe. But of what religion would Elizabeth's successor be? During the last years of her reign Clement VIII was not the only Roman Catholic who hoped for great things—*postquam ea mulier e vita decesserit quae occulto Dei judicio tam diu vixit et valuit.* Philip of Spain himself, and the Cardinal Farnese, who had the backing of the Pope, could also claim descent from John of Gaunt, and Parsons' arguments had furnished a specious defence for the Spanish claim. Other Catholics aimed, not at James's rejection, but at his conversion. They felt that the Elizabethan church resembled that of Rome, and knew that the great majority of the Marian clergy had entered its service. They were aware that despite the

laws there were many Roman Catholics in England and they hoped accordingly that when the daughter of Anne Boleyn should die the realm might well return to the old faith. Although James never promised to change his own religion, the uncertainty of the Catholics' attitude was to lead him into promises of toleration and even into an attempted compromise with Rome.[1]

James himself ardently trusted in the justice of his cause, and he had the support of his people.[2] His hopes had been reinforced by the Anglo–Scottish Treaty of 1586 and by the letter which Elizabeth sent to him in June of that year. The Treaty established an offensive and defensive alliance between the two countries and provided for mutual assistance in the case of invasion. The letter contained what were in James's view the two most valuable parts of the agreement. First the Queen undertook to aid him financially as long as he remained friendly. No specific sum was formally mentioned and the amounts paid varied with the exigencies of the moment and the goodwill felt towards James; but the Queen asserted that £3,000 was her normal yearly obligation (197).[3] In view of James's chronic financial difficulties this subvention represented an asset of the greatest value. Secondly, the Queen promised to do nothing that would derogate from any right and title which might be due to James at the present, or in the future. That the Scots considered this letter as an important document appears from the fact that the King had it formally registered in November 1596.[4] James had always regarded the succession as being his by birth. Henceforth he regarded both it and the annuity as being his by treaty.

Yet the Queen, after her manner, had accompanied her promise with the condition that James must not display any ingratitude or hostility towards herself. Moreover she would never formally declare that James was her heir; and during her last years deliberately kept him in uncertainty, sometimes delaying the payment of the annuity, and using indirect threats to bend him to her will. To these threats the doubtful dealings of James in Ireland and on the Continent may be regarded in part as a reply. James realized that at all costs he must maintain the amity with England if he possibly could, and tolerate the patronising and uncertain attitude of Elizabeth; yet he could not endure slights

[1] See pp. l–lvii.

[2] In November 1599 James invited his subjects to give formal expression to this support by subscribing a 'General Band' for the maintenance of his title to England and Ireland without prejudice of course to the right of Elizabeth during her lifetime (576–9). There was some apprehension that the accession of any prince save James would be followed by an attempt to eliminate a rival claimant by subjugating Scotland (641, 662).

[3] See also *C.S.P.*, VIII, 254, 417, 423, 434 *et passim*. It is clear that James had expected more, together with some recognition of his title, and that one English emissary had promised £4,000 per annum. Even this Walsingham regarded as £1,000 less than had been promised.

[4] *Reg. P. C. of Scotland*, V, 324–5 and *n*.

which would make him seem of no importance, nor could he stand aside unprotesting when England engaged in policies which seemed to menace himself. And he was by no means powerless to make a *riposte*. The Borders were always uncertain. Elizabeth was engaged in a prolonged and expensive war in Ireland and while she boasted, and with reason, that she was not afraid of Spain, there was always the risk, especially after the peace of Vervins in May 1598, that Spanish troops might be diverted from the Low Countries to Ireland. "*Flectere cum superis nequeo Acheronta movebo*," James was once alleged to have quoted.[1] Understandably he desired to placate so far as possible various potentially hostile elements who might be in a position to hinder his ultimate succession. His dealings with Rome, with Spain and with Tyrone were essentially defensive and precautionary; but Elizabeth could not be expected to welcome them any the more for that reason.

Thus the diplomatic relations between England and Scotland resolved themselves into a game of cross-purposes. It seems clear that Elizabeth had no real purpose to disinherit James, though she might threaten to do so; and James equally had no real intention of breaking with Elizabeth (*cf.* 155, 206). But Elizabeth was suspicious of James's embassies abroad, of his uncertain dealings with Ireland, of the 'creeping in' of undesirable Englishmen to Scotland, and of the obstinacy of the Scots about Border affairs. James for his part constantly suspected that his rivals for the throne might destroy his chances in England, or even that the English government, from considerations of policy, might prefer some candidate other than himself. These suspicions bred in him a frame of mind which saw danger everywhere. Determined to be treated as a true monarch—"a free king who held no lands of any" (396)—he resented that he was made to beg for the gratuity which he thought was his by right (*cf.* 150, 162, 206), and that Elizabeth should cast up to him that she had saved his crown when he was an infant (234, 237). He showed himself impatient and sometimes testy because the Queen was not always punctilious in replying to his letters, saying on one occasion that the Queen "in not answering his many late letters by letters again of her own" held little account of him. He objected too that the Queen used a mere agent, Nicolson, instead of an ambassador to communicate with him, and said that the form and answer given to him was as if he had replied to Elizabeth in a letter from his Secretary to some subordinate of the English Secretary (396).[2]

Both monarchs understood the advantages of good relations,

[1] So rendered in *H.M.C. Cecil*, IX, 308.

[2] On one occasion he had his own delay in writing to Elizabeth explained by the fact that he was "now at hunting" (270).

but the Scottish claim to the English succession conditioned the whole relationship of Scotland and England during the last years of Elizabeth. It was latent behind the 'incidents' and the mutual suspicions which troubled the period till May 1601, and which were not entirely stilled thereafter. Sometimes this motif was publicly proclaimed, sometimes it lurked in the background, but always it was there. For example, it emerged into the open in the winter of 1597–8, when James, misled into believing that Elizabeth meant to arrange for the succession to his prejudice in her Parliament, used violent words in his own Parliament (132–40). It was rumoured that his mother's body had been insulted and her succession forfeited. Accordingly he decided to send ambassadors all round Europe to assert his title. On this occasion James's violent language was the more regarded because it coincided with the restoration of the three great Catholic earls, with the allegation that the news of Chichester's overthrow at Carrickfergus had been received with joy in Scotland, and with the advent to the Scottish court of his conqueror, James McSorley. Elizabeth was furious, and on 4th January 1598 wrote to James a threatening letter reminding him that he dealt " with such a King as will bear no wrongs, and endure no infamy " (148–9), and on the same day a letter from Cecil to Sir William Bowes threatened that the King's conduct " might be an occasion for the Queen to take that offer which her people have often made her to receive into her power by consent of the 3 Estates the disposition (by nomination in her last will) of the crown of England " (146–8). This she had hitherto refused to do, and she had never allowed anything to be done to justify any other title or weaken his.

James's importunity on the seemingly trifling affair of Valentine Thomas (an Englishman arrested in England for felony who prevented his immediate execution by asserting with circumstantial, but inaccurate, evidence that James had discussed with him the murder of Elizabeth) is explained by the fear that a false accusation of complicity in a plot against Elizabeth might bar his succession under the English act of 1585. Moreover he perhaps thought that he could make capital out of an accusation so obviously unjust. Here he carried his arguments to the Queen herself besides bombarding her officers. He was most persistent in demanding a vindication in one of the three exact forms prescribed by himself, and although his ambassador, David Foulis, returned with £3,000 (366), with Thomas's confession signed with his own hand, and with a declaration by the Queen expressing his disbelief in the accusation (358), he still thought this vindication insufficient and had the declaration returned

by his Secretary (409), thereby drawing down upon himself an angry reply from the Queen (445, 455 *et seq.*).

James's reiterated demands to be allowed to inherit the English lands of his paternal grandparents, the Earl and Countess of Lennox, were advanced in order to remedy his alien status by making him a land-owner in England.[1] His protests about John Colville's presence in London (*cf.* 220, 377) were in part a *quid pro quo* for Elizabeth's complaints about English 'varlets' at his court (*cf.* 459), but they were due also to resentment that he was not fully informed about the English conversations with Spain (545, 636, 646) and to fear that England might arrange a peace which would include the recognition of one of the other candidates (587). He had some ground for suspicion.

The treaty of Vervins, the old age and death of Philip II and the pacific policy of the Governors of the Netherlands, the Infanta Isabella and her husband, the Archduke Albert, seemed to make possible a peace which was now clearly in the interests of all parties. Between 1598 and 1601 negotiations did in fact go forward and these negotiations could not be kept secret. Obviously it was possible that the peace party in the English Council, aware that peace was in itself desirable and that without some satisfaction for the English Roman Catholics it might yet be unobtainable, would come to terms with the Archduke, and buttress its negotiations with some marriage contract whose effect would be to exclude James from the succession. Projects for such marriages were in fact advanced by various English Roman Catholics. At one stage there was talk that Arbella might be married to the Archduke Mathias, a brother of the Emperor and of the Archduke Albert. In 1600 a group of English Roman Catholics, who claimed to be in touch with Cecil, were in correspondence with Parsons about placing the English crown on the head of Anne, daughter of the fifth Earl of Derby, who was "of royal descent and might marry a foreign prince agreeable to his Catholic Majesty."[2] The name of Cecil, whose party had always favoured an understanding with Spain, was connected with such projects by public opinion (*cf.* 712) and the accusation that Cecil dealt with the Infanta was made by Essex at his trial. Nicolson strongly denied the story on the ground that no "honest English heart would harbour such a thought as to have us subject to a Spaniard" (631), and after the fall of Essex Cecil categorically denied that he had ever promoted the claims of the Infanta. But in fact he had acquired portraits of the Archduke

[1] According to the medieval English common law no alien could hold or inherit land in England.

[2] Father Leo Hicks, S.J., 'Sir Robert Cecil, Father Parsons, and the succession, 1600–1601,' *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, Anno XXIV, Fasc. 47, 1955.

and the Infanta in the winter of 1599.[1] Thus in view of all the evidence it would not be safe to say that James's suspicions about the peace were unfounded. His complaint that he was not kept informed about the negotiations was something more than a mere bargaining point in his arguments with the English government.

James tried to parry this danger by dealings of his own with the Roman Catholics, but he also sought support in England where his natural ally was Essex. Essex, as the rival of the Cecils, had long been regarded as the leader of the Protestant and anti-Spanish party. Embittered by his fiasco in Ireland,[2] for which he may have held the Cecilians responsible, he was now prepared to try desperate measures to restore his position. However, the present papers contribute little that is new to our knowledge of the relationship which emerged. There are incidental references to the missions of Henry Lee (628, 643), and the Master of Gray reported the arrangements for the interview between James and Sir William Eure (771), but the substance of James's conversations with these emissaries of Essex and Mountjoy is nowhere reported. In July 1600 Nicolson wrote significantly " *Nicolson* tells me he understands by one who never abused him that *the King* is by all means seeking a party and has a party *in England* and by party or faction if he can have commodity by either as he reckons he has by a party intends not *to tarry upon her Majesty's death* but take time so soon as without peril he can " (669).[3] Otherwise the documents here printed would seem to bear out the accepted view that while James undoubtedly had relations with Essex and his supporters he was not committed to them, and was certainly not committed to a policy of violence. The letter which Essex wrote to James on 25th December 1600 just before his *émeute*, and his secretary's summary of the instructions prepared by Essex for the proposed Scottish embassy, make clear that Essex asked nothing more from James than the presence and moral support of his ambassadors (755–7, 784–7). Moreover, Thomas Douglas, in a letter written before the news of Essex's downfall could have reached Edinburgh, claimed to have seen the actual instructions written for Mar and Kinloss, whose embassy had been the direct result of Essex's letter (768–70). Mar was to protest before Parliament that nothing be done to his master's prejudice and if the Queen were found favourable to attempt to persuade her to " speak somewhat in open Parliament " in favour of James. Apart from that he was to raise once more the questions of an increased gratuity and

[1] *H.M.C. Cecil*, IX, 345, 391, 440.

[2] *Cf.* L. W. Henry, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XXXII, 1–23.

[3] The italicized words are written in cipher. Nicolson endorsed the letter "[Y]or Honor to rede and burne."

of the Lennox lands. It is true that when the news came of Essex's failure James and his court were reported to be "in dumps" and to be "much grieved with the uproar of our English lords, fearing their fall, accounting them his good friends" (775–6). But neither this, nor Nicolson's letter of the previous July quoted above, is inconsistent with the well-known facts that James was at this time in a state of acute apprehension regarding the succession, that his apprehensions were centred on the peace manoeuvres of the Cecilian party and that he relied on Essex as a counter to these. In fact the dealings of James with Essex though they certainly existed may well have been exaggerated. There is no need to accept the asseverations made by James in his first letter to Cecil or by Northumberland in one of his letters to James, for these were made after Essex was dead.[1] Yet James's confidence in Essex may well have been limited by a fear that the Earl, if he succeeded in overthrowing the Cecilians during the Queen's lifetime, might after her death make a bid for the throne himself.[2]

However that may be the consequence of the Essex episode was that James was brought into direct touch with Cecil himself. The all important embassy of Mar and Kinloss was arranged directly in response to Essex's letter of 25th December 1600. But more significantly the disappearance of Essex seems to have finally determined the policy of his successful rival. The key position occupied by Cecil under the ageing Queen was so obvious that the desirability of some confidential liaison with him was self-evident to every Scottish statesman. In 1595 and 1596 the Treasurer, Blantyre, had made overtures through Roger Aston.[3] In September 1597 the Secretary, Lindsay of Balcarres, suggested that good results would follow from a friendship between the Secretaries (84). Both these approaches were ignored by Cecil. Later Lindsay's successor Elphinstone advanced the same with greater persistence and at first with the enthusiastic support of Nicolson (377, 393–4, 396, 398, 409, 413, 442); to him Cecil replied with polite evasion (445), going on to tell Nicolson that as the Queen's minister he could have no private relations with the minister of another sovereign (549–50). In the light of later history it would seem unlikely that Cecil was much influenced by these scruples or even by the unfavourable

[1] Bruce, *Correspondence*, 2, 65.

[2] For a suggestion that Essex might claim the throne through a marriage with Arbella, see J. D. Mackie, *Negotiations between King James VI and I and Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany* (St. Andrews University Publications, 1927), 10; *cf.* also *H.M.C. Cecil*, IX, 307–8 and XIV, 172—"W (Nicholson) assured CL (your honour) that 16 (the King) passeth with fair countenance this matter of my Lord of Essex over, but inwardly is one way sorry for it and another pleased with it."

[3] *C.S.P.*, XII, 50–1, 115, 289, 348.

account given of Elphinstone by James's agent in London, Hudson (398, 442). Rather does the ease with which he now fell into a similar but closer and more politically significant relationship with Mar suggest that Cecil had been too cautious to commit himself definitely to James as long as Essex remained in the field in a position to outbid him.

So far from James realizing this position, it appears from some notes in the King's own hand that at first he thought that the matter might be almost past remedy—that some other had been declared 'second person'—but that he believed Essex's party to be still strong; his ambassadors were therefore to find out whether the King's friends preferred that he should 'lie still' or take action, declaring that if action were decided upon he would head it himself.[1]

Initially, Mar and Kinloss met with so cold a reception that on 29th April 1601 they wrote to Cecil asking for their dispatch (812–3), and when Elizabeth thanked James for sending her "so well a chosen couple" she virtually said that she knew of the King's dealing with Essex (792). It is significant, however, that it was to Cecil that the ambassadors wrote, for on 8th April James had given them fresh instructions. These suggested that they might exploit a supposed rift between Elizabeth and her people, but among much that was unrealistic contained one practical counsel of supreme importance. They were to let the Queen's ministers know that James's future regard for them would be determined by their present action, and especially were they to deal with "Mr. Secretary . . . who is King there in effect."[2] The precise manner in which the ambassadors reacted to this advice is not known; but they remained in London and on 11th May the Queen gave her answer in a letter which is remarkable for the difference in tone between its beginning and its end. After a compliment to the ambassadors she accused them of merely repeating old grievances, and justified her action as regards Valentine Thomas, Eure, Ashfield,[3] and the Lennox lands, hoping "to hear no more of these matters, which are so unworthy of our dispute." Then, surprisingly, she announced that she would increase the gratuity to £5,000 a year; at Michaelmas next James would receive £2,000, at Christmas £3,000, and thereafter £2,500 regularly every six months. It was stipulated that the King of Scots, in dealing with foreign princes, his own subjects, and Irish rebels, would show a true amity to the English Queen (820–2).

The explanation of this singular *volte face* lies of course in the

[1] Birch, *Memoirs*, II, 510–3.

[2] Hailes, 1–12.

[3] See pp. xx–xxi.

fact that Mar had established an understanding with Cecil, which brought James into an intimate personal relationship with the English Secretary. James apparently did not even now realize the advantage gained and was depressed after his first speech with the returned ambassadors on 30th May (834), perhaps because they had not brought the public declaration as to his title for which he had asked. But the consequences of this understanding were momentous. In effect it was to make James's succession secure.

Thereafter began the famous secret correspondence between Cecil as " 10 " and James as " 30." This was kept very secret. Cecil sometimes used the services of the loquacious Henry Howard, who wearied the shrewd King by his " ample Asiatic and endless volumes " of gross flattery.[1] James trusted Mar, Kinloss and possibly Sir Thomas Erskine ; but James's Secretary, Elphinstone, and Cecil's agent, Nicolson, were both kept in the dark. It seems certain that the correspondence passed under the cover of pretended communications between the Duc de Rohan in France and Mar, which according to the comity of ambassadors might be sent in closed packets in the English ' diplomatic bag ' (*cf.* 878–9, 899, 934, 968). The keen interest shown by the King in these letters from Rohan aroused the suspicions of Nicolson (907) which Cecil was quick to allay, replying that he himself was a little uneasy about the correspondence which he forwarded at the request of the French ambassador.[2] He further protested to his agent categorically that he held no cunning practice with James as others had done, that he would have no " other dealing with that king than as you see," and would never use the subject of another prince as an intermediary (1036, 1066). He kept the correspondence successfully hidden from agents like Sempill of Beltries and the Master of Gray, who himself suggested that James and Cecil should enter into intimate relations (911–3, 972), and even from the well-informed Thomas Douglas who as late as February 1603 warned Cecil that James was his secret enemy (1109). Someone, however, did discover the secret. An anonymous intelligencer writing from Scotland in March 1602 reported that " there hath within this half-year an intercourse been entertained between the King and Sir Robert Cissell, and yet his Majesty privately speaks and thinks as hardly of him as heretofore."[3] Cecil was at pains to maintain this story that the King disliked him (965), but in fact the question of the succession

[1] Hailes, 116.

[2] *H.M.C. Cecil*, XII, 497.

[3] *Ibid.*, XIV, 211–2. The report was passed to Cecil through Tobias Matthew, Bishop of Durham. It is anonymous, but a careful examination of the handwriting suggests that it might be the work of William Fowler, the secretary to Queen Anne (*cf.* 143, 151, 164). No reports can definitely be attributed to Fowler.

was virtually settled when the strongest candidate joined hands with the most powerful statesman in England. The mechanism of the change was kept secret, but its effects are obvious in the altered atmosphere of Anglo-Scottish relations.

The correspondence between the sovereigns becomes now much more cordial; James tells Elizabeth of Lindsay's mission from the Pope and of his relations with France and Spain, and Elizabeth replies in kind. Her last letter ends " I hope you will bear with my molesting you too long with my ' stottering hand ' as proceeding from a heart that shall ever be filled with the true affection of your loving and friendly sister. E.R." (1097–8). The gratuity was increased in amount and paid punctually at half-yearly intervals. Whereas Cecil's attitude to Spain had been ambiguous, after the understanding with James he came out whole-heartedly against Spain and described the Spanish defeats triumphantly in letters to Nicolson, well aware that James would be informed and confident that he would be pleased (1047, 1052–3). When the Spanish occupation of Kinsale threatened danger, James made a real effort to supply troops for Ireland, and though Elizabeth eventually did not need these she replied politely to the overture. On the Borders there was growing co-operation between the officers of both countries, and if there were still charges and countercharges, especially in the West March, local incidents were no longer used to create national tension. Ker of Cessford, now Earl of Roxburghe, at one time denounced as a murderous arch-enemy of England, is found to be a gallant gentleman who, on a visit to London, dines with Cecil, is twice received by the Queen, and given warrants to view her palaces (1045–6). Musgrave, the Captain of Bewcastle, whose surrender for " redress to the King's subjects " had been demanded in May 1600 (641), has " merry cracks with the King " and a " merry drink in the cellar," and James commends him to Elizabeth (878–9, 958). The difficulties arising from James's embargo on the import of English cloth were settled in a reasonable way and when, in the course of the controversy, the King wrote on behalf of his subject Andrew Creich, Cecil took his letter with him to the Council where it was read and heard with uncovered heads (989). Everything in fact was prepared for the peaceful accession of the King of Scots. It is significant that the news of Elizabeth's death was brought to Holyroodhouse by the hardriding Sir Robert Carey,[1] once so bitter an enemy of the Scots upon the Border.

[1] Carey, *Memoirs*, 123–8.

English Representatives in Scotland

The reports furnished to their government by the English diplomatic agents in Scotland are the main source of the documents here printed. It had not yet become usual for a monarch to maintain a permanent ambassador in every country with which he had diplomatic dealings. But at the beginning of our period England had a 'leger' ambassador in Scotland in the person of the experienced Robert Bowes, who had been much employed since the doubtful days of d'Aubigny, and who was a brother-in-law of John Knox. Regarding Spain and the Catholics as the great enemies, he tended to view the Scottish Kirk as his ally, yet did not hesitate to bargain with Highland chiefs, whose Protestantism was to say the least doubtful, against the power and possibly the person of Tyrone. He may have persisted too long in regarding the King as a callow youth, but he was a prudent man who understood Scottish affairs very well, who was utterly loyal to England, and who believed in the amity and did not wish it to be broken by incidents on the Borders, realizing that there were faults on both sides (65–7). During his last few months he had four audiences with the King on border matters (24, 50, 65, 84) and in all these, though he firmly stated the complaints of his mistress against the Scots, he still proposed measures to prevent an open breach. A good servant to the interest of both countries, he was given leave to move out of Edinburgh when the plague scattered the King and his court, yet remained longer than the state of his health permitted and struggled back to Berwick on 5th November 1597, only to die there ten days later (87–8, 121, 124). He well deserved the enconium pronounced in the florid verse of William Fowler (129–30).

His nephew, Sir William Bowes, who was one of the Commissioners appointed for Border affairs in October 1596, was not a 'leger' ambassador but acted as special ambassador on several occasions. A son of Sir George Bowes, who had stood firm for the government in the rising of 1569, he was conscious of the deference due to him as head of the house, as ambassador, and as commissioner representative of the Queen's own person. A brother-in-law of the tenth Lord Scrope, who was hard to the point of brutality against the Scots,[1] he himself tended to adopt a hectoring attitude to his northern neighbours and an inclination to stand upon the letter of the law in dealing with them. Having been joined with his uncle in the negotiations for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford and their pledges[2] he retired to England following on the fracas of 8th October 1598. On 4th January

[1] See pp. xlix–l.

[2] See p. xlviii.

1598 however, he was ordered to go to Edinburgh bearing a very sharp letter " full of sourness," in which Elizabeth denounced the King for his conduct at the recent meeting of Estates, along with some instructions from Cecil (146–9). After a delay of some days at Berwick, due to lack of a guarantee against the hatred of Scots Borderers, he arrived in Edinburgh on 28th January and delivered his denunciation with great zeal (156–60), soon afterwards returning to England and taking little part in further negotiations. On 20th April 1598 the Queen made him Treasurer of Berwick in succession to his uncle (193–4).

In July of the same year a dispatch, bidding him deliver an important letter from the Queen on the subject of Valentine Thomas, missed him. Cecil, who had suspected that this might happen, had ordered that Nicolson should deliver the letter, and this Nicolson did (231–42). Though Nicolson constantly urged that Sir William should be sent up, he was not employed again till the spring of 1599 when the rise of anti-English influence produced a situation beyond the competence of Nicolson. On 12th April Elizabeth, enraged by the King's unmannerly return of the declaration professing her disbelief in Thomas's story, wrote a menacing letter promising " that one shall presently be sent to you by whom at large you shall not be ignorant of my whole mind in this and many other matters " (445). Meanwhile Bowes was armed with instructions setting forth all the accusations with which he was to charge the Scottish King, and concluding with a direction to resuscitate the anglophile party in Scotland (455–61).

Having remained at Berwick for some time, making suggestions for the improvement of the government of the Borders and the kidnapping of the recusant Abbot of New Abbey (454), he arrived in Edinburgh on 12th May and performed his task with a diligence of which he sent in meticulous reports (462 *et seq.*). His prolonged eloquence may well have wearied the King, who ended one interview by " leaping then on horseback for Linlithgow " (481), and Bowes finally prejudiced his position as ambassador by taking part in the kidnapping of Ashfield.

Edmund Ashfield, a Buckinghamshire gentleman of some wealth and influence, brought overtures to James from a group of English Roman Catholics (499 *et seq.*, 1128–30).[1] He had contrived to get a pass from Lord Willoughby, the Governor of Berwick, apparently on a promise to return within a few days, and was helped across the Border by Cessford. Arrived at Edinburgh, he found a lodging with some of the English expatriates. His designs were betrayed to Bowes by a follower of

[1] Cf. *Border Papers*, II, 607–18 ; *H.M.C. Cecil*, IX, 307–9 ; and Dodd-Tierney, IV, App. I, xxxvi.

Willoughby named Waineman. Willoughby, realising what was happening, sent his cousin and deputy-warden John Guevara, together with his secretary and a few horsemen, to kidnap the offender, at the same time providing a ship of his own to lie at Prestonpans in case of close pursuit. The matter was well managed with the aid of the ambassador's coach. There can be little doubt that Ashfield was drugged, and Bowes's exculpation of the proceedings resembles that of an erring schoolboy. James was not unnaturally outraged, and indignation was so general that Bowes was virtually a prisoner in his own house. Probably he was in less danger than he himself supposed, but the Queen wrote a letter for his protection (511) and he was evidently relieved to get safely out of Scotland (515).

He professed gratification at " Her Majesty's most gracious acceptance of my so slender travails " (515), but in fact his mission had been a failure. On two occasions Nicolson reported that the King raged against him (557, 579). At one time James said that he would never trust Puritans for his sake (557), at another that he could get no justice or answer about a certain Border dispute " but by Sir William Bowes only fiffles fuffles " (563), at another that " the Queen sent him never any honest men " (587). The anglophile Aston felt that the friends of England were unpopular as the result of his visit, and he was not employed again as ambassador. From his post at Berwick he still kept an eye on Scottish affairs, and on the arrest of Ogilvie of Powrie boasted that " I am mynister for the state here, and therefore am of duty bound to *arcana Imperii*; "[1] yet the tenor of his letters shows that in fact Cecil did not entrust him with secrets of state, for the arrest was collusive to cover the entry into Scotland of a paid English intelligencer (771).[2]

Sir William Bowes, in any case, was never a resident ambassador, and though there were occasionally suggestions that one be appointed this was never in fact done. The only other ambassador who came from Elizabeth to James during the remainder of the Queen's reign was Sir Henry Brouncker. He was sent in August 1600, ostensibly to congratulate James on his escape at Gowrie House, but the opportunity was taken to let James know that Elizabeth (informed by Lord Sanquhar and probably also by the Master of Gray) was aware of the letter addressed in his name to the Pope (690).[3]

In default of a resident ambassador Elizabeth employed in Scotland an agent, George Nicolson, whose correspondence fills a large part of these volumes. Nicolson had been Robert Bowes's

[1] *Border Papers*, II, 729.

[2] See pp. xxix, xxxi.

[3] See p. lvi.

servant and as it appears was well aware of his master's confidential business. When the ailing ambassador thought of retiring to Berwick he meant to leave Nicolson to take his place (87), and as soon as Nicolson heard of his death he hastened to Edinburgh to secure the " writings " of his dead master and to prevent the discovery of " our intelligencers or secret traffic there " (124). On 6th December 1597 he was formally accredited to the Scottish King by Elizabeth as " late servant to the said Bowes who, for that he was trained up under him a long time, has now attained to a good acquaintance with the present state of our affairs " (126). On 23rd December Cecil told him that he was to have 13s. 4d. per day and that the Governor of Berwick had been asked to help him by conveying letters (143).

Nicolson, who did not in general suffer from lack of confidence, came to all intents and purposes to act as an ambassador. Indeed the English government soon began to treat him as such. As early as January 1598 he delivered a letter from the Queen of England to the King of Scots (154). In the following July he acted as an ambassador in place of Sir William Bowes whose instructions had failed to reach him (231–9), and on the last day of December the Queen herself wrote to him a letter containing some animadversions upon James's conduct which were meant to accompany innuendos directed to the King in a letter sent to him at the same time (364–6).

Nicolson himself has set on record what he thought was the duty of an ambassador. When the King said that a good ambassador should be honest, plain and not too curious and added that " it was not for naught that the Bishop of Ross used to say that he was sure there was a place reserved in hell for ambassadors," Nicolson asserted that, having seen the instructions sent with ambassadors to Scotland for twenty years and more, he was " sure their employments never tended but to entertain intelligence and negotiate ordinary affairs as they fell out between her Majesty and him, and when they dealt with his subjects were to persuade them to his obedience " (638). Nicolson's own activities, however, show that he took a wide view of his responsibilities. His letters were mainly directed to the Secretary, and they contained matters of the highest importance : the situation in Scotland, the relations of the King with his Queen, the parties among the nobles, the dealings of the King with the Kirk, the disposal of offices, the intentions of James, and his domestic and foreign plans—all these things were regularly reported. Reported, too, was the agent's own zeal in maintaining the interests of England. He continued plans of his late master to launch the Scottish Islesmen against the Irish rebels ;[1] he

[1] See p. lxi.

promoted plots to have Tyrone and McSorley murdered.[1] He busied himself in trying to prevent the sending of supplies from the west coast of Scotland to the Queen's enemies across the narrow sea. He did not even hesitate to advance his own theories for the settlement of Border troubles, theories which sometimes conflicted with the official policy of his government (273–4). With the help of the organisation which had been in being under Robert Bowes, Nicolson was able to supply Cecil with abundant intelligence and before long was dealing with the innermost secrets of state. In general he was well informed, and much of the inside knowledge he obtained was due to the close intimacy with Roger Aston[2] which is obvious throughout his correspondence.

In time Nicolson came to take a very high view of his position. In February 1599 he was annoyed to find that he was not called before the Scottish Council—" Sir Robert Kerr called in but not I " (402)—and before long he was trying to give instructions to the King himself (*cf.* 275). Modelling himself perhaps upon ' Sir William,' he sometimes showed himself high-handed in his attitude to the Scots. He explained complacently how he had broken his promise to give the King a copy of the instructions on which he based the interview which he conducted in place of Sir William Bowes in July 1598 (238, 242). He frequently reminded the King of the failures of the royal officers to do their duty, and did not hesitate to advise James, occasionally in a somewhat dictatorial way (*cf.* 813, 938). As the years passed he treated the King, notoriously not one to stand on his dignity, with an increasing familiarity. He did business with his Majesty as they rode along (*cf.* 277, 808, 893). The King stroked his cheeks familiarly on one occasion (715). Once at least the King rebuked him for his lack of civility, but almost immediately afterwards he was once more on familiar terms (806, 808–9) and the next year the King is found drinking a ' scoler ' to him in honour of the English success at Kinsale while he in return drank it to Mar who pledged it gladly (933). Though he was far less familiar in his dealings with Cecil, to whom he was usually most careful in his address, he sometimes behaved independently towards his own government. He persisted in urging the employment of the Macleans against Tyrone although it is clear that Cecil was very lukewarm about the value of Highland assistance in Ireland. Once, having asked Cecil whether he should remain in Edinburgh or follow the King to Dumbarton and having been told it would be better if he stayed in Edinburgh, he nonetheless " thought it more commodious for her Majesty's service " to accompany

[1] See p. lx.

[2] See pp. xxvi–xxvii.

the King (266). He even dared to suggest in the interests of the political situation that the English Queen should write to the King of Scots a letter which the latter expected (326).

Cecil sometimes pulled this over-confident agent up with a round turn. In July 1598 he handed on a message from the Queen that when she wrote a letter to a King in her own hand she expected a reply in that King's own hand, remarking that " when your old master was there, a leger ambassador, a man of place and quality, he never forgot " such *convenances* (240–1). And once, in reply to Nicolson's continued importunate references regarding his salary, he wrote " for your private also methinks you apprehend your own state amiss. You are there but an agent. For the time you have 15s. a day well paid you.[1] What you did when your master lived you did as his servant . . . The Queen will send an ambassador shortly thither and then you shall come home " (258). Nevertheless Cecil placed increasing confidence in his agent, and this was due at least in part to Nicolson's own performance. Thus at the close of the period he consulted him frankly about Border troubles and took his advice in opposition to the policy of Scrope, the Warden of the English West March. He wrote to Nicolson of the Master of Gray in off-hand terms which contrast oddly with his own correspondence with Gray.[2] He gave Nicolson a clear *exposé* of Spain's war potential, described in detail the problem presented by the Spanish galleons, and even went so far as to explain at length the outcome of a financial venture of his own in a fleet which had plundered the Spaniards, on this occasion referring to himself as " your friend " (984–6, 1037–9, 1052).

Nicolson had abundant commonsense and a shrewd enough native wit, but he was gullible as regards ' scare news ' which naturally enough he was tempted to relay in order to magnify his own importance.[3] Plainly too an agent who dipped his inquisitive and not very tactful fingers into so many pies was likely to become unpopular and Nicolson was always at pains to emphasise his own value by relating reports that he was suspect, that the King was being urged to secure his dismissal (350, 643), that his letters might be opened (320) and even that his life was in danger (255). He may have exaggerated ; but he was certainly confronted with real difficulties, which were not all of his own making. Many of these were inherent in the position of a man who was only a promoted agent and lacked the qualifications of

[1] Cecil was in error. Nicolson's salary was 13s. 4d. a day, and his subsequent attempt to capitalize Cecil's mistake was a failure.

[2] *H.M.C. Cecil*, XI, 22.

[3] Inspired no doubt by professional jealousy Thomas Douglas hinted that he delayed to transmit intelligence so that he could claim the credit himself (1018).

an ambassador of gentle birth—some "saying (as is true) that I am a mean man and was but Mr. Bowes's servant" (446, *cf.* 213). He lacked good taste and *savoir faire*; he actually tried to get an audience when James was mourning the death of his infant son, Robert (999). But clearly he had no adequate staff or accommodation.[1] As early as December 1597 he reported that Sir John Carey, Governor of Berwick, who had been instructed to help in the conveyance of his letters, at first refused to do so with the utmost contumely and it was only by the intercession of the Gentleman Porter, William Selby, and of the widow of Robert Bowes that his letter reached Cecil at all (141). He could not speak French; when the French ambassador, du Tour, came to Scotland they could converse only through the agency of Lord Sanquhar (suspect as a Roman Catholic), and Nicolson had, as he sadly stated, no establishment to which the visitor could pay the accustomed conventional call (1033–4). More than once he regretted his lack of means and influence to create friends for himself and England.

Altogether his position was not entirely comfortable and the fruits of his dissatisfaction appear in various ways. His professed desire to serve in Ireland (169) was probably insincere for he clearly valued his employment very highly; but there were many occasions on which he felt he had not the strength required for his position and urged that an ambassador should be sent. Having been bred in the Bowes tradition he long felt that Sir William would be the man to take a firm line, especially when the suspect Ker of Cessford rose to importance in the royal councils and Nicolson felt himself unable to stand up against opponents of such power and influence. After the Ashfield affair Nicolson seems to have lost some of his faith in Sir William while at the same time he was gaining confidence in himself; but in the uncertainties which surrounded the Essex rising in the Spring of 1601 he was again insistent that an ambassador should be sent (774), and at the beginning of 1602, when he was confused by the movements of Scottish politics at the time of the Spaniards' venture at Kinsale, he again felt that it was "more than meet that some ambassador were here for her Majesty with absolute power to

[1] Nicolson's salary was far more than an ordinary living wage, but the everyday expenses of a man who was forced to live in constant attendance on the court must have been considerable. His salary, moreover, was paid in arrears and by no means regularly. He experienced even greater delay in the payment of his extraordinaries—the carrying of official letters, payment of intelligencers, etc.—which apparently was found not by the Exchequer but from other sources. The urgency with which Nicolson pressed his claim for some reward in addition to his salary may have been due not only to present necessity and the fear of a penniless future but also to a desire to rise from the position of servant to that of a landed man. In 1601 Cecil informed him that he had obtained for him £20 a year in reversion. In October 1602 Cecil offered him either £400 down or £50 a year for life; he chose the former and signed the receipt on 24th February 1603. Finally in August 1603 he was awarded a pension of 5s. 6d. a day. (1059, 1111; *H.M.C. Cecil*, XI, 23; *S.P. Dom., 1603–10*, 28.)

deal and perfect this service . . . for me I am ready to be anywhere disposed on [as] her Majesty pleases " (924).

That Nicolson at this time really envisaged the sending of an ambassador who would supplant him altogether may well be doubted, and in fact Cecil knew very well that in Nicolson he had a loyal servant. With the approaching death of Elizabeth the English representative in Scotland occupied a vital position, and possibly it was the very importance of the post that led to its being entrusted to the politically insignificant Nicolson. An envoy of ambassadorial calibre close to the Scottish King might either capture his favour or be tempted to play an independent part in political manoeuvres concerning the succession. Cecil may well have intended that when the time came he himself and no one else should play the part of kingmaker.

The English Intelligence System

Much of the information which Nicolson transmitted was derived from councillors and others who frequented the Scottish court. Some of these communications were made to him officially as the accredited agent of England. Others seem to have partaken to a greater or lesser degree of the character of inspired ' hand-outs.' It is not always clear whether his informants were semi-official ' government spokesmen ' or intelligence agents on the English payroll, and in fact these roles may not have been mutually exclusive.

How hard it is to make this distinction appears in the case of Roger Aston. Aston was an Englishman by birth, being the illegitimate son of a Cheshire gentleman. He was, however, one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to James VI and was connected by marriage with the houses of Ochiltree and Ferniehirst.[1] His close intimacy with Nicolson is obvious throughout the correspondence and indeed Nicolson freely acknowledged the value of Aston's services (350, 356, 582). They were firm allies and when there was a question of obtaining a licence for the bringing in of corn from England Nicolson desired to share it with Aston, who was also going to apply, writing—" though I were never to receive good I cannot wish him to be hindered but furthered " (580). Aston on his part was sometimes able to arrange for the agent to have direct access to the King even in his cabinet (386, 452, 775). He had opportunities to hear the intimate conversation of the King and relayed what he heard to

[1] He was married to Marjorie Stewart, 3rd daughter of Andrew, Master of Ochiltree, whose 2nd daughter married Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst, later first Lord Jedburgh. Ker at this time was one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to James VI. (*Scots Peerage*, VI, 516.)

Nicolson.[1] On one occasion when the King went to supper Nicolson himself retired " praying good Mr. Aston to mark and hearken what was said thereon because nothing would have been said in my hearing " (244, *cf.* 386). Moreover, though he and Nicolson normally hunted as a couple Aston did not hesitate on occasions to write direct to Cecil. It is plain that as early as August 1599 he obtained some reward for his services although this did not realise his hopes (522). Yet though in Sir Anthony Weldon's words " the Queen did find him as faithful to her as to his master,"[2] he seems withal to have been a loyal servant to King James. He was the first emissary sent by James to prepare for his reception in London, was knighted in April 1603 and later rose to be Master of the Wardrobe. He remained in high favour with King James until his death and was richly rewarded.[3]

A not dissimilar doubt concerns the conduct of the majority of the ambassadors and agents who represented James at London during this period. The dividing line between a courtesy gift and a bribe is hard to draw. When James in 1598 affected to believe that Kinloss " had some chain of her Majesty for his fee " (213) he was probably uttering a taunt which he did not believe.[4] Equally the allegations that Mar and Kinloss " had had good deed " in London (870) were apparently put about by their political rival the Master of Gray. But at least on his second visit to London David Foulis received " a kind and noble benefit " (955) and Sempill of Beltries was beyond doubt on the English payroll under the code number ' 99 ' (839, 990, 997, 1000, 1087). The letters of James Hudson, James's official agent in London—at least such of them as are preserved in these volumes —give the impression that he was as much the servant of the English government as of the Scottish King ;[5] and while the allegations against his temporary supplanter Hamilton came from suspect sources (767) he also certainly wrote and behaved as if he were Cecil's man (777). It does not follow that these men betrayed their country. Experience in London may have convinced them that the best hope for the amity lay in cultivating the goodwill of Cecil.

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[1] Another contact close to the Scottish court may have been William Fowler, the poet, who was secretary to Queen Anne. Early in 1598 he agreed to furnish intelligence (151, 164). However, the code name then allotted to him does not appear again and no letters can be assigned to him with absolute certainty. But an examination of the handwriting suggests that he may have been the author of the highly significant letter written in March 1602 which reported that there had been for six months a correspondence between the King and Sir Robert Cecil (*cf.* p. xvii).

[2] Weldon, 5.

[3] *S.P. Dom., 1603–11* and *1611–18*, passim. " Invested with such Honours and Offices as he was capable of and that inabled him to live in a noble way during his life and to leave his daughters great fortunes " (Weldon, 6–7).

[4] See p. xxxv.

[5] See pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

Apart from these official and semi-official sources the English government derived information from a large number of private individuals. Scottish merchants and sea-captains sometimes offered information gleaned from their trading ventures in the Spanish dominions. Nicolson relayed much information, real or alleged, regarding Catholic designs gained from English Catholics like George Moore who sought refuge in Scotland and tried to work their passage home by propitiating the English agent. Finally there were a number of intelligencers, some of whom wrote direct to Cecil while others corresponded through the medium of Nicolson. Not all of these can justly be termed professional agents, for not all were paid for their services. The Master of Gray, for example, took some at least of his rewards in a way that was more respectable and less direct.[1] Many of these agents remain anonymous except in a few cases where they can be identified by their handwriting. But practically without exception those who can be identified shared two basic characteristics. Nearly all were men of good family who were broken in fortune either politically or financially, in most cases both ; and nearly all were either professed Roman Catholics or former ' fellow travellers ' of the Roman Catholic party, which not only accounted for their broken status but, through their Catholic connections, increased their usefulness as intelligencers.

The most conspicuous of these was the Master of Gray, whose fortunes had never recovered from the role which he had played in 1586. Conscious of his considerable abilities, he sought to rebuild his position by constituting himself the mediator between James and Cecil, whose key position he correctly estimated. But though Cecil wrote to him as a social equal and sometimes in terms of almost fulsome friendship he never gave him his confidence and in fact abused him roundly in letters to James and Nicolson.[2]

Another able and ambitious man who had come adrift politically was John Colville. Colville had attached himself to Bothwell and shared in many of the exploits as well as in the ruin of that Earl. For that reason he had incurred the enmity of James who resented bitterly the fact that he was allowed to reside in London, especially as a pensioner of the English government. Cecil, however, employed him for a period in 1599. He had previously been in touch with Essex and he claimed

[1] Cecil offered to pay 400 crowns a year (apparently out of his own money) towards the maintenance of Gray's son at Oxford or in France (*H.M.C. Cecil*, XIV, 184).

[2] In April 1601 Cecil wrote to him, " Only when I write to you I love to make you see my inside " (816) ; but *cf.* Bruce, *Correspondence*, 28, where Cecil writes, " God hath neuer so farr forsaken me, as to suffer me to leaue it in the power of swch a vyper to tax me by woord or writt of malicious practise, intention of preiudice, or so much as a desire to procure the good of this state in substantivo by an euill adverb," and *H.M.C. Cecil*, XI, 22, " Always be he saint be he devil let him bear his own burthen."

contacts with Bruce and the anti-Spanish Catholics on the Continent. But he appears to have had no good sources of information in Scotland, and the intelligence which he furnished from the Continent, though often highly coloured and sensational, was in fact of little value. Cecil, therefore, soon terminated their relationship in a cold letter (545).

Other intelligencers were useful for their family connections. John Ogilvy of Powrie, for example, was a brother-in-law of the rising Sir Thomas Erskine. In 1595–96, although previously in the pay of Walsingham, he had made himself conspicuous all over Europe as an alleged agent of the Scottish King to the continental Catholics.[1] Early in 1601 he made his way into Scotland as Cecil's agent, but he was ill-received by the King and furnished no information of value. Cecil cut him off as brutally as he had Colville—" your means have totally failed you."[2]

Family connections were put to better use by another intelligencer, Thomas Douglas, a brother of the laird of Whittinghame. Towards the end of 1600 Douglas offered his services to Cecil as one who was trained at Rome among the Jesuits " whose intelligences and politics and treacheries are known to him."[3] This letter, however, did not mention his most valuable asset. His brother James was employed in the office of Secretary Elphinstone (to whom he was akin by marriage) and he had thus a ' privy mean ' to obtain information (*cf.* 768, 853, 929).[4] Thanks to this connection his reports are by far the most useful of those furnished by Cecil's Scottish intelligencers—useful alike to his employers and to the present-day historian. Douglas was an unscrupulous adventurer whose activities were not limited to news reporting. He claimed to have procured the poisoning of James McSorley and to have narrowly failed in a similar attempt on the life of Tyrone (1138–43).[5] He proposed a scheme, which Cecil accepted, for the kidnapping of Bothwell, and Nicolson reported that he was to have poisoned Gowrie's brothers by the appointment of the King of Scots (862–3, 870–1, 907). In many ways he was an unsatisfactory agent. He did not undervalue himself; he was constantly urgent about pay, threatening at times to sell his information in a better market (*cf.* 927–9); he frequently delayed to carry out errands entrusted to him and sometimes failed to carry them out at all.[6] Nicolson obviously disliked him but Cecil appreciated his value and characteristically

[1] Cf. *Misc. Scot. Hist. Soc.*, I, 3 *et seq.*

[2] *H.M.C. Cecil*, XI, 290–1.

[3] *Ibid.*, X, 460.

[4] *R.M.S., 1634–51*, No. 1995.

[5] Cf. *H.M.C. Cecil*, XII, 14–5, 23–4 ; *S.P. Ireland, 1600–1*, 272.

[6] Cf. *H.M.C. Cecil*, XII, 15.

retained him in his service and paid him generously. Equally characteristically, when his usefulness had ended after the Union of the Crowns, Cecil did not lift a finger to save him from execution for forgery in 1609.[1]

But perhaps the most typical of these agents were the Mowbray cousins—Francis and Philip, a younger son and a cadet respectively of the family of Barnbogle, whose great-grandfather had been Treasurer of Scotland.[2] The religious wars had brought about the family's financial impoverishment and political ruin. Francis's sister Barbara had been in the service of Queen Mary and had married her secretary Curle; living in exile in the Spanish Netherlands, she provided them at once with a base in hostile territory and an invaluable contact with the plottings of the Roman Catholic expatriates (*cf.* 847). Similarly they used their connection with the Roman Catholic Huntly to obtain access to Tyrone for the purpose of murdering him (768, 819). For like Douglas, the Mowbrays did not confine themselves to the gathering of information. Desperate men both, they were allegedly prepared to undertake anything including murder and to serve any master in Ireland and the Low Countries as well as in Scotland. Furthermore both fished in the troubled waters of political intrigue. Philip tried to arrange an *entente* between Huntly and Cecil—to the embarrassment of the latter (761, 778, 826).[3] Francis involved himself—possibly as a double agent—in a correspondence between Cecil and a member of the Archduke's staff (1074, 1102),[4] and in a still more obscure intrigue involving one of the Ruthven sisters (1060, 1074).[5] When he finally incurred James's enmity Cecil, while outwardly correct, let him go north to his death and did not scruple to disown him to the King in private.[6]

This intelligence system was under the immediate control of the English Secretary although on occasions he used the poet Henry Lok as a convenient intermediary (881).[7] In dealing with his agents Cecil exercised great care. They made use of ciphers which he normally deciphered in person.[8] It was his principle

[1] Balfour, II, 9, 10.

[2] Sir Robert Barton. His son Robert had assumed the name of Mowbray on his marriage to the heiress, Barbara Mowbray (*Acts of Parl. Scotland*, II, 321).

[3] *H.M.C. Cecil*, XI, 1378

[4] *Ibid.*, XII, 294, 297.

[5] *Ibid.*, XII, 451–2.

[6] *Cf.* Hailes, 223–4.

[7] Lok is found intercepting letters, conferring with Colville about his possible employment as an intelligencer (368), arranging to shadow suspects (406), arranging a kidnapping (722) and making payments to intelligencers (752, 936, 950).

[8] Simple although these ciphers were, confusion arose in more than one case (164, 332, 1018, 1033, 1036).

that " never one intelligencer know of another for you know that they will cut one another's throat."[1] He did not hesitate to misinform his own agents if it was politic to do so. For all his seeming cordiality to the Master of Gray he not only concealed the existence of his own secret correspondence with James but even went out of his way to tell Gray that James had a bad opinion of him (965, 972–3). He was at pains too to make it clear in writing that suggestions for service, especially if the service were of a doubtful nature, came not from himself but from the would-be agents. About the propriety of having Tyrone murdered he had no scruples (*cf.* 828, 881). Nonetheless, according to his letters the overtures for the murder were always made not by himself but by volunteers (*cf.* 1056). He was confident that no revelation of any instrument of his would show " that I have ever engaged myself in anything that was not becoming a gentleman and a Christian."[2]

Once an agent was engaged steps were taken to cover him. Sometimes agents were covered by bogus arrests (718, 771) or by the supposed displeasure of Cecil (1081), who remarked of one agent that " it was a condition between him and me that he should take the liberty of a spy to traduce me."[3] When an agent was detected Nicolson at least considered it a point of honour to protect him as far as possible, as was shown in 1601 in the case of Francis Mowbray (846, 858). Thomas Douglas was assured by Nicolson that " we cared for you better than you write. My master I dare justify never brought you in suspicion with any here " (929). Cecil, however, was less scrupulous. The story of Thomas Douglas shows that even a doubtful spy would be retained as long as he was useful ; on the other hand the cases of John Colville and Ogilvie of Powrie make plain that an agent no longer useful was dismissed with a disregard scarcely veiled under a form of politeness.[4] For in dealing with his agents the Secretary was less concerned with justice and legality than with political expediency. First and last he was preoccupied with the success of his government, and incidentally with his own personal ambitions.

Scottish Representatives in England

Although James sometimes hoped, or at least gave it to be understood, that he might appoint a resident ambassador to London, there never was any real probability that he would be

[1] *H.M.C. Cecil*, XI, 22.
[2] *Ibid.*, XIV, 238.
[3] *Ibid.*, XII, 494.
[4] See p. xxix.

able to afford this. His permanent representative in London was an agent—during most of this period James Hudson; and he contented himself with sending down special envoys from time to time as occasion arose. The occasion which presented itself most frequently was the delay in the payment of the gratuity to which James held he was entitled under the arrangement of 1585–86. Several emissaries were sent solely to procure this money. But some, and those the most important, had other business too.

Yet there was resident in London one who may be described as the ghost of an ambassador, namely Archibald Douglas, who had long played a considerable part in Anglo-Scottish relations and for a short time had been ambassador in London. In 1587 James had sent him, rather left-handedly, a message of dismissal,[1] and by this time his position had considerably declined. But he still had influential friends in Scotland. He was a grandson of the second Earl of Morton, and his nephew Richard, with the aid of the Earl of Angus who recognised him as cousin, made plans for his return to Scotland. Yet when Richard claimed to have found the means, and even the money, to effect this return he declined to go (329–31); and when in January 1600 another nephew, Thomas Douglas, recently home from overseas, wrote optimistically about a project for his return nothing came of that.[2] His own story was that Elizabeth would not let him go to Scotland because "he knew such mysteries and secrets in the state of England as were not fit to be revealed;"[3] but probably he was apprehensive as to the welcome he would get. No doubt he would have liked to have been ambassador in England once more, but though there was some talk of this when the official representatives of Scotland were held to have failed, there was no real chance. James disliked him—"the King says he is a knave and Mr. John Colville another" (219)[4]—and he was held in suspicion by most of the men in whose hands lay the conduct of Anglo-Scottish relations. The Douglases accepted the situation as best they could by retailing malicious gossip concerning other Scottish agents in London (*cf.* 716, 918–9).

Although Archibald failed to receive official recognition he was for long still a person of some consequence. He had experience, and he may have been regarded as an ill man to cross. For his claim to know dangerous secrets was not vain; he had had the Casket Letters in his hands, and had been concerned in the dubious manoeuvres which preceded the execution of Queen Mary. He had assurance too, and was often styled 'ambassador'

[1] *C.S.P.*, IX, 332.

[2] *H.M.C. Cecil*, X, 20.

[3] *C.S.P.*, XII, 316.

[4] See p. xxviii.

and indeed willingly played the part in transacting occasional minor diplomatic business. He was consulted semi-officially about the various Scottish diplomatic missions to London (287, 327, 762).[1] But after Cecil had come to terms with James in the spring of 1601 the utility of Archibald Douglas disappeared and towards the close of our period he was writing humbly to Cecil " being in years and great necessity."[2]

In default of a resident ambassador the King maintained in London a permanent agent. In February 1598 this agent was referred to as his " man residing there " (162) and when in August 1600 James was making a change of agents his letter of credit bore that the newcomer (James Hamilton) was to be " our remaining agent with you as George Nicolson is here with us " (674–5). There is no doubt, then, that the office was meant to be semi-permanent ; and it appears that a salary of £100 a year was paid to James Hudson, who was the agent for almost the whole period covered by these volumes (919). Hudson had first come into prominence in the critical negotiations of 1586, and he was by now a well-established and experienced diplomat, in touch with the governments of both England and Scotland. He had been at one time a correspondent of Anthony Bacon, who managed Essex's intelligence, but by this time he was in close relationship with Cecil. He was an Englishman,[3] a fact which was resented by Archibald Douglas (919) ; and occasionally in writing to other Englishmen he disparaged the Scots. Possibly it was his known connection with Cecil which led to plans to replace him in London. As early as the autumn of 1598 Nicolson alleged that " the King has made William Hunter a gift of agency for his affairs with her Majesty and for the merchants " (226).[4] When, however, in August 1600 Hudson was replaced for a time by James Hamilton, the explanation more probably lay in the immediate political situation. For Hudson was not discredited. He was still acting as agent in London about a month after Hamilton had started south, and he was well received when he came up to Scotland immediately afterwards, even although the drinking glasses which he brought as a present to Queen Anne were all broken in transit (716). On Hamilton's recall he returned to London where he continued to act as agent until James succeeded to the English throne.

As agent Hudson performed various duties. He bought horses for the King (838, 1021–2) ; he became personally involved on the King's behalf with moneylenders and pawnbrokers (211) ;

[1] *H.M.C., Cecil* IX, 135–6.

[2] *Ibid.*, XII, 252.

[3] He had entered James's service as a musician. (*C.S.P.*, VI, 430.)

[4] Misdated as June.

he assisted Scots who needed help or wanted favours in England ; and he put himself at the disposal of Scottish ambassadors and emissaries who came to London, arranging audiences and sometimes entertaining them in his own house (*cf.* 535, 789, 883). Hudson kept himself very well informed upon Scottish affairs, and his several visits to Scotland were perhaps not all dictated by his duties as agent for James. In addition to corresponding frequently with Aston, who was hand-in-glove with Nicolson, he also acted as intelligencer for Cecil. We do not possess the reports he sent to his own government, but the correspondence published in this volume would suggest that he acted as much for England as for Scotland, and he communicated to Cecil or to the Queen herself the substance of the instructions carried by the various ambassadors, sometimes before they themselves had presented their credentials (225, 305, 308, 316, 535). Thus not only did he report critically on the political situation in Scotland in the summer of 1601 when the 'Popish party' with the support of Queen Anne was believed to be gaining ascendancy, but he even dared to relay information regarding the political manoeuvres of the Scottish Queen and her relations with her husband.[1] In December 1601 he informed Cecil in somewhat obscure terms of a plot, which he took seriously, concocted by Queen Anne, the Master of Gray and perhaps the ladies of the house of Ruthven against the King's person and the lives of his ministers (1091–2).

But while he gave intelligence to England, it must be said that he was a steady supporter of the amity and that his actions in promoting good relations between the two kingdoms did not prejudice Scotland. He did his very best to bring Cecil into that close understanding with Mar which paved the way to the secret correspondence between the English Secretary and the Scottish King. Archibald Douglas knew or suspected that he gave intelligence to Cecil and said that he was "known a taking man" (919), but from the correspondence here presented he does not appear to have been particularly self-seeking though he did not hesitate to put in a good word for his allies Aston and Nicolson. After his accession James rewarded him by making him Master of St. Cross near Winchester, which being a layman he soon disposed of for "some reasonable consideration."[2]

Throughout his life James was fond of sending ambassadors—if only to emphasise his importance as sovereign of an independent state—and besides keeping a resident agent in London he maintained communication with the English court by the dispatch of special envoys from time to time. Some of those sent

[1] See p. xlii.

[2] G. Goodman, *The Court of King James the First* (J. S. Brewer (ed.), London, 1839), I, 14.

to London were charged merely with the duty of receiving instalments of the gratuity. For example, in September 1597 Lindsay of Balcarres accredited the merchant Robert Jowsie both to Burleigh and Cecil, and James recommended him to the latter as " being directed by us to receive that ordinary annuity bestowed on us by our dearest sister and cousin the Queen your sovereign " (83–4, 92). But in this case as in others the assumption that the pension would be paid automatically proved vain. Other envoys had diplomatic business to transact as well, although in every case the collection of the gratuity was a major part of their task.

Apart from the visits of accredited envoys merely to receive the gratuity there were four major diplomatic missions to London in the years covered by the present volume. When James's rash words in the Parliament of December 1597 coincided with the restoration of the Roman Catholic earls and the reception of James McSorley,[1] he sent down in March 1598 as his ambassador Edward Bruce, Commendator of Kinloss. Kinloss was a supporter of Mar and therefore a representative of the traditional party of Protestant anglophiles. His instructions were to satisfy the Queen's grievances and to procure certainty as to the gratuity regarding both amount and dates of payment (170).[2] The outcome of his audience with the Queen, wherein he excused James's hasty speeches, was a monitory letter from that princess to his master and after a fortnight's delay a payment of £3,000 only, and that accompanied by disagreeable comments to the effect that the delay in payment was due to the King's unkind speeches and attitude towards the Borders and Ireland (195–9). James had been given to understand that Bruce would arrive with £6,000 and when the latter appeared with only £3,000 he was furious and later went so far as to say that he believed the ambassador " had some chain of her Majesty for his fee " (203, 209, 213).

In August 1598 another ambassador was sent down in the person of David Foulis. Though Sir William Bowes thought him an insignificant person to be an ambassador,[3] Foulis was at home in the world of affairs, being kinsman to the Secretary Elphinstone. The general object of this mission was to see that the affair of Valentine Thomas was settled according to James's wish, but Foulis seems also, as a sweetener, to have reported to Elizabeth Tyrone's offers to James and James's proclamation against the supply of arms to the Irish rebels (245, 316–7). He further hoped

[1] See p. xii.

[2] From English evidence it seems that he asked for £9,000, or perhaps £8,000, *i.e.* two years at the rate of £4,000 a year (183, 197).

[3] *H.M.C. Cecil*, VIII, 315–6.

for an increase of £1,000 in the gratuity (366). Before he set off an affray occurred on the Borders which put into the hands of the King of Scots a diplomatic card which he was prompt to play and which enabled him to give a counter for Elizabeth's earlier insistence about Buccleuch and Cessford.[1] Foulis had close relations with Essex and at this date seems to have been hostile to Nicolson as a representative of the Cecil faction. But his conduct in London was regarded favourably by Cecil, by the Queen herself and by Hudson (336–7, 364–8, 398). Yet when after prolonged negotiations he returned to Edinburgh in mid-January 1599 not only was he vigorously attacked by his kinsman the Secretary for returning with so incomplete a vindication on the Valentine Thomas matter[2] but he was also charged with using the money from the gratuity to pay his brother's debts (386–7, 398, 409). Although he had in fact got a second payment of £3,000 for the year 1598 James elected ostensibly at least to regard his mission as a complete failure.

In August 1599 James dispatched James Sempill of Beltries. He was the son of John Sempill (called ' the dancer ') and Mary Livingstone, " the King's mother's servants both " (425), and had himself married a sister of Sir George Elphinstone of Blythswood. Though he had no training in diplomacy he was a polite well-educated youth who had helped the King in writing his poetry and the *Basilikon Doron*. By his descent he would seem to be inclined to Catholicism and to represent the party opposed to Mar and the traditional anglophiles. He was moreover appointed at the instance of the ' cubicular courtiers ' among whom Cessford was gaining influence, and he was understood to be under the patronage of his kinsman the Secretary (425, 524, 528, 535–6). Yet it must be noted that Elphinstone's policy was not at that time anti-English, and Beltries during his mission certainly did nothing to prejudice Anglo–Scottish friendship.

His letter of credit (524, 527) mentioned only the Ashfield affair[3] but Nicolson stated that he was also instructed to deal with the gratuity and the Border troubles as well as to satisfy the Queen regarding James's dealings with Ireland and France (528). Hudson sardonically thought that the gratuity was his " grand work " and he would seem to be correct (536). From his first arrival in London Beltries was invariably at pains to cultivate the English Secretary. Nevertheless his embassy was protracted and difficult. On the Scottish side the situation was

[1] See pp. xlviii–xlix.

[2] See pp. xii–xiii. Cecil told Nicolson not to forestall Foulis's report by disclosing the result of his mission (367).

[3] See pp. xx–xxi.

complicated by rumours that John Colville was entertained by Cecil with a large allowance (555), that Arbella was to marry Archduke Matthias, and that the titular Lord Beauchamp, the senior representative of Henry VII's younger daughter Mary, was to come to court (587). The Queen for her part was complaining about the immunity enjoyed by the Dunkirkers in Scotland and about the printing there of a book by Peter Wentworth on the succession (583, 587). Yet Beltries did his work with polite efficiency, furthering the interests of Scotsmen in London, complimenting the English government and faring well at his interviews with the Queen (558, 568, 586). At last after a five month stay Beltries received £3,000 and left for Scotland at the end of February 1600 (743). But once more a returned ambassador was given a poor reception by the King, to whom he delivered what may have been a stiff letter from Elizabeth, and his enemies hinted that he had done nothing for the good of Scotland during his mission (630, 632). These last were unaware of course that Beltries's professions of obligation to Cecil were not mere politeness and that by now he had become a pensioner of the English government to whom he furnished intelligence,[1] though it is fair to say that he steadily promoted the amity.

The next Scottish representative in London was James Hamilton. Although James described him to Cecil as "a remaining agent" (675) replacing Hudson, his mission appears to have had an *ad hoc* character. Hamilton along with his friend Fullerton had kept a school in Dublin[2] and it seems likely that he was sent to London with a view to concerting measures with Essex, whom he may have known in Ireland. Certainly he was reported to have accused Cecil of being "a practiser for the Infanta" (712) and James in a letter to him was at pains to emphasise his own Protestantism (760). However, the long letter in which Hamilton described Essex's venture to Fullerton shows him as a close observer rather than a participant, and his recall had been decided upon before news of it reached Scotland (769).[3] Later he too passed into the Cecilian camp and was alleged to have come on the English payroll (767, 782). With James's accession to the English throne he was knighted and later advanced to be Viscount Clandeboye.

The last of the four major embassies sent to England was that undertaken by Mar and Kinloss in February–May 1601, to which reference has already been made.[4] That this was meant to

[1] See p. xxvii.

[2] Richard Douglas described him in contemptuous terms as "schoolmaster in the country" (*H.M.C. Cecil*, X, 266), while Archibald Douglas dismissed him as a "petit pydagog" (918).

[3] T. K. Lowry (ed.), *The Hamilton Manuscripts* (Belfast, 1867), 5–7.

[4] See pp. xiv–xvii.

be particularly impressive appears from the facts that its leader was one of the first noblemen in Scotland, that he took a retinue which demanded a particularly grand house (776)[1] and that the envoys borrowed so much money as to suggest a long stay (773). The original aim of this embassy was to secure a formal recognition of James's title to succeed Elizabeth, together with acceptance of his claim to the Lennox lands in England and an increase of the gratuity (766, 768–70, 785). But the embassy, begun on the basis of an alliance with Essex, ended very differently in the decisive *entente* between James and Cecil.

This was to be the last major diplomatic mission from Scotland to London prior to the Union of the Crowns. However, the great secrecy with which the understanding between Cecil and Mar was concealed produced two notable results. The position of Mar was shaken, since his mission seemed to have been a failure apart from the increase of the gratuity (822), and his rivals made renewed efforts to unseat him. Mar and his friends knew that formal embassies to England were no longer necessary and did not wish to be embarrassed by the intervention of diplomatists who were not in the secret. They felt that small men like Foulis and Aston should go up to receive the gratuities at appointed dates. But since the real achievement of Mar's embassy could not be proclaimed, his opponents thought they saw a chance to outdo him at the English court and to establish themselves in the position of confidence with Cecil which Mar had already won unknown to them.

The principal agent behind these moves was the Master of Gray. For a time he hoped to play the part of intermediary himself, but Cecil repudiated this suggestion as contrary to his principles (972–4). Failing in this, Gray seems to have acted as the brains of a coalition of Mar's enemies. This coalition had the support of Queen Anne and was fronted by the Duke of Lennox, whose kinship with the King and family connections with Scottish nobles seemed to entitle him to play a great part in affairs, especially as he was liked by his royal master. Lennox visited London on his return from his French embassy in 1602; but he had no real business to transact and his attempts to progress beyond empty compliments were discouraged by Cecil (965). In April of that year James Hamilton was sent down to London as the emissary of this group (966–71). He carried letters from Lennox and Beltries to Cecil as well as a kind message from the Queen to the English Secretary (974–6).[2]

He was to suggest that James be given the Garter at the

[1] Foulis asked for Baynard's Castle; they were offered instead Crosby Place in Bishopgate Street (*H.M.C. Cecil*, XI, 88).

[2] For Cecil's reply see *ibid.*, XII, 367–8.

request of Lennox (970) and no doubt hoped to realise Gray's assertion that it was an easy matter to get the pension out of England doubled or trebled (769). The history of this episode illustrates the somewhat comical situation which prevailed. Without disclosing his relationship with Cecil, James could not veto the mission altogether; but he stayed aloof, saying that Hamilton had no errand and that his friends in England had asked him not to send fresh envoys unless some new matter turned up (969–70). He refused even to give Hamilton a commission to ask for post horses at Berwick.[1] During Hamilton's stay in London the King completely ignored him, doing what business he had through the agency of Hudson and Aston. Cecil does not seem to have replied directly to Lennox's letters. He merely sent some notes upon them (full of empty courtesies) to Beltries by way of Nicolson, and Hamilton's mission petered out in complete futility (993–4).[2]

Scottish Affairs

These documents naturally contain many references to the domestic affairs of Scotland and events such as the Gowrie conspiracy are fully reported.[3] On the Borders the internal affairs of both countries had an immediate bearing on the problem of keeping the peace along a common frontier. Similarly the clan feuds of the south western Highlands were of direct significance across the North Channel in Ulster. But it must be borne in mind that the English representatives in Scotland were mainly interested in matters which might affect the fortunes of England. They were not concerned with the background of the events which they reported.[4] The result is that there are gaps in the information presented. Certain aspects of Scottish affairs receive disproportionate space, others of equal importance historically are ignored altogether. Moreover, the merits of the actors in the drama are appraised in a manner not always consistent with other evidence.

The English representatives, too, tended to think of Scotland

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[1] *Ibid.*, XII, 124.

[2] *Ibid.*, XII, 675.

[3] The present volume contains two full accounts of the events of 5th August 1600 (693–700) and numerous other references of importance. All these references have been fully used by recent historians and the most important have already been printed. (*Cf.* in particular, Andrew Lang, *James VI and the Gowrie Mystery* (London, 1902); and W. F. Arbuckle, 'The Gowrie Conspiracy,' *S.H.R.* XXXVI, 1–24, 89–110.)

[4] References are made to the plague in 1597, 1598 and in the winter of 1601–2 because such visitations interfered with royal progresses or interrupted the machinery of government.

in terms of a past age. In particular the Bowes with their strong Puritan affinities and their memories of the political struggles of earlier decades still thought of Scottish politics as consisting of an anglophile Protestant party contrasted to and opposed by a Roman Catholic party which looked for support to France and Spain. This view was shared to some extent at least by the English government; yet it ignored the changed balance of forces in Europe, the imminent prospect of a union of the English and Scottish crowns in terms of hereditary right, and above all the fact that James was now an adult and able ruler in full control of Scottish policy. Thus Nicolson, brought up in the Bowes tradition, repeatedly writes of 'the Chamber' as if it were a political party opposed to the traditional anglophiles. But in fact the 'cubiculars' (courtiers) of Calderwood did not form a coherent party nor were they uniform in their religious sympathies, any more than the Octavians had been before them. They included 'Protestants' like Home of Spott as well as 'Papists' like Thomas Hamilton. In so far as 'the Chamber' represented anything it was an expression of James's personal rule and of the rise in power of the new class of professional administrators who were to be the chosen agents of that rule in preference to the older nobility. Alike by temperament as by policy James was tolerant of religious opinions. He had no scruples of conscience about employing as his servants men like Thomas Hamilton or James Elphinstone who were inclined to Catholicism by family connections or personal conviction. Moreover he was cautiously reluctant to alienate Catholic opinion in England and on the Continent; and in this sense the 'Papist' policies of 'the Chamber' were like 'the Chamber' itself an expression of royal policy. In somewhat similar fashion the the English representatives and their government misunderstood the restoration of the three Catholic earls in 1598. This was another outcome of James's policy of tolerance and caution, but it was also an expression of his personal liking for the three earls and for Huntly in particular; so far from being a symbol of royal weakness it was in fact a product of royal self-confidence.

In spite of these basic misunderstandings a distinct picture of James's character and personality emerges from these pages. He had a high concept of royal dignity which he set forth in the *Basilikon Doron* and exemplified by much of his policy. He did not hesitate to tell his Parliament that he was "the mouth of the law" (135). Knowing his title to be questioned, he was merciless to those who impugned it (*cf.* 814); his cruelty in such cases contrasts with the easy tolerance that marked much of his policy. Yet despite his high claims of majesty he displayed in ordinary circumstances an easy familiarity not only to his own

people but even to Nicolson. He found time to attend weddings and feasts at the houses of his nobles and on at least one occasion spent the night at a citizen's house in the Canongate (1026).[1] He was far from being the comic weakling of legend. Constantly in the saddle, he allowed nothing to interfere with his hunting. But he did not ignore the affairs of state. In fact his physical activity is here equally apparent. He rides to the Borders, attends Parliaments and General Assemblies. Moreover, the correspondence here printed brings out clearly the extent of the influence which he personally exercised. Time and again the success of the King's policies is attributed to his direct intervention. The establishment of the bishops in the Kirk is regarded as his own victory—" if the King had not gone the ministers would have prevailed " (171). It was his effort which made Montrose Chancellor (373) and his efforts, patiently continued, which at last reconciled the quarrels of his nobles (*cf.* 1023). Both Aston and Nicolson remarked upon the good intelligence which he had by means unknown to them (218, 347). In dealing with the English government he was careful to maintain his dignity and status as an independent sovereign and, as the Valentine Thomas case shows, he was prepared to defy Elizabeth courageously when he considered it to be necessary. With all his shortcomings and comicalities James knew himself to be a king and behaved like one in the essentials of his office. His achievements are the more remarkable since he controlled no established armed force.[2] Not only was the King's striking power limited but even within his own gates he was insecure. The palaces of Holyroodhouse and Linlithgow were in very bad repair (622–3)[3] and sometimes the " dangerous passages for coming near the King's chamber " were to be closed up (779, 1096). James was anxious to have a guard (584, 623, 1096), which after the Gowrie episode he proposed to establish out of the ' living ' of the dead earl (682), but the cost was found to be prohibitive and the King had to depend on his domestic servants whom he armed as best he could (228, 353, 630, 638).[4] Nor was his rule an uncontrolled despotism. When in 1599 he sought to deprive Robert Bruce of his salary the Court of Session led by Lord President Fyvie and the Treasurer

[1] Something of the contradictions in his character may appear from his proceedings against witches (73, 78), with the use or threat of judicial torture (690, 1108), and his passport certifying that one Kennedy was a " gowse " (1002).

[2] It was only after 1603 that the crown could establish the small force of mounted police which was to be so successful under Sir William Cranston.

[3] Dunfermline too was in a bad condition. Aston fell outside the Queen's chamber at a spot where a nobleman had already broken his neck and dashed out his brains (960).

[4] Hence James's anxiety when a cargo of muskets destined for his household was seized by the customs at Hull (533, 541, 543, 546, 562, 643, 647, 660).

Blantyre decided against the King, although he " came in person to the Tolbooth and persuaded the voting against Mr. Robert and in effect commanded it " (427).

No such clear picture emerges of the character or policy of James's Queen. There are numerous references to her and to her activities, but the most interesting are so obscurely phrased as to defy anything more than speculation. Two consistent threads do indeed emerge in her policy. First and foremost she desired the custody of her eldest son. Maternal feelings apart, this would entitle her to a financial allowance and would enable her to control his religious upbringing. Her consequent feud with Mar represents one of the few fixed factors in the pattern of Scottish political groupings. Secondly, she had never taken kindly to the Calvinistic discipline and at least by 1600 was a convert to Rome. The extent of her commitment to the Roman Catholic cause is clear in these pages (*cf.* 1144–52).

These tendencies were noted by the English agents, for she made no secret of her patronage of such men as Constable and Wood of Bonnington or of her friendship for Lady Huntly and Lady Livingstone. Yet even here there are signs of the *inconstancia* which was later to be noted by Rome. At the very period when she was addressing the letter to Cardinal Borghese here printed (850), she had constituted herself the champion not only of the Protestant Ruthvens, but even of the disgraced Presbyterian minister, Robert Bruce (852). Her prolonged negotiations with the Papacy seem to have been a symptom as much of a passion for intrigue for its own sake as of genuine religious conviction. Acting sometimes in concert with the Master of Gray, she dabbled in Scottish politics and even corresponded with Cecil who received her overtures with characteristic caution.[1] Nicolson believed her to be in touch with the Archduke Albert (728), and by loose talk she may have given the impression of even wider intrigue (*cf.* 465, 1017). But Nicolson's report in July 1602 that " 17 [Queen Anne] has a very high enterprise in hand " (1029) and Hudson's still more startling statement of five months later that " that violent person upon whom the Master of Gray depends has lately been in an action, interpreted against the King's person (if not against his life) and against the lives of some of his most trusty councillors and servants " (1091, *cf.* 1049)[2] must remain essentially without explanation apart from the well-known facts that she sympathised with the Ruthvens and countenanced the activities of Gowrie's sisters in Scotland and England.

To Nicolson the actions and intentions of the King and his

[1] *H.M.C. Cecil*, XII, 367–8. *Cf.* Teulet, IV, 259.

[2] *Cf.* Teulet, IV, 279–82; *Harlay*, II, 103, and Winwood I, 326.

Queen and the feuds and alliances of the nobles naturally seemed of more importance than governmental machinery. Perhaps, too, because the constitution of Scotland, though it included some elements of French origin, resembled that of England more closely than has sometimes been supposed, he seldom remarked upon the actual machinery of government though he occasionally regretted its inefficiency.[1] Nonetheless his dispatches are of importance to the student of administrative and constitutional history, for he gives much incidental information on the actual conduct of affairs and on the working of the constitution.

Nicolson's attendance on the court brought him into particularly close contact with the Privy Council, regarding whose composition and working his letters furnish some useful illustrations. In general these bear out the accepted evidence of other sources. Thus he makes clear the connection between the Council and the Court of Session—" the Session being broken the Council are all gone abroad " (525)—and this common membership is further illustrated in the long negotiations over Blantyre's demission of the Treasurership to which considerable space is devoted because Blantyre was regarded as a proved friend of England (426 *et seq.*). Similarly many references make clear the control exercised by the Council over Conventions and Parliaments by fixing in advance not only their date of meeting but also their agenda (117, 228, 354, 642). The composition of the Council was, of course, of interest to him in as much as it reflected the changes of political power in Scotland, and he sometimes gives the background information which explains changes recorded in the sederunts (*cf.* 779). He also records various attempts at reform. The ' resident ' Council (228, *cf.* 7, 43) and provisions regarding procedure (352) were obviously designed for greater efficiency. But the ' Council assistant ' of great earls and lords (167) would seem to have been designed to arrest the inevitable process whereby power was passing from the old nobility to the rising element of middle class officials (*cf.* 215, 353, 585). Nicolson was frequently informed by councillors of the proceedings and he was therefore able to give some account of the unrecorded arguments and debates that lie behind the formalities of the Register.

Our text also contains some significant material concerning the Convention of Estates which at this period was passing through a transitional phase. It was ceasing to be merely an afforced Privy Council and approximating in size and personnel to Parliament. Several references, however, serve to remind us that this process

[1] " The General State of the Commonwealth of Scotland " (1115–20) is, so far as it goes, fairly correct as to its facts, although it seems to embody some of the ideas of George Buchanan. It may have been compiled by Colville.

was just beginning, and that Conventions of Estates still retained much of their old character. Thus the distinction between Council and Convention was not always apparent even to so well informed an observer as Robert Bowes (95, 99, 117). Conventions also retained a considerable degree of informality about their membership and times of meeting. They did not always meet at the appointed time and some were thinly attended (322)—so thinly that it was necessary to postpone business to a later meeting. Thus the meeting of the Convention of December 1599 to vote money to support the King's title to England was 'continued' and postponed again and again, and when at last it did meet in June business still could not be begun owing to the small attendance (583–4, 613, 635, 659).

As with the Council, Nicolson tells of various attempts to improve the machinery of the Convention of Estates. In 1598 a proposal was made to establish regular half-yearly meetings in June and December at which the attendance of the nobility was to be enforced by a penalty (322). This had the support of the Lord President and the Secretary but it was rejected owing to the influence of Mar who claimed that such Conventions would in practice be equivalent to Parliaments proper (353). It seems that for the Convention in Perth in March 1600 an arrangement was made to entrust business to a small committee not unlike the 'Articles' in Parliament. The King, however, afforced this committee with the officers of state and others in order to secure a satisfactory vote (634).

As regards the Conventions of Estates and the two Parliaments which met during this period Nicolson furnishes much interesting detail of the discussions which took place and the attendant ceremonies. In fact he reports several meetings of Conventions whose proceedings are not recorded elsewhere. Thus he gives a full account of the Convention of June 1600 where the Estates, led by Lord President Fyvie, Gowrie and certain of the barons, resisted the King's demand for a tax and the King in anger threatened to deprive the barons of their vote and place in Parliament (661–4); and he alone records that the Convention of February 1601 granted the King 10,000 merks sterling (773).

Of the domestic issues which invited the attention of Nicolson, this question of finance was one of the most persistent. The Scottish government was in constant need of money; like other governments of the period it had to meet the growing expenses of administration with old-fashioned machinery, and unlike some of them its position was not eased by an expanding national economy. Every financial officer found that he was 'super-expended' and had the greatest difficulty in recovering what was due to him when he quitted his post (428, 450, 673). Nonetheless,

perhaps because they carried prestige and perquisites, the offices were in great demand.[1] But characteristically it was these permutations among the financial officers[2] which were of principal interest to Nicolson, who regarded all changes in the Scottish administration in terms of the amity with England. Thus he records with displeasure the long series of attacks upon Blantyre, a proven friend of England and he was alarmed when in April 1599 the Treasurership went to Alexander Elphinstone, the brother of the suspect Secretary. He notes with approval, however, the rise to power of the anglophile Home of Spott who succeeded Elphinstone as Treasurer in October 1601.

The documents here presented give many instances both of the financial straits to which the Scottish government was reduced and, at the same time, of governmental extravagance. Thus the King was constrained from time to time to sell or pawn some of his jewels (211), or to make arrangements with merchants like Thomas Foulis and Robert Jowsie (119) to whom he owed over £160,000 in 1598.[3] Yet he bought others and spent on the entertainment of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein, a large part of the parliamentary grant of 1597 (215, 217). But the information here recorded about finance, as with other aspects of Scottish affairs, is highly selective. No doubt because the King's violent speech was the occasion for a diplomatic conflict with Elizabeth, Nicolson records the tax of 200,000 merks voted in the Parliament of 1597 (136, 140), but he makes no reference to the interesting financial reforms which accompanied this taxation in a serious attempt to prevent the misuse of money gathered. Nevertheless Nicolson's information about the Scottish

[1] The outstanding example of this is the brief tenure of the Treasurership by the Earl of Cassillis in 1599, inspired by his wife's desire " to stay at court and have her husband a ruler of affaires " (Spottiswoode, III, 78–9). The present text generally corroborates the account of this episode given by Spottiswoode and in the Register of the Privy Council, and adds some interesting details. Thus Cassillis's change of heart is explained by his having heard of the King's statement that " his wife's purse should be open for her rose nobles " (444). On the other hand, Nicolson's detailed account of the meeting of the Council on 17th April 1599 (450) differs substantially from that given in the Register (*Reg. P.C. of Scotland*, V, 549–50).

[2] These officers were four in number—the Treasurer, the Comptroller, the Collector General of the Superplus of the Thirds of Benefices, and the Treasurer of the New Augmentation (*i.e.* the kirklands annexed under the Act of 1587). The last two offices were invariably held by the same individual and at times other offices were also combined, Walter Stewart, Prior of Blantyre, in fact holding all four at the commencement of our period. In January 1596 a commission of eight—the Octavians—was given a general supervision over all these financial offices. Later commissions added additional members but the original eight commissioners remained as a constant element in all these and the commissions as a whole continued to be loosely termed ' the Octavians.' The last of these commissions is printed in the present volume (144–5). This commission was discharged by an act of the Convention of Estates in June 1598, which laid down that such supervisory commissions should cease and that the financial officers should henceforth " tak the burding of thair offices . . . upoun tham selfis . . . ." Commissions of Exchequer were to be appointed annually thereafter but for audit purposes only. (Cf. *Reg. P.C. of Scotland*, V, 254–7, 336–8, 357; *Acts of Parl. Scotland*, IV, 107, 165; Scottish Record Office, Court of Session, Books of Sederunt, IV, ii, 216*v*, 217*v*–219*r*.)

[3] *Acts of Parl. Scotland*, IV, 166–8.

finances, if selective, does serve to show why the gratuity plays so great a part in Anglo-Scottish relations.

The Borders

The vast number of documents dealing with Border affairs bespeaks the anxiety of the English government about its northern frontier,[1] where restless spirits made patriotism the excuse for mutual raids actuated by local ambition, old-standing feuds,[2] and a genuine love of adventure. The romance with which Sir Walter Scott has mantled Border warfare must not conceal the fact that it was sometimes savage, though it may be concluded that actual slaughter was not always involved in armed robbery. As centralised government gained force in each country efforts were made to quell the disorders. These efforts were less effective because it was in the wild country on both sides of the line that Roman Catholic influence still survived, and because both countries relied to a great extent on the Border chiefs and their riders to protect the frontier.

In the course of centuries an organized system had been evolved. In England the frontier was divided into three marches each under a warden. The East March, based upon Berwick with its garrison of professional soldiers, was much the strongest and the Middle March seems to have been regarded as dependent on it. The West March, centred upon Carlisle, was the smallest and the position there was complicated by the existence of the Debatable Land about the River Esk, held in the south by Grahams who relied upon England and in the north by Armstrongs who leaned upon Scotland. As the Tudor power gained force, and especially after the ' Rising of the Earls ' in 1569, the crown had begun to replace the Border nobles by its own nominees such as the Careys and Lord Willoughby who was Warden of the East March and Governor of Berwick from 1598 to 1601. Nonetheless the old influences died hard. From 1595 to 1598 the third Lord Eure was Warden of the Middle March ; as for the West March it had been since 1563 in the hands of the Scropes of Bolton. From 1593 Thomas, tenth Lord Scrope was Warden and it is plain from his correspondence that, relying on his family position, he exhibited a certain amount of independence towards the representatives of the central govern-

[1] The exaggerated fear of the English government regarding an attack on Berwick—inspired no doubt by Buccleuch's exploit at Carlisle—was a subject of ridicule by James VI (*cf.* 102–3, 205, 227).

[2] Border memories were evidently long. When the Armstrongs, claiming to be Essex's cousins, threatened to avenge his death, they said that they " would go to Stanemore " (814), which was reckoned the southern limit of the Scottish King's dominions towards the end of the eleventh century.

ment. In accordance with established practice the government from time to time appointed special commissioners to deal with Border affairs, and relations between them and the wardens were not always cordial (2, 14–15, 28–29).

If the arrangements of England for the protection of the Border were thus complicated by the persistence of family influence, those of Scotland were even more governed by old tradition. Scotland too had three marches and three wardens, but though many ' keeps ' were fortified the defence of the Scottish marches rested less upon fortresses than upon the power of local families. During the second half of the sixteenth century the East March had as warden an unbroken succession of Homes, and the Middle March an unbroken succession of Kers. The strength of the Kers, however, was limited by two factors : the supremacy of the house of Cessford was sometimes challenged by the rival branch of Ferniehirst, and at the western end of their march the Keeper of Liddesdale, at this time Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, wielded an authority which was wellnigh independent. In the West March there was no clear succession. During the period covered by this volume the office of warden was held at different times by representatives of the families of Johnstone, Herries, Douglas, Stewart of Ochiltree, and Carmichael.

Border administration rested partly on the provisions of formal treaties, partly on regulations made by former commissions, and partly also on established custom supposedly known to the wardens and, sometimes at least, preserved in writing by their clerks.[1] Such peace as the wardens could maintain was interrupted by ' incidents.' Conspicuous among these was the rescue of ' Kinmont Willie ' from Carlisle Castle by Buccleuch in April 1596, which aroused great feeling in England. Largely no doubt as a consequence of this daring venture, the English government had decided to regulate matters once and for all, and in October 1596 had appointed a commission to meet with Scottish commissioners to punish past misdemeanours and to provide for good order in future.[2] On 5th May 1597 the commissioners made a formal treaty which was in the main an attempt to reinforce established practice.[3] A sanction, however, was now found in an exchange of pledges from each march, the pledges from one country to be named by the officers of the other, and the exchange to take place at a regular ' day of law ' whereat, in accordance with custom, both sides could appear in peace.

[1] The best summary of Border law is to be found in a compilation made by Lord Scrope's clerk, Richard Bell (*cf.* 957, 1058 ; D. L. W. Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier* (Oxford, 1928), xviii–xx).

[2] *C.S.P.*, XII, 335 *et seq.*

[3] *Border Papers*, II, 316–7.

Despite the good intentions of the treaty-makers the omens for a settlement were ill. Already while the commissioners were sitting each side attacked the other; and at one time the English ambassador had instructions to break off the negotiations. The earlier portion of the present volume is very largely concerned with the working out of this uneasy situation, made worse as it was by rivalries between the English commissioners and the resident wardens, and by the failure of the Scottish government to control the actions of its own local representatives. Through Sir William and Robert Bowes, the English made reiterated demands for the surrender of Buccleuch and Cessford which they obviously regarded as a point of honour. Though the King himself was genuinely desirous of a settlement the Scots pursued delaying tactics, embarrassing the English by demanding pledges whom they knew could not be handed over—garrison men from Berwick and a known fugitive from the West March (3, 20). Pledges were not produced at the appointed time at Norham on 25th June, and the meeting of 8th October broke up in a fracas (32–8, 40–1, 98–100). In the end first Buccleuch (98), and later Cessford (163), surrendered themselves into English custody and were released fairly soon on the delivery of their pledges. Both were leniently treated, though Buccleuch had to sell his plate to pay his expenses in Berwick (163), and both seem to have been on good terms with their custodians. The friendly relationship they established with Willoughby and the Careys was a considerable factor towards Border peace and it was perhaps helped by the fact that Buccleuch and Cessford were also at odds one with another (135, 142).

The East and Middle Marches from thenceforth were generally peaceful. There were as usual raids by both sides, but with one exception these did not affect the diplomatic peace between Scotland and England. The exception occurred in August 1598 when a party of Scots exercised the liberty of hunting on the English side of the Border which they enjoyed as a matter of courtesy. Sir Robert Carey considered the privilege to have been abused and on his orders his deputies set on the Scots, inflicted several casualties and took a number of prisoners (252 *et seq.*).[1] The assault apparently took place on Scottish soil and was carried out by paid English troops under the command of the Queen's officers. The real importance of this incident was that James used it to strengthen his hand in diplomatic negotiations on matters quite unconnected with the Borders—the gratuity, Valentine Thomas, the Ashfield affair. In particular, with the precedent of

[1] Carey, *Memoirs*, 113–4. Carey claimed to have twice sent warnings to his opposite warden, Ker of Ferniehirst, of the action he proposed to take if the Scots continued to exercise their privilege without first asking his leave.

Buccleuch and Cessford in mind, he demanded the personal surrender of the offending English deputies. Long diplomatic negotiations took place concerning the method by which the rights and wrongs of the incident could be determined and the offenders punished. Fenwick and Woodrington, the deputies, were in fact warded for a time in England ; but after serving its purpose as a debating counter ' the Hunting Accident ' quietly faded out of the picture. Thereafter, in the main, order was maintained in the Middle and East Marches, largely owing to the better understanding between the opposing wardens.

While the general situation thus improved spasmodic trouble still occurred on the West March. Reference has already been made to the difficulties caused by the existence of the Debatable Lands and the survival of strong Roman Catholic influence in this area. These difficulties were heightened by the character of Lord Scrope, the English warden. He seems to have regarded the Scots as beings of an inferior race,[1] and his overweening attitude was copied by certain of his supporters. Though he was upright and free from bribery he was apt to treat his own government in a cavalier manner, absenting himself on his own affairs and leaving unsatisfactory subordinates in charge (92–3). Moreover, his family background as a Border lord caused him to retain the political attitudes and prejudices of earlier generations. He was incapable of appreciating that in the diplomatic climate of 1601 Scotland could no longer be regarded as of old as a foreign and hostile country. On the Scottish side of the line the situation was complicated by the frequent changes in the office of warden and by the political and religious rivalries which divided the principal Scottish families in the west. Angus, for example, who became Lieutenant of the West March in July 1598 (229), was a Roman Catholic, as were Herries and Maxwell, and the ' Papists ' enjoyed during his ascendancy a freedom which sometimes compelled the government to interfere. On the other hand the laird of Johnstone was admired by Nicolson as " stout " and " well friended," upheld the Protestant cause, and found an ally in Buccleuch and, at long range, Lennox. James on his part was most anxious to maintain peace and good order and he realised that the only way to achieve this was by co-operation between the wardens. His favourite scheme was that each country should appoint a single lieutenant with full authority over the entire Border. This did not commend itself to the English government, but James appointed as the last two wardens of the Scottish West March two men who were known for their Protestantism and goodwill towards England—Sir John Carmichael (554) and,

[1] *Border Papers*, II, 181, 394. *Cf.* Scrope's determination to hang Rob Graham (1068–70 1075).

shortly after his murder by some Armstrongs (658), Sir James Johnstone. He urged his officers not only to conform to the established proprieties of the Border but even to allow the opposite wardens to take notorious offenders on Scottish soil (796).[1] In 1602 he twice visited the West March in person. Nicolson shared his views and upheld them with considerable independence both to Cecil and to the English warden. Scrope, however, was reluctant to co-operate and almost to the end of our period a series of English raids carried out under the direct authority of the Queen's warden produced infuriated protests from James, supported by Nicolson (*cf.* 909–10, 1087–8). Cecil on his part was at first reluctant to break the established tradition whereby the Queen gave support to the action of her local officers ; but in the end, knowing, as Scrope could not, of James's inevitable and approaching succession to the throne, he too threw his weight on the side of peace. Scrope received a severe rebuke[2] and emollient letters were written by Elizabeth to James (1097).[3]

There remains an unpleasant footnote to Border history which illustrates the almost complete indifference of those in authority to human suffering, namely the question of the pledges handed over after the settlement of 1598. The English pledges had been released on surety at least before December 1599 (583). But in general they and their friends were men of more substance than their Scottish counterparts, and in better standing with the authorities at home. A long delay occurred before surety could be arranged for the Scottish pledges and even then they were not released because they were unable to meet the charges of their detention at York (858–9, 952–4).[4] Some escaped, others died ; and at least as late as September 1602 the remainder continued in captivity under the worst conditions at York and Berwick (1045).

The Kirk and the Catholics

It is no matter for surprise that while other aspects of Scottish affairs are inadequately covered a disproportionate amount of the correspondence between the English government and its representatives in Scotland should be concerned with the question of religion. For the affairs of the Kirk bulk large in the diplomatic history of an age when politics and religion were closely intertwined. The effort of the counter-reformation, the continuing

[1] *H.M.C. Cecil*, XIV, 172.

[2] *Ibid.*, XII, 529.

[3] *Ibid.*, XII, 599–601.

[4] *Border Papers*, II, 591–5, 782 ; *H.M.C. Cecil*, XI, 275, 379, 382.

ambition of Spain, the uncertainties about Elizabeth's health—all these things combined to make England view with some apprehension the waning power of the Kirk and a possible growth of Roman Catholic influence in Scotland.

The salient feature in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland during the period covered by this volume was James's effort to make the government of the Kirk approximate to that of England by welding a synthetic episcopate into the existing fabric of the Church. The progress of his design was noted by Nicolson, who mentions the meetings—Parliaments, General Assemblies and Conventions (*cf.* 136–142, 167, 250–1, 629–30, 714) wherein the plan was advanced. Though he does not condescend to add the details supplied by Calderwood, Nicolson corroborates points noted by that historian, which have not always been observed. Thus he remarks on the difference between the Articles presented by the Commissioners on behalf of the Kirk and the legislation actually passed by the Parliament of 1597 (142–3); and again he avers that it was the Council in 1597 and the Convention in 1600 rather than the King who insisted that the clerical representatives should bear the titles of bishops and abbots as of old (139–40, 630).[1] He shows very clearly moreover the skill with which the King covered his actions with the appearance of legality and appeared to be 'temperate' (*cf.* 629, 714).

It was, however, the political side of this development which most concerned the English observers, and they found themselves in something of a dilemma, as indeed did Elizabeth herself.[2] On the one hand the representatives of an episcopalian, almost Erastian, state could not object to the establishment of bishops, though it appeared to Nicolson very much as an expression of James's personal policy (243), nor could they support the claims of the Kirk to defy the King on ecclesiastical matters. Yet to both Robert Bowes and Sir William,[3] and to Nicolson trained in the Bowes tradition, the ministers still represented the traditional core of the anglophile party in Scotland,[4] and this tradition had a special significance at a time when James in his pursuit of the English succession was inclined to cultivate the Roman Catholic powers abroad. "The kirk are sure the best subjects to the

[1] But *cf.* Calderwood, V, 669, where it is suggested that the Estates thought that no honest man would take upon him such titles.

[2] John Bruce (ed.), *Letters of Queen Elizabeth and King James VI* (Camden Society, 1849), 120; *C.S.P.*, XII, 419.

[3] Sir Willliam undoubtedly patronized the puritan party. While ambassador he attended a fast of which the King disapproved (507), and he appears to have been in touch with Robert Bruce.

[4] In the summer of 1597 Robert Bowes attributed the frustration of the scheme of Barclay of Ladyland and other Catholics to seize the island of Ailsa Craig to the "wisdom, courage and good means of Mr. Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, who has performed many great things before to the benefit of religion, both sovereigns and these two realms and who lives presently in good hope to compass effects of more importance" (52–4).

King," wrote Nicolson, " and so had ever been and the best devoted to the amity with us " (374). When Sir William Bowes was sent up in 1599 he was told to speak of " late courses held against the ministers [which] though in some cases we do not excuse their presumption . . . may minister enough to ground opinion that the King is disposed to give strength to the adverse party " (458). Sir William was accordingly formally instructed to see how the anglophile party could be strengthened (461) and he did in fact find allies among the Presbyterians whose " powerful and holy practice of religion " he warmly commended to his government (507).

Nicolson appears to have lacked the religious enthusiasm of the Bowes family. Realising the determination of the King—" the King will have it that the bishops must be " (243)—he accepted the appearance of the bishops without undue lamentation, but the true inwardness of the royal policy seems to have escaped him. He reports only the outward manifestations of religious controversies and has little to say about the fundamental issues underlying them. Thus in the great quarrel of long duration concerning the organisation of the ministry in Edinburgh, which followed the riot of 17th December 1596, Nicolson, though he reported the frequent attempts at compromise, was little concerned with the principles involved and it is only from the pages of Calderwood that one can gather what were the matters which exercised the consciences of the ministers and especially of their leader, Robert Bruce. Thus the minor causes of friction which exacerbated the relations between James and the ministers are carefully reported—the restoration of the Archbishop of Glasgow (240, 243), the royal observance of the Christmas feast (356, 363), the licensing by the King of a company of English players (569–70). So, too, is the aftermath of the Gowrie conspiracy which represents the culmination of the mutual antipathy and mistrust between James and the ministers. For the ministers while willing to praise God for the King's safety were unable to accept the royal version of the affair.[1] But the spiritual authority of the ministry, the spiritual independence of the pulpit and the statutory rights of congregations are nowhere referred to. Similarly Nicolson never seems to have appreciated the significance of the forthright assertion of divine hereditary right in the *Basilikon Doron*, which sets forth so clearly the gulf of principle

[1] The evidence regarding Gowrie's religious views is to some extent conflicting (363, 633, 644). But the two letters relating to him preserved among Beza's correspondence in the Musée Historique de la Reformation at Geneva fully confirm Calderwood's statement that the young earl had won the affection and admiration of the Swiss reformer (Calderwood, VI, 67 ; W. F. Arbuckle, *S.H.R.*, XXXVI, 106, 110). It seems highly probable therefore that Bruce and the ministers had regarded Gowrie as a potential champion against Romanizing encroachments. One of his letters to Beza asks about the possibility of summary excommunication. It is tempting to read a specific significance into this inquiry.

that divided King and Kirk.[1] Nor did he notice the Act of 1600 which made the taking of communion once a year obligatory upon all persons—a significant step towards the assertion of the royal supremacy over the Kirk and James's later liturgical policy.

Like much else, the affairs of the Kirk were affected by the understanding reached between James and Cecil in 1601, for English statesmen no longer envisaged even remotely the use of the Kirk as a political weapon. At the same time the prospect of the succession moderated James in the use he made of his victory. Even in so deeply felt an issue as the Gowrie conspiracy he was careful not to push matters to extremes, and thought severity towards the Kirk unnecessary and unwise. The offending ministers were allowed to return to their houses in January 1601 and most of them resumed their ministries (884, 891). Even the banishment of Bruce was mitigated (926, 1011–2); for with one eye on English opinion James was no more anxious to antagonise Puritans than Catholics. Yet between ministers who felt that they must act and preach as the "word and spirit of truthe" should direct them and the King who would rule all, there could be no complete reconciliation.

Of more immediate concern to Nicolson were the apprehended dangers of a Roman Catholic revival in Scotland, for there were features in the Scottish situation well calculated to alarm English statesmen. The background of these was the rapidly waning power of the Kirk. The new 'synthetic' bishops would obviously support rather than criticise the King and the restoration of old dignities and titles might presage a return to Rome. In the Highlands and in other country districts the nobles had immense power and some of them were 'Papist' in sentiment (436, 461). It was known too that Roman Catholic missionaries were active in several places including the Western Isles, though their activities may have been exaggerated (*cf.* 761). In the north, Huntly was *persona grata* with the King. In the south-west, doubly dangerous because of its proximity to Ireland and to a conservative corner of England, Gilbert Browne,[2] the old Abbot of New Abbey, made his house and its surrounding area a very nest of 'Papists' under the protection of great men such as Maxwell and Herries.

It was not only in the outlying parts of the realm that the nobles showed themselves Roman Catholic. Seton and Livingstone, for example, who had been faithful servants to Queen

[1] As early as November 1598 Nicolson told a remarkable story of the origin of this book (347). By February he had obtained a copy which he at first dared not send to Cecil from Scotland for fear of interception (405). The two lengthy criticisms of the book, here printed (743–8), come from a Scottish intelligencer resident on the Continent.

[2] Sir William Bowes reported that mass was solemnly celebrated at Terregles and characteristically suggested that Browne should be kidnapped (454); but no effective action was taken, even though the King himself came down more than once to Dumfries (*cf.* 915, 926, 958).

Mary, remained in their old beliefs; and when there was so much aristocratic influence on the side of the Roman Catholics it is not surpising to learn that, despite the severity of the law, mass was said in Edinburgh itself, apparently on more than one occasion (*cf.* 754, 794, 940). What added to the English apprehensions was that some of the doubtful nobles found pretexts to go abroad, where their conduct was often ambiguous, or sent their children abroad to be educated. Finally, all this synchronized with the rise to office of men reputedly sympathetic to papistry. Prominent among these were the Secretary, Sir James Elphinstone, Lord President Fyvie and the King's Advocate, Sir Thomas Hamilton, while the three great Catholic earls—Huntly, Angus and Errol—who had been exiled for their share in the rising of 1594, had been reinstated with impressive ceremony in the Parliament of December 1597, to which they came in great strength (128, 131, 134–5).[1]

The apprehensions of the English were increased by the undutiful 'creeping in' of undesirables from their own side of the Border and from continental exile. It is clear that most of them were harmless enough. The most conspicuous was Francis Dacre, titular Lord Dacre of Gilsland, but Nicolson concluded that he was "a plain gentleman without any deep reach" (441), only anxious to be restored in England; and the same is probably true of other English expatriates such as More and Edmund Shute. As for the English Borderers whose visits to Scotland excited suspicion, there is no suggestion that their ventures were actuated by enthusiasm for Roman Catholicism; what Elizabeth disliked was that her subjects were beginning to court the 'rising sun.' In fact the only English visitor whose coming seemed to be of real significance was Edmund Ashfield.[2]

Equally, most of the returning Scots Roman Catholics on whom the English agents reported were less dangerous than they supposed. In October 1598, for example, Nicolson heard that Sir Walter Lindsay "is quietly crept in this country with very large commission to breed new troubles" (320). Yet Lindsay had in fact arrived through England where he had speech with Cecil and obtained an English passport for himself (343, 370, 380). Similarly, it is more than doubtful if Henry Constable and James Wood of Bonnington, who arrived in Scotland direct from France in March 1599, brought the reported offer from the Pope to provide a generous subsidy if James would "publish liberty of conscience and denounce wars with England," or coupled

[1] In November 1598 Huntly's uncle, Father James Gordon, presented himself at Holyroodhouse and though he suffered a short and easy imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle he left the country with impunity (370). Hudson suggested that he was not taken seriously (345–55, 398; *cf.* Forbes-Leith, 243–61).

[2] See pp. xx–xxi.

this offer with a threat that if James refused it the Pope would turn to some other prince (531–2). Generally speaking the machinations of Scotsmen with Catholic powers abroad were of little importance. In fact many of the Scotsmen noted as 'dangerous' when they went abroad came later to serve as intelligencers for England—the Master of Gray, Lord Sanquhar and John Ogilvy of Powrie, for example.[1]

The danger to Protestantism was less extreme than it might be supposed because the power of Roman Catholicism was weakened by internal dissensions. There was a clear rift between the 'Spaniolised' party who rejected the Scottish claim to the English throne and pinned their faith to the doctrines of Robert Parsons, and the other equally devout Catholics who did not care to see the counter-reformation tethered to the chariot wheels of imperial Spain. Parallel to this rift, though not quite identical with it, was the quarrel between the uncompromising Jesuits and the milder Seculars who were inclined to hope for some accommodation which would enable or compel Protestant governments to behave with moderation. The effect of these divisions upon Scottish Catholicism is evident in our pages. The sentiments of the 'Spaniolised' party appear clearly in the long denunciation of Robert Bruce and in a letter from Parsons to the Earl of Angus (591–610, 613–7). The anti-Spanish point of view is seen in the "Apologie" of Father Crichton (145),[2] in the animadversions of 'poor Mr. Moore[3]' and in the vigorous defence made by Robert Bruce, who held that James had been as lenient to the Roman Catholics as he could be, but could not keep his eyes closed altogether when the earls marched through the north in open rebellion (1131–7).

Apart from these ecclesiastical and political differences the Roman Catholic strength in Scotland was limited by the overriding claims of kinship and feud. The Lindsays and the Ogilvies both sympathised with Roman Catholicism, but they were rivals in Angus and their rivalry sometimes took violent form (649). Angus, Huntly and Errol were united in their religious views; yet Angus took umbrage when Huntly was made a marquis in 1599 to the detriment of his own precedence (466). Equally, Huntly declined to give satisfaction to his ally Errol, who had been insulted by Gordon of Gight, on the ground that he "must be a Gordon when it came to the worst" (883–4). In the rivalries of the Borders also the contending parties were not always aligned according to religion.

But the principal question which exercised the minds of the

[1] See p. xxix.

[2] The full text of this is printed in *Misc. Scot. Hist. Soc.*, I, 41–64.

[3] More wrote, "Parsons in my conscience is a right Machevill without religion" (420).

Elizabethan government at the time, and which is still a matter of uncertainty, was that of the relations of James himself with the Papacy. Queen Anne's sympathy with Roman Catholicism was well known to the English agents (465).[1] But in August 1600 Elizabeth, in dispatching Brouncker to congratulate James on his escape at Gowrie House, sent a cryptic message that she was aware of transactions so well known that " they may do more harm to others than to me " (690). About the same time Cecil had been informed by Lord Sanquhar that in September James had written to the Pope requesting the red hat for the Bishop of Vaison and had also accredited Father William Crichton to deal for him in other matters (700–1, *cf.* 843). Probably Cecil had already this story from the Master of Gray, and the King's subsequent anger against Gray may be explained by his belief that Gray was his betrayer. At all events the English government communicated the story to James Hamilton, then in London, and Nicolson learned that James would deny the reports and " blame his own people abroad to be raisers thereof for reward at England's hands " (727). The most significant reaction of James was the execution of James Wood of Bonnington. As Thomas Douglas said, it was " a new thing that any man should die for religion in Scotland " (823). James, however, while sacrificing Bonnington to appease alarmed Protestant opinion in his own country as well as to satisfy the English government, was at the same time characteristically careful to assert that the execution was for felony and not for religion (823, 835, 943). The original royal warrant included among Bonnington's crimes the hearing of mass and the resetting of a seminary priest; these charges were, however, omitted from the ' dittay ' or indictment on which he was subsequently tried and executed.[2]

James consistently denied that he had ever given permission to Drummond, ' Powrie Ogilvy ' or anyone else to deal on his behalf with the Pope. The question is how far he can be believed. It should be noticed that in both the Elphinstone letter and the *mandata* given to Drummond who carried it the King stated firmly that he remained in the religion wherein he had been bred (1145) and hinted at a hope, possibly naive but not necessarily dishonest, that the Pope would recognise the existence of a world-church which included that of Rome but was not indentical with it. Queen Anne, of course, went much further in the subsequent correspondence. She alleged that the King knew and approved of the *mandata* carried by Drummond (1149–1150), and the tone of the letter which the Pope addressed to her in January 1605

[1] See p. xlii.

[2] Pitcairn, II, 340. According to Father MacQuhirrie it was he who was to have carried a letter from Anne to the Pope (Forbes-Leith, 273).

would seem to indicate that she had held out hopes of James's imminent conversion.[1] That James knew of Anne's inclination seems certain, as it is certain too that he cultivated the goodwill of Rome in the interests of his succession to the English crown. He may even have guessed that the Pope had conceived hopes of his conversion; yet it must be pointed out that in all his dealings with Rome James stated clearly that he was not going to abandon the religion of his youth. Views expressed in a letter[2] which he sent in October 1603 to Sir Thomas Parry, his minister in Paris, and which virtually closes the episode, are very much those set forth in his earlier letter to Captain Elliot (942–4) and advanced by him in his later controversial writings, such as *A Praemonition to all Christian Monarches*. He held that all Christian people should be one in the struggle against Satan. To the Papacy he would give the honour due to an old established institution—he might even concede a primacy—but a supremacy he would not grant to it, nor a monopoly of Christian truth. He hoped that the Pope would be convinced by his reasonable arguments. He was an optimist; the Pope could conceive of no Christian unity except within the Roman church and, believing this, regarded James's professions merely as an augury of his ultimate acceptance of the authority of Rome. In view of James's subsequent dealings with the Roman Catholics there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his hopes of reaching an accommodation with them; but also there is no reason to doubt that he saw the advantage of leaving the great question in suspense until after he was safely established upon the English throne.

The Highlands and Ireland

The eclectic character of the information recorded in this series is also illustrated by the treatment accorded to the Highlands. For the affairs of the remote north Nicolson showed little concern, since he was mainly interested in matters which might affect the fortunes of England. But the royal movements were always a matter of import and Nicolson therefore noted the various schemes by which James, with his exaggerated idea of the wealth of the north, planned to reduce the restless Isles to obedience. He was sceptical about James's plans to visit the Highlands in person and in 1600 even considered that the King was using the threat of personal service to exact money from the reluctant

[1] Bellesheim, III, 473–5.

[2] Pepysian MSS. (Magdalene College, Cambridge), No. 2425, p. 161. A Latin version of the same letter, probably a translation, is printed in Dodd-Tierney, IV, lxvi, from a text in the State Paper Office.

shires and burghs (663).[1] And there are only casual references to the one practical attempt to put that policy into execution—the attempt by certain Lowland adventurers to colonise the Lewis which began in 1598 and ended in disaster three years later. These references are purely incidental and there is, for example, no mention of the important acts concerning the Highlands passed in the Parliament of December 1597. There are frequent mentions, on the other hand, of the quarrels of Huntly, Argyll and Lennox which rendered Lennox's lieutenancy of the Highlands and Islands of little effect.

There is by contrast a considerable amount of material dealing in general with the south-western Hebrides—in particular with the feuds between the Macdonalds and the Macleans, and the triangular dispute between the King, Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg and his son Sir James Macdonald of Knockrinsay. For England was keenly interested in the south-western islands, in geographical proximity to Ulster to which they were akin in race, culture and sentiment. And the house of Macdonald was now firmly established in Islay and Antrim, on both sides of the North Channel. James was in an ambiguous position regarding these matters, for being himself an interested party in the feuds of the Macdonalds in Islay he was concerned to see that neither the Macdonalds of Dunluce nor other Irish chieftains gave aid to the rebellious Macdonalds of Dunnyveg. At times he even appears to have hoped to enlist Irish support. James McSorley, the leader of the Irish Macdonalds, was on his part by no means a whole-hearted supporter of Tyrone's rebellion, but had been drawn into alliance with him only after killing the English Governor of Carrickfergus.[2] With the prospect of a reconciliation with the English government in mind, he was anxious to keep James's goodwill. Moreover he also wished to keep a foothold in Scotland in order to assert his claims to Macdonald lands there. The English, however, noted that his messengers were sometimes accompanied by messengers from Tyrone and did not believe that his dealings with James were free of treasonable purpose in Ireland. They regarded with suspicion the King's intercourse with a man who was said to be about to marry Tyrone's daughter, who fought for Tyrone and who encouraged desertions from the English army in Ireland. In spite of the personal liking which James clearly had for McSorley[3] it was, therefore, difficult for him to give open countenance to such a man without alienating English goodwill.

[1] James had done this on the occasion of his expedition to the West March in 1597 (*Reg. P.C. of Scotland*, V, 434–5, 437, 440).

[2] Before his sudden death in April 1601 McSorley was falling away from Tyrone. Thereafter his brother Randal soon moved to the English side and was knighted by Mountjoy. After James's accession he received further honours and was eventually elevated to the Earldom of Antrim.

[3] In 1597 he had been knighted by James as Sir James Macdonald of Cullelungart.

The English government was naturally suspicious of these dealings of James with their Irish rebels. The Scottish King could not deny them, but he consistently claimed that he did nothing to the prejudice of the English Queen (159). This assertion seems at first sight to conflict with the letter in which James replied to an early overture from Tyrone (1138). Yet in that letter, though James welcomed the prospect of help when Elizabeth should die, he did no more than promise his good offices to Tyrone in remonstrating against abuses committed by the Queen's deputies during her lifetime. And in the main James's claim is supported by the reports of the English agents, and by the King's surviving correspondence. He advised McSorley to serve Elizabeth and to persuade Tyrone to submit. When, in the flush of his success after the Yellow Ford, Tyrone made overtures to the King in 1598, the latter sent a copy of his letter to Elizabeth and informed Nicolson of his conversation with Tyrone's secretary (314, 317). In the following year Tyrone reached the peak of his success and James was well informed as to the possibility that he might ultimately prevail. Nevertheless he still kept Tyrone at arm's length. When he wished at this time to deprive his Macdonald rebels of help from Ireland he was careful to approach Tyrone only indirectly through O'Donnell and McSorley, and Tyrone was so offended that he did not reply for some months (624, 645). Of the supposed dealings between Tyrone and Essex and the Scottish King our documents say almost nothing. Neither Essex's letter to the King nor Cuffe's confession bear on Ireland (755–7, 784–7). James indeed told Nicolson that Essex had written to him asking him to intercede for Tyrone with Elizabeth and that he had been inclined to do so but was prevented by Tyrone's subsequent conduct (933). When the crisis came James busied himself in preparing troops to aid the English in Ireland, rejoiced in the English triumph at Kinsale, and was delighted that the arch-rebel must now play Robin Hood (933).

His desire to stand well with the English government apart, James's policy accorded with his real enough dislike of all rebels. So far from considering the English apprehensions justified, James himself thought that his frank dealing deserved more recognition than it had received from his royal sister and was offended at her lack of response (*cf.* 319–20, 386–7). Yet the sensitiveness of the English government is understandable, since Ireland at this time presented a great problem to English statesmen. They dared not leave unoccupied an island Roman Catholic in religion and open to Spanish invasion; yet they found it hard to conquer in a land whose physical condition involved a guerilla warfare wherein the experience of ' set piece '

warfare gained in the Low Countries was unavailing. During the the last ten years of her reign Elizabeth spent upon Ireland £2,000,000; but although settlements were established in the south, Tyrone remained undefeated in the north, behaved at times as an independent sovereign, hoped for help from Spain and entertained relations with the Scottish Roman Catholics. When news of English misadventures came to Scotland Nicolson noted ruefully that rumour of English success " gets no such favourable and frank report as ill news do " (526).

Nicolson's efforts in connection with the Irish problem did not confine themselves to mere reporting. He engaged in designs both negative and positive to weaken or destroy the Irish rebels. On the one hand he tried to prevent the sending of munitions and men from the west of Scotland to Tyrone; on the other he tried to arrange for the sending of Highlanders to attack the rebels from the north; on occasions he even attempted to procure the murder of Tyrone himself, making plans parallel to Cecil's arrangements with the Mowbrays and Thomas Douglas of which he may not have been fully informed.

Our documents present a series of proclamations against trading with the Irish rebels which Nicolson obtained from the Scottish government and to the drafting of which he himself devoted some trouble.[1] James's attitude to these proclamations was somewhat equivocal; it was coloured by the varying cordiality of his relations with the English government and by economic necessities and political realities in Scotland. In theory he sometimes took a high line. Thus when the provost of Glasgow held that only the export of war material was banned, the King replied that all exports to the rebels were forbidden (277). But in practice James more often fell back on evasion and ' looked through his fingers ' at the illegal trade which still continued (319, *cf.* 540, 627). Thus to Elizabeth's formal complaint of his " substantial merchants in Glasgow and elsewhere " the King replied that as he had never got trial of any he had never pardoned any (459, 491).[2] Yet to get trial was not easy. In November 1600 Nicolson complained that the expense of any process would fall upon himself and that no-one would bear witness for him (740–1). The King's attitude indeed had some justification; for Nicolson himself saw that the complete prohibition of trade, which would ruin many Scottish merchants on the west coast, could not be enforced, and proposed on one

[1] On one occasion Nicolson boasted that he had had the text of a proclamation amended by the Secretary four times (314).

[2] The King told Nicolson that he would act if names were given (386), but in fact McSorley had given him names in September 1597 (122) and Sir William Bowes did so in 1599 (540). Nicolson in August 1598 delated one seasoned offender, John Bare or Baw (270, 277), who was still active in 1601 (872, 874).

occasion that the English might themselves purchase the goods in question (465).

Soon after Robert Bowes's death Nicolson took up with Burghley his former master's projects of using Maclean of Duart as the leader of a Highland force against Tyrone, and until Tyrone's fortunes finally turned in 1601–2 similar projects involving young Maclean, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy and Argyll continued to be put forward. None in fact materialised and the only occasion on which a scheme came within measurable distance of fruition was immediately after the Spanish landing at Kinsale in September 1601. Then James, by now in close relationship with Cecil, took up with enthusiasm the idea of sending a Scottish force to Ireland, and even talked of leading it in person (914 *et seq.*). His offer of aid was accepted by the English government, yet the King's policy clearly met with considerable opposition in the Scottish Council and it is probably significant that it was not finally approved until four days after the news of Mountjoy's decisive victory reached Edinburgh and until a letter was already on the road from London declining Scottish help (937–42).

The truth would appear to be that, while Highland assistance would have been welcomed by some of the military leaders in Ireland and by elements in the English Council, it was never congenial to Cecil. Traditionally English policy was hostile not only to Scottish immigration but to any Scottish trade even with loyal elements in Ireland. This Cecil himself confessed (1039, 1044). Cecil too may have gauged more clearly than Nicolson the value of such questionable allies and may have hesitated to become involved in tribal feuds. But Nicolson's unflagging enthusiasm for these ventures probably did in fact achieve something. He at least prevented Islesmen from rallying to Tyrone and furnished a constant, if highly nebulous, threat against him from the north of which he must have been conscious.

James's policy towards Ireland, regarded as a whole, will be seen to conform to a definite pattern. It was directed throughout by the consideration which governed his conduct in all things—his desire to secure the succession to the English throne. While the issue was still in doubt he sought for an accommodation with Tyrone whose help he might need on the death of Elizabeth. He did not like rebels on principle ; he did not want Irish affairs to complicate his dealings with his restless subjects of the south-west, and he gave Tyrone no direct aid ; he strove not to destroy Tyrone utterly, but to preserve him as a possible ally by bringing him to be a faithful subject of Elizabeth. After his secret understanding with Cecil, however, his way was clear before him. The Irish chief might be a patriot, but he was also a ' Papist,' a rebel,

an ally of the Spaniard, who had by now adopted the cause of the Infanta—an enemy who must be utterly overthrown.

Foreign Affairs

Although the documents here published are principally concerned with Anglo-Scottish relations, a surprising number deal with foreign affairs. These supply evidence of transactions with France, Spain, the Netherlands, the German princes, the Scandinavian countries and the Papacy. The King's constant attention to foreign affairs was not merely an expression of his self-importance; economic development was giving a new significance to foreign policy. More important, however, than economic considerations was the ever-present determination of James to succeed to the English throne. This, and the religious issue which was so closely linked to it, governed the relations of Scotland with her neighbours and allies overseas.

In particular, Scotland was bound to France by many political, cultural and economic ties. Scottish gentlemen often sent their sons to France to be educated (*cf.* 996), and French gentlemen frequently visited Scotland where they were usually well entertained. The Scottish church still maintained relations with the Huguenots, and it was in France that Robert Bruce took refuge when he was banished in 1600 (725). The comings and goings of the gentlemen of the Scots Guard provided another point of contact (258, 708, 1018), and the sailing of the wine fleet from Bordeaux (in September to have the benefit of the new vintages) is mentioned as a regular thing (555, 558). France could not be expected to view with complacency a union whereby the strength of England would be reinforced by that of her traditional ally; and indeed Henry's dislike of it was notorious (912).[1] It need not be supposed that he seriously thought of himself mounting the English throne. Rumours about a French marriage with Arbella[2] probably had no more serious basis than had Henry's joke about his son Caesar (770), and in December 1601 Henry rejected emphatically any attempt to exclude the true heir to the English throne.[3] James, however, may not have been aware of Henry's sentiments and behaved with caution. In 1594 he had raised the question of renewing the 'Auld Alliance' and this idea formed the excuse for several actual and projected embassies in the years covered by this volume. Behind James's many suggestions for

[1] Cf. *S.H.R.*, XXI, 275.

[2] *C.S.P.*, IX, 410; XII, 267.

[3] "Le Roi d'Ecosse est le vrai héritier dudit Roiaume" was Henry's reply to a letter of d'Ossat setting forth the claims of Catholic candidates (*d'Ossat*, V, App. 54).

the renewal of the alliance lay the constant purpose of allaying French opposition and possibly of gaining French support when the day came. At the same time James was at pains to make clear to Elizabeth that any dealings he had with France were not to the prejudice of England.

Symptomatic of this situation was the position of James's resident ambassador in France, James Beton, Archbishop of Glasgow, whose long residence in France and contacts there made him a useful agent to reconcile to the idea of James's succession both Henry IV and the anti-Spanish Catholics who made their headquarters in France. But while a loyal servant to James he was also a loyal servant to his church. He played, for example, a major part in the sending of the Elphinstone letter in September 1599[1] and was presumably fully cognisant of the activities of such men as Constable and Wood of Bonnington. As such his activities were highly suspect to the English agents. In the last three years of his life, however—he died in 1603—his influence declined. He was growing old, his designs had failed and James's new relationship with Cecil made him less susceptible to flirtations with the continental Roman Catholics.

Judging from the correspondence of his ambassador du Tour[2] Henry on his part may have had some suspicions of a deal between James and Spain, but the main object of French diplomacy seems to have been to ensure that James succeeded to the English crown as an ally and not as an enemy. A subsidiary consideration may well have been that Henry, knowing of James's dealings with Roman Catholic powers abroad, wished to secure that if any alleviation were granted to the Scottish, and later to the English Catholics, France should have the credit. He maintained a resident ambassador in Scotland only during the last seven months prior to the Union of the Crowns. Apart, however, from resident ambassadors there was considerable coming and going between the two countries of special ambassadors and of less formal agents, and there was talk of even more who never actually went. Philippe de Béthune was in Scotland as Henry's ambassador in the latter half of 1599 and the full instructions for his embassy are here printed for the first time (467–74). They contain the belated and temporizing reply to a *démarche* made by James in September 1597.[3] On the Scottish side there were two official embassies—that of Lennox in 1601 and that of Lord Home in the following year. Their activities, real and suspected, receive considerable attention in these pages

[1] See p. lvi.

[2] *Cf.* Teulet, IV, 324–6.

[3] Cf. *S.H.R.*, XVI, 143 and *Warrender Papers*, II, 336–53.

but in fact their vague negotiations amounted to little more than innocuous expressions of mutual goodwill.[1]

In the foreign politics of Scotland Spain appears rather more in the background, for the interest of Spain was primarily with England. Philip II never abandoned the 'Great Enterprise' upon which he had embarked and his zeal had been quickened by the appearance in December 1593 of the 'Book of Doleman' which claimed to prove that he was the legitimate heir to the English throne. When Philip died in November 1598 he left behind him his plans to carry on the crusade and handed over his title to the English throne to his daughter, the Great Infanta. His successor, Philip III, was not at first inclined to admit the claims of his half-sister and Spain had still the means of pursuing the attack upon England in the name of religion. She could supply the Irish rebels with arms, and by negotiation she might endeavour either to overthrow or win over the group which controlled English politics and so ensure that Elizabeth's successor should restore England to the old faith. Her hopes, both in arms and diplomacy, were encouraged by the exiled Roman Catholic Englishmen who found careers in the Spanish service, and not least by Parsons, who though he resided in Rome continued to promote Spanish designs.

Although the Spanish purpose was thus directed against England it was fraught with danger to Scotland too. If the Spaniards established themselves in Ireland Scotland's peril would at once become acute. If they gained control of English policy James's future was ruined. Even so there were factors which made the Scottish King reluctant to assume a hostile attitude to Spain. Spain entertained relations with a powerful Roman Catholic faction in Scotland and a good understanding might at least serve to make James secure in his own realm. In view of the remoteness of Scotland from Spain the dangers of direct invasion were largely chimerical. But what gave menace to these threats was the presence in the Spanish camp of the dangerous Bothwell, whose activites real or imagined are often mentioned in these documents. In fact there was apparently little substance in the many stories that he might lead an expedition against Scotland. Neither Spain nor the Archduke had troops to spare and Bothwell could count upon little support at home; but James from his bitter experience of Bothwell's methods followed his movements with abnormal anxiety.

[1] James was anxious for the restoration of the Scots Company of *Gens d'armes*, and the reservation of places in the *Garde Ecossaise* to Scotsmen. The services carried emoluments as well as honour. Henry was sympathetic for the future. James may also have had some vague hope of recovering his mother's dowry (cf. *C.S.P.*, XI, 315). Henry's escape from the conspiracy of Biron was also the occasion of a congratulatory letter (1024–5). Of Lennox's mission Henry wrote that he "n'a rien traitté de particulier avec moi" (*Thumery*, II, 252).

Even while such uncertainties prevailed there was no breach in the old established relations between Scotland and the Netherlands. These had not been broken by the division in 1579 of the Netherlands into the seven Protestant 'United Provinces' of the north and the ten Roman Catholic Provinces of the south. Scotland, whose staple had been fixed at Vere (Campvere) near Flushing in 1541, maintained her post there, and it was the Conservator of the Scottish Staple, Robert Deniston, whom James used as his agent with the Dutch. The Estates kept an agent in Scotland, Adrian Damon, who with six of his countrymen was knighted at the baptism of Prince Robert in May 1602 (977).[1] Scottish soldiers had been among the first to go to the aid of the Dutch in 1572, and from that time on, Scottish troops were constantly in the employ of the United Provinces; they were regularly reinforced from Scotland, and James, though not at war with Spain, permitted their recruitment, though this was done quietly "without sound of drum or press" (388, 395, 673, 704).

It was not only with the Protestants that good relations were maintained. Scotsmen penetrated freely to the Archduke's court and even to his camp. The Dunkirk privateers plied freely off the Scottish coast, took English ships and sold the proceeds at the little Scottish ports. They had letters of marque against all Englishmen (566) and though the King did not recognise these he "looked through his fingers" (660) at the Dunkirkers and the royal officers and the burgh magistrates followed his example. The King contended that Scotland was not at war with the Archduke, and that if he interfered with the Dunkirkers they would attack Scots ships as well as English. Nicolson's reports are full of his frustrated proceedings over the Dunkirkers (*cf.* 650–7) and when one notable raider, Jeremy Luif, was in fact captured he 'escaped' and remained at liberty in spite of Nicolson's efforts, his hints that the pirate might be working for Spain and Bothwell, and his offer of a reward (989–93, 1009–10, 1034, 1043, 1050, 1089).

James was not anxious to imperil his relations with the Archduke when once his suspicions about the claims of the Infanta to the English crown were allayed. Early in 1603 he received an official envoy from the Archduke, an Italian named Nicolas Scorza whom he received well. Scorza's mission was to urge James to prevent recruitment to the Dutch forces, and to give promises that the Archduke would help James with men and money to secure the succession to Elizabeth.[2]

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[1] Nicolson reported in 1601 that Oldenbarnevelt's son was to visit Scotland. He was to be knighted there if he had not already been so honoured on his journey through England (891).

[2] Teulet, IV, 365. *Cf.* I. Cuvelier in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, II, 283.

James, therefore, pursued a cautious policy towards Spain and the Spanish Netherlands. He even attempted diplomatic negotiation with Spain. Characteristically the first approaches to Spain, as to the Papacy and other Roman Catholic powers, were made through emissaries so obscurely accredited and so easily disavowable as to make the King's exact knowledge of their activities still a matter of doubt. But when the old age and death of Philip II seemed to provide an opportunity James went further and sent Lord Sempill to Spain with a semi-official mission to establish trade relations and a secret errand to secure the new King's recognition of his title (274).[1] The next year he even sent Sempill a full commission; but after long delays he found that Spain was as immutable on fundamentals as the Papacy itself. The fact of Sempill's mission and his instructions were made known to the English government by Nicolson and Lok, who suborned his servants (439, 448). Other intelligencers without their facilities furnished even more alarmist news (*e.g.* 461). Probably, however, James hoped for nothing from direct negotiations with Spain beyond, as he himself said, the favour shown by Polyphemus to Ulysses—the favour of being eaten last.[2] Of more concern to him was the prospect that a peace between England, Spain and the Spanish Netherlands would include some bargain detrimental to his interests. As we have seen, he had genuine grounds for apprehension.

The references to the remaining European countries are of less significance. Scotland had economic relations with the Baltic and German states and dynastic connections with the royal house of Denmark and Norway. But the bulk of the references in our pages are connected with Scotland's traditional function as a recruiting ground for the northern wars, where both Sigismund of Poland and Christian of Denmark strove unsuccessfully for Scottish help. The only diplomatic activity in these parts which had a wider interest was James's dispatch of an embassy to Denmark and certain German princes in 1598 in order to secure their diplomatic support for his recognition as Elizabeth's heir.[3] But in sum this embassy, though expensive, achieved little save some vague promises of goodwill and one of its results was to infuriate Elizabeth who had seen its instructions and resented the references to her age and ill health (364–7).

[1] Cf. *S.H.R.*, XXI, 274, and references there cited.

[2] Camden, *Annales*, 419.

[3] For the mandate of this embassy see 223–4 and for the various replies see *Warrender Papers*, II.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND)

JAMES VI

James VI.
1597.
June 2.

1. Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Scrope.

Vol. lii, p. 178.

This day I received your letter of the [*blank*] of May with divers good advertisements out of Scotland and another confession of Andrew Graymes, which I will communicate with my Lord my father, who likewise showed me yesterday very many particularities which you had sent him. My Lord makes much of the intelligencer for it seems he is honest and for sufficiency able to do you service, though he may err in some particulars. By all these and many other circumstances I find that there are clouds gathering towards a storm of which I will suspend my judgment until Sir William Bowes be arrived, of whom we have not heard these ten days. I hope the King will be better advised than to offer the Queen any just unkindness, although in public counsel haply he was content to please particular appetites, for if he should begin with the Queen the issue thereof would prove far worse than he expects. Secondly, I confess unto you that I am very glad that you have so well discovered this lewd knot of the Graymes and Carltons for towards these troublesome times such weeds would be rooted out. As soon as Sir William Bowes shall be arrived I will take order that letters may be sent for their repair hither, whereof I think good to give you notice to the intent you may be pleased to send up somebody fully instructed to inform against them who otherwise will think to face out anything as the Graymes did before them.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the top:* "A copy of my master's letters to my Lord Scroope," *and in the margin:* "2 Junij 1597."

June 2.

2. Sir Robert Carey to Sir William Bowes.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 331. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 374.

[I have received yours] with the [names of those that are] offered as pledges for the [disorders] already committed wherein albeit all the [notorious] offenders contained within my note be not comprehended, yet may I have them delivered you have set down. I will be ready to receive them, and I hope it will make the country more quiet hereafter. Now as touching the attempt late committed by the Scots at Killam, although I have already certified the manner thereof to Mr. Bowes, yet that yourself may be the better instructed in the very truth of the cause

1597. which I will take upon my honour to verify I have thought good herewith to send you as well the petition put in to me by the inhabitants there as also the examinations of them taken upon their oaths before my brother and myself and such other examinations as concern that cause which will both confirm my former letters and give you further light in the truth of the cause. All which I pray you when you have thoroughly perused to return to me back any time by the next convenient messenger, for that I have no copies thereof and must not be without the principal myself. Berwick, the second of June 1597.

Postscript. If none of these be sufficient with Sesford to prove the truth ye shall have one, 2, 5, 10 or 20 that in their doublets and hose with their short swords and daggers shall combat for the truth and God give the victory where the right is. *Signed:* Rob. Carey.

1 *p.*

June 2. **3. Lord Scrope to Sir William Bowes.**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 344. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 379.

[My honourable brother] . . . it seems you are given to understand that I should not proceed in the course till I . . . direction which I have not as yet. Touching the treaty you know that my Lord of Duresme and you concluded it without my privity. But I have [sent] your letter up to Mr. Secretary and [req]uested direction from the Council, the which until I obtain I will follow [your] direction. But there is little [hope] of peaceable fruit of this [commis]sion, whereas the greatest murderers are made the chief governors of the frontiers. Carlell, this 2 of June, '97. *Signed:* Th. Scroope.

1 *p. Holograph.*

June 4. **4. Sir Robert Carey to Sir William Bowes.**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 343. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 378.

[Accord]ing to your request [I] certified [The Lord Treasurer] of the time and place set down by the King for receipt and delivery of the pledges. I have withal entreated his honour to return unto me her Majesty's pleasure and further direction in that behalf. I have also herewith sent you the copy of your letter as you required. Barwick, the 4th of June, 1597.

Postscript. Sir, this last raid made by the Middle March into Scotland as I am credibly informed and as I verily believe was done by the only procurement of the opposite officers, hoping by this means that justice shall not go forward. But I hope you will foresee it in time and let those who deserve it weigh for their fault and not true men to suffer for their offence, which is the mark they shoot at. *Signed:* Rob. Carey.

½ *p. Postscript in his handwriting.*

June 4. **5. John Carey to [Sir William Bowes].**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 341. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 378.

[May it please you, most] honourable knight. Having so convenient [a messenger] and occasion I thought good to certify you [of our] Border reports, which albeit I do not believe to be true, yet I thought good to certify you thereof, therein requiring your aid and friendly help if any such thing be. I understand by report that Sesford

James VI.
1597.

and his allies here upon the borders having been in council together have consulted that they will have delivered for performance for payment of our part of those bills which are filed against us by the Scots: Cuthbert Armorer, David Armorer and William Armorer's sons and one Clement Armorer and one John Selbie of Grendon, all which are garrison men here and men of very good service. Wherein (I hope) you and the residue of the Commissioners will have care not to disable her Majesty's service so much as to deliver these men, who neither are riders nor have anything to do otherwise with the country for country and border affairs. Considering that there be many in the country and in the Marches who are fitter and of better ability and also of more sufficiency for that purpose being also (as I take it) more kindly for March men to be delivered for March causes: and not the Queen's garrison to be so disabled for other men's courses. Barwick, this 4th of June 1597. *Signed:* Jhon Carey.

1 *p.*

June 5.

6. Robert Bowes and Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 377. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 408.

[By our] former letters severally unto her [Majesty in answer to] those from her severally directed unto [us, then] next by our joint letter unto your honour, it has been advertised that her Majesty's express negotiation presented to the King by me, William Bowes, has been propounded principally in the demand for Sir Robert Kerr and Sir Walter Scott upon such reasons and grounds as in our former letters are specified more at large. This demand being firmly supported by the league treaties and last commission has been by us made the point of this service to this end, that either the delivery of the said persons into her Majesty's hand might give her the greater honour or that the King's denial might force him in justice and reason more readily and soundly to effect her Majesty's satisfaction in the rest of the other dependent parts mentioned in our last letters and being indeed the purpose and perfection of the last commission. And albeit we do still stand so strictly to this demand, as that we forbear to become parties in the proceeding with the rest, yet such order as the King by the best means could be drawn to give for the advancement of the pledges, delivery for recent bills and stay of the Borders we have so far both secretly procured and openly admitted, as her Majesty may be pleased to give further directions to be received, refused or suspended in expectation or entertainment of her further satisfaction. In some way of towardness hereof we have received and delivered notes of pledges with a day and place set down of the King's purpose to tender them, namely, such as the bill enclosed will give you to understand in particular, being a copy of the same which we have sent to all the Wardens, together with some advertisement of our proceedings here. Touching the delivery for recent bills these impediments found in the two principal of Tyndale and Killam have hindered all the rest, namely in the bill of Tyndale Buckclugh only was billed, which was done by the

1597. Commissioners by special advice because if any other persons had been contained in the said bill the delivery of any one had satisfied the bill for the time and given great colour of Buckclugh's discharge for altogether. But now Buckclugh being thereof billed and filed and not delivered by the King that bill hitherto can receive no further proceeding. Touching that of Killam, Sir Robert Kerr had persuaded the King that the matter was nothing so heinous as it had been reported unto her Majesty and by us pressed to his Highness against his servants, in which cause we being [by Sir Robert Carey's letters furnished with the direct contrary] to Sir Robert Ker's rep[ort desired of the King that he would be] pleased to hear the cause and [that we might compare] Sir Robert Carey's letter with Sir Robert Ker's [speech for the better] assured trial to be taken hereof in pre[sence of his Highness].

This our desire of calling Sir Robert Kerr h[ad a further reason] reserved to our secret purpose, namely, that [where his attempt] against her Majesty had been so extenuated [as the King seemed] to take knowledge of no other matter of moment [than of the] slaughter of one man only, whose wife and [children] were satisfied by the said Sir Robert, we might [in his presence] by some fit occasion taken make our former charge [more clear] and thereby to free her Majesty's demand the better [from the such exception].

Upon notice given us from the King the third of Ju[ne that Sir] Robert Kerr was ready attending, we immediately [repaired] to Lithquho, where having audience given us [and propounding] the remembrance of our former desire in the matt[er of Killam] the King called for Sir Robert Kerr, willing him [to declare] the plain truth of that cause unto him again [in our hearing] and such as he would justify for true as he [desired to] avoid his uttermost displeasure. Here[unto Sir] Robert made answer that he was ready in this [and in] whatsoever else he could be charged to give his [Majesty satisfaction] and to purge himself, so as he doubted not fully [to discharge] both his Majesty's honour and his own duty. [From this] we signified to the King that we perceived Sir [Robert's answer] to exceed the matter of Killam as further offering [an avoidance] of those particular charges whereupon we had [grounded our] sovereign's demand justly to have him deli[vered into her] Majesty's hands for his trespasses according to [the law]. That these particular charges we must still [fortify as not] avoidable, the first whereof we accounted [the surprise] of Swinburne. This he confessed but soug[ht to mitigate it]. Our second charge was that he had murder[ed . . . of her] Majesty's subjects. Hereat the King showed [a great mislike] that we should aggravate the matter with old [faults. We] said that his own new offences called the old [to account] and that which never was answered before must [yet at length] have an answer made unto the Queen, [which in effect was] framed thus. Sir Robert affirmed th[at before the Commissioners] he was charged only with three slaughters, [the first had proved a Scotsman directly, the second he was ready to satisfy the Commissioners that he was also a Scot as had been before offered to have been] proved at Berwick. For the [third] he was a light person and a thief, yet he had satisfied [his] wife and children for his death. For the other slaughters

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1597. of the 14 soldiers wherewithal we charged him at Eslington Road, he answered that first there were no such filed upon him. Next, that the Queen had since that time during his banishment both given him a gracious oversight within her realm and also become intercessor to his Highness for obtaining his pardon for the slaughter of William Kerr of Ankoram, which implied (said he) a commission of trespass by him before made unto her Majesty, so as he ought not now to be any further charged therewithal. This answer was prosecuted and earnestly fortified by the King, but we replied that the first of the three with whose slaughter he was charged, albeit he might be born a Scot, yet having lived from his infancy in England we knew no other but he was naturalized after the manner of the Border. For the second slaughter we affirmed upon our knowledge that at Berwick he was set down "foule" upon the Rolls if he did not before a certain day prove that person a Scottishman, which condition because he had not satisfied he stood now "thwartout foule" of that murder. The third was both "foule" by the Commissioners and by his own confession, for the agreement with the wife and children it was no answer to the Queen for her subject's blood, finding herself bound both by the law of God and dignity of her crown to do justice with equality to the meanest of her subjects as to the best in like cases. Touching her Majesty's remission by Sir Robert imagined drawn from her mercy and grace mentioned, he must think that though her princely clemency did forbear to add affliction to an afflicted person for the time, yet did she not abandon justice demandable at a fitter opportunity, which if it now fell upon him might plainly appear to grow rather from his fresh merit than from her Majesty's desire of old revenge, so as her Majesty's exceeding grace past did justify her displeasure present and double condemned him both of new and old faults and continued unthankfulness.

Here the King's countenance showed miscontentment and his words were that these old things were too far urged. That himself had since that time sustained far greater things [and looked to hear no more of these old matters. We professed that we knew not his Majesty to have suffered such] wrongs and therefore must [press this] on her Majesty's behalf.

Thirdly, we charged him that being a [Warden he suffered] the Burnes and Youngers his servants [with his knowledge] to kill about 30 of her Majesty's subjects [and many] other outrages to the prejudice of the peace . . . observe. He answered that he was always [ready to do] justice if it were demanded and that he w[as no further] bound, being therefore not chargeable with anyth[ing his men] had done. This answer the King allowed a[nd fortified], but we directly denied that it was enough for [a Warden] to pretend readiness to answer justice, if he did not [also withhold] the mischiefs from doing within his knowledge [and that he] was a public minister of justice and ought to [be a conser-] vator of the peace and amity between the realms. [In] this point both the King and Warden directly diff[ered from] us. Sir Robert adding further that he knew [not of such] attempts purposed by his said servants before they [were done]. This we put instantly to the trial of his own [honour] but he directly refused to speak thereto upon h[onour

1597. affirming] that he would in that point satisfy the King and the [King determin]ately concluded that Sir Robert should res[erve that] point to satisfy himself as he should deman[d. We] inferred that in the meantime he must be h[olden guilty] of that charge.

Fourthly, we charged him with seeking the mu[rder of Sir Robert] Carey. To this he answered that intention[s were not] punishable by law; that Sir Robert [Carey and his] brother had shed his blood in the slaughter [of his] cousin Daglieshe, endeavouring to prove it [by several] circumstances, at which the King showed g[reat detestation]. We replied that intentions were to be judged [and prevented] in ministers of justice, howsoever more or less [punished] by law; that the world conceived not [the slaughter] of Daglieshe but the executing of two B[urns his servants that] stirred him up to the intention of that revenge [against Sir] Robert Carey. But this he denied to be the [cause, though] he denied not the purpose. At the ending of [the 4 particular] charges abovesaid the King descended to the [matter of Killam] which being opened in large circumstances [we required that the cause might be directly set down by Sir R. Ker under his hand which was agreed, so as we would] do the [like from Sir Robert Carey, which was] by us promised accordingly.

[Here the] King dismissed Sir Robert Kerr and drawing us fur[ther] aside entered into a long speech framed upon sundry [po]ints which he called our own grounds formerly delivered, the scope whereof was to show that he had from time to time suffered more harms than he or his people had done to the Queen or her realm. His last instances were given to be an attempt done about [*blank*] of the last month against the laird of Fernehirst, wherein his people were both spoiled and six honest men slain in defence of their own goods. Also the Lord Eure's officers had upon the last of May invaded Liddesdaile with 300 horse and 400 foot with ensigns displayed, trumpets and other warlike shows and in the open daylight taken up the whole country before them to the utter beggaring of his people and disabling them to live in any sort, so as first he saw not how pledges could be got or delivered justly of persons so spoiled. Next he thought it was a hard matter that during the special treaty of justice and whilst the Queen had her Ambassadors with him, to require redress with the one hand and with the other hand to offer him so great dishonour in the spoil of his people was a thing he could not take in good part but must first seek remedy at the Queen's hand in favour and amity, hoping that she would have respect unto his honour as to her kinsman, otherwise he must repair in person to his Borders and in duty of a King defend his people, concluding in these words *ne quid dicam asperius*.

To this we answered; that the general ground laid by his Highness signifying that he had received more detriment than was done by his people to her Majesty or hers, because it had pleased him only to propound it generally, we could not give it any other answer than generally that we understood it not. In such particulars as could come to our knowledge we affirmed directly that his people had done manifold more injuries in number and of far higher quality than any they had received, as could not but appear unto his Highness by such matter as

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we had before delivered unto him at large. In these his last and fresh grievances which his Majesty had then remembered we must answer confidently that we had no knowledge [but by common bruit at Edinburgh and that we would do our endeavour] to understand these things from the [English Wardens and would] certify her Majesty as we found the [truth to be. In the] meantime if his Highness had any such [certainty thereof] in writing as he might be pleased to co[mmunicate the same] we should give her Majesty notice thereof with[out delay]. Touching the true estimation and value of the . . . albeit we had no authority to justify them . . . lay before his Highness, sundry great probabilities . . . justly induce a more favourable apprehension [of the same] . . . greatest circumstances of those attempts than . . . to conceive. As in the slaughter of the me[n] the necessity that the poor Tyndale men might . . . defend their own lives from their assailants . . . that the killers were said to be on foot and . . . slain pursuers on horseback. In the [matter of] Liddesdaile it might very well be that now in [shieling] time, which they use yearly upon the wastes [some of] their cattle might be taken staff herded [in the English] ground as lawfully they may and last ye[ar they] were, and yet the complaint after the usu[al manner] come thus heinous unto his Majesty. We [concluded] that these were the fruits springing from d[elay of justice] which we affirmed directly to rest on the p[art of his Highness] seeing her Majesty had left nothing undone [on her part] to perform the honourable purpose of her late [commission] having expressly addressed me, William Bow[es unto his] Highness for that end and whereunto I was ready . . . particulars if his Highness had been pleased to [have proceeded] accordingly. Finally the King agreed th[at these his] last grievances should be given unto us in [writing] which we promised to certify to her Majesty upon receipt(?) thereof, and so being dismissed we returned [into Edinburgh].

In our speech with the King we remembered sundry [late spoils and] attempts committed by his people of Liddesdaile [in the West] Marches, and besides sundry spoils made since [the breaking] up of the commission, that an honest man th. . . house together with his wife and three children . . . altogether burnt with fire, which things [he said we had not by advertisement from the Wardens and therefore we could not insist upon them.

I was] credibly informed that Buckclugh receiving the message here at Edinburgh of this last spoil in Liddesdaile procured special commendation from the Council here resiant of that cause to the King and before his return back to his charge let fall sharp words of purposed revenge.

We must therefore of special duty commend unto her Majesty and your Honour some timely provision for these Border affairs, which by these continual new provocations on both sides are like to dissolve and bury that towardness of good which is expected by the late commission and draw on the disorders to higher degrees than ever they were before. Edinburgh, this fifth of June 1597.

6⅓ *pp. Contemporary copy or draft. The words in square brackets in Nos.* 2-6 *have been supplied from the Harleian copies made before the fire.*

James VI. 1597. June 7.

7. Queen Elizabeth to Sir William Bowes and Robert Bowes.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 305. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 353.

We have perceived by your letter of the 30th of May how far you two have proceeded in all things committed to your charge and what hath been the success of all your dealings both with the King and Council. [*In the margin:* I wonder how base minded that King thinks me that with patience I can digest this dishonourable dealing. Let him therefore know that I will have better satisfaction or else*.] Wherein although we cannot mislike you for laying before the Council at large what reasons you had to urge the present performance of our just demands, because you could not deny your address to any to whom the King should refer you. Yet is it very strange for us to find that after a long treaty between Commissioners and a final conclusion taken for performance of all indents there determined there should be cause of new disputations of the matter with his subjects when things should come to execution; especially when we have had so good experience of great partialities, where his subjects have been judges of their fellows in things of this nature, as we have received often answers from the King himself ere now, that although he did see that many things concerning his subjects' actions were swayed by particular passions of other of his servants (according to the common custom in all such like proceedings), yet his own heart was so free of private affection other than to honour and justice, as we should never doubt but to be finally satisfied in all our just demands by his own absolute power and kindness in requital of particular like good will and care to him by many more than ordinary demonstrations. Having nothing therefore now for the justness of our demands by you to say other than the arguments which you have used already, nor meaning to depend in this case for Carr and Scott's delivery upon further disputations, we do require you to declare to the King that we had little looked for this manner of proceeding, whereby the world should see how long we have been only fed with words and protestations without effects, thereby to witness to all men how much we are neglected and how ill we are requited for being always so slow to give any cause of misunderstanding between our brother and us by using any extraordinary means to correct his lewd and insolent subjects. And when we see what labour there hath been to avoid their delivery for those crimes which they have publicly committed by alleging that some of their acts were not subject to this treaty, with divers other like cavillations upon points of law and other quiddities only to spend time, we do not a little marvel with what colour of justice or honour it can [be offered us that they] are not delivered for those foul murders and notorious [outrages of which they] are filed by virtue of this commission with consent of the King's [own commissioners, except] we shall hereby make judgment that if they were not already convicted we should receive small sat[isfaction in other matters] left to that further censure which they must pass between the King [and us, in

* This is now missing in the original but given in the Harleian transcript. In the copy (vol. lii, p. 178) the passage is stated to have been added in the Queen's own hand. (*See also* No. 9 *infra.*)

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1597. regard that] in their own nature some of their offences are confessed to be so gr[eat and heinous as] they were held unproper to be judged by fruitless promises. You shall therefore for this time [follow the course you] have done in all other things and summarily proceed to yield to any such commission [but privately to be] ended between ourselves, when in things already as clear as the [sun we see nothing] but the per[formance of all things] indented for the preservation of common justice and relief of the inferi[or poor afflicted subjects] on both sides, whose spoils and miseries have been only procured [by bad causes first] given by his wardens, who have more regard of their private ga[in than of public] justice. Ye shall also make known to our wardens our pleasure that [all things by commission] agreed by the late treaty for pledges and other like be performed; [and those things being done,] you, Sir William Bowes, shall without further delay make your repair [hither without further] expostulating with the King in the matter, who we would be very [loth should trouble] himself to send us hither any man to negotiate further in this case [which is best defended] with silence, except he bring full satisfaction. And seeing the K[ing's heart is so affected] to those kind of servants as that it cannot permit him to us[e the office of justice and] honour towards us who hold him so dear, we will in the mean[time advise ourselves of some] better course to comfort our subjects oppressed and to enable them to de[fend and revenge themselves] of notable injuries, lest we be taxed by the world to forget our d[uty to God in public] care of our loving subjects, whose lives have never been unwit[tingly adventured for our] services in regard of particular amities and friendship to others who [are like so ill to requite] us. Given under our signet at our manor of Gre[enwich 7] June 1597 in the nine and thirtieth year of our reign.

2 *pp. Superscribed with Queen Elizabeth's signature. Partly damaged by fire, the passages above in brackets being added from the contemporary copy below and the Harleian transcript made before the fire.*

Vol. lii, p. 178. Contemporary copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*

June 7. ## 8. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE WARDENS OF THE WEST, MIDDLE AND EAST MARCHES.

Vol. lii, p. 181. Where there are divers things agreed upon by the treaty lately passed between our Commissioners and those of our good brother the King of Scots and are to be performed by our wardens on both parts in their several charges, forasmuch as we would not have anything so agreed between the said Commissioners left unperformed, nor any default committed by any of our wardens or others our officers on our part that might give just occasion to the opposite wardens of Scotland to complain, we have thought good to will and command you and hereby we give you power and authority that you take order and carefully see that the same be duly performed within the charge of your wardenry of the West Marches according to the contents of the said treaty, so as neither we may have cause to find fault with you for either remissness

1597. or want of care or good government in you, nor the said King nor any of his justly to complain for any such want. Whereof, as ourself have a princely care for the public good of our people and subjects of all those Borders, so we eftsoons give you special charge herein as we have likewise done to the rest of our wardens and officers, requiring you to follow at all times the advice that upon these matters shall be given you by Robert Bowes, our Ambassador in Scotland, and Sir William Bowes, one of our late Commissioners. And where we find by divers letters written to our Council, both the Treasurer and the Secretary, how ill willing you are to deal in causes because you have not yet your patent, we do wish you once again to leave this course of peremptory writing and do command you to do as you ought. For we that can judge what is fit for you will do things as we please. Let these things therefore be performed by you which you shall find that by the treaty you ought to do, and without any further importunity and as William Bowes and Robert Bowes shall at any time direct you. And that being ended you shall then know what shall become of you. And for all that you do or shall herein we do freely give you full power and authority, which is warrant good enough we trust for a great matter.

$1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the top:* "A copie of her Maties letters to the Wardens of the Weste, the Middle and the Este Marches," *and in margin:* "7mo Junij 1597."

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 286. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 336.

Contemporary copy of the first part of the foregoing, omitting the passage beginning "And where we find by divers letters." "Given under our signet at our manor of Greenwich the 7th of June 1597 in the 39th year of our reign."

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Slightly damaged by fire.*

June 7. **9. Sir Robert Cecil to Robert Bowes and Sir William Bowes.**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 324. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 374.

[Her Majesty] has written [as you see] by this enclosed how ill she takes the King's ma[nner of de]aling. Surely I am sorry to find that the King [does not] better satisfy her in this demand, for it is just and without such public show of satisfaction the Queen cannot be held other than neglected, which would breed ill blood between the two princes for which I should be sorry, where the other would conserve affection and [if] they were delivered over things might be carried with moderation even in that point concerning them without extreme rigour. Her Majesty allows well of both your labours, although in her letter which she would have you show the King as of yourselves she writes but drily of it. You see a postscript under the Queen's own hand also which shows her grief by being unsatisfied after so long labour in it. For the rest of all things she would have you direct and advise the Wardens to proceed, and for that purpose she has written unto them to follow your advices, for to have nothing come of this treaty were a mockery. And yet on the other side in proceeding to performances you [may] use this caution seeing they break with us in some points, [that]

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1597. if we be bound by the treaty to any particulars that [may] be more advantageous for us than them, then if there [be] any deferring or omission let it be in those things. Other[wise] it were convenient that as much as can be were done on both sides, for *ex duobus malis minimum est eligendum,* and [it] may be upon this new letter showed the King will think of some better resolution in the main matter. From the Court of Greenwich, 7th of June 1597. *Signed:* Ro: Cecyll.

1 *p. Slightly damaged by fire. The missing portions are supplied above in brackets from the contemporary copy noted below.*

Vol. lii, p. 182. Copy of the foregoing in the hand of Cecil's clerk. ¾ *p.*

June 7. **10.** THE LAIRD OF BOMBY TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxi, No. 1. My coming to this country and recommendation made by her Majesty's Ambassador to the same was only in hope that I might have prevented some disease of body which I was persuaded might have been helped by means of the Bath near unto Bristol. But after trial thereof I have found myself nothing bettered but rather worse, so that my suspected disease is now so "invalesced" upon me that it is thought to be turned into a "tympanicall hydropsie," and those of best learning and experience with whom I have consulted think it more convenient for me to return home to take order with my family and friends than to remain any longer here. This advice I am minded to follow so far as my present ability of body may agree thereunto. But if God shall so visit me as I cannot travel myself I mean to send this my servant, Thomas MacLellan (Makclelland) or Robert Lange, to advertise my friends of my present estate. And in like manner being to send by sea such stuff and implements as I had provided for the furniture of my house, I am to request your lordship that I may have a commission for post horses for me and my servants and direction to the searcher of the port of London to suffer such trunks and coffers wherein my goods are contained to pass without trouble or impediment, the particular inventory whereof it may please you direct some of your servants to receive from this bearer. This 7th of June 1597. *Signed:* T. Bomby.

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

June 8. **11.** THE ELLIOTS TO LORD EURE.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 282. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 354. [For so much as we have been with your lordship and indented of such conditions which in any ways we were not minded to break nor any of ours but that his Majesty and our master] the laird of Buccleuch (Buclugh), being informed hereof has almost [bereft] us of our lives for the same, enterprising such a deed [without their] licence, and has commanded us under the highest pain of our lives or else the banishment of our "rowme" for ever that neither by day nor night we have "melling" and intercommuning with no Englishman until such time as

1597. it shall please his Highness and our master to give licence. Which we thought good to let your lordship understand, beseeching you take in good part and to hold us excused thereanent. And for the indenture betwixt your lordship and us we are minded, God willing, to keep every head thereof so soon either we can purchase his Majesty's licence or yet our master's. And in the meantime we shall be diligent to employ our credits towards the licence for we are very evil content any alteration should have been of anything set down by your lordship and us, if we could have "betteritt" it. But our native prince may command us what he will. Therefore we will beseech you to take this in good part and to consider our case. For fall out what will we are never minded to offend you nor your office if we can hold anything back undone for the good entertainment we received of your lordship, for the which we render you most humble thanks, and we doubt not but your lordship such like under colour* will show favour unto us seeing we are minded to keep. So having no further at this present but giving credit to the bearer as he will inform you at more length, to your answer back, we commit you to the eternal God. Lariston the eight day of June. Your lordship's most humble servants to be commended in lawful manner: Robert Ellott of Readhaugh, Wm. Ellott of Harthskarth, Jo. Ellott of Copshaw.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Injured by fire at the head, the portions in brackets being supplied from the Harleian transcript made before the fire.*

June 9. **12.** LORD EURE TO [SIR WILLIAM AND ROBERT BOWES].

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 334. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 375.

[May it please you both. By my last of the 7th instant I answered yours of the 4 signif]ying unto [me the heinous complaints of the L. of Bucleugh to the grie]vance of the [King against me pressing the viola]ting of the peace on my part. Now by [my servant Co]pland the bearer hereof I am to lay open unto you his mali[cious] practices and cunning stratagems which I leave to your consideration and wisdoms labouring secretly to disturb the peace and accusing the innocent for blame thereof, which shall apparently be made known unto you by his present discontent of those within his office which . . . peace or offers good neighbourhood as by the copy of a letter herewithal sent may appear and the enforced act by him to cause them to contradict their former writing using in a part the King's name. Wherefore in hope you will signify my innocency and witness with me my duty of her Majesty for observing of the peace, I have sent my servant with instructions under my hand to acquaint you with my proceedings and with the true report of his actions, all which I refer to your wisdoms and require present knowledge and direction what course I may take for the best safety of her Majesty's people with continuance of peace, and to prevent the malicious course which by likelihood is pretended requiring you to reserve secret the good disposition of the private opposites and to interpret my proceeding therewith agreeable to my good mind till in

* Harl. MSS. 4648 reads " in such like sort."

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your wisdoms you find fit times and opportunity to reveal the same to our good and advantage which by private conference shall be imparted to one or both of you by myself, if occasion and opportunity fit the same according [to] my desire.

The bill touching the Laird of Pherniherst I cannot certify you so fully as I wish by reason these actions preoccupied and hindered me from the same only thus much. The man offended belonged [to] the Earl of Angus as I am informed; the goods taken and detained not many above a dozen. The manner of the killing of the men was in this sort as I am informed. When the English being eight or nine or thereabouts in number pursued by a dozen or thereabouts Scottish far within English ground, the Scots thirsting after the English blood, not contented with the rescue of their goods which were lost, then a good distance pursued the English violently to death and assailed them with force, divers of the English resting at this present deadly wounded and some of the Scots slain as it pleased God in defence of the English. The names of the men slain with the offenders I cannot so perfectly certify as I would through the negligence of my officer delaying the same with these importunate businesses now in hand. I will hasten to satisfy you what I can and I pray you promise the Laird of Phernihirst if that man robbed belonged to him I will trist with him not only for the goods but also for this slaughter and the slaughter of my man formerly done whereof I require knowledge from him since hitherto I have had no word from him. Hexam, this 9th of June, 1597. *Signed:* Ra. Eure.

1 *p. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

June 11.

13. Lord Scrope to [Robert Bowes].

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 332. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 374.

[Since the departure of the Lords Commissioners from Carlisle Lyddesdale according] to their former course of outrageous [disorder have] not desisted from the commission of divers [offences] within this Border, some part whereof by the Armstrongs . . . upon the eight of this instant, who with their complices to the number of 24 persons arrayed in most forcible manner came unto a place called [Turn-] tappet Moor and upon plain daylight as divers [poor] men were travelling towards Newcastle fell upon the said men, killed two and the rest to the number of ten persons sore wounded and mutilated and took from them 17 horse and mares with all their money valued to 10*l.* And for the other attempts informed to be done I have written unto their officers for to signify unto me with all expedition the names and substance of the faults committed and also the names of the Scotsmen offenders, which being returned unto me I shall presently thereafter send unto you.

I have received letters from her Majesty this day whereby I perceive that her Highness having signified unto you what order the Wardens shall follow in their proceedings with the articles and agreements set down by the Commissioners. Therefore I am heartily to desire you not only with expedition convenient to give me knowledge

thereof so as I may the rather be in a readiness to provide for the same as appertains but also to advertise me your advice if so be I cannot apprehend Anthony Edward Armstrong and others denounced outlaws of England, who are appointed to be delivered as pledges, whether I shall burn and demolish their houses or no, and what course otherwise I shall take with the said disobedients. Likewise I am to entreat you to acquaint my brother Bowes and to signify your answer with as much haste as is possible. Carlell, the 11th of June 1597. *Signed:* Th. Scroope.

1 *p. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

June 13. **14. Sir Robert Carey to [Robert Bowes].**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 333. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 375.

Understanding that sundry proclamations [are] published at Edinburgh concerning the prohibition of carrying or conveying of wool out of Scotland into England, as likewise the valuation of English coin, I would be glad from you to be advertised of the certainty thereof and what proclamations stand in force and which are revoked. I desire to hear from Sir William Bowes and yourself what pledges I am to provide to deliver into Scotland. I would gladly have knowledge of them in good time for that I hear that Cesford means to take such order with some of them as they shall be out of the way when they should be delivered and by that means he hopes to break the treaty and to deliver none of his. But if I may know of them in time I will prevent him of his purpose. Barwick, the 13th of June, 1597. *Signed:* Ro. Carey.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*

June 14. **15. Sir William Bowes and Robert Bowes to Lord Eure.**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 302. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 351.

[We have received your] letters of the [2 and 7] of June both containing sundry [matters] of great importance, whereof because we [doubt?] not but your lordship receives copies, we think it may suffice to touch the heads without longer recital.

Touching the attempt done by your people against Fernherst we must entreat your lordship to have in remembrance that there was strict order given by the Commissioners to all the Wardens on both sides to take into their safe keeping all such persons as should attempt any outrages against the peace. Now albeit that the performance of the Commissioners' indents proceed more slowly on this side than were meet, yet because we find her Majesty's most honourable disposition, first, to perform her royal word given by those letters patents for ratifying the indents and agreeably to demand effectually satisfaction in all things thereby due to her, we should think it meet that you put in safety the principal actors of that murder, as well in due reverence of justice on the Queen's part, as also the better to convince your opposites in disobedience or neglect of duty to their King. To the end that if the King's complaint in this cause shall be prosecuted by his Ambassador or

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otherwise, you may be found ready to give satisfaction for the Queen not only in performance of the said indents but also in being ready to deliver for all the recent bills upon every sudden direction to be given by her Majesty for that end.

And here we must acquaint your lordship that her Majesty's letters bearing date the 7th instant under her own hand command us to signify to her Wardens that her pleasure is that all things by commission agreed by the late treaty for pledges and other like be performed; and that we should yield to the performance of all things indented for the preservation of common justice and relief of the inferior poor afflicted subjects, whose spoils and miseries have been only procured by bad causes, first given by the King's Wardens who have more regard of their private gain than of public justice.

. . .* All which notwithstanding we see not but [her Majesty] may have her honourable satisfaction to th[ose] things as she has already demanded [and may] expect by this treaty.

Touching the laird of Spott your lordship is [wise to consider] that in respect of the place you bear y[our act will be] imputed to the Queen, whereby you [will be the more] wary in matters, persons and times of . . . to avoid disadvantage.

Concerning Sesford's excuse given to the [King by the requi]sition of meeting with him made by . . . we shall make the truth known as it is [and you] will hereby find it expedient to en[counter such] cunning shifts with good caution.

Concerning the act of Mr. Whitfeild in L[iddesdale] we could have wished it had been [forborne at this] in convenient time, yet seeing the . . . letters make it far otherwise than it [was reported to] the King we will do our endeavours as well to inform him better as also to [signify to the] Queen his bitter conceit hereof, so much differing from the former. . . .

We shall likewise lay before the King B[ucklugh's using] his Majesty's name in withholding his [people of Liddisdale] from performing their agreement. . . .*

Touching your request of our dealing with the King to cause Buckclugh ratify the said agreement made between your Lordship and the Ellottes, as we shall be ever ready to advance her Majesty's service and your desire to the uttermost, so do we stand in doubt in this point that the King may find a good ground to disallow privy assurances of private men without his officers' assent, especially in this general and near expectation of justice, howsoever such agreement may both for the matter and purpose seem to stand with equity and good reason, and much rather urge that both sides may attend public justice by public persons and overt action, than by secret assurances scant justifiable by the Border law.

From Edinburgh, this 14th of June 1597.

2½ *pp. Draft in the handwriting of Sir William Bowes. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

* Passage much damaged by fire and not transcribed in Harl. MSS. 4648.

James VI.
1597.
June 14.

16. Advices from Scotland.

Vol. lxi, No. 2.

The King's countenance was no way good or pleasing to the two Ambassadors at their last being with him at Linlithgow (Lithgowe).

Some pledges of Armstrongs and other clans are demitted home again wilfully and willingly.

His Majesty would give no answer to the Ambassadors then, neither "sensyne," although they crave it by their letters and messengers, but says he will send answer by one of his own, and in the meantime he defers daily changing from place to place.

There is such a rumour of the King of Denmark to come in this land that holds both King and Court in suspense. He has neither sent messengers nor advertisement himself but our ships daily coming from Dantzic and Norway have confessed constantly before the Council here that they have seen his ships by the way and know his own royal ship.

The great Jesuits are again come in this land within these 6 days with store of gold.

The Catholic Lords are *de novo* suspect of some new trafficking and great inquisition beginning against others who were not suspect before. But the King looks through his fingers to all these purposes.

The Queen of England is sufficiently advertised thereof. The packets are directed very frequently here to the Ambassadors but matters are kept close in all hands.

Sir William has sent all his horses home. Certain [gifts?] are given to the King and courtiers but all in vain for he is directed to stay and to insist upon delivery, which will no way be granted, although the King would.

There is a privy advertisement sent to Brussels in Flanders declaring the estate of the Church and Commonwealth which now is at good beginning and hopes shall be better shortly, for the power of the Church is less and the power of the nobles greater.

All matters of France are quiet but we hear of a navy of England either already passed or shortly to go forth. "Callis" holds strong and likely to be fortified with galleys as we hear. God send us peace here and your Honour good health! This Tuesday before noon being the 14 June.

1 *p.*

June 15.

17. Matters to be propounded to King James.

Harl. MSS. 851, fo. 54.

Remembrance of matters to be propounded to the King, June 15, 1597.

First, to make our entry at the matters as they fall in order which were handled at our last audience, which was thus:

Beginning at Sir Robert Kerr's excuse of not obeying the King's last call grounded upon a supposed meeting accorded between him and the Lord Eure at the request of Mr. Manisfeild on the said Lord Eure's behalf.

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Since that time we having written to the Lord Eure to be satisfied in this and other things. We have received answer as well by several letters as by his clerk expressly sent for that purpose as follows:

For the meeting pretended by Sesforth the Lord Eure says for his part there was no such appointed at the time by Sesford alleged, only by occasion of a message received from him by Lord Eure, he the said laird named the third of June, whereas the King's commandment to Sir Robert Kerr to come upon sight was about the 27th May, who was to appear at the furthest on the 29th. Hereby it is manifest, first Sir Robert Kerr's disobedience, and next his abusing of the King with a feigned excuse.

Secondly, touching the slaughter of Fernherst's men, Lord Eure writes that eight or nine Englishmen having taken about a dozen cattle and being pursued by 12 Scots had left them their goods, the said Scots yet pursuing and assailing them, it fell out that divers of the English were deadly wounded and some of the Scots slain. Which pursuit of the Scots after the leaving of their goods being merely unlawful and the Englishmen's defence of themselves warranted both by the law of nature and the Borders, this cause has been indirectly complained of by the laird of Sesforde unto his Majesty and aggravated further than the truth to stir him up to some sharp course as seemed to be intimated by his highness's words given therein of his repair to the Border to defend his people, *ne quid asperius, &c.*

Thirdly, concerning the matter of Killam, after large debate thereof in his presence his highness was pleased to promise us that Sir Robert Kerr should set down in writing such his information therein, as he had before given unto his Majesty and cause the said writing to be given to us at our return to Edinburgh. And we promised to deliver unto his highness the information of Sir Robert Carey in writing immediately after the receipt aforesaid.

Now, albeit Sir Robert Kerr did then excuse himself from setting down first because, said he, he was defendant, yet the King commanded him to set it down and deliver it unto us as before, which commandment upon the same pretext new alleged since here at Edinburgh he has directly broken and delivered us none at all.

Fourthly, the heinous complaint which was made unto his Highness against Mr. Whitfeild, namely that he had entered Liddesdaile with 300 horse and 400 foot with ensigns displayed, trumpets and other warlike shows and in the open daylight taken up the whole country before them; whereas indeed it appears by the Lord Eure's letter that Whitfeild with only 30 of the Queen's soldiers by way of *pœna* had taken about 60 cattle of Copshawes and some 12 or 14 horses and mares, all which goods according to the said order of *pœna* be reserved wholly together unbestowed and were by the said Lord Eure restored to Robin Ellott, Will Ellott of Harthstarth and John Ellott of Copshaw upon their suit and bond entered for restitution of all attempts committed by any of them since his entry, with some other conditions of like good neighbourhood.

Now albeit there was a prefixed day set down by the three Ellotts aforesaid, according to their said bond, to give Lord Eure satisfaction

1597. in lieu of his already delivery of their cattle, yet have the said persons excused themselves thereof, affirming that the King and the laird of Buckclughe being informed of that matter, Buckclugh had almost bereft them of all their "kines" for the same, enterprising "sic" a deed to be but his licence, and has commanded them under the highest pain of their lives or else the banishment of the realm for ever, that neither by day nor night they have any meddling or intercommuning with any Englishman until such time as it shall please his highness and the said Master to give them licence. So as hereby it appears first Buckclugh's indirect information given to the King so far exceeding the truth; secondly, his using the King's name to restrain those three Ellotts from performing duty and promise given by their bonds. Whereunto may thirdly be added that he has not set down this his last information in writing and delivered it unto us, as the King promised at our said audience he should do.

Fifthly, we are to acquaint the King with her Majesty's last letters taking his final answer what he will do to satisfy the Queen's former demand, first for the delivery of Sesforth and Buckclughe, secondly for pledges, recent bills, etc. And here to inform him of the notorious attempt done the 8th instant by the Armestrongs and Whithaughe who with their complices to the number of 24 horsemen on Turntippes Moor in England assailed divers poor men, killed two and sore wounded and mutilated ten others, took from them 17 horses and mares, with all their money valued to 40*l.*, requiring his Majesty to write his letters immediately to do justice in such measure as Buckclugh's people have received so lately as is aforesaid.

Sixthly, to know his Majesty's approbation of the new constitutions set down by the Commissioners on both sides in the last treaty, requiring of him to declare his ratification thereof, according to his promise published in his letters patent containing that commission.

Seventhly, that where the laird Johnston has demanded amongst other English pledges one Anthons Edward, a notable fugitive, who was by me William Bowes declared to the Commissioners here at Edinburgh at the signing of the bills for pledges not to be answerable to the English land at or under the Queen's protection, his Majesty would advertise the lord Scroope thereof with all expedition that he may be ready against the prefixed day appointed on the 25th hereof; and withal that such pledges as are to be delivered between the lord Scroope and the l. Johnston may be delivered at the usual place of meeting between their Marches on the foresaid prefixed day; all the rest keeping the day and place heretofore ordered in the indents for pledges last made and signed between me William Bowes, the laird of Wedderburne and Mr. George Younge.

To procure a special Commissioner to view the delivery of the pledges at the West Ford near Norham on 25 June.

To receive especial order from the King for the Lord Hume and the laird of Wedderborne to govern the meeting on the 25th hereof at the West Ford on the Scottish [*sic*] that no inconvenience happen by broken Borderers at the receipt and delivery of the pledges.

3 *pp. Copy in a contemporary hand.*

James VI. 1597. June 16.

18. Robert and Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Carey.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 323. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 369.

[We have received your letters of the 13th instant wherein first for your desire to be satisfied for the last] proclamation [here in the matter] of wool, cloth and coin you may be [informed] by the note herewithal sent.

[Seco]ndly, where you require to hear from us what pledges [you] are to deliver into Scotland that you may provide them in time, we must desire you to have in remembrance that I, William Bowes, together with my letter bearing date, 31 May, did certify you the names of the pledges with the place and time to be delivered on both sides. Whereunto was returned your letter in answer acknowledging the receipt. Nevertheless, lest your copy may be lost by some mischance we send you hereinclosed another.

And albeit we have lately written unto you advertising the Queen's last direction given to us in these affairs, yet have we thought good hereby to set down the very words of the Queen's letter, so far as they concern that point, which are these.* And thus for the words of the Queen's letter.

Now, Sir, if according to the last part of your letter Sesforth shall make impediment to the intended general delivery of pledges, besides that he shall discover his evil disposition to the King, he shall give her Majesty a greater advantage, having performed all on her side, to proceed yet more sharply against him. Seeing we find her resolutely dispo[sed] to satisfy her own honour on this behalf to the uttermost and commending us right heartily unto you, we betake you to the [grace of] God. From Edinburgh, this 16th of June 1597. 1 *p. Draft.*

The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.

June 16.

19. "Idem" [The Master of Gray] to ————

Vol. lxi, No. 3.

The King of Denmark comes not as was supposed but is turned to Elsinore. The cause of his progress into Norway was this: the King of Poland, who is also King of Sweden being by election King of Poland (and so resident there), left a viceroy in Sweden. At which the people of Sweden find themselves discontent and were upon pretence to have elected another King, viz. one of the bairns of [the] King of Sweden's elder brother that died last (who was unjustly deprived of his kingdom). The King of Poland seeing perforce he must "tyne" Sweden enters into familiar writing with the King of Denmark, that if he would privately meet him in Upslawe (a frontier town in Norway) they would confer of matters of importance. There these two Kings have met and concluded that the King of Denmark's second brother shall marry the King of Poland's sister, so the King of Poland will resign his title of Sweden to the two new spouses. This matter being agreed upon the ally

* The passage from "You shall therefore" to "other like be performed" in the Queen's letter of 7 June (No. 7 *supra*) is here inserted.

1597. is great and for great purpose. The two Kings having parted, the King of Denmark had a purpose to come secretly for Scotland, but his pretence was made patent by the Admiral, so his journey succumbed.

The King of Spain is supposed to have had an Ambassador secretly in Denmark to marry with the King's son of the House of Austria, which, if it shall speed, is dangerous.

During this advise the King of Denmark thought to have come to Scotland and have sought ally out of England, which is said to be ar. . . .* If [it] should speed, so "mickell" the better. Always the crown of England is shot at, either by this or to make the K. "sterk" here at the great day. Vale. Idem.

1 *p.* *Headed:* "the 16th of June 1597." *Endorsed:* "The coppie of a letter sent me out of Scotland."

June 17. **20.** [SIR WILLIAM BOWES] TO [LORD SCROPE].

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 292. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 327.

[Albeit my Lord Ambassador and myself ha]ve here[tofore written unto] your lordship sufficiently giving you warning of [her Majesty's] pleasure that you shall deliver the pledges at the day and place appointed in a note which your letter acknowledges to have been received by you, yet forasmuch as I plainly understand that this whole action shall take life and depend upon the just delivery of those pledges and that there is assured hope conceived by your ill disposed opposites that the default of the English Wardens to be made in the delivery of the said pledges shall not only cover their failing in the like but also become a bar and exception to the Queen's demand already so earnestly prosecuted against them, I have thought necessary hereby earnestly to entreat you and that as you tender her Majesty's service you will not be found faulty in any sort [in the s]ure [delivery of the said] pledges. And for Anthons Edward whom you write to be a fugitive I will not fail to move the King that another may be named in his place and give you notice thereof with all possible expedition. And to the end you may be the better satisfied the very words of her Majesty's last letter concerning this point are these. You shall therefore for this time follow the course ye have done in all other things and summarily proceed to yield to the performance of all things intended for the preservation of common justice and relief of the poor afflicted subjects on both sides, whose spoils and miseries have been only procured by bad causes first given by his Wardens who have more regard of their private gain than of public [jus]tice. Ye shall also make known to our Wardens [our] pleasure that all things by commission agreed by the [last] treaty for pledges and other like be performed. [Tru]sting your lordship will take respect hereof accor[dingly as] the cause imports. June 17, 1597.

1 *p.* *Draft.* *The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

* Hole in paper.

James VI.
1597.
June 18.
Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 335. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 376.

21. Lord Scrope to Sir William Bowes.

[I have recei]ved [your kind letters for which I gi]ve you [hearty tha]nks. Concerning the [pledges] I have taken order with Henry [Leigh] that they shall be so ordered and be in such readiness as there [shall] be no default in me and the rather(?) because having some occasions [call]ing me into Yorkshire I am to [tak]e my journey that wayward this next week but my repair home shall be speedy. I have received the Lords of the Council's letter and [wa]rrant for the Carletons' and [Gre]ames' appearance before them to [ans]wer to such matters as shall be [laid] to their charges and they [are] cited to appear 15 days after their summons. Wishing I had good occurrents to impart unto you as this barbarous barren place affords. Carlel, this 18th June '97. Your assured friend and loving brother-in-law. *Signed:* Th: Scroope.

1 *p. Holograph. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

June 18.
Vol. lxi, No. 4.

22. Robert Bowes and Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

Soon after the receipt of her Majesty's letters to us (which letter we have before acknowledged by our last before these) we sought "indelate" access unto and audience of the King still continuing at Falkland. Thereon, by letter of Sir George Hume we were advertised that the King's pleasure was we should repair to him at Falkland on Monday next, the 20th hereof, and that at that time and place the King would with good will hear and confer with us; adding that his affairs were such as he could not appoint any shorter time. Therefore we have stayed and still attend upon his audience appointed. Whereof we thought it meet to give you timely notice that the protract of time in the execution of all the contents of her Majesty's letter to us should not be imputed to our blame or negligence.

The report of the sudden and hasty arrival of the King of Denmark at Leith or thereabouts has moved some councillors here to advise the King to return hither with expedition, and as the King was expected to have been here this day or before, the occasion thereof has drawn us thus long to prolong this address and the advertisements of the time and place prescribed for the King's presence to us. It is looked that the King of Denmark will come hither and that some part of his errands here is greater than the only visitation of the King, the Queen, this estate and realm; wherein shortly and upon better intelligence more shall be signified to you.

The Earl of Huntly (as it is informed) came with one man to the Court at Falkland on Saturday last, the 11th, at two of the clock after midnight; that he had conference with the King, the Duke and others and departed within four hours.

Mr. George Young shall be employed and sent to her Majesty in Border causes. In which behalfs we have oftentimes and earnestly written unto and advised severally her Wardens to provide and put all things in readiness for the full accomplishment of all the accords

1597. concluded by the late treaty of the Commissioners for the Borders, especially for the surety of the delivery of the pledges, whereupon the performance of redress to the inferior sort for wrongs done and provision for future peace chiefly depend. All others we refer to the next and next opportunity. Edinburgh, 18 June 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes. William Bowes.

Postscript. Whiles this was in writing, the laird of Neddery was slain this day at Edinburgh by the laird of Edmonston.

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk with notes of the contents and* "Rec. at Grenewich the 24th."

June 20. **23.** MEMORANDUM BY SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 339. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 376.

[In answer to our letters of the 30 of May: First,] in the matter of our debate with the Co[uncil her] Majesty finds it strange that after a long treaty between Commissioners and a final conclusion taken for performance of all indents there determined there should be cause of new disputations of the matter with his subjects when things should come to execution, especially when she has had so good experience of great partialities where his subjects have been judges of their fellows in things of this nature.

Secondly, she has received promises oftentimes from the King himself that although he did see that many things concerning his subjects' actions were swayed by particular passions of other of his servants (according to the common custom in all such like proceedings), yet his own heart was so free of private affection other than to honour and justice as she should never doubt but to be finally satisfied in all her just demands by his own absolute power and kindness in requital of particular like good will and care to him by many more than ordinary demonstrations.

Thirdly, her Majesty means no longer to depend upon further disputations for Carr's and Scott's delivery, but seeing the King's denial of justice unto her not only for their foul murders already convicted by the Commissioners but also for other causes by the King alleged to be of higher nature than can take such trial, the world must needs see how long she has been only fed with words and protestations without effects, thereby to witness to all men how much she is neglected and how ill requited for being always so slow to give any cause of misunderstanding between her brother and her by using any extraordinary means to correct his lewd and insolent subjects.

Fourthly, we shall therefore proceed in all other causes as for pledges and other things concluded by the late commission, yielding to the performance of all things indented for the preservation of common justice and relief of the inferior poor afflicted subjects on both sides.

Fifthly, I William Bowes shall return to her Highness without further expostulating with the King in the matter.

Sixthly, her Majesty would be loth the King should trouble him-[self] to send any man to her to negotiate further in this [case] except he bring full satisfaction.

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1597.

[Seventhly, seeing the King is affectioned to] those kind of servants [as cannot permit him to do] the office of justice and honour to[wards her Majesty, her Majesty] will in the meantime advise of some [better course to pro]tect her subjects oppressed and enable the[m to defend] and revenge themselves of notable injuries . . . by the world to forget her duty to God in . . . her loving subjects whose lives have adventured for her services, in regard of . . . and friendship to others who are like so ill to. . . .

Our whole business to be laid before the [King] may be drawn to these four heads.

1. The better satisfying of his Majesty in [questions] at our last audience, namely Sesforth's excuse[s his] accusation for the slaughter of Ferneherst's men [Buccleugh's] accusation for the last spoil in Lidesdale. [Their] failings to give in their charge in writing [according to] his Majesty's promise.

2. To acquaint his Highness with her Majesty's last letter.

3. To make known to the King the late murders [and spoils committed in] the West March of England by the Lidesd[ale men not] restrained nor redressed by Bucklugh nor yet imprisoned by him according to the King's late Commissioners' [pledge ?] given unto him.

4. To require his Majesty's order for the L[ord Hume and the laird] of Wetherburne to order the action for his [side of the] Ford upon the 25th instant in [the delivery of] pledges to be done by indent between . . . Bowes. To the end that by a . . . commandment both the honourable . . . formed and the broken borderers. . . .

2 *pp.* *In Sir William Bowes's hand.*

June 21.

24. CHARGES AGAINST THE LAIRDS OF CESSFORD AND BUCCLEUCH.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 340. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 377.

[Cessford. The King sending peremp]tory letters for him upon the [27th of Ma]y, he disobeyed by a feigned excuse of meeting [with the] Lord Eure, which appears to be otherwise by Lord Eure's letter.

He misinformed the King in the slaughter of Ferneherst's men that they were slain in defence of their own goods, whereas it appears by Lord Eure's letter that those Scotsmen slain had recovered their goods and assailed the Englishmen after unlawfully, who in defence of their own lives being unlawfully assailed might lawfully kill them.

He disobeyed the King's express commandment given in our presence in that he has not set down in writing the attempt of Killam.

He delivered not the recent bills or took the faulters into his own safekeeping according to the express letter of the late Commissioners on both sides.

[Buccle]uch. Has "misincenst" his Majesty in the attempt by the Tindalemen in Liddisdale (Lidesdayle), informing the men to be 700* where they were but 30, and the cattle taken near 1000, where they were but 74. That the delivery of these cattle again by Lord Eure to the Ellots and their covenant of answering in justice and good neighbour-

* So in the Harl. transcript. Only 70 now appears in the original but the final figure may have disappeared through the fire. (700 is correct, *cf.* No. 17.)

1597. hood with Lord Eure does so much displease him as he has thereupon threatened them with danger of their lives.

He has used the King's name in the said threats.

Since the ending of the commission, besides great attempts, spoils, burnings and mutilations committed by the Liddisdale men under Buccleuch's charge, they have also slain 8 persons among whom was the father with the 3 children burned in his house and these neither restrained by Buccleuch nor imprisoned according to the express commandment of the Commissioners' letters.

1 *p. Draft in Sir William Bowes's hand. Damaged by fire. The transcript made before the fire in Harl. MS. gives the heading:* "Late misbehaviours of Cessford and Buccleuch to be laid before the King, Falkland, 21 June 1597." *The words in square brackets in this and No.* 23 *have been supplied from this source.*

June 22. **25. ROBERT BOWES AND SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.**

Vol. lxi, No. 5. Your Highness's letters of the 7th instant taking knowledge of our advertisement the last of May, with further direction in your service addressed to the King, coming to our hands the 12th, we signified our desire of audience by Sir George Home. The King having some few days before withdrawn from hence to Falkland, we received answer by Sir George Home that the King required our repair thither upon the 20th, before which time he could not conveniently give us audience, as we have before certified Mr. Secretary. We conceived that this longer drift than ordinary principally grew from this, that the same 20th day being prefixed unto his Wardens to present such pledges here at Edinburgh as are by former indent to be delivered unto your Majesty upon the frontier near Norham on the 25th instant, his Highness might be better furnished for answer in that behalf.

Upon our repair to Falkland it pleased the King to hear us in his garden about 8 hours in the morning on the 21st, where we declared unto him your last direction signifying your acceptation of such answer as our last letters had reported, as well from himself as his Council. Herein, first, that your Majesty held it very strange that after a long treaty between Commissioners and a final conclusion taken for performance of all indents there determined there should be cause of new disputations of the matter with his subjects when things should come to execution, especially when your Highness has had so good experience of great partialities, where his subjects had been judges of their fellows in things of this nature, as your Highness has received often answers from his Highness ere now. That although he did see that many things concerning his subjects' actions were swayed by particular passions of others of his servants (according to the common custom in all such proceedings), yet his own heart was so free from private affection other than to honour and justice as your Majesty should never doubt but to be finally satisfied in all your demands by his own absolute power and kindness in requital of particular like goodwill and care to him by many

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1597. more than ordinary demonstrations. That your Majesty little looked for such manner of proceeding, whereby the world should see how long you had been only fed with words and protestations without effects, thereby to witness to all men how much your Majesty is neglected and how ill requited for being always so slow to give any cause of misunderstanding between his Highness and your Majesty, by using extraordinary means to correct his lewd and insolent subjects. And further that your Majesty, finding what labour there has been to avoid their delivery for those crimes which they have publicly committed by alleging that some of their acts were not subject to this treaty, with divers other like cavillations upon points of law and other quiddities only to spend time, not a little marvelled with what colour of justice or honour it could be offered you that they are not delivered for those other foul murders and notorious outrages of which they are filed by virtue of this commission with consent of his Majesty's own Commissioners, except your Highness should thereby make judgment that if they were not already convicted you should receive small satisfaction in other matters left to that further censure which they must pass between your Majesties (in regard that in their own nature some of their offences are confessed to be so great and heinous as they were held improper to be judged by any such commission but privately to be ended between your Majesties), when in things already as clear as the sun you saw nothing but fruitless promises.

Now, therefore, your pleasure was that we should no longer insist upon further persuasions but for this time we should yield to the performance of all things indented for the preservation of common justice and relief of the inferior poor afflicted subjects on both sides. According to which directions we had given order to your Wardens that all things by commission agreed by the last treaty for pledges and other like should be performed. That your Majesty had commanded me, William Bowes, to return without further expostulation for the delivery of Scott and Kerr into your hands. Concerning his Highness's purpose of sending an Ambassador, we showed that you were loth he should trouble himself to send any man to negotiate further in this case, which is best defended with silence, except he bring full satisfaction. And seeing his own heart was so affected to those kind of servants, as that it could not permit him to use the office of justice and honour towards your Majesty who held him so dear, you would in the meantime advise yourself of some better course to comfort your subjects oppressed and to enable them to defend and revenge themselves of notable injuries, lest your Majesty might be taxed by the world to forget your duty to God in public care of your loving subjects, whose lives had been never unwillingly adventured for your service, in regard of particular amities and friendship to others who are like so ill to requite it.

To this our remonstrance the King made answer at good length, the larger particulars whereof we have thought fitter to remit to the report of me, William Bowes, being by your commandment to make my repair to your presence so soon as God and the necessary occasions of your service will permit. The general sum was this: that he intended not by any answer given before to us or by our conference with his Council or

1597. by his Ambassador to be sent either to delay or to avoid your satisfaction but to commend unto your Majesty his especial and important motives, in hope to entreat some favourable course at your hands, without any other resolution to be taken for the punishment of these offences, either in his Wardens or in his people, than reserving to himself the punishing of such offences as concerned himself only; and such other their trespasses as concerned your Majesty chiefly he would not determine but leave punishment to be inflicted to your good and rightful contentation. This he intended to prosecute by the negotiation of his Ambassador, Mr. George Young. In the meantime the other parts of the late treaty, as the delivery of pledges, recent bills, imprisoning of all new offenders, with other the ordinary course of justice, he had straitly charged these Wardens withal, so long as he should continue them in their places; wherein, if they made fail, especially in the pledges now near at hand, they should feel the weight of his displeasure. For the rest he referred it wholly to such points as his Ambassador could obtain at your hands in his negotiation which should instantly follow the delivery of his pledges undoubtedly expected upon the Border on the 25th day agreed upon before.

We replied showing how prejudicial every little delay was found to be unto your Majesty's Borders, seeing that in this strong current of disorders every day increased the huge heap of these mischiefs, as we made to appear before him by your Wardens' letters of complaint; namely, that his people of Liddisdale had made 17 great attempts since the late departure of the Commissioners from Carlisle; that they had committed eight horrible murders, besides fires, mutilations and deadly wounding of above twenty others within your West March; of which number a poor man defending his house was himself, his three children, his house with all that was in it burned with fire; that these things from time to time being certified unto your Majesty justly and mightily provoked your princely justice to call for speedy satisfactions; that your people generally on those parts cried out for justice, and that this horrible bloodshed could do no other than cry to heaven for revenge. All which deeply piercing your royal breast, as well in due regard of your honour as of your tender compassion to your poor subjects, had drawn your Highness to write in your last letter a postscript with your own hand, plainly expressing your just grief for those dishonours, the sight whereof, because it carried more majesty to work strong impression with the King than our report could do, we adventured (upon some light given us of your approbation) to give his Highness your letter to read. We intimated further to him the great unworthiness that Cessford and Buccleuch showed in very late particulars of his so great favour or forbearance in that they had by untrue reports so greatly incensed him as appeared at our last audience and was signified in our late letters to Mr. Secretary; namely, Cessford, in justifying an untrue excuse of disobeying his Highness's letters, also in informing the slaughter of the six Scottishmen by your subjects of Tynedale, which we showed to be lawfully done upon unlawful pursuit made by his people against them after recovery of their goods; Buccleuch, in that he had informed his Highness of the last attempt done in Liddisdale by

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1597. 700 Englishmen, where indeed there were but 30, and to have taken away near 1000 cattle, where in truth there were but 74 and those restored again by Lord Eure to the Eliotts (Ellottes) upon just conditions and bonds under their hands, which Buccleuch since would not suffer them to perform but threatened them in his Majesty's name with danger of their lives for treating with Lord Eure in such sort; that neither Buccleuch nor Cessford did either deliver anything for recent bills, or (especially Buccleuch) either restrain his people from new daily mischief, or take into safe keeping the said new trespasses according to the express commandment by special letters lastly addressed from the Commissioners on both sides at Carlisle.

To this the King answered that as we had taken time for inquiry of these new attempts to satisfy him, so must he do to learn of his Wardens how to give us answer; finally concluding as before that for all things concerning your Majesty his Ambassador should mediate and effect your satisfaction.

Lastly, we required his Majesty that in this great disorder of his Borders and in this action of delivery of pledges, wherein so much danger might grow by rescue or other devised occasion to bring the armed multitudes on both sides to tumult of evil consequence to both the realms, his Highness would therefore be pleased to appoint some honourable personage to order that action on his side at the meeting as we doubted not but your Majesty would have some very sufficient that day and place to keep your people in good order.

The King answered that he had appointed Sir George Home, laird of Wedderburne, and the laird of Fawdonside, his late Commissioners, to attend that service. But we, showing that the gentlemen, albeit they were honourably affected to justice and all good offices, thought their pretence too weak to order so unruly a multitude, obtained that Lord Home should be commanded therewithal, whom we understand to be dispatched from the Court hither to that end.

For that the late treaty binds both your Majesties to send Commissioners to the Borders to see the delivery of these pledges performed, and we hear not of any especially named by your Majesty to attend that service, we have thought good that I, William Bowes, shall on your behalf attend the day and place of that delivery, as well to perform the treaty as may be, as also to receive and deliver by special indents and give advice for ending all things peaceably in so great heartburn among the Wardens, and so slippery hold as can be had of so broken and adventurous a multitude as must be assembled in so general despair as is conceived on the Borders on both sides to answer in justice their former misbehaviours. This attendance on the Borders as it shall stay me, William Bowes, somewhat longer from repairing to your Majesty according to your commandment, so I hope that you may be pleased to vouchsafe me your gracious pardon and favourable acceptance of this my best endeavour. Edinburgh, 22 June 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes. Will'm Bowes.

4½ *pp. Addressed.* 3 *seals* (1 *missing*). *Endorsed.*

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1597.
June 22.

26. Robert Bowes and Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxi, No. 6.

By our letters in answer to her Majesty's of the 7th hereof, which it may please you to see delivered, it will appear to you what effect her said letters have wrought with the King so far as yet we could understand of his purpose, whose answer we have the more briefly delivered for that it may be reported by me, William Bowes, commanded by her said letters to make my immediate repair to her.

At the instant of writing, Mr. George Young (appointed the King's Ambassador to her Majesty) has offered us from the Council now sitting certain articles in writing concerning the meeting for reciprocal delivery of pledges appointed to be on the 25th instant. Of these said articles we have taken some exceptions to these two: first, that at the time of meeting we should come into Scotland and first crave assurance and after make delivery within the Scottish ground; secondly, that our meeting shall be only with 100 men on either side. Hereunto we have answered: first, that we find it unreasonable for them to exact or for us to yield unto any such customs. Nevertheless, at the time and place we will so order the action as the honourable custom of our nation as heretofore practised in such like. To the second we think it not fit to hazard her Majesty's honour and the safety of such persons of quality as will be there upon 100 men to guard 27 prisoners, being men of the worst disposed clans, in so broken a country as the Border now is. Only we agree to bestow such numbers as shall exceed 100 in some convenient place half a mile distant from the "foarde" of meeting, which we doubt not shall be so governed as may be well accounted for to her Majesty. This our answer being delivered by the said Mr. Young to the Lords in Council where the Wardens were present, they have returned unto us by him that to the second of our answers by the Wardens' persuasion they cannot yield and therefore do protest that if the meeting break that day by that occasion they will be free from imputation of any breach in that indent. Hereunto we have resolutely signified that we think the protestation merely insufficient and that we will keep the day and place on her Majesty's behalf, God permitting, and order that service with honour and safety. They have likewise demanded what Commissioners shall be there from her Majesty to meet the Lord Hume from their King. To this we have named me William Bowes. In which thing although I be not specially appointed, yet I trust her Majesty will in this strait accept my service and give allowance thereof, lest the want might minister occasion of further cavil, which we think in this case above mentioned too nicely pursued. Edinburgh, 22 June 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes. Will'm Bowes.

$1\frac{1}{8}$ *pp. Addressed. Wafer seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

June 22.

27. Lord Scrope to Sir William Bowes.

Harl. MSS. 851, fo. 52.

Brother Bowes, albeit I did receive of late advertisement from my lord Ambassador and you for to provide the pledges to be in a readiness on the 25 of this month at the place limited, yet I assure you I never

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had any knowledge of the place now appointed for that purpose before the receipt of your last letter. And as it stood with the Lords Commissioners' pleasures not to participate unto me any part of the heads of the articles of their agreements with their opposites before their departure from Carlisle, so it seems very strange unto me the place now appointed so far distant from this March, whereof I have so short warning and much less expected to be charged forth of this wardenry to be performed, for that since the departure of the Commissioners from Carlisle I secretly understood some part of their proceedings which was manifested unto the opposites, that the entry of the pledges should be to the opposite officer before the first of July. Which course I framed myself to have followed for the which now as you know is a matter almost impossible for me to perform upon so far a distance of place from my charge and so short warning. Neither can I be able from time to time to be in a readiness to accomplish these changeable desires. Nevertheless, as I wrote before unto you that I used all diligence to have the pledges in a readiness against the day that you desired to be dealt withal according to the order of the Commissioners as I take it in their indents, so have I and will I hold hand to the performance of the same at this time so far I conveniently may, and further I trust you will not condescend with the opposites to charge me. And what shall for this time be wanting of the delivery of the parties principal I shall, God willing, at the day and place appointed see furnished by them for my discharge until I shall know her Majesty's pleasure or from you how to deal with such as shall fall furth to be fugitive either by burning or demolishing of their houses or other means. And as in this place appointed contrary to my expectation I am persuaded that your opposites have from time to time sought all delays to draw and lay the disappointment of that service upon the English Wardens, and now lastly seek this drift, so I would be loth (as I trust others will) that they should justly have cause to charge me with any such oversight of my duty in that behalf requirable, receiving the like correspondency of justice at their hands as appertains. So with my hearty commendations to my Lord Ambassador and you. Carlisle, 22 June 1597. Tho: Scroope.

1¼ *pp.* *Copy in a contemporary hand.*

June 23. **28.** LORD EURE TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Harl. MSS. 851, fo. 52*a*.

According to a note received from you signed with your own hand, I have in a readiness all or the most part of such as are to be delivered for pledges upon the 25th instant at the West Ford nigh Norham, and will not fail to observe the day appointed, notwithstanding I never received any answer from you touching directions to that purpose more than generally to observe the whole treaty. Wherefore, I pray you, advertise me with all possible speed whether the day prefixed still holds and the manner of the delivery. Hexham, 23 June 1597. Ra: Eure.

¼ *p.* *Copy in a contemporary hand.*

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1597.
June 24.

29. Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 295. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 344.

A less accurate version of No. 30 *infra*.
3¼ *pp. Draft in Sir William Bowes's hand.*

June 24.

30. Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

Harl. MSS. 851 fo. 50*b*.

By the last joint letter from the leger Ambassador and myself of the 22nd of this month your honour was advised of the articles concerning the delivery of pledges signed with the Duke of Lenox's hand but sent from the whole Council unto us by Mr. George Young with the peremptory protestation by him lastly made to lay the breach of delivering such pledges upon us since we refused to agree to meet at the day and place appointed with the number of 100 men only on a side. The earnestness and strangeness of which protestation giving us just occasion to respect it curiously by speedy and diligent inquisition we found it had this ground upon our laying open to the King of her Majesty's last letter and effectual declaring of Buckclugh's late misbehaviours, as has been specified in our answer to her Majesty's said letter more at large. The King within few hours after had dealt with Buckclughe so soundly and so sharply threatened him with delivery of himself into the Queen's hand in case he should fail of delivering of the pledges according to the former appointment at the West Ford near Norham upon the 25th instant, as that returning from Falkland to Edinburgh with all possible speed and there soliciting earnestly his best friends the Council convened together to consult upon some mean to gain longer time for making the said delivery of pledges, which because they saw no hope to effect by direct entreaty at our hands they devised three articles out of which they conceived such difficulty should arise as might strain and draw us either to assent to their desired prorogation, or otherwise to give colour of Buckclugh's excuse by other occasions to satisfy the King. The three articles with our answers unto them certified in our said letters being so firmly insisted upon by us as that their protestation could take no place they "assaide" to draw us by way of persuasion and to that end about 10 hours in the night of the same day the Council sent unto us Sir Robert Melvin, Sir George Carmichaell, both Councillors, and Mr. George Yong now appointed Ambassador unto her Majesty. These three spent long time and used many earnest persuasions drawn first from necessity, afterward from entreaty, that we should yield to the foresaid prorogation for some few days. Whereunto we answered that the King had resolutely promised and commanded the delivery of pledges at that time and place; that we had already certified it to the Queen; that our Wardens were ready as by their several letters we were certified to keep that appointment; that the dangerous estate of the Borders would suffer no longer delay; and therefore we stood absolutely upon this point that we saw no power in us if we would, nor no reason if we could, to agree to their desired alteration. We concluded therefore that I as Commissioner for the Queen

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1597. would keep the appointed time and place and be furnished to make delivery as might best discharge the Queen in honour; and we expected the Lord Home as appointed Commissioner from his Majesty to that effect would be ready then and there to perform on the King's behalf accordingly.

This resolution we held so much the more confidently for that besides we saw it should best advance the Queen's advantage in this service, we had also earnestly written to the Wardens both by signifying her Majesty's commandment in her last letters *totidem verbis* and by earnest and often intimation how great colour of excuse it should give to their opposites to proceed in their ill courses as having received their several letters in answer to our certificates of all necessary circumstances of times, persons and place necessary for delivery of the said pledges, we esteemed it a principal good duty to insist upon this appointment to the end the King finding so notable disobedience in his Wardens and so apparent breach of his commandment, he might take the opportunity either to deliver both or the one. And we were the rather induced into this hope by a secret intelligence given unto us by a gentleman of especial trust with the King and such a one as he made his messenger to declare his pleasure to the Council the same day that we came from Falkland; which message was that if Buckclughe had not his pledges at Edinburgh the 20th according to his Majesty's appointment to be ready to be delivered to us on the 25th aforesaid, he should be committed till his highness's pleasure were further known. Upon those reasons therefore insisting in the course aforesaid to keep the former appointment I returned from Edinburgh hither to Berwick the 23rd with purpose to set things in readiness here fit for our meeting to-morrow. This day I have received letters from the Lord Eure and the Lord Scroope containing such apparent cause of doubt that they cannot perform the delivery to-morrow in sort as I expected, as to my great grief I find myself driven into great difficulties how in this straitness of time and estate of these things that great disgrace like to fall upon this service by this default may be avoided, but thinking it best among evils to choose the least, we purpose, God willing, to resort to the place at the appointed time, where I will do my uttermost endeavour to keep her Majesty's cause upright and from whence I shall certify your honour how all things stand. In the meantime I thought it my part to advertise you thus much, right humbly beseeching you that since I dare not trouble my good lord your father no more with these tedious letters that you would be pleased to request him on my behalf that the blame may not touch me farther than mine actions have deserved. Assuring you that if I cannot show good proof that I gave express warning in writing to all the Wardens before the 2nd inst. of the person, time and place agreed upon by the King's appointment for the delivery of these pledges, and that I shall not prove by their own hands an acknowledgment of their receipt thereof, and since many times written earnestly to put them in remembrance, whereunto I have received answer of assurance they would make no default, I will yield myself to that blame which so great a fault deserves. In the meantime I humbly beseech both your honours that no information

1597. may prejudice me before due trial be taken if the breach shall fall out on our side to be such as must needs dishonour the service and cover the faults of our opposites with the offences of our own. From Berwick this 24th of June 1597.

3 *pp. Copy in a contemporary hand.*

June 25. **31.** COPY OF INDENTURE FOR EXCHANGE OF PLEDGES.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 283. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 334.

[Copy of the indenture signed by] Sir George Hume, knight, [and Mr. George Young] late Commissioners for the King of Scots [in Border] causes and expressly sent by the King for perfecting of this indenture which was both delivered by Sir William Bowes, knight, presently her Majesty's Ambassador to the King of Scots and also expresses the names of the pledges demanded by Scotland to be delivered for England at the West Fourde near Norham, 25 of June 1597 at 10 hours before noon.

[Tindale.] Gilbert Charleton of Bought hill, Lowrie Robson, Lyell Robson, Rorey Milburne of the Cambe, Jock Dodd of Grenehaughe.

[Ridsdale.] Robert Hall younger of Moncrethe, John Hall of Gressonfeilde, John Reid of Trophquhane, Allen Heidley of Hatherwick, George Wanlasse of Durtrees, Peircy Pott of Yeirdupp, Tom Coxson of the Woolawe, John Snawdon.

[W. March.] Wills Arthure Grame of Nederby, the goodman of the Mote, Wills Geordе of the Faulde, Tom Stone of Howende, Sym Tailours Nisnian, Roury Forster of Carsopfute, John Grame of West Lynton, little George Haverington of Brumehill, Davids Quintin Nixon, Richard of Causroupe Rutledge, Anthons Edward Armstrange of Wilzeton, George Bell of Bowbanck.

The laird of Paston. Rafe Reveley of Hamilton.

Signed. George Home.
Mr. Geo: Yonge.

Follows the names required to be [delivered pl]edges for Scotland.

West March. John Arms[trong of Holace], Jock Armestrang Kinmonth Jock, Geordе Urwen alias Kange, Will Bell reid cloke, Hobby Urwen, Edward Carlyle of the Limekiln, Will: Grame Clothemans Willy, David Johnson of the Reid hawe.

Liddisdale. Symy Armstrange laird of Mangerton, Symy Armstrange young laird of Whithaugh (Whittaff), Will: Ellott of Larestane, Arche Ellott son to Martyn, Will Ellott of the Stiles, John Nixson of Hie Esshes.

Tyvidale. Rafe Aynesley of Clythaugh, Jock Burne younger of the Cote, Rafe Burne, the laird Freizell of Everton, Wm. Hall, David Davison, Rafe Mowe of Mowe, Willm. Tate of Cheritrees, Rafe Hall of the Sikes, David Pringle younger of Hownam, Jock Robson of Osenam, James Younge of Feltershaw, James Young of the Coue.

[A breviate of all the Bills called and styled by the Commissioners of England and Scotland and the Wardens of the East Marches here from the fir]st day [of their sitting in the Tolbooth at] Berwick being

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1597. 1 Feb. 1596 until the departure of the Scots Commissioners thence being the 19th of that month as also the number of the English Bills resting then uncalled as follows:

One bill of invasion filed for the Middle March by the Commissioners	1
Bills " foule " for murders	3
Murders as yet not filed	6
Bills " fowle " by vowry with the harms	20
Bills absolute " foule " for not appearance	80
Bills " fowle "	5
Bills " fowle " by the Scots Assises	18
" Fowle " conditionally	1
" Fowle " and agreed of the principal	7
" Foule " of troublance	1
Bills " fowle " of vowry of the principal	14
" Fowle " by the Commissioners of the principal	10
" Fowle " of the principal	5
" Fowle " by their own confession of the principal	19
" Fowle " of mutilation	
" Foule " per bond of the principal	5
Referred to the Scots assise	37
Bills referred to the Scots assise and not delivered by them, in again of that number	9
Bills quit by the Scots assise	11
Bills agreed	4
Bills quit by oath	7
Three bills without compass of the Commission, whereof one filed by the Commissioners upon the laird of Wedderburne and the other two by the Wardens for lack of appearance	3
[So the whole number of the English bills filed with rigour are	140]
Bills filed with [the principal	53]
Bills agreed, referred and quit [by oath in the Scots assise	31]
So all together aforesaid amount to the number of	[227]

And yet the remain of the complaints enrolled for the East Marches amount to the number of fourteen score bills.

God send good redress for them. $3\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*

June 25. **32. Lord Home and Sir George Home of Wedderburn.**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 293. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 343.

[At the West Ford near Hexham the 25 June 1597. The which day the L. Hume] commissioner directed [by the King's Majesty of Sco]tland to see the entry of the pledges [appointed] by the late Commissioners be effectuate by the [deliv]ery of the persons nominate at Edinburgh and brought [to] the said place by the laird of Bucklugh, keeper of [L]idesdayle, and Sir Robert Kerr, Warden of the Middle Marches, like as also to have received the English pledges from the hands of Sir William Bowes, late Commissioner and Ambassador for her Majesty, the said Commissioners meeting day and place above written

1597. for their first act ordained a view to be taken of the pledges on either side, whereby they might know who were absent and who present. Which done on either side by some who particularly knew them by the face, there were found absent of the English side four of the pledges of the West March only.

And of the pledges of the Scottish side the whole number that was nominated for the West March together with two of Lidesdayle and three of Tyvidale.

This done after some reasoning Sir William Bowes offered to enter the English pledges man for man, whom the Scottish Commissioner should nominate for his part. And seeing there was some wanting upon either side was contented that one new day should be appointed for the perfect entry of the absents.

This being thought reasonable by my L. Home he caused Sir Robert Kerr and the laird of Buckclugh to be informed thereof, who was near besides with their pledges.

Their answer was that in respect they had harm by divers wardenries one equal number of pledges was not a sufficient surety of redress to their wardenries and therefore desired that the whole English pledges might be delivered.

Whereupon my L. Home took occasion to repair towards them himself and took with him Sir George Home of Wedderburne, who after certain speeches to the effect aforesaid pressed them with one direct answer.

[Which answer my L. Home desired might be set down in writ under their hands like as they did to the effect following, viz.]

That they were contented [and offered to order their whole pledges] for surety of redress to [the three opposite Wardens] of England providing they might [have the whole pledges] of England delivered of the three [opposite Marches for] surety of the harms sustained by [them].

The which answer being imparted to the [said Sir William] seemed wonderful strange neverth[eless that all] things might be left in quiet he w[as content to accept] of that number of pledges which they had [present and to] deliver the whole number of the English [pledges which] he had there present to my L. Home [upon condition] that if her Majesty were not contented there[with the] pledges upon either side should be redeliver[ed and] also if the King were displeased; [likewise that] if the remanent number of Scottish ple[dges were not] entered by a certain short day so ma[ny as there were] more of English should be sent home.

This also being showed to the said keeper [and Wardens they] still refused the entry of their pledges a[lleging that the] roll subscribed by the laird of Wedderburne [and Mr. George] Younge did not contain the pledges that [they demanded] and that some were absent of the pledges th[erein contained].

The Commissioners for both parties seeing no better [effect of their labours] the day being spent brake up after the[y] had made proclamations that no English nor S[cots should] molest others contrary the peace unt[il such time] as the pleasures of the Princes were [further known]

In witness of the premisses we have sub[scribed these presents] with our hands. Alex [Home], George [Home].

2 *pp. Copy.*

[1597,] June 26. **33.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO ROBERT BOWES.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 280, and Harl. MSS. 4648.

[According to appointment the Lord Eure, Sir R. Cary and myself met with the Lord Hume, Sir George Hume of Wedderburn] the lairds [of Buccleugh and Cessford at the west ford] near Norham yesterday [where after] assurance taken reciprocally, it was thought the most [peaceable course] in so many displeasures and feuds resting as well among [the wardens] as their followers, that I only accompanied with 6 of the [gentlemen att]ending should pass over the river into the Scottish ground and [entertain] the conference. There meeting with the Lord Hume and Sir [G.] Hume of Wedderburne I showed the purpose of both the [Princes] and myself authorised as Commissioner for the Queen of England my [sover]eign, as they two were for the Scottish King for receiving [and de]livering of pledges at that day and place. And first I demanded [the i]ndent before given under my hand, which Wedderburne affirmed [to re]main in the hands of Mr. George Younge and excused the want of by his default of not sending it, and the suddenness of the [King's d]irection, such as time served not to send for it in good [sea]son. I therefore showed the other part, upon sight whereof [We]dderburne acknowledged his hand and we three entered into [conf]erence for effecting the appointment accordingly. I finding [by so]me curious motion offered that the matter would be delayed [and t]hat they desired to begin not as the indent stood in order [but as] they should like to call the several names of our pledges [bewr]ayed on their side both a want of their full number and small [likeli]hood of square proceeding, I required that the pledges on [both] sides might resort to the place of our conference and that with [an honour]able plainness best fitting such an action we might seek [out th]e best mean not to defeat the purpose for covering the faults; [but] to discharge the honour of our princes in tendering such pledges [as cou]ld be had, and for such as wanted to know their further [pleasu]res when and where they should be delivered for their Majesties' [satisf]actions. The Lord Hume answered that he would travail with [Cessford] and Buccleuch (Bucklughe) that from the place of their stay with the[ir troops] about half a mile off they should send the pledges [agreeable] to my desire. I replied that the ordering of that action [appertained] by our princes' commandment only to us the Commissioners and therefore [I expected] accomplishment from them, without intermeddling with any other [person; but] both the Commissioners aforesaid resolved upon this point [that they had no] further direction from their King to deal with the pledges [otherwise than as his w]ardens should pass them over into their hands to dispose of. Agreeably [hereunto I drew the English pledges to the place but the opposites brought not theirs within sight that because we the Commissioners knew not the persons by the] faces, we should view and examine [them according to the roll by] some

1597. chosen men adjoined to us. [In this view which was first] made on the Scottish side there was found [wanting all those] were to be delivered by Johnstone, and some [of them to be] delivered by Cessford and Buccleuch with sup[ply made by substituting] others in their rooms. On our side there wanted [4 of the 27] which were all on the part of the Lord Scrope [and here I was] drawn to take extraordinary note that Anth[ony Edward Armstrong] being a long time a fugitive, with some such oth[ers offered themselves] voluntarily in the place unexpected to be delivered [instantly, notwithstanding] that it was made known the King to have excused [us of Armstrong] upon our special motion.

The want being found greater on their side than [ours, I offered] nevertheless to receive such as they had and to deliv[er the same] to be taken at their choice, which being earnestly [and long debated] by the Commissioners with Cessford and Buccleuch they d[irectly refused] that my offer upon light reasons not worth the . . . were drawn to set down in writing their own [offers and demands] to the end I might the more certainly proceed [with them].

In treating of this matter, albeit the Commissioners showed [themselves very] willing to effect it very faithfully and to that [end travailed very] earnestly with Cessford and Buccleuch, yet [told they us] plainly that they found no disposition in th[em to make delivery] and so much they promised effectually to make [known to the King].

Upon secret conference had by some discreet [men of ours to] them of Tyvidale and Liddisdale I was advertised [that they were] resolute to deliver no pledges and grounded that [assurance upon] especial warrant from the King. This I pla[inly delivered to the] Commissioners laying before them what exceeding dish[onour was resting on] the King by that conceit, now generally sp[read amongst our people] which in so strange a course holden could not [possibly be avoided] otherwise than by indelate delivery of those tw[o disobedient] officers into the Queen's hand, which they promised me [to acquaint his Highness] accordingly.

Albeit I had before stood stiffly that I [would only deliver so many] in number as theirs were, so as Cessford [and Buccleuch grounded] their answer in writing that [they could not deliver such like number, intimating nevertheless that I would deliver all those I] showed [providing they would deliver such as they had] to the end they [might be laid open to the] world and to discover so far as was [possible the] bottom of this device, I presumed beyond course [to make] delivery in her Majesty's name of all our pledges to the Lord Hume [having] just seen their answers under their hands, and taken the [Commissioners'] steadfast report out of their wardens' mouths that upon [this] condition they would yield their pledges.

[The] Commissioners acknowledged that this large offer took from them all [colour] of excuse and therefore they travailed with them earnestly [to] stand to their words, but they with new devices flatly refused to [m]ake any delivery.

The day being now spent in this passage from 9 in the morning [t]ill 9 hours at night, with assent of the Commissioners I called over

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1597. the Lord Eure and Sir Robert Cary with the gentlemen their attendants and in open audience I declared the purpose of the meeting with all necessary circumstances passed except that touch (?) to the King.

Whereunto the Lord Hume and the laird of Wedderburne gave open assent, giving me their hands (because the time then served not) they should the next morning send me under their hands Cessford's and Buccleuch's answer by them given in writing as aforesaid, together with my last offer of giving all our pledges, and their final [d]enial nevertheless to make any delivery. A copy of which certificate as it comes to my hands I will send unto you. And thus referring the further proceeding with this matter to the King for the benefit of this service to your wisdom, with my heartiest commendations to you and my good aunt, I commit you to the grace of God. Chillingham this 26 June* in the morning. Your loving nephew. *Signed:* William Bowes.

3 *pp. Holograph. The words in brackets in this and Nos.* 31 *and* 32 *have been supplied from the transcript made before the fire in Harl. MSS.* 4648.

June 26. **34. Ralph Gray to Sir William Bowes.**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 336. . . . The Commissioners for Border causes have so long deferred as from the 2nd of the last month until the 20th [of the same?] by our general letters to certify our proceedings in the affairs of our commission, which as it is no small grief unto us so is it made the greater in that being now asunder we cannot answer your lordship so fully as in duty we ought to show our joint assent in verifying such particulars as being disjointly certified have thereby deserved blame. Which fault be it either common to us all, in that we certified not what and when we ought, or particular to myself in that without concurrence with the rest I advertised our proceedings in private unconfirmed by assent of all, I trust your lordship be by this time better satisfied, first by our general letter dated near about the 17th showing that special point of Sir Robert Ker's "filage" which being privately mentioned by me with reference to our general letters was [by oversight *struck through*] deferred so long in hope and desire which we had either to amend that slender towardness of recompense which we could then obtain from our opposites with some better matter. Or else the hope (?) peradventure we might have from your lordship's . . . particular direction in answer to our former letters what special satisfaction . . . or otherwise to proceed no further . . . matter of excuse by my . . . to yours of the 14th of the las[t month ?] . . . may be added that I must . . . testify for my Lord of Duresme that . . . exceeding great care . . . and pain. . . . And for myself I hope his lordship will . . . me upon due examination of the circumstances that every material point meeting . . . my letters to your lordship. . . . Mr. Secretary . . . made first known to his lordship neither . . . offer, answer or motion was made in wr[iting to our ?] opposites but under all our

* "of" struck through and "June" inserted in pencil.

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1597. hands howso[ever] . . . liking of my colleagues might be to have . . . them peradventure by example of . . . dealing with us to will me propound . . . of motion to try their disposition in . . . the thing desired or to except again (?) . . . my humble suit and trust as therefore th . . . suspend your judgment until we meet . . . Carleil at which time and place I . . .will find a confirmation of the thing . . . certified wherein your lordship shall think good to . . . further in any our proceedings past and we shall take heed to . . . to your prescript with better diligence. This gentleman, the bearer hereof, Mr. . . . recorder of Berwick, a man in mine opinion behind none near his rank of . . . in forwardness for sundry years last . . . her Majesty's service against the spoils of Tividale comes commended to [my Lord] of Duresme that such instrument . . . remaining with me was in his favour made by . . . as to . . . may together . . . suit for further relief than we . . . commended to your lordship which . . . it . . . receive hereby signed with . . . rest and to dispose of . . . shall seem best . . . told me of . . . the same to Belford to Mr. Dromand (?) . . . to be conveyed to you to Hexame. And so [with] my right hearty commendations unto your good self I commit you to His merciful protection. Chillingham, this 26th of June '97. *Signed:* Ra. Graye.

PS. Sir, my Lord Hume caused me ride to Hume with him for that he had directed the Lord of Wetherburne and his secretary to ride to Wetherburne where he has written to the King of your proceedings . . . these letters enclosed for you . . . was brought this morning to him . . . and seen. There is one here enclosed the copy of that he sent to the King word by word. I found by him a great discontent with Sesford and Buckcloughe's doings and I heard they sent to my Lord . . . his return to you to have taken his horse and gone his ways thinking thereby you would have followed with force and thereby have broken the peace. My lord's answer was he would not, but he would put his honour and life both of your word, whereby he gathers they would have brought him in the "laws" of their disobedience and so have made some public invasion.

Addressed: For her Majesty's affairs. To the right honourable Sir William Bowes, knight, her Majesty's Ambassador for Scotland at Hexame, give this with all convenient speed. Haste post haste. *Signed:* Ra: Graye.

Postal endorsements: Received at Belford this 27 at 4 in the morning being willed by the bringer to certify the post of Morpeth that he should send this packet to Newcastle where it might happily meet Sir William. Alnewecke this 27 at 9 in the morning.

3 *pp. Much mutilated with many alterations.*

June 27. **35. Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 307. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 356.

[You shall understand I have] dealt with his Majesty [concerning the] pledges that should be delivered. He has [referred that] to your own coming and is persuaded [that there will] be no delivery of your side. There was sundry [excuses that] prolong their readiness so long

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1597. as I shall [show you] at meeting on Monday your lordship is looked for [here]. I cannot see how you are able to retard that . . . considering how the "tyd sales." I shall prepare [your lod]ging if it is necessary that one come afar. [There] is no word of the King of Denmark. [Mr. Geo]rge Young should not be dispatched before [the p]ledges be entered. Falkland, this [27 June] at night. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

½ *p. Holograph. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

June 28. **36.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD SCROPE.

Vol. lii, p. 183. I have received from your lordship two letters of late, the one touching the matter of the Carletons, the other concerning the putting in of the pledges. For the first wherein your particular is much interested I have thought good presently to deliver you my opinion. The Carletons, as you know, are appointed to make their repair hither to answer many foul misdemeanours. Your lordship would send up nobody if you might have hope to come yourself. Of that I can quit you now until Sir William Bowes come, which I hope shall be very shortly. When I consider how strange it will appear to the Lords if they shall present themselves before them and there shall be nobody of your part to contest with them I cannot but speak freely to your lordship that your proceeding will thereby [be] adjudged uncertain. And therefore I beseech you *in omnem eventum* let us have somebody here personally to front those base varlets and be sure of this that as soon as Sir William Bowes shall be arrived there shall be no opportunity omitted to hasten your coming hither and I will so order the matter if I find likelihood of your coming that the conclusion of their cause shall be delayed until your arrival, although in my opinion it will be more honour to you to have them condemned in your absence than in your presence, where it may be thought the greatness of your person may overweigh the cause. For the other part of your letter concerning the matter of the pledges, I like your resolution to do what you may but can make no answer to any purpose (if there were cause as there is none), for that I received your letter of the 25th which is the time that you were to receive the indents. To conclude I will not deceive any trust you shall repose in me for anything, neither will I desire any other judges than my Lord Chamberlain and my Lady your wife, with whom sometime I have some sour arguments about you when all things fall not out as she would have them whereby your coming up might be hastened. From the Court at Greenwich, 28 June 1597.

1⅓ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "Copie of my Master's letter to my Lo: Scroope."

June 28. **37.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR ROBERT CAREY AND JOHN CAREY.

Vol. lii, p. 184. Sir Robert Carey having seen in a letter of yours to my Lord my father that you took hold of my words for your coming up without leave, I must in my own discharge say thus much unto you, that the

1597. time is changed since your departure and that Sir William Bowes has made no reurn as yet. When he comes then will it be fit for you to write up to my Lord Chamberlain or any of us to have liberty to come up, for till the Queen has heard by Sir William Bowes and Mr. Young who is coming from the King what the King will do it will be ill taken that you come up unlicensed and if you think, Sir, to avow me you must pardon me for I cannot warrant it.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "Copie of my Master's letters to Sir Robert Carye and to Mr. John Carye," *and in margin:* "28 Junii 1597."

June 29. **38. Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.**

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 294. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 342.

[By my letters of the 26 from Chillingham I advertised the success of our meeting for the delivery] of pledges at [the West Ford near N]orham and amongst other things that the [L.] Home and the laird of Wederburne gave me their [promise] that, seeing the time served not then being at 9 hours [in] the evening and my L. Eure and I to ride near 20 miles that night, they would set down in writing under their hands the material circumstances that had passed in conference between us that day. For conveyance of which certificate to me with better speed and surety I sent to attend upon them for that purpose Mr. James Swinoe, one of her Majesty's gentlemen pensioners in Berwick, who has sundry times heretofore deserved very well in this service. I have sent your Honour a copy of Mr. Swinoe's letter herewithal by cause it contains sundry things worthy the observing, especially that this certificate under the L. Hume and the laird of Wederburne's hands is a transcript of the certificate made by them to the King. They have left unsatisfied my desire only in this that I requested the very copy *totidem verbis* of that answer which B. and S. gave to the Commissioners under their hands as well because it contains sundry material circumstances as also because it might witness the direct breach of their promise made in the said writing, namely, that if I would deliver all the pledges which I had there, they would deliver such as they had showed. And albeit the Commissioners' report besides the writing delivered in thus unto me as I in the conclusion at our parting delivered it so openly in by the Commissioners' assent in the hearing of the lords, gentlemen and many others of both nations, indeed purposely to disgrace them according to their merit, yet in this certificate that point for their honour is thus salved, viz. that their offer was only to deliver if they might have all the pledges, which word (all) being here left indefinite did indeed plainly express all such pledges as I had there showed. And for this reason I made that large offer of so great advantage to them because I saw them drawn into this dilemma that either they should break their promise [which I secretly understood to have been made] to their thieves, which was that there should be no delivery made of them [or else break their promise instantly made by them and given under their hands].

But to take it as [it is this act will make them odious to all the well]

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1597. disposed of their own nation as I [perceived by the honest gentlemen] of the Merse, to whom in calm [terms I laid them open] in my general speech afore mentioned.

I have sent your Honour also here enclosed [the letter of the] Lord Hume and the laird of Wedderburne pur[posely to] satisfy their desire by returning them a do[uble thereof under] my hand.

It may please you to have in safety both [the certificates and] letter, because upon occasion they may ha . . . mony hereafter.*

I have likewise herewith sent you my uncle['s last letter to me] that you may see what conceit is had of [the King's resolution] in this delivery and indeed I was credibly [informed that he] sent thrice on Tuesday and Wednesday last immediat[ely after our leave] taken at Falkland that Bucklugh should eith[er enter his pled]ges or be committed. Whereupon proceeded that e[arnest and particular] dealing by the Council with us in the matter of the pledges [certified to you] in my former letters, easily discovering their af[fection to this] justice and their cunning abusing the King's facility [both in this] and more to the detriment of both the nations.

I have certified to the Ambassador in Scotland the [relation of our mee]ting with the speed I could to the end [that he might encounter] the first report made thereof to the King. [I shall also send] him a double of this certificate which with the [L. Hume's packet] by the negligence of the posts came two days [later to me] than it should.

By my riding three whole nights together [upon the Borders] for the necessity of this service I find my[self distempered so far] as if I favour my health for five or six days [I trust her] Majesty will conceive no offence. From my house at B[radly], 29 June '97.

2 *pp. Draft in Sir William Bowes's hand. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

June 29. 39. EXTRACT FROM THE ACTS OF COUNCIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 9. Apud Edinburgh penultimo die mensis Junii anno domini MV^{c} nonagesimo septimo.

The King's Majesty with the advice of the Lords of Secret Council, in respect Johnne Armstrong of Hollus, Jok Armstrong Kynmonthis Jok, Will Bell redcloik, Hobbie Irwing, Edward Carlile of Lymekillis, Will Grahame Clothmannis Willie and David Johnstoun of the Reidhaugh have been in company of and divers times with Sir James Johnstoun of Dunskellie, knight, at his warden and justice court and otherwise at all occasions since he was constituted warden of the West March of this realm, ordains and commands him therefore to take, apprehend, bring, present and enter them before his Majesty and Lords of his Secret Council within the burgh of Edinburgh upon 11 July next to be taken order with as his Highness and his said Council shall think expedient. And William, Lord Herries, and Master Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden, being both personally present for them-

* Harl. MS. reads " they may be of good use hereafter."

1597. selves and in name of Sir James Douglas of Drumlangrig, knight, promised faithfully to concur, fortify and assist the said Sir James Johnstoun to the execution of the premises, as also that they by themselves or some special person directed for every one of them shall "compeir" personally before his Highness and his said Council upon the day aforesaid and answer upon their diligence done thereanent.

"Extractum per me Willelmum Wylie clericum sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus." *Signed:* Willelmus Wylie. 1 *p.*

June 29 & 30. **40.** EXTRACTS FROM THE ACTS OF COUNCIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 8.

Apud Edinburgh penultimo die mensis Junii anno domini MV^{c} nonagesimo septimo.

The which day in presence of the King's Majesty and Lords of the Secret Council Sir Robert Ker apparent of Cessford, knight, faithfully promised to enter and present Raulff Anyslie of Cleithauch, Jok Burn minor of the Quott, laird Frasyr of Overtoun, William Hall of Havresyde, Raulff Hall of the Sybis, David Pringill younger of Hownum, Jok Robsoun of Oxname, James Young of Feltreschaw, James Young of the Coiff, David Davidsoun, Raulff Mow of Mow, William Vanc of Chantreis, [*blank*] Rutherfurd eldest son to William of Littleheuch, Raulff Burne of the Quot, before his Majesty and Lords of the Secret Council within the burgh of Edinburgh upon 7 July next to be taken order with as his Highness shall think expedient. "Sic subscribitur, Sir Robert Ker."

Apud Edinburgh ultimo die mensis Junii anno domini MV^{c} nonagesimo septimo.

The which day Sir Walter Scot of Branxholme, knight, in presence of the King's Majesty and Lords of Secret Council faithfully promised to enter and present Sym Armstrong, laird of Mangertoun, Sym Armstrong, young laird of Mangertoun, Will Ellot of Larestoun Arche Ellot son of Martyne, Will Ellott of the Steill, Johnne Niksoun of the Hyeasches, before his Majesty and Lords of Secret Council within the burgh of Edinburgh upon 9 July next to be taken order with as his Highness shall think expedient. "Sic subscribitur, Bacleugh."

"Extractum per me Willelmum Wylie clericum sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus." *Signed:* Willelmus Wylie. 1 *p.*

[1597, June.] **41.** OCCURRENTS OUT OF SCOTLAND.

Vol. lxi, No. 7.

Sir William Bowes has been at the King at Falkland but can no way obtain his petition.

All the four wardens are now here. Buccleuch (Buclugh) and Johnstone (Jhonston) went to the King yesternight but for what cause or what answer I must needs defer till the next occasion.

The King's coming was looked for but he is warned not to come till Mr. George Young (Yong) be dispatched out of Scotland towards

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1597. London and this shall be done before Sir William shall be dispatched from hence.

The Council resident here has decreed for the pledges to be sent in England but their names be kept so close that neither of the Ambassadors can obtain knowledge thereof and this is kept quiet expressly till Sir William be gone and then the pledges shall be offered with certain conditions which I understand shall be somewhat hard because the best part of the wisest are against the sending of any pledges in England.

There is no other great matter aloft here at this time saving two things; one, the perpetual attendance on the King of Denmark; another, the search of the Jesuits and their proceedings, but that matter I hope shall fall out otherwise than some men look for. *Unsigned.* 1 *p.*

[?1597, June.] **42.** [MR. NICHOLSON]* TO [LORD BURGHLEY].

Vol. lxi, No. 10. It will not dismay your lordship that my brother after his long and forced stay having permission returned to your lordship's son as to whom the substance of that he was able to write did appertain. And in respect the particulars of all his noisome voyage had been tedious to have been repeated by letter, he gave me the charge, who am his brother, to make relation of the particular heads thereof to your son, who being absent I thought it most meet to make my address to you, who desired me to put that in writing that I would say. Because you did not understand of our former dealing with your son I have set down the whole matter in writing of my brother's proceedings with him and the grounds thereof, beseeching you to peruse it, although it be not set down in so polished language that you will take the substance not looking to the style, which you shall find of truth upon the pain of our lives. If your lordship finds anything worthy the name of service we crave the same be weighed in the honourable balance of your agreeable estimation, which shall encourage us to double zeal to your mainest service, wherein hoping in deed to give proof I rest to "impatche" your lordship further. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In a Scottish handwriting.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Mr. Nicholson to Lord Burghley?)

Vol. lxi, No. 11. My brother being at Campvere (Campheir) employed by Mr. Bowes for some service directed me to the King of Spain's bounds with some letters to the Earls of Huntly and Errol who were there for the present with a letter of credit to the laird of Logie (Logy) who was likewise there and had written divers times to my brother desiring him that he would come there. The said Logie was apprehended for the writing of a letter directed to your lordship's son mentioning that which he had learned in the King's bounds giving the said letter to an Englishman to have been the carrier of it, who by the counsel of Father Holt (Haut), Jesuit, and of Sir William Stanley gave the letter to Count de Fuentes (Fountes) there governor, upon the which Logie was

* Not the English agent in Scotland. Thomas Nicolson Queen's agent in Calais. (H.M.C. *Cecil*, xi, 86.)

1597. apprehended and imprisoned. Likewise I being come to Ordam upon the river of Antwerp (Handwerp) bound to the said Earls and with my letter of credit to Logie was there apprehended and my letters taken from me and sent to the castle of Antwerp, where I was kept the space of fourteen days. From thence I was carried to Brussels to prison, where I remained the space of seven months and a half prisoner very hardly used. I was accused that I was come of purpose to learn of Logie what he had learnt in the King's bounds and to report the same to my brother, whom they knew to be her Majesty's man of England. Upon the which I was at two sundry times bound to the torture to have made me confess the same. During the time of my imprisonment Father Gordon (Gordoune), uncle to the Earl of Huntly, and his "consor" Father Crichton (Crychtoune) had "accedit" unto me with Mr. Andrew Clark, a Scots gentleman and entertained by the King of Spain, who showed me that if my brother would serve the King and the good cause he might find greater reward in a year nor he would do in all his lifetime serving the state of England. The said Clairk had permission to speak privately with me at sundry times and showed me that if my brother would serve the King he would assure him with his life and credit that he should find contentment by the same. At my parting from Brussels, being delivered out of prison by the mean made by the Earl of Errol then prisoner at Campvere, the said Clark wrote with me to my brother desiring him that he would haste to the King's bounds as he regarded his advancement. Likewise after my brother's trouble by the Estates for their suspicion the said Mr. Clark wrote again saying he did marvel that he did so little respect a golden occasion of his profit. My brother being at London advising with your lordship's son for his ganging there Mr. Clark wrote to me being in Zeeland that I would advertise my brother that it was his Altesse's will that he should meet him at Dunkirk or Calais, to which place his Altesse [Archduke Albert] wished him to bring a Scots bark with him with Scots "marynelles" [mariners] and that he would have me remain in Flanders as pledge for that should be given my brother to do. The which my brother embraced having advised with your son and by his directions given to Monsieur Caron, then agent for the Estates at London, wrote to Monsieur Regersberg of Campvere that they would let me pass to the King of Spain's bounds. At the sight of the said letter it was permitted to me to pass. Being arrived at Brussels his Altesse's secretary called Moriensart (Morransort) received me very favourably and upon the morn thereafter brought me a letter written by his Altesse's own hand to be given to the governor of the castle of Antwerp desiring me to gang there and remain till my brother's coming, showing me that it was his Altesse's will that I should be well entertained and he had written that letter to the same effect. This I found to be of truth, for at my first coming to the castle I was very well "accepit quhill that" matters were altered. Likewise my brother passed from London with a Scottish bark and having your son's letters to Sir Henry Palmer, then Admiral of her Majesty's ships in the Narrow Seas, to let him pass to Calais for her Majesty's service, with another commission and pass to have assistance if need were. Who being absent, his lieutenant Jeremie Tourner

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1597. would not suffer him to pass without he would leave with him for his warrant the pass which he had of your son with his commission. Being arrived at Calais he was very well "accepit" of the governor and upon the morn he took horses with one with him which the governor gave him for his convoy to Brussels. Being arrived there his Altesse's confessor came to him and showed him he should have presence the morn of his Altesse. But all was "henderit" with and by the great travails of one Charles Paget, Father Holt Jesuit and one Mr. Owen (Œuin), all your lordship's countrymen, who had received a letter of an intelligence from Zeeland showing that my brother was direct from your son for some piece of desperate service. Whereon the said Paget found way to reingratiate himself with the Cardinal being all out of his favour or any of his officers in so far that he was inhibited to come to any part where the Court was at any time. This advertisement was sent either to Charles Paget or to Mr. Owen (Œuine), to which of them I know not certainly, but Owen showed Mr. Robert Bruce, a Scots gentleman, that he knew from a good part that my brother was sent there for some very great treason and your son was his director. In sum, with Father Holt they went to the Cardinal's chief secretary of the "Vairis" and showed their assurance of their information of my brother's evil disposition, desiring that whatsoever I promised or with what assurance it might be that I should not be credited. So they dealt with his secretary Mancicidor (Mansisidor) that he resolved on the assurance they gave him of my brother's bad disposition to alter his Altesse's intention and determined purpose to employ my brother, as he did although not without great travail, neither could for all their informations stay his Altesse to grant him his presence, although to no purpose or advantage. They moved his Altesse to demand of him if he would assist an honest man to the surprising of Campvere. He asked the man's name. They refused to show him his name until they saw him embrace the proposal, but his Altesse said he would answer for the man's honesty. My brother's answer was that he would participate with no man in that matter, showing the danger that was by the example of the Scots gentleman who suffered for their service in the same action, but if his Altesse would furnish him with men and other things requisite for such an action he would take upon him to surprise the same place. It was demanded of him what number he would require; answer 400 Spaniards or Ireland men with a dozen of commanders and that he should come and receive them at Blankenberg (Blankberrie), where they might easily embark and make their voyage in the space of four hours having good wind. They moved his Altesse to demand of him if he would refuse the sacrament after their form upon that service. Answered by him that he had shown before his coming of what profession he was and that for no king nor prince's service he would alter, but what other security he could give his Altesse of his well willing mind to serve him he would willingly give it. Whereon his Altesse took to be advised till the morn. Upon the morn his Altesse's secretary sent for him. After he had demanded sundry things of him he showed him that it was his Altesse's will that he should return to Calais and there receive his direction from the governor. [He] answered that at his Altesse's

1597. desire he had come there and that the night before he had promised him his presence with his answer of the foresaid proposals; who answered to my brother that his Altesse was informed of his evil disposition towards them and as for that proposal of Campvere that he esteemed that he would deal with them as the English gentleman who promised to lead their soldiers to the Brill (Breille), showing him that they would not make him for the first year conductor of so many of their soldiers to lead to a place where he could not well bring them back nor yet lodge them well being there. So he showed him that if he would not part according to the direction given by his Altesse that he would know himself if that he were caused [to] stay when he would go. So that he was in this unexpected form frustrated of all the favours [which] were appointed for him grounded on no less appearance than I have declared to your lordship.

My brother being returned to Calais was commanded by the governor to keep his lodging, which he [did?] with those that were with him for the space of six weeks; during which space he "ingenerit" [engendered] an infirmity and sickness which had cost him his life if he had not got liberty to take the air of the "fydelis" [? fields] which was permitted to him by the governor having heard of his disease by the report of the doctor of medicine. So that he got liberty to go to St. Omer to take the air for the space [of] eight or nine days where he learnt that which he has given a charge to show to your son, to wit that being at St. Omer at the time the Admiral [of Aragon] was come back from the taking of Monhuilling [? Montalin] in France Father Mathias was in his company, who is his Altesse's confessor. [He] hearing tell my brother was in the town came to him and showed him that it was the English men that had hindered his Altesse "on employed him" [? from employing him] and for his own part he would do him all the pleasure that he could but with the better will if he would change his profession. Being in this point with my brother and reasoning upon matters of religion there was another "grefier" who was in company with him [and] took the occasion upon that after the parting of Father Mathias out of town to come and visit my brother, having heard of Father Mathias what my brother was, and after long reasoning upon the heads of religion he showed him that he would open a matter unto him if he would give his oath to be faithful unto him. Whereupon they "condessendit" being sworn both the parties. The friar showed my brother that he was of the same religion that my brother was of and that he was a Frenchman born at Orleans and that his father was slain at the trouble there and his mother with three of her children came to Flanders to Antwerp. Of the which the elder was captain ensign (anseingze) of a company that lies in Gravelines and the other was sergeant of that same company. For himself he had taken the habit that it might be a colour to him to do some notable service to his country and to those of his religion and that he had been twice or thrice employed by his Altesse in Spain, so that he had done such service that he would not be suspected in anything he would do. His service which he had in hand he showed my brother he thought to give it to the King of France, but seeing he was not the defender of the Kirk and

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1597. that he had changed his coat by the advice of my brother he has changed his mind and will bestow it upon her Majesty of England upon such conditions as he desires. The service is that he will cause his brethren render the town and "slous" of Gravelines in her Majesty's hands and for the performance of the same he shall come to what place it shall be appointed by the council and remain till the enterprise be performed. He shall come with my brother. His desire is to have the town given to the poor fugitives of the religion and to have his brethren recompensed when they have done this turn. The number which he requires to put the same in practice is three hundred soldiers, chosen men, which he would have put in three castles hard by appertaining to the King of France named Brulantberg, Samer and Sell, or if her Majesty could not have those three places that they should come from Ostend by night and by water such time as should be appointed and most fit for the purpose. In performance of the same he shall come where it shall be appointed with my brother or me as if he were going some other way and should give his life in pledge for the bringing the same to pass. He desired my brother would use diligence for the delivery of the same. My brother showed him that I was yet detained at the castle of Antwerp and that he would gladly have had me deliver it before his parting. He answered that he would take care that his Altesse should give me liberty to pass where I pleased, which he did after I had remained six months and some days. My brother parted to Calais and there took some order with his host of his lodging for his surfeit charges which he and his company were forced to make and left his friend who accompanied him there in "paindes" [pawn] till his return or whilst he should send him furniture to make his relief and took a "tambour" and came to Boulogne, from thence thinking to come here to have made his overture. The governor who then commanded caused apprehend him, take his papers and put himself prisoner, demanding of him for what service he did gang to Calais and where his passport was which he had to gang, with other divers commands. He found nothing but that he was well minded to do some service to her Majesty and he [my brother] was released out of prison. He promised the mayor to have your lordship's son's letter to him that with his advice he entered Calais. Upon this the mayor wrote to your son to know his mind therein. My brother is back to St. Omer, saying his friend should be wrong informed of him, I mean the friar not fearing the imprisonment for his part(?) nor any other danger so much as he regarded the weal of his project or "plat," which is so surely grounded that he is resolved to give his life for the same rather than it should "mysfair." He beseeches your son to have a like regard to his supporting in the same, who has served these three years come July next upon his own costs with the hazard of his life. For we have spent fifteen hundred crowns of gold of our own and of credit and all with desire to merit in some great matter before I should seek the least reward. So this is the credit which was committed to the bearer, written by my brother to your lordship's son. *Unsigned.*

8¼ *pp. In the same handwriting as the covering letter. Endorsed in Burghley's hand:* "Nicholson. Scottishman."

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[? 1597, June.]

43. [BREVIATE OF SPEECHES TO BE DELIVERED TO THE SCOTTISH KING BY WILLIAM BOWES, KNIGHT, DRAWN OUT OF MR. SECRETARY'S INSTRUCTIONS.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 300. Partial copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 349.

1. To show the] cause of my repair unto him, letting him see the necessity appearing to have him dealt with in this behalf 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 Sesforth and 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 injury Bucklugh himself, his Majesty's Officer, has been a fresh ringleader.

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 their injuries.

1 *p.* *Draft in the hand of Sir William Bowes.*

July 4.

44. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxi, No. 12.

Forasmuch as Sir William Bowes (presently in his journey towards the Court) can most sufficiently and with best certainty inform your lordship in all the proceedings and success at his late meeting with Lord Hume and Sir George Hume, knight, laird of Wedderburne, at the West Ford near Norham on 25 June last for delivery of pledges to have been there and then reciprocally delivered and received, which failed on the part of Scotland, I leave all the same to his report; trust-

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1597. ing that upon good consideration of the particularities passed in this action and of the effects following thereon and certified in these presents timely notice shall be given to me of her Majesty's pleasure therein and with full direction for my entrance into and pursuit of such course as in the present condition of these broken causes shall be found most convenient.

On Monday last, 27 June, Mark Hume came to the King at Inverkeithing (Enderkething) in Fife from the Lord Hume with advertisement of the effects occurred at the meeting mentioned. His discourse (as I am credibly informed) both agreed much with the certificates thereof sent by Sir William Bowes to me and also well approved Sir William's good carriage of those matters, with note of the defections evidently there seen in Buccleuch and Cessford, as Lord Hume and Wedderburne (the King's Comissioners at that meeting) have since their coming hither (as I hear) sufficiently testified. The King then appeared to be greatly offended with the "defeyte" of this delivery ordained by the treaty and promised by himself to have been then executed by his Commissioners employed and sent thither for that purpose, and condemning Buccleuch and Cessford herein he seemed then to be careful and resolved to reform the errors past and to punish the defaults in his Wardens. Wherein he wrote to the Lord Treasurer here to deal with me. Whereupon the Lord Treasurer sent to me Mr. George Younge on Tuesday last to acquaint me with the King's mind, desiring my assent for new appointment of time, place and requisite circumstances convenient for full delivery of the pledges and perfect accomplishment thereof.

Albeit I declared myself willing to do any good office in the furtherance of the due delivery of the pledges and performance of the residue of the ordinances enacted by the treaty, yet because these deliveries were thus appointed by the treaty; secondly that the King had promised the "indelate" execution thereof by his Commissioners at this meeting and Sir William Bowes for her Majesty was ready there to complete the same, tendering such overtures for her as the King's Commissioners approved and allowed, and nevertheless Buccleuch and Cessford refused them with fresh and further practices there noted in them to defeat this cause, notwithstanding that they stood filed and to be delivered justly to her Majesty for other crimes and without due punishment for these strange insolencies little justice, peace or good order could be expected by new treaties and meetings; therefore I answered that I saw small reason and had no warrant* to assent to any new appointment in this case without her Majesty's privity, pleasure and direction. I coupled my resolution given to Mr. George with declaration of many recent and odious attempts done in the West Marches of England by Liddisdale and other Scotsmen since the departure of the Commissioners from Carlisle and newly in the very entry of the last meeting at Norham, with continual oppression of her Majesty's subjects and so far without regard or redress as it ought to be remedied either by ordinary or else by armed justice. Mr. George

* The words "no warrant" have been underlined and in the margin Cecil has written "a good answer."

1597. allowing my answer promised to return and report it by the Lord Treasurer, referring all other matters to my next audience to be given me by the King, intending to come hither the next day and to lodge in the Treasurer's house here as he has done.

Sir Robert Melvill sent by the King to me on Wednesday last let me know that the King and Council by their act registered had ordained that Sir Robert Kerr, Buccleuch and Johnstone should give cautions severally to enter and present the pledges to be severally delivered by them before the King and Council within Edinburgh at days limited for the same. The first delivery for 14 pledges should be made by Sir Robert Kerr on the 7th of this month; the second for six pledges by Buccleuch on the 9th; and the third for seven pledges by Johnstone on the 11th. It is conceived that the King hereby shall possess himself of those pledges and that thereon he will yield good satisfaction to her Majesty in that behalf, like as it was promised that I should have further experience at my next access to the King on the next day following or shortly after.

This course was thought (I perceive) to have been well accepted and I allowed of the same in some sort and with expostulation what should be now done to Buccleuch and young Cessford, not only for their former crimes whereof they are filed but also for their disobedience and defaults showed at the late meeting at the West Ford against the King's promise and honour and their own duties and assurances to the King. In this Sir Robert referred me to the knowledge of the King's pleasure without further answer to my question or excuse for these persons charged. Yet knowing Sir Robert's good devotion to her Majesty, the amity and common peace and that he might with reason stir up the King to have princely respect to his own honour and estate and for the prevention of the dangers and inconveniences threatened, I acquainted him with the contents of her Majesty's letter to Sir William Bowes and myself, thinking that as the view of the same, excellently endited, had wrought especial effects in the King, so it might prevail in Sir Robert to renew the King's memory both of her Majesty's most royal and kind manner in dealings and course with the King and also of his firm and confident assurance offered to Sir William Bowes and me (and by us certified to her Majesty) for performance of delivery of the pledges at Norham and there evidently defeated by Buccleuch and Cessford, who plainly opposing themselves against the execution of the treaty for redress and justice are nevertheless still employed and made instruments for the advancement of redress and justice, notwithstanding that by the due accomplishment of true justice in those cases they [and] their followers' strength and bravery must needs fall and perish. Sir Robert well took up those things thus offered and has well applied the medicine.

Albeit I expected audience of the King on the next day he was so entertained with great affairs as it was deferred until Friday last in the afternoon. That day in the Lord President's garden in Edinburgh the King declared to me how greatly he had been (and was) grieved and tired with these accidents fallen at the late meeting for delivery of the pledges, what slender help he found by his Council's advice and how the Lord Hume had reported the effects occurred at that meeting. With

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1597. good commendation he approved the equity of Sir William Bowes's tender of the English pledges, his overtures therein and whole course of his actions there (which were fully confirmed by the Lord Hume and Wedderburne). Thereon he much reproved the obstinacy of Buccleuch and Cessford refusing the tender and overtures and their weak excuse for the same, and charging his Commissioners for the Borders to have changed and put out of the roll the principals of the English pledges named by them. Wherein he was given to think (and to understand as he said) that Buccleuch and Cessford had no intention to have delivered any pledges for them that day, notwithstanding that he had notified to them his promise newly made to Sir William Bowes and me for performance of that complete delivery which he commanded them to accomplish and which they undertook to execute. He confessed that if he should not reform those faults speedily and for his own honour he might be worthily condemned to want either will or power to perform his own promise and to tender necessary effects importing both realms. Therefore he and his Council had ordained and taken cautions that the 27 Scottish pledges to be delivered to England should be entered and presented by his Wardens and Keeper of Liddisdale before himself and Council within Edinburgh. Of which number of pledges Sir Robert Kerr is bound to deliver 14 on the 7th instant, Buccleuch 6 on the 9th and Johnstone 7 on the 11th, agreeable to the Act of Council made in that behalf, the copy of which I send enclosed and for receipt whereof I have been driven to delay the address of these presents much beyond my purpose. He assured himself to get all these pledges into his possession, protesting thereon both to deliver them to her Majesty's Wardens according to the treaty and also on his part to perform the residue of all the acts concluded by the treaty with good satisfaction to her Majesty.

After I had thus ended I recounted to him the whole proceedings at the meeting near Norham, noting how the same succeeded far contrary to his expectation and promise and with great disobedience in Buccleuch and Cessford (as himself had acknowledged), and wherewith I thought her Majesty should be provoked timely and princely to enable her oppressed subjects to defend and revenge the wrongs offered to her, like as by her commandment (by her letter to Sir William Bowes and me and showed to himself) we had lately and faithfully intimated to him. He readily approved my report of the effects passed at the meeting and he roundly promised to repair the defaults therein for her Majesty's good satisfaction and relief of her subjects, which general promise I embraced. Nevertheless I laboured to disclose not only the doubts and delays in the execution in regard that the trust for performance is committed to the chief offenders and that the accomplishment of the trust in them shall ruin their own estates and of all their followers; but also the insufficiency of the order enacted by him and his Council and providing thereby no means for any due or honourable redress to be given to her Majesty in her just demands for delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford already filed for odious crimes and running headlong into all extremities against the peace and without punishment by the support of others censuring those causes. Herewith I made mention of

the employment, first of Mr. George Young and next of Sir Robert Melvill sent to me, of their messages and my answers thereunto, together with my reasons fortifying my course taken with them, and all specified before in these presents. It appeared that Sir Robert and Mr. George had well reported and used my speeches with them. Therefore taking occasion to repeat and amplify to the King my arguments both before proponed to his messengers and also at this audience presented to himself, I concluded with request that he would rightly weigh these important causes and resolutely deliver to me his determinate mind, that I might boldly recommend the same to her Majesty's knowledge.

Forasmuch as he still assured himself to recover into his possession within few days the bodies of his pledges and of his Wardens and Keeper of Liddisdale, as thereby he might be able to proceed with her Majesty in all justice, he promised and protested to deliver all the Scottish pledges to her Wardens agreeable to the treaty, to perform fully on his behalf all the accords and acts concluded by the late Commissioners in the treaty, and that for her Majesty's further and full satisfaction in all these Border matters (as he had promised before to Sir William Bowes and myself) he would employ and send to her Mr. George Young, then to be furnished with the surety of the possession of these pledges and officers and also to be instructed and authorised with effectual order to yield honourable, just and kind contentment to her Majesty, and that without confident hope of good performance of the same he would not address to her his Ambassador herein. Lastly, he agreed to command Johnstone to make "indelate" delivery for the recent bills (namely for the last attempt committed by the Bells and Carlylls) in the West Marches of England, and that he would also charge his other wardens and officers to keep the peace and render due redresses for all recent bills, praying me to acquaint her Majesty's wardens with his mind and resolution herein that on their behalf good order might be performed and justice administered.

Being credibly informed that great offers by money and land shall be made by Scottishmen to sundry of the English pledges to tempt and allure them to withdraw themselves as her Majesty's wardens shall not be able to deliver them to the Scottish officers at the time and place to be appointed for the same and as thereby the Scottish wardens and officers may be discharged (or at least relieved) in the delivery of the full number to be presented by them, I have severally by my letters warned all her Majesty's wardens herein that they may be always ready and able to execute her pleasure in any sort to be directed to them. [*In the margin in Sir R. Cecil's hand:* There is no reason to deliver the English pledges before the Scottish be delivered into England.]

That you may understand the intended practice of the laird of Ladyland (Ladylandes) and his complices conspiring and attempting to take and keep the Isle and house of Ailsa (Ilishey) in the mouth of Clyde I have sent enclosed the note of sundry particularities confessed by the parties taken in Ladyland's company at that attempt and detained in prison. The defeat of this enterprise and the whole carriage of the course therein were only contrived by the wisdom,

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courage and good means of Mr. Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley (Paseley), who has performed many great things before to the benefit of religion, both sovereigns and these two realms and who lives presently in good hope to compass effects of more importance. He is entered into dangerous "feades" by his commendable behaviour and actions against the papists and practisers for Spain and especially for prevention of Ladyland's designs and in discovery and arrest of Mr. George Kerr with all the papist Earls' blanks to have been presented to the King of Spain. Having been always privy with him in these affairs in his present estate and perils (for his life is now greedily sought by many and strong persons) I find it very expedient that he and one or two of his kinsmen (instruments in these cases) should be timely and favourably comforted, encouraged and supported, which I recommend to your good furtherance and which relief shall (I verily trust) be found well employed. The Lord Herries (Harrys) and Ladyland's brother were committed to ward in Edinburgh Castle and now are at liberty upon caution as it is like that their punishment shall be by the purse.

Huntly and Errol have been publicly (as I hear) at the sermon in Aberdeen on 26 June last and are absolved from their excommunication with great triumph showed in that town for the same. Mr. James Gordon is sent into Ireland (as it is told me and whereunto I dare not yet give hasty credit) and he is past in the Earl of Caithness's own bark with the Earl's direction to Tyrone.

The plague is fallen in Musselburgh and drawing near to this town which is greatly afraid thereof. That these may be no further tedious to your lordship I leave all other occurrents to my next, humbly praying pardon for my present error herein and for the delay of this address prolonged for receipt of the order for the pledges. Edinburgh, 4 July 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed with notes of the contents by Burghley's clerk.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Discovery of Ladyland's designs in taking of Ailsa.)

Vol. lxi, No. 121.

It is revealed and known to be of verity that the conspiracy to have been accomplished by the taking and forcing of Ailsa (Ilishay) was devised by the laird of Ladyland, Colonel Hakerson, the Spanish Ambassador, who convened in France in the town of Nantes in October last, where Ailsa was termed the Isle of Guyanna and given out as very fertile and commodious for fishing but inhabited by barbarous people and once possessed not recoverable by no enemy out of the hands of men of war. For taking whereof there was contribution promised by sundry noblemen of France, England and Scotland, the names whereof shall, God willing, come shortly to knowledge. The traffickers for this contribution were in France Hakerston, in England Richard Skeldon and in Scotland Ladyland himself. The chief ends of the taking hereof were, first, to set up and maintain a public mass in this island which should be patent to all distressed papists, "querfra" soever they shall

1597. come; a place of relief and refreshment to the Spaniard or rather a port to them at their arrival in Ireland; and a storehouse to keep furnishing and all things profitable to the use of the Earl of Tyrone, with the which Earl Ladyland by his commissioners has been busy since his last coming in Scotland. After the taking of the said island Ladyland devised to have sent William Liddell to Spain with message of their enterprise and to crave money and furnishing. The bark that was fugitive, out of the which Ladyland came "quhen he drowned" is arrived at Southannan, his coffers broken up and a great quantity of letters got therein, so that if the said William may be apprehended, as I hope to do, God willing, shortly, there will be a great revelation of treason touching both the countries.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed:* "Discoverie of Ladyland's dissygnes in taking of Ilishaye."

July 11/21. **45. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Vol. lxi, No. 13. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 194-5.

Being with his Majesty's good liking under his hand and secret seal come to Holland for my lawful affairs, yet acknowledging a special obligation there both for safety of my life and supply of my necessities at sundry times heretofore by her Majesty's gracious goodness procured by your means, if I should not carry with me whithersoever fortune should carry me an unchangeable mind to her service I should be most unthankful. For which cause these few lines be to know if my weak endeavours here or elsewhere may be serviceable or acceptable to her Majesty or yourself since I esteem your Honour my only director and Mecenas. Assuring your lordship this much, if it be your pleasure I continue intelligence (which now in this place I may do without suspicion) that I am both able and willing to do good service for I am in company where I may without offence try things which your own patriots cannot so pertinently do. As ever it be employed or not employed my heart shall be English and my person subject to your laws if I deal unfaithfully.

I would gladly know if any good course be taken with the Lord Sanquhar, for upon hope that he should take something in hand for her Majesty's service I was desired both by my lord Ambassador and by him to find myself here. Otherways I had no errand. And if his fortune be to do any service I trust he will confess I was his persuader. Alway, if nothing be concluded with his lordship, so being it stand with her Majesty's pleasure, I shall yet find a man upon reasonable conditions not only to haunt the enemy here but also to understand of their intentions.

Beside this there is here a matter presently in broaching, whereof I believe your Honour has not heard yet, a matter very needful to be known there, but I dare not hazard in particular to express it till I receive your cipher, which pleasing you send me together with some warrant to Mr. Gilpin, your Ambassador, to receive my letters, it shall be communicated.

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Of the state of matters here, for that your ordinary can better inform thereof nor any other, I abstain, save only this that the Poland Ambassador and Orator is come hither and is of purpose to be in France there and with the enemy to treat of a general abstinence from war amongst all Christian princes for resisting the Turk, who assisted with the Persian is preparing incredible forces. From Hag[ue], this 21 of July, 1597, *stilo novo*. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1¾ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 13. **46. Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley.**

Vol. lxi, No. 14.

Albeit the King and Council ordained by their Act registered (the copy whereof I sent to you with my last before these) that the 27 pledges for Scotland should be entered and presented in Edinburgh before the King and Council by Cessford, Buccleuch and Johnstone at days and by numbers severally prescribed, the execution whereof the King afterwards straitly commanded and those officers firmly promised, yet this ordinance has not been effected agreeable to the order enacted.

For Cessford appearing before the Council at Edinburgh on the 7th hereof presented 7 of the 14 pledges to have been then delivered by him. He offered the father and brother to supply the places of two others alleged to be sick and absent. He pleaded that one of these pledges enrolled was misnamed and no such person within his office; and the other 4 wanting he referred to the delivery of Fernihirst (Farniherst) who has entered 3 of them, so as two still remain to complete his full delivery, which he undertakes to bring in very speedily. The King by his letter directed the Council to receive and commit to the Tolbooth in Edinburgh all the pledges presented that they might be there safely kept until his return thither. Whereupon the Council sent the pledges received unto the Tolbooth here and "indelately" enlarged them upon caution and trust of the Earl Marshall, the Lord of Newbottle and laird of Edmonstone undertaking to have them here in readiness upon demand.

Buccleuch failed to present any of his six pledges on the 9th hereof as was enjoined to him. Returning hither on the 11th he brought with him and offered three of his six, alleging that by the late troubles in Liddisdale the rest were afraid, fled and could not be taken, as thereon he offered before the Council to surrender and give up his office of Liddisdale (Lydersdale), and in the same mind (as I hear) he is ridden to the King at St. Andrews.

Johnstone came before the Council on the 11th of this month bringing none of the 7 pledges appointed to have been presented by him. He excuses this delay by defaults of the Lord Herries (Harrys), the laird of Drumlangrig and others charged to have entered to him sundry pledges for this delivery.

These three officers are commanded by the King (as a councillor told me) to attend the King's return to Edinburgh intended to be on the 15th hereof to take order in these causes for the pledges for the Borders, for planting ministers in Edinburgh and for other affairs of the estate.

1597. It is verily thought that little profit shall succeed in these behalfs (or upon the late treaty concluded by the Commissioners for the Borders) except the King's presence amongst the Council and his constancy to perform his promises to her Majesty and this act for delivery of the pledges shall maintain and advance the good progress thereof. For it seems that the credit of these officers of the Marches prevails to win them liberty of speech before the Council and to draw some councillors to give open advice in furtherance of the officers' desires. This cause for the pledges and Borders is entangled with many incumbrances falling by cunning practices in this realm and by some accidental occasions by England as the end is hitherto doubtful and threatening inconveniences. But the sight and experience of the King's resolute mind and course to be signified herein at his return hither will sway the matter to his own pleasure. Wherein I shall prepare the way to the best effects I can and timely advertise your lordship of my proceedings and success. In the meantime I have thought it my duty to acquaint you with the present condition of those affairs for the pledges and of the delay of the entry of them agreeable to the order enacted.

The King has continued at St. Andrews 8 or 9 days in the examination of informations exhibited against sundry principal officers and preachers in the University there and for the trial and punishment of witches. Mr. Andrew Melvill (as I hear) is deprived from his office of regency there and restrained to preach in that town or confer with the general or synodal assemblies of the Church and in regard of his learning he is only allowed to read unto and teach the scholars there; and some other ordinary and learned preachers there are already and shall be likewise inhibited to preach in that town. It has fallen out that the King publicly interrupted and checked Mr. Robert Wallace in his sermon in the church of St. Andrews. The particularities uttered in the dialogue betwixt them I refer to better information that I may write with certainty therein. It is expected that the King at his coming hither will restore the four ministers of Edinburgh to their functions there but with what conditions it is not yet known. The number of witches exceed; many are condemned and executed chiefly for their revolt from God and dedicating themselves and services to the devil, by especial sacrament (as they term it) in receiving the devil's mark set in their flesh and in secret part as has been confessed by and seen in many and wherein many of several sorts are accused. They profess sundry fantastical feats to have been executed by them, all which shall (I think) be published, as I forbear to trouble you therewith.

The Bishop of Aberdeen has reported to the King the commendable behaviours of Huntly and Errol in their humble submissions to the Church and receipt of the Communion, wherewith the King showed himself (as I hear) well pleased. Huntly and Lord Forbes are reconciled and have communicated together at the Lord's table. These Earls now received into the bosom of the Church, good opinion in the ministers in the North and great favour in the Court, shall shortly (as it is thought) be called to honour and credit.

Sir Walter Lindsay pretending to give over his course with Spain seeks leave to return into and remain in Scotland, offering thereon to

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1597. discover great secrets and practices of Spain. Edinburgh, 13 July 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes. $2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed.*

[? 1597, July.] **47.** ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

Vol. lxi, No. 15. Buccleuch (Buclugh) and Sir Robert Ker plainted to his Majesty immediately after their returning from their East Marches that Sir William Bowes had caused prepare a number of armed men to trap them. The King asked at some of the Commissioners if they knew anything of the matter and they affirmed that it was true. My Lord Hume swore it in the King's presence at Falkland. The King sent a plaint to Mr. Bowes of this matter but he said he knew nothing of it.

The 12th instant Drumlanrig being here for certain his affairs, B[uccleuch], Johnstone and Cessford and Lord Home all required, Johnstone accompanied with Lord Spynie with whom he had supped that night was convoyed to his lodging and by the way he espied some of Cessford's men and others of Drumlanrig's, and immediately after they were gone by at 9 hours in the night they turn all back again with long guns and pistols and shot to the number of 24 or 25 shots desperately at them. But a servant of Johnstone's called Anderson was slain at that instant and another called Louder died since; not one of the others harmed. The provost of Lincluden, uncle to Drumlanrig, Sir Robert and Drumlanrig were this time playing at cards. The Council commanded either of the parties to keep lodging till they were sent for under the pain of death. On the morrow the King came to the town and Buccleuch with him. All the wardens were severally called in, convoyed with " starke garde " of the town folks in arms. Neither of them had all their pledges ready. Therefore Buccleuch and Johnstone are on Sunday last warded in the castle of Edinburgh till they find out or cause to be found out such men as are given in bill for pledges. In committing of them the King means nothing but policy and deceit for to pleasure the Queen of England with. Some plaints are given in against them both since, which I think shall cause them be the longer detained.

The matter of the onset and fray being tried before the Council, it is found that Johnstone did nothing but defended, albeit no such thing be true, such is the corruption of Court now. This is referred to Johnstone's probation, so that I think no remedy shall ensue by justice but only by strong hand.

Herries was so afraid of his charge that a deadly sickness overtook him, so that he is superseded from warding for a while.

The King has lately made great reformation at St. Andrews amongst the colleges and ministry contending in all respects to have his authority equal with the Queen of England. The like order will be taken shortly in all other parts and the Lord Secretary is appointed general chancellor of all the colleges of Scotland.

The ministers carry a quiet grudge against the frame of state as it now goes but dare utter nothing. I fear some evil event. Your lordship had need to take heed of some within your wardenry, which I have

1597. given you warning of many a time, for they are familiar with those that are enemies to the Queen and employ all their wits to deface your government. *Undated. Unsigned.*

2 *pp. No endorsement.*

July 21. **48. ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Vol. lxi, No. 16. My long silence has rather proceeded from want of matter than good will. Her Majesty's Ambassador being here sufficiently informed with the present estate of this country I thought it as convenient for the furtherance of her service to employ myself in all such occasions as might best present them as themselves best know. The chief cause of my writing at this time proceeds of some offers which I have received from Buccleuch (Balclouke) by a trusty and secret friend of his, which I have thought convenient for the discharge of my debt to acquaint your Honour with, beseeching you that no fault be imputed to me howsoever the offers be "exsepted" [accepted]. All I crave is her Majesty's good "exseptasion" [acceptation] of my honest meaning. I shall lay before you the estate of the man at this time. He is committed to the castle of Edinburgh by the absolute commandment of the King against the will of the whole Council. He being appointed to have presented his pledges brought but two where he should have brought six and desired that he might have a time granted to bring in the rest and to give in good surety for the performance. But this was refused and himself committed till he deliver the whole pledges. This is the cause laid against him but he rather suspects his secret enemies in Court, of whom he suspects Sir Robert Ker to be one of the chief, knowing that the said Sir Robert has presented the whole pledges given him in charge except 2 which he will have in readiness against the time appointed and for performance has given in good surety as also he is labouring by all means with her Majesty's Ambassador; wherein I myself have been employed that upon his good behaviour he may have a meeting and offers to give a proof of the same. This being known to the other [he] thinks they shall have no advantage of him by his proceedings against England; thinks rather to cast himself in her Majesty's hand by the entering of himself rather than pledges and for that cause he has sent a secret friend to me, desiring me that I would so handle the matter as by me he might receive some hope that his life might not be in peril and he would enter himself to give her Majesty such satisfaction as she should think convenient and to make full redress of all the offences committed to the satisfaction of all that has interest not only of that which has proceeded but also to give assurance for his behaviour in times coming and shall bind himself to give her Majesty full satisfaction in all things she shall enjoin unto him concerning the maintenance of the peace and quietness of the Borders. His intention is noways to enter in condition with her Majesty but has desired me to deal only with some one councillor or courtier that by them I might have some feeling what intention there was towards him. For if he may have any assurance of his life he will cast himself into her Majesty's hands to dispose as she pleases. This far I have

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1597. thought good to set down that which has been delivered to me and which I will undertake to perform if it shall please her Majesty.

I will now set down my own opinion and the estate of the man. For myself I have no further interest but only for the service of her Majesty. For the man his faults have been odious to her in that he did at Carlisle (Carlel) as also for the continual oppressing of her subjects, for which she ought to be repaid as no doubt she will but whether by hostility or by submission and redress as shall please her to pursue or accept. To pursue by the way of hostility I know it is not desired by the King nor any good man here. If it enter once in blood many inconveniences will ensue. By accepting of this man her Majesty shall be repaid in honour for he shall enter without condition and submit himself in her will and thereby she shall breed peace and rest to her oppressed people in those parts. For there is not one in all those parts that dare stir if he command the contrary. He is counted here very trusted of his promise either for good or evil. He has many friends and that of the best sort. I know there are great ones here if they see him in any danger would hazard their lives and all they have. Where he is kept are his chiefest friends. If he feared himself I dare undertake they would let him escape when he pleases. He is purposed to remain and not to provide the pledges till he hear what answer I receive. If he find any assurance for his life he will enter himself. Otherways he will prepare and enter the pledges and so set himself at liberty. If it shall please her Majesty to receive this, I shall come with him and engage my life for that that he shall promise.

I beseech your Honour let me understand your pleasure that I may discharge myself of that which I here undertake. I shall in this and all other direct myself as it shall please you to command and would crave your speedy answer as also that the Ambassadors may not know from whence these offers come.

I know your Honour will be sufficiently informed by the Ambassador of the present estate of all matters here with the King's resolution and letter for the accomplishment of all such matters as have been agreed upon by the Commissioners. This day the ministers of this town are restored to their places to the great rejoicing of all the town. This day the agreement is made between them and some of the Council and between them and the Lord Hamilton (Hammelton). The ministers of St. Andrews are "desselayt" (?). Our new reconciled Earls seem to be very zealous, whether it be from their heart or not God knows.

There is an intention to send to France which I think shall be Andrew Melville (Melven) that was in England with the King's mother. The laird of Wemyss would fain have the commission but the King thinks him not sufficient.

Going to enclose this letter there came a post from the Borders declaring that the whole Middle March under the Lord Eure's (Eueres) commandment are in readiness to enter Scotland to burn the town of Hawick (Heike). This town is one of the chief towns of the Borders and where Buccleuch makes his chief residence. The town has transported all their goods. I have been employed to the Ambassador to see what is meet and what may be looked for. The King thinks, seeing he has

1597. committed such as should make redress and he resolved to put the same in execution, that nothing should be done in the meantime. The advertisements run no faster of the attempts committed by Scotsmen in England but the complaints come as fast hither of the attempts done to them by England. If these matters go on it will be past "redding," for if it come to these open doings it will cast all loose. I would there were just trial taken who were the first beginners. I am assured her Majesty craves nothing but justice by the ordinary means and I know this King is resolved to keep the peace and to do all he may to give her Majesty full satisfaction. This day the King is minded to write to her Majesty. He has set down certain articles of his resolution and given them to the Ambassador to be sent with his letter. The King has desired the Ambassador to write presently to Lord Eure to stay any invasion except by her Majesty's own appointment and till her pleasure be known.

If any directions come to me from your Honour send them to the gentleman porter who will see them safe conveyed to me. I have taken order with him in what manner. Edinburgh, the 21 of July. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

4¼ *pp. Holograph, with address. 2 seals of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 23. **49. Robert Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.**

Vol. lxi, No. 17. On the 17th hereof I received your last of the 12th full of good instructions, brought in best time and when I was ready to receive audience of the King in these Border causes, that I might appease the storms begun lest their increase should hastily draw on the uttermost inconveniences in hostility betwixt these two realms and requisite to be seasonably prevented by the only providence and consents of the sovereigns.

According to my purpose laid I first entered to recount to the King the occasions of the address of the Commissioners to the Borders, the effects of their treaty concluded (namely for delivery of pledges), the order of the time, place and persons appointed for the execution of this delivery, and his own promise and assurance given and signified to Sir William Bowes and myself for the due performance thereof; that the accomplishment of this delivery to have been effected at the late meeting near Norham was defeated by his officers continually hindering the progress thereof by all means in their power and notwithstanding that the entry of the pledges is manifestly seen to be the life and surety of the treaty for redress of all former wrongs and attempts and for the establishment of future peace and justice in the Borders.

Secondly, I put him in memory of my late motions to him for repair of this dangerous default in delay of the entry of the pledges; and that for reformation thereof he and his Council were induced to ordain by their act enacted that all the 27 pledges for Scotland should be entered and presented by Cessford, Buccleuch and Johnstone in Edinburgh before himself and Council at days and in number particularly prescribed; that these three officers had severally plight their faith, honour

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and allegiance to him for the performance of the act; and that he assuring himself to be hereby possessed of the bodies of his officers and of all the pledges was resolved then to employ and send to her Majesty Mr. George Younge with advertisement of his resolution and promise to proceed in delivery of the pledges in manner and at the days and places to be accorded for the same and in the execution of the residue of the treaty, and therewith to give to her Majesty honourable satisfaction for delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford. Wherein as he had given me full promise and warrant to write and assure these things to her Majesty, so I had written and assured the same. Nevertheless, it was (I said) now fallen out that the pledges were not entered at the days limited, nor himself in surety to perform the effects promised and yet his offending officers reigned at their liberty and pleasure with good countenance and favour of his Council.

Thirdly, I wished him to think that her Majesty could not digest the continual oppressions of her subjects on the Borders and especially the intolerable outrage newly executed at Bellingham in Tynedale in the Middle Marches of England by the Armstrongs, Elliots and other Scottishmen; that these proud provocations must needs hasten her Majesty's princely purpose intended (and before notified to himself by the view of her letter addressed to Sir William Bowes and me) to enable her subjects to defend themselves and revenge these insolencies so full of pride and treachery, to break the amity betwixt these crowns, and so far exceeding all hope of redress by ordinary justice as the true declaration thereof (and of other circumstances) to be published to the world must needs approve any just revenge to be for the same by armed justice.

Fourthly, according to your last to me, I told him that her Majesty cannot be but much unsatisfied in his proceedings as well for the delay in the execution of the delivery of the pledges and for other Border causes as also for the main point (subject to his power) for the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford; and that in case Mr. George Younge (or other his Ambassador) shall not come furnished with sufficient matter to assure the delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford, but shall rather dissuade her Majesty from demand thereof, after so just trial of their faults and her long insisting therein (agreeable to honour and justice), than he shall give her cause to think that he means every day less to preserve her sisterly opinion of him; and knitting all these things together that he might behold the errors in himself, his Council, officers and Borderers, I exhorted him to provide "indelate" and sufficient remedies and by his own letter to give her assurance for the sound performance of all the effects before promised by him and still requisite to be done for her Majesty's good satisfaction, his own honour and the common causes in both realms.

In his answer he began to charge his Council with great defections towards him in abstracting their advices and help to be yielded to him as also in their inordinate affections showed towards these officers (namely to Buccleuch) in these behalfs. As accusing these officers of wilful disobedience he condemned them of manifest contempt of himself

1597. and of their own duties and bonds to him, resolving to control and punish their obstinacies towards him. He acknowledged his promise given to her Majesty and the unseasonable drift in the performance of the same (as I had alleged) consenting unto and allowing in manner the effects proponed to him by me and expressed before in the 4 clauses preceding. Albeit that he had laid before his Council (and at great length amplified) the inconveniences likely to grow by discord or hostility falling betwixt her Majesty and him to the prejudice of reformed religion through all Europe, to himself, his estate and hope of the increase of his honour and greatness, to all his good subjects and the whole estate of his realm, and that he earnestly required their counsel and assistance for the prevention of the inconveniences mentioned and how he might honourably repair the delays in the accomplishment of his promises to her Majesty and yield to her due satisfaction in honour and justice, openly declaring therewith that he would never enter into any discord or hostility with her for 3 "capped lardes" [lairds] (as he termed them) or for any other cause, and that he motioned sundry means for pacifying these troubles on the Borders either by warding of the 3 officers or else in taking sufficient caution for the entry of the pledges, yet he received not (he said) any advice or consent of his Council with him in these matters but that they still swayed to the favour of those officers, as thereby he was driven of himself and by his own power first to ward Johnstone in the castle at Edinburgh and after to commit likewise Buccleuch to the same ward (agreeable to some conference passed with his privity betwixt Sir Robert Melvill and me and communicated to himself), and because Cessford had already entered 11 pledges, offering caution either to bring in the other three within six days for his full discharge and delivery of the 14 to be presented by him, or else to render and yield his body into Berwick to remain there at the will and pleasure of her Majesty, therefore he did take the caution and spared to ward Cessford for this time, assuring himself that Cessford will deliver these 3 pledges at the time limited and from henceforth be obedient to him.

That he might assure her Majesty of the full delivery of the 27 pledges at time and place to be accorded by her and him with performance of the treaty concluded, of "indelate" redress to be made for recent offences and of honourable satisfaction to be given to her Majesty in her just demand for delivery of Buccleuch and Cessford I earnestly persuaded that he should possess himself surely of all the bodies of these officers and pledges and that he would not accept any bond or caution for the entry of the pledges. For I alleged that the possession of the pledges delivered for performance of the redresses to be made by their clans should be an indefeasible assurance to her Majesty and could not be defeated by forfeiture of the bonds and caution taken only by the King and to his use for the entry of the pledges, which bonds and forfeiture might be released and disposed without her Majesty's privity, assent or satisfaction and to the prejudice of the parties interested in the redresses to be made to them by the clans filed, and that the safety of the persons of the pledges delivered would more strongly bind their clans to pay or satisfy the bills filed on them than the bonds of strangers

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1597. given to the King, whereof the clans by means of their friends might trust to be discharged.

He well allowed my advice and reasons and thereon concluded that he would eftsoons communicate these causes to his Council and with their advice resolve and find out the surest and readiest means to pacify the estate of the Borders and perform all other requisite effects touching these Border affairs; that at convenient time to be appointed he would deliver for her Majesty all the pledges or officers charged therewith and as the thieves or the patrons should be entered for her; that redress should be made for all recent offences with punishment to be inflicted on the offenders by the concurrency and joint forces of her Majesty and his as the case should require; and that by his own letter he would give her advertisement and assurance in these behalfs; wherein he required to have speedy return of her Majesty's full and perfect resolution and pleasure for the best expedition and progress of all the causes mentioned.

In the accomplishment of these effects promised he has again dealt with his Council and performed the same (as I am right credibly informed) in very earnest and round manner. Whereupon he and his Council have devised and put in writing some overtures thought expedient by them for pacifying of the present estate of the Borders. The copy thereof signed by Mr. George Young they have delivered to me that I might both recommend the contents of the same to her Majesty's knowledge and also to procure her resolution and order to be returned and certified to the King in sort best liking her Majesty and for the speediest execution of all these causes and thus drawn to her allowance and censure. Further, they have left and referred to her Majesty's own pleasure and assignment the appointment of the days and places to be prescribed for the execution of the reciprocal delivery of the pledges, of the redresses for recent offences and of the limitation for the beginning of the revenges and punishment to be taken by the joint forces of both sovereigns, agreeable to the proclamations to be published for those late and great outrages attempted. This copy thus delivered to me I send enclosed to you together with the King's letter addressed to her Majesty. For the receipt whereof I have been driven to attend long, praying you to present them to her Majesty. I humbly beseech you to be mean that for the benefit of her Majesty's service here and to draw this broken and tottering estate to some settling (wherein I find daily increase of great difficulties) I may receive timely advertisement of her Majesty's resolute pleasure and directions in these Border affairs, which (I fear) shall run into and be troubled with untimely storms.

Buccleuch and Johnstone continuing in the castle at Edinburgh are like to remain there some time. For Buccleuch trusting verily to have brought in his pledges this day (as I hear) is disappointed and cannot get them; and Johnstone has given over the getting of his pledges and his office, which office shall be committed (as it is presently intended) to the laird of Drumlanrig, more willing than able (as it is thought) to execute justice and preserve peace in that West March. The late fray and assault made by Johnstone and others in Edinburgh against Drumlanrig and Cessford have quickened the "feades" and

1597. quarrels amongst them. Buccleuch now openly parties Johnstone as the matter is warm amongst them and Johnstone must be drawn to Stirling to answer that fact in Edinburgh. Thus much in this tedious manner and for the troublesome causes of the Borders.

Huntly and Errol protest fair and good services to the religion and the King. Yet the religious retain their former jealousies conceived against them and therefore will cast an eye towards them. But their favour in Court still increases and it is expected that they shall meet the King at Falkland this day or soon after. Mr. James Gordon, lately prescribed to be apprehended and good reward promised to the execution, may now pass out of the country with the King's warrant and passport for his transportation.

The ministers of Edinburgh are restored to their functions there and reconciliations mediated by the King betwixt Lord Hamilton and Mr. Robert Bruce, as also betwixt the offended councillors (namely the President and Advocate) and those ministers.

I look to meet shortly with Mr. Andrew Knoxe and by his means both to discover further Ladyland's plots and practices for Spain, Ireland and Scotland, and also to provide for the safe keeping of the isle and house of Ailsa (Ilishay) agreeable to your good advice. This isle is parcel of the inheritance of the Earl of Cassillis (Casselles) and now taken into his possession and shall be (I trust) committed to sufficient guard, as shortly upon my conference with Mr. Knoxe you shall be advertised in that and the rest touching Ladyland and Mr. Knoxe.

John Auchinross will be with me shortly and with him I shall dispose all the causes with MacLean (McKlayne) agreeable to your good directions given me.

I have delivered to Mr. Robert Deniston her Majesty's safe conduct granted to him. He intends to be with you within few days and he will (I trust) perform good offices promised.

The laird of Wemyss (Weymes) expects the receipt of her Majesty's safe conduct, whereupon he will hasten into France as he will further declare at his repair to you. He shall not be employed now as the King's Ambassador to the French King, for it is resolved that Andrew Melvill shall be sent thither and in that negotiation. Edinburgh, 23 July 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 31. **50. Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley.**

Vol. lxi, No. 18. On Sunday last, the 24th hereof (and the next day after I had written to Sir Robert Cecil in Border causes), I received Lord Scrope's letter of the 21st certifying the late and outrageous attempts executed in Gilsland (Gylseland) in the West Marches of England by the Scots inhabitants in Liddisdale, Teviotdale (Tevydale) and Annandale (Annerdale), the manner and effects of which "rode" was so fully advertised (I perceive) by Lord Scrope as I forbear to trouble your lordship with needless repetition.

Albeit that upon the receipt of Lord Scrope's letter I "indelately"

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1597. sent my servant to seek speedy access to the King then at Falkland, yet the King, being informed before of this outrage done in Gilsland by his subjects and of some spoils made in Scotland by Englishmen, by his letter of the 25th hereof directed the Council here in very earnest manner to take immediate order by proclamation (or otherwise) that all the persons taken by the Scots should be set at liberty, their bonds, promises and ransoms to be cleared and discharged with full restitution of all armour, horse and other things taken from them, and that all the cattle and goods brought out of England should be redelivered. Hereupon the Council here acquainted me by Sir Robert Melvill and Mr. George Younge with the King's pleasure and order and promised to frame the proclamation to the effects commanded by him, to give the sight thereof to me and to send it forth to be published in all places convenient and with all expedition. Herewith they would have required speedy payment of the gratuity for the year last past and order to be set down with her Majesty's favour that for the time coming this gratuity might be yearly paid and delivered here in Scotland, which request I proved to be so unseasonable and out of tune as the matter was readily left dashed and now sleeps. Therefore, turning to answer the other effects proponed by them and considering that the bare and ordinary publication of this proclamation by officers at arms should little prevail amongst these broken people and in the condition of this case I advised that some fit and sufficient person of quality might be especially authorised, employed and sent by the King to see due execution in these behalfs and to concur with Lord Scrope or his deputy in the good performance of the same. My advice and reasons therein were well embraced and allowed by Sir Robert Melvill and Mr. George conferring with me and promising that I should see the proclamation on the next day. The draft of the proclamation being showed to me I wished that the execution might be perfected with all speed and that some certain time should be limited and inserted for the full accomplishment thereof; that the restitution and redelivery of the cattle, horse and goods taken by the Scots and commanded by the proclamation to be delivered to the owners should be made rather to the Lord Warden of the West Marches of England, his deputy or to such as he should appoint for the receipt thereof and for the use of the owners. For finding great difficulty in this restitution by any manner I thought that the offenders would readily quarrel and allege some impossiblity to deliver the goods to the owners whom they knew not. And I still pressed the employment of a fit person for the surety of the execution. Yet I secretly learned that they purposed to write unto the King and to take such course herein as might obtain liberty and relief to Buccleuch. Therefore, on Wednesday last, the 27th hereof, I hasted and came unto the King at Falkland.

After I had opened to the King this despiteful hostility done in Gilsland by his subjects, as also other pilfering incursions attempted by Englishmen provoked to the enterprise thereof, I sought his commandment and order for the expedition of the progress of the proclamation with the additions and reformations motioned by me. I chiefly insisted upon the employment and speedy address of a person of quality and fit for the advancement of the execution, persuading that he would keep in

1597. good memory his promise lately made to her Majesty and for the surety of performance thereof to retain in his possession the officers of his Borders. The King readily passing over the attempts done in Scotland by her Majesty's subjects (whom I excused in best manner I could) appeared to be inwardly grieved with the "rode" in Gilsland and resolved to provide full redress in all respects and also with all severity to punish the offence and offenders therein for preservation of the amity with her Majesty and peace on the Borders; which amity and peace he seemed to hold in high estimation and complained greatly that he found small assistance in his nobility, Council and officers for furtherance of his desire in these Border causes. He agreed to reform the proclamation in parts defective and noted by me and to send an able person to see execution and concur with her Majesty's officers in performance thereof. According to his agreement he afterwards wrote unto and directed the Lord Treasurer and Council to execute these matters accorded by him with me, as by his letter "seyne" by me in the hand of the Lord Treasurer I have well perceived. He protested that he continued and would remain in the same mind and determination as he had uttered and bound himself by his letter to her Majesty. He doubted whether those enormities on the Borders could be repaired by ordinary justice but rather by armed means with the mutual force and consents of her Majesty and him. Wherein he seemed both desirous to be advertised of her pleasure and course to be best liked and also ready to join therein with all kind correspondency. His Council (he said) advised him to authorise and send forth a lieutenant to the Borders. But he desired rather to know her Majesty's mind for the manner of the course to be taken and holden betwixt them to quench those troubles, to punish the offenders and to preserve the amity and peace betwixt them. And so with fair countenance and sweet promises he dismissed me.

After my return to Edinburgh I was credibly advertised that Buccleuch was secretly licensed by the King's warrant and was closely come out of the castle at Edinburgh to pass and ride into Liddisdale to take and bring hither the pledges to be entered and delivered by him. Of which matter the King mentioned nothing to me at my audience, notwithstanding that I persuaded that he should be sure to keep his promise with her Majesty by the possession of the bodies of his officers in his Marches and to be retained in his hands. For the Council in favour of Buccleuch (as I am informed) concluded that without the means of Buccleuch these pledges could not be entered, and that for this service he was thus suffered and sent to apprehend and enter the pledges here in Edinburgh, and upon the caution of five able and sufficient barons bound in the sum of 100,000 *l.* Scots that he should re-enter into ward in the castle at Edinburgh at or before the 30th hereof. That this matter might be covered with all the best cloaks (and namely towards myself as it is told me) it was devised that some physician should resort to him to cure him of his disease enforcing him to keep his bed and that the proper minister of the castle should visit him for spiritual comfort. The labours of these officers were taken in vain for the patient was crept away and they could not see him.

On the next day I resorted to the Lord Treasurer and gave notice to

James VI.
1597. him of the late spoil made at Newbigging in Teviotdale in Scotland by the broken and harried people of Tynedale and against the tenants of the lairds of Fernieherst (Furniherst) and Bonjedward (Bonjedbrough) (two good and peaceable neighbours to England). I opened the manners and circumstances hereof (as Lord Eure by his letter had certified to me) and his lordship's timely offer and readiness to yield honourable redress and I laboured that the King and this estate should be satisfied therewith, which (I trust) shall take good effect. Taking occasion hereon to try the truth, time and manner and cause of Buccleuch's liberty and journey to Liddisdale I entered therein with the Treasurer who acknowledged that he had likewise heard the rumour that Buccleuch was gone out of the castle, yet he still remained there and was sick (as the Treasurer thought). He told me that the proclamation was already sent to be published on the Borders; that the passage of the bearer was made the more safe by the means of Buccleuch and that the Council would both reform and frame the proclamation agreeable to the King's directions and my motions and also make choice of a fit person to be speedily sent for the execution of the same, the copies of which proclamation and of the instructions to be given to the person employed for the execution should be delivered to me.

The Council made choice of David Murray of Cockpoole to repair to the West Marches with the proclamation and to see the execution thereof with the concurrency of Lord Scrope, to whom Murray would report as he promised to me so soon as the proclamation and his instructions should be delivered to him. This proclamation, the instructions and the resolution of the Council therein and this cause have been much tossed and daily changed, drawing me still (and these three days last past) to attend thereon that I might certify their conclusion and write to your lordship with some certainty, which albeit I cannot hitherto perform, yet I have not thought it meet to defer any longer the address of these presents.

Yesterday (the penult hereof) about 2 in the morning Buccleuch returned and entered again into his ward in the castle at Edinburgh agreeable to his caution given. He did not bring with him the pledges, yet he has taken them (as I am credibly informed) and to-morrow will present here to the Council them full, except Martynes Archie Ellott who is sick like to die and not able to be carried as by the testimony of the minister there and other witnesses it is certified. Bond is offered that if Archie shall live he shall be delivered within few days, and if he shall die then his son shall be offered for him. Buccleuch has assured the Council that he has given order to the inhabitants in Liddisdale to keep the peace and to attempt nothing in England, notwithstanding that England shall invade and ride against them. His journey and services are well allowed by the Council here and reported to the King with such commendation as it is expected that (upon delivery of his pledges to be performed to-morrow) he shall have speedy and favourable access to the King's presence and be set at liberty upon caution.

This day this Council have received the King's letter commanding that Sir John Carmichael shall be employed and sent into the West Marches with the proclamation and sufficient instructions for the execu-

James VI.
1597. tion of the redress for the "rode" in Gilsland and for concurrency with Lord Scrope in the best manner and course to be taken therein. Albeit that Sir John is directed to proceed in this journey with all expedition and without any excuse, yet he has excused himself to the Council until he may repair to the King to satisfy him and the Council herein. In the meantime the Council reserve in their hands the proclamation and instructions to be delivered to Sir John or to such as shall be sent in that service. Hitherto I cannot get the copies as oftentimes has been promised to me. Nevertheless, I send enclosed the copy of the proclamation first framed, which is thought to be already proclaimed by the officer at arms sent therewith. For I have thought it my duty to delay no longer the advertisement of these presents and changeable causes for the Borders, wishing better success than hitherto appears to ensue therein by ordinary justice. I humbly pray that I may be speedily and perfectly directed with knowledge of her Majesty's further pleasure and resolution to be followed in the same. As the King and Council shall determine to proceed in those behalfs and upon receipt of the copies of the proclamation reformed and the instructions to the party to be employed I shall again and timely advertise your lordship in these and in all other occurrents here and also give knowledge to all her Majesty's Wardens of the proceedings therein, wherein few novelties are commonly known except the great earthquakes commonly seen and felt at St. Johnstone, Linlithgow and other places thereabouts. Edinburgh, this Sunday the last of July 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

July. **51.** KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Vol. lxi, No. 19. Cott. Calig. D. ii, f. 420. Printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, XVI, 322

"The confidence I have Madame and dearest sister in youre princelie and richteouse iudgement in discerning betuixt the badde offices of sum of my unreulie subiectis and my awin honest intention hes maid me differre quhill nou to make my excuse of the not performance of these things that I promesit to youre Ambassadouris but throuch the defaulte of others uaire not accomplished, being cairfull in the meanetyme to take diligent order that it lye no longer in the handis of any inferiouris to staye the execution and effectuating of these iuste and honorable conclusions taken by us both. Quhat greate impedimentis and michtie crossing indirectlie I have hadd in this I remitt it to the advertishement of youre Ambassadoure. Alluayes I have in end taken ordoure for the suretie of the pledgis or at least of the uardanis quhill thay fill thaire roume, praying you to giue pouer to youre Ambassadoure to agree upon a daye uith me for thaire mutuall deliuerie, at quhiche tyme I promeise to deliuer the pledgis or ellis the uardane of that office quhaire the fayle is so as ye shall be sure ather of the theeuis or the theeuis patrone quhill they maye be hadde. I uolde lykeuayes hairtelie praye you to commaunde youre uardanis to appoint and keipe dayes of meeting with thaire opposites with all conuenient speede for the redresse of all attemptatis that haue bene comitted since the sitting doune of the

James VI.
1597. Comissioneris and to commaunde thame to give straite order in the menetyme for quyetnesse and to remitt the reuenge of all urongis to the mutuall iustice of the tuo princes. And because the proclamations for quyetnesse haue bene so littil regairded I thinke it conuenient (if so ye thinke it) that proclamations be maid by us both commaunding quyetnesse and assuring thame inkaice thay continue in disorder that ue haue made thame free to the opposite prince quhom ue permitt to correct thame and for this purpose that a lieutenent be named by euerie one of us quho at suche a daye as we thinke conuenient maye with airmed bandis concurre together for punishement of the breakaris of this proclamation. But fearing to uearie you with too long a lettir I remitt the particulairis of all these things to youre Ambassadouris letters praying you to haiste youre ansoure that this turne may take effect and syne that I may send one unto you for satisfeing you in all the rest of the points of the treatie. Thus Madame assuring myself of the continuance of youre loue touardis me and of youre uyse consideration of the treuth of my excuse I comitt you Madame and dearest sister to the tuition of the Allmichtie. Youre most louing and affectionate brother and cousin. James R." *Undated.*

2 *pp. Holograph, with address:* "To my dearest sister and cousine the Quene of Englande." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "July 1597. The King of Scottes to her May^tie."

Vol. lxi, No. 20. Copy of the preceding letter.

1¼ *pp. Endorsed:* "July 1597. Copie of a l're of the King of Scotts to her Ma^tie."

Aug. 6. **52. Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley.**

Vol. lxi, No. 21. On the first hereof Buccleuch presented and entered 5 of his 6 pledges into the castle of Edinburgh and soon after resorted to the King at Falkland. Whereupon he has obtained the King's grant for his own liberty and is discharged from his ward upon promise to be of good behaviour, to appear upon any call, and to keep the inhabitants in Liddisdale in quietness and from any attempt in England. Further, the pledges entered are likewise set at liberty upon caution given in great sums by the Earl of Mar, Buccleuch and 3 barons of good sufficiency for the appearance and re-entry as well of these five pledges thus enlarged as also of the sixth now sick at such time and place as they shall be charged. And for the full accomplishment of the same Buccleuch (as I hear) has protested and given such undoubted assurance as the King is now pleased to proceed in this course, notwithstanding my former motions and reasons made to him and before certified to your lordship. And yet I am informed that these pledges will be found very unwilling and not ready to enter and be delivered to England according to the treaty and when they shall be called for that purpose.

The King appears to be forward and ready to deliver the 27 pledges according to the treaty trusting to be able to perform the same sufficiently at the days and places to be appointed by her Majesty agreeable

1597. to the overtures made by him and his Council and sent already by myself in that behalf. He still offers to accomplish on his part all the other acts concluded by the treaty and now expects the return and advertisement of her Majesty's resolute pleasure and order in all the effects specified in the overtures mentioned; upon the address of which resolution the expedition of the entrance, progress and execution of all these Border causes now chiefly depend.

Sir John Carmichael (Carmichell) has received the proclamation and his instructions for the "indelate" redress to be made in the late hostile outrage done in Gilsland by the inhabitants in Liddisdale and other Scottishmen. Yesternight he entered into his journey promising all good offices in his power and purposes to confer severally with Lord Scrope and Lord Eure to concur and take some good order for the readiest pacifying of the troubles and preservation of the peace and quietness on the Borders; of all which I have severally advertised all her Majesty's three Wardens, to whom I have sent the copies of these overtures, proclamations and instructions with information of the present condition of this estate that by the knowledge thereof they may the better govern their courses in all those "tickle" affairs for the disordered Borders.

The copies of the proclamation and instructions mentioned I send enclosed to your lordship. By the view of the same (and of the overtures before sent) it may appear that the King bends his mind to entertain the amity with her Majesty and the peace on the Borders. The trial therein will be best and most readily manifested by the full delivery of the pledges (a matter not void of great difficulty) and by the redress of recent offences which will be hard also to be seasonably and well effected. Yet this latter part is well begun by the King by the address of Carmichael for redress of the attempt in Gilsland. It is requisite that the other disorders done on both sides in the Marches should be speedily reformed by ordinary or armed justice to be timely put in practice and execution by the assent and directions of both sovereigns. The chosen pursuit thereof I wholly leave to her Majesty's pleasure and censure, whereupon all those Border causes chiefly depend and I thereon wholly attend, trusting that her resolution shall be speedily signified with some fit and able commissioner to be employed and sent for the advancement of the execution of the same.

The emulation betwixt Buccleuch and young Cessford increases the heartburn and hatred betwixt them and thereby either of them strives and is the more forward to please the King with service most acceptable to him. Likewise they both (by several and secret means) have assayed us with fair offers for the quenching of the troubles and preservation of future peace on the Borders by their industry and good offices which they liberally tender to her Majesty with all humility and with the best assurance that may be yielded by them. But to these I have given deaf ear, refusing to speak or deal with either of them until her Majesty shall be sufficiently satisfied with honourable redress for the offences and insolencies done to her, her honour and subjects by them and their attempts not yet answered by the King and this estate agreeable to justice and to her just and princely demands for the same.

James VI.
1597.

This estate for the present rests in some calm except the Borders whose disorders are sufficiently known to you and which will surely break out into further inconveniences if wholesome remedy shall not be speedily provided and applied for prevention of the same. Edinburgh, 6 August 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

The first enclosure in the preceding.

Vol. lxi, No. 21[1]. Calendared in *Reg. P.C. of Scotland*, V, 404, 405. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart, Proclamations*, II, 262.

(Proclamation against Border raids with order for the release of English prisoners taken 19 July.)

"Apud Edinbrugh secundo die mensis Augusti* anno domini j[m]. v[c] nonagesimo septimo."

"Extractum de libro actorum Secreti Consilii S.D.N. Regis. Per me Joannem Andro clericum deputatum ejusdem sub meis [signo] et subscriptione manualibus." *Signed:* Joannes Andro *with his clerical sign.*

1 *p. Endorsed:* "2 Aug. 1597. Copie of the Proclamation for Lidesdale disorders."

The second enclosure in the preceding.

(Instructions to Sir John Carmichael.)

Vol. lxi, No. 21[11].

Instructions given to Sir John Carmichael of that ilk, knight, one of his Majesty's Privy Council directed to the West and Middle Marches of this realm from Edinburgh the penult day of July 1597.

Ye shall first repair to Jedburgh and Hawick and thereafter through Liddisdale to Annand and to the Lord Herries and laird of Drumlanrig and let them with the rest of the gentlemen of the countries and bounds where ye shall repair understand how grievous their enormities and incursions which are daily committed by them, their men, tenants and "sirvandis" and others for whom they are severally bound to his Majesty and to us all and what danger and inconveniences the same import and may import to this country if these things be not repressed in time; and therefore as his Highness with our advice has lately caused make proclamation for restitution of the goods and relief of the prisoners, so shall ye travail particularly with every nobleman and gentleman of these countries and others as ye think good, desiring them to conform themselves thereto and to cause make the said redresses and reliefs of the said prisoners be made with their horse, armour, purse, clothing and all other things taken from them with such expedition as conveniently may be.

Ye shall likewise pass and speak to the Lord Scrope and let him understand his Majesty's discontentment of these enormities and how willing his Highness and we all are to see them repaired and amended and the public peace observed and kept. And therefore ye shall desire him to inform you particularly of these turns wherethrough ye may the better understand how to use yourself thereafter. Always ye shall assure all his Majesty's subjects that this is a thing that of necessity must be done and that his Highness and we all are resolved shall be done and "or" it fail his Majesty with a force of his good subjects will repair in that country and punish the disobedient with extremity.

* The proclamation is entered in *Reg. P.C. of Scotland* under the date 26 July.

Ye shall also publicly and particularly as ye find occasion expressly inhibit and forbid all his Majesty's subjects to make the like incursions in time coming but to observe his Highness's peace under the pain of death, certifying them "an" they do in the contrary that they shall be pursued and punished to the death and for this effect his Highness will repair in proper person in the country with a force of his good subjects and will pursue them with fire, sword and all kind of extremity to the rooting out of them, their race and posterity.

Last, as ye find obedience and disobedience of his Majesty's will and mind in the premisses ye shall inform his Highness of every man's part particularly at your returning, wherethrough his Highness may take order thereanent as appertains.

1¼ *pp. Endorsed:* "30 July 1597. Copie of Sr. Jo: Carmichells instrucions."

Aug. 15. **53. Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley.**

Vol. lxi, No. 22.

By my former and several letters I have at length and in tedious manner advertised you of all the proceedings here in Border causes which wholly depend upon return of her Majesty's pleasure and resolution to be signified in allowance or reformation of the overtures made by the King and his Council in other effects and which I have sent to you for her censuring and perfecting of the same. The troubles, nevertheless, still continue in all the Marches in both realms and one evil turn provokes and brings on another on both sides, as the remedies are needful to be applied in season and with good expedition. The East Marches in both realms have hitherto remained in best quietness by good concurrency betwixt Sir Robert Cary and Lord Hume, who offers to her Majesty his devotion and readiness to perform all good offices for preservation of the amity betwixt the realms and peace on the Borders. The good justice and diligence lately done and well accomplished by Sir Robert Cary on his behalf and in divers actions have gained here great commendation and allowance and much profited those Border affairs, the further estate whereof I commit to the report of this bearer, my servant Christopher Sheperson, whom I have instructed partly therein that he may more largely inform your lordship and procure timely directions to be given to me herein.

At the suit of the Earls of Angus, Huntly and Errol a parliament is appointed to be proclaimed and holden at Edinburgh the first of November next. It is ordered that this parliament shall be called only for the restitution of the three Earls and for some especial matters for the commonweal and that none other causes shall be received and heard thereby.

Errol has continued three or four days at Falkland in great bravery with a troup of many gallant gentlemen and in such favour as his advancement is much expected. Angus has received good countenance and fair words of the King who still favours and works for Huntly above the rest. Yet the reconciliation betwixt Argyll and Huntly for the slaughter of the Earl of Moray (Murray) cannot hitherto be compassed,

James VI.
1597. notwithstanding that Argyll has been (as I hear) many ways sought and laboured for the same.

The plague is kindled in the town of Dunfermline and thereby the appointed remove of the King and Queen from Falkland thither is broken.

The King is presently at Stirling purposing to enter and begin to-morrow his progress unto Inchmurrin (Inchmerryng) and other places in the west parts. By the pest suspected to be in Dundee the Queen has stayed her progress into the North. The Lord Treasurer here has recovered health and being now able with some help to walk on his broken leg is purposed to depart very shortly out of this town to Glasgow. The rest of the Council are ready to scatter and leave this town in fear of the plague, and in the same fear the senators of the Session and others of quality have abandoned this town, as it is like within few days to be desolate. I have therefore thought meet to keep one at Court for daily and requisite services. But if the plague shall break out in this town (as is daily expected) then I know not where to bestow myself in fit and convenient place, as this bearer can inform you.

The King has been lately pestered and many ways troubled in the examination of the witches which swarm in exceeding number and (as is credibly reported) in many thousands. M^{c}Kolme Anderson confesses that he and other witches practised to have drowned the King in his passage over the water at Dundee at the late General Assembly of the Church there, and the life of the Prince has been likewise sought by the witches, as is acknowledged by some of them. All others I refer to the report and sufficiency of this bearer. Edinburgh, 15 August 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript. This day and since the writing hereof I am advertised that Sir John Kerr (Carr), in revenge of former attempts done against him and his followers by the tenants of Mr. Ralph Graye has taken and carried away from Mr. Graye's tenants at Heaton 100 heads of cattle; that Mr. Graye's tenants in Wark have entered into Teviotdale (Tyvidale) and brought away above 100 cattle; and that the same day the Scots have attempted Leremouth and spoiled many of Mr. Graye's tenants there. Thus the fire is suddenly kindled in those Marches, wherewith I have this day acquainted the Council here and Sir George Hume (ready to ride to the King) and hereupon it is promised that letters shall be directed to Lord Hume to meet with Sir Robert Carye for the "indelate" redress of these offences, as I have already certified to Sir Robert for the stay and prevention of further troubles to grow hereon.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "R' 23."

Aug. 15. **54. Robert Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.**

Vol. lxi, No. 23. The isle and house in Ailsa (Alesay) may be safely kept, agreeable to your good advice in your last to me. I have spoken with and moved the Earl of Cassillis who has promised to give good regard to that. Yet the custody of it continues in the hands of Thomas Hamilton (not very

1597. fit for the charge) and it is espied that the eyes of some practisers for Ireland are set upon that piece. Therefore, for the sure keeping thereof Mr. Andro Knoxe has undertaken both to await upon the further progress of the surprise and also to prevent the enterprise in due time and sort, as before has been performed and as the piece shall (I trust) be preserved in safety.

The writings, letters and papers of Ladyland's are in the hands of David Barclay (Barkley) his brother (a great enemy to Mr. Knoxe), yet Mr. Knoxe has procured the means of Lord Sempill (an especial friend to Barclay) to get the possession of them to the intent I may see them and finding them of any substance to have the delivery of them upon some thankful consideration. Wherein as I shall proceed you shall be timely advertised.

The return of the Englishman practising in the West for Ireland is shortly looked for. Mr. Knoxe will attend his coming and course trusting to do good offices again in discovery and prevention of some plots intended there by papists, Spaniards and Irish. I have acquainted him with her Majesty's benevolence and gift of the 100*l.* to him, which (I trust) shall be well employed and bestowed upon him for he remains thankful, ready and able to do best offices. His desire is that this reward and money may be delivered to Elias le Tellier, Frenchman, who in this journey accompanies this bearer, Christopher Sheperson my servant and is appointed by Mr. Knox to receive the money for him. It may therefore please you to cause it to be delivered to Elias for him.

That I might entertain MacLean (M°Klayne) in good terms and continue his devotion towards her Majesty with his wonted readiness to do all good offices in Ireland or elsewhere as should be found convenient I have sent for and spoken with his servant John Auchinross. I have excused my long silence towards MacLean and seeking to understand as well his present disposition and estate for the services in Ireland for her Majesty against the rebels if occasion shall be so ministered, as also the most reasonable rates to be monthly paid to the company serving under him, I have alleged that the entertainment given by the rebels to the Scottishmen serving them are far lower and less than has been demanded by Auchinross. Whereupon Auchinross has promised to repair to MacLean and acquaint him with the effects thus passed betwixt us. For the present he has set down such rates for the monthly entertainment of the soldiers as by the copy of the same put in writing and here enclosed it will appear unto you. Wherein I pray such return for my further proceedings with MacLean as shall be found expedient. It is wished that in case her Majesty shall employ him in the services in Ireland the King may be moved by her means to allow and give him leave for the same.

Tyrone (as I am informed) has sent again to draw to his aid sundry forces from the Isles of Scotland, wherein he travails not with the principal commanders but with such inferiors and persons of credit amongst those barbarous sort as may best effect his desire.

It is thought that some intelligence is or shall be entertained by the King here with some in Holland. This being more easy to be known by you than by myself I have given you this uncertain note brought to me.

James VI.
1597. The rest I commit to the report of this bearer Christopher Sheperson. Edinburgh, 15 August 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "R' 23. Concerning the Isle of Alesaye and Maclayne. A letter from Achinrose."

The enclosure in the preceding.

(John Auchinross to [Robert Bowes].)

Vol. lxi, No. 23[1]. Anent your lordship's desire to know what pay my Lord and master craves, and also your reasoning of the smallness of the Irish pay:

It is answered that my Lord and master craved 20*s.* sterling to "ilk" soldier in the month; the commander's pay accordingly and would crave more by reason of the dearth. Yet because of his former offer in case he find him to be employed shortly he will serve for the same. As to pay the same anything I cannot of myself "mell" therewith nor enter with my Lord therein without I knew of the certainty of service and of his yearly pension of her Majesty which I let him understand would be had. At which time after my sight herein I shall deal with my Lord and master for a more easy monthly pay, so that your lordship shall find me to do my duty in such surety as shall be thought worthy to be acknowledged.

As for the Irish pay, which your lordship alleges to be little, if the same was converted in silver it would exceed my master's desire which is well known to us.

"Awaittand" on her Majesty's service my Lord and master has detained his men from other doing and has hindered Tyrone (against whom his hatred yet "incistis") from the aid of all others in the Isles to the great discomfort of Tyrone and the comfort of all yours in Ireland, which your lordship would grant if you understood how precious his aid were to Tyrone and what "hinder" you there in Ireland might receive thereby.

This "mikill" my Lord and master has done and has refused the great offers made him by O'Donnell (O'donill) for himself and the Earl, and that of his duty to her Majesty. The refusal whereof has been his present "hinder" and wanting the present commodity there in Ireland, as also through spending and "vairing" here on his friends and men where as he needs not, "vaittand" on her Majesty's service, and all as yet in vain. Whereas if my Lord and master had "opponit" him in your contrary I "vait" well, if fortune had not "kyithit" in his contrary, Tyrone and O'Donnell had been the better of him. Edinburgh, 8 August 1597. *Signed:* Johnne Achinros.

1 *p. Holograph.*

Aug. 15. **55. Sir Robert Cecil to Robert Bowes.**

Vol. lii, p. 185. Upon such letters as her Majesty has seen from you, wherein she has well allowed of your particular proceedings though it has had contrary successes by the nonchalance of those who should have reformed long before this time these foul enormities, it has pleased her to send Sir William Bowes for such purposes as I am sure he has already made

1597. you know. This has been the cause of my silence and may be a just excuse for further discourse considering your nephew is departed from hence to be present at the delivery of the pledges. From the Court at Greenwich, 15 August 1597.

I send you herewith all such proclamations as her Majesty has sent to the three Wardens to be divulged on the Borders.

½ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "A copie of my Master's letter to Mr. Robert Bowes."

Aug. 26. **56.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 24. Upon receipt of your last of the 15th hereof together with the proclamations enclosed for the Borders, I dispersed the proclamations amongst the councillors and officers here and for the King, and having motioned that proclamation to like effects by the King's authority may be seasonably framed, published in all the Marches of Scotland and sent to her Majesty's several Wardens in the Marches of England it is promised to be done with good expedition and concurrency. I have been much pressed for the return and advertisement of her Majesty's resolution in the points of the overtures made by the King and his Council for pacifying the Borders and also in the course to be taken for the accomplishment of the accords concluded by the late treaty and for punishment of the recent offences done since the meeting of the Commissioners in that treaty. In these behalfs I trust to receive shortly further and full instructions. Thereon I shall satisfy the King and Council and proceed with them as for the execution of her Majesty's pleasure and service shall appertain, praying that I may be timely and perfectly directed with notice of her will and determination. Agreeable to the same I shall not omit to challenge all persons and employ my full power and service to perform the effects committed to my charge. The proceedings of Sir John Carmichael with Lord Scrope for redress of the "rode" in Gilsland and with Lord Eure for the peace on the Borders and likewise of Lord Hume with Sir Robert Carye (whose diligence and justice are much commended and have stayed some storms arising) I wholly leave to their particular reports together with the present estate of the Borders requiring speedy remedies to quench the troubles continuing.

Your favourable advertisement of the good estate of her Majesty's fleet after many impediments by contrary winds has well enabled me to encounter the malice of an envious writer certifying the Earl of Huntly by his letter written in this town that her Majesty's navy meeting and fighting with the Spanish fleet was driven by the Spanish forces to retire and return home with very great losses of men and ships. I trust to be shortly more able with true reports (and your good help) to check these and the like false rumours to be spread by malicious and Spanish papists in this realm enviously barking at the prosperous success in her Majesty's affairs.

The King is presently with Lord John Hamilton at Hamilton. The Council resiant here are dissolved and dispersed. The plague is

James VI.
1597. quickened in Leith and increasing in this town as many of the wealthy burgesses have put forth their families, and the pest is so scattered in the country as the fear thereof bars all assemblies and as for the present few novelties in this estate are known worthy the advertisement, by which occasion I forbear to trouble my good Lord your father with idle letters; which excuse for me I beseech you to commend to his lordship. Edinburgh, 26 August 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk with notes of the contents and:* "R' at Luxbarrowe the first of Sep."

Aug. **57.** ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

Vol. lxi, No. 25. The general and universal peace of the Catholic lords is now proclaimed on Lammas day last by sound of trumpets 6 and heralds with their coats armorial at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh. The like ordained to be done in all the burghs of Scotland.

The Jesuits in the meantime are quietly permitted to remain "bute serche." And the ministers yesterday generally throughout all Scotland have proclaimed the spiritual peace of these Catholic lords in their pulpits, all in one voice praying God that [the] same be not hypocritical.

It is no more "loth-som" to the ministers to speak publicly of King, Councillors, Catholic lords, priest or Jesuit but as he [*sic*] find himself grieved to complain to the Secret Council and no otherways.

Lord Graham (Grayme) who is eldest son to Montrose has ambushed the great courtier Sir James Sandilands and left him for dead in Glasgow.

The Countess of Athole is "delated" to the King that she went about to have poisoned his Majesty and he is very busy by his explorators to try the matter and it is spoken by men of credence and knowledge that some great ones are of that same stamp.

Lord Livingstone (Levingston), keeper of the Princess, is charged under the pain of treason to answer *super inquirendis* but the cause is not divulged but only to three of the Council, viz. to the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Clerk of Register and the Lord Advocate. The warrant from his Majesty came the 6th of August present.

There is a private grudge arisen against the Lord President by some great ones in the north for the purchase of certain lands there, for the which he dares not ride north as he was wont and has caused a "fatt" one of his adversaries to be prisoned in Edinburgh.

There is neither secret or private dealing either at the Court, country or kirk but your Honour has been at length advertised of all as they fall out, either long or short from time to time.

The grudge is great among all the spiritual people and their followers for this victory that his Majesty has obtained over them.

If your Honour be content for, or may be persuaded to be contented, I have used David Richison in such form that I have obtained something out of him for your purpose; and besides all this, if by my mean he may be overseen by some mediate favour that he may

1597. know shall come secretly from yourself, we may devise a way how you shall obtain some of your enemies by an easy means hard by your door to use them at your pleasure. So this matter must rest to the next opportunity if it be liked of. *Unsigned. Undated.*
1½ *pp.*

Sept. 5. **58.** ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

Vol. lxi, No. 26. The King has his mind only bent upon the examination and trial of sorcerers, men and women. Such a great number are "delated" that it is a wonder and those not only of the meanest sort but also of the best.

Hereat all estates are grieved and specially the Church, affirming that the form of proceeding is neither conform to the law of God nor man. This is likely to haste them out again, as men of good judgment and credence do esteem.

A great debate is fallen out betwixt two great Earls of the north, to wit Orkney and Caithness, either accusing other of homicide and perjury. Caithness has caused make two swords and two daggers in this town. He has sent them to the Earl of Orkney to take his choice of them and therewithal has offered him the combat.

The King intends at the next Session to challenge the earldom of Orkney. Caithness hearing of this has made offer to the King that if it please him to accept of him he shall be chamberlain to the earldom and shall lay in bond of noblemen in Scotland to pay him conform to reason, as the Lords of the Exchequer and he can agree.

Lord Livingstone is now presently with his Majesty travailing for concord betwixt these two, for Orkney is his brother-in-law. The Council refuses to travail in the matter but intends to proceed by law against Orkney, let Caithness and him proceed in arms as they list. If this matter hold place either by law or arms it will divide the whole realm in discord for either of them have great friends and the King's estate is heavily dreaded for the witches and this.

The marriage of Lord Hamilton's daughter to Lord Maxwell is at hand. His Majesty is requested to be there. Lord Hamilton is now here dealing diligently with merchants for preparation of rich raiments. His palace is princely decked. The King likes well of the persons, causes, place and all.

Drumlanrig is now busy with Lord Hamilton, with the Maxwells, with the Earl of Angus, with Sir Robert Kerr (Carr) and such friends as he may procure at all hands to rout out Johnstone, which is supposed easily to be done in respect of late news come hither to the Council declaring of a division fallen amongst the Johnstones for the slaughter of a Douglas lately.

Letters are come hither of late from the Bishop of Glasgow importing that the King of France is minded to send an ambassador here shortly and that it is so concluded in Council.

The King has written upon the 4th instant to four ministers on this side whom he will to come to Falkland the 13th instant to preach in his

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1597. presence upon divers texts of Holy Writ, as he has nominated to either of them touching the essential power of Satan either by permission or power of God. He has also written to other 12 ministers of Angus and Fife to be present that day to censure that doctrine and to reason the cause. The letters came here this morning which is like to engender a great grief in their hearts, affirming the King to be no high priest. The fifth of September '97. At Edinburgh. *Unsigned.*

2 *pp.* *Endorsed:* "Occurents out of Scottland."

Sept. 7. **59.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 27. My last to your Honour I sent by the convoy of the gentleman porter of Berwick, the substance of which chiefly concerned the laird of Buccleuch (Baclouke). Because I neither heard of the "resett" nor how you accepted the offer made by me in his behalf I am in doubt whether you take the same in good part or not. All the interest I had was to do her Majesty service, which I hope your Honour does so esteem and allow. I am now in hope all the Borderers shall settle by the agreement of the Wardens. The emulation among them was the occasion of all the disasters on both the sides. This agreement between Lord Scrope and Buccleuch will settle the West Border and this conclusion of agreement between Sir Robert Carey (Carrye) and Sir Robert Kerr will settle all the East and Middle March. Lord Hume has assured the King that this matter is referred to him and their meeting stood only in Sir Robert Carey's sudden departing to Court. The King is glad of these new reconciliations, thinking it shall breed good quietness on the Borders and I am of opinion the rancour and malice that I know is between Buccleuch and Cessford (Sesford) will entertain better quietness than worse. The King's hard handling of them about their pledges has made them more tractable than otherways they would have been. All rests now upon the delivery of the pledges which are ready here upon the signifying of her Majesty's pleasure.

I have sent your Honour here enclosed this pamphlet out by one de la Jessé* a Frenchman who was this last winter in this country. He was preferred hither by David Foulis at his last being in England. After he had remained here the most part of the last winter, having access to the King as he pleased, presenting sundry pamphlets and verses, [he] thereafter obtained letters to the Estates, Count Maurice, the princes of Germany and Italy, to what effect I know not. From hence he passed to England about May last. He gave himself out there to have been a servant of the late "Monseres" [Monsieur] to get himself the better entertained as by his letters hither he declares. He says he spake twice with her Majesty "convoyd" by the Earl of Essex (Essikex) but durst not be known of his being here, saying that the name of Scotland savours not well in England. He has been in Germany and now is returned to Leiden in Holland, from whence he directed these letters and pamphlets. He is a little old man and gives himself out for a poet, but as far as I

* See *Analecta Scotica*, i. 328 and *S.H.R.* ix, 376.

1597. can learn a crafty practising companion. What is between the King and him I know not. He advances himself here by setting out the King's title abroad. This far I thought good to acquaint your Honour with to the end you may have an eye into his proceedings. The letters he sent last I was present when they were delivered. So soon as the King had read them he gave them to be kept. One of the letters came from the Count Maurice and another from the Estates. I durst not be curious to understand the contents presently but I shall do good will to understand further of his proceedings. For his own letter I got some taste of it.

I have sent your Honour here-enclosed a note that the laird of Wemyss (Wimes) gave in to the Treasurer of such matters as he would be employed in to France. He is thought no ways meet for those employments.

After the Parliament which is to be holden in November one will be sent for these affairs. This Parliament is chiefly to restore the papist Earls, who seem to be good protestants.

The Duke begins to stir about the castle of Dumbarton, alleging it to be his inheritance. He presses the King earnestly with this matter, who would be content he had it but on the other side he is loth to offend Lord Hamilton of whom he has double proof of his obedience. In my own opinion that house is as sure in his hands as any other. It is like to breed a great controversy. The Duke is making all the friends he may and thinks if he cannot get it one way he will have it another.

Here is a letter come to the King out of Ireland from Sorly Boy's son that lately was in this country and knighted by the King by the name of Sir James Maconnel. He craves the King's opinion whether he shall serve her Majesty or take part with the Earl of Tyrone (Terrone). He grants by his letter he has given his promise to her Majesty and he is earnestly pressed by his uncle, the Earl of Tyrone. The King has dealt honourably in that point for he has not only written to him but has sent him word by his servant that he shall faithfully serve her Majesty without respect of person.

I beseech your Honour to pardon me if I omit any part of my duty for it proceeds rather of ignorance than for want of good will. I am ready to be employed as you shall think convenient. Edinburgh, 7 September. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address.*

Sept. 8. **60.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxi, No. 28. In the Border causes I can give your lordship further advertisement with certainty in the good progress thereof with peaceable effects until Sir William Bowes (employed in those affairs) shall both resolve with her Majesty's Wardens for the appointment of the time, place and manner for delivery of the pledges and performance of the residue of the accords concluded by the late treaty and also give notice to myself of his doings and success therein (which I trust shall be timely accomplished) that I may acquaint the King and this estate with the same, and as

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1597. thereby these Borders matters may proceed and sort to some stable course and end.

The King is purposed to repair to Dumfries in the beginning of October next and there to remain towards the end of that month for settling of the disordered estate of the Marches and country and for placing of a Warden in the West Marches, which office is like to be given to the laird of Drumlanrig; and that thereby Johnstone shall be continued in ward, notwithstanding that he shall present the pledges agreeable to the charge given him. He is returned and entered into his ward in this castle at Edinburgh according to his promise and caution. Yet his friends have lately (as I hear) drawn blood of some of the followers of Drumlanrig, as the troubles betwixt them are like to increase and disquiet those parts.

The King intends to enter shortly into progress to St. Johnstone, where it is looked that the Earl of Huntly shall come unto him. As the Earl likes little of my company, I perceive that the King for some time (and whilst this plague far scattered shall continue) can be best pleased both to spare my access to his presence, and also that I shall bestow myself in Berwick [*in margin:* I send enclosed the letter of Roger Aston touching this matter.], in case this town (which presently is clear) shall be infected with the plague, which is at the ports and suburbs thereof and so kindled in Leith and parts adjoining and round about the town as it is much feared that this sickness shall shortly enter herein; and other towns and places of this realm, free from this disease, refuse to receive, lodge or accompany any person coming from Edinburgh and as myself or any servant employed and sent by me to the Court cannot be harboured, furnished and passed without the King's special warrant and commandment, which I have already obtained to be used in case of necessity and whilst this town of Edinburgh shall remain free and clear from this plague thus generally dispersed. But if this town shall be infected I shall be enforced to resort unto Berwick or other fit place in England. For the Lady Livingstone is so fearful for the Princess in Linlithgow as she mislikes my settling there as I had provided and as the King once well liked. Therefore, being loth to come out of Scotland without her Majesty's leave and order, I pray your lordship that I may be speedily advertised of her pleasure herein and that according to her pleasure and warrant I may do in this case of necessity as shall best content her and be found convenient.

The Queen has appointed to solemnize her first entry into Dundee on the 13th hereof. The same day the Commissioners for the Church will be at Falkland for planting of the ministers in the churches of Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Dundee. Sundry ministers to be chosen for these places are directed by the King to preach before him and upon especial texts in the Scriptures prescribed by him and giving occasion to entreat of witches, wherein the King seems desirous to be well resolved by the authorities of the Scriptures.

The Duke of Lennox (pretending title to the castle of Dumbarton by ancient grant made thereof by the King of Scots to the Earl of Lennox his ancestor) has made petition to the King to be restored to his right therein. The King thereon at his late being at Hamilton moved

1597. Sir John Hamilton (base son of Lord John Hamilton) to persuade his father friendly to yield to the Duke this castle that it might be rather delivered with favour than recovered by judgment in law. Hereupon Lord Hamilton has signified to the King that after his return from his exile and upon trial of his loyalty to the King and sufficiency to keep this castle it was given by the King to him for term of his life and for his own security; that he was old having few years to live and hold this place, which coming to the hands of the King might be then freely disposed at the King's pleasure; and that now he could not leave it without public and great dishonour which against the Duke he would defend; adding that if the Duke should seek this from him by violence he would show him ten thousand men together to assist and party him herein. The King answered that seeing Lord Hamilton thus resolved to retain his possession he would no further trouble him. Yet Lord Hamilton expects some attempt for the surprise of the castle, which he affirmed to me was presently unfurnished with shot and powder and that he could not provide the same in this realm nor by his own means. Further, he confidently protested to keep this piece faithfully for the King and for the benefit of religion and the amity betwixt those two crowns and from the hands of Spaniards and all other parties and earnestly prayed that he might be speedily relieved and furnished by her Majesty's bounty and goodness with some portion of powder and shot fit for minions or lesser pieces of ordnance, which he wished might be sent to Dumbarton in some merchant's ship, and that he may understand speedily what to look for herein. For the declaration of all which premisses he came quietly (he said) to me, praying me to recommend these to your lordship to be presented to her Majesty's knowledge. Albeit I let him know that her Majesty would be loth to do anything in this realm which might be ill construed by the King or estate and that for the furnitures of her navy and armies employed the provision of powder and shot in England was expended, yet he concluded that he would depend on her liberality and favour to him in this time of his need, and for prevention of inconveniences appearing I have thought it meet therefore to acquaint you with the matter and his request and to pray to be directed to proceed in any such sort as shall be found best. Edinburgh, 8 September 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript. Since the writing and sealing of these presents I have received letters from Sir William Bowes advertising that he has spoken with all her Majesty's 3 Wardens and appointing the meeting for delivery of pledges to be at the West Ford above Norham on the 20th hereof, which diet I shall travail to be kept by all the means I can. Yet I doubt to accomplish it in due season by the present absence of the King from these parts and by the difficulty to find ready access to him.

$2\frac{1}{8}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk with notes of the contents and:* "A letter from Mr. Ashton," *and in Burghley's hand:* " Procure answer to these poyntes, W. Burghley."

The enclosure in the preceding.

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

Vol. lxi, No. 28[1]. I have according to your lordship's direction dealt with the Duke concerning the merchant of London that is troubled in the west country.

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1597. He has assured me you shall receive such satisfaction as shall be agreeable to equity and justice as by your servant you shall understand at more length. If you find not yourself so well satisfied as in reason ought to be the best course will be to the King himself, whom I have already acquainted with the matter.

His Majesty finding the state of the country to be very dangerous by reason of the daily increase of the plague is minded to draw himself quiet for 20 days or a month till this infection be better settled and for that cause thinks it meetest that your lordship should retire yourself to Berwick for a little while till his Majesty settle himself in some clean place; that then you may have free access without danger; if you have any occasion in the meantime to communicate his pleasure is that you address the same to me and you shall have answer with expedition. In my own opinion in Edinburgh as yet it does there is no cause of fear, but if it anyways increase you must of necessity retire yourself for both for the discharge of your duty to her Majesty as also neither yourself nor your servants will get access here. The passages are so strictly kept and the country so infected as no man can travel except he come from a very clean place. From Berwick your lordship may direct your letters to me and order shall be given for their passage to and fro and I shall with great diligence and care return your answer.

I have seen a letter sent by Sir James MacConnell, her Majesty's subject in Ireland that lately was in this country. His letter is directed to the King. The contents concern his excuses in not returning hither according to his promise. Next he craves his Majesty's opinion concerning his behaviour and promise he has made to her Majesty touching his service and obedience. I have seen the King's answer and opinion therein, which I thought convenient to acquaint your lordship with. First, the King excuses his absence and the rather that he should employ himself in her Majesty's service and discharge that promise he has made without respect of kin or blood, saying he would no ways allow of any that were traitors to their sovereign. This was not only his direction by writing but also by his own mouth to the man that brought the letter.

We look here daily for her Majesty's resolution concerning the delivery of the pledges. The King is very glad of the late meetings of the Borders, hoping thereby those troublesome countries shall settle and peace and quietness to be entertained between the two realms. All other things I leave to your servant George Nicolson. Falkland (Fakeland) the first September. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

1½ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed.*

Sept. 12. **61.** JOHN LINDSAY OF BALCARRES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxi, No. 29. Having heard by the good report of Roger Aston (Ascheton) and others of your lordship's good will borne to the King my master I was heartily glad thereof, like as his Majesty thinks himself "obleist" to acquit your goodwill; which, as in many other matters, so it may presently appear in the furtherance of the bearer, Robert Joussie,

1597. merchant, whom his Majesty has directed to receive the annuity, hoping that as his goodwill to please her Majesty of England has not decayed in any point, so the small token of her benevolence shall not on the other part yearly diminish from that proportion which either was promised or actually before the last year delivered. To the which I request your lordship to hold hand by more favourable and speedy dispatching of the bearer, which will be occasion of his Majesty's greater favour to be extended to you and yours whensoever occasion shall be offered. Concerning myself your lordship has power to command me in any thing wherein my small power may do good to the continuance of the happy amity betwixt the two crowns or to pleasure you in particular. From Balcarres (Bacares), 12 September 1597. *Signed:* "Your L. richt assurit gud frind to be commandit, J. Lindesay, secretaire."

½ *p.* *Addressed:* "To my gud Lord my Lord Thesaurer of Ingland." *Endorsed.*

Sept. 12. **62. JOHN LINDSAY OF BALCARRES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Vol. lxi, No. 30. I have taken the boldness to desire to be acquainted by mean of our mutual letters that as our princes are conjoint in hearts so there may be a proportion of friendship betwixt us their humble servitors of a like office to the end we may the better procure the peace and prosperity of our masters. In the meantime I recommend to your favour the bearer hereof, Robert Joussie, merchant, directed by his Majesty to receive the annuity that he may be speedily dispatched of his errand in such form that this token of her Majesty's good will decrease no more "nor" his Majesty's earnest desire to pleasure her in all things. Balcarres, 12 September 1597. *Signed:* J. Lindesay, "secretaire."

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Endorsed.*

Sept. 15. **63. ROBERT BOWES TO [LORD BURGHLEY].**

Vol. lxi, No. 31. Upon receipt of advertisement given me by Sir William Bowes of the particularities of her Majesty's resolution and pleasure for the expedition of the reciprocal receipt and delivery of the pledges and due execution of the accords concluded by the late treaty and in all other matters concerning the peace and justice on the Borders, I sought access to the King for the timely negotiation of the effects mentioned. By sundry and weighty occasions entertaining the King he deferred my access until the 13th hereof, giving me that day full audience at Falkland.

After some recount made to him of the contents of his letters and overtures sent to her Majesty I urged the meeting of the Commissioners to proceed on the 20th instant at the West Ford near Norham for the receipt and delivery of the pledges reciprocally and agreeable to former appointment signified. But because he thought this time thus limited

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1597. so strait and this country is presently so visited with the plague, dispersed greatly on the Borders and other places, as this meeting on the 20th cannot conveniently be kept, he thought it good and would for his part that the Commissioners might meet on the 29th of this month at the West Ford near Norham, there to receive and deliver all the pledges for the Middle and East Marches of both these realms. Being resolved to discharge the laird of Johnstone from the office of the Wardenry in the West Marches and therein to plant the laird of Drumlanrig, he is purposed to repair unto Dumfries about the end of this month, finding that sundry of the West pledges refusing to enter unto Johnstone will nevertheless come in and submit themselves to himself at Dumfries and that Johnstone being discharged of the office cannot take and present these West pledges, neither can Drumlanrig do it before he shall be established in that office. Therefore he desires that the delivery of the seven pledges for the West Marches may be respited until the 20th October next and that the same may be done in some convenient place to be accorded within the limits of the West Marches, that at his being in those parts he may personally provide for the due execution thereof. To complete the full delivery of all the pledges to be performed at one day and place on the 29th instant at the West Ford near Norham, he offers that if Johnstone (presently in the castle at Edinburgh) shall refuse or cannot then and there enter and present the West pledges he will deliver Johnstone for her Majesty's satisfaction in that behalf. Wherein it may peradventure be thought inconvenient to accept the delivery of Johnstone now in displeasure of the King and so "feaded" with the West pledges to be delivered as they will practise his ruin and purchase their own safety. Having no warrant to change the former appointment and agree for her Majesty to these adjournments and new limitations, I received these as the King offers, which he promises to perform, in case her Majesty shall be pleased to consent to the same, and in hope of her good allowance and acceptance of the offers mentioned and hereafter expressed he agrees for his part to put all things in readiness to be performed at time, place and in manner by these presents declared; wherein he prays notice of her Majesty's resolution and in which behalfs it may please your lordship to give seasonable and speedy advertisement to Lord Scrope that he may in due time provide to enter and present his pledges as shall be directed.

The King likes well to name and appoint two Commissioners for him to join with her Majesty's Commissioners for the execution of the mutual receipt and delivery of the pledges in order to be accorded and for the present he intends to employ therein Lord Hume and Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, knight;

That his Wardens making default shall be delivered according to his letters to her Majesty;

That his Commissioners shall be authorised to direct all his Wardens and officers in the Marches to proceed effectually and to keep good concurrency with her Majesty's Wardens and officers for the accomplishment of the residue of the accords concluded by the late treaty and also of all the effects contained in the King's letters and

1597. overtures to her Majesty and for the benefit of common peace and justice on the Borders;

And lastly that he will appoint a Lieutenant to enforce his disobedient subjects to yield to justice and do their duties, and in cases requisite to have concurrency with her Majesty's Lieutenants, Wardens and forces [*sic*] for the effecting of all things requisite for the establishing of the peace and future justice. In all which he promises his readiness, wishing to have seasonable and speedy advertisement of her Majesty's pleasure that these good intents and honourable actions may take effect and be finished with best expedition and surety.

Of my proceedings and success in these Border causes I have advertised severally her Majesty's Wardens and Sir William Bowes, that they may prepare and put all things in readiness for the "indelate" execution of her Majesty's pleasure and orders to be directed and signified to them. That I may satisfy the King's expectation and desire with timely notice of her good allowance of the overtures and effects before specified it may please you to return to me with all good speed her pleasure in the same, upon which I attend and wholly now rest in the further pursuit of these Border affairs.

Hearing some uncertain bruit that Tyrone had written and sent a messenger to the King and being informed that sundry Scottishmen (chiefly in the north-west parts of Scotland) continued intelligence with O'Donnell, notwithstanding the King's proclamation published to the contrary, I did therefore in ware manner and for prevention of inconveniences acquaint the King both with those rumours and also with her Majesty's assurance of his princely course and kindness towards her and her good will and benefits to him. He readily answered and protested that he had not received nor knew of any letter, message or messenger sent to him by Tyrone; that he has never dealt with Tyrone nor will deal to her prejudice with any rebels or enemies to her Majesty. He called to mind that MacSorley (M^{c}ksorle) speaking of Tyrone to him he wished MacSorley to advise Tyrone (if he respected Tyrone's welfare) to submit himself to her Majesty's grace and out of her only grace and justice to seek his preservation against the displeasures of her officers there. But what proceeded hereon he neither regarded nor heard anything thereof. He said further that MacSorley complaining of great extremities done by Tyrone against him and seeking the King's advice for his relief or revenge in the same, he persuaded MacSorley to depend only and wholly on her Majesty and her protection, wherein he found him bent to embrace his counsel. And lastly he was well pleased to bar and restrain intelligences betwixt O'Donnell and any of his subjects, adding thereunto right kind words and promises to be always ready to be employed to do her Majesty all pleasures in his power.

In this conference he let me know that he had addressed Robert Jowcye with his letter to her Majesty and for the receipt of this yearly gratuity, trusting that her Majesty knowing his goodwill and his constant course for redress of these Border causes would not delay the delivery of this money according to his desire. I laid before him the unseasonable time to demand it at this present, her Majesty's great and continual charges and sundry other reasons which I had before used to

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1597. some of the Council dealing with me in this behalf. But settling his hope on her Majesty's favour to him herein he has given order for the address of Jowcye in this errand.

I am informed that a strong faction is like to be raised by the Master of Glamis (presently expecting to be Chancellor) and other parties of great powers against the Duke, the Lord Treasurer and other Stewarts. It is looked that the Duke by way of fair motion and request shall be moved to leave the Court and expend some time in Orkney, and that the two offices of Comptroller and Collector (now in the possession of the Lord Treasurer) shall be drawn from him. After which he shall not (as it is thought) long hold the third office of Treasurer without great difficulty and parley, as out of these clouds new and troublesome storms are expected.

The dryness and question betwixt the Duke and Lord John Hamilton for the possession of Dumbarton Castle continue (as I hear) with daily increase and are likely to grow farther by the progress of this faction arising.

This Parliament is summoned (as it is told me) without the privity and good liking of sundry of the King's Council, and as they think something beyond the King's promise made to them. The Earl of Errol pressed the same for his private benefit and restitution. But Angus and Huntly (having their sons enfeoffed in their inheritances) seek not to be restored to their lands and are contented to continue their sons still in their seisin.

The King intends with some small number and in quiet manner to honour the banquet at the marriage of the Lord Maxwell and the daughter of the Lord John Hamilton to be solemnised on the 20th hereof. Edinburgh, 15 September 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 15. **64. Robert Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.**

Vol. lxi, No. 32. On the 14th hereof and near Falkland I received your last of the 5th certifying your especial goodness to me by your favourable motion to her Majesty for her licence that I may come to Berwick in respect of the plague in Edinburgh, and also her good pleasure to dispense with my repair to Berwick so far forth as by my absence no prejudice may grow to her services here, and that I shall send George Nicolson to follow the King and advertise all occurrents. Because I saw the plague still creeping forwards in this town I sought to know the King's mind for my local residence and abode in this realm and finding that he liked best my repair to Berwick with order taken for the continuance of the intelligence I offered to leave George Nicolson to follow him in all his progresses and removes and to attend near about him for the accomplishment of all requisite offices in my absence, and that upon any urgent occasion I should return to him from Berwick and satisfy him in all things. He readily allowed and accepted my offers, appointing that George Nicolson should resort to Roger Aston or in his absence to Sir George Hume that the one of them might impart to him and deliver his answer in all such effects as Nicolson would have presented to his

1597. knowledge; which order I have taken and shall see observed and whereupon I purpose to resort within few days to Berwick there to remain as occasion shall be offered and as her Majesty shall limit to me. In all other matters I have written herewith to my good Lord, your father, who will (I trust) communicate the same to you. Edinburgh, 15 September 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Sept. 20. **65. Robert Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.**

Vol. lxi, No. 33. Albeit by my last letter before these and on the 15th hereof I have certified to you my doings with the King for the employment and attendance of George Nicolson in these services during my absence and also my own purpose to have repaired within few days and remained at Berwick for time to be limited to me and as occasion should be offered, yet since the address of that letter the King has been advertised that the Johnstones and their parties have invaded and slain 15 of the kinsmen followers and servants of the laird of Drumlanrig appointed to be Warden of the West Marches of Scotland. Whereupon the King has called a Convention to meet at Linlithgow upon 24 hereof to resolve in all Border causes, to draw into his possession the pledges of the Middle and East Marches of Scotland that he may make delivery of them on the 29th hereof at the West Ford at Norham agreeable to his overture to me and as I have certified to my Lord your father and that he may determine for the course to be taken for this intended journey to Dumfries to punish this outrage in the Johnstones and their complices, to establish Drumlanrig in the office of Wardenry there, and to get into his hands the pledges to be entered and delivered for that West March. Being quietly advised by a person near the Council and of good experience that those pledges shall not be fully entered and presented to the King according to his trust and former expectation and that the houses infected with the plague and near to me are now cleansed and the inhabitants removed, I have thought it convenient and my duty for these and other respects to stay my purposed repair to Berwick until I shall see the success in these Border causes at this Convention and the end of this Assembly that I may be ready to answer to all matters and objections and as the expedition of the progress of these affairs of the Borders shall not be hindered or prejudiced by my absence or by any disadvantage to be taken thereby.

Angus MacConnell (M^{c}Onell) and MacLean (M^{c}layne) by the means of Argyll are reconciled. They have shaken hands, feasted together and either kissed other, wherewith the King is nothing pleased as by his letter to MacLean he has declared. O'Donnell still importunes MacLean for his favour and aid to be employed to him. Frequent messages pass and repass (as I hear) between them. Yet MacLean still attends her Majesty's pleasure and resolution and is ready to accomplish the same to the uttermost of his power, always pressing me to determinate answer and advertisement therein, which I attend with readiness to do therein as I shall be directed in any sort.

James VI.
1597.

The King being warned as I am informed of the faction to be raised by the Master of Glamis and his party against the Duke, the Lord Treasurer and Stewarts (whereof by my last I have written to your father) is deeply offended with and incensed against Glamis as that storm expected is thereby like to blow over for this time. Edinburgh, 20 September 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript. It may please your Honour to deliver this letter to the Lords of her Majesty's Council.

1 *p. In the handwriting of Nicolson. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Annexed to the foregoing letter:

(Answer to Mr. Bowes's letter.)

Vol. lxi, No. 34.

First, the Commissioners may meet the 29th at the West Ford near Norham.

The pledges for the West Marches may be respited until the 20th of October, whereof the Lord Scrope would be advertised to have them in readiness.

The Queen's Majesty would be moved to name a Lieutenant answerable to a Lieutenant of Scotland, whereof the Ambassador shall be certified by the next.

¼ *p.*

Sept. 20. **66. Robert Bowes to the Privy Council.**

Vol. lxi, No. 35.

Upon receipt of your lordships' letter in the favour of John Brown, Recorder of Berwick, and at the return of the King to Falkland from his late progress and pastimes I acquainted the King with the contents in your letter and with your directions given thereby to myself, moving him in her Majesty's name and agreeable to your order to me that by due and convenient means John Burne of the Cote the elder (before taken prisoner by John Browne and set at liberty upon bond for re-entry upon demand) may be entered and delivered to Mr. Henry Woddrington for the use of Browne and according to the order taken and concluded by the late Commissioners for Scotland in that case; and further that good and sufficient assurance in writing and under Sir Robert Ker's hand shall be "indelately" given and renewed by Sir Robert for the safety and indemnity of Browne, his surname and friends against Jock Burne, his friends and partakers, until Burne prisoner shall make his personal entry according to the decree mentioned. The King allowed and assented unto my request herein, promising to provide for the timely and due accomplishment of the same. Seeing Sir Robert Ker there present he called him to him, directing him to cause Burne to enter according to the act of the Commissioners and that in the meantime and with speed Sir Robert should renew and give good assurance to Browne for his safeguard, wherein by the King's advice and desire I likewise spoke and conferred with Sir Robert who willingly agreed to perform the King's pleasure and charge to him in this behalf; like as I have by my letter both advertised Brown and advised him to call on

1597. Sir Robert Ker for the full accomplishment of the effects promised to be done for Browne's surety and contentment. Edinburgh, 20 September 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. In the handwriting of Nicolson. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Sept. 24. **67. The Privy Council of England to Robert Bowes.**

Vol. lii, p. 185. Although her Majesty cannot but very much dislike this continual putting off of the mutual delivery of pledges, whereof she is advertised by your letters to me the Lord Treasurer bearing date the 15th of this month, yet to the intent that order so long appointed may not be quite frustrate she is content that the 29th may hold for the same to be done at the West Ford near Norham, whereof her pleasure is you being at Berwick now should certify both those Wardens and Sir William Bowes that there may be no lack of correspondency on her part. But where the King moves that a Lieutenant may be appointed of her Majesty's side to direct and countenance the delivery, thanks be given to God her Wardens and Commissioners are in so absolute obedience as there needs no superior officer for those things which she shall direct. For all other particulars in your letter may require answer we will not fail to satisfy you by our next, having according to your motion directed my Lord Scrope for the delivery of his pledges the 20th of October. From the Court at Richmond, 24 September 1597.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A letter from the LLs: to Mr. Bowes."

Sept. 24. **68. The Privy Council of England to Lord Scrope.**

Vol. lii, p. 186. We find by Mr. Robert Bowes that the delivery of the pledges at Norham for the Middle and the East Marches is desired to be put till the 29th of this month and the delivery of the pledges for your March and the opposite till the 20th of October, in regard that the King is resolved to discharge Johnstone and to place the laird of Drumlanrig. Forasmuch as there has been long expectation of this matter and that without this being effected all which is already done will be frustrate it is her Majesty's pleasure that you shall take notice thereof and have those pledges ready by that day, making choice of some such place as may be most commodious for both parties, the rather for that the King pretends a resolution to be at Dumfries himself to countenance that delivery. We know your great desire to come up both by your own writing as also by the earnest solicitation of the lady your wife and therefore to the intent her Majesty may have no scruple left to hinder your coming (which we doubt not to effect) we have thought good to move you in any wise to consider of some fit persons to receive the charge under you in your absence and upon certificate hither of that good order and being assured from you that your pledges shall be ready upon your next advertisements we will not fail to move her Majesty to give warrant both for committing the charge to such as you shall name and for making your

James VI.
1597. repair hither according to your desire. From the Court at Richmond, 24 September 1597.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A letter from the LLs: to the Lo: Scroope."

Sept. 26. **69. Proclamation by King James VI.**

Vol. lxi, No. 36. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, II, 263.

Forasmuch as Sir Walter Scot of Branxhome, knight, keeper of Liddisdale, having for obedience of our command and of the order set down betwixt the late Commissioners for the redress of bypast insolencies betwixt the Marches faithfully promised to us to enter to us upon the 24th day of September instant such pledges within his bounds as were craved by the opposite officers for performance of the said good order; which pledges, being the headsmen of their clans and branches in these bounds and having given in surety to the said Sir Walter for their entry to him at the foresaid day for relief of his word and promise interponed to us for their obedience, have notwithstanding most falsely and unhonestly violated the sureties given by every one of them to Sir Walter of plain intention to stir up their remnant of their clans and surnames in these bounds to break our Borders so far as in them lies to the disturbance of the peace and amity betwixt the two realms and the great unquietness of our Estate unless substantious and speedy remedy be "tymouslye" provided: our will is therefore and we charge you straitly and command that, incontinent these our letters seen ye pass and in our name authorise, command and charge sundry our lieges betwixt sixty and sixteen years and other fencible persons as well within regality as royalty within the bounds of our sheriffdoms of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Linlithgow, Stirling, Fife, Perth and Forfar, together with the inhabitants of our burghs within the said sheriffdoms of Linlithgow, Stirling, Fife, Perth and Forfar that they and each one of them well and substantially "bodin in fere of war with jacks, speires and hagbutts" with 15 days victuals and provision and with carriage and "palyeons" to lie on the fields address themselves to repair to us at the places and upon the days following, that is to say, the persons foresaid within our said sheriffdoms of Fife, Perth and Forfar to meet us all at our burgh of Linlithgow upon 10 October next and the persons foresaid within our said sheriffdoms of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Linlithgow and Stirling to meet us at Peebles on 11 October, and from thence to pass forward and accompany us in the pursuit of the said disobedient persons and reducing of them to our obedience, under the pain of "tynsall" of life, lands and goods, the which to do we commit to you conjunctly and severally our full power by these our letters, delivering them by you duly executed and endorsed again to the bearer. "Given under our signet at Linlithgow the 26th of September and of our reign the 31 year, 1597. *Per actum Secreti Consilii.*"

1 *p. Copy.*

James VI.
1597. Sept. 27.

70. King James VI to Queen Elizabeth.

Vol. lxi, No. 37.

This bearer, our trusty and well-beloved servitor, the Conservator of the privileges of our merchants in the Low Countries, directed presently by us to these parts of his ordinary residence for our service and affairs of our subjects trafficking there, we have accorded to accompany him with this our recommendation, "effectuouslie" requesting you, our dearest sister and cousin, to give direction that he and his servants may courteously be used and "intreatit" during the time of their residence within your realm and have such favourable and ample passport and conduct as shall be requisite for their ready and sure passage through the same and from thence to Zeeland or Holland. From our palace of Linlithgow this 27 of September 1597. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionatte brother and cousin, James R."

½ *p. Addressed. Traces of seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 27.

71. King James VI to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxi, No. 38.

This bearer, Robert Jowsie, our merchant, being directed by us to receive that ordinary annuity bestowed on us by our dearest sister and cousin the Queen your sovereign, we have taken occasion to recommend his furtherance in that errand to your care and favourable regard, since upon the report of your good disposition toward us we account you our special friend and one inclined to pleasure us in whatsoever our "lesum" affairs. From our palace of Linlithgow this 27 of September 1597. *Signed:* James R.

¼ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 29.

72. The Privy Council of England to Lord Scrope.

Vol. lii, p. 187.

We trust it shall not be evil taken by you if in a case which so nearly concerns you we write plainly, for we that are present must needs better judge of these things than you who being absent cannot know all circumstances. First, we find you have determined resolutely without her Majesty's pleasure known to come up and we also see you have committed the superior charge to Henry Leighe the keeper of Rockcliff (Rotclife) Castle and have made other gentlemen but his assistants. Good my Lord, imagine howsoever in the opposites haply light men may be chosen according to Scottish custom, yet her Majesty will hold it a great indignity to have a person of whom she has so slender an opinion both holding him a beggar and a rash witted person that her Wardenry should be left to him principally. Besides we must needs tell you that it will be infinite strange to her that your lordship (a nobleman) would come from your charge and have no warrant. These things we pray you to consider well, in this respect especially, for that when we heard this purpose of yours by your letters and knew not how soon you might come up, to prevent any such matter I, the Secretary, told the Queen that now the matter for the delivery of pledges in the West Marches was like

James VI.
1597. to be deferred by reason of Johnstone's displacing and that now you had received the writ of Parliament, I thought your lordship would be here shortly, she answered, "What before he know my pleasure. God forbid! that were presumption indeed. I trust he will not play such a part." I answered then, "Madame, I think he doth but purpose it, looking daily for warrant. And surely it were fit he were conferred with here and his absence can give no impediment to the pledges' delivery nor to the government, for he will commit it to gentlemen of discretion in the country;" and so in conclusion, I, the Lord Chamberlain, being also sent for and confirming all former reasons, we have brought it to this pass that so you be sure that all the pledges may be so ready as that the opposites may not colour their breaking by your deficiency and that you leave the Wardenry in some honest gentlemen's hands besides, whereby it may not appear that Leighe is the principal respondent to justice, then may you by this warrant of our signification of her pleasure come up, and in any wise we pray you so to slacken your journeys as it may never appear you intended to come to London before her Majesty's pleasure known, though haply you may say that for particular business you came onward to [*blank*], being written to by us that you should have liberty and attending that daily and especially your lordship must so use it that the Lord Eure may not know you came up but with precise licence. We hope we do not offend your lordship with this plainness, neither that you will not principally consider how tender a thing it is for any such persons as your lordship is to do anything in this kind that may be considered contempt or overboldness. If you think Sir Robert Carey's example sufficient, you must know that there is difference in your qualities; neither was he fully established, and when he went down last the Queen precisely gave him liberty to come up upon signification of her pleasure by me, the Secretary, which I did accordingly.

2 *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A letter from the LLds: to the Lo: Scroope," *and in margin:* "29 September: 1597."

[?1597, Sept.] **73.** OCCURRENTS OUT OF SCOTLAND.

Vol. lxi, No. 39. Our ministers of Edinburgh have drawn a new faction and are making instigation to others for assistance. But they have uttered rashly a part of their factious minds publicly in the kirks about the 11th of this instant September, so as some of them are summoned to compear before the King and Council at Falkland.

The King says that Sir William Bowes shall have an answer of the pledges when he sees what the Queen will do for him at this Parliament. But he thinks the weather too cold to deliver them as yet. Howbeit, he has not taken yet a certain resolution what to do. But by the next you shall be advertised at length.

The King's whole care at this time is to establish a solid order in the town of Edinburgh both in kirk and polity, for there is a great suspicion

1597. in Court that the Ministry has some mischievous machination presently in hand. *Undated.*

½ *p.*

Oct. 3. **74. Robert Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.**

Vol. lxi, No. 40. The special devotion showed towards her Majesty and for the advancement of her service by the bearer hereof, Mr. Robert Deniston, Lord Conservator for the Scottish nation in the Low Countries, well approved by many good offices done with continuance of his readiness to perform the like and to give to yourself sufficient proof and surety thereof, justly calls me to accompany him with these presents and testimony and to commend him to your favourable entertainment and courtesy, trusting that he and his goodwill shall be found worthy to be well accepted. Edinburgh, 3 October 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅓ *p. In Nicolson's hand. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

[Oct. 3 *or later.*] **75. Robert Deniston.**

Vol. lxi, No. 41. A remembrance that Mr. Robert Denyston, Conservator for the Scottish nation in the Low Countries, being in Scotland ready to return to his charge, desires her Majesty's safe-conduct that he may pass through England. *Undated.*

Small slip of paper. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.

Oct. 5. **76. King James VI to [? Robert Bowes].**

Vol. lxi, No. 42. We doubt not but you are advertised of the continuation of the presenting and entry of the pledges at the late meeting of the Commissioners to Saturday next, the 8th instant, a thing unexpected by us and done besides our knowledge, since we looked for nothing else than the precise keeping of that day and effectuating of that turn as was appointed. Always the laird of Buccleuch (Bucklughe) having broken so many "dyetts" we mistrust his keeping of that and entry of himself or his pledges as is "promitted." Therefore as we have been most careful and instant as ye know to see that turn effectuated, so intend we resolutely to pass in proper person the 10th instant with a force upon his bounds and Liddisdale for urging of the entry of those pledges and repressing of his and their disobedience according to our proclamation. But we will "effectuously" desire you to acquaint our dearest sister your sovereign and her Commissioners and by your letters crave that a Lieutenant or some special man may be sent down to the Borders to concur and hold hand to us as we shall desire in pursuit and repressing of those our rebellious and disobedient subjects, whereby our intention and course against them may have the better success, as ye will do us

James VI.
1597. right thankful and special pleasure. Linlithgow (Lithquo), 5 October 1597. Your loving friend James R. *"Sic subscribitur."*

¾ *p. No address or endorsement.*

Oct. 6. **77. KING JAMES VI TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.**

Vol. lxi, No. 43. The pledges appointed to be entered in England by the laird of Buccleuch having disappointed his good meaning and betrayed both us and him (as we doubt not ye have heard) he has now entered himself in England for our obedience, accomplishing of our promise and the zeal he carries toward the continuance of the peace betwixt the realms. To whom in that respect the favour customable yielded to the greatest chief entered for bills in any of the realms would be extended, which is a relief upon bond till a day, which we will right "effectuouslie" request you to so grant him, whereby he may be enabled to trap these pledges and rebellious persons in the meantime, considering that if otherwise he shall be retained in strait ward or used with rigour he cannot be able to do the same nor work his own relief, whereunto we would wish you to have a regard as ye will do us special good pleasure. From our palace of Linlithgow, 6 October 1597. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Addressed and endorsed.*

Oct. 7. **78. ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY AND SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Vol. lxi, No. 44. Before the receipt of your joint letter of 24 September last I had altered my purpose for my repair to Berwick for I thought it my duty to be present at the Convention then assembling at Linlithgow for Border causes likely to run into stormy course, and these I advertised to you, Sir Robert Cecil, by my letter of 20 September.

By letters of Sir William Bowes I have oftentimes received good and sufficient notice of her Majesty's pleasure for the surety and expedition of the reciprocal delivery of the pledges for the accomplishment of the ordinances concluded by the late treaty and for other substantial effects for the peace and justice of the Borders. All which I have carefully negotiated with the King and his Council, putting them plainly in remembrance of their many promises and orders defeated in these behalfs and demanding more sound and constant resolutions in these affairs, which resolutions I have sought to be signified to me in writing. All my proceedings and success in the same I have from time to time certified to Sir Wm. Bowes, sending to him the notes of the orders taken here that he might the best direct his course and seasonably and certainly advertise your lordship and Honour and in all these changeable affairs. Which I trust he has dutifully performed for the discharge of us both and of our duties therein.

I attended at the Convention at Linlithgow finding the King in full assurance that Buccleuch and Cessford would present and enter on the next day to him all the pledges to be delivered by them, and as he might commit them to Lord Hume to be delivered for her Majesty at the West Ford at Norham on 29 September last. Albeit that my warning was little regarded, yet within few hours the King was advertised that,

1597. Buccleuch coming towards him with all his pledges, three of them suddenly fled and escaped; that he with two gentlemen pursued them and would bring them in alive or dead or otherwise deliver his own body for them at the meeting appointed. Cessford hereon sought to persuade the King and Council to think that it should be hurt to the King's service and of the peace that he should be compelled to deliver his pledges except Buccleuch should perform the like. Therefore he offered to deliver all his pledges at the meeting in case Buccleuch shall do the like, or otherwise he resolutely promised the King to present and enter to the Commissioners his own body for her Majesty's satisfaction and acquittal of the King's promise in that behalf. But of the performance in these Sir William Bowes has I trust surely advertised.

It was whispered in Court that upon the repair thither of Lord Hume and Cessford with their parties and forces brought to Linlithgow warning was given to Buccleuch to stay his journey with notice that the Duke, his chief strength there, then was suddenly departed from Linlithgow to Stirling. This is said to be ground of this hasty change and of dangerous complots still intended.

Soon after the King sent Sir Robert Melvill and the Clerk Register to me to let me understand that all the pledges should be delivered at the place appointed the 29th ultimo or else that the lairds of Cessford and Buccleuch should enter themselves till the pledges were had and delivered, wishing therefore that the said day should be kept for meeting of the Commissioners for that purpose, assuring me that if the lairds should fail of giving satisfaction accordingly that he would pursue them with all extremities, and sent me his act and order set down thereupon, which presently I sent to Sir William Bowes with advertisement of the premisses that he might keep the day and place and see what would be performed accordingly. The copy of the said order I send enclosed to your lordship and the success of that meeting I trust Sir William has advertised you. Since that time I have received more letters from Sir William for soliciting of the King for more sure performance of things at the next day being to-morrow. Thereon I have sent to the King and received therein such answers as by his letter your lordship and honour will perceive and advertised Sir William thereof that he may do as shall be meetest, agreeable to his instructions. The King seeks no otherwise to have a Lieutenant appointed by her Majesty to concur with him and his forces than as she pleases; only he desires that some for her Majesty, her Wardens or whom she please may concur with him or by themselves to take revenge against his disobedient subjects offending against the treaties made by the Commissioners that by all possible means on both sides they may be punished and rooted out. Of all which I had from time to time before this in more due season certified your lordship and honour at good length but that it has pleased the goodness of God to visit me with painful sickness, casting me into faintness, weakness, shortness of breath and intolerable drought, the height whereof I trust to be past. Yet my weakness and want of health continue as I pray you to excuse and pardon me for my not writing heretofore of these things and of my now certificate therein.

Lord Hume, hearing that upon his being at Linlithgow and Cess-

James VI.
1597. ford's with their extraordinary train, some meant to have had the Duke's life and Buccleuch's if they had been at Linlithgow, wrote on Wednesday last to the Duke excusing him of any such intention as was bruited. Whereon yesterday the Duke wrote again to Lord Hume accepting his excuse and showing he confided on him as one of his especial friends that he would employ for his life in case of need. So as thus the matter is like over betwixt them two but not so with Cessford, who in the particular of Drumlanrig against Johnstone is thought shall not bear with the Duke favouring of Johnstone. Drumlanrig came to the Duke and required to know what would be his part in that cause. He said he bare good will to him and his house, but Johnstone having made his dependency on him he would not be against him, to which Drumlanrig replied and said he would do then for himself by other friends and so left the Duke. Now Lord Hamilton, the Earl of Cassillis, Glencairn and many others are preparing to carry home the Lord Maxwell lately married to Lord Hamilton's daughter and to pursue the feud against Johnstone, and if the King will give them authority they intend to place themselves and dwell in Johnstone's lands after the King's return from his intended journey to those parts, and Drumlanrig and his friends are to hold correspondency with them for his revenge also on Johnstone who is still in this castle for the purpose certified in my former letters and whose friends will so stir as there will be the beginning of troubles. The Duke thinking his honour interested by Lord Hamilton for Dumbarton Castle (who has placed his bastard son there), first in that he holds it from him being his right, as the Duke says and alleges charter for, and next in that Lord Hamilton says he shall not have it but upon the swordpoint, has sent for his friends to be with him on Monday at the Convention of the Council at Linlithgow (where Mar will be also strong) both to prevent the danger of that meeting by the doubt had of the faction of Hume and Cessford against him, likely yet to be strong there, as also after to convoy him to Glasgow where he is to remain some time there to advise with his friends both for some course to be taken anent the castle which he will put in practice and also to withdraw himself from Court and perils he may there fall in. Some think it meet he should also procure some honourable employment abroad in France to keep some time out of the country.

It is with some noted as a great matter that the King does not take knowledge of the appearance betwixt the Duke and Hume, etc., nor seek to pacify the same, and [it] is also as much noted that Sir George Hume, the King's favourite new subject to such plots, should now be in this with Lord Hume and that side.

The Earls of Argyll and Huntly having united themselves to the strength of their several countries are thought shall fall to new troubles. But Huntly to be quit of that quarrel of Moray's (Murray's) slaughter would refer it to the arbitrament of any four Stewarts of account, so as they took neither his life nor lands, and that he would give lands and marriage also to compound that matter; which will breed troubles again [in a] few years if not sooner.

Forasmuch as after the King's entry into his western journey my abode and service in this desolate place still grieved with the plague

1597. creeping in it shall little profit and that I shall provide for frequent intelligence and necessary negotiation of causes convenient, it shall therefore I trust be favourably accepted that I repair to Berwick to recover my health not yet restored and to dispose of such my private affairs as presently lie open to all disorders, wherein I most humbly pray your accustomed favour and furtherance. Edinburgh, 7 October 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$3\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 8. **79.** REPORT OF THE MEETING BETWEEN THE BORDER COMMISSIONERS.

Harl. MSS. 851, fo. 71. Printed in full in *Border Papers* II, No. 784.

[*In margin:* Berwick, Oct. 9, 1597.] A true report of the material circumstances happening the 8th October in the meeting between the Commissioners of both the realms for delivery of pledges at the West Ford near Norham.

Describes the meeting on 8th October at the West Ford near Norham of Sir William Bowes, Commissioner for England, supported by John Carey, Governor of Berwick, William Selby, Gentleman-Porter, and a number of troops, with the Scots Commissioners Lord Home, and the Laird of Wedderburn. Sir William, displeased at the ill-arming of the Northumberland men, relied on the Berwick garrison "shot" and horse.

States that the English had all their pledges ready (including one of the men demanded who was dead), and that Buccleuch, who came very late, being unable to produce his pledges, entered himself, and was given to the custody of the Gentleman-Porter. The English handed over their pledges, but Cessford had not yet appeared.

In the gathering dusk, a body believed to be Teviotdale men made an unwarranted approach; one of them fired a pistol, and cried that he was shot. A tumult arose, the English "shot" fired two hundred bullets across the stream, but killed no one. Home and his men brought the English Commissioners safely off, and escorted them to Berwick. Next day, Home, who dined in Berwick, reported that Cessford sought an interview to arrange for the delivery of his pledges, or his own surrender; but as the English pledges had now disappeared it was thought that Cessford would make this an excuse for fresh delays, and Bowes had refused to see him, declaring that he must inform the Queen.

6 *pp. Copy in a contemporary hand.*

Oct. 8. **80.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Harl. MSS. 851, fo. 75*a*. Calendared at length in *Border Papers*, II, No. 786.

Bowes repeats the substance of the previous "Declaration" to Lord Burghley, No. 79. Says that the Commissioners are of opinion that Cessford, and not his pledges, should come in.

Emphasises the narrowness of his own escape, and the present threats against him. Seeks some recognition for his service, from which he asks discharge.

2 *pp. Copy in a contemporary hand.*

James VI.
1597.
Oct. 11.

81. Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

Harl. MSS. 851, fo. 74. Calendared at length in *Border Papers*, II, No. 788.

Bowes expects that his colleague the Bishop of Durham has already informed Cecil of the failure to deliver pledges, 29th September, and 8th October. Seeks instructions as to the disposal of Buccleuch and of Cessford if he enters too.

Believes that Cessford organised the tumult, and is urging Home, who behaved very well and is well inclined, but who is friendly with Cessford, to procure Cessford's surrender, since it concerns the honour of Home himself who was ordered to deliver him by the King.

Mentions the strength of the Scots in arms on the 8th and the ineffectiveness of the English except the Berwick garrison. Plea for the recall to Berwick of Robert Bowes, who is now very ill.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Copy in a contemporary hand.*

Oct. 14.

82. Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley.

Vol. lxi, No. 45.

Upon receipt on Tuesday last from Sir William Bowes of the circumstances of what happened at the meeting at the West Ford at Norham for the delivery of the pledges the 8 hereof, myself being sick and not able to travel to solicit the King in those behalfs, I sent George Nicolson instructed to travail with the King and certain of the best affected councillors for good and seasonable regard to be given to those causes; and after giving them taste of the manner and substance of the outrageous attempt, breach of the assurances given in the King's name touching her Majesty's honour and the King's in high degree, with intention in the practisers to cast all loose and confound the intentions of both princes for delivery of pledges and performing of the treaties, to commend the trial, discovery and punishment of the authors and actors of that tumult to the King's good course to be speedily taken for repair of that indignity offered to them both and for the speedy delivery of his pledges for preventing of all inconveniences that might come by delay thereof, as also to put it in memory that the King was once resolved to have drawn all his pledges and officers into his own hands that he might have delivered the pledges and kept his officers for his further pleasure as thereby he might both give honourable repair to her Majesty and also make delivery of the pledges by the fittest manner; and to bring unto me the King's mind and resolution in all the same. Yesterday Nicolson returned from the King at Linlithgow with his letter to me in answer of the said causes proponed to him to such effects as by the view of his original letter enclosed will best appear to you. By Nicolson I am given also to understand that the King was and is in a very great rage at this outrage and openly before the whole Council showed the same, saying he would be as careful and earnest to try the authors of that tumult for her Majesty's satisfaction and his own as possibly as he could be, and omit no means for the same, praying that I would be means that Sir William Bowes would be the like. If Cessford, albeit he were a knight, a gentleman of account and his servant of good place under him, should be found guilty in the same, he protested earnestly and

1597. openly that he would hang him or any other of his subjects that should be found guilty therein, trusting if it were tried to be done by any of her Majesty's that she would do the like. Whereunto Nicolson answered it was done in Scotland and by Scottishmen, and the English pledges being all delivered the devise might well be to prevent the delivery of Cessford but not of others who were delivered, and it was the hazard of Sir William's life (her Majesty's Commissioner) and the gentlemen with him attending in Scotland the receipt of Cessford's pledges but for the Lord Home's care and the gentlemen with him and therefore could be no stratagem or policy of the English but of theirs. Whereon the King replied again and protested that whatsoever of his subjects should be found foul should be severely punished, desiring that the delivery of pledges might not stay for trial of this which perhaps could not be tried for the space of a month, the delay of which might hazard great inconveniences, and demanded whether we would appoint new days for delivery of pledges again or receive the pledges. Whereunto Nicolson answered he had no commission to speak anything of new appointments nor could tell what Sir William Bowes would do therein before he knew her Majesty's pleasure, seeing he had met three several times for receipt of his pledges and still lost his labour. But he told the King he thought and was sure that Sir [William] would receive them so as he saw them ready and sure to be presented and delivered indeed in sure and convenient order without any more drifts. Whereon the King said he should be sure on them and would write to the Lord Home to satisfy Sir William therein, praying me that I would move Sir William to concur therein with Lord Home and notwithstanding all unhappy impediments and practices he would perfect his part of the treaties, trusting by good concurrency to his good intention that that work shall yet be performed, which if he had not meant to have done he would never have delivered Buccleuch. Wherein the King recounted he was interested in honour if Buccleuch shall be detained and not our pledges delivered for Liddisdale and which he trusts will be respected he said. That the pledges of the West Marches of Scotland may be delivered the King has set at liberty the laird of Johnstone upon good caution and many conditions for delivery of the pledges within his charge and for the peace of the country. For the pledges the King has specially charged Lord Hamilton (tutor of Maxwell), Lord Herries and the lairds of Drumlanrig and Johnstone with others to take into their possession and have in readiness all the pledges severally within their offices and rules. Yet by the delay of the King's journey to Dumfries I fear that these western pledges shall not be delivered on the 20 hereof appointed for the same. Wherein as yet I cannot write certainly. In these behalfs Sir William Bowes has I understand so sufficiently informed your lordship, and my estate in mind and body continues so weak as I have chosen and humbly pray that it may be accepted that I refer these affairs for the pledges and Borders to the sufficiency of the certificate of Sir William.

This Convention has concluded in counsel that the proclamation towards the Borders shall be renewed and continued until the 2nd of next month when the King is to pass towards Dumfries there to remain

James VI. 1597. until he have reduced or suppressed his disobedient and settled the country in quietness and for this purpose is to be attended by quarterage by months.

The Parliament is adjourned until the 10th of the next and the Sessions to December 1st, both to be in this town.

The D[uke] and Mar were very strong at Linlithgow this Convention and had been stronger if Lord Home and Cessford had come as they looked once for. Yesterday, as by my last I advertised, the D[uke] is gone to Glasgow to remain there some time where it is doubted there will be a "cuff" betwixt him and Hamilton. At Edinburgh, 14 Oct. 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. In Nicolson's hand. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Enclosure with the preceding.

(King James VI to Robert Bowes.)

How "displeasandlie" we have heard of this late accident on Saturday last we will appeal no other witness but yourself as best acquainted from the beginning with our inward and earnest care to see these pledges take effect. Always leaving the trial of that insolence to the day we have appointed for that errand, we have for the preventing of further inconveniences and disappointing of the intentions of the authors whatsumever written to our cousin Lord Home to prosecute the work begun with his opposite at a convenient short day to be appointed on betwixt them to that effect, requesting you to be the means of his said opposite's conformity that both the pledges answerable to Liddisdale may be entered and those of Teviotdale "interchangeit" with their opposites so soon as possibly may be. Respecting both our interest in honour, if Buccleuch (Bakcleuch) entering for Liddisdale rest there without a meeting on the part of England, and what incouragement it may work in the dispositions of these of Teviotdale if their entry shall be protracted to new advertisement and order furth the princes. In both we crave your care and diligence as ye may be assured there shall lack none in us to see this insolent attempt and "thortour" in this work exemplarily both tried and punished. Thus we commit you to the protection of the Almighty. From our palace of Linlithgow, this 13 of October, 1597. *Signed:* "Your loving freind James R."

Postscript in King James's handwriting: "I uolde be sorie that my honest and upricht intention in this earande shoulde be misiudgit for the knaverie of anie one or tuo of my seditiouse subiectis."

1 *p. Addressed. Placard seal. Endorsed:* "The King's letter of Scottes. Lithquo—Edenbrough 13° Octob. 1597. Per George Nicolson."

Oct. 17. **83. Queen Elizabeth to John Carey.**

Vol. lii, p. 189. Having understood both by your report at divers times and your brother Robert Carey's of many good arguments of Lord Hume's readiness to do justice on the Borders, there is nothing that could have more confirmed his good disposition towards us than his careful and honest

1597. proceeding, whereof our servant Bowes has thoroughly acquainted us, at this last meeting when Cessford by such base and foul shifts suitable with the rest of his actions sought to avoid performance of that which his King had promised for him and which in his own guiltiness he knew belonged to us in justice. But of this matter (because we know Lord Hume himself was an eye-witness of that fraud and thereby bound in honour to represent to the King his lewdness without any motion of ours) we mean not to trouble ourselves to declare any further what we have heard or might think of that strange manner of proceeding but only hereby take occasion to let Lord Hume understand that our ministers have truly acquainted us with his good dealing, without whose trust we know our servant Bowes would not have hazarded any matter of consequence upon Cessford's perfidious words or actions, and that we are so sensible of his good affection towards us as we will not fail in any good occasion of his to make him favourable requital. And for the rest of that satisfaction in future which is so justly due to his proceeding we make no question but the King himself who has known how long we have endured these protractions and cannot but feel both the dishonour done to himself and have true sympathy of our scorn received in the time when such an expectation followed the issue of this meeting, we doubt not but he will make him an example of his own power over his contemptuous subject and of his desire to yield us satisfaction who have never neglected him in anything by delivering the capital offender into our hands. Of this particularly we commend you to acquaint Lord Hume, expecting daily such effects as may not hold our honour in further question, which remains still suspended until the offender be delivered.

1½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "A Copie of the Queenes lre. to Mr. John Carye" *and in margin:* "17 Sept'ber* 1597."

Oct. 17. **84. Sir Robert Cecil to John Carey.**

Vol. lii, p. 191. Her Majesty has heard of the laird of Buccleuch's delivery of himself to Berwick and finds by your writing to my Lord your brother how you apprehend both wisely and carefully the unfitness of Berwick. She means therefore forthwith to remove him but commands you for the present to look so to him as that he do not escape. If he should mislike his being hard looked to you may say you do it for your own discharge. Her Majesty would be well content to have him with Sir William Bowes at Barnye but that she must use his service otherwise, but as for Berwick she will not have him in any wise kept there, but will give order forthwith for his remove and she desires you, because she would direct him to another place, that you (upon conference with Sir William Bowes) will send her word by your letter to me where (in your opinion) he might be kept conveniently both for place and person to keep him. She does not allow in any case that he should have any resort unto him, but

* Wrongly dated; "Sept." is written over "Oct."

James VI.
1597. of yourself, Mr. Bowes, and some one other that you shall like to bear him company sometime, and to be privately attended with a guard.

Postscript. You must say you dare do no other for your discharge and comfort him that he is in no cruel prince's hand, though she be desirous to lose no honour unrepaired.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A Copie of my master's letter to Mr. John Carye," *and in margin:* "17 Sept'ber* 1597."

Oct. 17. **85. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir William Bowes.**

Vol. lii, p. 192. By your wise and diligent labours certified by your letter to my Lord and myself her Majesty finds that something is procured for the satisfaction of her honour in the taking in of Buccleuch, and for the rest wherein Cessford has played so vile parts there is no defence against fraud wherein there must be trust. Therefore she lays that on the right place and is glad that the treachery proved not harmful to your person. Thus much her Majesty willed me to let you know. Now, Sir, to the person of Buccleuch: her Majesty likes not any whit of the residence of his person in Berwick for many other considerations and having understood by a letter from Mr. John Carey to my Lord Chamberlain (whereof I send you privately a copy for that particular) how dangerous it is to keep him, she resolves immediately upon his remove and of all places bethinks her most of Barneye under your charge. Now, Sir, I know you would be loth to be his jailer and therefore I timely advertise you that you may with all speed bethink to advise me by your letter of some fit place and person in the north for such a purpose. You may not name any of the houses in my Lord of Shrewsbury's hands because he is here. Methinks Mr. Gates at Hull might have him. I have only thought it a friend's part to advise you, because I think you would be glad to be freed of this purgatory. Otherwise, if you will have him, then you may do well to name some whom you trust that will keep him in your absence. By your letter I find mention made of the pledges of England delivered before the affray. I cannot well understand by your letter whether they be still detained or not by the Scots without reciprocal delivery. If it be so, Cessford is double beforehand with us. Surely Cessford's personal delivery must be had. The other will be but longer work and less honour. You did well not to let him come in Berwick and you must insist for his delivery by writing to the "leggerde" (leger) that he demand him. The Queen will take notice thankfully of Hume's dealing with you as from your relation. She would have Buccleuch sure kept by Mr. Carey as for his own discharge, though suffered to have all necessaries and to be visited by yourself sometimes and yourself and some one other special gentleman of trust to accompany him, but in no sort otherwise seen or spoken with but told by Mr. Carey or you that he is fallen into the hands of a prince of honour and void of cruelty, though sensible of scorns and affronts as much as any monarch on earth.

1¾ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A Copie of my

* Wrongly dated; "Sept." is written over "Oct."

1597. master's l're to Sir Will'm Bowes," *and in margin:* "17 Sep'ber* 1597."

Oct. 20. **86.** KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Vol. lxi, No. 46. We doubt not but you are advertised by report as well of your Ambassador, officers and commissioners as otherwise of our sincerity and goodwill toward the prosecuting of justice upon these lewd and broken people of our Borders, troublers of the peace and amity standing betwixt our realms and toward the effectuating of our promise made both by our letters to yourself and your Ambassador for delivery of the pledges designed by the Commissioners in their late treaty or of our Wardens and officers for them, and of our beginning at the delivery of our officer, the laird of Buccleuch, for his pledges, (betraying him and now become fugitives), "quhilks" being unable to be trapped for delivery but by himself and his own presence in the country for his relief, who has "kythed" so loyal and obedient and given so good proof of his sincere meaning toward the tranquillity and peace of our realms, we have taken occasion to recommend him to your courteous and favourable regard, requesting you, our dearest sister and cousin, that according to the customable form of these Borderers (yea used toward the most notorious thieves) he may be freed upon his " band " or the entry of his only son as pledge in his place for a certain space, that in the meantime he may be enabled to search and trap these his pledges for his own relief, which may produce a better and more effectual satisfaction to you and us both than his retention, being a gentleman obedient, entered only for his pledges and so well affected toward the continuance of the amity betwixt our realms. From our palace of Linlithgow the 20 of October 1597. *Signed:* "Youre most louing & affectionatte brother & cousin, James R."

Postscript in King James's handwriting: "Madame it is my honoure to requeaste for one that so willinglie yealdis himself a prisoner at my comannde & it is honorable for you to use with curtesie him quho hath putt himself in your handis uithowt any condition."

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

Oct. 20. **87.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxi, No. 47. That these broken Border causes might be brought to some convenient order promising good end I have thought it my duty to renew the memory thereof and to employ and send George Nicolson to the King to solicit three especial effects in these behalfs and hereafter expressed. Wherein Nicolson has at great length proponed these matters to the King, received such answers as pleases the King to give and also for further satisfaction herein he sent unto me David Moyses, one of the Clerks of Council, with some message concerning some part of these affairs and especially touching the delivery of pledges. Nicolson therefore first moved that it might please the King by fit and convenient

* Wrongly dated. Probably October 17.

James VI.
1597. means to examine and try the authors, parties, beginning, progress and end of the late outrageous tumult practised at the meeting of the Commissioners for the delivery of the pledges on the 8th hereof at the West Ford near Norham, to the intent that by the true discovery thereof exemplary punishment may be afflicted unto the parties offending agreeable to the quality of their offence, and that due redresses may be "indelately" given and restored, as well for the good continuance of justice as for the condemnation of the treacherous fact. In this the King showed himself willing and ready to give speedy order for this examination and trial, trusting that the matter would open and be disclosed, adding with great protestation the parties found guilty should receive severe punishment, but that if Cessford should be foul thereof he was then a double traitor and should be hanged. David Moyses in this let me likewise understand that the King, having hardly accused Lord Home and Sir Robert Carr of the foreknowledge of that tumult, neither yet after their exact trial found out the person motioner of that tumult but as they had done already should endeavour themselves by all means to try and punish him according to his merit. I could not agree that Cessford being suspected of the fact should be appointed a chief instrument for the discovery of the action, but that rather it should be wisely examined either personally by the King himself or by the King and some chosen councillors, or else by some honourable equal and fit commissioners to be largely authorised and openly graced by the King, which I have recommended to the King by David Moyses, who will I trust present the same to the King for the seasonable execution of these effects. And further David Moyses signified to me that Lord Hume and Cessford have upon their honours and fidelity promised to the King that the persons having them should be "indelately" tried and the same horses and goods restored to the owners with diligence, which could not be done upon the sudden, some part of those horses and goods falling in broken men's hands untried as yet, but should be restored to the contentment of the persons interested. In this I am the more tedious because I have laboured to report the very words of the messenger.

Secondly, that it would please him princely to think upon and timely to advertise what honourable redress should be made to her Majesty for repair of the great indignity and dishonour done to her in this practised treachery and breaking of assurance. He answered Nicolson that he would be right careful to try and discover the offenders by whose punishment her Majesty should have good satisfaction to her best contentment. In this point David Moyses acknowledged that he had not any especial direction.

Thirdly, that some convenient course might be taken for the surety of the delivery of the pledges and without further delays or practices. The King let Nicolson know that he would take all the pledges into his own possession and safely keep them in Edinburgh Castle or Blackness that they might be surely delivered at time and place to be appointed. David Moyses further reported that the King thinks it meet that the English pledges should be delivered at Foulden in Scotland and that Sir Robert Kerr's pledges should be first brought to the King and next directed by him to be delivered in Berwick and both the one and the

1597. other to be done at one day and hour. In case any of Sir Robert's shall want the King will deliver Sir Robert's self. In which behalf the King has required my advice and opinion; next that by my letters I would advertise Sir William Bowes and seek return of his advice and resolution to the King, and the King has moved Lord Home to write to Sir William in this matter more specially and at length and to crave his answer to be returned.

In declaration of my own advice and opinion I laid before him how greatly her Majesty's honour was wounded, how far the estate of the realm was interested and how the bond of assurance was discredited, which things I knew not how her Majesty would think on or direct to be repaired. Albeit I wished that some good course and preparation for an expedient manner and surety for delivery of the pledges at time and place to be accorded, which might be kept in readiness, yet I durst not forerun the signification of her Majesty's pleasure and directions in these weighty causes. Next I agreed to advertise Sir William Bowes by my letters as was required, which is performed.

I called for the order for delivery of the pledges on the West Marches and promised to be delivered the 20th hereof. To which the messenger answered he had no direction in that matter, so as the delivery thereof is not expected before the King's personal presence in those Marches. Thus much for my proceeding and success in these Border affairs, whereof I have partly advertised Sir William Bowes, wishing more happy end than I find perfect assurance appearing and with expedition to be performed. Therefore it may please you that I may be instructed how to proceed further in these turbulent causes and that my present and distressed estate may be graciously considered and to be supplied with the help and labour of some sufficient person whilst I am both disabled to come to Berwick as I had intended and also bound to my bed, as to my great grief I cannot do the service requisite. This Estate for the present is calm in all other things as few occurrents worthy advertisement are known here, the condition of which estate is not looked long to continue. Edinburgh, 20 October, 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Oct. 20. **88. KING JAMES VI TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.**

Harl. MSS. 851, fo. 78. Cf. *Border Papers*, II, No. 808.

[*In margin:* From the King of Scots to Sir William Bowes, Oct. 20, 1597.]

As we have written to our dearest sister and cousin, your sovereign, requesting that the laird of Bucleuch, our officer, delivered for his pledges, may according to the customable form of Borders (yea, used towards the most notorious thieves) be freed upon bond or the entry of his only son as pledge in his place, for a certain space, that in mean time he may be enabled to search and trap these his pledges, betrayers of him and now become fugitives, for his own relief, which you know cannot well be done without his presence in the country. Even so (since he is a gentleman who has "kythed" so loyal, obedient and affected towards the

James VI.
1597. conservation of the peace betwixt the realms) have we thought good to desire your effectual recommendation to be "interponit" in his favour towards our dearest sister your sovereign for his better furtherance in that his reasonable suit, since his freedom may work a more effectual satisfaction towards both us and your sovereign than his "retenewe." From our Palace of Lynlithquo, the 20th of October, 1597. Your loving friend, James Rex.

1 *p. Copy in a contemporary hand.*

Oct. 21. **89. Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley.**

Vol. lxi, No. 48 This day I have received from the King one letter directed to her Majesty in the favour and for the relief of Buccleuch to be at liberty for some time upon sufficient caution or of his eldest son, and also two other letters addressed by the King to myself to such effects as by the view thereof sent enclosed it may best appear, all which I have thought it my duty to commend to your hands that it may please you to be mean for the presentation of the letter to her Majesty and to dispose of the other as shall seem good to your lordship.

At the delivery of these letters to me some of the trustiest friends towards Buccleuch and worthy of credit have acquainted me with his resolute purpose and determination to recompense his former errors towards her Majesty with due performance of submission, true devotion and all good offices to her best contentment and as it may please her graciously and in honour to limit to him. He has loyally performed his promises to the King and he deeply protests to accomplish his vows to her Majesty. All which are required to be recommended by me to her knowledge with earnest promise that good assurance shall be given for the full accomplishment of the effects offered. Sundry respects for the benefit of her Majesty's service and the consideration of the late commendable and resolute course taken by the gentleman in his entry of his own body for the pledges betraying him move me to presume to certify the effects mentioned and to recommend him, his petition and cause to your favourable regard, beseeching you to be timely directed herein with her Majesty's pleasure for my behaviour towards the gentleman and that I do not forerun her pleasure and will in the matter.

The King seems very resolute to provide that the pledges for the Middle Marches of Scotland shall be either speedily delivered for her Majesty and for her good contentment or else that all the same shall be presented and entered to him at or before the 28 hereof, like as your lordship shall I trust be more fully and sufficiently informed by Sir Wm. Bowes, to whose report I commend the further declaration of all these Border affairs.

I am deemed to be very sharp and severe in these Border causes, which I earnestly desire to be drawn to some good end for her Majesty's honour and best satisfaction and before myself shall make an end as is by many shortly looked for. Because my estate for the present little serves for the good guiding of these weighty causes, for my supply in

1597. the same I beseech you to be advertised of her Majesty's pleasure and resolution in these affairs, which I trust in the weakness of my present estate shall be referred to the travails of others more able and powerful to yield the wished effects than my distressed condition can perform. Nevertheless my whole endeavour, desire and labour shall not want to advance this work to the uttermost of my power whilst my breath endures.

The King has lately written to Lord John Hamilton to persuade him to send some of his friends to join with so many of the Duke's friends to entreat and mediate some friendly end in the cause in the variance betwixt them for the castle of Dumbarton and that he may be advertised of the progress of the matter and of the impediments in the same. Hamilton has (as I hear) plainly returned answer to the King that the "peice" was given him by Parliament and that he will not treat or deal with the Duke therein. Yet upon four days warning to be given him by the King he will attend upon the King to understand his further meaning and pleasure in this matter. The King seems scarce satisfied herein and the Duke has heard (as I am informed) that Hamilton has been liberal in speech against him and farther "roved" in words towards the Queen than has been comely. Therefore these beginnings are like to produce some storms which I leave to the experience of the sequel thereof. Edinburgh, 21 October 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

The first enclosure in the preceding letter.

(King James VI to Robert Bowes.)

Vol. lxi, No. 48[I]. As we have written to our dearest sister and cousin, your sovereign, requesting that the laird of Buccleuch, our officer, delivered for his pledges, may according to the customable form of Borderers (yea used toward the most notorious thieves) be freed upon his bond or the entry of his only son as pledge in his place for a certain space, that in the meantime he may be enabled to search and trap these his pledges (betrayers of him and now become fugitives) for his own relief which he knows cannot well be done without his presence in the country, even so (since he is a gentleman who has "kythed" so loyal, obedient and affected toward the continuance and conservation of the peace betwixt the realms) have we thought good to desire your effectual recommendation to be "interponit" in his favour toward our dearest sister for his better furtherance in that his reasonable suit since his freedom may work a more effectual satisfaction toward us and your sovereign both than his retention. From our palace of Linlithgow, the 20 of October, 1597. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Addressed. Placard seal. Endorsed by Bowes:* "James K. of Scotland. Lithquo 20, Edenbrough 21, Octob. 1597. Per Nich'as Kerncorse."

The second enclosure in the same.

(King James VI to Robert Bowes.)

Vol. lxi, No. 48[II]. We being as nearly interested in honour as any others by the late tumult fallen out at the meeting of the Commissioners for delivery of

James VI.
1597. the pledges (our officer the laird of Buccleuch being delivered and no effectual delivery made on the other part and the truce thereby broken on both the sides) we have been as we continue most careful and instant to have the authors with the person first motioner thereof tried and condignly punished; and for the same effect have been in hands with our cousin the Lord Home and Sir Robert Kerr, our Wardens, enjoining hardly to them to discover to us the beginning and circumstances of that seditious accident with the authors and the person first motioner thereof. In whom we find a good disposition thereto and by whom we are put in some hope by sundry evidences to have the truth of that matter shortly discovered. Which has moved us on the other part to desire you to employ your good means in trying out by your cousin Sir William Bowes (to whom something thereof was advertised that morning preceding the tumult) or by any others that can best reveal any circumstance or effect concerning the same; and to make us acquainted with what ye can learn thereanent betwixt [now] and the 28 day of this instant when our Council are to be convened here, expecting that before then we shall have return to us by our said Wardens some trial thereof. Wherein, if we cannot come speed, we mind by advice of our Council to appoint certain commissioners to take such an exact trial in that matter as possibly can be devised. Sir Robert Kerr is expressly directed home by us to have his pledges in readiness, either to be delivered at such day and place as shall be prescribed, or send to us to be retained in ward till we cause delivery [to] be made of them at the times and places to be resolved on by us and the commissioners. We will likewise desire you to intercede at Sir William's hands to be diligent in trying out of the authors and motioners of that tumult and in putting the same to account that through delay thereof the broken and disordered people take not occasion to attempt that which may disturb the peace and pitiable estate of the country; and to certify him of our earnestness and care for our own part to see the same tried and put to a point with all expedition. From our palace of Linlithgow, the 20 of October 1597. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Addressed. Placard seal. Endorsed:* "James K. of Scottes. Lithquo xx° Octob., Edinb. 21 ejusdem, 1597. *Per* Nich'as Carnecross."

Oct. 23. **90.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Harl. MSS. 851, fo. 78*a*. Calendared at length in *Border Papers*, II, No. 799.

Bowes thanks Cecil for the good report of his service made by Cecil and Burghley. He is less satisfied than he was with Lord Home, since Home defends Cessford. He is ready to make a formal demand for Cessford's entry in terms of the King's order (communicated by the Scottish Commissioners) and the Commissioners' promises. He would have done so before, but his proposal was not approved by some whose judgements he preferred to his own. Cecil, however, has now indicated the Queen's insistence on Cessford's delivery. If he has shown too much initiative it is because, owing to the comparative distances, royal orders reach the Scottish Commissioners quicker than their English counterparts.

1597. He thinks Barnard Castle unsuitable for the safe-keeping of Buccleuch, owing to its isolated situation and poor state of repair, and suggests York or Hull; the Council at York could give the best information.

The English pledges were dismissed by Lord Home; he does not know where they are but has urged Lord Eure's deputy to take them into safe-keeping. The King has complained to Robert Bowes that his honour was touched because he had delivered Buccleuch and got no pledges in return. The writer has told Robert Bowes (now very ill) that the English answer is that the fault was on the side of the Scots. Bradley, 23 October, 1597.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Copy in a contemporary hand.*

Oct. 23. **91. Sir William Bowes to Robert Bowes.**

Vol. lxi, No. 49. I have received your letters of the 20th instant together with a copy of that to the Lord Treasurer whereby I find how earnestly it is laboured that I should come to a new appointment for reciprocal delivery of the same pledges before indented, and this as well required by the King through your mediation at my hands as by all other possible means and persuasions of all kinds used to me both from the opposite nation and our own, whereunto this is my answer.

I have already performed the Commissioners' indent for her Majesty's part and know no other but that all the pledges or the most part are still in Scotland. Therefore by my making of new appointments without her Majesty's directions for me, thereby to defeat her most honourable performance of her promise solemnly obliged to one day and place and perfected by myself in my sovereign's name, as I hold it not reasonable to be demanded at my hand, so do I know it to be no way dutiful for me to entertain.

To avoid needless repetitions I do eftsoons recommend unto you the due examination of the former three letters which have passed between the Lord Home and me; and now likewise I send you the copy of a fourth instantly received, whereof nevertheless I will take no knowledge for a day or two until I have made public requisition in writing as her Majesty's Commissioner at the hands of Lord Home and the laird of Wedderburn, which I have hitherto deferred in expectation of particular directions from above. But now the condition of this cause admitting no longer delay I will put this question to the proof in hope her Majesty will allow of it. For though I expect no great fruit by their answer thereunto, yet shall it stop this hot prosecution of new meetings for the pledges and turn the cause depending between the princes to another issue, namely, whether the King promised and commanded the delivery of Cessford in case he delivered not; whether the King's Commissioners did accordingly promise the same or no; whether her Majesty's contentment grounded thereupon and insisting in demand accordingly shall be refused both by the King and his Commissioners; which all three are points of so high nature as must require a very considerate progress and shall, God willing, be

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In the latter end of Lord Home's first letter he says I may be assured to have challenged of me performance, etc. Hereunto you will find my answer, that I receive this assurance in his own terms and sense. My conjecture is hereupon that Cessford "hisseth" him on to put that which he calls a promise of mine for delivery of the pledges again to the proof as the uttermost shift to avoid his own mischief and the rather than fail to raise a quarrel between Lord Home and me, which as I desire not so will I not decline it but justify my word and deed as becomes a man of my quality. I protest unto you my promise was no other in this case to Lord Home than an honourable declaration of the Queen's intention and my own desire that the pledges fled should have no receipt in England but be redelivered as they could be had to make good the honourable purpose which was first intended. And indeed Wedderburn and myself do both agree that it was the intention of us the Commissioners that if the pledges should escape they should be redelivered and if they should die others to be delivered in their rooms.

Now their device is apparently to call for the same pledges grounding upon my promise, which because they cannot be had they will by that means both avoid the peril of Cessford's person and the delivery of his pledges. But let Lord Home prove his challenge of promise as he can I will sufficiently prove both this promise and the King's commandment directly, that if Cessford and Buccleuch delivered not that day and place their pledges they should be delivered themselves. Therefore being not otherwise commanded by her Majesty I will insist upon no other course than to challenge for her Highness the performance of that commandment and that promise and make no further mention of their pledges till this be determined. Always to the end the King shall see that he deals with a prince honourable and just, I will do my endeavour to procure, and I think it will be easily effected at her Majesty's hands, that notwithstanding the opposites have wilfully and by their own default demitted their pledges and that in such sort as they were forced to shift for their lives, one of them (as I hear) being drowned by taking the river in the tumult, so as abandoning their protection they did in strict justice discharge them, yet am I in good hope that her excellent Majesty will in favour of that King and zeal of justice either redeliver the same pledges if they can be had or others as good as they to be reasonably chosen by two of the late Commissioners nearest to the place, which I think will be the laird of Wedderburn and myself.

Now, therefore, before my answering Lord Home's last letter I have sent him and Wedderburn a requisition for the entry of Sir Robert Kerr upon the King's commandment and their own promises. Shortly after I will answer Lord Home's letter concerning the meeting and will be ready to meet him as her Majesty's special affairs to the

1597. Bishop of Durham and me in these parts will permit, which I think will be about November 1st. Before which time I hope to receive her Majesty's pleasure and direction for my further proceeding herein. Truly, Sir, I will be guiltless both in my conscience to God and duty to the Queen from faulting so deeply as to leave anything in my power unassayed for removing or reforming of an instrument so pernicious to the wished peace and justice of these Borders, as more and more I find Cessford to be. Nevertheless, if her Majesty shall be pleased otherwise to command me to receive for her service his pledges instead of him, I must obey.

I send you herewithal an extract out of Mr. Secretary's letter to me, as also a minute of the Queen's letter to Mr. Jo. Carey concerning Lord Home, by both which you will understand the acceptation of my service and the direction which I have hitherto received, which I think is enough to authorise me to proceed upon the points above written until I be assured to my desire of further direction which I certainly look for before November 1st. Bradley, 23 Oct. 1597.

3 *pp. Copy. Endorsed:* "Copie of a l're from Sr. Willm. Bowes to thambassadr in Scotland. Octo. 23, 1597."

Oct. 31. **92.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. lxi, No. 50. I received your letters of the 21st hereof finding myself bound to thank you very much for the favourable and kind warning which you have given me thereby of the practices intended against me to the impeaching of my credit, trusting under the goodness of God and the grace of my sovereign to be sufficiently armed with the defence growing from a plain truth, which ever was and ever will be victorious over vanity and sleight.

I have observed a plain overture unto these devices set on foot in the King's late letter to you, wherein he lets fall upon me some former advertisement of that tumult, with another clause also in the same letter whereby he makes the English delivery ineffectual and thereby the truce broken on both sides. To both which overtures what answer is made by me will appear unto you by the copy of my last letter to the Lord Treasurer which I send you herewithal.

And here, Sir, besides your usual care to the Queen's service let me entreat you out of my interest in your love (as your weakness will admit) to gather up my doings in the course of this service from my former advertisements, judging with indifference of my willingness to do all good offices between the princes and give favourable information unto her Majesty of all the well deservers in this action, as may appear by my entertaining and report of the three last meetings with Lord Home, both for the King's part and his, which you will find to have been delivered as favourably as truth, duty and reasonable interpretation afforded. But now that I see actions and issues to be truer witnesses of intentions and desires than words and shows are I will confess unto the Queen my faulting in credulity, endeavouring to redeem it with a temperate and resolute encounter to these devices as I

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shall find a fit patron for them where the honour and judgment of this cause chiefly consists. For I will take no knowledge of any question growing in the public cause but from a public person, namely, a Commissioner to deliver in writing under his hand what he will challenge of me, as I have already done in my requisition given under my hand in writing to Lord Home and Wedderburn, whereunto as yet I have received no answer.

Now, Sir, I must acquaint you that I have advertised all these proceedings and have received notice of her Majesty's gracious acceptation of my doings therein with new direction to persist in this course and that you shall insist in the demand of Cessford at the King's hand upon grounds and reasons delivered by me, which in short sum may depend upon these three heads: first, the King's direct promise by his own handwriting to the Queen, a copy whereof was sent you in August last from the Court expressing that at the day and place appointed for the delivery of pledges he will enter either his pledges or his officers making default, assuring the Queen that he shall receive either the thieves or the thieves' portions; next, his Majesty's commandment agreeable to that promise given in writing to Lord Home, to which his lordship added his own promise that day and place to deliver either the one or the other; thirdly, her Majesty's demand made for accomplishing of the aforesaid and given by me, her Commissioner, under my handwriting to the Commissioners for the King, which demand stands upon this ground that, seeing the default was made only on the Scottish side of breach as well of the indent as in part of the premises aforementioned and thereby giving the right of choice unto her Majesty in which of the two she will place her demand for satisfaction, to wit whether she will call for the pledges according to the indent or the officers according to the aforesaid promises for the breach of the said indent on the King's part.

Now, if justice and honour move the King and Lord Home to satisfy this promise and demand in part by the entry of Buccleuch, the same reasons or greater will move them to satisfy the other part by the entry of Cessford. I say greater because Cessford is apparently a greater trespasser to the general justice than Buccleuch was, in that it seems Buccleuch would have delivered his pledges and could not, but Cessford might have delivered and would not, either procuring (or at least suffering) that delay to bring on a public dishonour of far higher quality than can be passed over by the princes in the actors (if they can be known) or in the occasions by that untimely protraction which must needs be, either myself which tendered or demanded not, or the Scottish Commissioners which commanded not better expedition, or Cessford that performed not such demand or command. Consequently, because we the Commissioners performed our parts, the breach rests in Cessford. The satisfaction whereof is to be made to the Queen by his entry and that entry to be performed either by the King's Commissioners according to my said requisition or by the King himself upon requisition to be made to him by you as her Majesty's Ambassador in that his Commissioners forbear to concur herein with me Commissioner for the Queen. And if the King shall allege in excuse of the said promises that it

1597. remained in their power to make the choice whether the officers or the pledges should be delivered, it must be answered that we grant it for true so far as that promise stood upright and executory being limited to time and place. But now that promise is not executory but satisfactory to the Queen and demand of that satisfaction first made by me to the Commissioners and now lastly by you to the King himself. If he shall further say that the accident of the tumult hindered the execution of the said promise whereof strict advantage may not be taken, this supposal may be thus answered: that the life of that promise passed away with the light of that day. If it be considered *stricto jure* and if it be examined *bona fide*, what likelihood is there that Cessford, having the pledges in possession and at his commandment, yet delivered them not during the daylight, meant *bona fide* to have delivered them in the night, so as it is evident that the accident of the tumult is so far from preserving the life of the King's and Lord Home's promises as it will be thought a very *Dirige* after the death of honourable and true performances. Furthermore, if the King shall suppose that the defeat of that promise by the tumult grew from the English, it may be answered that as the tumult came too late to profit the English anything that day, so this excuse comes too late any whit to justify the Scottish cause and is no more indeed but a multiplying of dishonours upon the Queen and the realm, which is less than lost labour to assay.

Finally, if the King shall urge that it stands not with his honour to have delivered Buccleuch and to receive nothing, we standing upon the advantage that the indent is performed, etc., it may be answered that the entry of Buccleuch is all the honour which that side has hitherto vouchsafed in the action of justice correspondent to so many honourable offers made and performed on her Majesty's behalf and that her Highness's kind acceptation thereof at the King's hand would surely have been signified in grateful sort before this had not the grace of that merit been eclipsed by that disgraceful tumult and her Majesty's expectation so much disappointed by Cessford's prevailing to bear out the offer of so many dishonours of so high quality as being too evident they need no recital.

Touching the King's having nothing in lieu of Buccleuch he may not seek that default either in the Queen or her ministers, who as they have reason to plead performance on her behalf *stricto jure* in defence of her honour, so are they ready to give the King satisfaction *bona fide* if (*bona fide*) it be required, not anyway thereby excusing the faults of their own but not willing to see so great prejudice growing from the King's people or ministers to his honour or estate as he conceives this want to be. In honourable regard whereof on her Majesty's part, if the King show good disposition towards her satisfaction, it may please you to deliver unto him that upon the first advertisement from you giving me notice which of the English pledges they want I will not fail to repair to Berwick and meeting with Wedderburn near the "Bonderode," like as before we set down the former pledges by the indent of the late commission, so we will now set down new pledges of like quality to the former in place of those English either dead or such as I cannot get to be delivered in that place within ten days at the furthest until the other

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1597. pledges can be entered or satisfaction made for their surnames, whether shall happen first. Provided that it may please the King to dispatch present direction to Wedderburn for this purpose, which strait commandment given to Wedderburn that he shall not utter any of the new named pledges to any person of either nation until the time of delivery, lest by such notice opportunity may be given to withdraw the persons as was practised in the late expected deliveries proceeding. Hoping to be speedily advertised from you what I shall expect from the King or his Commissioners that I may advance this service to some good end or give her Majesty notice of the impediments with my best affection I betake you to the grace of God. Bradley, this last of October, 1597.

3 *pp. Copy. Endorsed:* "Copie of a l're from S^{r} Will'm Bowes to the Ambassador. October the last, 1597."

Oct. 31. **93.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 51. Before the receipt of your last of the 23rd hereof I had sent George Nicolson to Linlithgow to attend upon the King and his Council convened for determination of Border causes, the Parliament, the Session, matters of the estate and such like. I perceive that the King had communicated to his Council the readiness and offer of Sir Robert Kerr either to deliver all the pledges upon receipt of the English or else his own body, which is thought sufficient and will be stood upon by the King and Council who dislike and cannot agree to deliver Sir Robert except he shall fail in the complete delivery of his pledges. It appears that the King's affection is much drawn to the favour of Cessford by the cunning means of his friends soliciting for him. Nevertheless the King seems ready and very desirous that all the pledges of England and Scotland may be delivered with good expedition and assured order reciprocally, which he will I think signify to Sir Wm. Bowes who having received good and sufficient direction will therein answer and proceed as shall be best for the service, which and all other Border causes I leave to the good discretion and orders of Sir Wm.

For the establishment of the officers, justice and peace in the West Marches of Scotland and to provide that all the pledges there may be gathered into the possession of the King and ready to be delivered for her Majesty, the King with his Council have determined to go forward in their journey towards Dumfries on Wednesday next, the second of November. In the meantime he looked that the noblemen and gentlemen thereabouts shall be prepared and ready to deliver to him their pledges engaged for the common peace and quietness, and it is pretended that both the West pledges of Scotland shall be delivered for her Majesty and also that good provision shall be taken for the due administration of justice and preservation of peace to be continued in both these opposite Marches. But what shall succeed herein in regard of the present and turbulent estate there is yet unknown and partly doubted, like as by the due consideration of these countries and estates it is evident enough.

The King, misliking that Buccleuch should be transported out of

1597. the Borders has written to me to such effects as by the view of the principal to me which I send enclosed for your best information may be best known to you. Because you have made me acquainted with her Majesty's pleasure given to Sir Wm. Bowes in this behalf I do lay up this matter in the deck intending to deal little therein but to leave it to the answer and order of Sir Wm. Bowes, who is like to be called upon therein. And in some other occurrents I have written unto my good lord, your father, as by the view of my letter which I trust shall come to your hands will be seen to you.

Her Majesty's gracious compassion taken of me and of my weak estate is great comfort unto me in my present distress, wherein I now lie at the seat of God's mercy and at the point of life, death, sickness or recovery. As I shall fare you shall be shortly advertised. For albeit I had intended this day to have entered my journey towards Berwick, yet by the advice of my friends and in respect of my weakness disabling me to stand without help I have agreed to refer this journey until to-morrow. For despairing of recovery of health in this place I intend with God's favour and grace to hazard the entrance of my journey for Berwick to-morrow, where I trust to meet and confer with Sir Wm. Bowes for her Majesty's services, for the execution of which services in Scotland I shall direct, employ and leave George Nicolson to receive and prosecute as well such directions as shall be given particularly by Sir Wm. Bowes as also by myself or by us jointly together.

By the report of my servant Sheperson I understand the large measure of your favour and goodness showed towards me in the presentation and furtherance of my book for the reversion granted by her Majesty to me and to be then signed and perfected by her bountiful liberality towards me. The memory of this your kindness shall still dwell with me until I shall be able to give some good testimony of my thankfulness towards you. Edinburgh, the last of October 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(King James VI to Robert Bowes.)

Vol. lxi, No. 51[1]. Being informed upon some report (which we credit not) that the laird of Buccleuch should be transported south, if such a resolution be taken (as we trust it will not) it may carry some slander and suspicion that he is so used for some other cause than he was entered for. Ye know and we sundry times signified to you that his entry was only in place of his pledges and for no other cause, so that we think if he shall be hardlier used than he would have been according to the custom observed toward all pledges which has ever been kept within the bounds of the Borders after their delivery, we shall be moved to judge the worst ourself some part interest beside expectation and to use ourself accordingly. We have therefore thought good for preventing that which his transport may carry effectuously to desire you, if the same be intended, to deal by all the good offices and means ye can that he may be kept still at Berwick or at least in some other parts or places of the Border untransported, till answer may be returned of our late suit made for his

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1597. relief upon bond or the entry of his son as pledge in his place. Wherein ye shall do us right thankful and special pleasure. From Linlithgow, this 29 of October, 1597. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Addressed. Placard seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 31. **94. Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley.**

Vol. lxi, No. 52. The King and Council have lately met at Linlithgow for determination of the delivery of the pledges, Border causes, Parliament, Session and other matters of estate. I find by Nicolson who attended the Convention that the delivery of the pledges is still carried in the clouds. For it is concluded that Sir Robert Kerr shall deliver his pledges upon receipt of the English pledges, otherwise that himself shall be entered and delivered for her Majesty. It will not be granted I think that Sir Robert shall be delivered except he shall fail in the complete delivery of all his pledges, like as it is resolved by the King and his Council. The expedition of the reciprocal delivery of the pledges is so requisite to be executed in good order and season as I recommend the regard of the same to good memory and timely performance, which I trust for her Majesty shall be sufficiently accomplished by Sir Wm. Bowes, that the other weighty causes for the Borders may follow and be established.

The contention betwixt the Duke and the Lord John Hamilton still continues and increases threatening some storm to arise thereby. The King and Lord Livingstone to persuade Hamilton to submit the matter to the award of six equal persons indifferently to be named by the parties with the umpirage of the King. But Hamilton still stands fast to the gift of that castle granted him for term of his life by the King and by the Parliament and to obtain the King's favour and grace in the cause he has oftentimes sent to the King Captain Hamilton, who (as I hear) is returned with very comfortable words of the King for Lord Hamilton. Nevertheless it is looked that the Duke shall receive favour and contentment at the Parliament and otherwise in Court for recovery of the castle. It is much noted that Huntly and Errol should be instruments to draw the castle from Hamilton to the Duke and it has been called to memory that Angus, Huntly and Errol amongst other liberal offers promise to the King of Spain to put him in possession of the choicest strengths in Scotland betwixt St. Andrews and the mouth of Clyde. I have found some religious and wise men jealous in this matter and that taking some mark that the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton, being the chief strengths in this realm, should be cast altogether into the hands of the Duke and the Earl of Mar so nearly allied to Huntly. Lord Hamilton has lately employed and sent to me an especial messenger declaring the grounds of this controversy with sundry causes of suspicion and that this change with the loss of Hamilton's possession of this castle shall be dangerous to the religion and amity betwixt these two crowns. This messenger has further opened to me some requests to be recommended to her Majesty in his lordship's behalf: first, that it would please her to write to the King for the benefit of Hamilton and recounting his loyal and obedient behaviour

1597. to the King agreeable to the considerations specified in the grant made by the King and Parliament to Hamilton and that Hamilton's honour may be preserved in this case, with such other effects as may best like her Majesty to insert in her letter and recommend to the King for Hamilton; secondly, that it may please her to write to Lord Hamilton himself expressing the continuance of her good will and opinion towards him in such terms as may best like her; and thirdly, that one as a merchant may be sent unto him with some provision of powder, like as in this last part he has before required and as I have certified. To these I have answered that I have always known her Majesty very loth to deal in causes betwixt the sovereign and subjects and especially in the titles for the possession of the castles and strengths in this realm, lest some smoke of suspicion might be causelessly conceived towards her thereby. Next I have let him know that it has pleased her Majesty to grant me liberty to return to Berwick and that the King has given me his safe conduct for my departure out of this realm, whereby it is looked that I shall forbear to deal in such like causes until I shall be newly employed and directed in this service. These did not satisfy the messenger who earnestly pressed that her Majesty might be moved to do something for the Lord Hamilton's comfort and relief at this time and in this present distress; wherein, albeit I did not satisfy the messenger to his contentment, yet I thought it my duty to recommend the effects mentioned to your lordship's knowledge and to be thereon disposed as shall be found most convenient.

The Earl of Angus, Lord Home, Sir George Home, the laird of Spott and others have lately met and feasted together at Tantallon (Tomptallon). It is thought that some overtures shall be made for the determination of the title of the lordship of Spott and for the reconciliation of the parties contending. Edinburgh, this last of October 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript. Since the writing of the premisses I have been credibly informed that the King here has newly written to the French King, the Dukes of Guise, Montmorency (Memoransi), Mayenne (Domayne), Soissons (Swosson) and sundry others. I have not hitherto found opportunity to learn the contents of these letters, which as yet remain in this town. But the certainty of the effects thereof will many ways I trust be brought to your lordship. With these the King has established the Bishop of Glasgow to be his Ambassador to the French King.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. **95.** ARTICLES DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE LORD TREASURER AND THOMAS FOULIS.

Vol. lxi, No 53. Heads conferred upon betwixt my Lord Treasurer and Thomas Foulis at Glasgow the [*blank*] day of October 1597.

That my Lord Treasurer shall demit in his Majesty's hand the offices of "comptrollarie collectorie and temporalitie" which he conjunctly possesses to be conferred by his Highness to whomsoever he shall think expedient.

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That he shall still retain and "brouke" his office of Treasurer with whatsoever honour, dignities, pre-eminences and privileges pertaining thereto together with the fee of the said office whereof he has been in possession since his first admission to the same.

That notwithstanding of his said retention he shall denude him of whatsoever intromission with the casualties pertaining to the same in favour of whatsoever person his Majesty shall nominate to be "intromettour" therewith and comptable thereof in time to come.

That remaining in his said office he shall be subject to give his "afauld" concurrence to the "intromettour" entrant for his due answering of whatsoever rents and duties pertaining to that office.

That all and whatsoever "signatoures" passing, composition shall be "componit" by the said treasurer, he being present for the time with the advice of the said entrant, and if he happen to be absent the entrant with the advice of the "compositoures adjoynit" unto him shall "compone" the said "signatoures," which not the less shall not be "exped" nor be a sufficient warrant to the seals without the said treasurer's subscription.

That the said Treasurer shall not refuse his subscription to whatsoever shall be thought necessary by the said entrant and "compositoures" foresaid for the furtherance of his Majesty's profit nor shall directly or indirectly "thortour" nor impugn the same.

Always the foresaid articles to be performed by the said Treasurer upon conditions following:

First, that the said entrant shall sufficiently sustain their Majesties' houses, furnish yearly five thousand pounds to the supply of the entertainment of the prince's house, ten thousand marks yearly to the entertainment of the princess, together with their Majesties' apparel according to their princely estate with all other their charges ordinary and extraordinary expressed more at length in the yearly accounts of the "comptrollarie collectorie and casualites" and shall relieve the said Treasurer thereof with all and whatsoever disbursement of "deneiris" to the said uses during the said entrant's intromission in respect of the said Treasurer's demission and denuding foresaid.

That the said entrant shall besides the said furnishings relieve his Majesty yearly during his said intromission of thirty thousand pounds of the great debt owing by his Majesty to Thomas Foulis and Robert Jowsey and procure their acquittance yearly thereupon.

That whatsoever sums the said Treasurer shall be found superexpended in at the fitting of his next accounts of the treasury "comptrollarie, collectorie and temporalitie" the said entrant shall relieve him thereof by thankful payment and find caution to him for that effect.

Because the Treasurer accepted his said office upon condition of payment to Sir Robert Melville of the sum of 1100*l.* as the super-expense of his last account, which by contract he is bound to pay to the said Sir Robert at several terms therein expressed, the said entrant shall likewise relieve the said Treasurer of the said debt and find sufficient caution to him to that effect.

That for the better surety of the performance of the foresaid articles concerning their Majesties the said entrant shall find sufficient and

1597. responsible cautioners acted in the books of Session or Secret Council to the contentment of his Majesty, his nobility and Council foresaid in form as they shall best devise.

These sureties being first duly found as said is, the Treasurer is content that the said entrant shall enter to the premises the first day of November next.

Which whole heads and articles being at length conferred upon and reasoned betwixt the parties foresaid the said Thomas Foulis required that the effect thereof might be delayed till he might speak his Majesty thereanent, whereunto the said Treasurer agreed for his part.

2 *pp. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil (?):* "Certen Articles conferred uppon betweene the Lo: Th'rer and Thomas Fowles at Glascoes the [*blank*] of October 1597."

Nov. **96.** KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Vol. lxi, No. 54. "Madame & dearest sister. Althoch that since the uryting of my last I neuer quhill nou interrupted you uith my handuryte for excusing my pairt in all suche accidents as since that tyme fell upon the Bordouris yett the uprichtness of my conscience makis me to rest assured that according to the equitie that God hath plaunted in youre mynde ye are fullie persuaded of my honest intention in that turne as I doubte not youre Ambassadoure hath treulie & honestlie informed you from tyme to tyme & thairfore I uolde earnestlie intreate you that according to equitie & iustice ye uolde giue ordoure that all things maye be speedelie parformed on youre pairt as I shall be readdie to haue the lyke done upon myne. Quhairby the intention of suche uikked people as thocht to haue stayed it maye be disapointed & peace & iustice established according to both oure honest intentions, for since ue both shoote at one marke a plaine uaye must appearandlie leade us best to the same & not curiouslie to dispute upon termes & circumstances as paraduenture sum uolde advyse us, for a goode ordoure being once nou setlid my uardains are so nipped at this tyme that I darre promeise for thaire peaceable behauioure in all tymes cumming. In the meanetyme I most hairtelie praye you that at all occasions ye maye make knowin to the uorlde youre honorable & louing opinion of me, notuithstanding of all these unhappie crossis & speciallie that (since I haue a man auaiting thaire upon the receate of the annuitie) ye uolde be pleased to giue him a goode & speedie dispatche that it maye be sene ye haue conceaued no thochtis of me but suche as I shall euer deserue. And thus, Madame & dearest sister, I comitt you to the protection of the most hie. Youre most louing and affectionatte brother & cousin, James R."

1¼ *pp. Holograph. Small signet. Addressed:* "To oure Dearest Sister the Queene of England. J." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Nov: The King of Scottes to her Maytie."

Nov. 1. **97.** LACHLAN MACLEAN OF DUART TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. lxi, No. 55. I would be glad to hear of your lordship's good health and welfare and amongst the rest to put you in memory how far her Majesty is

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1597. disappointed of her affairs in Ireland. Now it is so that having respect to your part against the Earl [I] have kept myself from him and except I be employed by her Majesty am forced to license my men to serve where they may have for the same. In this my part I will take your lordship to bear record of my honest duty first and now last. Duart, the first of November 1597. *Signed:* Lauchlane M^{c}Lane off Doward.

½ *p. In Auchinross's hand. Placard seal. Addressed.*

Nov. 6. **98. Robert Bowes to Lord Burghley.**

Vol. lxi, No. 56. By the mercy and grace of God I was brought hither to Berwick yesternight the 5th. The travail of my journey has bred some new diseases. It has sharpened the old and increased my weakness, as for some time I am nailed to this place and bound to my bed, being most chiefly grieved that in the condition of this time and estate I am not able to do my duty for the honour, contentment and profit of her Majesty and her services here, wherein, as God shall enable me, I shall faithfully declare my diligence and goodwill.

After the King was departed from Linlithgow in his voyage to Dumfries to establish a peace in those broken parts and to possess himself of the pledges that he might deliver them in time and manner convenient and for her Majesty's satisfaction, and that I was likewise entered into my journey towards Berwick, I received a letter from Sir James MacConnell (M^{c}Onnell) commonly called M^{c}Sorley in Ireland. The convoy of the letter was "slewe" and the delivery partly unseasonable in regard that I had not fit opportunity to negotiate to the King the accomplishment of requisite effects therein. That your lordship may be best informed in the contents of this letter I send enclosed the [*blank*] to you and by my letter to Sir James I have not only acquainted him with the receipt of his letter but also certified him that upon my former conference with the King and intelligence given by my friends in those behalfs I have so moved the King as he was pleased upon view of Sir James's letter to himself to give order and direct his letters to the provost of Glasgow and others of the west coast of Scotland for the arrest of all provisions intended there for the aid of her Majesty's rebels in Ireland, as also for the apprehension of the dealers in those causes and prevention of all prejudice to come to her Majesty's service in Ireland. I have forborne for sundry respects to write to the Lord Deputy of Ireland to such effect as MacConnell has required me to do, which things I desire to do with better advice and warrant according to the present estate established by her Majesty.

I am credibly informed that Sir James MacConnell by his letter to the King loyally observes the duties of his allegiance to her Majesty and has advertised the King that he has dealt with Tyrone and O'Donnell to leave their arms and seek for her Majesty's grace, which they refuse protesting to serve no other prince than the King of Spain. Sir James assures the King that Tyrone and O'Donnell seek only the overthrow of these three realms and [he] will undermine the same by all means in his power, notwithstanding any other bond to the contrary,

1597. like as I trust he will himself confirm by his own letters for her Majesty's timely and good notice in the same. He earnestly persuades that no succours of Scotland shall be suffered to pass to the aid of these rebels, who have sundry times with large sums of money under the colour of merchandise bought powder and other provisions for the wars for the rebels in Ireland, for prevention of which inconveniences the King is already moved and promises to be careful for the same. With these Sir James entreats the King to be mean to her Majesty that he may have a charge either of horse or foot to serve after the manner of that country, which I leave to her pleasure and consideration.

The estate of Border matters I refer to the report of Sir William Bowes who I trust shall effectually travail for the good expedition and end of the same for the relief of her Majesty's subjects in their former wrongs done by the Scots and to be redressed by the seasonable and complete delivery of the pledges, and for the due execution and establishment of future justice. All other things in this estate appear for the present to be in some calm. Yet the religious and wise expect very sudden strange and dangerous storms, whereof as yet I cannot write with certainty. Edinburgh [*sic*], 6 November 1597. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. In Nicolson's hand. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "A letter from Sir James M^c^Connell."

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Sir James MacConnell to Robert Bowes.)

Vol. lxi, No. 56[1]. My Lord Burgh (Borughe), Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the state have desired me to write unto you that there are certain merchants (pertaining to the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell and the rest of her Majesty's rebels) gone to Glasgow and to the burghs of the west country in Scotland to buy powder and lead and munition to uphold the forenamed rebels. The names of these merchants be these, viz. James Fleming (Phlemine), James Gerton, Hugh Rankin, William Rankin in Irvine. These are therefore to request and pray your lordship as you tend her Majesty's service to go forward to cause the King to direct some good officer not only to take the goods of the forenamed merchants but also to execute his Majesty's laws upon those being strangers for they are not of his own realm but native born men of Ireland. In so doing you may be bold to say that it is the best service that has been done unto her Majesty since these wars have begun. Further I pray you to get me his Majesty's letter of warrant that I may seek upon every Scottish merchant whom I may or can apprehend in coming or going to the said traitors and that good open proclamation be given at all mercat crosses that no man shall have liberty to bring any commodity to the north of Ireland except he have my warrant with him for his safe conduct. Further I pray you to write by this bearer back to my Lord Deputy and the state how I have advertised you to see this service forth followed. If your lordship fail "heirintill" it is the worst thing that ever was done in Ireland to her Majesty and according to my bounden duty upon my obedience I call God to witness that I have advertised your lordship and I pray you to write unto myself what answer the King will make

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"heirintill" to the effect that I may certify the state thereof. If this powder of Scotland be stayed from the rebels within one half year they will be all banished from Ireland. Dunluce, 25 September 1597. *Signed:* James Macdonnell of Donluce, Kny[t] of Cullelungart.

1 *p. Addressed:* To her Majesty's Ambassador resident in the Court of Scotland. *Endorsed:* "S[r] James M[c]onnell. Dunluce 25° Septemb', Haddington 2° Novemb', 1597. Per Wm. Hudson. With Mr. Aston's letter of the 2° of Novemb', 1597. Received at Haddington that 2 of Novemb'."

Nov. 18. **99.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Vol. lii, p. 193.

We have seen by divers letters of yours how many notable impediments arise whereby the reciprocal delivery of pledges is delayed, whereof the country finds the smart as it appears by the continual complaints of her Majesty's subjects. Therefore to the intent the commission may receive some good success or speedy determination we find her Majesty thus resolved in the matters concerning the Borders. First, although she cannot be persuaded but that on the Scottish side the fray began, yet because the time does speed, and is like to do, frivolously in examining that, we think it fit to let you know that her Majesty likes well that you fall to some appointment to deliver pledges, if not those which were first delivered yet others in their places, for which purpose her Majesty has commanded the Lord Eure to make his repair down accordingly; and for the pledges on the West Marches the Lord Scrope is likewise commanded that they may be ready when you shall demand them and so does he affirm that he has them. And for the point concerning Buccleuch's re-delivery her Majesty's pleasure is that you let the King understand that seeing he was now delivered only for default of the pledges she will detain him no longer if that be once performed, never meaning in anything to violate any promise or trust but to observe all conditions of faith and honour. For which purpose her Majesty would have you by writing to the Wardens or their deputies fully resolve and appoint a day when the l[aird of] Buccleuch (Bughlughe) shall be carried to Carlisle or elsewhere you shall like and there to be present at the delivery of Buccleuch according to agreement, wherein she in any wise will have you an actor because there may be no mistaking or disorder. And to the intent you may carry him in safety her pleasure is that you shall require both out of Berwick or elsewhere any convoy of horse or foot as you shall find reasonable for the safe bringing him to such place as shall be appointed by you. To that end we have herewith sent you a placard to give you authority to call for the assistance of all persons whatsoever that are to be used in this service, as especially we have written to Mr. John Carey concerning the same. And whereas it is not unknown to the King how great a scandal or dishonour remains still unrepaired by the foul and lewd attempt of Buccleuch in taking Kinmont (Kinmoth) out of the castle of Carlisle, her Majesty's pleasure is that in the consenting to deliver Buccleuch's person you make this protestation, that this his last entry or delivery

1597. shall [not] in any sort be interpreted as an acquittal or satisfaction of that matter of Carlisle, wherein her Majesty expects upon the conclusion of these things determinable by commission to receive plenary and ample satisfaction, without which she takes herself in the eye of the world notoriously injured and neglected. Forasmuch as these things will require time for preparation, certain days being to be appointed for these meetings in all places, we thought fit with speed to advertise you, and if it shall fall out necessary for you to send to the King you may do well to use the service of Nicolson, heretofore agent under Mr. Bowes, who is both well experienced and very agreeable to the King and his Council.

2 *pp. Copy by Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "Copie of the Lds. l'res to Sir Will'm Bowes," *and in margin:* "18 of November 1597."

Nov. 21. **100.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 58. On Tuesday last upon my master's death* I rode to Edinburgh to withdraw from that place hither such writings as in the times of my employments in my master's absence I had there that by search or extraordinary dealings those writings should not be taken to discover and hurt our intelligencers or secret traffic there, which God be blessed I have safely done. My master a good time before his death and upon receipt of your Honour's letters for his leave to return hither, as also upon other letters come since from your Honour to him, gave me in charge that I was to stay for her Majesty's service in Scotland: yet he brought me hither with determination to have returned me to that effect. But God preventing the same by death and me also of his intention for my preferment, I was neither furnished by him with enablement for the charge of that service nor with penny preferment for all my long and painful service, but destitute of master and comfort other than of God's providence for me. Yet Sir William Bowes knowing of this direction towards me but not that I was so unfurnished for the charge of the service (though a little will serve for my charge to attend those matters) has by letters which I have this day received directed me to deal in the Border causes, which I shall in all dutiful sort, upon my own charge until I be furnished by Sir William or such as your Honour shall appoint, solicit (I doubt not) to good effect in time, which in this case must be a little borne with here because the King is presently very busy and careful for the West pledges for us and the peace of his own country there where Johnstone and Drumlanrig have given in their pledges for surety of their obedience and good rule agreeable to the general band. But the Lords Maxwell and Herries by reason of the disorders of their people cannot do the like as yet, albeit the King earnestly charged them therewith, as he did the Lord Hamilton who is returned home, and the D[uke] and Treasurer gone to the King with a great many horse to attend him and his service there. On Wednesday the King is determined to ride on Liddesdale on the Armstrongs, Bate-

* Tuesday was the 15th. Cf. p. 129, "Epitaph" where the date of Bowes's death is given as the 16th.

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1597. sons and others, outlaws there, and upon the "baytable" land, and for the King's strength in this service sundry are written for and to go to the King. Yet I think those people shall do much to satisfy the King rather than so be undone by him. But the truth of these causes I refer to the advertisements of such as are in place there. The matter between the Duke and Lord Hamilton for Dumbarton Castle increases in displeasure and with better encouragement to the Duke to seek it than before, the King having said to him that when it comes to action he will show himself "cosing" to the Duke as it will not long escape without troubles between them. It is said the Duke is married to the Mistress of Eglinton but the Clerk Register says it is not so. The Earl of Cassillis has married the Lady Thirlestane, the late Chancellor's wife.

The Parliament is like to hold, especially for restoring the Papist Earls. If Huntly be not warned he will be there in great glory and then if the King take not good order Huntly will be set on and assaulted for his life (as I hear), which, if it be, then the peace of Scotland will be dangerously broken. But these things always stay or proceed as the same shall be discovered or kept secret.

I found at my now being at Edinburgh strange and ill-favoured speeches occupying almost all of any intelligence there either with joy or grief. They were these, that her Majesty (whom in His mercy to us all preserve) was sick, that a governor was appointed and the Parliament "scaled," and that the Spaniards were landed in great numbers in England and more to follow.

The laird of Wemyss told me that my master understanding that the King was to send one to France had willed him to seek to get himself employed in that errand of purpose that he might do his accustomed good offices. Whereon he said that he had employed all his friends and with much ado got to be sent and had his dispatch for that journey, and determining to pass through England for that purpose he would see your Honour and do all the best offices in his power for her Majesty, he trusted much to her contentment, for which purpose he desires your Honour to send him speedy safe conduct. This he prayed me to commend to you, which I agreed to do in regard of the profit of her Majesty's service thereby at this dangerous time. I told him that I heard that a great personage was to come out [of] France thither, but he said not before he were first there, adding that the King would be angry with him for his long stay and praying that his intention may be kept secret, saying the King charged him with his last dealing there, meaning in England.

The appointment of new officers and orders in Edinburgh is still put off until the King's coming thither, at what time it is thought a nobleman shall be chief officer. Praying your Honour to pardon my boldness in writing to you in this disordered sort. Berwick, 21 November 1597. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, with address. Small seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

1597. [Dec.] 3. Vol. lii, p. 195.

101. THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Although by your last letter bearing date the [*blank*] of November and directed to me the Secretary we found you were retired to your own house until you might receive further direction whom to use to the King upon the untimely loss of her Majesty's most faithful servant, Mr. Robert Bowes, yet when we consider that by our former letter, whereof we send you the copy, we had delivered you her Majesty's commandment how to proceed both in the West March and in the Middle we doubt not but that dispatch has drawn you from your house before this time and that you have already begun the preparative for conclusion of those things which must be the only fruit of all this commission. For [if] pledges be not put in, what is then the security? and if the old cannot be got you have liberty to deliver new, for which purpose the two Wardens here, Lords of Parliament, have directed their deputy wardens to obey you in all things. And forasmuch as her Majesty means to send a gentleman to remain "leiger" in Scotland and that in the meantime you may have cause to require something at the King's hands she has written a letter to recommend Nicolson unto him for the time until she send her ambassador thither, which shall be within few days. Only this we must require you that you for the present see the poor man furnished with some money, for which there shall be order taken.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "Copie of the Lls l're to Sir Will'm Bowes," *and in margin:* "3 Novembr: [*sic*] 1597."

[Dec.] 6. Vol. lii, p. 196.

102. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO KING JAMES VI.

Where it has pleased God to call to his mercy our trusty and well-beloved Robert Bowes, late our Ambassador residing with you, to our no small grief for the loss of so faithful and able a servant, forasmuch notwithstanding as the continuation of our affairs requires such a correspondency as may not at any hand be intermitted and that there is one George Nicolson, late servant to the said Bowes, who for that he was trained up under him a long time has now attained to a good acquaintance with the present state of our affairs, having likewise heretofore had access unto you and is known to be honest and well affected to the mutual amity between us and our realms, we have therefore thought good to recommend him unto you as one whose service we are pleased to use for the present, praying you accordingly to accept of him and as occasion shall be offered to admit him to your presence to the end he may impart unto you from time to time such matters as he shall receive in charge from us or our ministers concerning our service until such time as we shall find out a personage every way so well qualified as we desire should be there resident with you in the place of him deceased, which we are minded to see brought to effect with all convenient expedition.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "Copie of the Queenes l're to the Kinge of Scotts," *and in margin:* "6: November: [*sic*] 1597."

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Dec. 9.

103. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 59.

On Saturday last the King returned hither having reduced all the south parts about Dumfries to his obedience, saving some fugitive outlaws executed, 14 brought away, 36 principal men of the chief clans to be kept as pledges for quietness of the country, and for pursuing of those fugitives and keeping those parts quiet appointed and left behind him the Lord Ochiltree with authority of Lieutenant and Warden and 50 men in pay for his better enablement to execute that charge, and for his pledges to be there had and exchanged with my Lord Scrope's he has made them all ready he accounts to be delivered when they shall be agreed to be done, being Jock of Kynmonth in stead of whom he thinks to get his son if not himself; yet he will not be known to be in want of any of his. Of all which the King's proceedings at this "road" I doubt not but your Honour is advertised with greater length and certainty.

The King marvels as I hear that there is no answer vouchsafed to be given him to his letter written to her Majesty for Buccleuch, saying that nevertheless he is content with whatsoever shall be her pleasure towards him and suspecting that Buccleuch shall be moved to English courses, he nevertheless says he doubts him not. [*In margin:* The King is almost of purpose, because his letters are not esteemed, to send to her Majesty in that matter for Buccleuch.] The malice between Buccleuch and Cessford is now so great by reason of some sharp letters passed between them as if Buccleuch were at home that matter would come to present action by single combat or otherwise. The King has seen and judges diversly of their letters.

One Pettigrew (Pedigre) of Glasgow set forth by that town to attend the King under the Duke with some footmen of the town now at Dumfries returning now homewards when the King came away came with his company to Hamilton to have lodged there. But the Lord Hamilton's master-stabler and other of his servants came to the house where Pettigrew was, broke his pistols and would not suffer him to stay, whereon the man caused sound the drum for calling his company together that they might go away together. But Lord Hamilton's men struck out the ends of the drum and bade them begone, whereon every of them went away as they could, imparting the matter to the provost of Glasgow who presently that night convened their council and were in mind to have gone that night to Hamilton to have requited that deed. But finding the cause to be [the] King's because it was done to the men in the King's service as they were returning, they thought it became them not to deal in but left the matter to the King and so with advice of the Lord Treasurer they sent the man to the King to complain of that matter. But Lord Hamilton sent Captain Hamilton in all diligence to excuse the matter to the King, whom the Captain satisfied and so departed on Tuesday. But Pettigrew following with his complaint and the Duke and others in Court aggravating the matter and telling the King that his honour was interested therein very highly, the matter being done they said by Lord Hamilton's command, the King is in great rage thereat and has written very sharply to Lord Hamilton to come and answer the matter himself or send his men that did the deed,

1597. to be punished for their contemptuous fact. This matter for the first the Duke and town of Glasgow leave to the King's order as a matter especially touching him. But if the King pass it over they intend not to do so. By this cause the matters between the Duke and Hamilton will sooner come to action. A matter of no small importance to the quietness nor otherways to other causes in case upon this occasion the King be moved to use his authority to take Dumbarton from Lord Hamilton for the Duke, in whose hands and Mar's will be then the three chief strengths of this nation.

The Parliament was "fensed" yesterday. But because the King was not ready for taking order with his own causes concerning the profits to be had by his lands, etc., handled by the Treasurer as Treasurer, Comptroller and Collector, for which Thomas Foulis is in speech with the King (upon other men's "platt" for he is not able to deal with it) to have the service of those places for greater profit to the King by much by year [*in margin:* £3000 (?)* sterling by year]. And that the Lord Treasurer has the King's promise that nothing shall be done therein to his prejudice or without his consent, the King has continued the Parliament until Tuesday next, on which day the Lords of the Articles will be chosen and so the Parliament proceed. In the meantime the King has sent for the Lord Treasurer who is thought shall excuse his coming by sickness that the Parliament may pass over in hope the King shall in regard of his promise also pass over this matter anent these offices: yet the King is upon this "platt" to change the Treasurer.

On Wednesday last the Earls of Huntly and Errol came hither accompanied with many great personages and great numbers of gentlemen to the number of 400 horse, besides their friends beforehand come hither and daily coming in to attend them here. That day the King rode on hunting towards the Queen's ferry the way they were to come, where they came to the King as he was hunting and came in with him, Huntly on his right hand and Errol on his left hand. Huntly, Lord Home, the Duke, the Lords President and Secretary lodge in the King's house at Holyroodhouse. The night before Lady Huntly came into the Court and prepared all these honours for her husband. The next day Errol carried the Duke and the Earl to dinner with him into the high town. They were very strong. Lord Forbes is come with the Earl and in sure friendship now with him. The King would have the Earl tarry here this winter in Court but he, his wife and friends having been at counsel what to do therein think it meet that he shall tarry here only the Parliament time to get him restored and some other things done and so begone. In the mean season he is, I am quietly advertised, travailing to have conference with Mar for agreeing of the "feade" with Argyll and so many of Moray's (Murrayes) friends as can be, wherein the King gives him the best furtherance he can. Argyll will not agree for anything can be done but will yield to respite the matter from year to year till the Earl of Moray come to age, but this he will only yield unto for himself but for none else of Moray's friends.

Lord Dingwall is come home bringing quiet word (as I hear) to the King that the King of Poland (Poll) has proclaimed war with England

* Owing to the binding the figure is illegible.

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and that all English ships coming to any parts of his bounds shall be apprehended as prizes, as also that Denmark will in like manner stay and take all English ships as lawful prizes for the ships of theirs taken by England. Besides the bruits which I certified in my letter to your Honour contribute partly in effect and the King is told that there is a Lord Steward, a second person, named in England, which does something occupy him as I hear, albeit he seems not to believe it. These with the bruits of the Spaniards do so occupy this people and is such matter to work upon by such as love not the amity (whereof to be plain to your Honour there are no little store here) as, if the King's own nature served to yield to their motions, no small practices would arise, as I pray God they do not as many wise men here do fear and think it were meet that some were here to watch and break the neck of the same, as my master did of whom such epitaph is made as is enclosed, the King being aminded (his business ended) to make another himself.

This letter enclosed to my master I found here in a friend's hands. By letters sent therewith to myself I perceive that MacLean looked to have heard something of the pension spoken on by your Honour to his servant and is yet aminded to be for her Majesty's service in case he be employed very shortly, otherways to leave his people to themselves to serve where they shall be entertained; which then will be I suspect with Tyrone, to whom I am surely advertised a great many of the Scottish Islanders are preparing to go in hope that all will go well with Tyrone: a matter worthy looking into in regard of the especial and good service that may be done by MacLean and of the evil that may come by the passing of the Scottish to the Earl. I am at this present come hither upon Sir William Bowes's letter to me in Border causes which I leave to his report, where I intend to stay the Parliament and have thought it my duty to advertise your Honour the premisses, praying that it will please you to pardon me for my boldness in thus writing to you in those matters I now am not to deal in, for after the Parliament I shall retire myself with advertisement to you of what I can learn of the same if so be I can get my letters then convoyed to you as I much doubt of, Mr. Governor having said unto me that he would send none of my letters nor none should write there but he, unless he were directed to send my letters. I trust by your goodness whereon I would gladly anchor my hope to receive some relief and comfort in the end at her Majesty's hands seeing my master has not bettered me a penny at his death for all my long and painful service. Edinburgh, 9 December 1597. *Signed:* Geo: Nicolson.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Small seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "The K: finds faulte that his l'res to her Ma^{tie} concerninge Bucklugh are not annswered."

Vol. lxi, No. 57. Printed in *The Works of William Fowler* (Scottish Text Society), I, 7.

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Epitaph on Robert Bowes.)

"An Epitaphe upon the / Death of the Right Hono- / rable, M. Robert Bowes Esquire, Thesaurer of Barwick: / who ended this life, the sixteenth of November, 1597. Being at that / present Ambassadour for the Queenes Majestie, to / the King of Scotland.

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Builde up, O England! Statuaes, Arches Bowes,
And Tombes, and Pillers, to his living fame,
Who was the wisdome of the valiant Bowes,
And solide honour, of that ancient name.
And you white Swannes, of Thames, and Tweide, proclame
Your grievous losses, and his high desert,
Who both his courses, and his cares did frame,
All dangers from your bankes aye to divert.
He lov'd his Queene, and crowne, with upright heart:
Postponing private wealth, to publicke weale:
He all his thoughts, and counsels did convert:
To peace For Church, & for the State with zeale.
And now at last, hath pearst the heavens a-laft,
Whose bodie was the Bowe, and Soule the Shaft.

The Raine-Bowes now of peace, are cloudes un-cleare:
And Concordes mouth, now speachlesse lyes alace.
Yea Englands Mercure, passing Mercures sphære,
By grace hath gone, to the Emperiall place.
Where neither bounds, nor limits, endes, nor space,
Nor was, nor shall, nor time to come, or past:
But all in presence are, before his face:
Who was the Maker first, and Mover last.
Why then should I, such projects seeme to cast?
To make him famous, who is elles divine.
(Whose soule with heavenly Manna is repast,
To whom the Lord, doth lasting crownes propine.)
Or yet him offer? which he doth not crave,
In making teares his tombe, & griefs his grave.
Abiit Non Obiit.

By M. William Fowler Secretarie to the Queenes Majestie of Scotland.

Printed by Robert Waldegrave."

Printed broadsheet. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk: "1597. An Epitaphe on the death of her Ma^tes^ Ambassadour Mr. Ro: Bowes."

Dec. 12. **104. Roger Aston to Sir Robert Cecil.**

Vol. lxi, No. 60.

I have thought it convenient for the discharge of my duty to acquaint your Honour with the present estate of this country, the rather that it has pleased God to call her Majesty's Ambassador by whom I know you have been sufficiently advertised from time to time, which has been the cause I have not written so frequently as I would have done. I shall now, God willing, be careful that her Majesty may understand how matters proceed. The King being now returned from his journey of the West Borders is preparing himself for the Parliament which begins the 15th instant. In his journey of the West Borders he has had very good success and has brought with him out of those parts 36 of the principal men of name and action, such as disturbed both the realms,

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1597. They are committed to sundry prisons to be safe kept. In keeping them fast will bring a great quietness to that Border. Lord Ochiltree (Occoltry) is left Lieutenant. He is a man that I will be answerable for to do all good offices that may entertain the peace between the two realms.

This Parliament is chiefly appointed for the restoring of the late banished Earls. Huntly and Errol came to Court this last night accompanied with the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland, Lords Livingstone (Leveston), Seton, Forbes, Saltoun and Elphinstone (Elveston), with the whole barons and gentlemen of the North. They are very strong. What will be the event of matters at this time we are as yet uncertain. Such as are friends to Argyll and Mar lie off and absent themselves. Yet there is an assurance taken by the King for a year. Huntly (Honttle) has given greater contentment to the ministers than any of the rest. He has provided through all his bounds by the advice of the presbyteries a minister to every church with a sufficient stipend to every minister to entertain himself upon. Whether he has done this for conscience sake or to serve his turn for the present I know not.

I perceive the King is not minded to proceed any further in the delivery of the pledges before such be delivered as should enter for Buccleuch (Baclouke). It has been alleged by letters from Sir William Bowes to Lord Home that seeing those pledges were once delivered her Majesty is sufficiently discharged in that point; which they say here is no discharge for by the indents of the Commissioners they are bound to deliver and remain when they are delivered. That which passes between Commissioners is of greater force than that which passes between Warden and Warden. The law of the Borders is that if a man being filed of a bill ("fylt of a bel") and delivered escape he is free of the bill. But those that be delivered by Commissioners may not escape.

The King looks to receive answer of his former letters to her Majesty, saying that he has written sundry times and never got answer, which proves there is neither account of him nor liking of his proceedings. This he recounts often to such as he trusts best.

It is here in the mouths of all men that her Majesty has at this Parliament established the crown either by a second person or some other great office that might carry away the matter if God should call her. This is continually "dong" in the King's ear chiefly by such as favour the Spanish course, as also that the Spaniards had of late "mentted" to land in England and had landed if the extremity of weather had not prevented and that they are all present in Calais (Calles) to the number of 40,000 men. I have been careful to understand the King's own opinion in this point of succession and whether he believes it to be true or not. So far as I can see the King will not believe that her Majesty has done anything in that matter. I am of opinion that these bruits have proceeded from such as would divert the King of [from] the course he is presently in with her Majesty. How these matters will fall out, God knoweth. Here is at this time all those that have been enemies to her Majesty and estate and have had furthest interest in the course of Spain.

There is a practice set down for the removing of the Treasurer and

1597. that by some offers made of greater profit than presently he has of his revenues and casualties and the King's duties (?) to be relieved and be better served in all his necessaries, which the King takes hold of and embraces the offers so that it is looked that the Treasurer shall be dispossessed of all his offices presently. That which the Treasurer desires I have sent your Honour here enclosed. The removing of this man will do great hurt to the good cause for he has been the only man that has given life to it. He is presently at home not well at ease. Others say he has no will of these proceedings and so absents himself. He is sent for in all haste.

Huntly was never so great nor ever so much made of both with King and Queen. He is lodged in the Court and keeps his own house.

I shall be careful to acquaint your Honour how matters proceed but for the better furtherance of her Majesty's service if it would please you to direct George Nicolson to give attendance here by whom I may have opportunity to convoy my letters from time to time. He is a man that has good intelligence and can do her Majesty good service. That which I dare not do myself I may commit to him. I know he is very meet for this place and that makes me to commend him the more. However it be, I shall employ myself in all things that may attend to her Majesty's service and as your Honour directs I shall obey. From Holyroodhouse, the 12 of December.

There is come hither from the King of Poland (Pouel') the Lord Dingwall (Dengwel). He desires licence to levy 3,000 men to serve the King of Poland in Sweden against Duke Charles, this King of Poland's uncle. He gives out here that that King has discharged all his people for [from] having any trade with England and discharged all Englishmen from trafficking there. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript. By letters from Denmark it is advertised that the King and estate are minded to stay all Englishmen from passing through the Sound because her Majesty denied them passage through the Northern Seas to Spain.

If your Honour employ George Nicolson here let me know whether I shall direct my letters by him or whether I shall send them to Berwick and to whom there. I had rather that George should send them for so will they pass with least danger. Or otherways as you shall think good either by Mr. Governor or Mr. Porter but rather Mr. Porter. If so you direct them, send him a warrant to that effect.

3¼ *pp. Hologaph, with address.* 2 *seals of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "December 1597."

Dec. 16.* **105.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 61. On Wednesday last the King rode to the Parliament House (the Tolbooth), the Earls of Sutherland carrying the sword, Mar the sceptre and Cassillis the crown. As Angus was to go out of his house down to the King before the King's coming up, one of his followers, Archibald Jarden, was shot and slain by a young man of the town not knowing there was a bullet in his piece. Whereon the townsmen (gathered in

* See No. 109 *infra.*

James VI.
1597. armour according to the custom at such time of the Parliament) were discharged shooting. The King made an oration among his nobility; signified how far he was wronged by the death of his mother, the want of the gratuity with scornful answers given about the seeking of the same, the "mynt" made at the Parliament in England to have defeated his title there, and by her Majesty's blaming him wrongfully as a stirrer up of Poland (Pole) and Denmark to the courses taken in hand against her, for the late accidents in Ireland and for Border causes (I write short and in the best sort as loth to do evil offices between the princes, but the effect so far as I dare from this place), adding he would send a nobleman to her Majesty to be plain in these behalfs and to know what he may trust to anent the title, the gratuity and her Majesty's good will towards him, and to be resolute in all things; as also that he would send to France and all his friends in these causes, adding some speeches of our estate and of new particulars therein, praying his nobles to think on the matter as he might have both their advices and concurrency therein; reaching thereby withal as is conceived for a taxation for the bearing of the charges of these his Ambassadors. The King yesterday used again the like oration in Parliament. Yet these causes will not be finally dealt in and concluded till Monday next. The King is of the sudden come to this resoluteness, partly by advertisements not liking him out of England and partly stirred thereunto by the company now about him as is thought. He was, as I hear, in mind once to have sent Mr. Aston in a more mild sort about these causes, both for his speed of the gratuity and her Majesty's satisfaction towards him. But now the man and the aim are changed, albeit Mr. Aston rode on Monday last to Linlithgow (where yet he is) to prepare him for the journey. And no appearance for the present here but of "platt upon platt" for the King to do for himself. Whereof I thought it my duty to advertise your Honour that the same may be looked into with good regard. For albeit the King in his tractable nature be satisfied hereafter in these points, yet I am given to understand (but in great secrecy and in manner as cannot be justified) that the Queen here has been dealing this good time, is presently and will be still, in matters of importance to the greatest causes and if I were able to assure the party of secret intelligence with your Honour in these causes and that the party should be recompensed worthy their deserts, it might be I could draw the party, being of good worth and credit, to do service of value, considering the danger of the time and dealings now. Some think that now that these lords (who will not be restored but by way of reduction of their "forfalture" as wrongly "forfalted" and clear men) are in favour and that if Dumbarton were in the Duke's hands, the way were then made for strange courses and the worst is doubted. Lord Hamilton has sent his master stabler to the King but the other man that broke the pistols and drum keeps away as fugitive from my Lord. As yet that matter rests by reason of the King's other present affairs.

Saving the choice of the Lords of Articles which was the first day of the Parliament (Wednesday last) and the King's orations that day and yesterday, the Kirk matters have occupied the Parliament all day yesterday and not yet ended, the ministers having put in articles and

1597. seeking to be restored to their former liberties, to have vote in Parliament, that the great benefices may be dissolved and bestowed on preachers, the country planted with ministers and livings, unto which what perfect answers shall be made I shall advertise you after ending of these matters, the King having agreed that commission shall be given for dealing in part of these causes. Because the ministers, he says, have not means to bear their expenses in Parliament and other times, he thinks the bishops may serve for them. Again, he reasoned that in case they should have place, they might choose such rash persons as might trouble them all, and therefore said if he yielded to that it should be with condition that he might name them. And yet the King is more careful to satisfy them than his Council; but this to my next and conclusion of these causes. The King's countenance is so great to Huntly as though he be grudged here yet he is in peace. The Lord Treasurer is not yet come but delays his coming. To-morrow it is thought he shall be here, but nothing will be done anent the offices in his hands but with his own consent, so fast stands the King to him, albeit he was upon the "platt" and has dealt with the Treasurer to turn them over. What course may be taken in all these intentions and matters may possibly yet rest to be something altered by the Treasurer's advice. Edinburgh, 15 December 1597. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. It may please your Honour for God's cause to keep secret what I write to you lest otherways it cost me my life here.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Small seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Dec. 17. **106.** JOHN MACARTNEY TO [? SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxi, No. 62. The Lord Ochiltree (Okiltrie) is now Lord Lieutenant in the West Borders.

The Duke of Lennox after the King was come back from Dumfries had directed two hundred footmen and five hundred horsemen to return home by the town of Hamilton. The horsemen passed away and left the footmen. But as they were come near the town to have lodged there all night by reason of the shortness of the day, the Lord Hamilton believed some stratagem to be devised against him. Therefore he "sortit" on horseback with all possible diligence. He sent out his watches to know who they were and wherefore they came; and albeit he understood that they were only on their retreat, he came furiously upon them. He "brak" their drums and "scailit" their footmen. The complaint hereof is made by the burgh of Glasgow to the King and Council that their men should have been so injuriously handled and albeit the Lord Hamilton has been craved to answer he has disobeyed.

The three Earls are come in to the Parliament with their forces for two causes. One is to let Huntly's enemies understand how great he is and of what power; for there came with him the Earl of Sutherland, the Earl of Caithness, the Earl Marischal and the Earl of Buchan with all the gentlemen of the Isles and all their forces that they could procure either here or there. The other cause was to let the King know

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1597. that if his Majesty shall have ado against England he and they shall be then sufficient and more.

The ministers are no way content with this pompous entry, because the King passed forth himself in person two miles and more from Edinburgh and convoyed them in triumphantly with great noise and sound of trumpets.

The news of Ireland are "mekle lawghin at" in Court here and specially among the three Earls' houses, yea even by their public conferences at table and privily in their chambers. The new knight of Ireland that was last benefited by our King is now come in Scotland again and as I believe shall be in Court this 20 of December, for the King has directed some specials of the Earl of Mar and others to be his convoy.

There be secret cartels passed betwixt B. and Sir Robert.

The Octavians are like to be established again before the Parliament be dissolved, which began the 12th instant.

The Magistrates of Edinburgh and their people are daily and nightly upon guard with five hundred men and when as any of the lords do come to the Tolbooth they are convoyed free and back by armed men.

The Earl of Argyll is desired by the King and Council to subscribe a letter of truce to the three Earls but he has detained the messenger since the first of this month and this is interpreted for a beginning of disobedience, but neither King nor Council can devise a way how to be revenged on him.

Many of the great Earls have been absent at this time, but it will be on their cost hereafter for the King swears that he shall make them pay for it.

The Lord of Dingwall is here come from Pol[and] to have a thousand waged men, but his petition is not yet granted in Parliament.

The first day of the Parliament after the King by his "oraison" had declared that in all national conventions there was one of the best who was accustomed to speak in presence of all others to declare the causes thereof, so he being the mouth of the law might of reason have that authority to be the fore-speaker; and therefore after the use of many metaphors to bring on his purpose he alleged that the special cause of that Parliament was for contracting of virtue by remitting of offenders by example of the parable used by our Saviour Christ that the forlorn son was amiably received by his father notwithstanding of his former trespasses . . .* to elide all and whatsoever objections that might be made or said against him for restoring of these three lords he answered that as wise commonwealths did before to Alcibiades, Aristides and Cymon the Athenian notwithstanding of their proscription and they were received in favours again for their great worthiness and the necessities of their republics, etc., so might he do those three.

This day the three Earls went on foot to the Tolbooth as petitors and were there before the rest in great humility. The King in his royal estate riding was convoyed with the Earl of Cassillis (Cassils)

* Two or three words obliterated by wear.

1597. who bore the crown that day, the Earl of Mar the sword and the Earl of Sutherland the sceptre.

This day the ministers for their petitions craved—

1. A vote in Parliament. It was answered that in case they would accept the places of bishops, it should be granted.

2. They craved the bishoprics to be dissolved. This petition was denied because that King nor commonweal could not want any of their three estates.

3. They desired all long leases of teinds to be reduced to their own old estate. For satisfaction of this article commissioners are chosen but it is hoped that nothing shall ensue.

The second day the King made another great "oraison" declaring how he had taken great pains in person for pacifying of the Borders; how he had satisfied the Queen of England's commissioners by delivering of pledges, but he had found no condign meeting on her part but by the contrary all false and malicious [and] envious dealing against his own person and state, using him far other ways nor her own promise in delaying and frustrating to grant him that due righteous honour that justly appertains unto him, but rather would seem to delay it altogether by leaving the same in suspense or else by nominating privily some other to his prejudice, which he thought in reason no longer sufferable, specially seeing he had savoured so many of her great injuries done in time bygone; wherefore he desired the good favour of his estates there convened to give him counsel how these matters should be remedied, as also by their faculties to help him to this matter, seeing the Queen of England at all convenient time when it should please her to injure her neighbours obtained subsidies of her people, he . . .* they would be as bent for him now, seeing the like petition proceeded of themselves before.

The Lord President (the King's motion ended) demanded of all the estates in particular what they thought was the fittest "meyne" to provoke the Queen of England to her bounden duty to acknowledge the King as her apparent successor. They answered that since it could not be obtained with fairness that it were most meet that his Majesty should send Ambassadors to all his foreign friends and brother kings and princes to complain, that these kings and princes by their instigation may send their Ambassadors to England for this effect. And in the meantime because the matter required expense the burghs of their particular accord at the first word offered a hundred thousand pounds Scottish and the other two estates as "mekle," the Magistrates of the town of Edinburgh to be general collectors and the same to be gathered up by the advice of certain commissioners chosen at that instant.

For England I hear shall be sent the Earl of Caithness, a Lord of Session called Mr. James Elphinstone (Elphestoun), and Mr. David Foulis. The rest are yet unnominated but they shall be directed forth of Scotland before these come in England.

To all the rest of the ambassadors shall be "adjoint" a lawyer to inform the cause to foreign princes by the line of affinity. If it please

* Nearly a whole line is illegible here through wear by folding of the paper.

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1597. your Honour to advertise Her Majesty hereof, well; for I heard it with my ears and was present, where I saw never so hearty joy and general consent with liberal minds.

This day it is called to memory again and six men are chosen by whose particular advice conjointly all things necessary for this turn shall be used and performed.

And in the meantime there is a motion made for the election of a Lord Chancellor; and who strives so fast for it as Errol (Arroll)? Edinburgh in haste this 9 day of December late at night. "Your H[onour's] man, J.M."

3⅓ *pp.* *In Dr. Macartney's hand.* *Endorsed:* "Advertism^ts."

Dec. 21. **107.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 63. My last to your Honour was of the 11th [*sic*, *rectius* 12th] directed to Mr. Porter of Berwick. Since that time upon the receipt of some letters out of England of the refusal of the gratuity we are here grown in a greater discontentment than before as appeared by the King's own declaration to the Lords of the Articles, which in substance contend the hard dealing which he found at England's hands and could no longer endure without acquainting her Majesty with his griefs and that by an honourable ambassador, first to her Majesty and thereafter to all his confederates and friends. For that cause he desired their assistance for the furtherance of this his intention. Whereupon, all with one voice granted him two hundred thousand marks to be employed only upon ambassadors and an ordinance made that it shall not be employed to any other uses. These proceedings have spread a great rumour through the country that there will be a present breach between the countries. Here are instruments that stir up as fast as they may. Some say her Majesty has made a provision for the crown and has cut off the King's title. Others say his mother's arms are taken down and some say her bones are taken up and forfeited. All these are given out to stir up the matter. There are letters lately come out of England to Mr. David Foulis from whom I cannot learn as yet. By those letters the King is "letten" to understand that he is altogether blamed for the trouble that is like to fall out between her Majesty and the King of Poland (Pole) and that he stirs up the King of Denmark and the princes of Germany in that quarrel. In this he says he is not well dealt with. I have been very inquisitive to understand the King's own mind in these matters, both by himself and others. I understand this is the course he has led. First, he will send honourable ambassadors to her Majesty both to declare his grief as also to seek that he would be at and in that he will declare himself enemy to her enemies and friends to her friends and will prefer her friendship above all others. If this will not be heard but that her Majesty will leave him to himself, he will notwithstanding keep the peace and do reason and take reason but will not cease to seek his friendship wherever he may get it. There is now the choice of the ambassadors to be made. Who they shall be as yet is not known. Such as would wish the amity

1597. to stand would have the Earl of Mar employed with some others that were well affected. What shall be the end of all these matters, God knoweth. I shall pray to God for her Majesty's long life and prosperous estate and hazard life and all I have for her service.

On Saturday, the 17th instant, Sir James MacConnell came to this town in company with the Treasurer, who coming from his own house met with the said James upon the way. It was thought most convenient by the Earl of Mar, the Treasurer and some others that the King should not give this man presence in respect he had made defection of his loyalty to her Majesty by the slaughter of the Governor of Carrickfergus (Cragfargus)* and others to the number of 300, as also that he is joined with her Majesty's rebels and has since that time taken a castle 8 miles from Carrickfergus in the keeping of one Moses Hill (Hell). As I remember the name of the castle is Olderfleet (Oudenwarp). For these reasons it was thought meet he should not have had presence. The motion being made to the King, [he] said he could not refuse him his presence in respect he had sent for him before these accidents fell out. He seems to excuse all that he has done being so straitly pursued by the governor as he could not do less than he did. He seems to be sorry for the fact committed. He is here very well entertained both with King and Queen. He avowed (?) to see the King before he took off his boots. The King being occupied in his affairs could not see him the first night, so that he lay in his boots.

Here has been a man of the Earl of Tyrone's (Terrones) directed to the Earl of Huntly who delivered a letter from Tyrone, which letter I have seen. He excuses himself of his long silence thinking his Majesty would not have received his letter. He excuses himself for taking of arms against her Majesty, saying it was her deputies that pressed him to that and not an intention against her Majesty's self. He offers his service to the King as lawful successor to that crown next to the Queen of England. This is the very words of the letter.

Upon Monday the 19th our Parliament ended where were restored the three Earls. Angus and Huntly bare the crown and sceptre from the Tolbooth. This day Huntly takes his leave here. He dare bide no longer for fear he be "stecked."

I have seen a letter out of Denmark from Sir Andrew Sinclair (Senkeler). This Sinclair is a Scottish man and serves the King of Denmark. He assures the King that the King of Denmark with sundry princes of Germany will be in Scotland in the later end of March or in the beginning of April and that that King's brother is gone to France and will come through England and meet them here. So far as I can understand all these protestations and orations have only been to get this taxation granted to get some money to entertain the King of Denmark and his company.

This day the King has been moved by Sir George Home (Houme), Master of the Wardrobe, and in greatest favour here to have him to write once again to her Majesty for the gratuity. To relieve the man that is there I should have been directed for that purpose and was

* Sir John Chichester.

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1597. commanded to make me ready but I have excused that journey. I will never undertake any journey but that which I know will be acceptable to her Majesty. I would wish from my heart that this payment were made and then there would not be so great outcrying as there is, saying that her Majesty has denied that which she promised.

This day the Lord Hamilton has agreed to deliver the castle of Dumbarton to the Duke.

To-morrow the Lord Treasurer is to be heard, either to undertake such conditions as shall be laid to his charge or else to demit his offices to such as will undertake them.

In this Parliament it is concluded that every diocese shall have a bishop provided.

Nothing has occurred here since my last but that which I have set down in this. As occasion serves your Honour shall hear from me. What way soever I direct them they shall ever be directed to James Hudson and written as if they were to him. As my opinion was by my last, so I confirm it by this, that for her Majesty's better service it were convenient that George Nicolson were employed here. I can do her better service by him than I dare do by myself if matters fall not out so well between her and the King as I would wish. I know there will be objections against me however the world go. I shall be directed by your Honour to the hazard of my life, craving no further but that you will retain me in her Majesty's good grace and favour. Holyrood-house, 21 December. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

5 *pp. Holograph, with address.* 2 *seals of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "21 December 1597. Mr. Roger Aston to my Mr. Rec. at Whithall the xxix Decemb."

Dec. 22. **108.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 64. The King's merchant is a suitor to your Honour for my Lord your father's warrant for the sending to Scotland the trunk with such things as are prepared for the King's pages and lackeys, which he has forborne to trouble you for till he got a commodity of shipping to send it with. Now he has and therefore has desired me to move you therein, as I did before at which time it pleased you to appoint him to wait for his lordship's better ability to sign. London, 22 December 1597. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Dec. 23. **109.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 65. By my letter of the 15th hereof, which should have been dated the 16th at morn, I advertised your Honour the state of things then handled in the Parliament so far as from that place I durst. The same day the Articles given in by the Kirk were dealt in again. The King seemed willing to have yielded them contentment and so they acknowledge it in pulpit and other ways. But the Council was against them, saying

1597. if they should have place in Parliament and Council it were meet for the King's honour that they had the title of some degree by the name of some degree of Prelate, and so they should be of more estimation with the people; saying that when the Queen of England called any to be her Council for their wisdom, she honoured them with titles of knight or other degree, and without some degree of prelacy or other it was not meet they should have place in his Council, thinking the ministers would not revive such title and place thereby. But the King saying the Lords would not otherways agree unto their motion willed them not to refuse it, promising to find a "myd" for them therein. Whereon they retain the matter in their choice until they may advise with the General Assembly. Yesterday, when I came away the King was gone to Council about the Treasurer's offices and the ministers are in hope by the King's means at better opportunity to have better help made them. But I refer these matters to the note enclosed.

The same 16 day the King fell to his harangue again, showing that he was advertised that his mother and her succession were "forfalted" at this Parliament in England and her arms hung upside down, which he said needed not because she was "forfalted" before, unless it were done in contempt of him, that his letters written to her Majesty were disdained to be answered, etc., as in my last, and that therefore it behoved him to see to the preserving of his title and honour; for which cause he would send ambassadors to England, France, Denmark, the Low Countries and Spain, craving their concurrency and support by a taxation which was presently and frankly granted him of 200,000 marks Scots, upon the King's promise that it should be employed only about such honourable purpose and for which they would have given and will give three times more, so glad were they to see the King stand for himself. Yet now they begin to conceive that this harangue was only to draw on the grant of the taxation, because on Monday last, the day of the "scaling" of the Parliament for this time, it being a current Parliament not yet ended, the King used good speeches, saying if her Majesty had not done, nor should not attempt to do, anything to prejudice his title, he would stand for her and her service to the utmost of his power. But if she had or should do anything to prejudice (as he could not believe she had or would), he would not suffer the same; concluding he would send to her and all his friends to prevent and be prepared for the worst, and to be very plain, persuading them that they would keep peace and quietness among themselves, that he might not be hurt by their undutiful disagreements at this important time. As yet there is none named nor to be sent till the taxation is gathered for their furniture in April next. Yet Mar with a councillor is judged for England (whither presently the King is writing to her Majesty, but at Thomas Foulis's earnest suit) about the gratuity, the Duke and a councillor to France the Lord Hamilton one way and Crawford another with councillors with them. But these to the time and sequel. Yet the laird of Wemyss holds journey, whether with leave to pass through England or no I know not yet. He assures me he will keep his devotion, albeit he finds not the favour to get her Majesty's safe conduct, which if your Honour thought meet might do good.

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1597.

McSorley (Mack-Sorle) is come with great ceremonies to the King pulling on his boots at Glasgow but not putting them off, albeit he lay at Linlithgow, until he had spoken the King at length. He has English men with him which were taken in a castle surprised, whom he will leave to shift for themselves. He seems to come to make means that her Majesty may know and be satisfied with his part of the late act committed by him of the slaughter of the Englishmen. But some say for men, and I heard (but I dare not say) that he would have the King to take the protection of Ireland and it should be all yielded to him. There is some whispering that the best towns there will be shortly perilled and of Spanish forces, but God in His mercy will deliver us. An ambassador of good action would do good.

The same 16th day the Earls were restored by reduction. But they thinking the same was not sufficient desired the Parliament that they might have an Act of Absolution also, which was granted them. Marischal and Mar with one gentleman more only coldly voted against the reduction. Mar will not speak to Huntly openly. Huntly was in danger for my Lord of St. Colme, Moray's (Murray's) brother that was slain, was quiet in the town plotting for Huntly but the King got word and commanded him to go off the town, which he did going over to Fife from whence such advertisement is quietly brought to Huntly as the King and he were devising how that Huntly should get safe to Dundee.

On Monday as the King rode up to the Parliament Caithness carried the sword, Mar the sceptre and Cassillis the crown, but, the Earls being proclaimed to be restored before the King rode down from the Parliament, Cassillis carried the sword, Huntly the sceptre and Angus the crown. The King amongst these wicked advertisements hears that Sir William Bowes should also have used some scarce good words of him. But they will blow over especially if he shall be employed there as they look he shall be.

On Saturday the King's country affairs were handled, as ratifications of his customs, imposts, etc., the Duke's estate in St. Andrews, etc. Berwick, 23 December 1597. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. I have now clearly retired myself hither, not able to keep myself at Edinburgh, having hope Mr. Aston will not fail to give your Honour full and certain advertisements of all things so far as in this dangerous time he may adventure, praying God that there be not a miss of my master now. For the time was never so tickle in Scotland.

My last letter to you, albeit I wrote to Mr. Governor that it was of very great importance for her Majesty's service, desiring him to send it away with speed, he flung from him and would not have sent it but at the great entreaty of my Mistress and Mr. Porter. So as if any matter of moment come hither to my knowledge, I have not the means to send to you but must therefore pray you to excuse me in this case, as also my blotted writing, wishing to God you were satisfied towards me and knew how much and with what reverence I honour my Lord your father and your Honour. Mr. Governor is angry at me I heard (yet he seems not so) because I give him not my advertisements to write himself.

1597. Buccleuch has sent to Edinburgh to publish the letters between him and Cessford, having in his last to Cessford written that he will stand no more upon honourable terms with him but "baton" him to this effect in some sort.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "R' at Whithall the xxixth."

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

Vol. lxi, No. 65[1]. Short notes of the Articles craved by the Commissioners of the Kirk of the Parliament at Edinburgh, 19th December 1597.

1. That the King's Majesty with the advice and consent of the Parliament would declare, statute and ordain that the Kirk within this realm is the true and holy Kirk and that in all Conventions of Estate and Parliament which shall be holden in time coming such office bearers within this Kirk as shall be authorised with commission from the General Assembly of the Kirk to that effect (and none others) shall represent the state of the Kirk and shall have vote in the said Conventions and Parliament in as great freedom and liberty as ever the Kirk enjoyed the same in any time bygone.

2. That his Majesty with the advice aforesaid would disjoin and dissolve all and whatsoever kirks, vicars or parsonages which in any time bygone have been "unite and incorrogate" to any bishopric or abbey, priory or other benefice whatsoever within this realm, to remain in all times coming every one of the said kirks and several kirk benefices by itself at his Highness's presentation; to the effect that the ministers appointed to serve at the said several kirks may be presented by his Majesty to the same and enjoy the fruits thereof in recompense of their service and awaiting on their calling, and "siclike" remit all presbyteries, "sangsteries, chaplaries" and others whatsoever consisting of a part of the teinds of whatsoever kirk benefices, parsonages or vicarages to be conferred in whole to the ministers serving or that shall serve the cure of the said kirk by his Highness's presentation and Kirk's allocation.

3. That because his Majesty is not minded to prejudice the present possessors of the said great benefices during their lives, so that enduring the said space small or no provision shall be had for the ministers serving at the kirks to be dissolved, therefore that his Majesty with the advice aforesaid would ordain commission to be granted unto a certain number at his pleasure "givand, grantand and committand" unto them full power to convene themselves and to assign and appoint reasonable and competent stipends at every kirk within the realm furth of the teinds of the said kirks which are not yet planted and sufficiently provided; notwithstanding any "takes" of the said teinds or other disposition made of the same by the titulars of the said benefices of before; which assignation to be made by the commissioners to be ratified, approved and confirmed of as great force and effect as if it were made and appointed in this Parliament, and the Lords of Session to grant letters for answering and obeying the ministers thereof in form as "efferis."

The answer in effect made by the Estates of Parliament.

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1597.

To the 1, the Parliament decerns and concludes that all ministers presented by his Majesty and admitted by the Kirk to bishoprics and other prelacies shall have vote in Parliament and General Convention of the Estates of the whole realm in as great freedom and privilege as bishops and prelates had in time before.

Item, that all the bishoprics vacant or that shall happen to vacate hereafter shall be disponed to ministers and whatsoever spiritual jurisdiction they shall have the Estates remit the same to be advised and concluded by his Majesty and General Assembly of the Kirk.

Item, decerns in the meantime that the liberty and jurisdiction of the Kirk established by Parliament and granted to presbyteries, provincial and general assemblies and other inferior sessions shall stand according as they are established.

The 2 Article refused.

The 3 granted.

1¼ *pp. In G. Nicolson's hand.*

Dec. 23. **110.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lii, p. 197.

I have received from you a letter bearing date [*blank*, ? 15th] of December whereby I understand divers things worth the knowledge for that which was done in Parliament. You know it is material it should be answered, first, because there is no one word true of it, as you may confidently affirm, saving only that the matter of the pension has been delayed. But for anything done in Parliament here there never came anything in question that might concern him. Now where you desire secrecy I do wonder how you can think such things can be secret that are spoken in parliaments. Therefore you shall never need to fear to be suspected for this to come out by you, seeing we may have it diversely. But for the other point that you offer being a secret indeed I pray you assure the party fairly that he shall be well rewarded and nothing more secreted, God willing.

I have also order to pay you money towards your attendance but I know not how to make it over. Direct it by your next letter and you shall have it after a mark a day since your master died. I have written to Mr. John Carey to assist you and to convey all letters to you.

⅔ *p. Copy in the hand of Sir R. Cecil's' clerk. Headed:* "A copie of my Master's l'res to Mr. Nicholsone," *and in margin:* "23: Decembr. 1597."

Dec. 29. **111.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxi, No. 66.

Yesternight Sir William Bowes came hither upon advertisements for Border causes, which, albeit they be very hard, yet I trust Sir William shall do good in and bring to the best end that possibly in the hardness of the time and matter may be. He has delivered me her Majesty's letter to the King with signification what I am to do and

1597. that he will see my charge answered, wherewith I hold myself well satisfied, wishing that I could do those good services that my heart desires. Always I shall use diligence and omit no means in my power to effect whatsoever I shall be directed, most humbly beseeching your Honour that some compassion may be taken on my poor estate and some reward for my relief and comfort made me that afterwards it be not seen that her Majesty's poor and just servant be left to beggary; especially that strangers and foreign people knowing my service may not see and speak thereof, wishing rather than it should be so that I were quick buried. Berwick, 29 December 1597. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Dec. 29. **112.** APPOINTMENT BY KING JAMES VI OF COMMISSIONERS OF THE EXCHEQUER.

Addit. MSS. 24275, fo. 5*d*. 3 *pp. Latin. An inaccurate copy. The original is preserved in the Scottish Record Office (Register House Charters No.* 3503), *the text being very faint. The following abstract is taken from the original:*—

Commission by James VI to Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, John, Earl of Mar, Alexander, Lord Fyvie, President of the College of Justice, Walter, Commendator of Blantyre, Treasurer, Mark, Lord Newbotle, Master of Requests, Mr. John Lindsay of Balcarres (Balcarhous), Secretary, Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, Justice Clerk, Mr. Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairny, Lord Advocate, Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairny, Mr. John Preston of Fentonbarns, Mr. Edward Bruce, Abbot of Kinloss, Sir George Home of Wedderburn, Comptroller and Collector, Sir William Stewart of Traquair, Mr. David Carnegie of Culluthy, Sir John Carmichael of that ilk, Mr. Peter Young, Almoner, Mr. George Young, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, John Arnot, burgess of Edinburgh, Mr. John Nicolson, advocate, Thomas Foulis, burgess of Edinburgh, Mr. John Skene, Clerk Register, or any four of them, as Auditors and special Commissioners of Exchequer. Walter, Commendator of Blantyre, and George Home of Wedderburn are always to be present at business which concerns their offices, and no signature, gift or disposition which concerns their offices is to be valid without their subscription. The Commissioners are to be Lords of Exchequer during the King's will and pleasure, with full and free administration of the royal rents and duties, both of the Treasury, the Comptrollery and of the General Collector and of the New Augmentation, with such power as was granted to any previous Auditors of Exchequer, and with power to hear the accounts of sheriffs, stewards, bailies, *etc.* [*Text proceeds in common form as in the commission to the Octavians* (*see warrant for their commission in* Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, *V*, 256-7), *down to* ". . . and any three of the saidis Lordis Auditouris of the Chekker subscryving the same, as said is".] This commission is to be registered in the books of Privy Council and of Session, in witness of their consent and approval, and letters of publication are to be expede so that none of the King's lieges may pretend ignorance of the

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1597. commission. The said Lords of the Exchequer shall have power to direct letters of horning, poinding, imprisonment and caption upon their own decrees, in such ample form as other Lords Auditors have had. The said Thomas Foulis, or in his absence the said John Arnot or Mr. John Nicolson as his nominee, shall endorse all signatures, thus declaring their satisfaction for all monies compounded for the said signatures, and the keepers of the seals are not to expede any signature which is not so endorsed. And the said Thomas Foulis, or his nominee, shall in future present all signatures to the King and the aforesaid lords to be compounded and subscribed. All previous commissions of exchequer are hereby revoked, and all persons concerned are ordered to obey the said Commissioners. Given under the quarter seal, at Holyroodhouse, 29 December 1597; by signature of the King and the Lords of Privy Council.

Dec. **113. Archibald Harbertson to Sir Robert Cecil.**

Vol. lxi, No. 67. I present unto your Honour my loyal service. Within the time of your predecessor, Sir Francis Walsingham, [I] was found faithful to this estate (although to my great hindrance through Chateauneuf (Shattanuve)* the French legate's letters to my Lord Seton in Scotland wrought my great harm). So now opportunity being offered in your Honour's time I could no less than acquaint you upon this sudden that Seton, my deadly foe, has sent unto one Ambrosio Laricie lately in Scotland certain letters whereof the messenger is very careful to have them delivered, which I suppose to be somewhat effectual. This Italian is not here in London but if it please you to send me your mind in this behalf by some of your discreet servitors I shall endeavour my wits to the obtaining of the letters. *Undated. Signed:* Archibaldus Harbertson, exul Scotus.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "December: 1597."

[?1597.] **114. Apology and Defence of the King of Scotland [by Father William Crichton].**

Vol. lxvii, No. 74. Printed in *Misc. Scot. Hist. Soc.* I, 41-64. "An Apologie and Defence of the K. of Scotlande against the infamous libell forged by John Cecill, English Priest, Intelligencer to Treasurer Cecill of England."

Defends James from the charge of dishonesty.

Vol. lxvii, Nos. 75 and 76. Two further copies of the above.

Vol. lxvii, No. 77. Abstract of the above.

Vol. lxvii, No. 78. Printed *ibid.* 65-70. Memoranda respecting the above.

* French Ambassador to England, 1586-1590 (Teulet, iv, 61).

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115. Acts of the Commissioners of Exchequer.

Addit. MSS. 24275, fo. 16*d*.

Anent Rebels for not payment of their duties to the King.

The which day the Lords ordain an Act to be made bearing when any person or persons passes to the horn for not payment of their "mealls," farms and duties wherein they are addebted to his Majesty that letters shall be direct to charge the steward or baillie within the said bounds where the said persons dwell or lands lie to take and apprehend their persons rebels and put them in sure captivity and ward "ay and whill" payment be made. As also to "poynd" and distrain their readiest goods and gear therefor and likeways to intromit with their escheat goods and gear and to make count and reckoning thereof to the Treasurer within 10 days next after the charge with certification to them if they "failzie" the said ten days being bypast letters shall be direct to charge the steward or bailie's self to make payment of the King's duties of their own proper goods and gear within 10 days under the pain of rebellion and putting of them to the horn. And if they fail to denounce them rebels and put them to the horn.

Act anent the compts in Exchequer.

The which day the Lords Auditors statute and ordain all "comptores" as well of the King's properties, casualities, holden yearly by their infeftments to make compt in his Highness's Exchequer in all time coming by themselves either to compear personally therein yearly at the particular days "destinate" and appointed by the tables of Exchequer or otherways by their Commissioner having a special commission in writ for that effect; otherways they shall not be received nor no compt made up but they and everyone of them shall be unlawed in 40*l*. and they denounced for not making of their compts the particular days appointed in Exchequer for making thereof being bypast. As also for admission of whatsomever commission shall content and pay the sum of 6*s*. 8*d*. to the Ordinary Clerk.

Act anent allocations and assignations discharging the same.

Act ordaining no allocation nor assignation be granted in time coming upon any warrant whatsomever and that all those already granted be reclaimed either by a legal course or by transaction.

1 *p*.

Jan. 4.

116. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir William Bowes.

Vol. lii, p. 198.

Upon the bruits which fly fast hither and abroad that the King of Scotland has to the Lords of the Articles used very hard speeches by way of supposition that her Majesty has proceeded against him in Parliament and has dealt inhumanely with his mother's body by [forfeiting] it now she is dead and that he is noted by the Queen to be an actor of the late rough proceedings by foreign princes, namely the Emperor, Poland and the Hanses, her Majesty has written a very sharp letter to the King expostulating his so sudden apprehension of such

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1597-8. an injurious report without making her some way privy to that he heard, to the intent to have delivered what had been true and false and has assured [him] there was never any such matter spoken by her. And for any other act in Parliament concerning him I protest before God it was never so much as in consultation here, so as the King has been much abused and so may you assure him, and that if her Majesty should believe every malicious report of Scottish actions there could not such friendship continue between her and him. But you may say her Majesty is ever very temperate of belief and especially where she affects, although there she most values unkindness. When he will haply speak unto you of his pension's detaining and that he had scornful answers when he sent for it you may thus much avow that his messenger never had but good answers and courteous in the form and in the substance, that the Queen looks every hour to hear that some good satisfaction [were given her] in the Border causes, and then that he should not be an hour deferred, other negative he had none. Her Majesty's pleasure being therefore now that you shall go to him with this letter, she is pleased I should inform you also of these particulars and that if you have any conference with any well affected that you assure that there is nothing on earth more false than those reports made to the King and that the Queen took not anything these seven years more unkindly at the King's hands, whom she holds so precious as she would never wrong him unheard. Further you must let the King know that it did much grieve her to hear that he would afford such a rebel as McSorley an Irishman (after so bloody a murder committed on her subjects) to come to his presence and to be used (if reports must be believed) so favourably and kindly as he was. Besides it is good the King do know that her Majesty has been informed out of Ireland that Tyrone has much bragged to have written to the Scottish King and that she knows he has had it, of all which it never pleased him to advertise the Queen. All these things must you think of to affirm the cause of her Majesty's sourness in her letter and for all Border causes now can you answer it best and haply do some good. I hope you think your friends have done what they could to have avoided this journey but your experience, her Majesty's trust and your nearness there induce her to employ you. And because you may see what you carry I send you the copy of the Queen's letter.

I must also let you know that as you carry a letter full of sourness to the King which is derived from unkindness, which is a passion you know that stirs choler more than malice, so must you let fall unto him this, that you were sorry to hear how great disadvantage he does himself in any future expectation, first by suffering so cruel spoils on the Borders unrighted, whereby he alienates the hearts of that people, and now also to accuse a prince in public assembly unheard of such things as were never thought of, is a great disadvantage to him in the eye of the world to his judgment that he would apprehend any matter so great on such a weak foundation, but which is most of all, especially now at this time of our Parliament, it might be an occasion for the Queen to take that offer which her people have often made her to receive into her power by consent of the 3 Estates the disposition (by

1597-8. nomination in her last will) of the crown of England, a burden which the Queen would never yet receive, and as for any his title all the world sees whether ever her Majesty did suffer any act to be done to justify any other or weaken his; so if by unkindness and by unjust imputations he shall at this time both grieve her 3 Estates and give her cause of offence neither in redressing her injuries nor in proceeding respectively with her, surely then it may bring with it harder consequences than were to be wished. These things you must deliver unto him as things you hear and know be true, though in her Majesty's own letter (till she be otherwise used) she was not fit to profess so much care and kindness to the King, with whom she has cause to expostulate unkindness and injury. You may remember also how much her Majesty's honour depends still unrepaired, seeing this matter of pledges still hangs "unperfeicte," because hereby the other notorious outrages of Buccleuch and Cessford cannot be satisfied by personal delivery of the two wardens for that fact over and above such things as are comprised in the proceedings by way of [commission]; which time this other accident occurring does also make an addition to the rest of the arguments which her Majesty collects of his neglect of her in requital of so many kindnesses as she has always used towards him, between whom and him it seems there is this difference that she cannot hide herself where she means all roundness and "playnes." For all these speeches you may keep this warrant of mine and for the digesting them I leave it to your own wisdom. But for this your journey to the King you must use all expedition. From the Court at Whitehall the 4th of January 1597.

3 *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "Copie of my Mr: letter to Sir William Bowes."

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 348. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 383.

Another version of the above dated 7th (cf. No. 117 *infra*); and there is added:—

Postscript in Sir R. Cecil's hand: Because I am toward an employment into France I pray you direct your letters for me provisionally to my Lord, my father, lest I be gone, as I think I shall be, before your return but I hope not to be above a month away.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed:* To Sir Wm. Bowes, Knight.

Jan. 4. **117. Queen Elizabeth to King James VI.**

Printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.* (Camden Soc.), pp. 121-3.

When the first blast of a strange, unused and seldom heard of sound had pierced mine ears I supposed that flying fame who with swift quills oft passes with the worst had brought report of some untruth. But when too too many records in your open Parliament were witnesses of such pronounced words, not more to my disgrace than your dishonour, who did forget that above all other regard a prince's word ought utter nought of any, much less of a king, than such as to which truth might say Amen. But you neglecting all care of yourself, what danger of reproach besides somewhat else might light upon you, have chosen so unseemly a theme to charge your only careful friend withal of such matter as (were you not amazed in all senses) could not have been expected at your hands of such imagined untruths as never

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were once thought of in our time; and [I] do wonder what evil spirits have possessed you to set forth so infamous devices void of any show of truth. I am sorry that you have so wilfully fallen from your best stay and will needs throw yourself into the "hurlpoole" of bottomless credit*. Was this haste so great to hie to such "approbrye" as that you would pronounce a never thought of action afore you had but asked the question of her that best could tell it? I see well we two be of very different natures, for I vow to God I would not corrupt my tongue with an unknown report of the greatest foe I have, much less could I detract my best deserving friend with a spot so foul as scarcely may ever be outrated.† Could you root the desire of gifts of your subjects upon no better ground than this quagmire which to pass you scarcely may without the slip of your own disgrace? Shall embassage be sent to foreign princes laden with instructions of your rash advised charge? I assure you the travail of your crazed words shall pass the bounds of too many lands with an imputation of such levity as when the true sunshine of my sincere dealing and extraordinary care ever for your safety and honour shall overshade too far the dim and misty clouds of false invectives. I never yet loved you too little as not to moan your infamous dealings, which you are in mind. We see that myself shall possess more princes' witness of my causeless injuries which I could have wished had passed no seas to testify such memorial of your wrongs. Bethink you of such dealings and set your labour upon such mends as best may though not right yet salve some piece of this overslip, and be assured that you deal with such a King as will bear no wrongs and endure [no] infamy. The examples have been so lately seen as they can hardly be forgotten of a far mightier and potenter prince than any Europe has. Look you not therefore that without large amends I may or will "slupper" up such indignities. We have sent this bearer, Bowes, whom you may safely credit to signify such particularities as fits not a letter's talk. And so I recommend you to a better mind and more advised conclusions, praying God to guide you for the best and deliver you from sinister advice as desires, etc.

1½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A Copie of her Mates letter to the K. of Scottes with her owne hande," *and in margin:* "4to Januarii 1597."

Jan. 19. **118.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 1.

My delivery of her Majesty's letter to the King and his speeches upon the receipt thereof with his allowance of my employment and his desire to have the matter of pledges ended I trust Sir William Bowes has advertised your Honour according to my desire, which I beseech you to accept that way in good part, trusting now that he is employed hither my endeavours and travails to be here done him shall be accepted and accounted by you as done for her Majesty's service.

* "discredit" in Camden Society's version.

† "outraised" in Camden Society's version.

On Tuesday last I received his letter wherein he required me to get him the King's safe conduct for his repair hither, which I have done in large sort, sending him the same herewith, and shall provide him house and whatsoever else he has required me to do. The King upon my moving him for the safe-conduct asked me very earnestly if he came not in with commission to end the matter of pledges, as if he would not be pleased that that matter should be drifted or doubting rather he had other errand to him. Sir George Home said to me that there was a wrong here by some misreports (meaning by the King's words in Parliament) but he said it would not grow, as if the King were satisfied and had done with it. The King has forbidden any of those speeches alleged by him in Parliament to be entered in the book of Acts, as any consideration of taxation, so as it is repeated. I see that such words were spoken and doubted they will be said against, now by Sir William. Some letters come out of Pole are directed to the King by the title of King of Scotland and heir of England. Yet the intention of the sending of his Ambassadors to his friends holds. The want of the gratuity is now their greatest grief, especially that the King should be a beggar for it, as he is made to believe he is both accounted and in a manner termed. And if it be not now had upon his late letter to her Majesty he will never seek it again but call home Robert Jowsy, who some say is already directed to return, if he get it not now presently and moan his wants and griefs to his friends by his Ambassadors to be sent to them more earnestly. I see nothing but these men now about [him] will stir and carry him to these courses. The now Secretary, Mr. James Elphinstone, is judged to be a dangerous man and no friend to the amity. Errol is shooting (but very secretly) to be Chancellor. Here is speech of great preparation in Spain for England or Ireland and that pilots are sent for out of this country to guide them, which if it be true will not need, seeing Spain may serve themselves with the men and ships of this country yet there.

New consultations have been among Huntly's friends in Court how Huntly might be safe in Court. Yet the danger is such and he has such large commission in the north as it is not thought meet or convenient.

The ministers are like to be divided about the device of prelate names cast in amongst them, some of them thinking it meeter to take such titles and have place in Parliament that thereby they may be good for the Kirk than to refuse the title and want that means to do good for the Kirk. Two young men are chosen by the King to be of the preachers here, whom the ministers would not have allowed, about which and the general "platt" for providing living for ministers throughout the whole country the ministers have much conference often with the King. Notwithstanding, these things will not be ended until the General Assembly at Dundee.

Yesterday Patrick Murray rode from hence to receive the castle of Dumbarton in the King's name and to deliver it from the King to Traquair, who delivers it presently to the Duke's servants.

The Earl of Glencairn's daughter whom the Earl of Cassillis (Cassells) should have married is dead, having left in writing that the

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1597-8. Earl's breaking of his troth to her is the cause of her death. This matter Glencairn and his friends quarrel, casting and sending cartels of challenges to Cassillis, as it stands very evil between them.

The laird of Johnstone and William Home (Sir George's brother) passing some hard speeches each to other in presence of the King about a friend of Johnstone's whose escheat William pursues for the 17 of December was a year were both committed to the castle but are now out again and the matter between them quitting. The Lord Ochiltree and Johnstone are going to the Borders again to keep the peace of those parts and to pursue the Armstrongs that were entered pledges upon the general band for the good rule of those parts and lately "brack" ward out of Blackness.

I have had much conference with the party I wrote of to you who says the regard of religion and withholding of his princes from being drawn to or continuing in evil courses move him to yield his endeavours to do that good which before I wrote and not any malice, malcontentment or gains; adding nevertheless that he is not borne to sustain the charge or danger of these and therefore desires that your Honour should acquaint her Majesty very secretly with his services that however things go she may care for him and his adventure and peril may be the better in the meantime regarded and rewarded and for his better assurance thereof that you would write to him to that effect, signifying whether he shall carry these matters by private letters to you or by intelligence with me; but with none else the party will discover himself. For these purposes and to keep all close I send you the cipher enclosed not daring to name him herewith but to name him by my next. Then it may go with secrecy after the safe passage of these ciphers out of this country towards you. By my next you will know the party as also his sufficiency when you see his name. At Edinburgh, 19 January 1597.

Postscript. A privy councillor said to me that if those things the King spoke of in Parliament had been true we had had wars not only with them but with many princes else: so prepared belike it seems they are.

I received your letter to me of the 23 of the last at Berwick by Mr. Governor's servant. I give you most humble thanks for the same being much revived and comforted to see your provision for my entertainment, which I shall be most willing to deserve by prayer and the best service I can make you. For my entertainment I shall according to your good pleasure appoint one to wait on you very shortly, at which time it may please you to help me therewith.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Key to George Nicolson's cipher.)

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A.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.	g.	h.	i.	k.	l.	m.	n.	o.	p.	q.	r.	s.	t.	v.	w.	x.	y.	z.
1.	a.	d.	3.	2.	b.	s.	e.	f.	h.	k.	L.	-*	p.	q.	r.	-*	t.	v.	w.	x.	y.	z.	-*	-*
m.			g.			9.		n.					8.						i.					
4.			0.			m.							6.											

* Symbol.

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	King of Spain	118
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	Cardinal	113
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	Duke of Lennox	111
	Lord Hamilton	110
	Huntly	109
	Angus	108
	Erroll	107
	President	106
	King's Secretary	105
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	Cessford	102
	Buccleuch	101
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	Sir Thomas Erskine	20
	Mr. Aston	29
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	Mr. David Foulis	15
	Lord Home	103

Jan. 20. **119.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 2.

This letter here enclosed, right honourable, came out of Ireland directed to Mr. Bowes. Because it concerns a poor distressed gentleman and my Lord your father may aid I have sent it to your Honour to dispose upon as you shall think fit and convenient. Edinburgh, 20 of January.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1597. xx^mo. Jan. Mr. Roger Aston to my Mr. with a letter of Mr. Robert Constables to Mr. Robert Bowes."

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Robert Constable to Robert Bowes.)

Vol. lxii, No. 21.

It may seem strange unto you to receive this letter from me dated from the Castle of Dunluce (Dounlewse) but such is the will and pleasure of Almighty God to dispose the actions of his servants as best may stand with His good will and pleasure.

Therefore I am at this instant to crave that I may deliver unto you hereby some part of the reasons that moved me to come into this land and some of the occurrents or news of late happened in these parts of this country. It is not altogether unknown unto you in what great debts my father did leave me at the time of his death, since which time I have done my best to maintain the port of a poor gentleman by reason whereof as also by the usury of such debts as I did owe my estate of late growing more desperate than well I could endure without the danger of

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perpetual imprisonment I made choice to venture my life in some of her Majesty's wars thereby hoping to augment my better fortune rather than to end my days in shameful imprisonment.

So in the beginning of this last summer my Lord Burgh (Borow) being made Lord Deputy of Ireland, I then being at the Court offered my best service to be at his disposition, which he very honourably and thankfully accepted, and at Whitsuntide last I came into this land with him. After I had followed him some time in the wars against the Earl of Tyrone (Teronne) by his good favour and means I obtained the charge of 100 foot and fifty horse in the garrison of Carrickfergus.

So it pleased God that upon 4 November last Sir James MacDonell and his two brethren came near unto the town of Carrickfergus and as since they have credibly told me only to have had some conference with Sir John Chichester, the governor, about matters of truce and the restitution of certain goods taken from their tenants in the time of peace. But Sir John Chichester mistaking their intent drew forth the greatest part of the said garrison and went about four miles out of the town where we might see the said Sir James on the top of a hill and his company to our judgment some three hundred or more of foot and horse. Then the governor assuring himself that their company in such sort was for some further intent more rashly than wisely without any great advisement charged them. They, unwilling as it seemed (and as since Sir James has credibly affirmed) to fight against any of her Majesty's forces, did upon our approach depart from that hill to another and so to another hill and so we did pursue them for the space of one mile or more, but in the end when Sir James saw that we pursued him still, notwithstanding he gave us place, and, as since he has told me, there was no remedy for him but either to fight or run away, upon that resolution he turned back upon us and began a very hot skirmish. In the end our powder being almost spent and the governor with one Captain Richard Mansell being both slain our whole company grew so dismayed that some fled and some stood as men amazed till at the last there was put to the sword some 7000 [? 4000]* or thereabouts. The rest escaped by flight being in number not above forty or fifty at the most myself and one gentleman more named Mr. Henry Bankes only taken prisoners being kept here in the Castle of Dunluce by Sir James MacDonell where we are very kindly and well used. But for that it is remote and far off from the Council and State of Ireland and from any of our friends or well-wishers in England I thought it my best at this time having so convenient a means as Sir James himself coming to the Court of Scotland to advertise you thus much, heartily praying you that you will do so much for me as in your next letters to certify my honourable good friend, Sir Robert Cecil, of my imprisonment here and of my want of means ever to get liberty unless it pleases him to be a mean unto my Lord his father and the rest of the Privy Council to direct their letters to the Council and State here in Ireland to have some special care for my enlargement; or else that I might be so much bound unto you as to be a mean unto the King of Scots that he would

* Really about 180. *See* Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III, 290.

1597-8. move Sir James to grant me liberty for some reasonable time until I might myself make suit unto the Council and State here for the obtaining of such demands as he makes for the liberty of myself and of the other gentleman with me.

The demands for our livery are these: first, a . . .* brother of his that lies in the Castle of Dublin a . . .* pledge, and also of delivery or rasing down of the Castle of Olderfleet which stands on a part of his land. This castle is but a little pile and stands in a remote and waste country and is rather a needless charge to her Majesty than of any importance to be continued as by very good reasons I could justly make known if time would serve. As for their pledge he is but baseborn and if that they be or hereafter at any time shall be disposed to oppose themselves against her Majesty's government and proceedings, the holding of him, being but a bastard, would be smally respected.

Thus have I troubled you with a long and tedious discourse but I hope in regard that you have of long time known me as well when I had charge at Berwick as also in the Court of England I have thought it my best course to crave the continuance of your good friendship with your good and favourable help for the relieving and restoring me to my former liberty, wherein you shall wholly bind me unto you during my life. From the Castle of Dunluce in Ireland, this 7 of December 1597. *Signed:* Rob. Constabil.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Jan. 20. **120.** ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.†

Vol. lviii, No. 11. 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 11th 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*] 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

* Tear in paper.

† This letter was incorrectly dated 1596 in Thorpe's *Calendar* and bound up with the papers of that year in Vol. lviii. As such it was described in Vol. XII of the present *Calendar* but a footnote called attention to its probable date.

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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 Elphinstone (Elvestoun), 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 Lord Sanquhar (Sayer). 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 Dingwall (Dengwel) being employed from the King of 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 "lestt" 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 mouths 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:* "1597 (?), 20 Jan. Mr. Roger Aston to my Mr."

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121. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir William Bowes.

Vol. lii, p. 201.

Her Majesty having been acquainted with all your writings knows not for the present in what point to enlarge herself until she hear an answer from the King of her last letter. But for the matter of Buccleuch she likes well that you and Mr. Carey confer together and let him know that upon the condition contained in the writing which you sent up signed with his hand she is contented you deliver him back again, but with this protestation that this entry of his has not been accepted for satisfaction of the breach of Carlisle Castle which is reserved to be perfected by the King himself, when these things subject to the Commissioners' indents shall be dispatched. And therein may you further and as of yourselves deliver that as he may perceive how justly he is already dealt with, so if he become a friend to the state and once begin to do good offices he need not despair both of recovering and conserving her Majesty's good opinion, whereof she shall be able to make judgment by his proceeding now to perform what he shall promise. I pray you let this letter enclosed be sent to Edinburgh and seek to draw some good end of this commission, for it has proved hitherto very tedious both to yourself and chargeable to the Queen. For this time I have no more to say but wish you a safe and speedy return.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "Copie of my Mr. letters to Sr. Will'm Bowes," *and in margin:* "29 Januarii 1597."

Feb. 1.

122. Sir William Bowes to Lord Burghley.

Vol. lxii, No. 3.

By my former letter of 20 January to Mr. Secretary I signified my receipt of her Majesty's address unto the King of Scots, together with some such difficulties as hindered my immediate entry; namely to receive some certainty for old or new pledges and to procure some safe passage through the ill-disposed Borderers, possessed deeply both with the hate of this service and hope of new stirs. To the former of which difficulties I received from my brother the Keeper of Tynedale a note of such names of new and old pledges in his possession as I trust may serve for his part for those of Redesdale. Mansfield continuing still absent not availing my earnest letters, the deputy to this present gives me no certainty whereupon to proceed. Touching the other difficulty of safe passage, albeit Mr. Nicolson procured the King's letters of commandment to Lord Home to see me conveyed, yet heard I nothing of him. Nevertheless, by means of Wedderburn, now Lord Comptroller, I was met near the bound road by Mr. David Home, the Comptroller's brother, and the laird of Ayton, another Home, two religious and learned gentlemen, who with good company and great favour brought me hither to Edinburgh where with some impediment by tempestuous snow I arrived the 28 of the last.

Immediately I made known to the King by Mr. Aston my arrival and address, receiving from him words of favourable welcome. The 29 I made suit by Mr. Nicolson and Mr. Aston to have audience the next

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1597-8. day, whereunto I was after a while answered that I should have presence on Tuesday the last in the afternoon. In the meantime I was visited by the Lord Comptroller and the laird of Kinfauns (Kilfawnes), brother to the Earl of Crawford and Master of the Household to the Queen, both from the King praying me not to think long of the time prefixed as aforesaid to see the King.

Yesterday, being the last, I was conveyed by the Lord President to the King's Chamber of Presence, which was extraordinarily garnished and furnished with attendance, where after very short stay the King presented himself, unto whom after favourably receiving me I signified my address and delivered unto him her Majesty's letters which he instantly read. I observed in the King during his reading alteration in his countenance, yet seeming to me to show rather ingenuity than anger. To whom, after signification of his liking to hear me, I spake to this effect: that his wisdom and experience did well consider that princes like the great light of heaven did by their eminent greatness draw unto them the eyes of all men to set their minds upon continual and curious observation of their actions; whereby, as such attendants did become records of well or ill conceiving, so were they treasuries of honour or dishonour by memory and speech to continue and enlarge such apprehensions communicated with posterity and times to come. By this reason wise princes finding that the world could give them no greater thing than honour, neither hurt them in anything more than by the contrary, have been ever chary and curious over that tender pearl whose lustre the very breath may taint and though it could not impair the substance yet may it blemish the show for the time and so deceive the eye of the beholder, as after cleansing makes not a sufficient amends. But of such like consideration the most excellent Queen, my sovereign and mistress, whose value no words of mine could compass, most furnished and sensible in all notes of true honour, finding herself touched in that high kind by some matters and speeches proceeding from his Highness, had (as I conceived) in those her letters expostulated with him this wrong. Wherein I attended to receive from him her Highness's effectual satisfaction. To this the King answered that indeed she had sharply expostulated with him by her letters some speeches of his which she conceived to have been used by him to his Lords in Parliament. Whereunto his answer must be first in general that, as the Queen notes in him the fault of credulity and forwardness to speak before he had received full knowledge by expostulation thereof with herself, so found he the same reason in like cause to take unkindly that she would so firmly believe such things of him and so confidently condemn him before she had heard from himself the report and acknowledgement of the very truth. In particular he said he had spoken in Parliament or other where concerning her which could give any colour of such conceit no other thing than that the other competitors seeking to advance their own titles before his right (as he was informed) did earnestly solicit of the Queen and Parliament the favour of their own turns and as he had heard divers "myntes" had been made greatly to his prejudice; for preventing whereof it behoved him to try his friends by all good means to

divert this wrong and therefore required assistance of his people to furnish his ambassadors to be employed in this business. Further touch of the Queen he delivered none.

I replied that this her Majesty's information was not grounded upon weak or single report but upon many advertisements from all parts of her Borders, which were drawn to great expectation of troubles by the new hope and confidence which his people gathered and grounded upon his speeches openly delivered in the Parliament time, in sort, as they gave out plainly, they looked for wars to revenge such wrongs done by the Queen of England to their King; and that this conceit of his speeches had not possessed the Borders only but that town of Edinburgh with all the parts of his kingdom; yea, and has passed over into England, was frequent in London and made known to the 3 Estates of that realm so well understanding this surmise to be merely slanderous and dishonourable to their precious Queen, besides injurious to the whole Court of Parliament, as it was received with great and general offence. I added further that besides this touching his title there was also a general and still continuing bruit, drawn from the King's speeches in Parliament, which was a rare and barbarous inhumanity offered to the body of the late Queen his mother, which conceit continues yet strongly in all parts of Scotland, in so far as hardly sundry persons of quality in this town suffer themselves to be otherwise persuaded by the gentlemen attending upon myself here; that this sounds much to the dishonour of her Majesty and her realm and is likewise another point wherein her Majesty thinks herself highly injured.

To this the King answered that it was true that he had heard such bruits to have been spread in his country but protested earnestly that he had neither given credit himself nor occasion to others to believe it as judging it a matter very unlikely. Only he remembered that an honourable personage had openly in Parliament specified that report of his mother's forfeiting and that inhumanity to her body, which speech might peradventure give some occasion to this conceit and imputation to himself. But for his own disposition unto her Majesty he protested a continual willingness in himself to entertain all offices of kindness with very good terms and so largely amplified that point with earnest denial of those charges imputed unto him as I was enforced to receive his answers with good interpretation. Only I took occasion by his mentioning that lord to let him see what dangerous effects his favour and oversight given to privy papists did work; such no doubt having been willing instruments in setting forth such bruits, commending to his consideration how deeply it might prejudice him, the offence growing to the English nation now at this time of Parliament, to have a strong conceit of these 3 errors in him of high quality, namely of special favour to great and conjured papists to the hurt of religion; so great merits requited with such dishonour to their so dear Queen; and lastly so great spoil on the English Borders both in blood and goods as he continually suffers unredressed to the general offence of the whole realm; which errors so much wronging and grieving the Queen and the three Estates gather presently in Parliament, how easily it might induce the Parliament to renew their former offer, so often made to

1597-8. her Majesty, to have in her own hand by Act of Parliament the disposition by way of nomination in her last will of the Crown of England and how justly it might move the Queen to yield to her loving people's request it behoved him to think of with a serious and more than ordinary respect.

The King excused the opinion of these errors temperately, showing his earnest affection and goodwill to England, as having offered in defence thereof against the Spaniard or whatsoever invader to serve in person as her lieutenant with most willing adventure both of his crown and life in defence of her Majesty, her crown and her people; which disposition, as he says, shall well appear, occasion so serving.

I proceeded with her Majesty's other grievances not specified in her letter but mentioned in my instructions, viz. that he was noted by her to have been an actor of the late rough proceedings by foreign princes, namely the Emperor, Poland and the Hanses. Likewise I showed him it much grieved her Highness that he would assure such a rebel as McSorley after so bloody a murder committed on her subjects to come to his presence and to be used so favourably and kindly as is reported. Besides, that her Majesty was informed out of Ireland that Tyrone has much bragged to have written to him that her Majesty knows that he has had it, of all which it never pleased him to advertise the Queen.

To these the King answered in order thus. To the first he protested earnestly that he had not any privity with those princes or the Hanses in any such thing or in any particular that might in any sort trouble the Queen or her estate. Neither did he remember any matter at all interceding lately except matters of courtesy, as hawks and dogs, with his brother of Denmark. To the second, that he had sent for McSorley upon special occasion of his Island matters before the accident of that slaughter near Carrickfergus (Knagfergus). That upon his arrival here, notwithstanding that he had sent for him, yet having knowledge of that foul act he made great curiosity to speak with him, until upon his earnest protestation of his innocency from devising that slaughter (which, said he, grew only on the part of the governor) his Highness was content to speak with him and expostulated with him that act more at large; who defending himself with many circumstances and producing some Englishmen's letters to prove the occasion growing from the governor, he earnestly entreated the King to become intercessor for him to the Queen, which he only so far yielded unto as those reports should be found true which McSorley (McKsorle) had made of his innocency. To the third the King answered that it was true that Tyrone had sent message to him during the time of the Queen's late Ambassador here and had since his departure written a letter to him the effect of all which was no more but congratulations and offers of his service (as the King said) after the Queen's Majesty of England. To all which he made answers to the messengers of Tyrone that he would participate with him in nothing which might be any way offensive to the Queen of England, affirming to me that he would not be wanting to impeach any advantage Tyrone should seek from his kingdom. I replied to the two points last mentioned that her Majesty expected for the strict amity standing betwixt them he should have made known unto her the

1597-8. overtures made by her subjects tending to her prejudice. The King answered that the Ambassador was withdrawn and the matters propounded to him he thought so light as they were not worthy the sending to the Queen.

Lastly, I propounded unto the King how much it displeased her Majesty that the matter of pledges still hang unperfect, because thereby the other notorious outrage of Buccleuch and Cessford is deferred for the personal delivery of the two wardens for the fact, over and above such things as are comprised in the proceedings by way of commission. To this the King answered that the default hereof rested on our side and smiling said he had lately charged me therewithal to the Queen. I answered that I would be right glad to know certainly that his Highness were as well informed in the truth hereof as I hoped her Majesty was. I desired earnestly that he would be pleased to understand those proceedings thoroughly, seeing that doubtless there was a great fault and would still grow greater and greater if it were not first found and then mended. I hoped that that fault would be found rather in us that were the ministers than in their Majesties, only my desire was that it might be well tried out instantly and ended without delay upon my return. The King approved this motion well but because it was then night and this conference had entertained him near 2 hours he deferred it until my next audience; which motion contented me better than to leave so lengthy a business as I knew that to be "wearysomly" in the middest. At which time, said the King pleasantly, he would take his turn to charge me as I had done him. And so for the time I took my leave.

Albeit I have good shows by the great courtiers made unto me, yet I am advertised that they are very willing to cross my negotiation and good opinion with the King, who, as I learn by some persons of credit, has this last night been disquieted with the sharpness of the Queen's letter. I find Mr. Roger Aston ready to do good offices for advancing her Majesty's affairs in my charge. I hope your lordship out of your accustomed favour will commend unto her Majesty my endeavour to serve her to the best in my power. Edinburgh, this first of February, 1597. *Signed:* Will'm Bowes.

5⅓ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Feb. 2. **123.** SCOTTISH ADVICES SENT TO LORD SCROPE.

Vol. lxii, No. 4. Sir James McSorley the Ireland knight came here to advertise the King the form of his proceeding in Ireland, how they thought to have trapped him under "traist." But the matter being tried and come to combat, the victory fell on his side. Therefore, if it should happen hereafter that the Queen should send some greater army in Ireland for the revenge of this or other causes and that he should be constrained to seek his refuge in Scotland he desired his Majesty to be his protector, his sovereign lord, king and master and this was joyfully granted unto [him].

He came here the last triumphing day of this current Parliament,

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He gave a horse to the Queen and conveyed her to the market place of the town. She rode on a horse that day which this knight had before given to the King.

He bought with his money in this town three hundred muskets and hagbuts, six hundred pistols and three tun full of fire lints and the rest of such "pertenents." And besides all this he has borrowed from the nobles and knights of Merse and Teviotdale three hundred expert men in riding, that they may be sent to Wigtown with their saddles and jacks only and he shall furnish them at their coming in Ireland, horse, "buittis" and steel caps, with their sustentation in meat, drink and clothing and in extraordinary pay of money besides.

The honours that day of the Parliament were borne to the Parliament house as the day before. But in the return Angus bore the crown, Huntly the sceptre and Cassillis the sword and Errol (Arroll) rode beside the King with a white baton in his hand as Lord Constable of Scotland.

The Queen's Majesty at the market place accompanied with the Countess of Huntly and Countess of Errol beheld the form of restoring the three Earls to their honours with great noise of trumpets, the company of Lyon King of Arms in his royal coat and all his brethren in their "coittis," by delivering their "pinsels" and standards with their arms and "ditons" therein engraved to such honourable agents as stood there for the purpose.

There is some strife, feared to be again the next Parliament day for Huntly's pretending to be a marquess for Angus and his friends would not suffer that if it be possible.

To obviate all objections that the King of Spain or his lieutenant in the Low Countries may say against our Ambassador that shall be directed there the King is counselled to write to his Colonel in Holland to cause him to retire himself out of that service of the Estates there with his captains and soldiers. He has written also to our ordinary Ambassador there resident, the Lord Conservator, to speak to the Estates in that cause to give them licence to depart home for such necessary causes as he has ado. He has not written to the Estates themselves, as though he may seem to be excusable for contemning of them. What answer shall be given either to the Lord Conservator or to the Colonel shall be kept and given to our Ambassador with his instructions to Spain.

There be divers works coming to light dedicated to the King, some in Latin and some in English, concerning his matter of England.

The King is to ride towards Dumfries again shortly. Some pledges who were incarcerated in the castle of Blackness are escaped by flight. They have slain two watches. Therefore the Lords of Council are "deliberat" to hang the rest that are in prison elsewhere.

Johnstone is here and has spoken the Council. He offers that if it may please them to deliver his pledges back again he shall be a mean to recover those escaped persons again and shall give his own bond for these his pledges that they shall be good in time coming and shall make satisfaction for bygones.

The Ministry will never be at rest. For at the Convention of Dundee for eschewing of all debate and confusion in time coming that should either happen betwixt them and the King or among themselves by common consent an apostolical number were then chosen with full power to decide and to consent for the whole Kirk. Now there be some things consented unto of small importance by these men wherewith some captious heads are not contented but have railed publicly against their authority, alleging that they have done as wicked, partial men some things with the King and Council which are prejudicial to the general state of the Kirk. Plaints are made to the Council hereof. Therefore, it is ordained that a General Assembly of ministers shall convene in Edinburgh the 24 of February instant for this and other causes. Thereat men accused do proclaim in their several audiences that they are sinistrously detracted by certain schismatic brethren whose heads have never otherways been occupied but in dissension to dissolve the peace of the Kirk and the Commonweal.

The laird of Wemyss (Weymes) passing in France by land was charged by his Majesty to carry a letter to the Queen of England importing that his Majesty had thrice written to her before but marvels of her silence, saving only that his man residing there has certified that he can obtain nothing there but delaying answers, therefore desires that delay to be repaired with diligence and a short answer either that she will do it with as good will as it was promised or else to refuse and say nay. For he lets her to understand that he is not born a beggar but rather one to be begged at. There be some circumstances touching the entry of Buccleuch (Baclewgh) and the peace of the Borders of small importance, which I omit untold and so this is the whole sum.

The Lord Secretary [*in margin:* Lindsay] finding himself sick and unable to serve the King in his journeys, as he should do, has resigned his office with advice of the King to another Octavian called now Secretary Elphinstone (Elpheston), which office the King has ratified to him by his privy seal for all the days of his life. So that now the ministers say that his Majesty is guarded with nobles and officers of the Roman crew, and that truly.

The Queen in like manner bears such affection to the Countess of Huntly and the Countess of Errol (Arroll) as that sometime the one, sometime the other, does bed with her, and the Countess of Errol is so far beloved as plurality of her Majesty's kisses do well witness.

Notwithstanding of many stratagems devised against Huntly he escapes them all.

There is a council once each week held by the Octavians and at each other time they talk of his Majesty's title and the new Secretary Elphinstone has caused writ above the Councillors' door these words, *non de jure manu consertum sed magis ferro.*

The castle of Dumbarton is rendered to the Duke of Lennox and the Lord Hamilton shall have the abbey lands of Arbroath erected in a temporal lordship for recompense of his overgiving of that house.

Because it was put in the King's head that in case the Queen of England should storm at these frequent messages it would be a danger that the Lord Hamilton should enjoy such a house which he might

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render to the Queen, and therefore if the King of France should be friendly that house and "heavin" should be a convenient receptacle of French armies to come from Brittany.*

B[uccleuch] is so far superexpended since his entry at Berwick that he has caused sell all his silver plate at the highest rate in this town within these two days.

Sir William Bowes came here 29 January. The Lords of Council convened at Court the last day to sound out his coming and to advise what day he should have presence. That was "decernit" to be this first day of February and to give him short dispatch, fearing that by tarrying the ministers should by privy conference work some "novation" with him. The Lord President was his convoy to Court and from Court. He delivered a privy letter from the Queen, the effects whereof, God willing, I shall make you acquaint shortly, as also with the conference they had at that time.

Ye shall have the Duke of Lennox Ambassador for England, Sir James Chisholm and the Abbot of Inchaffray to the Pope and the princes of Italy, my Lord Seton (Seyton), my good lord and master, for France. Edinburgh in haste 2 February 1597.

Your lordship's man was absent from me 6 weeks and that is the cause of the slow arrival of these.

I pray your lordship that my case that I wrote for in my last be not forgotten to be sent here with the first convenient messenger.

3½ *pp.* *Endorsed:* "2 Feb. 1597. Scottish advises sent to the L. Scroope."

Feb. 15. **124.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Harl. MSS. 851, fo. 76*d.* Calendared at length in *Border Papers*, II, No. 907.

Thanks to the good offices of Nicolson, the attempts to upset the arrangements made between the King, Wedderburn and Bowes about pledges had failed, the King having agreed to a proviso that if Ralph Mansfield could not be had, Bowes should deliver Edward Gray. So, on Monday, Bowes delivered by indent such of the old pledges that could be had, and his brother Henry Bowes, and Ralph Mansfield for those that were lacking.

On the 14th Bowes, with the Governor and Warden, awaited the performance of the Scots indent at the castle during the hours appointed; but the Scots did not come, though Wedderburn waited till sunset at the Bound Road, and a safe conduct had been duly sent by Bowes. About sunset Lord Home sent to speak with the Warden who met him at Halidon Hill. Home said that, according to the indent, he was to choose between Bowes and the Governor to receive the person of Cessford, and that he chose the Governor, commending Cessford as his dearest friend. The Warden replied that Bowes, as the Queen's Commissioner, must be agreeable; Bowes, being unwilling to hinder the surrender of Cessford in any way, agreed to Home's proposal, and Cessford entered into the custody of the Warden and is now in Berwick.

* This paragraph is added in the margin and probably intended to be inserted here.

1597-8. A suggestion was made that Kerr of Ferniehirst should be received instead; but Bowes insisted on exact obedience to the indent.

Bowes is making arrangements for the redemption of his brother and Mansfield. The Queen must now name Scotsmen to file or clear those accused by him for their part in the tumult at the West Ford. He suggests the names of some who are not connected with Home's faction.

He expects Buccleuch's son that day, to remain as a pledge until his father either delivers his pledges or surrenders himself again. The absence of Henry Bowes is unfortunate, for he and Buccleuch had previously co-operated against the Elliots, Armstrongs and others in Liddesdale who had cheated Buccleuch about the pledges. Already, they have had some success; Bowes has arranged that Buccleuch should ask the King for custody of his brother. He himself shall not appear in the matter, which should be kept secret. Berwick, 15th February 1597.

3 *pp. Copy in a contemporary hand.*

Feb. 15. **125.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 5. I received your Honour's letter of the 29 of the last the 5th hereof here at Berwick, whither I followed Sir William Bowes anent the Border causes, about which I have been so tossed to and fro as I have not had time to attend the state of Scotland to make you advertisement as I was wont. But leaving all these Border causes to Sir William Bowes's advertisement I have thought it my duty to thank you for the comfort you give me in your letter by advertising her Majesty's good acceptance of my service, as also to commend the gentleman now by name to your kindness and secrecy. It is L9tv2-*. x9knml. b8xko-*. veg. 114. t2d-*ov7-*z.† who after for avoiding of the troublesomeness of writing his name may be known by this Ib, to whom if you write as he desires you may write for the first to him by name assuring him of secrecy and good regard to be had of his hazard, travails and desert, and appointing him to keep intelligence with you by secret letters and new cipher between you and him, or by my pen, as you shall best please, for he leaves it to your choice protesting neither need nor malice but the good cause moves him hereunto. Your letter to be sent to him would be enclosed safely to me with direction that Mr. Governor send it surely to my hands. I hope your Honour using the party will well account this a good service in me and so declare it as I shall be occasioned to travail to get you like others for other places, as for Spain and Ireland.

Since the coming of her Majesty's letter to the King concerning me the King has been divers times dealt with to distrust and beware of me as a dangerous man and the matters exposulated by Sir William Bowes with him have been said to the King to have been advertised by me. But the King is not yet persuaded to believe evil of me, neither hope I he shall. But I doubt not but to make you good

* Symbol.

† Cipher reads "Mister William Fowler the Estates Low Countries Secretary." But Fowler was secretary to Queen Anne.

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1597-8. advertisements or get your advertisers. Current speeches are in Scotland of the Spaniards' coming,—Tyrone's man that came with McSorley said for Ireland, England and Scotland; his name is John Liston and directed letters to Donald Gorme and the McLeods. The King has written for MacLean to be with him at Edinburgh the next month, pretending it is to have his advice for the bringing of the Islands to his better obedience, but what other business he has with him I know not. The King has sent him withal warrant for his safe return however. He stands yet clear and I persuade myself ready to take arms for her Majesty against Tyrone upon reasonable conditions. The Lord Hamilton was not at the baptism but excused himself by his then dealing in the agreeing of the questions between the Lords Maxwell and Herries (Harris), which is well allowed on. The Master of Glamis is recovering again and is aminded to attempt to change the Court yet, but this will not be shortly but against the D[uke] who is afterwards to be sent to England, whither Mr. Edward Bruce is very shortly to be sent with the King's letter and acquittances to the matters written and laid against the King by her Majesty's letter and Sir William Bowes who was shown what desire there is that Mr. Edward Bruce should be received with favour, the better to effect the King's desires. Your Honour may draw him to be a good instrument in the common cause and your own particular. The Queen came very weary from Stirling and kept her bed in effect 2 days after. She is thought to be with child but only by some of the gentlewomen of her Chamber. From Berwick, 15 February 1597. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

I had presently after the sending of the cipher advertised you the gentleman's name but that I heard your Honour was gone to France. The practisers of Scotland say it is either to hinder the peace between France and Spain or to stir rebellion in France.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Feb. 25. **126.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 6. By my last I commended the gentleman named to your Honour by cipher and by this Ib mark which may still after serve for his name, who upon your letter to be sent for the first by plain name to him to the effects by my former letters certified will enter into intelligence with you or me for your Honour as before I wrote and upon which I intend to draw him to the same as you shall direct.

By my letter with Robert Jackson, customer of Berwick I have presumed to write to you for my entertainment as you certified me for 100 days 100 marks and for 5*l.* of extraordinaries, of letters, carrying, etc., in all 71*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and if you please to make it up 100*l.* upon account by reason of the commodity of the said bearer. Now I have thought it my duty to pray you that whether of these sums you please may be delivered to Robert Jackson to be conveyed to me.

On Tuesday last I returned hither from Berwick where I had been by Sir William Bowes's appointment anent the Border causes which

through his diligent and wise travails are brought to that state now as her Majesty may dispose of them at her own pleasure. The laird of Cessford on Monday professed to me his best endeavours in those behalfs and the laird of Buccleuch presently upon his coming home sent to the King for commission to cast down the houses of, and to pursue with fire and sword, the fugitive pledges of Liddesdale, and intends not to see the King till he has done some service against those strong clans, Armstrongs and Elliots (Ellottes), but is indeed embarking himself in good service for our country near him, wherein he will the "redelier" prevail in case they get no receipt in England. The Queen is very earnest to have the quarrels between these lairds taken up. The King has written and sent very comfortable word to Cessford that he will travail for his relief by all means and with such tokens of good will to him as I hear suspects him to be too much Englishfied. Mr. Mansfield at the first found the King's kindness and was let go upon his word to re-enter again. But the King charged Mr. Henry Bowes with his Liddisdale "rodes" and rests yet to speak more therein to him. Nevertheless, I doubt not but he shall easily bear all and in time have liberty to depart to get and enter his pledges. Sir William's earnest pursuing here of the Border causes may be the cause of this slow favour to his brother. Here has been much ado how and where the 8 pledges should be kept, and in the end the Provost and town of Edinburgh were by proclamation commanded to take them into their custody into the Tolbooth upon pain of rebellion and confiscation of their goods and gear, in respect whereof they took the 8 pledges and committed them to the prison of the Tolbooth, very straitly looking to them that no advantage be taken against the town by their escape, knowing the King to look narrowly to the town ever since the 17th of December 1596, having since that time exempted the castle and his house from their authority and got that neither magistrate nor minister shall be chosen without his consent.

As to this estate of late and now especially at this provincial Assembly of the Kirk here there has been daily much ado anent the Kirk causes, especially the planting of ministers in this town to be divided in 4 parishes and 2 preachers for every parish, for which the last General Assembly appointed their commissioners or any 7 of them to do all things therein with the full power of the General Assembly; as also anent the matter of ministers to have the names of bishops for their allowance of place and vote in Parliament. In the former the King and 7* of the said commissioners, viz. Master David Lindsay, Robert Pont, Robert Rollock (Rollogg), Patrick Galloway, James Nicolson and John Duncanson offered to the 4 ministers of this town, viz. Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Walter Balcanquhall, Mr. William Watson and Mr. James Balfour (Baufours), the place of the ministers of this town *de novo*, as lawfully displaced by the 17 of December 1596 and to have 4 more joined to them to furnish every parish with 2 preachers, which the 4 ministers of the town, as well because they would not acknowledge such a fault as also because of a dislike of some of the 4 to be joined with them, very long and earnestly laboured to have had

* *Sic*, but only six names follow.

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in another sort and therefore desired they might be suspended for answer till the General Assembly to begin at Dundee the 7th of the next, and not the 3rd as before I remember I wrongly certified you. But the King would give no time but urged them to accept or presently to refuse and never to have "entresce" thereto again. Whereon they refused in deed seeking of the King no more but leave that they may transport themselves to other kirks where they may be placed, which the King agreed unto. Nevertheless, the King is content that they preach here these 2 sabbaths yet, but not as pastors. And as to their having place in Parliament by names of bishops much reasoning has been with and against the same, yet turned over to the General Assembly. Sir Robert Melville and Mr. John Preston, one of the Lords of Session, are commissioners for the King in these causes to this provincial Assembly. To-morrow Mr. Patrick preaches in the High Kirk here where the King will be forenoon and after to satisfy the people towards his actions in these behalfs.

The King finding himself pestered with the multitude of the affairs of his estate and little helped by this Council whose degrees he accounts not able to bear the burden of his great causes is determined to choose a Council assistant for the same of great Earls and Lords. [*In margin:* The Duke, Angus, Errol, Montrose, Mar, Home, Livingstone and sundry are named and to serve quarterly for the assistance of the Council.] Herewith I look it shall follow that a Chancellor shall be made. Angus, Errol and Mar all reach for it: but I think it shall be Errol's for he waits most diligently on the King and is entering in his great grace.

In my last I certified your Honour something concerning the Master of Glamis's purpose anent the D[uke], which now I perceive is not true, and therefore [I] have thought good to recall that advertisement as I will always do whatsoever I write amiss, beseeching you my letters and advertisements may be kept close and secret. Otherwise I shall be undone.

Mr. David Foulis in the King's name and in great haste has pressed Robert Walgrave, the King's printer, to print a book in Latin made by Walter Quin the Irishman and corrected by Monsieur Damon concerning the King's title to England that it may be dispersed to foreign princes. But Robert Walgrave deferred to do it until the Acts of Parliament almost done should be ended and with great grief and sorrow, I assure your Honour, told me thereof, lamenting his hard fortune that either he must print it staying here or be undone and he fears "quarrelled" for his life if he refuse it, and printing it grieve his conscience, offend her Majesty and utterly lose his country; almost weeping and wishing that for avoiding of this he might have liberty to return to his own country, which being granted to him he would return and leave all here to themselves to print as they could. Of this I have thought it my duty to advertise you that you may take what course herein you please, which upon your warrant to him shall be secretly and surely obeyed. Quin is also answering Spencer's [Spenser's] book whereat the King was offended. Dixson that taught the Art of Memory in England is I hear answering Doleman [*in margin*

1597-8. *in Cecil's hand:* Query Doleman] and in his answer advancing the King's title, yea by the very words of her Majesty's letters to the King which in any construction may fit the same and which letters are delivered I hear to Mr. Dixson for that purpose. These are also to be done and printed with expedition. I am persuaded consideration might do much with these men.

Here are great speeches of agreement between Spain, France and the Low Countries and a bark newly come from Calais (Callice) bringing word that in a Norman boat of 50 tons, whereof is master a Fleming, there are shipped the richest things that were got in Amiens and Calais (Callace) to be sent into Spain, with which sundry priests and others to the number of 50 or 60 do go, which argues they are indeed upon condition of peace or fear of siege preparing to leave that town.

Here are also great speeches of great Spanish preparations and that the Spaniards have bought some Scots ships and stayed some Scotsmen for their service. McSorley besides sundry things which he solicited here for Tyrone desired of the King the castle of Dunnyveg (Dunovegg) in Islay (Ila), for what purpose may be doubtful, albeit it carry the show for himself and the title he pretends to that land. Angus MacConnell took lately that castle from the King's servants and meant to have taken his son, Sir James MacConnell, who understanding thereof has taken his father and has him in Kint[yre]. The King would have Angus to punish but his son will not deliver him to that purpose but keeps him in perpetual captivity. Now MacLean and Sir James, who is MacLean's sister's son, are like to agree and run a course together, which surely MacLean upon good conditions for him and the King's direction may be drawn for the Queen's service and it were but to recover the Glens which McSorley keeps from Angus and his son. Argyll is now again resolved to travel through England but it will be 7 or 8 weeks first. Glencairn was committed to Dumbarton castle and Cassillis to his castle because they would not give assurance to others. Yet Cassillis has obeyed the King and subscribed the assurance and is at liberty, but not Glencairn. Mr. Edward Bruce holds journey for England within these 8 days I think. Edinburgh, 25 February 1597. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed. Various names and passages underlined probably by Cecil in whose hand are occasional marginal notes.*

Feb. 26. **127.** ACT OF COUNCIL FOR A GENERAL ARMING.

Vol. lxii, No. 7. Printed in *Reg. P.C. of Scotland*, V, 446, 447. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, II, 263.

Act for a general muster and wapenschawing setting out the harness, weapons and armour with which each man is to be armed according to his rent within ten months after publication of the Act. The general muster is to be made on 1 May, 1599. "Given under our signet at Holyroodhouse, the 26 [*sic*] day of February and of our reign the 31 year, 1597. *Per actum Secreti Consilii.*"

1 *p. Copy. The act is entered in* Reg. P.C. of Scotland *under date* 27*th February.*

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128. George Nicolson to Lord Burghley.

Vol. lxii, No. 8.

I received your letter of the 22 of the last month the last of the same with a letter and notes from Sir William Bowes anent Mr. George Kerr and the restraint to be sought to be renewed here for stay of aid to the rebels in Ireland. For answer of your said letter I make bold to present these presents to your lordship, beseeching you to accept my endeavours and pardon my unableness to give you due contentment therein. First, Ib. [William Fowler] is fearful of both life and credit and therefore forbears till he be assured in both by secrecy and of meet regard to be had of him and his adventure by the letter of Mr. Secretary to be sent him as before I certified his Honour. This party protests and I do verily believe that neither need, greediness nor malcontentment but his love to religion and the amity is the motive hereof; so as till Mr. Secretary returns and writes thus to him he dare not adventure; yet in the meantime he will do the best offices he can.

Next, I have sent to John Auchinross lying at Dumbarton for the most part to give MacLean knowledge of her Majesty's pleasure towards him. But I cannot remember that ever my master, who rests with God, promised any certain thing but thankful and honourable dealing and consideration, saving as follows. Indeed it is true that Mr. Secretary about this time two years at Greenwich said to John Auchinross that her Majesty would entertain and make MacLean her pensioner, and in hope thereof Auchinross held himself satisfied for his master and indeed contented him with the 150*l.* then given him, although he alleged that 1000 crowns were promised; which in some sort was so indeed, and that then he looked for that sum. Since which time MacLean expected accordingly a yearly pension and divers times moved my master to that effect. Now, as the matter stands some 200*l.* would both satisfy him and (I think and dare say) bind him to her Majesty's service. And I would not doubt thereafter but to draw him for a small consideration to do a great service, to make an incursion with 3000 men into the rebel's country of Ireland where her Majesty should appoint, to take great spoils on them and some of their houses for her, so as they might have some 500 of her Majesty's trained soldiers with them and artillery, munition and other necessaries for helping to win the houses with, as also to stay a good time there, and to leave what numbers of them her Majesty please with her soldiers in the houses to be so taken or in "barmekyns" to be made hard by them, to make continual assaults and spoils on the rebels and to retire to the English to the "barmekyns" or houses in their safeties; which course would no doubt draw the rebels to a great strait both to attend this service and the service to be made in other parts by her Majesty's other forces against them and possibly humble the pride of those glorying traitors. And in this service, if her Majesty should like it, I would desire to serve, such hope have I in MacLean and in the good success. This 200*l.* if your lordship please to give order to Mr. Lynforth or Mr. Craven in Watling Street to pay here to me, they can presently do it by their letters without any charge of carriage and I shall deliver it with whatsoever letters or message I shall be directed and to his contentment with speed as you shall

appoint. He is written for, as before I have certified by my letters to Mr. Secretary, and is very like to rule Angus MacConnell's people now that Angus is in captivity. And Angus seems seeking his favours. Argyll is to travel but not through England. He has taken his leave of the King and is gone to leave all his friends and living in order and to the charge of Glenorchy (Glenurquhar). I suspect he grows strange because he was no way regarded.

Mr. Edward Bruce has his dispatch, both the King's letter, his instructions and money. He is a gentleman of good parentage, born at Culross, Abbot of Kinloss, one of the Lords of the Sessions and of the King's Council, very religious and especially devoted to the King and his country. He is to deal with her Majesty for her satisfaction in all the matters expostulated by Sir William [Bowes] with the King to procure a certainty for the gratuity, both for the sum and time hereafter. What the D[uke]'s errands are I know not but if Mr. Ed: Bruce get good satisfaction then it is said he goes not. Yet he and his servants are daily providing for the voyage. Mr. George Kerr is indeed come hither. He landed at Eyemouth with one Murray his servant and another tall yellow bearded man with watering eye, having some imperfection near the same towards his nose, on which he wore a black piece. The King knows of and was dealt with for Mr. George Kerr's remission but knows not (he said, as Sir William Bowes can show your lordship who is now particularly advertised by letters herein) what the other is, but takes him for some man in troubles quietly crept home. By what he will hear is too many creeping into this country for surely evil offices. It were very meet some search were here as had power and commission to bestow something to discover and hinder their practices. If the Kirk and town here had been as they were once, his apprehending should have been attempted, for I could have discovered them and did it to some who thought their letters were delivered, and the King in place, it was to be left to the King to do as he pleased. And I could not have dealt but it would have cost me my life.

Lord Sempill I hear is going out of the country by the West Sea to Spain for no good purpose, I dare warrant. My Lord of Spynie (Spina) and Kinfauns (Kilfawnes), the Earl of Crawford's brother, are to go to France under colour to seek of the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane their titles to some lands. For this cause Mr. Ed: Bruce is to seek them licence to pass through England. But James Forrett, the gentleman that sometime followed my Lord Bothwell's causes, has told me they go in other and great negotiation to the Duke of Guise and he is desired to go with them and will go and either draw Spynie to discover the secret plot or learn and discover it himself to your lordship, so as you will consider him. Otherways he says it will be but his charges and therefore will not go. In this it may please you to let me know your pleasure, whether I shall stay or set him forwards.

Upon receipt of Sir William Bowes's direction for the renewing of the prohibition of aid to the Irish rebels I presently sent in word to the King that I was to speak his Majesty in some matters for her Majesty, desiring therefore that I might come to him. Sir Geo: Home

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returned me word that the King prayed me to go deliver the matters to the Secretary, saying were it not that he was upon his bed he would have spoken me therein. Hereon I went to the Secretary, who very freely said it was but reason and willingly went about the same. Mr. Edward Bruce hearing of the matter told the King of some boat going to those rebels and procured present letters to stay the same: the rest to the copy of the proclamation enclosed and to Mr. Edward who is directed to say something in these Irish causes.

As to this Estate the matter projected for assistance of the Council by Earls and Lords quarterly to attend for that purpose is still delayed through the King's other business and rests to be established at his better leisure. These 8 days he has for the most part kept his bed with the pain of a boil ("byle") in his thigh. Notwithstanding, when it was said to him he would not be able to go to the General Assembly, he swore he would go, though he were carried.

This day 8 days according to my last the King came to the High Kirk here and Mr. Patrick Galloway preaching after the end of his sermon signified openly to the people that the King and commissioners had offered their ministers their places, that the ministers had refused, and the King and commissioners not to be blamed; adding that one of the 4 chosen to be an assistant had accepted a place and should be placed unless there could be cause shown to the contrary by true complaints to be made against him. Always, this matter and that of the bishops will receive end now at this Assembly at Dundee, whitherward the King took journey yesterday. If the King had not gone the ministers would sure have prevailed, but now it will go doubtful what will be the end of these things. I leave the certainty of these to Sir William's report and my next advertisement. Edinburgh, 5 March 1597. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

There is another bark to come out of Calais (Callice), whereof one of Wemes in Fife is master. Here is nothing but foreign news that 28 ships are gone into Calais, that the Cardinal's forces are drawing thither and it is whispered that the King of Spain's daughter is there and a league concluded betwixt France and Spain, yet in such sort as the French King will offer her Majesty to be in it if she please, but, however, he will keep it with Spain; that Mr. Secretary should be hereupon returned; that the King of Denmark is to come hither, but this is quietly kept; that the Spaniards will also fortify in Ireland and take with the rebels' help the best towns there towards England and so set upon us on both sides. But God I trust shall deliver us.

Of Buccleuch's getting and entering his pledges to Mr. Henry Lee on Friday last your lordship is certified from the Borders better than I can. Always, the laird has made exceeding good report to the King and all men of our estate and country and of the kindness used to him, much to many men's contentment and I presume will do the best offices he can between the princes.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Proclamation against assisting the rebels in Ireland.)

Vol. lxii, No. 81. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, II, 263.

"Apud Haliruidhous secundo die mensis Martii anno domini j^{m} v^{c} nonagesimo septimo."

Forasmuch as it is understood to the King's Majesty and Lords of his Secret Council that a great number of the clans and others, broken men, his Highness's subjects, inhabitants of the Isles and Highland parts of this realm has of late repaired within the realm of Ireland and there joined in fellowship with the Earl of Tyrone (Tirrewm), O'Donnell (Odoneill) and others the rebellious people of that land and there takes part with them in all their seditious conspiracies against the Queen, his dearest sister, their sovereign, like as sundry of his subjects inhabitants of the sheriffdoms of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Tarbert, Bute, Ayr [and] Wigtown and bailiaries of Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham daily furnish the said rebellious persons with victual, powder, bullet, armour and all other munition for the war, his Majesty with the advice of his said Council ordains letters to be directed to officers of arms in that part charging them to pass to the market crosses of the burghs of Bute, Rothesay, Inverness, Cromarty, Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Tarbert, Ayr, Irvine and all other places needful and there by open proclamation in his name command and charge all his subjects, inhabitants of the Highlands or Lowlands, that none of them by repairing within the realm of Ireland assist or take part with any of the rebellious subjects thereof. Any who have repaired within the same realm to the effect aforesaid are to return to their own dwelling houses with all convenient expedition and otherwise cease to intercommune with the rebels or furnish them any kind of victual or munition or in any other way to minister unto them under pain of treason.

"Extractum de libro actorum Secreti Consilii S.D.N. Regis per me Joannem Andro clericum deputatum ejusdem sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus." *Signed:* Joannes Andro.

1 *p.*

Mar. 15. **129.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxii, No. 9.

Yesterday at noon the Duke of Holstein (Houlster), the Queen's brother, came hither and making himself known to the laird of Robertland sent word to the Queen of his coming. She presently wrote to the King to come home to him and sent for the Duke to come down to the Court. Yet he went not down until supper time conveyed by the Earls of Cassillis and Mar and sundry great gentlemen presently here. He came through England quietly known but no further taken knowledge of than he liked he says. Yet he says it was freely offered him that if he would be known he should have the honour and entertainment appertaining him. But he chose rather to pass quietly without any such note and as a private traveller. This I hear he says with good report of the country.

This letter and note enclosed from John Auchinross to me I send

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you referring the contents to the view of the same and your good consideration. He was gone to his master and is not yet returned. I perceive the letter I wrote to him to give his master knowledge of that your lordship directed me was not come to his hands. I put no doubt but if her Majesty please to employ him in that service, some 200*l.* being very speedily sent as before I wrote to you, for these 2 years, to let him see that he is remembered as her Majesty's pensioner, and some 100 crowns also very speedily sent to John Auchinross, who can deserve a great deal more, [*in margin:* Mr. Craven or Mr. Lynfurth can cause this be presently paid here by their letters] I shall draw him to the service at what time her Majesty shall please; I hope for a less matter than 1000*l.*, her Majesty allowing him what spoils he shall take of the enemy and ever after hold hand with him against any revenge to be sought on him by those traitors, whose acts are too gloriously spoken of here by many, as being grieved therewith and finding heretofore greater overtures and offers rejected. I have been plotting and dealing for this offer of less charge which, blessed be God, is now effected and offered in effect as by the letter you may perceive, trusting shortly to be advertised that a sum may get the matter done with the 200*l.* and 100 crowns presently to be sent and that way to her Majesty's great advantage bring him and her rebels in blood and war; as also I could lay the plot for other small sums to embark the rest of Islanders and Highlanders here in that quarrel, unless the Earl of Argyll, who it may be is not pleased that he was no way acknowledged, and I partly have heard so, yet by MacLean's advice and help much may be done, and I doubt it not. Presently one is dealing with me to commend some offers which I have agreed to do to your lordship and wherein I will write to you as is desired by one George Archibald, to whose report and your good consideration I leave those matters wholly, assuring you of MacLean's honesty and sufficiency and praying you that George Archibald may know nothing of the dealings with MacLean, but that they may be most secret until he discovers it in his own sort and manner when Tyrone comes in hand. But alas! would her Majesty be gracious to me and grant me any suit whereby I might prepare to live in the end but an honest man's life, I might with comfort and courage pursue her services. My master gave me nothing at all but ever meant and said that her Majesty should reward me and my services. Yet he lived not to help me any way, so as I must humbly beseech your lordship to commend my poor estate to her Majesty's knowledge and gracious consideration, in which I have prayed Sir William Bowes to be my help at your hands, and I shall ever pray for your good estate as however I speed I will always do in regard of your former good grace given me.

I have got my Lord Treasurer to direct the proclamation for prohibition of aid to the rebels of Ireland to be proclaimed in all the places mentioned therein and I think it very convenient it were printed and sent into these parts and into Ireland also that the rebels may see the King's holding hand with her Majesty. I have learned so much of Mr. George Kerr and the man come with him as I dare almost assure you that the man that came with him is called either Grere or Grereson,

a soldier come up in the wars and born in the West of Scotland and not the Cardinal's secretary. Therefore that intelligence given in that behalf would be enquired of again.

Mr. Francis Dacre had little countenance showed him by the King but directed to come hither and stay the King's coming. He speaks very despitefully of the Spaniards, saying that he was moved to deal in some matters which were against his conscience and therefore came from among them hither, where he is making all the means he can to have the King deal with her Majesty for her grace to him. I do not understand of any practices come in with him. And yet the speeches were that the Earl of Westmoreland should be come in then also, which cannot be true so far as I can perceive, neither has there been anything of him this way since he wrote to the King the offer of his service and for leave to come hither as I hear for the like purpose of seeking her Majesty's grace as Mr. Dacre intends.

It is told me that the Queen here has by way of a glory said that her cousin, the King of Spain, had made many great offers to the King for her sake. But of this or the offers, if there be any, I know nothing.

To-morrow Mr. Edward Bruce takes journey for our Court where he will be about this day "sennight". I hear at many hands that he goes resolved to do the best offices he can between the princes.

This Estate is very quiet, the kirks of St. Andrews and this town placed with ministers again. The General Assembly has charged the 4 old ministers to their places in this town, with liberty to Mr. Robert Bruce to choose any of the 7 for his colleagues, as Sir William Bowes at good length can show you, together with the hard reasoning and contradictions in the ministers amongst themselves. The ministers are to have to the number of 50 or thereabouts place and vote in Parliament. The last commissioners of the General Assembly are continued with change of four and addition of some more to make them 21; and all other matters and these are to be advisedly thought on and in June next at a Convention to be appointed by the King concluded and ended. But I cannot believe but that the bishops shall be yet established. The Sessions ended yesterday and sit not down till 15 May. In this time all things will be quiet here. The King will hold his justice courts in Haddington, Peebles and many other places of the country, who think themselves oppressed with such charges and the late taxation, as now great grudging is "amost" amongst all men, some blaming the Octavians, some the courtiers, but all saying the King's part will be the least. The King's Chamber and some noblemen repine at the Octavians, as surely I see not but in time there will be some alterations here. The quiet shooting of some for the Chancellor's place as before I wrote lies over. The Earl of Errol used so many means for reaching to it as the King has noted, as I hear, that he is not the man he took him for, neither in wisdom nor otherways. Angus, now that he has his peace, withdraws himself from the society of Huntly and Errol accounting that they did for themselves and left him out to pay for all their faults, which they did indeed, has pretended to seem that he will leave Huntly to see if that way he would get favour for the office. But all in vain

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It may please your lordship that the matter I wrote of James Forrett may be kept close and mark whether Mr. Edward Bruce seek for such licence for the other gentlemen or no, and therein your lordship direct what James shall do.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, with address.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.
(John Auchinross to George Nicolson.)

Vol. lxii, No. 91. Your letter I received desiring to know the estate of those of the Isles. Ye shall understand that Sir James McSorley at his being last at Court with his Majesty did send letters direct from the Earl of Tyrone (Teireone) and himself to McLeod (McCloyed) and Donald Gorme MacConnell desiring their aid this summer, as also to travail with MacLean (McClayne) my master to "pak" up the quarrel betwixt the Earl and him. To that effect McLeod travailed with him in January last, who received answer in this form, that then he was not resolved and that he should travail with his honourable friends and give answer betwixt and the first of April. It is of truth that McLeod is to be at him again within ten or twelve days to what effect I know not. I understand that there is further commission directed from the Earl now of new since the passing home of Sir James McSorley. Brother, to be plain with you, if my master would be tempted, he is divers time "assaltit", yet [I] assure you he is constant without that now ye "tin" him for fault of remembrance and sending of a token to him and that with expedition. He is on this ground that if any mean might be had to cut the Earl off the game were won. And yet he understands that none will "mell" therewith during his present prosperity. And if he were touched with some point of adversity it might fortune that some of his own company would convoy the same. Now to have him touched and grieved in heart there would be a strength had in Lough Foyle (Lochfeull), which we know may be well done with little help seeing the ground of good strengths is there. And we think that our being there a month with some of yours with us having "pyenaris" [pioneers] and other small necessaries which easily may be had this strength may be made good. So we understand having a ship and a little pinnace and their ordnance with us this strength may be made and in the meantime our men to run forays to trouble the country; the which doing hereof your companies would be prepared to enter on the Earl on the other side; so it is he will be forced to attend on one side or other. Our ship and boats will be our safety when we do not our party much good on land. If he look to us or face us in this time your companies may be the more easy in their going forward. If he attend on your forces we shall be found busy in the bounds where we be. Now the strength being made thereof, with the grace of God there is no doubt I think the having of two or three hundred men therein with their ship and pinnace beside them and other small boats to transport them, as they think to direct of their number some times to land on one part, some times on another part on

1597-8. the sides of Lough Foyle as vantages and occasions may be had, this form would touch the Earl to the heart and trouble him so that by our opinion a mean or other would be had to make you quit of him. Brother, this [is] our faithful counsel, in the which we will venture ourselves. Wherein if ye found a doing against him we will no way yield to bury the quarrel with him. Otherways, if we found you slack herein and in his pursuit, we will do the next best in our own turn with him. Wherefore, Brother, with diligence let me know what is to be done herein. In the meantime it is necessary that a token be sent to my master. Thereby he may know of your intent and stay him that he be not tempted by these messengers from the Earl and Sir James. [I] earnestly pray you to have my duty remembered to my Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert. Assure them of my honest and true service in this action. From Duart, the first of March, 1597. *Signed:* J. Achinros.

I will be in Dumbarton again the 13 or 14 of March.

If ye go forward to the taking of the strength in Lough Foyle your men may be easily furnished of anything they need from this part of Scotland and as ye like ye may have of our men with them. As ye desire to go forward in this turn a proper and perfect ground and form shall be set down and with the grace of God kept to her Majesty's honour and profit, which now I leave to further occasion. *Signed:* J. Achinros.

1½ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed:* "Dowart, first, Edinburgh 9° Marcii 1597."

On a slip of paper attached:

Further, Brother, if we have to do with service we have sufficient mean to invite McLeod and sundry others to follow our way and to leave the Earl and Sir James. [I] assure you, Brother, we may do this. And seeing that my master upon a small acquaintance has kept an honest part to her Majesty, looking to have been acknowledged as her pensioner, which was promised as I showed him, I look now the same will be considered in some measure. *Signed:* J. Achinros.

Holograph.

Mar. 16. **130.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [LORD BURGHLEY].

Vol. lxii, No. 11. *One, Mr. John Archibald, servant and especial dealer in the laird of Glenorchy's (Glenurquhar's) causes and one who was used by my master and gave him good pleasures anent the Irish causes with the Highlanders here, has directed this letter enclosed* to me with the offers therein, which his brother, this bearer George Archibald, will deliver at more length and better to your lordship's satisfaction, with whom I have thought good to write to you and to commend him and those offers according to Mr. John's request to your lordship's good knowledge and consideration. I assure you that Glenorchy is a very honest and honourable gentleman of great wealth, credit and power to do much indeed in those services. In Mr. John's letter L signifies his name and this bearer having occasion of merchandize, being for this somewhat regarded, will be a furtherance to these and larger offers.

*See No. 341 *infra* for this letter enclosed.

James VI.
1597-8. I leave these to his report and credit and him to your good consideration. Edinburgh, 16 March 1597. *Signed:* George Nicolson.
¼ *p. Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

Mar. 20. **131.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO JOHN CAREY.

Vol. lii, p. 203. Whereas since the death of our cousin, the Earl [*sic*] of Hunsdon, your father, late Governor of that town [Berwick] the place has been void of a noble person meet for the same but yet we have found you very careful in the charge committed unto you for the ruling of that town, whereof because of the great burden therein requisite for such a place you have oftentimes made request to be delivered, which we have forborne upon good proof made of your good service therein, until now finding it not reasonable either to burden you any further or the place to be destitute of some person of greater calling, we have [made] choice of the Lord Willoughby of Eresby, a Lord of Parliament, to take the charge of that town as Governor thereof. Therefore we will and require you at his coming thither to cause such instructions as were left upon the death of your father for government of that town and garrison with the books of the establishment signed by us, joined with the statutes of the town, to be safely delivered to the said Lord Willoughby in presence of such as [are] authorised to be of the Council of that town to whom you shall signify this our pleasure to accept him as Governor in like sort as your father and before him the Earl of Bedford and the Lord Grey of Wilton held the same; and that you in the same presence do minister unto the said Lord Willoughby the oath to be made to us, as by the statutes is specially limited. Dated at Westminster, 20 March 1597.
¾ *p. Copy in the hand of one of Cecil's clerks. Headed:* "A copie of her Majesty's letter to Mr. John Carye to minister the oath to the Lo. Willowghbye being appointed go: of Bar."

Mar. 20. **132.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR ROBERT CAREY.

Vol. lii, p. 204. Whereas you have of late time occupied the office of the East Wardenry by our commission granted to you to hold during our pleasure and you have been desirous to be eased thereof; and for that the same office has been heretofore held commonly by a nobleman of the realm jointly with the government of Berwick, as [it has] been by our late cousin your father, the Lord of Hunsdon, and before by the Earl of Bedford and the Lord Grey of Wilton; we have found it convenient at this time for our service to make choice of a nobleman, a Lord of Parliament, the Lord Willoughby of Eresby, to have both the office of the government of Berwick and to be our Warden of the East Wardenry. Therefore we will and require you upon the sight of our letters patent to the said Lord Willoughby to yield the said office of Wardenry unto him and to acquaint him with the state thereof in the presence of some such gentlemen of service as be resident in the said

1597-8. Wardenry and to deliver unto him the knowledge of all suits depending either betwixt our subjects amongst themselves in the Warden's courts or betwixt our subjects or any of the Scots for causes not determined in the days of truce and for the ending thereof to give him your advice and assistance from time to time. Dated at Westminster, 20 March, 1597.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of one of Cecil's clerks. Headed:* "A copie of her Majesty's letter to Sir Ro: Carye to yield the wardenrye of the Est marche to the Lo: Willoughbye."

Mar. 20. **133.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO LORD WILLOUGHBY.

Vol. lii, p. 205. Whereas we have appointed you by our commission under our great seal of England Governor of Berwick, we have thought it convenient to have you informed as we have done by our Council of sundry things very requisite for your information and direction, whereof we doubt not but you will have regard to see such orders as have been by our Council remembered unto you duly observed and sundry errors and abuses of late years crept into that government, even to our dishonour and danger of the town, readily reformed. For the more certain execution thereof you shall at your repair to the said town confer with such as be appointed councillors there for that government and requiring the sight and perusing of the books of the orders and statutes of that town and the form of the establishment and charge signed by us you shall with their assistance see to the observation of the same throughout as well for such things as shall appertain to your office, to the which you are to be sworn, as to the performance of the duties of the councillors and officers and of all captains and soldiers and all other ministers by our said statutes and establishment appointed and allowed. And forasmuch as it is necessary at your first entry to have the state and strength of the town known to you, we will that you cause presently special musters to be made of our whole garrison there and of all persons that are allowed any payment or wages and that all abuses commonly committed in mustering and viewing of soldiers, whereof you have seen too much experience in the Low Countries, may be avoided; and upon the said musters to cause troops and rolls to be made of the same with the qualities of the persons and their furniture and the same books signed and subscribed by you and our Council there with the Comptroller and Clerk of the Check to be sent unto us or our Privy Council with further information how you purpose to reform any abuses. [Detailed instructions follow as to those who are to be entered in the Queen's pay according to the statutes; and the number of 56 appointed to have pensions.]

You shall further understand that about the 6th year of our reign, when we published divers new ordinances for the government of the town, we did for the defence thereof besides the forces of our frontiers appoint to have in readiness 2000 men more furnished with armour and weapons to be prepared to come to the defences of the town upon any urgent and special occasion, of which number 400 were appointed in

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the bishopric of Durham and 1600 in the county of York; since which time great alteration has necessarily followed, not only by the death of the captains or most part of them but in all likelihood also of the particular soldiers then levied, and the rather for that, thanked be God, there has been no occasion offered to have the use thereof by reason of the good peace betwixt the realms. Yet, nevertheless, for more security we mean with the advice of our Council to renew this preparation of the like numbers and to make choice of sufficient captains and leaders to be in readiness in the bishopric and Yorkshire to repair upon any necessary occasion to that town under your government, over and above such succours as ought to be yielded you for defence of that town out of the two Wardenries of the East and Middle Marches.

We think it good to remember you that by our patent you are appointed by special words to be Governor of the town of Berwick with the tower upon the bridge there, which tower is to be kept for the safety of the bridge; and if the care thereof have been discontinued we will and charge you to renew the guard and custody of the tower for the safety of the bridge and the free passage out of the mainland of Northumberland and our said town. Given at Westminster, 20 March 1597.

4 *pp. Copy in the hand of one of Cecil's clerks. Headed:* "A copie of my Lo: Willoughbyes instructions being appointed by her Majesty to be Governor of Barwicke."

Mar. 22. **134.** KING JAMES VI TO LORD GRAY.

Egerton MSS. 1819, fo. 120.

"To our traist cousing the Lord Gray."

Our dearest brother the Duke of Holstein (Holsatia) brother german to the Queen our dearest bedfellow, being come within our realm to visit us, his sister and our children, and therewith to occupy the time of his remaining in sighting of the towns most worth our honour, craves that we be careful of his princely respect and entertainment in all the parts and places of his progress. And seeing he takes journey upon Wednesday next the 29 day of this instant and that his diet is set down to dine with you at Fowlis upon Monday, 3 April next, and to night in Perth, we have thought meet to give you this foreknowledge of it by our letter and therewith to request you to meet him and his train that day within six miles to Fowlis, accompanied with a convenient number of your honest friends, well mounted and in good array, convey him to your house and see him entertained therein, every way as ye would do ourself or our said bedfellow in person. Not doubting but ye will both interpret our employing you this way to as great honour to you as it is meant by us and endeavour you to let it so appear by whatsomever treatment ye can possibly devise to make him welcome and well used. Thus we commit you to God from Holyroodhouse, the 22 of March 1597. James R.

1 *p. Copy in a late hand.*

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1598.
Mar. 29.

135. GEORGE NICOLSON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxii, No. 13.

Albeit there are few matters of moment to advertise your lordship, yet to perform my duty I have thought meet to present you with these mean lines and advertisements. The Earls of Angus, Huntly and Errol came to the Assembly at Dundee and made protestation of their sincerity to the religion and their readiness to do the best in their powers for the same. The King has since his return from Dundee thought more and more hard of Mr. John Davidson's protestation, which was that that Assembly was not a fit assembly nor lawful, neither yet sundry Assemblies before, and therefore that nothing done therein or in the late former Assemblies should anyway prejudge the Kirk; and thereon sent Mr. David Magill and Mr. William Melville, two Lords of the Sessions, to accuse Mr. Davidson to his presbytery of Haddington for that protestation and to take order with him for the same. But Mr. Davidson being absent this day "sennight" they are again sent this day to Haddington for that purpose. Besides the King has used many words arguing great anger in him against Mr. Robert Bruce and such others as reasoned against his mind and purpose in that Assembly. And yet in case the ministers should yield freely unto the King for the setting up again of bishops in my opinion the greatest "ple" would be between the King and nobility who have the bishops' lands in their hands and will be [loth?] to leave them.

The King marvels much and is nothing well pleased that Sir Robert Kerr should be removed from Berwick to York, being given to understand that he had offered his whole pledges for his release and was refused. Sir Robert's friends seem to marvel and to be much more grieved thereat, saying Sir Robert is as worthy favour as Buccleuch and as if they would have it thought that Buccleuch had great favour and were in especial dealings with England. Buccleuch sent the laird of Cranston to purchase the King's letters to Mr. Governor for release of his son, seeing his pledges are entered according to his duty, as also to Mr. Edward Bruce to move her Majesty for his son's liberty in case Mr. Governor shall not deliver him; which letters are obtained and sent for that purpose to the laird, who is written for by the King to be here.

The Lord Home has advertised the King that Bothwell is come through England to Dick Davy's house on Esk and now the speeches are that he is come into Scotland and that the Duke of Holstein (Hulster) has got his peace, but not true. Indeed the Earl of Mar afar off tried the King's mind towards Bothwell but found no will in the King to harken to any such motion, neither as I hear has the Duke used any words but rather to his disgrace than otherways. Yet that the Duke should not be by any means moved to speak for Bothwell or his sons, the King has given express commandment to the rector and ministers of St. Andrews that Bothwell's children should neither make harangue, give in petition nor yet speak the Duke all the time he is to be there. The King hears that Bothwell spoke with Mr. Secretary in France but is neither contented nor out of suspicion therewith. The provost of Lincluden (Lynclowden) and Justice Clerk, I hear, are presently treating to agree Sir George Home and James Douglas, last laird of Spott.

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1598.

Andrew Kerr of Newbottle (Mr. George Kerr's brother) assures me upon his credit that his brother is come home, will not practice nor never will deal in such matters again, as also that none save Grere and Murray came with Mr. George, saying he had given Mr. Governor of Berwick like assurance. And surely I believe him for the 2 that came with him spoke both of them natural Scots.

Mr. Francis Dacre on Friday meeting me on a sudden in the street protested upon his soul and salvation that he had no practice in hand but only his purpose to seek for her Majesty's grace in all humility and by all the means in his power.

To-morrow the Duke of Lennox attends on the Duke of Holstein over the water to St. Andrews, Dundee, St. Johnstone and other places by the way as the Lord Sinclair's, the lairds of Lundy (Lundee) and Tullibardine (Tullybarne), and possibly to the Earl of Montrose, and to meet the King at Stirling about Thursday "sennight". I hear, but very secretly and uncertainly, that the Bishop of Aberdeen is to go away with the Duke about the 20th of next month in embassage to Denmark and Germany anent preparing their minds and knowing what aid they will make the King to his title in case of need, as also that the King of Denmark will be very soon here and then more thought on and concluded anent that matter, about which will be the Duke's chief employment to her Majesty as I hear.

The Lord Ochiltree is to return to the Borders again upon the charge of the country, which amongst many is also repined at, as I think the King must think of some others to serve that place of lieutenancy without such charge, which I suspect will be thought meetest to be the Earl of Angus, who if it come to that, I hear, will give good assurance to do all the good offices he can between the countries and be a good man hereafter. It is thought there is or will be a perfect friendship between him and my Lord Hamilton.

The Earl of Huntly, I have heard, looked to have had allowed that part of the taxation which he and his country is to pay towards his building of Strathbogie (Straboggy), but I hear he is charged to gather and bring it in for the Bishop's charges in the embassage aforesaid.

All foreign coins are to be cried down again to a lower rate and the mint to be set up freshly again. Whereat is no small discontentment. The Chamber, I hear, are not pleased with the Octavians, nor some of the honestest Octavians pleased to see that they can do the King no better service, but sorry to see the King carried by his Chamber to neglect his own good and run such courses. Some of which Octavians I hear would have the King appoint an honest nobleman to be Chancellor and to commit his affairs solely to him and them, that either they may do him good service or leave their places to him, which I hear some would gladly with favour be quit on. The President would have my Lord of Mar to be Chancellor for that purpose, who knowing the perils incident thereunto has no will to deal for it. Yet Errol labours for it by all means. But the nobility, country and all estates therein are displeased at both the Chamber and Octavians, accounting

1598. themselves oppressed by taxations, new customs, new coins and crying down of the silver, etc., and the King and them all misused. In so far as I know not what these matters will produce unless sudden and hasty changes in time, which I cannot choose but fear. And yet the Chamber are "platting" to have some of their friends of the nobility preferred to offices of the King for their better standing.

The Islanders come not in, neither give their obedience, looking for troubles between her Majesty and the King and for changes in the Court here to occupy the King so as he cannot attend them. This I hear. Argyll is not yet gone but may possibly be stayed to help these matters. I have seen a letter in answer of Donald Gorme's written by a friend of his here, by which I perceive he is looking and harkening what may come of the matter between her Majesty and the King, that if they agree not he may be in less doubt of the King's pursuit and so hold out, claim his title to be Lord of the Isles and seek to her Majesty for her favour and renewing the old bond he has to show that was between her Majesty's predecessors and his, and presently now pursue Mackenzie (McKenye) for executing McLeod of the Lewis; that for these causes he is agreed with all the Islanders and can have agreement of MacLean by McLeod of Harris's means. To these it is answered that the Queen and King are not yet fallen out, but rests on Mr. Edward Bruce's speed and the Duke's to be sent after him, of which he shall have true word, that it will be good he reserve himself for her Majesty's favour and that agreement; that in any case he agree with MacLean and all the Islanders and keep quiet till that agreement be perfect, that he come not in but keep out and appoint a meeting with the writer of the letter in a safe and quiet place where the writer will commit that to his ear that he will not commit to his sight by paper. And if there were cause as by last I wrote I could draw sundry offers to be made towards Ireland and otherways for her Majesty's service. Albeit I have not the allowance to deal and condition for such services to her Majesty, yet I reserve them in store to be used as occasion shall be offered. I beseech you that I may be excused in case I write not so sufficiently of the estate here as may be looked for, because it is impossible to do something with nothing in these parts and I have had neither of my master or otherways any enablement to do that service that my heart desires to do for her Majesty. But if I had indeed good encouragement I would aim at that I know would not be looked for at such a man's hands as mine.

On Saturday "sennight" a laird of the Merse (Mars) wrote hither that 20,000 Spaniards landed at Portsmouth, and England in such a fray thereat as they knew not what to do; that posts were come withholden to Berwick to show the same there. This to let your lordship see how subject these people are to such reports. I refer all others to Sir William Bowes's larger report. Edinburgh, 29 March 1598. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address.*

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[? 1598, *c.* Mar.] **136.** QUEEN ELIZABETH'S INSTRUCTIONS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxii, No. 12.

Her Majesty will have that left out that mentions the burning of the body of the King's mother because the Ambassador did only speak of some indignities and that in general terms as the King was informed that [had] been done towards him.

Her pleasure is likewise there shall be mention made of the assurance the Ambassador did give her Majesty of all kindnesses from the King and his earnest desire to depend on her favour.

The sum demanded by the Ambassador is 9000*l.* Her Majesty yielded only to 3000*l.* by the year as is expressed in the letter. What the King has received at any time above that sum has proceeded by way of presenting the King and of gift.

In the conclusion of the letter her Majesty would have Nicolson take knowledge of these her answers and directions as from her Majesty.

⅔ *p. No address or endorsement.*

[1598, April 1.] **137.** ROGER ASTON TO EDWARD BRUCE.*

Vol. lxii, No. 15.

Understanding this letter of his Majesty to be sent to you I thought good by these few lines to let your lordship know that there is no news since your departure. That which troubles his Majesty most is the straight handling of Sir Robert Kerr both in his transporting and refusal of your lordship to speak with him, which stirs his Majesty as you may perceive by his letters. You have much to do. God grant that you may sail in calm seas, that after these great storms we may have fair weather and the causes of the storms removed. I will assure you upon the entry of Mr. Bowes and Mr. Mansfield, which is the 21st instant, they will be straighted if no order be taken with Sir Robert in the meantime. His Majesty is gone to Stirling to meet his good brother who is gone to visit the towns upon the coast side and is to be in Stirling the 6th of this month to see the Prince and so comes to Leith to see the Princess there. After he will depart to his own country. We hear no further word of the King's brother's coming as yet. We now expect to hear from you. God send us good news and you a good entreatment to do good offices, wherein I know you will want no good will. Our ministers of Edinburgh are well settled, both the old and the new. The King and Kirk are like to settle all things very well, except Mr. John Davidson who is more ceremonious than need. Because I fear you cannot read my hand I end, etc. Roger Aston.

1 *p. Copy. Addressed:* "To the Ambr." *No endorsement.*

[1598, April 1.] **138.** ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

Vol. lxii, No. 16.

For news here is none. We are now entertaining the Queen's brother

* The letter is described in Thorpe's *Calendar* as directed to George Nicolson but the King's letter referred to is apparently that which follows to his own Ambassador.

with great drinks. That which was stuck most at is the removing of Sir Robert Kerr and so kept as he may neither speak nor write without sight of others. His Majesty gave licence to Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Harry Bowes being delivered for the same cause to depart upon their word. They will be straitly handled at their return if Sir Robert be not delivered according to the indent. He offers to deliver his pledges, and yet cannot be relieved. What the meaning of this is, God knows. I fear the worst. God send us peace and quietness and that my Lord Ambassador may do some good offices between the princes. His Majesty and the ministers are well settled, except two or three curious fellows. We hear no word of the King of Denmark's coming as yet. We have enough to do already, we desire no more, etc. Roger Aston.

½ *p. Copy. Headed:* "To James Hudson. Abstract." *No endorsement.*

April 1. **139.** KING JAMES VI TO EDWARD BRUCE.

Vol. lxii, No. 17.

As we gave you in one of the articles of your instructions to acquaint the Queen, our dearest sister, with the proceeding of our Border matters and to solicitate the relief of Sir Robert Kerr and Buccleuch's son, so there is occasion given us unlooked for to complain that we are evil and unhonestly used in the person of the said Sir Robert who, albeit he had his pledges in a readiness and we most ready to have delivered them for the performance of the indent and procuring his own liberty, not only was his first offer misregarded but he transported within the country and so straitly kept as he cannot have any advertisement nor mean made for the recovery of his pledges fugitive without the same be first communicated to his keepers. As likewise you know what difficulty was made to yourself and how you could have no language of him, thinking thereby to unable him to enter his pledges and so to be detained at their pleasure. Wherefore we think if there is neither regard had to the performance of indents, delivery of pledges, giving or receiving redress nor continuance thereby of quietness betwixt the countries, but rather in particular malice our disgrace sought in misusing of our officer, we think if our pains and travail taken in bringing these matters to the perfection they are at had not merited favourable and courteous meeting on her part yet our voluntary and free dismissing home again of her Keepers of Tynedale and Redesdale upon their simple word without either bond or pledges, should have deserved that our Warden should not have been ungraciously entreated. Therefore you shall inquire what her meaning is, if it be quietness and good order she craves or otherwise our disgrace and revenge of particular injuries picked at the pleasure of any person, and that she will either direct the said Sir Robert back to Berwick again and cause that his pledges be received and his person freed according to the indent, or else discharge all that hath proceeded heretofore and either of the Borders to be at their advantage, in which doing we shall not have so great loss as we have had loss by such unthankful acquitting of so grateful behaviour. So in this expecting

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1598. a resolute answer with all convenient diligence we commit you to God, etc.

1 *p.* *Copy, headed:* "The K. to his Ambr. 1 of Aprill 1598."

April 12. **140.** MEMORANDA CONCERNING BORDER AND SCOTTISH AFFAIRS.

Vol. lxii, No. 18.

Orders to be given in her Majesty's Border affairs.

To treat with the Scottish King or his Ambassador.

At what time and place the pledges for the two Teviotdales shall be delivered to the Queen to satisfy the indent of the late Commissioners to be as caution for paying the bills filed upon their surnames.

How the King will yet satisfy the indent under his hand already broken in that Lord Ochiltree delivered not the pledges of his West March or his deputy warden at Tarras Water (Tordaie Wath) upon the first of March.

Who shall answer as Warden for the Middle March of Scotland in the absence of Cessford? And who shall answer for the West March of Scotland?

Order to Lord Scrope and Lord Eure.

That Lord Scrope and Lord Eure set down their exceptions in writing against such points of the Treaty as they approve not, so as according to the validity thereof the Treaty may proceed or be reformed.

Secondly, that the said Lords deliver in writing the names of such pledges as they or either of them have received of Buccleuch, setting down their approbation of such pledges to the end that according to the indent made with Buccleuch at Berwick, 15 Feb. '97, her Majesty may either acknowledge satisfaction for the said pledges and redeliver his son, or Buccleuch may be summoned to enter again according to his said indent.

That their lordships set down their opinion for re-peopling the waste grounds and exceeding decays of Tynedale and Redesdale under Lord Eure and Bewcastle and Gilsland under Lord Scrope.

Order to the Marches in general.

That all displeasures betwixt any of the Wardens and the gentlemen of the country or betwixt one gentleman and another be ended.

That all bonds or kindnesses made by the English with the Scots without the Warden's privity be renounced.

That the Wardens be "indelaiedly" dispatched to their charges and be ready to order their pledges: to defend their people: to renew the interrupted course of justice: to hold correspondency one with another agreeable to the order hereafter specified.

That the Middle and West Marches be furnished with convenient forces and order given how those forces shall be employed when justice of Scotland side is denied or delayed.

That a Border Council be established the more part whereof to be resident at Berwick or that a commission be granted to the Governor of Berwick, to the Wardens of the West and Middle Marches and to the

1598. Marshal, the Treasurer, the Master of the Ordnance, the Gentleman Porter and Chamberlain of Berwick to join in one general cure of the whole Borders in uniform correspondency one with another to attend the defence of her Majesty's people, redress of murders and recovery of their spoils by way of reprisal agreeable to the Treaty or the statute laws of this realm in such attempts wherein justice is denied or delayed, first by the Warden, then by the King.

That her Majesty may give instructions to explain and limit this commission, giving order to the Governor of Berwick upon just occasions to employ some of the garrison at times and places and occasions found fit by the said Commissioners or four of them, whereof the said Governor or the said Wardens to be one.

That the said instructions may contain the necessary rules of lawful reprisal *gentium jure* set down by the civil lawyers; also agreeable to the statute 4to Henrici quinti and not contrary to the Treaty standing still in force.

That the said Commissioners order the matter for the pledges with all other particulars necessary for settling the Borders in quiet, attending likewise and giving order to the more important occurrents upon any of the Marches, as an established Council until the said commission shall be ended.

To be mutually performed by both the princes.

That the Treaty made by the Commissioners be confirmed by the princes as their Acts under their Great Seals.

That certain times and places be set down when and where the Wardens of both sides shall meet to do justice instantly for the instant attempts and "indelaiedly" for the old.

To Mr. Nicolson in Scotland to be answered.

Offers of MacLean (McKlayne) for Donald Gorme to serve in Ireland presented by letters from Auchinross.

Offers for the laird of Glenorchy (Glanorchie), a Campbell, for service in Ireland.

The particulars of both the aforesaid remain in writing with the Lord Treasurer and the answer thereunto earnestly solicited by Mr. Nicolson for the first and one Archibald, Scotchman, for the second.

Likewise Mr. Nicolson desires answer in the matter certified by him concerning the printer at Edinburgh.

1 *broad sheet of paper. Endorsed:* "Border affaires," *and in another hand:* "1598 Aprill the 12th." *A copy with the exception of the directions to Nicolson is amongst the Border Papers and is very briefly described in* Border Papers, ii, No. 930.

April 15. **141.** EDWARD BRUCE TO DR. JULIUS CAESAR.

Addit. MSS. 12503, fo. 409. I doubt not but you will be most careful to expede this long and factious process pursued at the instance of my brother George Bruce against his parties for the redress and restitution of such losses which he has had by you upon the sea, the rather for that it has been

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recommended to you by my friend (?), whose requests being just and reasonable I am assured you will respect and if I knew not your inclination to be so upright and sincere towards all men in your office as you need no solicitation to justice indifferently to all, I should have sued to the Queen for directions unto you to have given sentence in this long pursuit. But since I find you of your own accord so well disposed to finish and put end to his cause I can do no more but offer you most hearty thanks for the same and beseech you that this day may put end to his cause. Referring all things to the bearer whom I pray you credit. London, this 15 April 1598. *Signed:* E. Bruce.

Endorsed: 15 April 1598. The L. of Kinloss on the behalf of his brother George Bruce.

½ *p. Holograph, addressed. Seal.*

April 15. **142.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxii, No 19.

Such answer and request as is made to that your lordship directed me to signify to MacLean I refer to the view of the letter enclosed from John Auchinross who has been here since with me, declaring and offering such overtures and services for the overthrow of Tyrone as if her Majesty intended and would pursue the same were very meet were presented by him and could not but well satisfy her and you in all points. And the token being sent as before I wrote you, with some consideration to John Auchinross, the services I perceive will be undertaken and done at very small charge. He desires in MacLean's name that present word be sent whether MacLean shall be employed or no, that if he be he may prepare for the service which he would have taken in hand in June next. Auchinross upon your direction *may secretly repair* to you with commission and instructions from MacLean to give full contentment in all things in these behalfs. He desires that these matters may be very secret till the action declare, for the benefit of her Majesty's service, after which time MacLean cares not who know it.

This other note unsubscribed was given me by a gentleman of good means to do much in the things he writes of, who upon direction and advancement of so much money as may bear his charges, that he lose not both his travail and charges, will also *repair very privately* and secretly to you to condition for his services, which thereafter he will duly follow forth.

The King as I hear is very shortly to send one to McSorley with letters, to what effects I know not yet.

At the King's going to Stirling (as I am secretly told) he "regrated" to the Earl of Mar in great anger Bothwell's meeting with Mr. Secretary, your son, at Rouen (Roan), saying he was advertised that Bothwell had agreed to come to trouble his country and England to aid him, asking of the Earl what he said to it. He prayed the King not to be angry with him if he spoke as he thought, and so answered that Bothwell could do no less for himself, that the King put once him and others his best subjects to that trial as they would have done

1598. the like; and yet he said his Majesty saw them intend him no hurt, albeit their "unfrendes" persuaded the King of the contrary at that time, saying he had given his advice to the King that conditions should have been kept to Bothwell and he banished as was agreed and the country put out of trouble with him; concluding that such as persuaded the King that Bothwell meant his hurt or moved his Majesty to break his promise were not able to do the King that service that Bothwell could nor regarded the King's credit; excusing also very honestly England's part in this matter. At which the King being a little time silent answered he looked not for such dealings at either Bothwell's hands or England's. [*In margin:* I hear that Buccleuch and Cessford are by Francis Mowbray's means at the point of agreement.] The King rests still more and more angry at Sir Robert Kerr's transportation and strait keeping, having heard (as I am told) that it should be done upon Mr. Secretary and Bothwell's "platt" that Cessford may be detained from the King's service when Bothwell should come. But I pray God that these privy intelligences come not from such as would stir our estate with like suspicions this way to kindle the fire between the princes that they may be set on work and not be idle. I am quietly willed by such as are very *just and honest in deed* to give warning that Berwick and the islands there *be well looked unto* that the Spaniards surprise them not. The parties say that it is secretly discovered by some of the Spanish faction here to be intended by the Spaniards to be attempted, my informers say not without esperance as they conceive of favour there and thereabouts. For my informers I am sure they deliver it not to me but any practice in them; but whether it be delivered them upon practice or no I cannot say. Always they hear it should be by the Spaniards now about Calais (Callice); a matter of that importance as I cannot but thus commend to your lordship's knowledge and consideration. Would it please you, as I most humbly beseech you, to give me leave to come up to you for my entertainment that I may lay down good grounds for the best intelligence here at least rate and charge to your lordships' satisfactions; for which purpose I need be but 20 days absent from hence; or otherways to direct *Mr. Craven* or *Mr. Lynfurth of Watling Street* to cause their servants or honest debtors here to deliver 100*l.* to me for my entertainment past and to be accountable for to enable me the better to serve and please some of my private friends here out of my own entertainment, and the token to MacLean and John Auchinross. I hope to do then services here to your good contentment. In very truth I stand [in] need of present supply for I yet never had penny and my poor stock is spent and I go upon credit.

It is "regrated" to me in quiet sort that the comedians of London should in their play scorn the King and people of this land and wished that it may be speedily amended, and stayed, lest the worst sort getting understanding thereof should stir the King and country to anger thereat; a matter which being thus honestly and quietly delivered unto me by Mr. Arnot, sometime provost of this town and a very substantious honest man, I have thought meet to commend to your good consideration for present stay of such course.

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On Wednesday last the King and the Duke of Holstein came hither. I hear the Duke told the King by the way that he marvelled what her Majesty and Council meant to cast off and lightly other princes so, saying she had given such answer to the King of Poland as was never given by any; whereat that King and princes his friends were in such anger as they would seek for amends. [*In margin:* This town looks to be moved to banquet the Duke and "propyne" him, which they will very freely do.]

The King since his return hearing that Bothwell should be come this way was in great anger, willing my Lord Seton to make ready to go to France and saying all his Ambassadors should be sent away with expedition. Yet now he hears it should not be so and is better pleased in that point. He had written for many of the Lords of the Articles and has held Council seeking to have altered the consideration for which the taxation was granted, which was for sending and furnishing his Ambassadors, but could not get it agreed unto; so as the taxation will be received upon that consideration, yet disbursed other ways to the King's other uses, for the sending home of the Duke with my Lord Fleming or Sempill and to be in store to entertain the King of Denmark expected to come hither. And albeit the King has sent for the Bishop of Aberdeen and intended he and Mr. Peter Young should be Ambassadors to the Princes of Germany to know what help they will make him for his title in case after her Majesty's life it should be denied him by any privy device, [of] which he is still put in doubt, and that the Duke of Lennox (whose sister in France is to be sent for and married to the Earl of Eglinton) *with the Secretary and Sir Robert Melville* are still preparing for England, notwithstanding something written from London for altering the Duke's mind, wherewith I dealt not. Yet it is now very likely that all the Ambassadors shall not be sent till the next year, and so I look it shall be unless some other matter come than is looked for from Mr. Ed. Bruce, with whom the King is now in great anger, saying he might have sent him word that he had been but at London, had presence or no presence of her Majesty, good answer or bad, which he suspects he says because Mr. Ed. gives him no word at all.

The Council find the King and Queen so drawn from their advices at divers times at the motions sometimes of one, sometimes of other courtiers, as they are many of them weary and would have the King to commit his causes to some nobleman as my Lord of Mar who still refuses that charge and yet is most able and meet, for with him they will all join and serve and so hope the King shall be better served. The Queen is for certain changing her mind towards the President, the Secretary and Advocate. And so matters now standing likely to receive some way some change cannot long hang thus.

On Wednesday was a fortnight Mr. Jo. Davidson's matter was passed over by the presbytery who sent 2 commissioners with Mr. Jo. hither to have seen if the matter could have been taken up to the King's contentment and Mr. John's. But no mid way was found, Mr. Davidson falling sick, and the matter turned off till he get health. Always, very many of the ministers are much grieved to see the King thus still

1598. to pursue his purposes. The next week about Tuesday the ministers of this town are to be fully established in their charges and the town divided in parishes. Edinburgh, 15 April 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed. The words in italics have been underlined possibly by Burghley or Cecil.*

The first enclosure in the preceding letter.

(John Auchinross to George Nicolson.)

Vol. lxii, No. 191. After taking leave of my Lord I received your letter with the which I returned back and gave him inspection thereof. He renders most humble thanks to her Majesty for remembering him and desires that the pension promised by Sir Robert be sent to him in what quantity her Highness likes for his commissioner to receive the same in Edinburgh with his discharge. This being done I assure her Grace of his true service. For the pension coming I have commission of him to be easy in his other pay, seeing his own particular against Tyrone (Teireone) will move him to be ready in his pursuit. That service that I wrote to you last with greater service in those bounds, if her Majesty please, with the grace of God shall be honestly done. He has given me full commission to deal with you in the special and in the particular of that service, wherein her Majesty will find great ease. And her Majesty shall be satisfied in surety for the service. According to your desire I will be at you shortly.

As for news, this last Thursday a ship of this realm landed here come from Dublin (Duphlyn) on Tuesday, the 28th instant. It is reported for truth that on 23 March the Earls of Ormonde (Vermont), Tyrone, O'Donnell and others met at a place near Drogheda (Tredath), where they dined. Truce was taken betwixt for the space of 20 days. Tyrone craves liberty of conscience that all banished men of Ireland should be restored and not esteemed of as traitors; that all Englishmen should lease their heritage and possessions and they to be bound to pay their duty to her Majesty. This with some other articles was proponed. This ship came from Spain with salt a little before and says the army of Spain lies at the Groyne (Grwyn) not of force and power as they heard to invade your realm. There are many Scottish ships there in Spain. As they understand they are bound to the coast of Brittany where they received skaith in October last or thereby, for divers of them perished on the coast. It may be that Tyrone would have them to land in Ireland but I hear no certainty thereof. Always her Majesty may get him paid if she likes. The rest to meeting. Dumbarton, Friday the last of March 1598. *Signed:* J. Achinros.

Postscript. My lord going away by sea and I going another way gave him no leisure to write to you. It is to be remembered that as John Cunningham showed us at his first being there before, Sir Robert and your master's servant promised my master one thousand French crowns that I received there ye know. Always as my lord your master and ye knew I satisfied my lord with Sir Robert's promise of the pension promised to me.

1 *p. Holograph, addressed:* "To my lovyng broder George Nycolson."

The second enclosure in the same.

(An anonymous offer of service.)

Vol. lxii, No. 19[11]. Donald Gorme MacDonell, Lord of the Isles of Scotland and chief of the whole Clandonell Irishmen wheresoever, whom the whole chiefs and captains of the clans undermentioned are faithfully bound, obliged and sworn to follow, serve, obey and assist with all their powers and forces in whatsoever his attempts and enterprises, that is to say, the Captain of the whole Clanranald (Clanrandell), the laird of Glengarry, the laird MacRanald in Lochaber, the Captain of the Clancameron, the laird MacIan (Makean) of Ardnamurchan, the laird MacKinnon of Strathardle (Straithurdill), Neil McLeod (Makcloyde), tutor of Lewis and brother german to deceased Torquil dow McLeod of Lewis, lately betrayed and murdered by the craft and mean of McKenzie of Kintail, with the which Donald Gorme also are faithfully banded and confederate the laird McLeod of Dunvegan and Harris, brother-in-law to the said Donald and Sir James MacDonell, elder son lawful to Angus MacDonell of Dunnyveg and Glens, now through his unnatural behaviour towards his said son detained captive to his said son:—

Please, I being thoroughly acquainted with divers "effearis" and proceedings and privy courses among the Estates of this realm of Scotland, upon certain reasonable motives and considerations, am moved to make offer of my humble service to the Queen's Majesty, your princess, and am ready to be employed to do her all good offices, all humble services and dutiful pleasures possible upon worthy occasions and good deserts wheresoever it shall please her to employ me, especially about the affairs aftermentioned, to wit, am able and ready to move and persuade the said Donald Gorme, McLeod of Harris and Sir James MacDonell, with their whole associates, followers and adherents either to make defection from his Majesty's obedience and laws, stir up rebellion and trouble within all the bounds of the mainland and incountries nearest their whole bounds wheresoever and thereby inquiet the peaceable estate of the whole incountry, and "fasche" his Majesty long enough thereanent and weary the whole Estates of this land by raising new "stentis" and taxations for furnishing succours to be sent there for taking order anent their rebellions, which will not be got settled nor suppressed to such forces as his Majesty is able to make meet for that "boundis," but much ado spending of "meikill" time and consuming great store of money, whereof his Majesty is very scarce; if her Majesty think expedient to have this matter accomplished, upon certain good motives and reasonable considerations to be shown and used towards them, it shall be accomplished.

Or otherways they shall be moved to direct and send numbers of their Irishmen under the leading of certain special gentlemen of their own kin as commanders to them upon reasonable conditions to be employed in the Queen's service against her rebels in Ireland.

Their men are the rather and the more easily to be induced hereunto by reason of the great rigour and severity used towards them by his Majesty (through the counsel of certain particular corrupt men and bribing courtiers) anent the compositions for the right of their lands

1598. and livings. So if they can find any sure succours, support, defence or refuge in their adversities or extremes, as occasion and necessity happened to offer, they mean and intend noways to acknowledge his Majesty's authority nor obedience willingly during their lifetimes. The said Donald Gorme for the great favour and friendship shown by the Queen's progenitors to his predecessors, Lords of the Isles of Scotland, resetting and supporting of them divers times and for many courtesies shown to them in their greatest necessities by divers Kings of England, as their "bandis" made thereanent yet extant will testify.

Item, I am privy of the Earl of Tyrone's late secret course and practices here with his Majesty of Scotland, in whose favours the Earl of Huntly dealt very earnestly and secretly with his Majesty to have had Tyrone's suit granted. I can discover at large the circumstances thereof, his Majesty's answer, Huntly's answer and advice to Tyrone, etc.

Item, I am able to learn and to discover the whole secret and privy practices, dealings and intentions of the three late restored Earls, Huntly, Angus and Errol, who have got themselves (by his Majesty's special care and politic industry) received again in the bosom of the Church in Scotland, meaning nothing less in their hearts than that which they have outwardly in the eyes of the world accomplished; whose politic and hypocritical dealings and practices begin already to "kyithe" in the eyes of the well affected, wise and circumspect beholders ("not obstant" all the fine colours wherewith they craftily practice to dye the same) and will now more vainly "kyithe" incontinent after the certain intelligence had by them of her Majesty's answer to Mr. Edward Bruce, our present Ambassador there.

Item, I am also able and meet to learn some of the Spanish special and privy practices and intentions against her Majesty, her realms and subjects and that through the very special credit, entire friendship and familiarity I have with Mr. James Gordon, Jesuit, Mr. Walter Lindsay and with divers other Scots papists, Jesuits and seminary priests, whose diabolical, pestiferous and anti-Christian courses, practices and intentions I hate now with my whole heart and soul, I protest now before God and his angels.

Item, I have learnt some of Sir James Lindsay, brother to the Earl of Crawford, his privy practices and dealings had with the King of Spain at his being there and what he has undertaken to accomplish. He is now of intention to pass again incontinent towards Flanders first and from thence towards the towns in France kept by the Spaniard for accomplishing such things promised by him.

I am ready and contented to be employed by her Majesty in the prosecuting and accomplishment of whatsoever the courses above-mentioned and to discharge my faithful secret duty thereanent as I shall happen, upon good deservings and honest courtesies to be done and offered by her Majesty to me, to be moved to make promise and shall deal faithfully in all things according to her injunctions and instructions to be set down at meeting. Till then will proceed no further therein but shall be ready upon sudden advertisement to repair towards her Majesty.

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2½ *pp. Endorsed by Burghley:* "Donald Gorm McDonall. Martii 1598." *Certain names and passages have been underlined probably by Burghley.*

April 16. **143.** THE ISLES OF SCOTLAND.

Vol. lxii, No. 20.

Questions to be answered for the Isles of Scotland.

First, what part of the same belongs to the Earl of Argyll?

Item, who rules the people in them under him?

Item, who is the owner or commander in the Isle of Bute (Bude) and what fort or castle is in the same?

Who has the rule or possession of Kintyre and what castles or strength is in the same?

In what island MacLean's (MacLane's) possessions are and with whom he is married and what children he has?

In what place does Angus (Agnus) McConnell inhabit and with whom is he married and what children has he?

Where has James McConnell any land in the Islands?

What kin is Sorley Buy to James McConnell?

How are the Lords of the Islands in concord or discord among themselves and how are they divided into factions?

Who is that claims to be Lord of the whole Isles?

Who has the rule of Islay (the Ila) and who has the rule of the Mull?

To whom does the castle of Dunaverty (Dunnavart) belong in Kintyre (Cantyre)?

What Scottishmen inhabit Rathlin (the Raghlyns)?

Where does the lord of Glenorchy dwell?

How long have the 2 Campbells been conversant with the Earl of Tyrone?

What call you the laird's son that should come into England?

Where does John Archibald dwell in Ireland?

1 *p. Endorsed:* "16 April 1598."

April 20. **144.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO LORD WILLOUGHBY.

Vol. lii, p. 208.

Whereas we have made choice of our trusty and well-beloved servant Sir William Bowes, knight, to be Treasurer of our town of Berwick with all such fees, entertainments, allowances and pre-eminences as to that office belong and have to that end appointed him to make his speedier repair thither both in respect of the payments that are to be made and satisfied to our garrisons and for other our causes of service there, as also for your better assistance we have been pleased to give you knowledge thereof, and withal to will and require you to cause to be ministered unto him such oath and in such manner as by our new establishment of orders for the government of that town and garrison is prescribed, and that thereupon he be accordingly admitted to the place of a councillor there; and for the order and manner of payments and

1598. issuing out of our treasure that is from time to time to be in his charge we have referred him therein to the book of the new establishment and rates signed by us the 20th of June in the 18th year of our reign remaining there to be seen at our town of Berwick and to certain other instructions which we gave to Robert Bowes, our late Treasurer there, deceased, dated likewise in June in the said year, a copy whereof we have caused to be delivered to the said Sir William under the hand of our Treasurer of England, which he shall show unto you together with such other short instructions which we have at this time given to himself. Dated at Westminster, 20 April, 1598.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A copy of the Queen's letter to the Lord Willoughby, Lord Governor of Berwick."

Annexed to the said letter.

Instructions given 20 April, 40 Eliz., to Sir William Bowes, knight, appointed Treasurer of the town of Berwick upon Tweed and paymaster of her Majesty's garrisons and men of war, ordinary and extraordinary, within the said town and all other holds and forts upon the Marches towards Scotland, as also of her works, fortifications, and all other extraordinary charges within the said town and elsewhere in her frontiers there.

$2\frac{1}{8}$ *pp. Copy of the draft instructions calendared in* Border Papers, ii, No. 933.

April 21. **145.** OPINION OF DR. JULIUS CAESAR IN THE MATTER OF GEORGE BRUCE.

Addit. MSS. 12503, fo. 28 (32 new nos.). My humble duty done to your lordships. I have according to your commandment considered of the petition here enclosed, called both parties with their learned counsel before me and have heard what could be said for this present time on either part. And I find nothing proved against Mr. Newton wherewith he may be charged. But against John Clerk it appears that he being captain of the *Julian* of London and one Petit captain of a ship of Southampton meeting on the seas with a Scottish ship belonging to the said complainant, themselves being over pestered with negroes and Portugals, whom they had before taken in some prizes, disburdened their ships of 53 negroes and Portugals, 36 out of Petit's ship and 17 out of Clerk's ship and put them into the Scottish ship; which gave occasion afterwards to an English man of war there on the seas to take the said Scottish ship for a good prize and to bring the same into England, where by order of justice it was afterwards restored with all the lading then in her to the Scottish master and company. But between the time of the restitution thereof and of the first putting of the said negroes and Portugals into her there fell out divers damages in the wines laden therein, as Mr. Bruce the plaintiff pretends, whereof he requires satisfaction at the hands of the said Clerk, who was (as Mr. Bruce pretends) the original cause of the said damages. But what the damages were there is yet no sufficient proof made against Clerk. And therefore (in my opinion) this cause is

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as yet not fit for hearing, much less to be decided or finally determined. For albeit the complainant has proved by three witnesses examined in the cause commenced by him against Mr. Newton that his damages in the whole came to 400*l.* and that Clerk first shot at the Scottish ship and enforced him to take in the said negroes and Portugals, yet because Clerk was not party to that examination and so excluded from his defence, neither the said damages limited to be in that time within the compass whereof Clerk stands chargeable, I humbly reserve it to your lordships' honourable consideration whether that you shall think it fit to proceed to the condemning of Clerk upon this uncertainty and not admitting him to his lawful defence. And yet the complainant is so exceedingly instant for some present sentence in this cause that he has pressed me to certify your lordships how far it has hitherto proceeded, assuring himself to receive some order therein, wherewith (he says) he will rest contented.

And so I most humbly take my leave. At the Doctors' Commons this [*blank*] of April 1598.

3 *pp. Draft. Endorsed:* "George Bruce contra. Jo. Newton et Jo. Clark, 21 April 1598."

April 25. **146.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO KING JAMES VI.

Vol. lxii, No. 29.

My very good Brother: We that have long inhabited this world and thereby are acquainted with many humours, sundry natures, variable haps and oft unlooked for chances ought not [to] be over rash in trusting, doubting or assuring things that be not too well known. I marvel therefore why you should "wight" me with that fault that no friend of mine has ever yet cause to suppose. For even questioning with this bearer, whom you send to satisfy me, he could not deny but that aid was "axed" to send "ambassages" to some princes for that which I cannot conceive the season to serve for. And frivolous was the sense of a book that in these days touches you little, but it contents me that you have good will to well interpret that had need of a better gloss than text. I yield you also many thanks that you suppose a good mixture of entire good will in my writing, for in that point I unfeignedly assure you you right yourself as well as me. For advice, by which this gentleman says you will be guided, take this in short; if ever you hear an intent in counsel under any shade whatever practise aught that might hasten your own mishap, *abjice* I pray you. He hasteth well that wisely can abide. Remember as well with whom you deal, as what you would obtain. Let Kings' reigns be looked on, not impugned, and think that they that see well will not impair their good estates for others' pleasures. Mar not the matter with ill handling, and in fine, since you are well used, continue good reason that it be not worse, which if you heed not well may hap. Of me think this, that God hath hitherto so well assisted me with His grace that no foes have hitherto made their triumph of me, much less shall any my friend (if other he would be) have power to deride any my disgraces, much less do me any, but scorn himself and curse the actors. Out of this

1598. number I trust you shall ever be found one, as I do not mistrust when I shall know it best for you. And in me shall never be found a true shade, much less any substance, that may not ever keep you through just desert so firm and steady an assurer as all the world may view me truly righted therein. And thus with many good "oraysons" to God for well guiding you I end my scribbling.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk written on the back of his copy of Cecil's letter of* 13 *May* (*infra*) *to Nicolson. Headed:* "Copie of her Majesty's letter to the Kinge of Scotts," *and in margin:* "25 Aprilis 1598."

April 27. **147.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxii, No. 22. Like as her Majesty allows very well of your discretion and diligence in advertising of the state of things there meet for her knowledge, so she thinks it very convenient to have you informed from hence how she has of late heard the Scottish Ambassador for sundry matters and her answers thereunto, whereof she has given me in charge to write to you particularly as hereafter follows.

At his first coming he used very humble manner at his access to her Majesty and declared the causes of his coming to be these hereafter following.

He sought to excuse the King for the report of certain speeches used by him as was said in his Parliament, in that he should say that in this last Parliament here at Westminster there was motion made against his title as next heir to her Majesty, wherein he says that his speech used thereof was not in his Parliament but in a Convocation House and that it is true that such report was made unto him, wherewith (being true) he had cause to be grieved. But since that time he is otherwise satisfied that the said reports were false, and so her Majesty maintained the same upon her honour, that neither any such matter was thought of by her in this Parliament, neither that any word or speech passed in her Parliament to that intent directly nor indirectly and therefore she wished the King to be more circumspect in giving ear to such kind of reports and to cause the reporters to be corrected both for their untruth and for their abusing of him. [The like advice her Majesty gave him to reprove such as had made so monstrous false reports of any abuse committed to the body of the Queen his mother, which remains honourably entombed in the Cathedral Church of Peterborough, where the body also of our noble Queen remains duly preserved: *partly underlined and the whole struck through.*]

The Ambassador also confesses that the King was provoked to use some public speech for the defence of his title, which he understood was by certain seditious books prejudged in favour of a present title of the King of Spain to this crown, whereupon he was induced to have sent sundry Ambassadors to other kings and princes, his friends, to assist him therein, but he was purposed first to acquaint her Majesty with his determination. Whereunto her Majesty answered him that she had more cause than he had to be offended for the false and seditious

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books, for the same impugned her present title and possession, during whose life the King had no cause to be grieved otherwise than for future expectation, and as she saw no cause or ground for him to crave favour, and assistance of other princes upon so uncertain and slender a suggestion unless he meant to procure them to make war against her, so she assures herself that none of them either would or should be able to do anything to her prejudice.

With this her Majesty's answer he seems to be satisfied and persuades her Majesty that the King his master from henceforth minds to continue in all good terms of amity. And so after these things thus passed he descended to a request for some great sum of money to be yielded to the King by the way of an ordinary gratuity, pretending that the certainty agreed upon was to be yearly 4000*l.*, and thereupon grounded by way of an account that there should be behind to the King for two years 8000*l.*, which by him has been utterly and untruly mistaken.* For first, her Majesty denies that ever she granted the sum to be 4000*l.* by year, neither did she ever agree to any sum above 3000*l.* by the year, and yet that with condition to continue as the King himself should continue in kindness towards her and not otherwise. And where he pretends the gratuity to be behind two full years, the truth is that the annuity has been unpaid only since September 1596, so as two years are to be accounted the next September and not before. But the cause for which the said gratuity was unpaid since the said September has been because of the King's unkind using of her Majesty in suffering Buccleuch to have invaded and broken her castle of Carlisle without any just correction for the same, the King being pressed thereto by her Majesty's letters at sundry times, a matter as yet not satisfied to her Majesty. And besides this the manifest breaches of the peace upon the frontier by his Wardens without reformation to the great oppression of her subjects by burning, spoiling and murdering of her people being suffered by the King without redress did move her Majesty to forbear from such gratification to him as heretofore she had used. And † thereto her Majesty added some further causes of her forbearing of this gratuity for that she understood with what good terms he received Sorley Buy that had maintained open rebellion in Ireland. And therewith also had received letters from the Earl of Tyrone, the principal rebel of Ireland, thereby comforting and upholding with his countenance the rebellion in Ireland, besides the permission of great quantity of munition and powder ordinarily and openly provided in Scotland and sent into Ireland, contrary to the special treaties between their two Majesties, by which all aid to Ireland is forbidden by special words in the said treaty [*sic*]. All these have been occasions to move her Majesty to forbear the gratification of the King with any money finding him so many ways to show his unkindness to her.

And though now of late the King has been contented to appoint Commissioners to hear and determine these great injuries committed by

* In the margin "9000*l.*" probably in Cecil's hand.

† The passage from here to the end of the paragraph has been added in the margin and is partly in Cecil's hand.

1598. his Wardens and it has been accorded with his consent that certain pledges should be delivered interchangeably by the Wardens of both sides, yet hitherto the same has not been performed on the part of Scotland, although on the part of England the Wardens have been ready to perform their part, so as her Majesty has found good cause to suspend her former gratuity until she may see some better effects of the King's promises. And considering it has been affirmed by the Ambassador that the King has ordinarily received 4000*l.* by the year, you shall herewith have a brief declaration in writing what sums have been paid to the King these late years past to be proved by the acquittances of them that have received the same. And thus, you being informed, you may more readily answer either the King or any other that shall move any matter unto you upon the return of this Ambassador.

After the audience given to the Ambassador her Majesty appointed him to be heard by certain of us of the Council, where certain matters were moved unto him concerning the frontiers. Whereunto he answered that he was not informed how to deal therein. Nevertheless, he was willing upon request of the Council to hear the same and to promise to report them to the King and to procure some answer. So accordingly he was informed and for his better memory had the same delivered to him in writing, whereof you shall also receive herewith a copy and according to the same you may acquaint the King what the Queen has assented unto both for Cessford and Buccleuch. And though Buccleuch be now delivered, and his son also, yet you shall say to the King that her Majesty expects directly to have some further satisfaction in honour made to her for redress of the attempt at her castle of Carlisle, without hope whereof her Majesty had no good meaning to have Buccleuch set at liberty. [*In margin, in Cecil's hand:* Herein her Majesty looks to have no delay used in the satisfaction the King ought and she expects he will make.] Thus being informed you shall at time convenient deal with the King, specially for the furtherance of the execution of the late commission for the frontiers; and for your better information therein hereafter you may by your letter impart your doings with Sir William Bowes, who is now made Treasurer of Berwick and is presently departing thither, to whom you are beholding for the late soliciting of her Majesty to relieve you, to maintain you in your estate considering the long service you have done to her and thereto, as my health will serve me, I mean to put both my hand and speech as I shall understand from yourself what reasonable suit you mean to make.

I have of late received divers letters from you containing offers made to her Majesty of great services to be done by MacLean and others of the Islands of Scotland against Tyrone and other the rebels there, which require some further consultation for acceptance thereof than at this present I can give you. But within a few days I hope to give you some good answer thereto and therefore you may do well to use some dilatory answer unto them to keep them afoot. And so I make an end ascertaining you that I have paid to one Craven, as you may perceive by his own letter herewith sent, 150*l.* of your entertainment and so mean to continue the same if you will have it paid to his hand. From Westminster, 27 April 1598.

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3 *pp. Draft in the hand of Cecil's clerk with additions and corrections in his own hand. Endorsed:* "27 Ap. 1598. M. of a letter to Nicolson."

April 27. **148.** EDWARD BRUCE TO JAMES HUDSON.

Vol. lxii, No. 23.

I pray you this morning to go to my Lord Treasurer and do my most hearty commendations to his good lordship. Show him that the epilogue of my message grows in proportion with the preface. I finished my whole business in 15 days and had her Majesty's answer in all the points of my commission and I have now stayed fifteen days upon the receipt of my dispatch which has not as I suppose been usually done to any Ambassador heretofore. Yet it may be that the multitude of affairs with so many festival days as have intervened has been the cause of my hindrances and therefore now ye will beseech his lordship very instantly if it be his pleasure to give present order and direction for delivery to me of my dispatch, wherein I shall acknowledge myself infinitely beholden to him and remember with most thankful recommendations of his good meaning towards his Majesty at my return.

You must likewise acquaint him with the condition of a poor Scotsman, master of a ship, who having small mean here to convoy him and his equipage home had borrowed from one of his good friends the sum of twenty-six pounds to pay for some things he was indebted here and to make the charges of his voyage in case of contrary winds homeward, he having two (?) persons [and] 7 (?) boys in his ship. The poor men weighing down the river the Queen's searchers have entered within the ship and taken his purse from him and twenty-six pounds in it and delivered the same to Master Robison, customer. If the shipmaster be thus used he must stay here and starve for hunger with his whole company and lose ship and goods and all. I trust my Lord will have compassion of the poor man's estate and cause him be restored his own money again, so shall he gain a blessing from God and the poor man and his children's prayers every day for the continuance of his good health and happiness. *Undated. Signed:* Ed. Bruce.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed:* "27 Apr. 1598. Scottish Ambassador to Mr. Hudson."

April 29. **149.** EDWARD BRUCE TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxii, No. 24.

I thank your lordship very heartily for her Majesty's dispatch sent me and for your charitable comfort towards the poor seafaring man. I received the form of an acquittance to subscribe of 3000*l.* without name of annuity or year past, which sum is far under my master's expectation, which makes me inwardly sorry and grieved and forces me to this importuning of her Majesty, your lordship and all the honourable company that her Majesty appointed to meet me at your house, humbly praying you all to be pleased at my most earnest request to solicit her gracious and kind consideration of my master's present

1598. estate and adoes both at home and here that some better proportion may be granted either in prest or "defaulking" of Robert Jowsey's (Joussie) credit here, and that her Highness will be pleased to appoint some certain time for the next receipt of this year, thereby to avoid the importunity of his Majesty and the King's great charge in sending for it and awaiting here thereon. God is my judge that with great grief I am moved to be importune, for it is a thing I abhor either to grieve or discontent her Majesty in any sort or to leave place for any other to come to do it. Therefore, knowing how this short payment will disgrace all the rest of my message and close my mouth and open others of worse affection to the amity I am enforced to become a humble suitor to her Majesty as my ark of refuge herein (by your good mediation) for I dare not presume to trouble her Majesty of myself, wishing "at" God that I were as able to please with that proportion that is named as I am willing thereto, as he that knows and ever shall avow in all times and places that her Majesty's love and friendship is [*sic*] and ought to be more dear to my master and country than all the rest of the whole earth. This I protest before God and firmly believe to be my master's own opinion. I pray your lordships once more to mediate me her Majesty's gracious pleasure which to me next my allegiance shall be a law before all other princes. This penult of April 1598, of London. *Signed:* Ed. Bruce.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed:* "29 Ap. 1598. Mr. Bruce Ambassador of Scotland to my L. For the enlarging of the K. gratuity."

April 29. **150**. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO LORD WILLOUGHBY.

Vol. lii, p. 211. Whereas John Carey has now a good time upon our pleasure only supplied the place of Marshal of the town of Berwick and we consider how necessary it is for our service there and for your better assistance that there should be without delay a meet person appointed to have the full office of marshal there, we have made choice of him to that place and by these presents constitute and ordain him to be marshal of that town with all such fees, etc., as any other being marshal there has had or ought to have had by the ordinances established for the government of the same town, and so to continue during our pleasure. We command you therefore to cause to be ministered unto him the appointed oath in the presence of the rest of our Council there. Westminster, 29 April, 1598.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Copy. In the hand of Cecil's clerk.*

April 29. **151**. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO LORD WILLOUGHBY.

Vol. lii, p. 211. Upon the request of our brother the King of Scots and solicitation of his Ambassador the Lord of Kinloss lately sent hither unto us, we have been pleased to grant that Sir Robert Kerr, laird of Cessford, now in the custody of the Archbishop of York, shall be dismissed from

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him and enlarged in this manner that when you shall give notice to the Archbishop that you have received into your charge the brother of Sir Robert with two other persons of kin to him to remain as prisoners and to be kept in some fit place that shall be appointed thereunto, until those pledges that are to be given in by the indent of the late Commissioners of both sides for the Border causes shall be accordingly entered. The Archbishop shall then dismiss and deliver him to such persons as by consent between you and him shall be thought meet to take the charge of conducting Sir Robert to such place upon the frontiers (excepting to Berwick) as you two shall be agreed upon and there to be enlarged to return into Scotland; with these cautions nevertheless before he be dismissed, that he shall give the Archbishop in writing under his hand and seal his bond of his faith and honour that if, after his brother and kinsfolk shall be delivered into your hands, he do not within one month next following recover and deliver in those pledges which by the said Commissioners' indents ought on his part to be entered, he shall then return to Berwick and yield himself prisoner into your hands to be kept in such place of those North parts as we shall think fit until he shall have performed of his part that which by the said indents was agreed. You shall therefore consider of such persons that are by you and the Archbishop to be thought meet to take the charge of conducting Sir Robert Kerr to such place upon the Borders as by you shall be agreed upon from whence he may be set at liberty. Westminster, 29 April 1598.

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

April 29. **152.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

Vol. lii, p. 212

To the like effect as the preceding letter to Lord Willoughby regarding the steps to be taken for the enlargement of Sir Robert Kerr.

And likewise the said Sir Robert is known to have himself in person and procured others also heretofore to commit great and many spoils in very cruel manner upon our people and subjects of those Borders we would have you before his departure let him know that we cannot but be greatly touched with an earnest and princely feeling thereof, not only in regard of the dishonour that thereby redounds to ourself but also and chiefly in regard of the loss and destruction of our subjects whose lives and preservation is [*sic*] very dear unto us, so as he ought hereafter in detestation of such his former violent courses to labour and use all his best endeavours by a more temperate and neighbourly carriage of himself towards our subjects to make us some satisfaction both in respect of our honour and for the better maintenance also of the common peace and quiet between us and the King his master and our subjects on either part, adding such further reasons and persuasions to this purpose as yourself in your own good knowledge can deliver unto him and therein to deal roundly with him, laying before him the great favour we now show him by this gracious manner of proceeding with him, whereunto you shall say we are the more inclined by the good report made unto us by William Bowes of his

1598. great desire to make us satisfaction in time to come and of his promises and offers that he will not only himself utterly forbear such former courses but will also stay others from the like. Westminster, 29 April 1598.

1½ *pp. Copy. In the hand of Cecil's clerk.*

April. **153.** PAYMENTS TO THE KING OF SCOTS.

Vol. lxii, No. 26. Several sums of money paid to the use of the King of Scots for the years following.

'81.			
23. Jan. 6.	To Thomas Randolph, esq., in gold.	1000*l.*	
'81.			
23. March 18.	To Robert Bowes, esq., for the army.	3000*l.*	
'82.			
23. Jan. 6.	To the Earl of Huntingdon to be delivered to the L. Chamberlain for the army.	5000*l.*	
'83.			
24. Sept. ult.	To Robert Bowes, esq., for the army.	1000*l.*	
'84.			
26. Apr. 18.	To Marmaduke servant to be carried into Scotland.	2000*l.*	
'86.			
28.	To Roger Aston for the said King of Scots.	4000*l.*	
'88.			
30. June 13	To Robert Bowes by the hands of Robert Carvell.	2000*l.*	A° 88 5000*l.*
'88.			
30. Aug. 13.	To the Earl of Huntingdon for the said King sent by Sir William Reade.	3000*l.*	
'89.			
31. Apr. 27.	To Mr. Bowes by the L. of Wemyss (Wimmes).	3000*l.*	
'90.			
32. Dec. 4.	To Mr. John Colville for the said King.	3000*l.*	
'91.			
32. Jan. 21.	To Sir John Carmichael for the said King.	3500*l.*	6500*l.*
'91.			
33. May ult.	To James Hudson for the said King.	3000*l.*	
'92.			
34. July 18.	To him more for the said King.	2000*l.*	

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	'93.			
35.		To Sir Robert Melville, knight, the King's Ambassador.	2000*l.*	
	'93.			
35.		To him more to be paid to certain merchants of London for the said King's debt.	2000*l.*	4000*l.*
	'94.			
36.	July 2.	To David Foulis for the said King.	4000*l.*	
	'94.			
36.	Nov. 5.	To Sir Richard Cockburn for the said King.	2000*l.*	6000*l.*
	'95.			
37.	Aug. 11.	To David Foulis for the said King.	3000*l.*	
	'96.			
38.	Sept.	To him more for the said King.	3000*l.*	
	'98.			
	April.*	To Mr. Edward Bruce.	3000*l.*	

In Cecil's hand: Memorandum that between 7 bre '96 and Apr. '98 is 19 months and from Apr. '98 to December is 8 months more, so as putting inclusive the times together it appears that in 27 months he receives the sum of 6000*l.*

1 *p.* *Endorsed:* "Ap. 1598. Several sums of money paid to the use of the K. of Scottes. Copy."

April. **154.** PAYMENTS TO THE KING OF SCOTS.

Vol. lxii, No. 25.

Aug. 1595. To Mr. David Foulis 3000*l.*
Sept. 1596. To the said Mr. David 3000*l.*
April 1598. To Mr. Edward Bruce 3000*l.*
$\frac{1}{8}$ *p.* *Endorsed:* "Payments to the use of the K. of Scottes."

May 2. **155.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Vol. lxii, No. 27.

The Earl of Argyll is passed through this town under Mr. John Carey's passport for Mr. George Erskine (Erskyn) and his company. Whereof I thought it meet to give you knowledge that, notwithstanding this his lordship's seeking to pass through England unknown, you may give notice of him and he may be acknowledged in Court with favour and thanked for his good will shown her Majesty anent her Irish causes, well enough known I trust to her Majesty and my Lord Treasurer long before. As also that where ambassadors as they were termed in Argyle were lately with his lordship from her Majesty's rebels of Ireland, O'Donell and others, that his lordship may be courteously moved to discover for her Majesty's service their negotiations with him and his answer to them; as also that he may be so honourably

* Entry in the hand of Sir Robert Cecil.

1598. used as his services may be won to her Majesty for the benefit of her services; as likewise that Mr. George Erskine may be well regarded as a gentleman of good account (Sir Thomas Erskine's brother) and a chief guider of this good Earl of Argyll. On Friday last they passed through this town and had passport made in Mr. George Erskine's name of that date.

A gentleman, a knight and courtier, was very earnest with me to know who was my author that Stewart and Sempill of Glasgow were carrying wines, etc. to the rebels of Ireland, saying the King had told him I was the namer of them to him and the cause of his writing to stay them. I said I was advertised it for certain by a friend of mine whose name none should have, seeing it was so hard thought on. And yet I said I had said nothing to the King but truth. He said he granted it was true that they were carrying wine and other things to McSorley but nothing of hostility; that the King had given protection to McSorley and knew not him to be a rebel to her Majesty, and that I had by this sought to cause the King bar his subjects of traffic with Ireland, which was not meet nor reasonable, neither would be granted. I said by the treaties I thought they ought not to traffic with our rebels and there might be traffic enough with her Majesty's subjects there and not her rebels. Aye but, he said, they had taken fishing on McSorley and carried these to pay their rents with; adding I lay there to try their dealings but the King's Ambassador was watched like a hawk and that the King had said and would have me give my author before him and his Council. I told him I trusted it would suffice the King that I had informed the truth and prayed him to do good offices with his neighbours of Glasgow and those that they might use their trade with her Majesty's subjects and not her rebels, which he said he wished might serve the merchants' turns.

All is quiet in Scotland. On Sunday the King gave the Duke of Holstein (Huster) the banquet, and this day the town of Edinburgh banquets him also. On Saturday night the King got letters out of Denmark signifying that the King and Council of Denmark were content he stayed the Duke so as he might be in Denmark 20 days before midsummer to be at home at the Coronation of the Queen of Denmark. Whereat the King and Queen are very blithe and say the Duke shall stay longer with them. Yet so soon as the ship of Dundee shall be brought to Leith and all things ready and the wind fair I think the Duke shall be gone. The most of the noblemen written for to come to honour the King's banqueting of the Duke came not but made fair excuses. A good part of the taxation is like to be spent with the Duke there and in sending him home, whereat there is not a little grudging. But all matters of quarrels, dislikes and malcontentments lie over, so as presently all is very quiet, the King much satisfied hearing that Mr. Ed. Bruce is well dispatched and 6000*l.* granted to him.

Buccleuch (Baucleughe) commends him heartily to you and protests her Majesty's favour and grace towards him shall never be forgotten with him, adding that which you said to him at his departing, viz. that her Majesty still retained his fault made at Carlisle over his head, sticks much at his heart and is his greatest grief and his greatest

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care how to satisfy her Majesty therein towards him, praying you to be his friend therein as occasion shall be offered you to speak of him to her Highness and he will do his endeavours to deserve her Majesty's favour towards him, and surely so he will. The King sent often for him, whereon he came to Edinburgh and is well received. The King moved him to assist Ochiltree. But of late again the King was told that Bothwell was quietly indeed come home and that Buccleuch was every day booting and riding quiet errands; all to bring him in suspicion with the King. But nevertheless when he came to the Court he had nothing but fair speeches of all.

I marvel I never had word since 24 February last, beseeching you that I have but 2 lines how my labours are accepted. I write to none but you, trusting you will impart my letters as shall appertain for my excuse and remember my poor state. Berwick, 2 May 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. I am come hither only to do my duty to my Mrs, who is going from hence this day, and to return presently to Edinburgh.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Fragment of seal. Addressed. Endorsed.*

May 11. **156.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Vol. lxii, No. 28.

Your lordship's of the 27 of the last I received the 5th hereof, since which time I had no further opportunity or speech with the King than as follows. On Tuesday last the King asked me what I heard of Mr. Bruce, his Ambassador. I told him he was dispatched and returning I hoped well contented. Then he asked me of Sir Robert Kerr. I told him that her Majesty upon his letters and Mr. Ed. Bruce's solicitation had agreed and given order that Sir Robert entering his brother with some of his friends and giving his hand writ that he should deliver his pledges or re-enter himself within a month should come home in manner in effect as was used to Buccleuch. The King asked me if that were true indeed. I said it was and so I know he knew notwithstanding his asking. He said they see (meaning I thought such as doubted the supposed intention of taking Berwick) that there was no such doubts or credits to be conceived as was of Sir Ro: on that matter, adding her Majesty was over credulous. I replied I thought he was also over credulous, whereon he said, what he? I said, Ay Sir, I pray God you have not been so. He said he never committed act, as if her Majesty upon belief of such a matter had committed act by removing of Cessford (for so I knew it was denied here). I said in Cessford's removing or safe keeping, being entered to be so kept, there was no such act. Yet he said he was kept and used as a malefactor, albeit he was not so delivered and his Ambassador could not be permitted to speak him. I told his Majesty that might be the preciseness of my Lord Bishop to keep well such as her Majesty committed to his custody, and that I thought Sir Ro: would not complain of his usage. And withal I took occasion and said indeed and it pleased your Majesty there are none that wishes your Majesty well but wishes your Majesty to keep clear in these Spanish practices and in the Irish. He

1598. replied, why, what had he to do with them, by his troth he had nought to do with them, saying he had so sharply written and sent (upon my information) to the Treasurer, as the Treasurer was angry and thought that some unfriends to the parties had caused him to write so sharply to him, which parties the King said carried nothing but coin to McSorley's marriage to pay their fishings with and no lead, powder or other things for war. I said McSorley was her Majesty's known rebel and ought not to have had any favour. Always, the King seemed as saying the matter was small, it was not of that moment, as also that he had nothing to do with McSorley in those matters of rebellion, or yet of aiding him, but would restrain all aids for his part to be given those rebels, and so left me, going presently to "disjune" with the Duke of Holstein (Hulster). And I noted and said to Mr. Aston (a very good instrument here for her Majesty) the King sat at "disjune" very sad and I thought moved with the foresaid speeches between him and me. And yet Spanish or Irish causes, unless at the solicitation through the wiles and for the humour or good of some of his own and not carefullest subjects for his good. But that of his own disposition he desires most of all her Majesty's friendship as all the good people of this nation do. And if it should be otherways, as I hope it shall never fall evil between these countries, there are ways enough (blessed be God!) whereof I never yet wrote to preserve us from any great trouble of this nation. The same afternoon Mr. Ed: Bruce, lighted at Holyroodhouse, went in to the King and had almost four hours quiet conference with him very close. But what news he brings I yet know not, for all is kept very secret. Yet it is regretted with some courtiers that his speed was no better for money, some of the followers of the Court saying if the King will do their counsel they will get him money enough without such begging, which they would have the King to scorn to receive in such sort. As I shall hear further of these things or of the stay or sending of Ambassadors which rested upon the return of Mr. Ed: your lordship shall be advertised. But Mr. Ed: is honest and I hope shall make all well. And in these according to your information and instructions I shall answer as I shall be occasioned and also advertise Sir Wm. Bowes as matters shall proceed here for Border causes, wherein Mr. Ed: Bruce will, he says, yield all the speedy furtherance he can. And now as it shall be resolved upon Mr. Edward Bruce's return whether the Ambassadors shall be sent abroad or not, which he will dissuade from such employments (as I learn), your lordship shall be also certified. Here are sundry letters come from the French King and others there to the King with a report that Spain and France are agreed in effect, but what other matters are come therewith I know not, neither seem they to be of moment because they are of old date.

This Estate is marvellous quiet, notwithstanding all the malcontentments there; the country disliking that the taxation should be thus spent on the Duke of Holstein and sundry of the officers of estate, especially of the Octavians, not pleased there; seeing that when the King shall need again they shall be called on and blamed for the want; the Queen disliking and beginning to seek to have the estates of the Octavians overthrown; but as yet in very quiet sort. Here is nothing

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but feasting and presenting the Duke with good cheer, fair shows of musters and sports. But gladly would the most have him to depart, the time whereof is yet uncertain by reason of the leave granted him by the late letters out of Denmark. The King and Commissioners of the General Assembly continue the matter with Mr. Robert Bruce until the next General Assembly, leaving him in the meantime to exercise or otherways as he pleases his place in this town, and withal the King seeing the love that he has in this town and through all the country with the true professors and desirous (because so many will follow Mr. Robert) to have him removed, has as I hear caused some to use great persuasions to Mr. Robert voluntarily to leave the place. But [it] is very quietly and cunningly done not in the King's name.

Lord Home yesterday came to Lauder (Lauther) and "brunt" the tolbooth and took out and killed one William Lawther that with his brethren had lately hurt and, as they thought, slain one John Cranston, who before had killed their father at Linlithgow. Lord Home did this because the Lawthers so hurt Cranston in his sister the Lady Marischal's company. Hereof great and heinous complaint is made to the King for justice, who seems much grieved therewith. Yet it is no way like to touch the Lord Home I think.

The laird of Buccleuch at his being here made suit to the King that he might give up his office of Keeper of Liddesdale. The King said he could not do it unless he had also the lordship of Liddesdale to give to his officer with the office. Buccleuch prayed the King to discharge him of the office and he would give him the lordship. But the King said he knew not how to get a meet officer. Buccleuch said to the King he might give the lordship and the office to Cessford and he would not quarrel Cessford for that matter, but for other causes. Whereon the King left the matter and said no more. Buccleuch protested to me most earnestly that from henceforth what wrongs soever should be offered him by any of England he would never put on his jack to ride to revenge it but stand at her Majesty's will and pleasure in all things towards him in regard of the favour he lately received. Besides this he used the like protestation of his especial goodwill to her Majesty's services, which I forbear to write.

Where it has pleased your lordship to let me in your said letter understand to my great comfort that you would put your hand and speech to what reasonable suit I meant to make, I am not able to render you my due thanks but shall still pray for your lordship as for my own soul, still beseeching you to be my good Lord and to help me at her Majesty's hands with the suit that in Lent was a year it pleased you to commend under your hand most favourably. It is for 20*l.* in reversion by lease for 40 years and I hope Sir Wm. Bowes will present it to you. But for my suit I will desire no more than shall stand with her Majesty's good liking and your seeking no more than may make me live as an honest man when I shall be either unable or there shall be no use of my mean services. Besides in your letter you certify me that you have assigned Mr. Craven to pay me 150*l.* here, which will come in good time to me, I thank you. And as to that you directed me for keeping the Islanders on foot with dilatory answers for

1598. some few days until you may give them answer I shall not fail to do all my best therein as I have already done, thinking the services of MacLean most meet for her Majesty's Irish causes. For he is both able and willing. But of this it is no way meet that the Earl of Argyll should have knowledge but by MacLean's advice. The Dean of Limerick shows me he was with the Earl of Argyll when he gave answer to O'Donnell's messenger and that the answer was wise and honest, which the Dean will shortly write to you. Edinburgh, 11 May 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. I hear her Majesty has written something in her letter to the King as confessed by Mr. Ed: Bruce, thereby moving some suspicion here towards him with the King, who (as I am honestly and quietly told) hears that one Valentyne should be taken and have confessed that the King had some "platt" against her Majesty and your lordship, which her Majesty should keep close and in store against the King; a matter which the King denies ever to have once thought on and from which he will ever be clear and unwilling to be so accounted as an intender of such vile murder. His greatest grief I hear is that her Majesty should not discover the same to him and so acquit him thereof, especially that his Ambassador being there it should not be charged to him. Surely this matter goes as deep in grief with the King as ever any matter did, and must either be friendly certified to the King that he may see her Majesty prefers no such bad person's credit before the King's and so to clear the King or else all will go wrong here. For the King thinks Valentyne to have been suborned for this cause, which if it shall not be cleared for the discharge of the King's honour, the King will endeavour to make as great advantage of it as her Majesty shall I hear. This matter has been whispered here these 15 days, but now told me by such as in their true love for the amity would have good regard to be held hereof. The matter is too great for me as other matters will be hereupon also, wherefore some Ambassador were best and very needful for these services at this time.

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

May 13. **157.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxii, No. 29. Being now arrived at the Court, I have seen your letter to Sir William Bowes, whereof I thought it meet to give you advertisement, meaning by some other dispatch to write more at large and for the present to touch no more than concerns this bearer. You shall therefore understand that having heard his overture and considered of it I do not find how any judgment can be made. What effect this offer may take, because he is not able in particular to set down what he would demand of the Queen which would be perfectly understood, for such it may be as the Queen were better use other means, her purpose being to maintain certain small shipping at sea to stop the coming over from the Isles of the Scots, and therefore because it is not to be expected that either he will or can do without payment, it would be set down both

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how he can undertake to do it, it being hard for one man to stop all, and at what rate his force must be maintained. For otherwise no man can be able upon good ground to advise her Majesty. And further, forasmuch as it may prove a matter of charge for him to send up any person hither, you may do well if he shall so like it to move him by way of articles to set it down to you particularly in what form he means to proceed both for his offers and his demands, always provided that the Glenorchy (Senorchy) may know how well her Majesty accepts of his good offer and how ready she would be to requite him whensoever occasion shall serve, for which purpose I have also written three or four lines to himself with reference to the particularity of your relation.

For his offer of sending some into Ireland to discover secrets, they be things whereof her Majesty refers especial charge to her Deputy, so as in that matter there is no great necessity of further proceeding.

If you shall find him of himself rather disposed to send up his secretary as this man reported, leave him to his own liking and do not insist either one way or other.

My business has been great since my return and my health not very good, otherwise I had dispatched him sooner. And yet it has not been many days. I have given him 60 English crowns for his charges and so have dismissed him. Greenwich, 13th May.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "Copie of my Master's letter to Mr. Nicholson," *and in margin:* "xiii Maii 1598."

May 22. **158.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 30.

My last to your Honour was of the 17th instant, since which time I have been inquisitive to understand our present proceedings. I cannot perceive we have received any contentment by Mr. Bruce's negotiation, whether it be because we have not got such sums as we looked for or for her Majesty's strait dealing with us otherways as we allege I know not, but we find ourselves discontented, saying that Mr. Bruce has done nothing. Our Ambassadors for Germany follow the matter very hot. All men would be employed so long as there is any money in hand. Mr. David Foulis presses to be employed to her Majesty in hope to get another year's gratuity. However it be, he will get good allowance for his journey. So long as this taxation last, we will spend frankly. The King is now busy upon his brother's dispatch. On Thursday, the 25th, he gets his last banquet. Sundry of the nobility are written for to be here. The god Bacchus is a great guider among us at this time. Her Majesty's good health will not be drunken here. The Duke will not hear of that. He professes himself a great enemy to England and marvels much that the King suffers me to be about him. He is like to be a costly guest ere he be gotten away. The Earl of Angus has been here and as it appears would fain be Lieutenant of the Borders. He has made many great offers in Mr. Archibald Douglas's name, that if it would please the King to give him leave to come home he shall do such service for his Majesty as no other

1598. can do and before he shall desire any favour he shall either let the King see that his service shall be more "stedable" than any other or else he shall seek no favour. This is followed by Mr. Richard Douglas who plays all the means he may to bring this to pass. As yet these offers are not embraced but what they may be in time I know not. The King thinks him at this time a very knave but what may work hereafter in case her Majesty and the King sort not lovingly he may be made an instrument to do ill offices and for that cause get more favour than otherways he would have done. I cannot be persuaded that his desire of coming home can attend to any good purpose, seeing he does no good offices where he is. What would he do if he were here considering our humours here and his discontentment there? What may be looked for at his hand seeing her Majesty has not one friend about the King that has credit and he to increase his credit will do the ill offices he can? I thought good to acquaint your Honour with this to the end you may dispose thereof as you shall think convenient.

I think there is no way so meet if her Majesty would prevent the practices of this estate and see best into their doings as to have some wise man here, such one as could set the King in his humours as well upon the fields as in the house, the King is as he has company; seeing there is so few about him that are favourers of her Majesty's estate, it is the more necessary that some wise man should "counnanes" the cause to eschew further inconvenience.

I am advertised by a secret friend there is information given to the King against me, wishing him to beware of me and much more which he will not tell me. I cannot as yet learn from whom it comes, but I fear Mr. Bruce for since his home-coming the King has not been so free before me as before. Yet I keep my old fashion and "misknowes" all. Mr. Bruce has given out many good words before me, but I fear all is not gold that glisters. Yet I will be better informed before I condemn him. However it be, I see the King's countenance altered something towards me, but so long as I have her Majesty's good favour I care the less. Yet I would preserve myself as far as I may in hope to do her Majesty better service.

All our church matters are very well settled and the ministers entered their charges. Mr. Robert Bruce made some difficulty in the ceremony of his admission but now accepted his place. For our new reconciled lords we hear no word of them, the "leve" (?) at hand great, chiefly Huntly (Honttle). I have no further for the present. Holyroodhouse, the 22 of May. *Initialed:* R. A.

Postscript. I have taken the boldness upon necessity to impart to your Honour my present estate, hoping you will consider it. I have of late made a little purchase to be a little relief to my wife and children; the one half I have already paid, the other I am bound for the first of July next or else to lose that which I have already paid and the land both. My only relief in this was to have been paid by Foulis and Jowsey (Jussy) upon this payment of the gratuity. Because they have not got two years payment they excuse themselves having in their hands the whole thing I have. Of a thousand marks I cannot command 10*l.* such is my unhap ever to deal with bankrupts. I have

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no means to relieve myself except your Honour take compassion upon me and restore me from death to life and that by your good means there may be order given to Mr. Craven to answer George Nicolson (Necculson) of four hundred pounds for that is the sum I am bound for, or else that your Honour will send your warrant to George to take up so much to be paid again at London. George knows my estate and will deliver it without any doubt. If your Honour grant this my petition it will be a perpetual help to me, my wife and children. I shall seek no more before you think I deserve it or otherways I shall bind myself to George to pay it again at what time you will appoint. Craving pardon for my bold attempt proceeding of plain necessity but presuming of your honourable nature has made me the bolder. I beseech you let me know your pleasure in this that I may dispose myself according either with comfort or despair. Let me know your pleasure what way and to whom I shall direct letters to be sent you from Berwick, whither to the Lord Governor or any other.

All the letters I send hereafter shall be directed to his loving brother James Hudson. If it be to James I will say "servant to the King of Scotland."

I have recommended to your Honour here enclosed my own estate which I beseech you to consider.

3¼ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. 22 May. Mr. Roger Aston to my master."

May 29. **159.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 31.

It may please your Honour to read the enclosed whereby you will perceive how well the King holds himself satisfied with your words to me in the matter of Bothwell and other matters also. If it seem not good to you to weigh any more of that matter to Scotland, then if so it please you to write two lines to me that you understand by my letter that the King believes my report in that matter in your name and what more as shall seem good to your wisdom and pleasure.

I thank you for your honourable respect towards the Scots merchant at my suit wherein the Lieutenant and I have taken order to both the parties' content. I am bound for Mr. David Foulis here for 300*l.* which he gave his faith and hand not to go out of London before it was paid. And yet it is unpaid. I am also bound for his brother Thomas Foulis to Robert Brook in Lombard Street to redeem a great ruby that is pawned for 400*l.* The ruby is set in a lion of gold whereby your Honour may judge to whom it appertains. I am bound to two Glenfields in Lombard Street for 400*l.* more, all which money I have paid except only 32*l.* Yet did he [*sic*] cruelly arrest me within this week for this 32*l.* and yet they have the 400*l.* bond lying in their hands and did acknowledge satisfaction. Whereupon I yielded to give them bond and allowance of 16*l.* more for charges and consideration, when only before there rested but 16*l.* of the whole 400*l.* unpaid and for my thanks thus hardly have they used me.

1598. Now this Robert Jowsey says plainly that he can pay neither Mr. Davie's 300*l.* nor Brook (Browk) for the interest of the jewel nor the Glenfields to whom I am bound, so that I am like to rest in all these miseries unless you will be pleased to send for Robert Jowsey and tell him that it seems strange that I whom the King has ever employed in his service and for the receipts should be left in distress and others paid, I doing all for good will of him and his partner Thomas Foulis, for whom only and his brother Mr. David I am in all this trouble.

I protest to your Honour of my faith that besides all this this Jowsey and Thomas Foulis have of me in lent money 500*l.* and for "fower" [400*l.*] thereof this Jowsey stands bound to me and his bond is forfeited. Yet were I loth to arrest him for it in regard of the King. Thus bold I am thus to trouble your Honour to crave your favour not for any desert of my part but for the good affection in my heart to serve you if you would be moved to have some pity of my poor estate in owing by my over much kindness to unthankful men. Yet was I incited thereto by the King's letters to further all their affairs as his own service, which I could not well refuse. *Undated. Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

2½ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. 29 May. Mr. Hudson to my master. Mr. Roger Aston's letter to him."

[1598, May 29 *or later.*] **160.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO LORD EURE.

Vol. lii, p. 214. Whereas you have of late served us as the Warden of our Middle Marches against Scotland and you have made humble suit unto us to be discharged of that place, meaning nevertheless to be ready and willing to serve us in any other charge whereunto we shall appoint you, we allow of your request and hereby give you a sufficient discharge to leave the said office to our servant Robert Carey, knight, whom we have lately discharged of the Wardenry of the East Marches and authorise him now to be Warden of the Middle Marches. We will and require you therefore upon the sight of our letters patent which we have granted to Robert Carey to yield the said office of Warden of the Middle Marches unto him and in the presence of some gentlemen of service as are of the best sort resident in that Wardenry and at some fit place for avoiding the danger of the sickness [*breaks off*].

½ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk.*

[*before* June 7.] **161.** JOHN ARCHIBALD TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxii, No. 42. The laird has made published in the whole counties of Argyle, Lorne and all the remaining Highlands that none take upon them to pass in Ireland under pains of death. This publication is like to be made at parish kirks of these counties. At this direction the laird is upon his journey to the coast of Lorne and has got intelligence that James McSorley (Maksorlich) has made slaughter on some of your

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countrymen. Always ye shall be acquainted with the certainty of these proceedings. Assure yourself there will no man be suffered to pass in Ireland out of the Highlands till my brother George return back from London, of whose long stay we cannot but marvel. Always make him to return speedily by your advertisement as ye tender the furtherance of the truce, seeing ye know the laird to be such a man who will not peril his honourable promise. *Undated. Signed:* Filius.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To his brother George Nicolsoun at Edinburgh." *Endorsed:* "Filius. Recd. at Edenb. 7 Junii 1598."

June 9. **162.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 34.

After your Honour's departure into France I certified my mean knowledge from time to time of the affairs of this estate by my letters to my Lord your father and to Sir William Bowes for his lordship's satisfaction therein, as I have done since your return with purpose and I hope that you might also be satisfied therewith, beseeching you to accept the same in good part and to direct me what course I shall take for your best liking until her Majesty shall please to send some able person of credit to handle the great matters so far above my degree and reach.

The King having this long time been much troubled and grieved, albeit in secret sort, anent the confession of one Thomas and especially at the concealing of the same from him and his Ambassador, as also that yet he is not acquainted therewith nor acquit thereof in such kind sort by her Majesty as he looked and looks yet for, I hear has of late communicated the matter with some of his Council. Of whom some have advised very kindly towards her Majesty that the King should send some to acquit and clear himself and his dealings with Thomas to her Highness. Others have advised that he should not do so nor take knowledge thereby as it were to accuse himself of those untruths they term them discovered by that man. Others have advised that the King should not pass over the matter but seek and with the advice of his friends repair the slander that was laid upon him. But Mr. Edward Bruce as I understand very honestly persuades the King to have patience and not to think that her Majesty gives credit to any such man or matter but at her good time will certify and clear the King of that matter, he hopes to the King's full contentment. So far and freely he has dealt with the King to take away any conceits to be put in his head towards her Majesty as some have said to the King that he had some gift of her Majesty that makes him so stand for dissuading the King from thinking evil in this matter, as also from sending abroad of Ambassadors. The King put his hand to Mr. Edward's bosom saying he thought he had some chain of her Majesty for his fee. This matter of Thomas they term untrue discoveries and accusation of the King and his honour so grieves the King and gives such advantage to the practisers and evil disposed as Mr. Edward Bruce in his love and duty to both the princes and the amity quietly wishes her Majesty by some means would acquaint and acquit the

King in that matter, and to this purpose in very honest and plain terms but very secretly has dealt with me therein; wishing that, if some be not presently sent to the King in this matter with speed, some be sent hither to show such intention yet in her Majesty to acquaint and clear the King of that matter. Whereon Mr. Edward and others not liking the course of sending abroad of Ambassadors (who now if they go must be furnished with the King's griefs and slanders laid upon him as they account by the discoveries and credit given to this man) may dissuade their employments more boldly. But Mr. Peter Young and the Bishop of Aberdeen are so far forward and prepared as unless this come with speed they hold their journey to Germany. And Mr. David Foulis's sending to England is intended and a warrant for 5000*l.* sterling to the Duke of Lennox given out for furnishing him this journey to England, which albeit it is judged that the Duke has got this warrant signed to get the King's money in his hand, yet if his employment hold he will be so much the readier. [*In margin:* And yet the Duke of Lennox I think shall be Lieutenant of the Isles for the King's services that way.] My Lord Seton also seeks to make friends to get some of the King's silver into his hands for his passing to France (with his children however). And yet it is looked here that France shall send an Ambassador hither.

The ancient Acts made in King James the Fifth's time for provision of war and renewed in February last were proclaimed on Monday last with sound of trumpet, the copy whereof I send enclosed.

The presbytery at Haddington have excommunicated my Lord Home for the slaughter of William Lawther, whereat the King is quietly grieved because he intended of his own grace to Lord Home to have given him remission and at no man's suit, albeit the Duke of Holstein (Hulster) was made to suit the King for the same. Now the Kirk must be satisfied also towards Lord Home. Yet the matter is referred for the agreement of my Lord and his friends with the Lawthers to Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir George Home and Nicholas Cairncross (Kerncorse), so as I think it shall shortly end, and my Lord be in the King's grace again. The Lady Marischal for whose cause my Lord fell in this trouble is dead.

Mr. James Elphinstone, the Secretary, carries such credit with the King and so handles the matter as the King is noted rather to favour my Lord of Mar's adverse parties, Lord Livingstone, Mr. Elphinstone (the Secretary's brother) and the Bruces than the Earl of Mar, the King still travailing to reconcile the matter himself and to have my Lord content therewith. But my Lord thinks the King should be so indifferent as if he will have the matter taken up he should cause or suffer the parties to move for agreement. On Thursday last both sides were aminded to have been strong but it was stayed, yet is like to come to great trouble if it be not taken up, for the most part of Scotland near them will be either on the one or the other side. The feuds between the Earl of Crawford and Glamis, between Johnstone and Drumlanrig, and almost all feuds in Scotland are renewed so dangerously as this country was not under such appearance of trouble these 20 years. All grown in this time of the Duke of Holstein's being here,

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by reason that the King to accompany him and his hounds neglected the staying of these matters. On Saturday last he departed, I hear, a changed man in mind and manners towards her Majesty and country, coming hither with making good reports of them but otherways departed. But what will not evil disposed people do here, especially to show their evil minds to our country. He cost the King 10,000 marks sterling and often distempered the King's health. The nobility and many forbore to come to the Court to participate in the Duke's entertainment, a matter quietly noted and grieved at by the Queen as I hear, who for certain is of purpose now to cast the Octavians. The Chamber as I hear are seeking by some means to have the Octavians and Lords of Session put off the Council and noblemen of their own friendship drawn to the service of the King. But these and many other matters are yet but in brewing, doubtful what end they shall come to. A Convention is appointed the 28 hereof for advice for settling feuds and taking order for the establishment of good order in the State and King's affairs. The Duke, Lord Hamilton, the Earls of Huntly, Montrose, Errol, Morton and sundry others are written for. What changes will be I cannot tell nor may not prophesy, but the King's late carelessness over the country, the country's quiet grieving thereat and at the thus spending of the taxation to other uses than it was given and promised for, the wearisomeness of the Councillors and officers that are good to serve the King for his good and that their counsels might be followed, some of them being of intent indeed to withdraw them from the service unless the King better look to his affairs or give them the looking to it, [*in margin:* the Treasurer has been absent all this time, yet will be here the next week] the Queen's quiet dislike and change of her mind to her officers, the Octavians, and the feuds are very like to produce some new orders or changes. The Queen is now very frank in my Lord of Mar's cause and aiding to have nothing done in the agreement but to the Earl's honour.

On Wednesday the 7th, a Scotsman came out of Ireland from McSorley with letters, to what effect I know not. But I hear the King read the letters in his bed that night and was very glad, saying he should have answer the next day. The King wrote not but caused the Secretary to write, part of the effects whereof was that they in Ireland should not deal with or aid Archibald MacConnell, bastard son to Angus MacConnell still captive in Dumbarton but to what other effects they were I know not. The Scotsman said that McSorley would not come now but would be here at Lammas. Yet I believe it not, for the King is very wary herein.

Enclosed I send you the letter of "Filius," Mr. John Archibald. I have spoken with John Auchinross who has been with his lordship and shows me that he yet stands clear and hopes for answer if he be well thought on. If I were a man of that worth able [to] be answerable for so great matter I would say and undertake her Majesty's employing him against Tyrone, &c., should be most well and truly served. Upon cause to be given him he would stir up and aid Angus MacConnell's son so against McSorley as McSorley's flourishes would be soon done. I have no more but a life and that if her Majesty employ MacLean I

will peril in the service, for I know the party to be of power and fortunate and wonderful constant and honest. And sure it could not but be an especial policy and service for her Majesty to have the Islanders once in blood with the rebels.

The 2 books written by Quin and Mr. Dixon I suspect are sent out of the country to be printed, for of this long time the printer has not been dealt with for printing of them. Of late the Bishop of St. Andrews' (that was) confession upon his death was sent printed into Scotland but was presented to the King and burnt.

For Border causes the King is marvellously well pleased with Cessford that he has delivered his pledges and is careful and at his "plundge" how to be sure in this troublesome time of the West Marches to get those pledges to be delivered, purposing to hasten the same with all speed. [*In margin:* The King is careful to agree Cessford and Buccleuch; but the lairds more careful by whose travail I see they will be drawn to peace but never to love.] Many a check he has given the Lord Ochiltree for that no more was done there by him; so as Lord Ochiltree goes not again thither, before the King goes himself to settle that country now cast loose by the King's dealing against Johnstone, who I cannot see can be well lost by the King but to the still troubling of that country. Buccleuch is labouring to give up the Keepership of Liddesdale and rather than fail the lordship therewith. [*In margin:* I do not hear but Buccleuch is very clear of the late "rode" made by them of Liddesdale, broken men dependers of the young Lord Maxwell.] I can in my mean judgment see no other but the Earl of Angus must in the end be employed or some special man. Yet the King is in hope that, his officers now fallen to conformity in their estate, her Majesty may be moved to like the continuance of them. But the certainty of these I refer to the King's especial answer to be made to the note given by the Lords of her Majesty's Council to Mr. Edward Bruce. If Sir William Bowes were once employed and should bring the King satisfaction anent Thomas's discoveries and should have leave and trust to give fair words here I would not doubt but he would draw these Border matters now to the best end and the King from all courses of whatsoever practisers here: a greater work than some possibly will think it is. He will find the Earl of Mar, the President, Treasurer and sundry of the Council, I dare undertake, very willing and ready to advance all good courses and keep back these sending abroad and needless courses, no doubt drawn on by some seeking the troubles of both princes. All others to my next and sight of the issue of things, beseeching you to impart these to your Honour's father. Edinburgh, 9 June 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "The King much troubled with the confession of Valentyne Thomas."

[1598,]
June 12.

163. Roger Aston to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxii, No. 35.

Since my last of 22 May I have had no occasion to write by reason there occurred no matter worthy. All our affairs are now in the balance. So long as the Duke of Holstein (Holster) was here we had

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no other mind but of banqueting and drinking. He departed from hence the 3rd instant being conveyed to his ship by the King and Queen. He is gone with many curses chiefly of such as were subject to pay this late subsidy, saying that there was more wasted upon him than ought to have been considering the King's necessity other ways. He has cost the King one way and another 4,000*l.* sterling which is feared will bring more of them into this country. There is few or none here that desires any man of that sort, yet the King has written for another of the brethren to come and remain here. He could never hear with patience a good word spoken of her Majesty or Council. Whereof that proceeded I know not, except it has been to please their humours here for he found no fault of any discourtesy offered him there. I leave this Duke to his own exercise which is to go drunk to bed.

Our Convention is appointed the 24th instant, at which time the King is to take order with his affairs. Till that time there will be little or nothing done except to prepare such matter as shall be proponed. This country is in very great discontentment at this time, chiefly by these sundry great taxations which are laid upon the people and not employed to any good purpose. Of this last taxation there is 40,000*l.* [Scots] spent upon the Duke, 20,000 marks allowed upon our embassies that should go to Germany and Denmark. The Duke of Lennox has got his warrant passed for 5,000*l.* sterling to make his journey either to England or France as shall be thought convenient. The chief cause he was so earnest to get the warrant was to possess himself with the money, that if the employment go not forward he may have rescue to himself, for that is the bolt they all shoot at. Our Ambassadors for Denmark and Germany were appointed to be here the 6th instant. One of them is come and the other will not be long. They will not be suddenly dispatched for there is no money as yet come in to give them. If they stay till the Convention they may be crossed for all men are against their employment.

It is feared that the King will run himself in the "bryes" by following the counsel of dangerous men, chiefly the Secretary who is growing great. This man has lately bought the place. He is ambitious, greedy and of no religion and, if any be, a papist. All men for the most part are weary of their places, except 3 or 4 and they are all dangerous men. The Treasurer is discontent and has been at home this long time. He would fain give over his office if he could be quit of further peril. He is sent for and is to be here the 13th instant, at whose coming matters will work to some issue.

The Earl of Mar is malcontent by the King's hard dealing towards him in pressing him to agree with Lord Livingstone (Leveston) and his accomplices against his honour. This is stirred up by the Secretary whose brother is one of the party; the Earl refuses to agree and desires that he may go out of the country rather than to yield to that which is against his honour. If this feud be not presently taken away before it enter in further blood it will trouble the King to redd it. This and the laird of Johnstone's disobedience upon the West Border will trouble the King ere he get it settled. He will be

1598. constrained to go to the Borders with forces or else the country will break.

Sir Robert Kerr is come to Court but not before he had delivered his pledges. He makes good report of his entertainment; although he was straitly kept he was honourably housed, which has pleased us here very much.

Here has been lately a Scotsman out of Ireland with letters from James McSorley. I have been inquisitive to understand the substance thereof. I can find no matter that concerns her Majesty, only to understand the King's pleasure concerning Angus MacConnell, who is presently in the castle of Dumbarton delivered by his eldest son against whom there has been assistance sought of McSorley by reason of the quarrel that stands between them. The King would not answer this by his own letter but caused the Secretary to do it and has discharged this McSorley to deal in that matter. I have been dealt with by this young man that has delivered his father not only to be his friend here but also to be a mean to her Majesty for him that by her favour and assistance he may attain to those lands in Ireland which his father had before called the Glens now possessed by McSorley, her Majesty's rebel. So soon as this young man has settled his turns he means to make all the force he may against this McSorley. I entertain this by all the means I may. By this her Majesty loses nothing.

The Lord Dingwall is daily attending his commission from Poland for the levy of four thousand men, three thousand foot and a thousand horse, to meet the King in Sweden, but no appearance that it will come. He sent a gentleman thither who is not yet returned nor no word from him.

The laird of Burleigh (Borle) being the last year in Hungary had promise of the emperor to "list" some companies out of this country. He is passed thither to see if he may obtain his commission.

I am by this to renew my former petition to understand your Honour's pleasure whether I shall write and by what convoy I shall send my letters. Whether my labours be well taken or not I know not. God is my judge I mean faithfully to her Majesty's service. I am advertised by a secret friend to take heed to myself for there are informers against me and awaits to entrap me. So long as my handwriting cannot be seen I care not. Therefore I beseech your Honour be careful of me for if I be not of credit here I can do her Majesty no service. The King has very good intelligence out of England, by what mean I know not as yet. Mr. Edward Bruce has received letters twice since his homecoming. I do not find that he does any ill offices. He has received letters by the doctor that came the last day, since which time he has been very often with the King and in secret conference.

I gather by the King's speeches that he thinks some have been over busy in making advertisements out of this country. This proceeds of these late advertisements which come out of England imparting sundry things from her Majesty's self as I gather by the King's own words. If you think good I write I shall direct my letters as I have set down in my former or other ways if you think good I shall

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communicate with George Nicolson (Neccolson), who by cipher shall acquaint you with as much as I can either know or learn. It were enough to cast me here if it were known I wrote to you directly or indirectly. I would preserve myself in hope to do her Majesty service. What you command I shall obey. I write at more length because I had the opportunity to direct my letters from this town, being directed by the King to my Lord Governor upon some Border affairs, as first for the better maintaining of the peace the King desires his lordship that there may be frequent meeting between Warden and Warden, which will both entertain justice and keep kindness with their opposites, without which no correspondence will be had. Next the King desires that no combat be granted between Englishmen and Scottishmen except by consent of the princes for two special causes: first, the shedding of blood brings on hatred among their friends and so draws to a feud; next, it drives companies together when the combats are fought, as there should have been one within these 3 or 4 days but stayed by Sir Robert Kerr upon the occasion aforesaid. The third cause of my coming was to solicit for some small attempts that had been committed of late, the rather because some part thereof pertained to Sir George Home, our chiefest courtier. I hope there will be good order kept upon the Borders. I cannot perceive but our two chieftains are minded to be peaceable men and now they and their opposites are under good friendship which will further the service very much.

I hear no more of Archibald Douglas's suit. The King says he is a knave and Mr. John Colville (Colven) another. We hear that Mr. John has kissed her Majesty's hand.

There is one Dixon here that has written an answer to Doleman's book in Latin. It is secret kept. I am informed it is gone to Flanders or Germany to be printed and yet I am not certain. But I am certain he has written very largely concerning the King's title, and so has one Quin (Guen) an Irishman that is in St. Andrews, pedagogue to the young Earl of Mar.*

I have sent your Honour the Bishop of St. Andrews' recantation as some of the puritan ministers say they [*sic*] were printed in Middelburg and sent hither to be sold. The King understanding sent for them and burnt them all in his own "chemmer" except this and one other. I fear I be over tedious, therefore I will end recommending myself and my particular suit to the report of my former letter, craving most humbly your answer that I may dispose myself according. From Berwick the 12 of June. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

5 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk* "xij^{mo} Junii. Mr. Roger Aston to my Mr."

[1598, June.]

164. Advertisements from George Nicolson.

Vol. lxii, No. 32.

The 27 of May Mr. Edward Bruce related to Mr. Nicolson how hardly the King took the slander and dishonour laid on him by

* A sentence almost illegible here.

1598. Valentyne Thomas; chiefly that her Majesty should not kindly have discovered the same neither to his Ambassador nor since by some means to himself for clearing her mind and the King's honour therein; that some there would (by alleging the like accusations were used against the King's mother before her death) have brought in suspicion what might be intended towards the King now after this [*sic*] untrue and suborned (as he terms it) discoveries made by Valentyne.

That the King is persuaded to send Mr. David Foulis plainly to her Majesty herein, unless he be satisfied speedily.

It is further reported that the King will be quit by sound of trumpet and by challenge in what numbers soever, yea of a King to a King if need be, and if he be not otherwise cleared of the slander of murder, which he most detests, having protested that for all the crowns in the world he would not be guilty so much as in thought thereof to her Majesty especially.

By this occasion the Duke of Lennox is in new motion of going but all stays till the Duke of Holstein (Holster) be gone, which was purposed the last of May.

The King intends to have another brother to stay with him and to that effect has written.

The 25 of May the Duke of Lennox gave the Duke the banquet. The 28 of the same the King made him extraordinary banquet with musters the fore part of the day of his domestics in great bravery. The King has given him his rich hatband and the Queen and King have given him and his company both gold, jewels and horse to good value.

The King has heard that Mr. John Colville (Colvin) has kissed her Majesty's hand and being angry thereat said her Majesty would receive any false knave, his enemy, and alleges that Mr. Colville got his licence stolen.

It is said that Mr. Archibald Douglas seeks home and offers to do the King great services.

Motion is made from France for the King to send an Ambassador to the French King to renew the league.

The Lord Home for avoiding the King's displeasure has left his country and remains on the English Borders. His Lady has brought the keys of his houses to the King only *dicis causa* and not of necessity but to honour the King and within short time will be in favour again.

The goodman of Hutton Hall being to travel, the King has made the goodman of Manderston deputy warden of the East Marches.

The Earl of Mar and his enemies the Livingstones (Levingstons), Elphinstones (Elphingstons) and Bruces have been at Edinburgh very strong, with great appearance of troubles between them, but it shaped well and narrowly. The King is noted to be careless of the matter and of the Earl of Mar one of his undoubted best subjects or else in the Earl's malcontentments there had been more news.

The King and Council have decerned the laird of Johnstone to be the breaker of the assurance with Drumlanrig and the Carlisles and to be defamed and perjured, so that the 27 of the last his picture

was drawn in blood to signify a murderer and hung with the heels upward with his name set under his head and *Infamy and Perjury* written thwart his legs. This was proclaimed and done at the Market Cross very solemnly by trumpets and heralds at arms. The laird upon hearing of this will no doubt do some great attempt and set all that country on fire, for he is very stout and fortunate and will be desperate.

Twenty barons of Fife joining together are offering the King 140 chalders of victuals by year for the Isle of Lewis and to conquer the same at their own charges. The like project is made for some of Lothian in like sort to conquer Skye (Skaye). These things are likely to make the Islanders join together in a general revolt.

Angus MacConnell's son (Sir James) has written to the King that his bastard brother that keeps Dunnyveg is gone to McSorley and that McSorley, O'Donnell and O'Neill (Onele) agree to assist him. Whereat the King conceives great anger. Yet the King has been advertised since that McSorley will not agree with Angus's bastard without the King's mind first be known to him.

The unnamed gentleman who formerly made offers of divers services told Mr. Nicolson the 27 of the last that either he must very shortly receive mean to deal in the said services, especially for the Islanders or else he must dispose of himself to be employed therein otherways, by reason of the present employments now offered him by these courses of them of Fife and the other project of Lothian for the King. He desires to have some resolution in these matters before the 20th instant. As for his offer of coming up, the present occasions now in hand about those turns will not permit him before the 15th of August. *Undated. Unsigned.*

2¼ *pp. Endorsed:* "Mr. Nicholson's advertisement out of Scotland."

June 17. **165.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxii, No. 36.

Ye know what affection my master felt to her Majesty's service against Tyrone (Teireone), what was promised and of his receipt and how I made him content with Sir Robert's promise. Ye also know what commission ye had to travail with him for attending and waiting on service which he according thereto has ever "stayit" his own men and others of the Isles from the aid of Tyrone "where throw he behuiffit to vair" on his own, being stayed from their other profit which is no small matter. Now he craves with diligence of you to let him know what succeeds and follows the former promise of Sir Robert, as also your desire by your warrant of his attending and waiting on service. If her Majesty craves service of him against Tyrone her Highness may have the same. If not, he understands that Sir Robert's promise and your warrant should be acknowledged accordingly, whereof he craves to be resolved shortly since with his charges he has done his duty. As for news the Earl and O'Donnell being advertised of some practice to be used against them by their own men have taken sundry of them. Donald Spaynach, another of Ireland, with another Brian

1598. Reoch, who is brother to Walter Reoch as I understand, has in the parts of their dwelling (which is far from "Deneon"), entered in the like action as the Earl and O'Donnell and has lately at Wexford (Vescheford) slain the number of three hundred well trained soldiers which Sir Harry Wallop (Vallup) had. On Monday last the Governor being in Dundalk (Dwndealg) which is five miles from Dublin rode out with two or three hundred horse but Donald and Brian did there come with Dundalk and the parts there, then repaired to the heights and the "fuit strenthis" where the Governor durst not "mend" him. [I] assure you this is of truth and I make those that have to do herewith acquainted with the same. Let my master have answer with diligence seeing [how] extraordinarily has he burdened himself through affection to the foresaid. Dumbarton, this Saturday, 17 June 1598. *Signed:* J. Achinros.

Postscript. Brother for my own part I take God and you to bear record of my honest duty.

1 *p.* *Holograph, with address:* "To my loving brother George Nycolson at Edinburgh" *and below in the same hand:* "I have mistaken this 'beyn' of Dundealg within which is but . . . [*illegible*]." *Endorsed:* "1598. 18th [*sic*] Junii."

June 28. **166. JOHN AUCHINROSS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.**

Vol. lxii, No. 37. Your letter I received the 27 of this instant when directing my man to my master, with whom I sent your expectant promise and other dealing with him as ye know. He is hindered of another matter and also does lose "mekle" these two years through staying of his men in the country, where they might have had for service in other parts. For except he had gratified them they had not stayed for him. He thinks more nor he speaks in this dealing with him and making of him to stay for and await on her Majesty's service without any[thing] further. Having respect to his promise and affection to her Highness's service he has still remained constant. Now would [he] know the effect of [his] promise and desire of his waiting for service with the which ye shall acquaint those that have to do herewith. Forces against her Majesty augment daily in Ireland which [I] assure you triumph without any "face" of might and so apparently shall follow without the form ye know be said, which will alter and "brangill" their whole doing and action now enterprised. Ye know my master's good will and how he was willing to do her Highness service against Tyrone (Teireone). As for crafty means used by him for staying of others from Ireland, besides the trouble his land has sustained in staying of his own at home, I leave that part. To conclude, so soon as ye may let him know the effect of these matters. Dumbarton, 28 June 1598. *Signed:* J. Achinros.

1 *p.* *Holograph, with address.*

James VI.
[1598, June.]

167. Mandate of King James VI to his Ambassadors to Denmark and German Principalities.

Vol. lxiii, No. 66.

Summa mandatorum atque postulatorum quæ invictissimus atque potentissimus Princeps Jacobus 6 Dei gratia Rex Scotorum noster clementissimus Serenissimo Daniæ Regi cæterisque Germaniæ Principibus, consanguineis, affinibus et confederatis suis charissimis nobis Majestatis suæ Regiæ legatis et consiliariis subscribentibus dedit proponenda.

Peramice imprimis ipsius Majestatis Regiæ nomine præmissa salutatione officiis et studiis Regiis amantissime delatis, ac solitis pro incolumni statu votis nuncupatis, gradibusque consanguinitatis et affinitatis commemoratis, ac fiduciariis litteris redditis, Serenissimus Rex noster exponere nos voluit quanto dolore pientissimus ipsius animus ob præsentem Christianæ Reipublicæ deplorandum statum, tam misere cum bellis Turcicis, cum intestinis dissidiis laceratum atque vexatum afficiatur: ad quod restituendum atque variandum, in medium omnes suas facultates Regias conferre paratissimum se offerre cum Serenissimo Rege cæterisque Germaniæ Principibus, consanguineis, affinibus et confederatis suis dilectissimis, ut conjunctis consiliis atque auxiliis communi hosti Christiani nominis maturius et commodius occurratur.

Insuper quum non dubitet ipsius Majestas Regia quin jus quod habet ad Angliæ Regnum post defunctam Serenissimam Reginam Elizabetham, consanguineam atque sororem suam charissimam, Serenissimo Regi cæterisque Principibus jam antea aliquatenus innotuerit: ipsius tamen Serenitatem eorumque Celsitudines ea de re pluribus et copiosius per nos informari voluit. Et quum jam ingravescentis ætatis sit ipsa Regina atque valetudinaria, competitoresque atque eorum fautores, id ipsum probe cernentes, tam domi, quam foris, nullum non moveant lapidem, quo ipsius Majestati Regiæ præjudicium faciant, immineantque omnibus occasionibus Regnum quam primum, siquid ipsi Serenissimæ Reginæ (quod absit) humanitus contingeret, involandi atque occupandi, atque adeo in celeritate omnia posita putent, Serenissima Majestas Regia tam ex Ordinum Regni decreto, quam ex multorum amicissimorum tum Principum, tum eorundem consiliariorum gravissimorum hortatu, atque ex omnis ævi prudentum sententia (quum vigilantibus non dormientibus jura subveniant) mature ac serio de hoc negotio, citra cujusquam tamen injuriam, ineundam sibi cogitationem censuit, atque amicorum suorum consanguineorum, affinium atque confœderatorum Principum passim voluntates tempestive explorandas atque prætentandas.

Inter quos Principes, amicos et consanguineos, quum non postremum locum Serenissimus Rex, cæterique illustrissimi Principes teneant, tot necessitudinibus ipsius Majestati, sed imprimis sacrosanctæ atque synceræ Religionis ex Dei verbo reformatæ firmissimo vinculo, morum præterea ac studiorum similitudine conjuncti, ipsius Serenitatem et eorum Celsitudines obnixe rogandas voluit, ut si (Deo ita disponente) ex hac vita cœlitus emigret Serenissima Angliae Regina, atque ea defuncta, vi atque armis, jus suum adversus quoscunque

1598. competitores sit vindicandum, quid subsidii ab ipsius Serenitate aut eorum Celsitudinibus in illum tantummodo eventum expectari posset, jam in præsentia amanter et fraterne declarare velint; ne tantum et tam præclarum Regnum ipsius Majestati omni tam divino quam humano jure debitum, si ab amicis destituatur, vi aut fraude turpiter eripiatur.

Porro, ne cuiquam videatur ipsius Majestas Regia in suspitione intempestivi ambitus, atque affectati ante tempus Regni incidere, protestatur se Serenissimam Angliæ Reginam, utpote sororem ac consanguineam, genere quidem et cognatione inter omnes qui vivunt Principes proximam, vicinam et confœderatam suam charissimam ex animo amare, atque ipsius Majestati non secus ac sibi ipse optime cupere, filiaque pietate eandem prosequi, semperque quoad vixerit presequiturum gentemque Anglorum universam, non secus quam suos Scotos diligere atque amplecti, necnon easdem adversus hostes quoscunque tueri ac propugnare paratissimum fore, semperque fuisse. Nihilque hostile aut inimicum ne in competitores quidem ipsos atque adversarios, Serenissimæ Reginæ atque sororis charissimæ intuitu atque respectu, ne dum in ipsam Serenissimam Reginam, quoad vixerit tentaturum aut moliturum sanctissime verbo Regio pollicetur. Tum ne Deum Optimum Maximum si secus faxit offendat atque infensum habeat, quem scit unctorum suorum curam habere eosque sacrosanctos atque inviolates esse voluisse et Regna atque diademata pro Suo divino arbitrio transferre (nollet enim pientissimus Rex, ne orbem quidem terrarum universum, nedum partem ejus exiguam, cum pietatis aut conscientiæ jactura lucrari) verum id studuisse semper, ac porro conaturum, ut ejus Divinam Majestatem a partibus suis habeat atque sibi propitium perpetuo sentiat quod omnino sperat atque confidit, tum vero ne gentem Anglorum ab se abalienet, si quid per vim tentaret, quorum benevolentiam atque studia omnibus sibi modis concilianda ac retinenda proposuit.

Illudque semper in ore habeat bona et recta bene etiam et recte esse gerenda.

Cæterum si quando ipsius Majestati Regiæ innotuerit atque constiterit Serenissimæ Angliæ Reginæ, vel ejusdem filialibus officiis permotæ vel ætatem suam ingravescentem consideranti, divino etiam instinctu atque afflatu impulsæ, quo cruentæ et funestæ de Regno contentiones ipsa defuncta proinde præcaveri ac prorsus tolli queant, non ingratum fore tandem declarare ipsius Majestatem pro indubitato, quod habet, jure proximum Regni Angliæ hæredem atque successorem (quod non diffidit aliquando clementer facturam) sed ita tamen ut ad eam declarationem impetrandam atque promovendam a consanguineis sacri praesertim Romani Imperii Principibus sollicitari velit, rogat amanter in hoc casu ipsius Majestas Regia Serenitatem et Celsitudines vestros ut per litteras ea de re et de tempore præmoniti, suos etiam legatos adjungere fraterne velint: atque interea omnibus vicinis atque confœderatis Principibus pro ea qua valent apud ipsos aucthoritate et gratia, negotium hoc diligenter commendare atque eosdem ad tam justæ causæ, quum res postulaverit, patrocinium amplexandum amanter ac sedulo hortari ne graventur. *Undated. Unsigned.*

3¼ *pp. Endorsed:* "The Scottish Embassad^rs negotiation w^th the King of Denmarke."

168. JAMES HUDSON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Vol. lxii, No. 38.

I have had very earnest conference with Mr. Foulis, partly to try if in effect the King apprehended this matter of Valentyne Thomas so deeply as he makes show of, and partly to try what will be his effects in case he should not receive contentment to the full therein. And because I perceive by him that he has already declared to your Majesty all that he desires to be done, I will only say what he has said. He says and deeply swears and protests that the King never apprehended matter whatsoever in so high a degree, neither ever did or will seek redress with greater earnestness than he will do in this. For he says that it cuts him off from all his hopes and possibilities to come. It bereaves him of his princely reputation with all princes. It buries his honour in the grave of oblivion and blemishes his line and posterity for ever. He says that if your Majesty should not be pleased to content the King herein (as he cannot persuade himself but that you will grant all his desires herein) that then there can be nothing so dear to him but that he will use and spend all his uttermost means whatsoever in the world as all his friendship abroad, his force at home, his crown, his life and the lives of all his friends and subjects that will die for him, it will utterly dissolve, divorce and violate all bonds of love, league and friendship that have been betwixt your Majesty and him, and it will make him fill the world with his apologies and declarations of his innocence; yea, if his desires for publication of his innocence and restoring of his honour (which he terms to be stolen from him) be not yielded to, then he wills it again with the lives of as many as will do for him in all Christendom and he will send your Majesty's letter (wherein you have confessed his innocence under your princely hand) to all countries from prince to prince, from place to place, and ever leave it in record and after put it in print that to all people and in all places it may appear how he has been trusty to his utter ruining and the raising and honouring of his enemies and competitors. But he says if it shall please your Majesty to grant his requests that the world may be as well satisfied and persuaded of his innocence as he knows your Majesty is and as he himself holds him most assuredly persuaded of by your said letter, then as he has only devoted himself to your love and friendship, even so will he ever rest and continue your most true and faithful devoted friend against all the world and rest only at your disposition and direction.

It seems that Mr. Foulis has a great desire to do good offices at this time and to wish that the worst may be prevented, whereby he hopes to gain some reputation with your Majesty. I verily think all the premisses to be true because I have seen the Earl of Mar's earnest letter to Mr. Foulis to be most careful at this time to bring some contentment and his earnest request therein to me to further the same. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. From Mr. James Hudson without date."

[1598, ? *c.* June.]

169. [GEORGE NICOLSON] TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxii, No. 39.

I beseech your Honour read and keep close to yourself.

The King is made to think that his letters to her Majesty have sometimes been detained from her and in great secret said that if he should write of any great secret and the letter come not to her Majesty's hands but be otherways used it might harm him, using this as a reason that he writes not oftener nor of great secrets.

It may please your Honour to cause the King's letter to Mr. David be safely delivered and with speed.

The King has made William Hunter a gift of agency for his affairs with her Majesty and for the merchants, but the same must not be known or used until Mr. David be returned. William protests his best offices for the amity and will sure perform it. He desires that it may be kept close and only known to your Honour on whom he much depends.

Here is a gentleman calling himself Sir Edward Shute that crept hither before without leave so far as I know, as now he confesses he is in like manner come in lest he should have been stayed. I hear he would be employed for the King in France. Sundry Englishmen are often coming hither in suspicious sort.

Would it please your Honour to help me to my poor suit that I may see there is reward for service.

I should be sorry but to let it be seen it were well given. I beseech you be my help therein and note my deserts. I only depend on your help.

Some envying my proceedings here with the King have said to him that he had need to beware of me. Yet they say I with my pretence of plainness deceive him and them all, but I praise God I know not deceits other than what I have noted of such foxes.

Mr. Peter Young and the Bishop of Aberdeen are passed forwards to Germany.

The Earl of Crawford is now ready to go through England to France, etc. and sundry others going away.

I cannot write that the King . . .* anything that the Earl of Essex presented Mr. Jo: Colville to her Majesty nor what he thinks. Your Honour may judge.

Mr. David Foulis has written to Home anent the matter of Valentyne Thomas as the King is in suspicion that it is not meant his innocency should be published nor that there is further good meant him. He writes I hear that the man stands to what he said. I perceive that the King keeps further off in his letter to her Majesty anent the Border accident than he was resolved, I suspect by reason of this matter of Valentyne Thomas. Mr. David sends his letters by sea to avoid danger of taking. Letters are come from France but no news but of the things which your Honour will better know. The King is very well resolved to please her Majesty in all things; yet this matter of Valentyne's is now the only doubt of change of that mind for he

* The word has been blurred and is illegible.

1598. accounts it slanderous and shameful to be suspected of such villainy. All else to Mr. Aston's letters and the rest for this time. *Undated. Unsigned. On the back in the same hand:* I see no sure stay of troubles on the Border better than that I wrote; and the same to be done with speed.

1 *p. In the handwriting of George Nicolson.*

July 1. **170.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 43. Since my last of the 17 of the last the King asking me if Sir Robert Carey were come home and I saying he was, he said, "What in such haste to save Berwick as he was sent down before?" adding that he was before commanded to be in Berwick from the Court within 48 hours to save it from taking. These with some other few words he said as I conceived in marvel and regret that such reports should be believed. I said I thought, if there were any such matter, it was now past and done with. Then he spoke of Valentyne Thomas's matter as an untruth also used to his slander. I replied that I thought her Majesty nor none in England gave credit to that report, nor preferred the same before his Majesty's good mind. "Aye, but" he said, "what is that enough? I am publicly slandered, should that be all," with some other words arguing great grief in him that he should be so dealt with and not some way cleared therein. I said I hoped all would be well. I perceived the King thinks he has a great advantage by these reports, because he accounts they will be seen to be false upon trial, as I also think they will prove but devices of some busy spirits. This I perceive also he will no way pass over, unless he be some way satisfied by her Majesty of her better opinion of him than to trust such reports. Mr. Ed: Bruce does his best to persuade him that her Majesty will send to the King herein and thereby has thus long delayed the sending of Mr. David Foulis to her Majesty, showing me that yesterday the King said to him that he made him believe that some [letter ?] was coming to him in that matter and not true, otherways he said he had had one of her Majesty's ere now. Mr. Ed: wished that some letter had but come in time to have been showed to the King that her Majesty had intention to send to him in friendly sort to clear him of this matter [*in margin:* I think the letter may possibly yet come in time] which surely would do good, and though it were sent back as your Honour's last was. For the King once honourably and friendly acquitted of these slanders, Mr. Ed: says and I have heard, will never deal in or move any matter to her Majesty that he thinks may be thought unmeet, no, not for his title, but in all things seek to please her hereafter. And upon this resolution the Ambassadors for Germany must not deal with the matter of the title I hear but for money which they persuade the King to get him by the Queen's mother of Denmark and others that way in honourable sort. But whether there be more matter in that negotiation or no I know not. [*In margin:* . . acter (?) who is now returning back to London I hear has been very honest and plain with the King who gave him good countenance.]

This Convention was exceeding great, every nobleman that came coming with great forces and such feuds amongst them as for the time thereof the town by commandment attended by quarterage to stay and rid frays. And the King's gates (the Convention holding in the palace at Holyroodhouse) were very well and martial-like guarded with his own domestic servants. No earl suffered to carry in with him above 20, no lord above 12, no baron or great gentleman above 6, proclamation being made on Monday last that none of them should come to this town in greater number nor in warlike manner. Yet the Lord Hamilton and Lord Livingstone came in that day with 400 good horse well geared, and no fault found with them. The King the last week had his Council with him to advise on what should be treated in this Convention and in the end drew articles himself of the matters, and very earnestly and inwardly dealt many ways with the Earl of Mar for agreement of the feud between him and the Livingstones, Elphinstones and Bruces that that matter might have been at ease before the Convention. And in the Convention the King made many long and pithy harangues for persuading agreements amongst them and drawing them all to regard his services and good, and so fell to the articles as follows.

First, anent a rent for maintaining his house, apparel, etc., wherein the Treasurer gave overture for the charge of his apparel, etc., and the Comptroller for his house. But neither are agreed unto nor rejected but to be yet further advised on. Sundry secret "plattes" were quiet in hand to have removed them, but the Treasurer made sure Sir Geo: Home's friends, and so they kept foot both.

Anent deadly feuds there is a long Act made, the copy whereof I shall by my next send your Honour, as also by sea a book of the whole Acts here that you upon all occasions may satisfy yourself towards any doubts herein. My Lord of Mar and Master of Glamis stood against this Act. Yet by plurality of votes it passed.

Anent a resident Council to be chosen of the nobility, officers and others, thought good that there shall be 21, whereof 14 to be noblemen and 7 learned. But this is not agreed but remitted to a Parliament.

Anent the election of a Chancellor, not disliked there should be one but rests to be further advised.

For provision and sending abroad for armour much was said, yet left to former Acts. [*In margin:* Monday is made a play day also for exercising of weapons, etc.]

Tho: Foulis is to set going the "coigny" house and to pay 500*l.* sterling by year to the King; and he and Ro: Jowsey are to have 2000*l.* yearly out of the gratuity and 1000*l.* all sterling of the Treasurer and Comptroller towards payment of the King's debt to them.

The Bishop of Glasgow is restored and now to be the King's Ambassador in France, for saving charges but not to enjoy any living here unless he satisfy the Kirk.

The gentlemen of Fife have taken the fee farm of the Lewis for 190 chalders of beir and the contract is now passed in Convention and thought good that the D[uke] go Lieutenant to enter them there, but

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1598. upon their own charges and forces of 2000 men; and the King to go to Kintyre to settle that country to his obedience.

I remembered very carefully every way now at this Convention both Mr. Ed: Bruce, the Lord Comptroller and Bishop of Dunkeld for order to be taken for a good Warden to the West Border and for present delivery of the pledges, as the King also set it down in the Articles himself. And now the Earl of Angus is made Lieutenant and must see this done and justice between the countries. Lord Hamilton and he were in election. My Lord was thought partial because of my Lord Maxwell's feud with Johnstone, and some thought Angus so because of the feud between Drumlanrig and Johnstone. But it was reasoned that Johnstone holding land on Angus would not be so partial and Angus would thereby have more power to agree them both, as I think he shall. Yet Johnstone has in such sort pictured Drumlanrig and so trailed and hung up his picture and sent such challenges to him as it cannot be to Drumlanrig's credit. Johnstone has sent hither his pledges upon the general band and the King is in hope the pledges for us will be had also. Sundry other things were proponed and passed over in this Convention which has ended without any such changes as I looked for, and heard was in "platt." The noblemen are now departing and the King to go the next week to Linlithgow, Stirling and so to go to Falkland, where the Queen will go before him. The 20 hereof he will be here again to agree the matter between my Lord of Mar and the rest. And the 25 the matter of bishops will be reasoned on at Falkland.

I received your Honour's letter anent the overtures carried from the laird of Glenorchy (Glenorquhy) by Geo: Archibald the younger's letter of 19 May. The 22 of the last month I received it. Having spoken with Geo: and his brother, who is indeed agent for Glenorchy, I have moved that all may be set down in articles of offers with the consideration that shall be craved for every particular matter, and this to be done and subscribed by the laird and before me that I may be eyewitness to it and know it to be the laird's deed. For which purpose I offer to go to the laird. But the parties promise that he shall come to Stirling. Thus I shall be sure to return you the very certainty and truths, seeing you trust me herewith. But of all the services or overtures offered for Ireland, MacLean is the worthy man that can dare and will do most in person and has a quarrel indeed against the Earl. The token being sent him will for a small sum do good and great service. Many have moved services which have cost her Majesty much and done no good. But if your Honour please to take the honour of this matter, her Majesty for a small sum shall by God's grace have this way good service. I hope once proof being taken of the good that this way will come to her service it will be an entrance to an easy way to daunt these rebels and to turn the charge her Majesty is at there into greater profit, and this is a service that I would venture my life in. MacLean is the man that the Earl most fears and surely if they agree not will one time or other seek revenge of the Earl. I think that he had attempted it ere now but through these dealings with our estate

1598. he looked and stayed for her Majesty's help in his service against the Earl.

The books that I wrote of before that they would have had Robert Walgrave to have printed concerning the title Ro: thinks are now sent to Middelburg to Richard Skelders or to Thomas Basson in Leyden.

Mr. Andrew Hunter is under examination here anent Logie's confession and for his trafficking through and with England.

I humbly beseech your Honour to be good master to me and by your father's means to help me to my suit in his lordship's hands at her Majesty's hands that with more courage I may serve knowing thereby of some stay for my old years and of some retreat in case of dislike here. Alas, many have had the favour for small matters to get more but I have none to do for me but your father and you. Most humbly beseeching your Honour to commend my poor suit and estate to her Majesty and my Lord for whom whatever becomes of my suit I will pray as for my own soul. At Edinburgh, primo Julii 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "With a letter from his brother Archinros to him and a note of such Lords as were at the Convention in Scotland."

The first enclosure in the preceding letter.
(Noblemen at the Convention.)

Vol. lxii, No. 43[1]. Duke of Lennox.
Lord Jo: Hamilton.
Earls of Angus.
Marischal and Errol not "kynde."
Glencairn and Cassillis in effect in feud.
Cassillis.
Mar in feud with the Livingstones, Elphinstones and Bruces.
Sutherland is to travel by the West Seas to France and other parts.
Errol.
Lords Home was quiet here.
Livingstone.
Seton.
Elphinstone.
Glamis and the Master in feud with Spynie.
Fleming.
Maxwell.
Spynie (Spina).
Newbottle.
Ochiltree.
Dingwall.
Besides many barons and gentlemen.
Slip of paper.

The second enclosure in the same.
(John Auchinross to George Nicolson.)

Vol. lxii, No. 43[11]. Of an evil venture your countrymen to the number of five had good fortune to come to my master where they have left their bark being

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unable to transport her through poverty. They have been "paieit" of my master's ordinance to them as our own boys have shown me, which shall not be unequal as the same deserve though this pleasures them not. My master has "kyethit" him friendly to them. And yet they parted with a small kettle and other iron vessels and a musket as they show me. [They] gave the same to a Lowland man there without my master's knowledge; but that they should have been satisfied for the same or any other thing they would part with, in case they had shown the same to my master and so have got the utter "awaill" of anything they had. I understand through the evil bruit of the Isles the men seized the thing they needed not in his bounds.

On the 13 of this instant Sir James McSorley (McSorroll) and others of as great power as he came to the number of two thousand men on horse and foot to Carrickfergus nearer "nor the troyn is to the croce of Edinburgh". Those of the town issued out. There is slaughter on both sides. The town got the "vor" compelled to retire in aid of their horsemen and footmen. The number of 35 slain there, 9 or 10 of the other side slain. The company of the town did well being few in number. In this "carmusche" the Irishmen made the "stem" at such time that they had the sun and wind in their back. They would have assurance with the town for a certain space to the effect they might pass to the aid of Tyrone, where he is to set on some enterprise, which assurance was refused once. All their bounds towards us are void and waste of men, wherein great store of goods is, so if other turns had followed out this had been pleasant. And their pursuit on this part had compelled them to leave to fate the matter on your part as they do, and have caused them to retire from you. Divers of your soldiers steal away in our merchant boats that travel there to your towns as here there came eight of late and gave their fine muskets and clothes for transporting of them. So they go home by land. As occasion is offered advertise me of news. Dumbarton, the last of June 1598. *Signed:* J. Achinros.

1 *p.* *Holograph, with address.*

July 1. **171. Queen Elizabeth to King James VI.**

Vol. lxii, No. 44. Printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.* (Camden Soc.), pp. 125, 126.

Suppose not that my silence hath had any other root than hating to make an argument of my writing to you that should molest you or trouble me, being most desirous that no mention might once be made of so villainous an act, specially that might but in word touch a sacred person. But now I see that so lavishly it hath been used by the author thereof that I can refrain no longer to make you partaker thereof sincerely from the beginning to this hour of all that hath proceeded; and for more speed have sent charge with Bowes to utter all without fraud or guile, assuring you that few things have displeased me more since our first amity; and charge you in God's name to believe that I am not of so viperous a nature to suppose or have thereof a thought against you, but shall make the deviser have his desert more for that than aught else; referring myself to the true trust of this gentleman, to

1598. whom I beseech you give full affiance in all he shall assure you on my behalf. And so God I beseech to prosper you with all His graces as doth desire your most affectionate sister, E. R.

½ *p. Copy. Endorsed in the same hand:* "1598, primo Julij. Coppy of her Majesty's letter to the Kinge of Scots with her owne hande. Concerning Val: Thomas."

Vol. lxii, No. 44. Another copy of the preceding letter.

½ *p. Endorsed similarly to the foregoing but with the addition:* "sent to Sir William Bowes."

Vol. lii, p. 217. Another copy of the same.

⅓ *p. In the hand of Cecil's clerk.*

July 1. **172.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR ONE TO BE SENT INTO SCOTLAND.

Vol. lxii, No. 46. An instruction for one to be sent into Scotland.

You shall make your repair with all expedition to the Scottish King and let him know that we have forborne to write unto him since the departure of his Ambassador because we have not received any particular answer from him to the letter which he did carry. And yet having always a mind to perform towards him all constant offices of amity and friendship, whereof we trust he has received many approved trials, we have thought good upon this extraordinary cause to break our silence and to let him see our kind disposition towards him, what cause soever we might gather if we would believe reports that he is apt to lean to such sinister counsels as seek the interruption of the amity between our two crowns.

You shall therefore acquaint him that one Valentyne Thomas, a subject of ours, lewdly disposed and long accused for many notorious crimes, has been apprehended in the Borders and being brought to London has been committed for divers crimes proved by witness and confessed by himself, for which he was to receive his trial. In the number of whose offences this was one both proved and confessed by him that he had dealt with one Pickering of the North to prepare such numbers of recusants and others ill affected as he could to receive Westmorland and join with him to trouble us in those parts.

Since which time being conversant in the prison with other offenders he cast out many suspicious words as though he had some further weighty matter to reveal, wherein his conscience compelled him to be his own accuser, such was the quality of the same.

Of this he delivered many broken speeches in the prison, so as there was a general whispering in the house of that matter and that it was an attempt that he had promised to perform against our person. In conclusion he desired leave to speak with some of our public ministers to whom he would reveal such matter as burdened his conscience. Whereupon it is most true that besides his confession of former crimes he revealed plainly and voluntarily that the King had dealt with him amongst other things to take away our life, had offered

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him reward and that he had promised to do it. Whereof when we were informed by such as we had assigned to examine him, though it is most true that they in regard of the apprehension of that devilish invention were so distracted with fear and grief as they were not able to speak for tears, yet for our own part we were so little moved as we were more careful to prevent all speech of it whereby any prejudice might grow to him than anywise terrified for anything concerning ourself, who have learned long to despise all such practices and only repose ourself on God's providence. Besides we that measure all others by the integrity of our own conscience were far from belief that ever the heart of prince so many ways obliged to us could admit such an impious thought. Therefore being loth that our enemies should have any colour upon understanding of any such bruit to practise or hope for any such separation between us, we forbore at his Ambassador's being here or since to acquaint him with it and so would have smothered it but that it is crept abroad so far as it is already, the party having so much divulged it as he had written with his own hand upon a wall these verses:

I shot at a fair white: And in the loosing of my arrow
My elbow was wrested. But I melt for grief
To lose such a game: having so fair a mark.
But if I had escaped that wrest, God knoweth without all peradventure
I had won that game: To the great comfort of England
And profit of myself.

Wherein we doubt not but the King will be easily persuaded to satisfy himself that we clear him from any such wickedness, seeing we both have and do proceed thus with him, for his judgment would serve him to expect other course from us if we were of other opinion.

And therefore howsoever he may hear that the varlet may receive his trial for his other notorious crimes against our crown and dignity, yet we have sent you to assure him that as we no way do condemn him, so the offender shall never be charged with any confession of his that ever the King did deal with him to any such end, but it shall be notified to the world by his suffering death for his own undertaking it and his other offences that no such device could procure him favour, but that we condemn him the more the rather for seeking to gain his life by such slanderous inventions from the credit whereof our own heart is so far alienated.

We do therefore require you to desire the King to look back into the whole courses of our just and kind proceedings with him and thereby to judge our future purposes. Whether we that have never suffered anything to be declared or disputed which might prejudice him anyway, but have refused the desires of our best subjects, who have often pressed us to take into our hands the power to dispose by any secret act of our own the succession of this kingdom, can ever be drawn by any persuasions to determine anything against him, as long as he shall give us no just cause of exception but shall requite our

1598. sincerity in all things, and not to be seduced or inveigled by false or fractious instruments, or at the least if any of his shall lewdly behave themselves towards us anyway without his privity, yet upon knowledge of it to notify to the world by his speedy reformation and due punishment that he contemns their doings.

Whereupon you shall also lay before him that the traitor in Ireland daily boasts of his favours towards him and shows his letters, and sure we are that his own subjects both serve personally under him and that the rebel is no less furnished (according to their means) with all provisions of war from his towns and people than he is from our greatest and most potent enemy. We therefore expect that he will deal princely therein to reform it according to his honour and the conditions of our amities, not only for love to us but for avoiding these reports and pregnant circumstances by which he is so much discredited by all those who abhor that wicked and unnatural rebellion and wonder that he out of thankfulness to us, who pacified all troubles in his own country, removed strangers' armies, freed him of captivity and protected him in his infancy against all practices, does not more carefully prevent all such means as are used to assist those base rebels who are daily fed from his subjects, as is well known to the whole country and bragged of by the rebel.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Copy. Endorsed:* "1598. 1° Julij. Copie of an instructione for one to be sente into Scotlande."

Vol. lxii, No. 47. Draft of the foregoing.

3 *pp. In the hand of Cecil's clerk with corrections and additions in Cecil's hand as in the above copy. Endorsed as the preceding.*

Vol. lxii, No. 48. Another copy of the same instructions, with marginal note against the quoted verses: "Written with a coal on the chimney wall in his chamber in the prison."

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Endorsed similarly to the preceding.*

Vol. lii, p. 215. Another copy of the instructions.

3 *pp. In the hand of another of Cecil's clerks, dated and headed as in the endorsements to the foregoing.*

July 1. **173.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lii, p. 218. Her Majesty being persuaded that Sir William Bowes would be found at Berwick commanded me to direct him to perform this service contained in the instructions. But when she considered that some accidental cause might haply have drawn him to his own house or elsewhere it pleased her that you should be provisionally directed if these letters came to you to proceed as he should have done. And because the instructions are signed by herself to warrant him and not you, it shall be convenient that you show the King the same for your better warrant and to let him know that his absence from thence is the cause why (for expedition sake) you are appointed to deal in it. From the Court this first of July 1598.

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Postscript. You shall do well after speech with the King to acquaint some such of the greatest as are best affected to the amity with the particularities of the proceedings of her Majesty in this matter.

½ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to Mr. Nicholson."

July 1. **174.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Vol. lii, p. 218.

Her Majesty's pleasure is that you should with all expedition make your repair into Scotland according to the instructions signed with her own hand and after you have dealt with the King accordingly to make your repair back to your charge. From the Court the first of July 1598.

Postscript. Because I knew not whether you might be retired to your own house upon any urgent occasion whereby the opportunity of expedition might be lost, specially because the party is tried on Monday next, I have provisionally directed Nicolson to perform this service if you should not be at Berwick when this letter should pass that way. But if this find you then is it her Majesty's express mind that you shall employ yourself in it. And to the intent that those who are best affected in all things belonging to the advancement of the amity may not be ignorant of her Majesty's proceedings, it is her pleasure that you communicate it with such of his Council there as you shall think fittest.

½ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to Sir William Bowes."

July 8. **175.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 49.

On Thursday last I received your packet directed to Sir William Bowes and in his absence to me, wherein was her Majesty's letter to the King, a copy thereof, her instructions and your Honour's letters to Sir William and me. Immediately thereon I repaired that night to Stirling where the next day I came to the King and showed him that her Majesty had written to him and directed Sir William Bowes to have come to him with that letter and instructions in case he could be found on the way from London or at Berwick; if not that the letter and instructions should be sent me to deliver and impart to his Majesty with speed because Valentyne was to receive speedy trial, wherewith it was her Majesty's pleasure his Majesty should be timely advertised. The letters missing Sir William, who I told the King I thought was yet far out of the way at the Baths, they came to me who prayed his Majesty to take the same at my hands in good part, which he did I thank God. So I delivered him her Majesty's letter, which he read, and after the reading laughed and was very glad, saying she might be sure he never meant her harm nor would not for her kingdom be guilty of such a foul intention by his troth. Then having drawn out the

1598. instructions that I might deliver the matter to him in the very words being exceeding well drawn and above my wit and memory to deliver near so well or right, I read them to the King, he and I being at an outside alone together. As I read them noting by them to him, first, that albeit her Majesty if she should credit reports might believe that his Majesty was too apt to lean to such evil counsels as seek the breach of the peace between them, yet in her kindness and trust to him she did it not, he might see. He said, yes, no doubt she might hear enough and he might have had enough of such counsel if he would have followed it, but he never meant nor will do it. Then as I read further I prayed his Majesty to see and note that Valentyne Thomas was not taken for any matter concerning him but for other offences especially for the trafficking with Pickering, which I perceived pleased him well for he said he never heard so but otherways before. This matter I thus noted because I knew some evil ones had told the King that Thomas was taken and suborned only to accuse the King, &c., and to clear this matter as I read further I noted to the King that Valentyne was not persuaded for prolonging or hope of saving his life to be heard of some for her Majesty (a custom I told the King often used with us amongst malefactors) and so voluntarily confessed it. Yet his Majesty might see that albeit it was in fearful sort showed her Majesty, which with some would have moved suspicion, yet such was her trust in God and her good opinion of him as she neither feared nor credited it but was only careful to keep it close that his Majesty should not be slandered therewith nor their Majesties' enemies have advantage thereby to practice evil between them; for I prayed his Majesty to note that her Highness called it a devilish invention and would so have buried it, but that the man did so "divulgate" it. Then coming to the verses he curiously read them saying what meant he by them? Then as we read further I noted to him the wonderful good argument that if her Majesty did not acquit him thereof she would not sure in that manner have dealt with him, which he granted. I noted also that her Majesty termed Valentyne a varlet and would give him trial not for this but for other faults to herself, and that it should be notified to the world by his undertaking it and other offences that that device should procure him no favour but that her Majesty condemns him more for seeking to gain his life by such slanderous inventions, which she most detests. [*In margin:* The King is precious over his good name and would not I conceive be further unjustily slandered. This I found by him that he would not have his name come in open question for so foul a matter. But this to Mr. David.] The King read this part very carefully saying he was well content with it; that he should not die for this matter but for others, so as his further slander might be stayed and avoided and he by good witnesses well and sufficiently cleared of all these things by record that he be not charged therewith afterwards; adding that albeit her Majesty should for no occasions hereafter impute this matter to him again, yet others might possibly do it after her time, unless he be now formally and substantiously acquitted thereof. Wherein he desires her Majesty's continuance of her good dealings towards him, protesting upon his soul that he never directly nor indirectly thought such a vile act, assuring himself that God will not

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1598. let the man die untouched in conscience to purge him thereof when he comes to death; saying that for this matter and others he intends to send up Mr. David Foulis to her Majesty. And so proceeding to that part that desires him to look back to her Majesty's proceedings with him, &c., he laughed and said what meant she to say that concerning the title. He prayed God she might live long. He desired not so much her kingdom as her good days and life. And so proceeding to read out that matter I noted to him that her Majesty looked that he should punish any his subjects of evil behaviour towards her as she did hers. Which he said he should do and that I should see, if I knew and would show him of any such. Thus much for this matter, wherein her Majesty's part shall be after the dispatch of these imparted to the well affected meet Councillors as your Honour has well advised; as I did partly to Mr. Aston after my return yesterday, the King having told me that he had been reasoning therein with him upon the letters I sent him.

Then proceeding to Irish matters the King made some exception to that part of that clause touching the removing of strangers' armies and freeing him out of captivity in his infancy, saying he thought not so of that matter, neither liked to have it so accounted of or be "cassen" up to him, saying it was a deposing of his mother and if any should seek to depose him and set up his son, he could not think well of it. [*In margin:* This I write that his mind may be known in this and all things after towards this point carried accordingly, desiring your Honour it may be secret. For I cannot say he said it to me to advertise again.] After some reasoning in this matter, I showing his Majesty that the French meant to be conquerors told him that there was one of that crew yet living at Berwick looked to have been a laird ("larde") as they all did, which if they had prevailed and been by their own making, they would have been loth he should have been king. But the King showing some signs that he liked not to have that matter so "cassen" to him, and I think not well pleased neither that I had said so much, very freely and kindly fell to the matter and swore as God should judge him, since Sir William Bowes's being here, he had nothing to do with the Earl, neither was his writings other with the Earl than that where the Earl had written to him for the continuance of the ancient favours between them that was between their forebears and in that respect for his good will, he had answered that in regard thereof he would be ready to do him any favour by mediation at her Majesty's hands that were meet; and so far but never further that ever the King had offered him favour. Since which time the King swore he never heard from him but conceives that because he offered him no other favour than should be had of her Majesty that the Earl took the answer in evil part and so forbears to trouble him. The King also protests that he detests him because of his unthankfulness to her Majesty, who of nothing promoted him, who in the time of her greatest gracing of him and dealing for his good was playing the traitor and providing lead for that vile rebellion which he swears he hates detestably and will be any way used by her Majesty to suppress as carefully, if she will charge him, as her own or as he would have her help to

1598. suppress his rebels again. As for transporting anything out of this country to their aid he will do whatsoever can be devised to stay it or whatsoever I or any for her Majesty would have done. But he said, and it is true, that there is such a love between his people and them, and such a necessity of traffic, as it will be hard to stay all. But if I could discover anything I should see it severely tried and punished. I said if I could I might not be the justifier being a stranger but I knew it was commonly used, notwithstanding his Majesty's proclamations, and yet had I never certified so in hope of amend. He said I should but quietly tell him or Roger to remind it to him and he should try and punish it himself and keep our names secret. I thanked him and prayed that proclamation might be made again of new and upon pain of death to restrain such traffic with those traitors and to be put in print, that by the dispersing them in Ireland the people, deceived and encouraged by the traitors' bragging of his Majesty's favour and letters, may know the truth of his mind. This the King very freely agreed to, saying this or anything else I would have should be had at his returning to this town. Thereon thinking better of this matter I intend to move also that bond may be taken of the magistrates of his coast towns to restrain that aid, which I hope shall do most good as I will move and hope to get it done.

After I was thus departed he called me again praying me to give him a copy of these instructions. I told him at his coming to Edinburgh. Then he prayed me to give it to the Secretary to be advised on, that Mr. David might be directed therein accordingly, which I said I should do. Immediately after he wrote to the Secretary to call for the same and sent him her Majesty's letter. The Secretary this day sent to me about it, to whom I showed them as I had done to the King, telling him the King had taken all in marvellous good part. But he said they had need to be well advised on for the King's purgation, adding they were too long in coming and using many protestations of his good will and endeavours to the amity and withal most curiously asking of Sir William Bowes, as I thought that he thought it a great matter he came not in. In the Irish causes liking well of my motions as very reasonable and meet he said all would be done. In Border causes he said the Earl of Angus was to go first to the King and then to the Borders to see how they were, that if he were able to deliver pledges and do justice, the King might send to her Majesty to send some warden to hold correspondency with him, wherein he says the King will use speed for her Majesty's contentment and justice sake. Surely he uses good words saying they are not good Scotsmen that would not preserve the peace with her Majesty of whom the King his master receives such good.

I pray you to pardon me if anything be amiss for I am neither scholar nor of ability to do more than my wit serves me. Edinburgh, 8 July 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. The Ambassadors, Mr. Peter Young and the Bishop of Aberdeen are to go with this wind if it hold fair.

The Queen is half gone I hear with child.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

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176. George Nicolson to Sir William Bowes.

Vol. lxii, No. 50.

Since my last to you written for life, I have now with this time only written 3 times: the first in answer of Mr. Secretary's letter sent to me to show the King anent his dealings with Bothwell; the second was of the peaceable passing over of the Convention and the Acts passed therein; and this is in answer of her Majesty's letter to the King and instructions which you should have come in with in case you could have been got on or near the way or at Berwick concerning her Majesty's mind that she acquits the King of Valentyne Thomas's accusations as accusations untrue and invented, a matter wherein I am sorry you showed not my letters. For it is come as you see, yet there is not so much as a touch made by me that ever I wrote word thereof to you. But knowing you cannot be long now from Berwick I write sparingly, purposing to come thither to you to show all. The Earl of Angus is Lord Lieutenant and Warden of the West. [*In margin:* I durst not write to Mr. Secretary as he requires where the fault was of the Border mischiefs.] Some touch upon Mr. Secretary's letter I wrote that for honest men's contentments lest their break were worst some redress must needs be made and no bygones bygones but compounding bill for bill and giving part goods and part kindness that the people may have some satisfaction, wherein I referred all to your coming, writing I hoped you should yet make some end as it might be of the toilful travails you had therein. Thus till your arrival at Berwick. Edinburgh, 8 July 1598. *Signed:* Geo: Nicolson.

Postscript. O Lord what wrong do you yourself to be out of the way now! I have the King's safe-conduct for Mr. Henry to come and go for Border causes, and proclamation for his pledges' protection also.

The Queen is half gone I hear with child.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To the right worshipful Sir William Bowes, knight, her Majesty's Treasurer of Berwick." *Seal broken.*

July 15.

177. George Nicolson to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxii, No. 51.

Even very now my Lord Secretary sent for me, showing me that the King had written to him to learn of me whether Valentyne Thomas was tried and executed or no, and if he were not executed to write with all diligence to your Honour that his trial and execution may be stayed until the King may write with his own hand to her Majesty how he would desire that matter to be handled for the clearing of his honour therein. Hereto I answered it seemed he was not yet executed but was surely shortly to be after the dispatch of the letters sent hither anent that matter. Always my Lord Secretary willed me in the King's name to pray you to move her Majesty that Valentyne Thomas's trial and execution may be stayed until the King write in this matter, which I have in this haste thought my duty to address unto you, beseeching

you to return answer herein with all speed. [*In margin:* The Lord Secretary made curious inquiry again now for Sir William Bowes.] For my Lord Secretary says the King rests to write with all speed accordingly, adding if he be executed the King needs not write in the form he intends for his trial.

On Sunday last the minister at Stirling preaching upon the second commandment (I hear) inveighed against idolatry and by touch against the restoring of the Bishop of Glasgow, &c., whereat the King being offended replied that his reproving was against the Act of the General Assembly and Parliament, that he should answer it that the ministers should not so rule, and some other words as if he intended yet to shorten their liberty. Which is like to make the King more resolute anent the establishing of bishops now at Falkland and the infringing of the ministers' ampleness.

The Earl of Angus has been with the King who resolutely has told him that he will have her Majesty contented fully in Border causes, as upon the King's coming hither the 20 hereof will be now dealt in by the King, as also the matter of feuds put to some certain end. Edinburgh, 15 July 1598 in haste. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil:* "G. Nycolson to me."

July 22. **178.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxii, No. 52.

Your letter of 15 July came to my hands to-day morning at London, whereupon this day at noon I attended her Majesty so soon as I could have access to her presence. She upon perusal thereof commanded me to write back unto you that she held it strange that in requital of her kind and princely letter to the King, accompanied with instructions for your better direction, he was neither pleased by his own letters to return any present answer till his messenger could be dispatched, nor now (that he recommends a new motion to her Majesty) accompany it with three or four lines from himself whose own letters, I have had good experience, whensoever they came are always kindly taken and work great impression. For the matters confessed by this lewd villain they are very many and devilish, though forasmuch as have reference to his accusation of the King, utterly discredited by her Majesty, and I must needs say to you that in this case (wherein no flesh or blood could be free from passion) her Majesty has used extraordinary moderation both in the form of proceeding and in her care and tenderness towards the King. I must further note unto you that she commands me to let you know in particular that when your old master was there a leger Ambassador, a man of place and quality, he never forgot (whensoever the Queen wrote with her own hand to the King) to be sure for answer to procure the like from him; which doubtless if you had moved to the Lord Secretary (as became you to do) his Majesty would never (I presume) have "foreslowed" it; for it

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is not unlike but that her Majesty may make judgment by the form used towards her that her kindness is not so well accepted as it deserves. I must therefore conclude, first, that I am sorry you have given so just cause of her Majesty's offence, and secondly, her Majesty has made me this answer for the matter, that the day of his arraignment must hold on Monday next, seeing for that purpose divers judges and others are and have been long stayed in town, being appointed commissioners for his trial, whereof I thought good to give you present notice. From the Court at Greenwich, 22 July 1598.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed:* "Copy of my master's letter to Mr. Nycholson."

Vol. lii, p. 220.

Another copy of the same letter with some variations in the wording of the latter portion, viz. after the words "her kindness is not so well accepted as it deserves," Cecil writes: "For my own part I did as became me to communicate the same to her Majesty with all expedition but I can receive no other resolution but that the day of his arraignment," etc.

1 *p. In the hand of another of Cecil's clerks. Headed:* "A minute of my master's letter to Mr. George Nicholson."

July 25. **179.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No 53.

On Thursday last I rode to Stirling and the next morning I went over the water and met "strictly" with Glenorchy, who very freely offers to do her Majesty good service as he may be directed by the King and rewarded by her Majesty according to his merit. For agreement anent what service he will do and what consideration shall be made him, he will send up Mr. John Archibald as well with full commission as instructions to proceed and conclude therein, and will perform whatsoever Mr. John shall agree unto. This he will do so soon as ever his instruments sent abroad by him for trying and doing of that which may lead him to deal safely and soundly for his credit with her Majesty [are returned?], promising that whether she agree or not agree with him that he would give me the best intelligence he could for her good, noting to me that McSorley's coming hither had given great advantage to the rebel; as also that her Majesty must use men of like natures and agility to the rebels in case she would more easily subdue them. Mr. John promises and will be a good instrument herein and will bring offers which sure in my conceit will be well liked of. As for his good will and offices done to my master for the service and now in these will be found worthy of good conceit and reward which will no little further this matter. The laird said to me he would seek nothing of her Majesty but as he should deserve at the year's end. But all these to his (Mr. John's) coming and your good consideration. Here are such speeches of Irish matters as grieve me to hear: that McSorley is the Earl's lieutenant, that they have great

armies and are masters of the field, that they triumph and either are lying about Carrickfergus or will be to besiege it, that they set up the mass and think in short time now to put out the English from that country. On Friday the same day I returned hither to solicit the King's order anent the restraint of provisions or men to go out of this country to the rebels' aid. The Lord Secretary having my note of what I desired therein tells me he has the King's order for the same, which shall be done accordingly with speed he said; which when it shall be done shall be signified to your Honour.

The King is in great anger with me for that I gave not a copy of the instructions to the Secretary, having said he looked not for that at my hands; that he could not nor would not answer her Majesty till he had copy thereof by which he might frame his answer; saying he cannot remember every point of them and in this employs Mr. Aston to me, with whose advice I shall do for the best to both our judgments. How I am importuned or what to do herein it grieves me to think, having given the Lord Treasurer, Comptroller and Mr. Edward Bruce (a sound gentleman and well disposed to the amity) sight of them and imparted them to Sir George Home to their good contentments as Mr. Aston did the same to the Earl of Mar. For others here I saw no cause, some of them being not pleased that the king would take notice of them by me, her Majesty writing to the King that Sir William was to have done the same to him. But I endure all with patience, praying God I may please where I owe duty.

On Thursday the King came from Falkland hither for ending the matter between the Earl of Mar and his adverse parties, the Livingstones, Bruces and Elphinstones. But albeit he took great pains and used many devices to reconcile them, he could not at this time unless he should have used his authority which he forbears, hoping yet to agree them by this device. He has ordained either party to give in their griefs and purgations towards other the 8 of the next month at Falkland, by which as either party shall complain of other, so shall they also purge themselves towards other to the King, whereby he may see the differences and purgations and use both to agree them. The Bruces refused to give purgation; yet for all this device the agreement is much doubted of at that time. But if it be to the Earl of Mar's contentment and the King stand indifferent for him in the action between him and Calder (Cauder), Sandilands by name, the Earl will be drawn to take the burden of the King's affairs on him and to be Chancellor. But this is far off and yet in my conceit will be in case the King sort well with him in these matters. The Queen is his sure friend but the Treasurer is noted to be on the other side.

The King still pretends to have purpose to agree Buccleuch and Cessford, yet it rests over. The pest is at Hawick and Buccleuch removed to Selkirk (Selkrigg). Buccleuch the better to quiet Liddesdale would be more able in case he could have the pledges, who might command and persuade their friends, for some time at home upon entry of their sons or near friends till their return to frame that country to the peace and quietness with us, and in case it would not offend would move it for that purpose. But this to your Honour's consideration, not

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knowing what is done therein by others since this motion to me.

Mr. Robert Bruce preaching with some touch against the restoring and employment of the Bishop of Glasgow is so far fallen in the King's displeasure again as the King has said he took it in worse part than the 17 of December and that Mr. Robert seeks nothing but to discredit him with his subjects. And where the meeting should have now been at Falkland this day anent the reasoning of bishops, the King, having commended this matter of Mr. Robert's preaching to the order of the presbytery here this day and left the commissioners to insist in the matter against Mr. Robert, went yesterday to Falkland where he will stay the proceeding of the reasoning that Mr. Robert's matter may be this day ended and the commissioners of this presbytery, Mr. Robert being one with the other commissioners, may be there to-morrow and so proceed. The King will have it that the bishops must be, which in end will be his trouble when it comes to their establishment and restoring to the living by Parliament, which the nobility will resist for their own particulars.

Colonel Stewart and the gentlemen that went with him to convoy home the Duke of Holstein are returned. They have got some chains and other gifts but not in sort as they make any commendation of the same. Now the King upon the Colonel's return and such word as he brought has sent in all haste after the Bishop of Aberdeen and Mr. Peter Young to stay them that they go no further than Denmark but return. The Colonel wrote before to the King to stay them till his return for such matter as he had to show. But then the King was the more earnest and wrote to them that if he found them here he would hang them. What these matters mean I know not, but sure it will be needful that Sir William Bowes or some lie here this winter that might look to these things and bestow something to discover what they and other matters mean that the next summer suspected to be troublesome may be forethought on and foreseen to.

The Earl of Angus is gone to quiet the country, which done the King will write to her Majesty for correspondency of mutual delivery of pledges and to appoint some to that end. In case of need at his return he will go in person to effect the same. But those parts are so troubled as the quietening thereof is uncertain.

On Monday the King begins his hunting and on the 10 of the next goes from Falkland to Stirling and from Stirling to Inchmurrin (Inchmeren), and from Dumbarton the 20 to the Isle of Bute, then to the Isle of Arran and then to Kintyre, where he is to stay some 12 days to order that country, and to return and bring with him from Dumbarton Castle Angus MacConnell to be committed to ward in the Bass.

The Queen is altered and goes not over the water but will lie at Dalkeith and hereabouts.

It may please your Honour to be good to me and help me to my poor suit that I may serve with comfort and without fear of want in my old years. Edinburgh, 25 July 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed.*

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180. KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 358. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 390. Printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, XVI, 338.

That I have been so long answering your last letter [I most] heartily pray you not to impute it to any "suearnesse" or fault of courtesy in [me] whereunto my nature (I thank God) is no ways inclined but in truth I bear [so lit]tle regard to so vile and treacherous lies proceeding from so base a fountain as [I think] my only innocence should have force enough to bear me through the foggy [mists] of such groundless calumnies and therefore had remitted the answer of your letter to have been carried by a messenger of my own whom I am shortly to send unto you. Always ye may assure yourself that I have obeyed the contents and desire of your letter, for before God it never entered [in my] heart to suspect that a prince endowed with such rare graces as ye are c[ould] ever give ear to such shameless fictions. My suit only is that until ye hear further from me (which shall be with all diligence) ye would favour me [so] far as to delay the fellow's execution if he be yet alive to the effect that by some honourable means wherein I am to deal with you my undeserved slander may be removed from the minds of all men. Which assuring myself [of] your princely honour and love towards me ye will gladly do, I commit you, Madam [and] dearest sister to the tuition of the Almighty. From my palace of Falkland, the 30 of July 1598. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Holograph. Postscript added in Rymer:* "How unjustlie I am blamed anent Irish Matteris, ye shall lykewayes be informed by one of myne." *The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

July 31.

181. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 54.

Your Honour's of the 22 hereof I received on Friday last and on Saturday I went over the water to the King at Falkland, where I acquainted him with the contents, perceiving thereon by his countenance to my conjecture that he was troubled therewith in mind in that he had not written before and that the man's arraignment was not stayed. Yet he said only these words that I knew he could not then at the receipt of the letters write, neither knew he what to write not knowing whether the man would be dead or living, neither thought he Mr. David should have been so long in going; saying he would put that matter to a point and asking me what Monday it was that he was to be arraigned. I told him the last Monday, and so he went into supper, I staying and retiring myself, praying good Mr. Aston to mark and hearken what was said thereon, because nothing would have been said in my hearing, as also to move the King at his good time to let me know what answer he would make thereto and thereby (other occasions wanting) to get opportunity to know the King's mind in private that he might advertise it; and for those purposes I hasted him with me to the King. This he did very carefully as your Honour by his own will perceive with what he found therein and perceiving the King would write he got gilt paper and very diligently at meet time

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yesterday afternoon put his Majesty in mind thereof. Whereon the King wrote the letter enclosed to her Majesty which it may please you to deliver to her with my excuse for God's cause that the King wrote not before nor that I did importune him as I ought for answer but took for answer his words which were that he would send Mr. David with his mind in those things and which he had done before, before this, but that money wanted to set him forwards, which this week will be got and he thereon take journey with diligence. After the King had written he sent for me and told me what he had written concerning his excuse and Irish causes which he recorded himself to me. Which matters he said Mr. David should truly and at length impart to her Majesty for her better satisfaction and his acquittal, adding he never carried that traitorous mind to her nor would have any kingdoms by such wicked courses; protesting he never meant her Majesty any evil nor had any course to cast out with her; saying if he had ever meant her evil or trouble he had better opportunity when the Spaniard was at sea and standing out with her, and his own people all crying to him and stirring him up to have taken the advantage of those things and other "plattes" for the revenge of his mother's death. But all these "plattes" then nor any others could never draw nor shall move him to break friendship with her Majesty so long as she uses him any way well, trusting that her Majesty noting his former courses will not be moved to judge now any such will in him, especially in so foul a matter that his nature so hates. I replied he needed not trouble him in that matter, for he saw how her Majesty did not believe but held it a devilish device and a wicked invention as all good men in England that knew of it did also. He said, yes, but yet he must and would deal for clearing himself and his credit to the people as much against accusations hereafter as now, and wherein he hopes of her Majesty's favour. And for Ireland matters, he said, he had given order that all should be done I had desired or should desire. For he loved neither rebellions nor rebels but would do as he would be done to. I said he had good cause, for I knew and was an actor in her Majesty's charge to Bothwell which was that she willed him either to desist from his rebellion or she would pursue him with her own forces, noting he was beholden [to] her. He said, by his troth he was. She had done him more in that matter than the King of France that promised more, and he should hold hand to her Majesty against those traitors so far as she would desire him. And in plain truth she should know his dealings with them. I told him the rebel bragged of his favour and if they had none they abused him so far as he was not to bear it, and if they had, they were the more to be hated for boasting of it. But he said they had none more than he had told of and would certify, but made their advantage to the people of that which was nothing, as they should never have that again. And so willing me to take the letter to my Lord Secretary to seal and direct and to haste it away I took my leave and came yesternight to Kinghorn and this day hither, where I stayed the Secretary's coming and had the King's letter delivered me even very now.

The Session is now broken up and the Secretary at leisure to do

1598. all things for the Irish causes which, God willing, your Honour shall see substantiously done. For the Secretary will leave it to John Andrew to be done as I shall advise. By my next I trust to send these things. But I have received a letter, from John Auchinross, which I send enclosed, containing a mind in MacLean to serve her Majesty so he be with speed answered, otherways a plain giving up, which I commend to your good consideration, assuring you he is the man of this nation without exception of any (save the King who must commend him if he do anything) that will do the best service if he be employed. If he have no answer he will account himself free of his offers. He has a thousand men presently ready. Some of the Council asked me if he be going to Ireland for the Queen's service, saying they hear so. I say plainly not that I know on. In this it may please your Honour to return speedy and effectual answer, else I cannot tell what course he will run. But it will be spoken on. A gentleman gave me large offers for drawing all the Islanders one way for what her Majesty would direct, as also to discover Mr. James Gordon's "plattes," &c. All which I leave to your consideration.

If the King hold journey to Kintyre, as it yet may be doubtful, I think he shall be advised to send some to the rebels to move them not to aid Angus MacConnell's bastard nor any of his rebels to the hindrance of his purpose of Kintyre and the Lewis. For these matters and to advise for a Council with the King and here, they are to have shortly deliberation, which as it shall be you shall be advertised. The reasoning anent bishops and the matters against Mr. Robert Bruce, the minister of Stirling, &c., for preaching against the restoring of the Bishop of Glasgow are all put off for this time, the King having purged himself anent the restoring of the Bishop of Glasgow for any evil purpose and protested he shall not come in Scotland except he reform him to the religion, as also they needed not openly but privately have showed their suspicions and dislikes thereon. Beseeching your Honour to satisfy her Majesty towards me. Edinburgh, ultimo July 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Rec. at London the 5 August."

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(John Auchinross to George Nicolson.)

Vol. lxii, No. 54[1]. My lord and master's affection to her Majesty's service against Tyrone moves me divers times to write to you of his mind, and now at last has given me occasion to conclude that ye might make those acquainted therewith to whom the action appertains. Ye know that in your umquhile lord and master's time my master "kithed" himself against those of this realm that made them to the aid of Tyrone, which even to this time "sensyn" he has kept himself in that form, although divers times Tyrone and O'Donnell have used means to tempt him, yet he has remained constant to do her Highness service in the action in Ireland, and that Sir Robert promised to make him her pensioner when the delivery of the thousand French crowns promised was paid as ye know. In hope whereof to this present not only he did stay his own men from the service of Tyrone and others,

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her Majesty's rebels in Ireland, wherethrough he "behuiffit" to ware on them being men of nature subject to the wars, but also did use such mean and main that none others of the Isles did repair there, a matter of no small importance, albeit that he has received no "meitting" but great loss. Divers times ye willed me to move my lord and master to the part of constancy for serving her Majesty against Tyrone and staying of him and his from entering in any kind of familiarity with him, O'Donnell or any other her Highness's rebels in Ireland. As I upon Sir Robert's promise was constant and ready to obey, so ye know what further power ye had to insist herein with me. All that was desired of my lord and master is kept, wherethrough seeing no fruit but fair words all his captains and principal friends are malcontent with me that stayed them by the command and power of my master from their commodity and doing in the wars and have denounced me to be the instrument of their loss. Yet my lord and master knows my part to be honest. To us of truth if my lord's opinion had been followed out against Tyrone that action had been ended to her Majesty's contentment ere now. Now, brother, albeit my lord's and his friends' evil will remains against Tyrone as ye know the great particular betwixt them, yet the common sort will move the principals to "conqueis" commodity and profit, whereunto they have respect as others that are trained up in wars have. So that without my master know the certainty of Sir Robert's promise he will not be subject any longer to her Highness's service. This in honest terms he declares though the same be left, seeing his great loss through awaiting on her Majesty's service for the which he prepared him divers times and did "vair" on men, armour and mean to carry them over to Ireland with diligence. Ye shall have this to my Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert and have response here accordingly in all haste. There are threescore musketeers and "hagbuttaris" of "Omailyeis" land in Ireland come to my master and from him are passed farther north in the Isles. My master beholds and will do as occasion is offered. Dumbarton, 26 July 1598. *Signed:* J. Achinros.

Postscript. Brother, as occasion be offered my master shall be ready to await on service and to serve her Highness.

1 *p. Holograph, with address.*

[1598, *c.* July.] **182.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxii, No. 55.

If MacLean had been entertained the rebels in Ireland durst not have so freely drawn all their forces to the offence of her Majesty but of necessity would have been driven to have left their countries guarded, to have defended the same against MacLean, and he MacLean had been but encouraged to have made but incursions upon them for spoils, which he would have done to the rebels' great hurt and disadvantage, and so much to the good of her Highness's service, as it is hard to say what profit and advantage might have followed thereon to that service. But in this I say no more fearing my former persuasions herein may be misconstrued. Yet the experience of the non-use of such

1598. service has, and I fear will still, declare it to be the rebels' ease and advantage and not ours.

I have long conjectured upon good grounds that the King could be content to be employed by her Majesty to pacify those troubles by persuading them to her obedience. But I have no warrant to touch this point. And yet it is true he would either do this or assist her Majesty by way of service against them (as I hear in secret sort but not as I may speak of). And if this were thought meet I think it might be drawn on to be offered. But if I offend I pray pardon, for I protest I mean no ill.

Sundry good and wise men suspect the King to have some mystery in the establishing of bishops, as also some high "platt" by restoring the Bishop of Glasgow and putting thus at the ministers. I hear some are to be sent by the West Sea voyage, whither or for what purpose I know not. But if suspected courses do "kythe" and proceed I hope in God a poor man shall be able to do something, being comforted but once thereto by my poor suit, which I humbly beseech your Honour to help me unto and as I account I have partly deserved the same of her Majesty, so shall I endeavour to deserve this favour of you, which, once done, you shall with God's grace see my good will not wanting. *Undated. Unsigned.*

½ *p. In George Nicolson's hand. Unaddressed. No endorsement.*

Aug. 1. **183.** THE LAIRD OF GLENORCHY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 56. I have received your Honour's courteous letter whereby I have learned how by your good means her Majesty is induced to so good a resolution of my service, specially in this errand, which, God willing, will continue the loving repose of both the realms. For the which I report you most loving thanks with assurance on my part not to frustrate her Majesty of that good meaning you have made her to conceive, as in convenient time I shall give good proof, the King my sovereign "acordane" thereto. I have in audience of the bearer conferred with George Nicolson, her Majesty's agent, and accordingly have set my offers down under my own hand with the bearer, my secretary, whom I have directed to your Honour speedily because there are matters here in action which require this turn shortly at a point, and seeing the affairs of the State are well enough known to the bearer, I leave to trouble you with discourse in writ, committing the report of the whole to his sufficiency with power and commission to him to treat and conclude in the heads delivered, which according to his resolution with you I will see performed. For knowing of your condition with her Highness, besides the report we have of your worthy duty in your charge, bearing therewithal a good will to religion and amity of both the realms, I cannot but assure your Honour that her Majesty, God willing, shall find undoubted services of these your treaties, my sovereign being heartily acquainted, which her Majesty's mean at all occasions may readily procure. Beseeching you, my humble and obedient duty being presented to her Majesty, your

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Honour will speedily and conveniently dispatch the bearer, seeing the time most proper for that service approaches as he will acquaint you, whom you shall as effectually credit in the premisses as myself. Glenorchy, this first of August 1598. *Signed:* Glenorquhay.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Placard seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 2. **184.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 57.

Yesterday I received your Honour's letter of the 25th of the last understanding thereby *that the resolution anent MacLean is deferred* and Irish causes also for any great prosecution till the next Spring. Indeed the year is far spent yet the party being ready with great forces which are judged here to be for her Majesty's service may have good times yet for incursions against the Earl, both to trouble and harm the traitors to the drawing of them together by the ears and to give her Majesty a trial what MacLean may do and what his service is worth, that she may either proceed with or leave him. What he will now do I know not. But I judge that except he be satisfied anent that which he looked [for], *that her Majesty would make him her pensioner* and that there be sent him in hand *some two hundred pounds sterling for the* 2 *years bypast since it was promised*, and that the King direct him for his warrant, and her Majesty promise to hold hand with him against the Earl when he is embarked in her quarrel against the rebel, and [he] know of some consideration for his incursions, he will not deal I suspect but run other courses, it being said here that O'Donnell has sent him 19 horses and other things of worth and had especial men with him; which with the letter from John Auchinross sent you by my last gives me to think that he is in little hope to be employed by her Majesty and now is indifferent seeking only to discharge himself and run his own course. If her Majesty please to use him *John Auchinross would be gratified with some C. French crowns which will do good for he well deserves reward.* [*In margin:* Mr. Craven of Watling Street can cause his servant William Milburne now here to deliver what money your Honour shall appoint for these causes to me and with the speed of post letters.] And these things would be sent with all speed and the King written unto that her Majesty hearing that MacLean is ready with great forces to go to aid the rebel, &c., against the league, &c., would have the King to stay him, and if his going be for entertainment she is as able as the rebel and if the King will undertake to make him serve faithfully for her she will give him reasonable consideration and in which behalfs she has directed me to solicit the King and with his advice and help to agree with MacLean so he think MacLean a meet man and will undertake for him. This letter to be written for me to deliver or not deliver as with MacLean's advice shall be thought meet. For it may be that at this time MacLean will not have the King dealt with but will do the service under colour of aiding Sir James (Angus's son) against McSorley for those lands in Ireland and so know the matter only himself and

1598. yet have Sir James's forces with him also. *The King has written and sent messengers of arms to charge MacLean and MacConnell (McConle) and others* to meet him at Dumbarton the 15 hereof to have their advice and attend him this journey if so it be thought good. *Therefore, what your Honour would have done would be here about* that time for the 20th the King goes to Bute, &c. I beseech you to let me know whether I shall attend the King this journey or the Council here. If I attend the King it must be upon this ground to move and remember him upon his meeting of the chief Highlanders and Islanders to forbid them to aid or meddle with the rebels. But I hear in secret the King will be loth that I go, because as *I hear he intends to send to the rebels to forbid them to aid Angus's bastard son, upon which sending the Earl or MacSorley at least is judged shall come quietly,* but unless it prove true God forbid anything should be said of or to that matter. And if I go and any occasions be to write to me *within* 20 *days after the* 20 *hereof,* because no English can come this journey, *your Honour may write to my Lord Governor to send them secretly hither to Robert Walgrave,* as if he sent for some books, *for Robert is very sure and would do anything to have favour at home,* and he will give them to John Cunningham, a very honest man well known to you, and in this matter with MacLean has and does so behave himself as he deserves favour whensoever his adoes carry him to London. And so John may have the letters without suspicion or sight of Englishmen and safely send them to me, for so I have agreed if need be. But because of danger it will be best that if you direct me this journey there be no letters sent till against the King's return about 10 September.

Where the other part of your letter is only anent an act to be got done by some of this nation against Tyrone, I understand it very well, as I ever did since I was with you that such a thing would please. But I am most sorry that my suit is not thought deserved but yet to rest upon further service which I thought should have deserved further reward. But alas! it is not now a day's desert but friendship that gets rewards. I have none but my Lord your father and your Honour to depend on. And if upon your goodness to me ye help me not to my suit I perish, for though I should hap to deserve, yet I can make no other friends. Therefore I can do no more for my suit but most humbly beseech you that it rest not upon that which may miss to be done but that you will be good to me and help me to it, and I shall not fail to do what I can in that matter and advertise you what I do. Indeed many may undertake but none perform it that are not desperate, unless some great men. MacLean, if he be used, I know hopes to stir some of the best about Tyrone to assault his life. And John Cunningham assures me he is yet free and may be moved easily to serve her Majesty, and I believe it for he hates Tyrone mortally. Always, if there be anything sent him I shall see it be so before he get it.

This Estate is very quiet; the matter anent bishops being at Falkland voted unto with equal number of votes is left to the Assembly. The matter against Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. James Balfour of this town and Mr. Patrick Simpson of Stirling for preaching against the restoring of the Bishop of Glasgow is left to be tried by their several

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presbyteries. And then it was set down in articles and agreed that the Bishop's restitution should not be by Parliament but *ex gratia Regis*, that he should if he came into the country either reform himself within 40 days after his arrival to the Kirk here or lose the benefit of that grace, that he should not be Ambassador. These the King set down before the ministers and sent them to the Secretary to have drawn an Act to these effects for reforming the former Act made in the Bishop's favour. But the Secretary would not do it till he had first spoken the King therein, to whom he went yesterday about that matter and others. The Earl of Errol in plain terms said it should not be reformed but stand. The 8 hereof the matter between the Earl of Mar and his competitors will be dealt in for agreement; and other matters as a Council to be appointed to await on the King this journey if he go, as the King's resolutions are uncertain, especially in such a matter as must need money and provision, and a Council to be here, &c. The plague is at Hawick and Buccleuch removed to Selkirk (Selkrig). Angus is dealing to stay and quiet the broken country, and Johnstone for killing the 3 Bells must of necessity, some think, leave the country to please the King and give place to his anger. But all these uncertain things to the issue. At Edinburgh, 2 August 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "McLane ready with great forces. 200*l.* to be sent McLane and 100 ^ [crowns] to Auchinrose. He desires his suit may be remembered. This to be answered before the 20th. R. at London the 8th of the same. This was answered the 10th of Aug." *The words in italics in the first paragraph have been underlined probably by Sir Robert Cecil.*

Aug. 7. **185.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 58.

Now the laird of Glenorchy (Glenorquhy) has sent this bearer, Mr. John Archibald (Archbut), his secretary, to your Honour with his letter and instructions giving him power to conclude in the service, as by the same and Mr. John at good length will be opened to you. All which I commend to your good consideration to deal in as shall be thought most meet. Wherein you may be assured of the laird's honesty and sound dealing for he is of honour, great wealth and power, never yet seen to have broken with any. In which behalf likewise Mr. John may do good offices and is so determined to the full of his power, as therefore, and in consideration of the good offices he did before to my master for the service of her Majesty, it were very meet he were kindly rewarded for his good will and pains and for his encouragement to further these services. In which behalf in case the matters committed to him be not fully set down in writing under the laird's hand as are fit, Mr. John has power to do it for the laird, who in his letter to me desires that all may be done with speed and secrecy that his servant may not stay upon his dispatch, which it may please your Honour to regard, sending for him to come secretly to you, by which

1598. he may and will the more boldly deal. At Edinburgh, 7 August 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 7. **186.** KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Vol. lxii, No. 60. "Richt excellent, richt heigh and mightie Princesse, our dearest sister and cousin. In our hertyest maner we recommend ws unto zou. As we ar most hertilie sorye to have the occasioun ministerat unto ws of trubling zour earis at this tyme with our so justlye consaved greiff, so dar we not be answerable to that great God who placed ws here above our people yf thair smartis and causles hurtis wounded ws not and maid ws with a restles cair to provide the nearest and best remedie for repairing thair wrongis; especiallie sen in this last attempt committit vpoun our bordoures we have not to complene of any thevis wronging of others, or of any officiaris revendge vpoun thevis suppois pereventure not so formall as it aucht to be; but vpoun zour officiares and principale gentilmen borderares (who should have a respect and cair to honnestie and justice) for murthering of sett purpois and apprehending and vsing as lauchtfull prissoneris divers honnest and trew gentilmen of our subjectis offering no Englishman any wrong and far lesse looking for any harme at thair handis. We dout not but ze remember how far ye aggreaged, boith by zour letters and Ambassadoures, the wrongis done to zour subjectis, althoght the most parte of thame that wer injurit wer thevis and the deidis that wer committit vpoun thame done for revendge of formare injuries, where in this cais no suche pretence nor excuis can be used. Thairfore we ar forced to have our first recours to the heade since those that vnder zou ar appointed to do justice and preserve the peace have so barbarouslie and violentlie without any occasioun ministrat vnto thame broken the same. Oure earnist requeist thairfore vnto you is that according to justice ye wilbe pleased to caus deliuer vnto ws the principale offendoures, to wit William Fenick and Harie Withringtoun that by your princelie justice suche insolence may be examplarlie repaired and that ze may gif present ordour for the releiff of all the gentilmen and vthers that ar taiken and deteaned as prissoneris, as lykuise we woald hartelye pray zow to provyde fitter officiares then suche that in place of repressing of thevis which is thair propir office oppressis or sufferis thame who ar vnder thame and for whom thay should be answerable to oppresse trew and honnest gentilmen cheiflie at this tyme of amitie and peace, when as no suche deadis of hostilitie were looked for or deserved, and when as we have taiken suche cair to enter baith our principale officiares and the pledges for the quieting of the bordoures; and the more earnistlie we must incist in this our requeist because in cais justice wer denyed ws we woald be forced ye knaw at the most humyll sute of our distressed subjectis to se thame by sum vther extraordinarye way repaired vpoun these that have so vndeservedlie wronged thame. But not dowting of your willing grant to this our so reasonable requeist according to the princelie favour ye beare to justice and to the goodwill ze carye to the

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continewance of the amitie betuixt ws, we will rest vpoun your goode answer in this, and in the meantyme tak all the strait ordour we can for staying any extraordinarie revendge to be maid by our subjectis. Thus richt excellent, richt heich and mightie princesse, our dearest sister and cousin, we commit you in Godis most blissed protectioun, from our palace of Falkland the vij of August 1598." *In the King's hand:* "Youre most louing & affectionatte brother & cousin. James R."

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed:* "1598, 7 August. To her Majesty from the King of Scots. Complaint against Fenwick and Wethrington."

Aug. 8.

187. Proclamation restraining support of the rebels in Ireland.

Vol. lxii, No. 61. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, II, 264.

"Ane Proclamatioun dischargeing the support of the Rebellis of Ireland."

To our Sheriffs in that part, etc. "Forsameikle" as there have been divers Acts and Proclamations made and published heretofore prohibiting and discharging the reset, supply, assisting and part-taking with the rebellious people of Ireland, notwithstanding there is a great number of the clans and others, broken men, our subjects, inhabitants of the Isles and Highland parts of our realm, who have of late repaired within the realm of Ireland and there joined themselves in company with the Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell (Odoniell), James MacSorley (Macksoirl) and others, the rebellious people of that land, in all their seditions, treasonable and unnatural conspiracies attempted against the Queen, our dearest sister, their sovereign, and her deputies and officers, like as sundry of our subjects, inhabitants of our sheriffdoms of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Tarbet, Bute, Ayr, Wigtown and bailiaries of Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham to burgh and land, and the inhabitants of our city of Glasgow daily furnish the said rebellious persons with victual, powder, bullet, armour and all other munition and furniture for the war; our will is that, incontinent these our letters seen, ye pass to the market crosses of our burghs of Renfrew, Dumbarton, Lanark, Inverness, Bute, Tarbet, Rothesay, Glasgow, Ayr, Irvine (Irwing), Cromarty and all other places needful, and there by open proclamation command and charge all our lieges, as well inhabitants of the Highlands as Lowland, that none of them take upon hand by their repairing within the realm of Ireland to assist, traffic or take part with any of the rebellious and unnatural subjects thereof in any their treasonable conspiracies and wicked deeds; and if any of them be else repaired within the same realm, that they return therefrom to their own dwelling houses with all convenient expedition and no ways reset, supply, receive or send messages to or from them during the time of their rebellion; nor yet furnish them or any manner of way minister unto them any manner of comfort, aid or support, whereby they may be any ways fostered to continue in their rebellion, under the pain of "deid" and confiscation of all their movable goods, the one half to our use and the other half to the revealer and trier of the premisses. And "siklike" that ye command and inhibit the said

rebels of Ireland that none of them take upon hand to repair within the bounds of our realm but upon their own peril, certifying them if they do in the contrary, that they shall be reputed as lawful prisoners and "demainit" as traitors for their trespasses. Given under our Signet, at Falkland the eight day of August, and of our reign the thirty-two year, 1598. *Per actum Secreti Consilii*, J. Andro.

Broadsheet. Printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the King's Majesty. Endorsed.

[1598, ? Aug. 9.] **188.** [GEORGE NICOLSON] TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxii, No. 62.

I send your Honour this letter sent me from Glenorchy by Adam Archibald (Archbut), Mr. John's brother, hoping it is untrue. Mr. John is politic and this may be his device to let us now see there is none to depend upon but the course with him. My Lord your father chanced to ask George Archibald if they called him John Auchinross, by which they gather and told me there was a dealing that way. Now this may be devised to make us think ourselves frustrated there. If it be indeed the laird's deed I fear it the more. When Mr. John came hither this day 8 days he told me that John Auchinross was ridden post to my Lord of Essex, which I know is not so so far as I can try. Indeed in Ireland they look and fear he shall be Lord Deputy. These things only to your Honour's self and secrecy; no way wishing or thinking meet but that Mr. John get good dispatch and reward with fair words and favour for himself and brother. And where Mr. John's instructions are not so large as was spoken of and as before was sent under his hand, but are left to his enlargement and smell of some consideration to the laird in hand, your Honour may say that when I met the laird he said he would seek nothing of her Majesty until a year's proof and as she should think he merited and that I said this; as also that what he is to enlarge by tongue seeing they are to be concluded of as shall be meet are to be presented in writing, and so drawing him to set down all as large and advantageous to her Majesty in articles as may be as you shall for the present take his hands. So your Honour may double them for the laird to sign as his agreement for me to see him sign; which then he will perform for he is honest and of great living and wealthy. And Mr. John need not stay on this return of the laird's hands but have his dispatch with favour and speed, and with large charges I would wish and consideration for his pains, as also of favour to his brother in his adoes, if so it be required. And no doubt but these things being done we shall get good offices to her Majesty at the laird's hands. Thus you see I presume to be plain with you in this matter, praying you to use all closely as I be not seen in this.

Stewart, Sir James MacConnell's man, went on Tuesday to the Court with me and returned on Wednesday to Stirling. He told me nothing of that matter but that his master would be here within 5 days. But if MacLean be slain the "platte" is greater than I dare guess at. But I shall pray to God to discover it and revenge the treason. Sundry

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wise men suspect the time now to be very dangerous. Colonel Stewart also swore to me that now things would be well handled. I know no particulars but these to your Honour's self only.

For Border causes if it were not for the pledges all would be loose. It may therefore please you that them of Teviotdale be kindly used but surely kept. It is accounted here a good quarrel if this begin it between us and them and they say let God judge between them and us. And it is also held treasonable under trust of friendship and will be far wrested; but alas they can do nothing in case they had men to match them, as now there is few in Northumberland.

Here is grudging for a ship of Fife that was sunk by English pirates. This still holds off but will come to great complaint for sundry gentlemen in Fife are interested thereby. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In George Nicolson's hand. No endorsement.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter (?).

("Pater" [Laird of Glenorchy] to [George Nicolson].)

Vol. lxii, No. 59.

Right assured friend, ye shall wit that the sixth day of this instant I received advertisement from a friend declaring that MacLean (McClen) being in Islay the fifth day of the same at a tryst appointed betwixt him and James, Angus's son, under trust and promise is slain together with his second son and all principals of his surname, and that James McSorley had directed out of Ireland privily four hundred Ireland men who were principal executants of this conspiracy devised for this purpose. What way this proceeds as I obtain further intelligence ye shall be advertised. I received advertisement from MacLean shortly after my conference with you lately, by the which I understood that whatever counsel I thought good he would follow forth the same. And so this is a great loss. But the next best shall be followed forth. The 7 of August 1598. *Signed:* Pater.

½ *p. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "Received the 9 of August at night. 2*s.* 6*d.* carriage."

Aug. 10. **189.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 63.

On Friday morning hearing that Sir Robert Kerr was advertised *of the late deed of Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Woodrington against the gentlemen of Teviotdale* and seeing the people so moved thereat as some of my friends willed me to take heed to myself, for they are sudden and violent people, I went to Sir Robert Kerr desiring him to tell me the matter (which he did as it was written him), as also not to aggravate the matter to the King or suffer any attempt to be made for revenge to the troubling of the peace, which I told him many were persuaded he did now truly affect; assuring [him] if there were that cause her Majesty would be as grieved thereat as any and see it redressed, wishing him therefore to counsel the King to write first to her Majesty and to attend her redress. Whereunto in very truth he freely agreed and gave me his hand and promise for performance thereof so far as might stand with his duty to the King and wrote

1598. presently back that nothing should be attempted before he should first know the King's mind. That night he passing over the water to the King followed that course laid down between us so far as I could understand. In so far as the King chose to write to her Majesty this letter enclosed, which was something altered from the first draft by the means of Justice Clerk then gone to the King with the Rutherfords for furthering their complaints much against Sir Robert Kerr's mind. On Monday that letter should have been given me to send away. And receiving advertisement that day of the state of the matter by Sir Robert Carey's letters I went over the water to Falkland on Tuesday morning showing the matter to the King as it fell out, praying him to trust Sir Robert Carey's being neutral therein, for that he knew not of it till it was done and was sorry for the accidents of blood, but not to credit the complainers who were parties and complained in anger; adding his Majesty needed not much grieve thereat, seeing the parties hunting and felling wood contemptuously in England had the "wite" themselves of the cause. If there were cause her Majesty would yield good satisfaction and be as angry at it as himself. He [the King] said that matters of hunting should not have been so handled amongst neighbours; that they were our neighbours not so to be used or "lightlyed" but that they could do evil for evil and good for good again; that the hunting had been used without any such deeds or fault finding; that the men were slain and taken in Scots ground, some slain as he heard after they were taken; that he marvelled that it should be done by Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Woodrington, principal officers. Albeit he was highly touched in honour and skaith by the same, yet he had written to her Majesty in the letter I had sent away. I answered I had received none nor sent none. Then he was angry and said it was sent me to have sent away yesterday, but I told him I heard not of it. Then he said there was knavery in it that I had it not yesterday, meaning Monday, on which day indeed it came hither but not to me. Then he told me that he had written the matter and prayed to have the 2 principals delivered that he might satisfy his people, avoid their outrages and stay their desperate attempts to be done for want of redress, staying all the same in hope of her Majesty's good order herein. Always I find him not resolved to be contented without them, for so he said to me in effect, as also that he would "farde" this matter in as high sort as Sir William Bowes or my master had done less matters to him before. I found Sir Robert Kerr the same man that he had agreed to be, which if it were acknowledged with thanks by some as were thought meet would stir and hold him forward in his courses. This day my Lord Secretary sent me the King's letter and note enclosed of the names slain and taken, which letter it may please your Honour to deliver, disposing of the note also as shall appertain. Thus much for this matter having acquainted Sir Robert Carey by my letter on Friday last what then I had done and what it imported to be further done; as herewith I have written to him what is now done, as also that I fear the worst unless the matter be all the better handled. I must needs write also that the King gave strait charge to the complainers that they should not stir till he heard from her Majesty and was angry that the

1598. prisoners should come away upon promise to re-enter and not tarry till they [were] simply freed by her Majesty's or officer's order as I hear.

Yesterday I received advertisement that *MacLean being at a tryst in Islay (Ila) between him and his sister's son Sir James MacConnell (Angus's son) was under trust slain with his second son and all his principal name by the chief means of* 400 *men stolen into Islay by the traitor McSorley.* If this be true the device is devilish and more will follow. For he was much feared that her Majesty should have employed him against those traitors, whom he would have made quake. If this be true his friends may curse the time I doubt that ever he knew me or dealt as your Honour knows, for that was sure the cause of this I suspect. And if it can be noted that the traitor (through some villainous intelligencers or however) still the more yielded to abstinence when the laird he was likely to be employed with sure would have humbled the traitor, I pray you judge. Always I hope God will discover the "platt" and revenge it if it be true.

For the news here in effect they are none. On Tuesday last the Earl of Mar was with the King, as he is yet. But the Lord Secretary had got the King to accept the absence there of Lord Livingstone and the rest of my Lord of Mar's competitors, who should have been there with their purgation, as they came not nor nothing was done, saving the Lord Treasurer and Advocate must speak Lord Livingstone to conform them against a better time.

The matter between my Lord of Mar and Calder (Cawder) is sequestered for avoiding troubles [during] the harvest that the corns be not striven for. Here is word quietly delivered the King and openly spoken on now *that Bothwell should be in London.* Yet he said nothing to me of it; but I assure your Honour grieves much at it. It is told him that Bothwell and Mr. Jo: Colville are friends and both there plotting. The King cares not how they plot in other places but he likes not their being there. So long as they were not there he hoped to have accidental news of Bothwell and such news of Mr. Jo: as was of Logie (Loggy).

Mr. David Foulis to grace him the better is of the King's Chamber. God keep your Honour and give my Lord your father good health. Otherways I must despair of ever getting good I see. Edinburgh, 10 August 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. The King will come hither to see the Queen on Monday next, and to Stirling on Wednesday next. It may be the Dane that came from London will both occasion the King to come sooner and stay longer. For the King knew not of him when I was at Falkland, and the King will stay longer at Dumbarton than he thought by some few days.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. The words in italics have been underlined. Placard seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "With a letter from the King to her Majesty. That which passed between Sir Robert Kerr and him concerning the deed of Mr. Fenycke and Mr. Wodrington on the gentlemen of Tivydale. Advice given to the King of Bothwell's being in London. R. at London the 16th."

1598. Aug. 10. **190.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lii, p 221.

I must shortly answer you that by your letters I see the Scottish Islanders so greedy and so full of troubles as the Queen shall disburse moneys to no purpose. Sometime they will have the King made acquainted with their going and sometime not. The time of the year also is now past and therefore I think that except the King's mind were already known this manner of their employment will be to little purpose, and now to have the King dealt with is too late. For MacLean's (McLanes) readiness with forces to go into Ireland to aid the rebel, I think it a strange project, for the King must either bridle that or break amity with the Queen. For though redshanks and outlaws may go over in "rowtes," yet such a man as he who is in the King's obedience would be stayed, and therein must you deal with the King if you find such a purpose. For your going into the North I think if you could settle some course with some friend there to hearken how things go, it were well if you stayed with the Council at Edinburgh where you shall learn some things also, for if you were in the North you cannot write hither.

For your own private also methinks you apprehend your own state amiss. You are there but an agent. For the time you have 15*s.* a day well paid you. What you did when your master lived you did as his servant.

For your suit, why God forbid but we should all help you, but you must have patience. The Queen will send an Ambassador thither shortly and then you shall come home, at which time I doubt not but you shall be relieved.

This do I write with speed to you because my letters may find you in time before your going. For any answer to the King's letter the Queen has received I can make none yet, neither do I believe the Queen will hastily do it, seeing the King writes that he will send one up to the Queen. If he ask whether the man is tried or executed, you may say that you heard he is neither of both, but you need not say that you heard it from me, but from others. 1598.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to Mr. Nicholson." *and in margin:* "10th Augusti."

Aug. 14. **191.** ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 64.

Captain Seton, one of the four "exemptis"* of the French King's guards being of mind to return to France to his charge has been recommended unto me by some of my friends to further his passage so far as I could. Wherewith he has desired me to make your Honour acquainted, as also of his quiet behaviour in all times passed. For satisfying of his desire I have taken boldness to let you understand that I have known the gentleman of long time and never heard other

* *See* Forbes-Leith *Scots Guards*, ii, 184, where Patrick Seton is shown as an "exempt" (an officer).

but honestly of him. So far as I can learn he is born in Fife and of the laird of Parbroath's house. He has remained almost two years in Scotland privately amongst his friends and now of mind to return to his charge, which is all that I know of him. This 14 of August. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

½ *p. Holograph, with address:* "To the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Cecille, knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Chief Secretary to her Majesty." *Placard seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598, xiiij° Aug: Mr. Archb: Dowglas to my master for a passport for Capen Seyton. This was granted."

Aug. 15. **192.** JOHN ARCHIBALD TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 65.

Being directed towards your Honour by my master the laird of Glenorchy as George Nicolson in his letters herein enclosed has recorded, it will therefore like you to appoint with the bearer where I shall most conveniently attend your Honour's leisure for discharge of my duty, not doubting you will speedily and quietly "advert" the same for such occasions as you shall know at meeting. At London, this fifteen of August. *Signed:* Mr. Archebald.

¾ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. xv Aug."

Aug. 15. **193.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxii, No. 66.

15 August 1598.

I received your Honour's letter of the 5 hereof, delivering then presently the enclosed to Mr. Aston, being sorry and undone that I want your noble father who meant me good as I have good testimony under his lordship's hand. But alas! I would God he had lived and I begged. This is the greatest sorrow that ever befell me, woe am I therefore, desperate now of comfort, unless at your Honour's and that in regard of your good will to such as your father favoured, whereof I was one. But God's will be done towards me and blessed be His holy name that honourable servant of His is now crowned with heavenly glory to his eternal joy, and wherein we are to rejoice and pray His good Majesty that we may soon follow him. We were not worthy him. I pray God it be not for the punishment of our land. Here is nothing now but their greatest "unfrende" is gone and much will Mr. David do now. Always, I hear the King say nothing.

It was yesterday confirmed that MacLean is indeed slain. His eldest son has written to the King to crave justice, with which letters this day Jo: Cunningham and a young son of MacLean's went down to Leith to the King and craved justice. The King said it was well fought on both sides but would not hear that he was slain under tryst and trust and with outward signs that he was sorry for the boy put up the letter but read it not, saying he would hear no more of it then but would do what belonged to justice in very cold sort. The young gentleman also wrote to the Treasurer the matter craving that the King might keep his journey and laying a "platt" how he might prevail

1598. against the Clandonells in his purpose; writing that albeit his father was treasonably slain, yet there was enough left and the King should be well served. The King heard of this at Falkland and was glad as I heard, seeming as if MacLean had meant to have killed Sir James. But I hear the King loved not MacLean for 3 causes: first, for being with the Earl of Argyll against Huntly, where he did most valiantly and after they were then overthrown would presently have had the Earl to have made to them again with a new fight and to have entered Huntly's country which had wrecked Huntly for ever; 2, because MacLean the 17 December rode post to fetch the Earl of Argyll to have assisted the Kirk, who met the King at Linlithgow where the King then showed great anger and blamed MacLean who said he was sworn to maintain the truth by the King when he was made knight and that the religion was the truth and he would die for it, whereat the King scorned and said that Highland men had not that religion; the 3 was because he heard he was dealing with the Queen to serve her. Always now he is gone. So as the only means her Majesty may best have for her service by this nation will be "Pater", whose servant it may please you to entertain and reward more frankly. For it is very meet that her Majesty have some good kindness in these Highlands. McSorley's brother Randal is to meet the King at Dumbarton. Here are 2 of McSorley's men. Yesterday I told the Treasurer and Clerk Register and afterwards the Secretary that her Majesty must hear of their being here and would be jealous of them, knowing those traitors to traffic nothing so much as treasons; that therefore I would have them commend it to the King's consideration to deal in as should be meet towards her Majesty. The Treasurer told me they had brought him a letter from Randal, McSorley's brother, concerning hawks and willed me to speak therein to the King. The Secretary willed me also to do so. I find his favour marvellously in so far as I have got him to add with his own hand 2 matters in the proclamation which now I hope to get done and send by my next. It were very good that your Honour if you please gave him thanks with some few lines or wrote so as I might show him he was well regarded for his goodwill. He does all and this may make him do good. The more secret the better.

The King in speaking of Bothwell's being at London said he would not believe it albeit who heard it confidently reported, as it is indeed here, because of your letter written anent that matter of acquitting you from dealing with Bothwell, which he still holds to be an argument to him to build on that such a thing cannot be. I warrant your Honour I omit no opportunity to increase good conceits which you will understand by Mr. David the way I would not have had it. Surely here are such evil instruments as but for your said course this had been believed and all must have been in a fire by wiles against the King's mind.

Randal, McSorley's brother, meets the King at Dumbarton and Sir James Sandilands I think shall now go to Ireland to persuade that the King's rebels get no receipt there. But if the King put them out of this country they must of necessity serve the rebel. This I hear but here are so many changes.

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It may please you to cause this letter to be delivered to Mr. John Archibald as it is directed, as also to give him a sight of "Pater's" letter, which sure is the secret of that matter. I have written to Mr. John that I have sent you "Pater's" letter. Surely it will be good Mr. John be now kindly dealt with. Yet the new laird of MacLean having written to Jo: Auchinross to be to him as he was to his father, John insists that this young gentleman may be entertained and said he shall do good service for so much as he undertakes, desiring that what was meant his father may be given him, as also that John's own good will may be considered, which surely were not amiss but very meet in case it be so thought good.

My Lord of Spynie (Spina) is gone for England I hear to pass to foreign parts. The Earls of Crawford, Sutherland and Caithness are also to travel. The Lords Sempill, Sanquhar and very many of this nation are abroad and the Master of Gray to go. What this means I know not: but Sempill and Gray will practise and are to be regarded. My Lord Home also with Thomas Tyrie (Tiry) and the goodman of Hutton Hall have been long aminded to travel. But my Lord's stay and lingering are judged to be for the suspected "platt" that they are judged to have in hand by the Master of Glamis's draft. But sure in end some "plattes" will be as partly I have sounded in former letters, but God bless me from conjecturing what it may be. The Master of Glamis is now the greatest with the Queen and it is whispered that he shall now be a "gossop". Yet she is mutable and ere that time may as well call him false knave as she called the Treasurer, President and others that were high in her conceit. But these things to time. *Unsigned.*

2 *pp. In George Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement.*

Aug. 16. **194.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 67.

To my great grief I hear and lament the loss of your Honour's father. But alas! as it is no doubt his good, being now crowned in heaven with immortal glory and joy, so I pray God it be not to the punishment of our land for our sins that at this time God has taken him from us. How far now I am from comfort or hope of what I hoped for by his means I sorrow to think. But God's will be done and blessed be His holy name!

It is now certain that MacLean is slain by his nephew very traitorously as was informed in my last to you, in this sort. Angus's son Sir James, having this long time ever since the captivity of Angus written often to MacLean not only for his advice in his affairs which he seemed to follow but also for MacLean to come to Islay for deciding of all questions anent MacLean's lands there, still writing that MacLean should have all to his own liking, and in end trysting MacLean to come thither to him in friendly sort, appointing a day and craving him only to come meet him with 200, which MacLean agreed unto and came accordingly landing only with 200 himself being clad in silk without armour and nothing about him but a rapier

1598. which Argyll his cousin had given him and a pistol, the best of his kin and his second son being also unappointed for the war. He saw Sir James with less numbers in sight than he and so doubted no evil. Some gentlemen passed between them and in all things agreed well with MacLean spending the day till 7 at evening, as then MacLean looked for nothing but perfecting of the agreements and to have met his nephew in kindness. But then his nephew sent to him that all was for nought, willing him to do for himself and with the same message it was so provided as his nephew's people in arms assaulted him before he could turn to pass away, which moved him and his friends to rencounter them, which they did so valiantly as they put those of Angus's son's people to the flight, but the great number being ambushed for them came upon them and violently oppressed them and slew the most part. MacLean at their first killed 3 with his rapier of the best and seeing no way but death he put his son away, charging him to begone and save himself and revenge his death, and himself and some of his near friends so stood to it and fought it out to death having slain 40 of Sir James's men. MacLean's "bowmen" seeing MacLean fall being shot to death fled, otherways they of Sir James's for all their provision had had more loss. MacLean's second son so got away but with 2 sore wounds. His eldest being sick of a bile was landed at another isle. Sir James was 700 of his own of his bastard brother's and of men out of Ireland. But the very truth is not known yet to the MacLeans; yet the eldest brother Hector has written to the King, Lord Treasurer and others complaining of the matter, desiring justice and wishing the King to hold his journey to Kintyre. Advising the King to bring with him Auchinbreck (Aughenbrak) and other barons by name and to leave behind him Cawdor (Caddell) and others, the Clandonell's friends, and to charge them not to aid or reset any of that clan, assuring the King there is yet enough left and that the King shall have good service. In so good sort this is done as the most Councillors commend him greatly. On Monday John Cunningham and a son of MacLean's here at school went down to Leith to the King and on their knees delivered Hector's letter and desired him to do justice. The King said it was well fought on both sides but would not hear that MacLean was slain under trust, yet with some words pitied the boy but put up the letter unread and would hear no more of that then; yet said he would do justice and so passed to Dalkeith.

They went thither to him yesterday for that cause and were answered justice should be done as the party could be had. Yet their hope is very small thereof. Some put the King in memory of the 17 of December to move him the rather the less to regard the matter. Always the King and Council yesterday resolved that the King should hold journey to Kintyre and Islay with good numbers of the Western gentlemen and with artillery to win Dunnyveg (Donoveyge), kept by Angus's bastard who has the castle well furnished with men and victuals. The Treasurer and Comptroller go with the King. The rest of the Council are appointed to convene here weekly every Thursday and oftener upon occasion. Lord Seton is chief and to convene them at his warning upon all occasions. At Dumbarton the chief of the High-

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lands and Islands are looked [for] and appointed to meet the King the 22 hereof. And as they shall inform the King of the state of these things for Kintyre and Islay, the King is likest yet to do by new advice there either for his stay or progress.

There are 2 of McSorley's men or of his brother's servants of whom I told the Treasurer, Secretary and Clerk Register, praying them to show the King of them and withal to commend the same to his consideration to deal in as should be meet towards her Majesty, who I said would sure be jealous over their coming hither when she should hear thereof. But the Secretary told me one of them had been with him, who he said was Randal's man anent some hawks only. Always they willed me to speak the King myself therein. For which cause and to attend the signing of the proclamation which I have had often mended with very good will by the Secretary, I rode yesterday to Dalkeith. The Secretary told me the proclamation was done and he had spoken the King anent the 2 men and was to speak me from the King. And speaking him as we came home yesternight he said the King said he "aught" no purgation in that matter; that there was none here, and if they were or McSorley or yet Tyrone or O'Donnell, why might not they go as well in Edinburgh streets as Bothwell and Mr. John Colville in London? Which he said the King heard of. I said it was not so. But he said the King had heard and the bruit was so he was sure I heard. I said it was true I had heard it but sure it was not so. Always, he said he hoped it was not true but wished good love [and] amity between the princes and such rumours to be discredited. This morning I rode to Dalkeith to the King again, telling his Majesty of the men as before. He said he knew not of them but should cause inquire of them and do what was meet. In good faith he spake it very kindly, asking me what kind of men they were, what they were and what they wore, which I told him. Whereon he said again he should go and "spere" them out and do reason, willing me to certify so. But (he said) how comes this that Bothwell and Mr. John Colville are at London? He heard it, he said, thought it strange and did not believe it. I said sure it was but some tale, I durst venture my life that Bothwell was not there; but for Mr. Jo: I said it might be he was, not being known to be in his Majesty's displeasure. He said indeed he went away in his favour and he found no fault with his being there. Always he willed me to certify those bruits here, which indeed are open speeches and which he will nevertheless no way credit. I moved as if I would have known whether the King would [have] had Mr. David to have carried this matter or no. He said he would have me write, saying also Mr. David was going, so as he is upon his dispatch. Of whose preferment to the King's Chamber I hear it is not as I wrote upon some cunning used to me, whereof I will beware hereafter.

The King having been informed I hear that the Master of Glamis with the Lord Home and Cessford and Errol had some "platt" in hand for a change, was very angry and suspicious thereat, blaming the Master who of late has had oftentimes conference with the Queen and his wife in that favour as she is greatest with the Queen. The

1598. D[uke] and Treasurer hereon keep together strong. The D[uke] forbore to lie at Dalkeith and lies here with the Treasurer. The Earl of Mar went to Stirling to look well to his charge. This day the King should have ridden but he learned such matter of the Queen as he stays this day. The D[uke] and Treasurer and all go to-morrow. The Master has excused himself to the King who accepts but believes it not. What will come of this I know not, but the King is wrong informed I hear. Always the Queen knows all it is thought. Surely in time there will sure be some "platt" indeed executed.

Herewith enclosed I send the proclamation which I have applied and got in end to the effects appearing with some little changes. Your Honour may send them to the Deputy to disperse in Ireland to the discrediting of the rebel and that he brags on, as I shall also disperse them in meet places here in the west parts and in Ireland. Edinburgh, 16 August 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Fragments of seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk with date, etc. and notes:* "McLane slaine by his nephewe, the manner howe. The King his proclamation for discharging such as shall ayd the Rebelles."

Aug. 19. **195.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO KING JAMES VI.

Vol. lxii, No. 69. We have received your letters of the 7th of this month, whereby we understand your grievous complaint very sensibly uttered of a disorder alleged to be committed by some of our subjects on yours and do perceive also the trust which you seem to repose in us for the redress thereof. Whereunto for this present considering the fact is a thing new to us we can answer nothing until we be particularly informed and therefore doubt not but the same princely care which you have of righting your subjects' wrongs will move you to afford us only this moderation, not suddenly to condemn ours upon accusation presented to you by your own before the examination of both sides, especially seeing it concerns such persons as are so grievously charged. Out of this consideration, although we suspend the rigour of our censure until we shall thoroughly understand the truth of their misdeeds, which we assure you for the discharge of the trust you have put in us shall not fail to be examined to the narrowest, and to which end command is already given to our Warden to advertise us truly of the facts and of the reasons of the same; yet if it shall fall out to be such as you have been informed, it shall no ways escape without such conclusion as both you and others shall perceive what regard we have to the observation of justice and maintenance of our amity with you. Desiring therefore (as the readiest way to come to the true understanding of the quality of this fact) that the cause may be left to the examination of both the Wardens jointly by whose inquisition and report of the whole circumstances light may be gathered to judge rightly thereof, etc. Given this 19th day of August 1598 in the 40th year of our reign.

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⅔ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed:* "Copy of her Majesty's letter to the King."

Vol. lxii, No. 68.

Draft of the foregoing but in somewhat different words and with a few words inserted possibly in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.

1½ *pp. Endorsed:* "18 [*sic*] Aug. 1598."

Aug. 19. **196.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO THE LAIRD OF GLENORCHY.

Vol. lii, p. 222.

By your letter to me I see your good disposition to maintain all good amity between the two crowns, in which I concur with you and do desire correspondency with you to no other end at no time. I have seen your instructions given to your confident servant, Mr. Archibald, in whom I find both good affection and discretion. I have particularly conferred with him and have delivered unto him my opinion and her Majesty's acceptance of your desire to do her all honourable and serviceable offices; but because the time gives not opportunity to entertain all of them, particularly on which so many circumstances depend, I have only accorded with him for the performance of that point which has relation to Maconochie's (Mackendoquie's) service in Ireland. Which article because your secretary has explained under his hand I do promise that if by his means that be performed there shall be 1000*l.* disposed at your direction. This being sufficient now considering the sufficiency of this bearer, I commit you to God's favour. From the Court at Greenwich the 19th of August 1598.

⅔ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "A letter from my master to the l. of Glenorquy."

Aug. 19. **197.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lii, p. 223.

I send you the copy of my letter to the laird of Glenorchy and I have dispatched his secretary with contentment. The effects in his instructions were very general and such as the time did not suffer now to be trusted unto. For no such actions can be undertaken here but with correspondency and foreknowledge in Ireland. The other point concerning Maconochie (Mackendochy) is general in the article but I have made his secretary explain it under his hand and according to the explanation have bound myself by my letter. It is only against him for the other I do not so much care for. From the Court at Greenwich, the 19th of August 1598.

½ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Headed:* "A letter from my master to Mr. Nicholson."

1598. Aug. 19. **198.** H. KYLLYGREW TO DR. JULIUS CAESAR.

Addit. MSS. 12503, fo. 412.

I have to pray you in the behalf of this poor man, my countryman, to deal with him as favourably as you may for his dispatch, being very sore molested by two Scottishmen upon a supposed escape of two fellows that were sent to him being a constable about the last of May, and by him in like sort as they came sent over unto the next constable. He has already appeared before you in the Admiralty to his great charge and there put in bail to answer the same before you; notwithstanding to the further vexation of the said poor man the said Scottishmen have procured a messenger of her Majesty's Chamber to summon him to appear at the Council table before the Lords to his great charge and hindrance, especially in this time of harvest, dwelling 200 miles from London. These Scottishmen as it should seem have been satisfied of some part of their losses and yet molest this poor man to exact somewhat more of him, they understanding that he had a certificate from the justices of the shire to the Lords of the Council to certify the truth of the matter. They went to Mr. Wade for their petition and desired that it might be reserved to your hearing; and if you did not end the same, then to be heard by the Lords of the Council. I am therefore to desire you to do him what good you may herein and the poor man shall be bound to pray for you and myself will be very thankful unto you. From Lothbury this 19th of August, '98. *Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

1 *p. Holograph, addressed. Endorsed:* "29 [*sic*] August 1598. Sir Henry Killigrewe knight touching the discharge of a constable charged by 2 Scots to have committed a wilful escape."

Aug. 26. **199.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 70.

I received your Honour's last the 17 hereof and according to your pleasure I determined to have stayed and attended the Council at Edinburgh. Yet the King being in these parts, I thought it most commodious for her Majesty's service that I should attend him some few days to get the proclamation proclaimed in these parts, the better to assure and ascertain the people that it is his express will and pleasure and to get him so to declare it by his own mouth to the magistrates. Therefore I came hitherwards on Tuesday last and this day spoke his Majesty therein, giving him the double of the note enclosed for that purpose with many of the proclamations in print, all which he received I assure you very willingly and freely agreed to do all the same, causing the Lord Treasurer to cause it to be proclaimed here with sound of trumpet very solemnly accordingly. His Majesty said he perceived her Majesty was suspicious of his dealings towards them; but protested, as by my former I have advertised, that she had no cause nor never should have to think so of him, with other words in plain and open terms showing his love to her and hatred to the rebels. Sir George Elphinstone thereon said to the King that he had received letters from some of them that they would have his Majesty to use all proclamations against them, and not for their causes in such

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matters as they needed not to peril her Majesty's favour; adding that they got help enough out of England. The King thereon willed me to hearken, saying he judged by this that when they needed they might possibly think to get his private licence for those things, which he said they should never have of him. He told me he had inquired of the 2 men and "trued" that one of them was McSorley's brother's servant come only to buy clothes and apparel for his master and that the other was that man's servant (a part whereof is very true). Always the King is most plain and frank herein now and very glad to hear that Valentyne is yet untried and living; noting great kindness in her Majesty for the same and still clearing himself of such wicked imagination.

The Treasurer with whom I spoke at Glasgow upon Wednesday in these causes told me that there was powder in Ayr but he sent for it and it was gone, saying some exemplary punishment would be made and should be to stay such courses and to get his Majesty's proclamation obeyed therein, with very good words. Yesterday he told me that Ja: Stewart of Glasgow (now in Ireland for recovery of the cannons that were sunk in the Spanish ship there in McSorley's bounds) had written home that the Irish had given a great overthrow to our men, slain the Marshal or chief and 18 leaders of account and were in great jollity. And this day the King told me thereof, saying the Queen by her sending over of small numbers did but feed the rebels, as if one to quench a fire should but cast drops of water which presently the fire would overcome and burn clearer, as the rebels did by cutting still off the little numbers she sends; saying she must send greater numbers in case she overcome them. Which I said was true and is so indeed. The King regretted the loss of the English, accounting the Earl to have provided for this rebellion when he was in England long before, it appeared as he heard, and condemning his ingratitude to her Majesty. I purpose on Monday to attend him to Glasgow for the like to be done there where it is most needful as also to see the proclamations sent everywhere meet to be sent here.

Thursday the Treasurer came from Glasgow hither. That afternoon and yesterday the King was never almost out of Council, devising how to reduce the Islanders to his obedience and get his duties. He had much dealing with Angus and his wife (who cries out of MacLean's slaughter) drawing Angus in end that where he is prisoner here in the castle and had condition his life should not be touched, he shall within 20 days cause his bastard son to deliver Dunnyveg upon condition that his bastard shall have some living to live and be styled on, and himself for his duties paying to be at liberty and enjoy his own or renounce the former benefit of his life and be executed, and thereunto he has subscribed and for effecting thereof his wife is going with diligence. The King in hope of this has also sent for, and Glencairn has written for, the new MacLean to be here on Monday come 8 days, and to get the duties answered amongst them and good security for the same has stayed his journey, purposing on Monday to go to Glasgow, on Tuesday to Hamilton to the good Lord there, who never forgets his thankfulness to her Majesty, there to hunt, and to return hither

1598. against the 5 of the next month to end with the Islanders if they come as they are charged. If not the country being also then warned to come hither to him, he intends to direct forces to Islay and Kintyre against the Clandonells, and if MacLeans (the Clanlyons) do come, to employ them also against the Clandonells to root them out, and then to stay hereabouts to see how his forces shall prevail that he may second them with more upon cause of need. This is the substance so far as I understand of these matters. "Amongst hands" he is agreeing the feuds here and dealing in the common causes of the country and burghs.

The Duke is now forward again for marriage of the Master of Eglinton's wife, which is thought shall be quietly the next week. Edinburgh* 26 August 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. Johnstone spoke the King on Monday last by Stirling Park wall. How they agreed I know not yet.

On a slip of paper probably annexed to this letter:

A gentleman whom I entertain with costly tokens made offers to have moved the Islanders to her Majesty's service, all but MacLean, but I never heard answer what to do with him. Now he is to be employed and I am labouring to cause him do service against McSorley who if he fall into his enemies' hands by my "platt" will get his reward. And if it be so, then I hope of favour for that to the gentleman. But your Honour knows how any wise man will be loth to venture without assurance of reward which in this point I cannot give him, no more than I can do myself. Always, if it luck, I may perhaps have one devil to "dinge" another by this gentleman's means, for whom I wrote for some C crowns. Methinks where such indignity is offered to her Majesty and such huge charges "stall" upon her as is in Ireland, it were no waste to venture something to help all, without which nothing will be done in no estate. It may please you to cause Mr. Craven of Watling Street to deliver by his servant Wm. Milburne here some two hundred pounds that I may have wherewith to do a service if I may see it sure, which I will answer for, as also to have money in my purse for my charges. I think the King shall not go this journey, for the Treasurer and they have purpose to move Sir James, Angus's son, to come in to Dumbarton to the King and do his duty and they will "oversee" the slaughter of MacLean and so stay the King to avoid charges. McSorley and Randal meet the King this journey I hear. I hope it may so fall out as it will be spoken on.

Ro: Walgrave the printer has this night taken pains to print the proclamations. It were a charitable deed to help him to the liberty of his country, for here he is hardly used God knows as all strangers are.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address and* "for her Majesty's affairs. Dumbarton 26 August at 3 in the afternoon. Geo. Nicolson." 3 *placard seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Memorandum by George Nicolson.)

That the proclamation made for discharging of aid or provisions

* Mostly written in Dumbarton.

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1598. to be given to the rebels in Ireland may be proclaimed this market day here in Dumbarton with sound of trumpet.

That thereafter the same proclamation may be set on the market cross and other meet places in this town, the better to publish the same to the people.

That his Majesty would please to speak and charge the magistrates of this town to see the same duly executed, as also to cause my Lord Duke to command his officers to see his Majesty's said proclamation truly and dutifully observed, the better to assure the people that it is his express will and pleasure.

That at his Majesty's coming to Glasgow he would do the like there.

That these proclamations may be sent by his Majesty's order to the towns of Renfrew (Ranthrowe), Ayr, Irvine, Wigtown, Whithorn, Kirkcudbright (Kirkowbray), Rothesay and other places contained in the proclamation to be in like sort proclaimed, used and observed.

That they may be also sent to my Lord of Argyll's deputies and the chief Highlanders and Islanders to be in like sort by them proclaimed and used in their several bounds.

For these purposes here are sufficient store of his Majesty's proclamations in prints.

½ *p. In George Nicolson's hand.*

Aug. 28. **200.** MEMORANDA BY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

28 Aug. '98.

Vol. lxii, No. 72. The King gone to Kintyre (Cantier) where a house is kept against him.

He shipped at Dumbarton.

In Lewis McLeod of Harris (Mcloyd Herriz) and McLeod of Lewis (Mackloyd Lewiz) are outlaws.

A bastard son of Angus MacConnell (M'Onell) holds a castle from the King in Kintyre.

Two thousand can go voluntarily under the Duke of Lennox against these rebels.

The D[uke] goeth to Lewis (Louis).

Earl of Orkney.

Master of Caithness (Catnes).

Sir G. Home of Wedderburn, Comptroller.

Sir James Elphinstone, Secretary.

Blantyre the T[reasurer] still.

The President of the Session, prior of Pluscardyn.

He writes by the name of Fyvie, having bought the barony of late.

Mr. Tho: Hamilton, Advocate.

Mr. Peter Young.

B[ishop] of Aberdeen.

Mr. John Skene, Clerk Register.

27 of Aug. '98.

The Cardinal invested in the town of Brussels Governor of all the Provinces which are disunited.

1 Brabant, 2 Artois (Arthois), 3 Flanders, 4 Hainault, 5 Namur, 6 Limburg, 7 Luxemburg, 8 Malines, Marquisate of the Empire numbered: Antwerp stands in it but no Province.

Lille et Tournésis (Tournesey), part of Flanders. 9 Guelders, 10 Holland, 11 Zealand, 12 Friesland, 13 Overyssel, 14 Utrecht, 15 Groningen, 16 Zutphen.

1½ *pp. In Sir Robert Cecil's hand.*

Aug. 30. **201.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxii, No. 73

On Monday night last I received your Honour's letter with her Majesty's to the King, the copies thereof and of the Lords of Council's letter to Sir Ro: Carey and that night after supper I delivered her Majesty's letter to the King, who said he had instructed Mr. David Foulis to inform her of the manner and matter. I said that that would be but as he was informed by the parties that complained in malice and did aggravate and make the matter other and worse than it was, but this course would be most indifferent. He said yes, but the Wardens would stand to that they had informed, yet very freely agreed and is content the matter is duly tried and examined by the Wardens by the oaths of honest witnesses to be examined on both sides for trying the truth to her Majesty's and his satisfaction thereanent. And if he had had David Moyses there he would have written so to her Majesty, showing and willing me that I would certify he was now at hunting as he could not write so soon as he would have done. Yet he would very shortly write that answer to her Majesty and send it me, as also that presently he would write to Sir Ro: Kerr to appoint, meet and concur with Sir Ro: Carey in that form with speed as Sir Ro: Kerr's occasions should serve. He willed me to certify this that the cause of his not present writing may be known; as also that Sir Ro: Carey may appoint with his officer at their best and meetest times. And David Moyses being at Renfrew (Ranthrow) yesterday to come to Glasgow and this day to go to Hamilton, I wrote and left a letter to him to remember and take the King's direction for the writing of the letters accordingly, which he will I trust do, [so] as they will shortly be sent. His Majesty would fain have these Border brawls left and the people in friendship. Of his agreement and pleasure in these things I have advertised Sir Ro: Carey that he may appoint meet meetings and do the best with Sir Ro: Kerr for the good ending of this matter to their Majesties' contentments, as also of my simple opinion therein.

On Monday the King returned from Dumbarton to Glasgow, where the proclamation was also proclaimed, set upon the market cross and other places of the town to the great grief of many and of Jo. Bare, the man I showed the King on, who is now going away in some doubt of Ir[ish?] ships on that coast [*in margin:* McSorley's Irish]. The Lord Treasurer, a very good man, sent for the magistrates that the King might have by his own mouth discharged them that trade with the rebels. They came as his Majesty was going to "disjune," but returned thinking to have come after "disjune." But the King

desirous to be at hunting made haste and took horse before they came and was angry they were not there, saying he should speak them when he returned. Which the Treasurer said he should remember (as God willing I will). At "disjune" Angus MacConnell (who, in hope he shall cause his bastard deliver the castle of Dunnyveg to the King, rides up and down with the King guarded with some of the D[uke]'s), advertised the King upon such letters as he got from the bastard that our men and the Irish had stricken a field, that there was great slaughter on both sides especially of the English, the principals as Treasurer of Ireland, Knight Marshall, Sir Tho: Norris and 18 captains slain and as many ensigns taken, and the field left by the English; that the Earl's army was in 3 battles, the Earl one, O'Donnell another and McSorley the 3rd, who is slain with a great number of the best of that side. I came in after the "disjune." The King told me of the matter and asked what they called the Treasurer. I said I knew not. He said sorry he [had ?] some friends there. But he said McSorley was slain. I said I was glad and would they were all so. He said to Angus that I said I would have them all slain. He said he "trowed" me, but he would all the English had been slain. I replied that then I wished them all indeed slain and though it were with my hands and all false traitors and rebels else. The King laughed and to end the matter said he would wish also, that so McSorley were living he would that all the rebels her Majesty, himself and the King of France had were hanged. So would I, I said, and so with some few other words we left it.

Yesterday the King rode to Hamilton where he hunts 2 or 3 days and returns to Glasgow and Dumbarton to make end for his revenues of the Islands and Highlands with them of those parts sent for then to meet him and thereof he [will] be here the latter end of the next week. The gentlemen of Fife hold their conquest against the Lewis: a good "platt" for her Majesty to subdue our Ireland with. Edinburgh, 30 August 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. Johnstone submitted himself humbly to the King, saying he would cast himself in his mercy rather than in any man's hands else and praying the King to dispose of him and his life. The King bade fie on him and rode away, yet he got hold of the King and in end the King as I hear has willed him to leave the country, if he will have his favour.

The King saw the cannon that McSorley sent him shot at Glasgow on Monday. It is one of them that the Spaniards lost in 1588, engraved on it by McSorley thus: "Dominus Jacobus filius McSorlini Clandonnelli me misit ad Jacobum 6, Regem Scot[orum]." They look for the other 6 that is got there. It will now be a marriage between the D[uke] and Mistress of Eglinton.

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

On a sheet of paper probably enclosed in the foregoing.

Vol. lxii, No. 74. My opinion is to Sir Ro: Carey that he shall be means to get the pledges, upon good security of good gentlemen of England that they shall remain true prisoners and their friends be of good behaviour to

England relieved and to be at ease as Sir [? Robert Kerr] was here, so as Sir Ro: Kerr condition to Sir Ro: Carey's contentment to plot the good ending of this matter. For their detaining and charges make their friends desperate almost, as if once they come to that all will go worse than before and none enter again nor no redress made for lost men. Some of the pledges' friends are already accounting themselves sure to get their rights in this case where redress is to be had by the pledges. None will be made unless in hope of their good. For a general full redress cannot possibly be made. Nor in looking for that redress will anything be had yet, as before I certified your Honour. And whatever became of the pledges by execution or natural death, no more will then be had but all rather break loose, for they are people that will put all to the last shift and take to the longest life. But this to Sir Ro: Carey's advertisement.

I told his Majesty in the very words what your Honour willed me to assure him of Bothwell. He said it was true he was to go [to] Brussels he heard. But he was earnest to know of Mr. Jo: Colville, for what cause I know not, but guess to judge of Bothwell's by Mr. Jo: who his Majesty hears is in friendship with Bothwell, that by Mr. John's being anywhere he may suspect the like of the other.

For my instructions anent Valentyne Thomas I assure you I have been wary enough therein to the full and passed all with good words.

Jo: Auchinross with whom I have spoken at length tells me that his lord and master was indeed aminded to have gone to Ireland against the traitors and that way to have given new trial of his worth; but not to have joined with the traitors, in hope of her Majesty's assistance against the Earl, whom he never meant to agree with. He tells me of a "platt" his master had to have done that which is desired anent the great one there. But however, albeit it be folly to speak well of the dead, the Queen wants such a one as she can possibly get in this nation for that purpose, and that the villainous traitors know too well. Yet Jo: hopes his sons shall do that which will show their valour.

In the west there was speech that Captain Thornton was at sea lying to stay traffic with the traitors and to intercept the cannon that Ja: Stewart of Glasgow has weighed and is to bring hither as from McSorley.

It is very well that you have agreed with Jo: Ar[chibald] but the other parties are therein of them of action and Maconochie (Mcondoquhy) is MacLean's, yet for your hire may be theirs. It is 4 years since I thought on him your Honour remembers. Yet I know of no good.

Pardon my scribbling for I am no secretary.

1 *p.* *In George Nicolson's hand.*

[? 1598, *c.* Aug.] **202.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxii, No. 76.

I cannot see but it will be best anent these Border causes that the stay and taking up of feuds be dealt in as in my last by note I wrote to your Honour and thereon a law made that what English soever kills

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a Scotsman shall be a rebel and hanged and forfeit his lands and goods to her Majesty; and what Scotsman soever kills any English shall be rebel, hanged and forfeit his lands and goods to the King.

It may please your Honour to relieve me with some money as I have before written for. For in truth I am in debt here. Indeed I have disbursed some money of my own venture for preserving a way to the service motioned anent Tyrone's person and McSorley's. But 400*l.* will not serve for the Earl's, it must be a thousand pounds. I deal that way for having the service done by one now in his company of good account: but let not hope of any of our "plattes" here stay you from other means, for I doubt much of these. It were not dear and though it were done for 5000*l.* But 100,000*l.* will be spent ere that end I fear. I desire your Honour most humbly to relieve me with money for my own needs here and with your pleasure herein. For my suit I dare say nothing; yet if [it] were given me, it would be my comfort and encouragement; for deserve what I can, I must have no more I see and very likely not that neither. But God help me I will have patience to let anything tarry the own time.

If I should be continued here as I am unmeet unless I were better assured on something for my old years, it were great ease to me that my packet might pass by my hand among the posts. For when I have written to your Honour I must write some news withal to the sender of my letters, which is both trouble and a blazing of my advertisements. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *slip of paper. In George Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement.*

[1598, ? Aug.]

203. George Nicolson to [Sir Robert Cecil].

Vol. lxiii, No. 47.

I wrote my opinion to your Honour concerning what redress might be had by the pledges and what surety to the people. And surely you will see that neither their side nor ours can redress the honest spoiled persons near their own. Yet such a course would be best and being duly travailed in by meet persons would sure do much to content anent this matter of "geir." But for blood there must be some course. In my conceit if the princes should make acts that all their subjects in feud anyway one against another, I mean the Scots' feuds against the English and the English against the Scots, and by proclamation command the people to give in to their wardens and officers notes thereof, as also that the wardens and officers should give in their own feuds to their prince between and some certain day under pain of treason and death, and under the like pains that such as give in no such notes be debarred and pretend no feuds to any of other nation after that for any former cause, whereby the princes may see and be informed of the true state of those wicked and unlawful feuds; and after these notes were given in, to take the reconciling of them with their own hands and by straitest proclamations that can be to command and enjoin all to quietness and forbearance of revenge or attempting thereof; the princes might then by their authorities and like charge

1598. force them all to submission with "umpirage" of some sound persons to agree them in manner as the princes should approve the s[ame]* and so end the feuds and make new laws for preventing the rising of the [lik]e* after. For what reason is there that the princes meaning nothing but peace and quietness, subjects of that quality should break or hinder their intentions but be bridled with justice and a law therein? If Sir William were sent hither in these causes much might be done in that and many things. For there will be need of some here this winter.

It is told me, but I do not believe it, that McSorley had a purpose to have brought Tyrone to the King in quiet sort. Tyrone has his messenger in Spain or newly come to Tyrone. These glorious bruits of his triumphing against the English will get him sought to by Spain and stir practices against us. The Lord Sempill is I hear in Spain.

For the Border cause now in hand for certain the agreement of the princes will be nothing to the stay of the troubles arising thereon unless the feud be taken away; for the parties are prepared and will have revenge one time or other. If the King had been in these parts he would have stood by persuasion upon the delivery of Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Woodrington and not have yielded to that he did, for he was so resolved on that no parley should be but their authors.

It is the manner of some when they are employed to her Majesty for the gratuity or other matter for the King to attribute the success (if it be good) to their devices and travail and not to her Majesty's or officers' good wills, which makes the same always little esteemed; and the rather Councillors here grieve thereat by reason a great part of the money is spent with sending for and awaiting on it, such charges are ever his messengers at. It would do most good and be best acceptable to the King and all the nobles that it were sent the King, which would be no charge in effect. For it might be done by exchange with the merchants of London trading here being in time forewarned thereof. So should her Majesty's bounty be sounded, the people see her kindness and love her, and no messenger so prevent the due thanks, as has been heretofore. And seeing her Majesty pays it, it is all one.

Mr. David Foulis the same day he departed hence protested to me that he should do all the good offices in his power between the princes that with the honour of his King he might. He acquitted himself of some things which in general I told him of concerning his dealings towards me and professed me good will, saying he had a letter of mine which he had showed to the King for my good, because he said I had written very honestly on the King, and told me he would let me see it, yet did not. So as at my return I intend to send your Honour notes of what letters I sent that I may try which of my letters want. It is fearful to me that my letters should be in his hands.

McSorley's† death prevents some of their meaning, your honour knows. I have been at some charge of my own to prepare a way for such a service as may be "stededable." [*Several lines obliterated.*]

* Hole in paper.
† *Sic*, ? *rectius* McLean.

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But that I will not stand upon, yet it has so put to me to charge as I am in debt and do most humbly pray your Honour to cause such money be given to Mr. Craven for me as is due according to the note enclosed as also to imprest me some 100*l.* more. For I am preparing a way for service in Ireland, which if it effect you shall know and only deal in it and reward me as you please. For I am not able to get good but by you and though I would deserve it.

Mr. Jo: Archibald is come and will proceed to deal in that your Honour knows, that you may soon know what the party will do. You have dealt very honourably and wisely with him.

I spoke Jo: Auchinross who has been by some dealt with I hear, yet kept very honest to deal with none without my privity he said. But this to your Honour's secrecy. The young gentleman MacLean if he pro . . .* well this winter minds to turn to the course of his father of whom there i[s]* more loss than I can write. The King had 2 advertisements at Dumbarton that he and his friends were in arms with 3000 men to take revenge, and thereon he wrote to stay him, promising him justice. Sir James MacConnell has such friends as he desires to be heard and to clear his part. At this favour the honestest is all most angry. For Jo: Auchinross I use this word "Sharpe."

Some suspect Huntly to have been privy to the plot of MacLean's slaughter and think Argyll in p . . .† already. Huntly offered much to have had MacLean's favour. Angus MacConnell is in Dumbarton Castle I hear again to keep himself now when MacLean comes.

The King's letter comes not nor no word of it, nor of any direction to Cessford. I hear that if some know before he writes they will persuade that no examination or parley shall be until first the 2 gentlemen called for be entered. This will sure be a hard matter and therefore it will need Sir William's presence and travail possibly here. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1¾ *pp. In G. Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement.*

[? 1598, *c.* Aug.] **204.** MEMORANDA OF GEORGE NICOLSON FOR KING JAMES VI.

Vol. lxii, No. 77.

That your Majesty would refer and leave the late accident on the Borders to the examination of the Wardens jointly, that the occasions and circumstances of the fact may be truly known and made manifest to her Highness and your Majesty that it may be rightly judged on for your Majesties' satisfactions. For which purpose Sir Ro: Carey is directed to have his witnesses in a readiness at such time as he shall be advertised. That your Majesty shall appoint your Wardens to meet him for that cause. As also that if it could be ended with the Wardens your Highness would also like thereof and direct Sir Ro: Kerr to appoint and meet Sir Ro: Carey for these purposes accordingly. As also to return your Majesty's answers herein to her Highness at your good time and pleasure.

* Hole in paper.
† Word illegible through fold in paper.

And it is very requisite that your Majesty write to your said Warden for preventing any troubles to be made in the meantime by the parties your subjects to the troubling of the peace. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *slip of paper. In George Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement.*

Sept. 2. **205.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 1.

To-morrow I intend to go to Glasgow and so to Dumbarton with his Majesty on Monday to see what end shall be taken with the Islanders that I may advertise your Honour; as also of what I can learn shall come from Ireland; and withal to remember his Majesty to speak the magistrates of Glasgow to see his proclamations observed. The 26 hereof the Convention holds here. The Earl of Angus returned to the King on Thursday at Hamilton, having left the country. Whereon I look the Maxwells and Douglases shall pursue Johnstone again to the new troubles of that country. To-morrow the D[uke] is to be married but with the company of his friends and wife's in quiet sort. It is strange that a Councillor told me that these news of the overthrow in Ireland should come hither out of England and the Low Countries, and it argues to me more than I can judge. Always, it were very good her Majesty had some Ambassador lying here this winter. A great many of the nobility are gone and have licence to travel out of the country; some malcontent with the government, some for no good, some to see the year of Jubilee at Rome. Edinburgh, 2 Sept. 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 3. **206.** GEORGE NICOLSON'S ALLOWANCES AND EXPENSES.

Vol. lxiii, No. 2.

For his service in Scotland. A note of George Nicolson's reckonings from 15 Nov. 1597 until 3 Sept. 1598, being 292 days, viz.

	£	s.	d	£	s.	d.
His entertainment for that time after 13*s.* 4*d. per diem.*	194	13	4			
Letters carrying from my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary to him, as also from Sir Wm. Bowes and the Wardens and from him to them.	33	0	0	246	3	4
Letters between "Sharpe," "Filius," others and him.	4	10	0			
Extraordinaries of proclamations and other things.	14	10	0			
Received by my Lord Treasurer's appointment of Mr. Craven.	150	0	0			
Rests clearly due to the said George Nicolson till 3 Sept. 1598.	96	3	4			

inde

So

Signed: George Nicolson.

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And in case his entertainment be 15*s.* a day then there will be due to him of more the sum of 19*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* which he then would desire to have also. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

½ *p. In Nicolson's hand. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Mr. Nycholson. Mr. Skynner to make an order for this." *Signed:* J. Fortescu.

Sept. 10. **207.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 3.

According to my last I repaired to Glasgow whither the King came from Hamilton on Saturday was a "sennet." The next day being Sunday and the King riding to Sorn on Monday to the Duke's banquet at his goodfather's, the Sheriff of Ayr's house, he tarried there that night and Tuesday all day and night and came back to Glasgow on Wednesday, having had little pleasure of his journey or entertainment I heard. The next day the Treasurer came to him and Lord Fleming. That day was spent with the few barons there of Argyle, and on Friday at after 12 o'clock the King took horse and rode that night to Stirling. So as the provost being out of the way when I had the King at leisure I could not have meet time to get the King to speak the provost at Glasgow that the provost would see the proclamation executed and served, but I did it on the way as the provost rode to convey the King, who charged him very earnestly as he would answer to him that he would suffer no breach thereof directly nor indirectly, saying if it were not observed in all points truly and faithfully he was "maynesworne" and faithless, for he was bound and sworn by the treaties to the same, and willing the provost to be careful and diligent to trap the contraveners thereof that he may make public example on them; adding that he hated those false rebels and the unthankfulness of the traitor Tyrone. The provost replied that he thought his Majesty's meaning was only to bar the rebel of armour, weapon, lead, bullet, victuals and men but not of other dealings as of fishings, hide buying, etc. amongst them, whereon many poor men lived. The King said yes, it was his meaning his subjects should no way deal with the rebels, saying that for those things they might trade with the Queens' subjects in Ireland and not with the rebels: for he would have no such dealing upon any colour. I told the King there were some Irish men in the town that I heard were dealing for those things to the rebels. Then the King said there was one had moved him to sign a warrant for an Irishman's passing home, asking me if there were any matter in that. I said it was Jo: Baw that lay there for sending such things to the rebel I heard. He said it was only for his own passage out of the country home. I said I could not move his Majesty to recall it but would require him to cause the provost to try and take good bond that he should neither take nor send such provisions to the rebels, which the King commanded and the provost promised to do. For certain the King has spoken often now in this journey most bitterly against those traitors as surely it will come to their ears. After the provost had taken leave and was returned the [King] said

to me I saw he dealt plainly; if he should deal otherways I would learn it. But he protested he neither directly nor indirectly would do anything concerning her Majesty's estate or country but what he would answer to her for as her own subject as in his last letter to her he had written. I perceive by him he would be ready to further her better service against those traitors even as she should reasonably employ him. For upon occasion of speeches he said that he accounted himself her son and would not offend her, her country or her meanest honest subject. And having many discourses at good length with his Majesty of many matters, showing him the copy of the note enclosed, he said he had written every word thereof to Sir Ro: Kerr, which he did from Hamilton on Friday was 8 days. I find him careful and resolved to prevent all inconveniences thereanent; that the Wardens should try the matter carefully on both sides for their Majesties' satisfactions; that then they should so take it into their own hands as it should not trouble the peace but be ended by themselves; and that in the meantime his subjects should attempt no revenge. These he said he would answer for. On Monday he said he would speak Sir Ro: Kerr thereanent and handle the matter so well as there should be no further troubles but all ended between their Majesties. So as unless the King be borne from his purpose all will be well and some good "myd" found in this matter. Yet I hear the Rutherfords have slain an Englishman and taken another which they would hang; but this to my Lord Warden's certificate whether it be true or not. Always the agreeing of feuds will best end this matter.

At this time of the King's being at Hamilton he was exceeding well welcomed and merry. The Duke and Earl of Angus were there also very kindly entertained, as they are all friends. The King baptised my Lord Hamilton's bastard son Sir Jo:'s child and promised Lord Hamilton that he would assure the abbacy of Arbroath as he had promised either to my Lord or my Lord's own son, his godson, which pleased the Lord well who said it was all one whether he or his son had it assured to them and thanked the King. Then the King also reconciled the laird of Dunipace with my Lord and intends now at Stirling to agree Dunipace with my Lord of Mar, as also now to agree his lordship with the Lord Livingstone and Master of Elphinstone, which if it so fall out, then I look that Mar shall be Chancellor, unless some other "platt" arise to hinder all. Such is the King's care to have all well between my Lord of Mar and his said competitors, as very secretly he drew offers severally for Dunipace, the Master of Elphinstone and Lord Livingstone to be given in their names to Mar, which offers with some small correcting of the parties are fair written and given to the King again to deal with the Earl in, all their offers tending to abide the end of any of my Lord of Mar's 4 best friends.

The King having sent for the barons of Argyle to come to him to Glasgow, those few that came gave him advice that because the year was spent he should not now go but seek to get Dunnyveg into his hands and the next spring to go and dispose of that isle, Islay and Kintyre for his most profit. MacLean stayed at his uncle's, the Earl of Glencairn's, and sent excuse to the King, doubting he should

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have been stayed if he had come. But the Treasurer wrote and assured him of the contrary, whereon he came with the Earl on Friday by 9 in forenoon to the King who bade him welcome, told him he loved and meant his father good and would now perform it to him; that he meant not to ward him but he should return and come again to him in March next, at what time he would not ward or stay him; that in the meantime he willed him only to forbear in his revenge women and children and such as were no faulters; adding he would join his forces with his for subduing the Isles and Kintyre; willing him to depend of none but him, promising and giving him his hand that he would be his good prince. So as MacLean parted with the King well contented and comforted. Word was brought the King that Dunnyveg would be rendered but where I wrote that Angus was to be sent back for safety to Dumbarton Castle the Lord Treasurer carried him to Cardonell with him. Thus these matters for this time are put over until the next spring and the King's journey stayed. And where the Convention was appointed 26 hereof, the King says it was wrong understood. It should have been 26 of October next and accordingly directs his letters for his nobility, etc. to come then that he may with their advices take order anent the Borders, Islands and Ireland as the country be put to no more charges with them, and also anent his own estate and affairs. At Edinburgh, 10 September 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. McSorley is not slain.

To-morrow the King will be at Dalkeith or on Tuesday. I think because the Queen will be brought to bed there he shall be there also the most of this winter.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address.* 2 *seals broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 10. **208.** THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADOR'S PROPOSITIONS.

Vol. lxiii, No. 4.

Proposition. My suit was the razing of the process out of all records and presently a public declaration to be made of his Majesty's innocence.

Answer. The whole process cannot nor should not be razed for then cannot the fellow be arraigned without process. Neither is anything contained in his indictment that in any case may touch the King.

Proposition. Yet has he confessed matter enough prejudicial to his Majesty's honour and future hopes. To his honour in respect of the objections that have been made and may yet be made against his honour to the disabling of kind affections in foreign estates grounded only upon these scandals. To his future hopes in respect of the statute of association.

Answer. Albeit he has confessed somewhat touching the King yet it is not in his indictment, neither shall be at his arraignment. And if in case he would speak anything of his Majesty, he shall not be permitted. He has spoken (say they) many things that neither are believed, nor can make faith hereafter in no sort, because they are not entered in the records, neither is he accused of any point of them in his arraignment.

Proposition. But what warrant can his Majesty have that as it is not believed what he has confessed against him, so shall it not be brought in question hereafter?

Answer. Nothing can be brought in question but that which is a special point of his indictment and cause of his death. But so it is that nothing spoken of the King is or shall be such; ergo, as to speeches spoken lightly or maliciously by him or any fellow like him, they are not to be regarded unless they were in appearance to be drawn some day against them of whom they were spoken.

Proposition. But those are to be so in respect the fellow dies for the fact.

Answer. He dies not for that which he spoke against the King and like as it is not worthy of belief; so is there, nor shall be, no mention of it.

Proposition. If you think it not worthy of belief, why make you not declaration of it that you think so of it?

Answer. If the Queen would make declaration of all her thoughts, she should never have an end.

Proposition. But this concerns not the Queen alone but his Majesty in special.

Answer. So long as it cannot be prejudicial to his Majesty in respect of that which is said, it can concern him nothing but so much as a caitiff fellow would talk in an alehouse after drink and then after deny it again.

Proposition. Then let his denial be published seeing the world knows he has confessed it.

Answer. That were to publish the thing that is not. For he has not yet denied it, neither has he been driven to deny it, seeing no man makes account of it.

Proposition. Howsoever this be professed, yet is his Majesty sure of the present dishonour by the bruit that is spread of it.

Answer. As to the bruit, seeing the Queen is not the cause of it, she cannot be countable for it, but seeing it has spread of that villain voluntarily to her Majesty's grief, she cannot nor should not give satisfaction for all men's scandalous speeches, unless it were to punish them for it, and so is she ready to do in this case and more too. Because the King thinks that villain's speeches have been or may be hurtful to him, she is willing there may be no speeches of it and that the whole indictment may be delivered authentical by the special keepers of the records hands, wherein there shall be no word of his Majesty at all.

Proposition. Yet all this takes not away the present scandal which is public.

Answer. There are 2 things to be considered, viz. what has passed and what is to come. Nothing has passed her Majesty and Council but privy examinations, wherein if the villain had spoken anything, it should suffice the King that the Queen believes it not, as she has declared by her letter, which declaration is as able to raise a contrary bruit to the first, as the first was to raise itself. For the thing to come, her Majesty must be dealt with what she will do either in making

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public declaration upon the scaffold by her Attorney, in case the fellow speak anything thereof, that she understands it to be most false and wills the people to believe so; or otherwise if his Majesty think it not good to bring the matter in such hazard as the fellow may speak anything, that he may remain perpetually in prison and languish there. But as for any public declaration presently, seeing no public act has proceeded, it cannot be required nor granted, and here they stick precisely, for say they, seeing that the grounds of his Majesty's scandal are taken away by putting nothing in the indictment concerning him, nor leaving nothing in any record thereof, nor that anything shall be suffered to be spoken of that matter hereafter, they assure themselves of his Majesty's satisfaction, for this being observed there is neither act of association nor other statute that hereafter can prejudice him in anything.

If this be her Majesty's resolution I will say no more, for I will not presume to be a judge of his Majesty's honour farther than I have commandment, and seeing that which by commandment I demanded in his Majesty's name is refused, I must suspend my farther dealing till I hear of his Majesty's will in the matter that is offered.

2⅓ *pp. Endorsed in the same hand:* "A collection of the Scottish Ambassador's propositions to the Lords of the Council and of their lordships' answers and replies unto them. On Sunday the 10th of September, '98. Which collection is to be sent to the Scottish King."

Sept.
[10 ?]. **209.** CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND AND THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADOR.

Vol. lxiii, No. 5.

The heads of the Conference between the Council and me at the Queen's command.

First. I laid before them according to my instructions the just causes of your Majesty's griefs and some few reasons moving you to crave satisfaction of the scandal made to your Majesty by the accusation of Val: Thomas, as after follows.

1. The point of honour which by the law of nations is current among all Estates that are under mutual friendship.

2. The world being poisoned by prejudice of general advertisements is more apt to believe what has been spread abroad in respect of like imputations to some of your Majesty's friends before, for successive humours make easiest impressions in soft minds.

3. That your Majesty could not be sure of your own life in respect of the late Act of Association, which binds all Englishmen both by allegiance and oath to pursue the lives of all those by all means possible that indirectly seek the life of their prince. Among as many as are jealous of so dangerous a loss it is not improbable that either one or other may give a desperate attempt out of credulous apprehension which may unhappily endanger your Majesty for the late assault made upon other princes of the like quality is sufficient to breed suspicion enough when the heats of men are warranted in an

enterprise by grounds of conscience both moral and divine they will not shrink at anything.

4. Her Majesty has often promised by words, writ and oath that like as she will never do any public act that may enable your Majesty to future hopes so will she not forestall your right and expectation by any act of hers that may wrong you any way. But every man can tell what hazard their pretensions are like to come by rigour of the statute that would precipitate their times. Therefore reason with a due regard to your own right moves your Majesty to prevent a certain mischief with a just expostulation.

5. Your Majesty understands that certain objections have been made and may daily be made by your enemies against your right and honour to the weakening of kind affections towards you in foreign estates upon colour of these scandalous reports and therefore must be cleared while the person lives rather than to leave blind papers to be "canvest" by the affections of those that shall come after us.

6. It is not unknown to your Majesty with how confident asseveration the matter has been warranted unto the Queen herself as approved truth; and therefore howsoever in respect of mutual necessity of correspondence between the estates her Majesty may advertise in a kind of courtesy that she gives no belief to that which has been said, yet the world is not satisfied, neither yet use princes to set right or forget easily any confessions of practice against their persons till demonstration have disabled them. Wherefore to make your knot of friendship strong between both the estates and to cut off all devices that may spring out of so vile a cause to take away the grounds of diffidences which may do great harm and take a course that the subjects of both the realms may discharge all offices of kind neighbourhood without any scandal to their own allegiance, it is convenient and necessary that by thorough dealing in the matter once for all, not only the conceit of guiltiness be removed but all impressions of jealousy be cancelled and the world made to beware of the like inventions hereafter for ever. In the end leaving those general reasons I came to the particular wherein I knew your Majesty's satisfaction to stand, to wit in obtaining of the process to be sent to you in razing of the same forth of the books or records and in a public declaration presently to be made of your innocency.

Their answer was that as for the generals they would give one answer for all which was, if justly the most of these griefs were removed, there could no [*blank in MS.*] nor satisfaction follow. For, said they, apparently your Majesty's griefs consist in two points, in present scandal prejudicial to your honour and in danger to bring your right in question in time to come. As for any slander they would grant none, and if any was it came not by the Queen nor them, for whatsoever was done in the procedure of that matter was done with "sycke" respect to your honour that nothing could be craved more, for the fellow's confession importing nothing less than the death of the Queen, they could do no less than try him narrowly and carefully. He confessed not, say they, that your Majesty should have desired him to it, but that he should have proponed the matter to you

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and that you heard it. And for his confession of the proposition they find him guilty but they never did believe that it came to your Majesty's ears by him or any man else. And like as they did never believe it, so shall that record and his indictment be far from specifying anything concerning your Majesty, for (say they) and it is true he has confessed many things which they know themselves to be lies and is not nor will be recorded in any case. Seeing therefore the ground of this slander (which is the believing and recording of any matter touching your Majesty's name) is and shall be taken away, they "outlayd" that your Majesty can plead no dishonour nor satisfaction in that point. As touching the bringing of your right in question, there was no danger, for, say they, by the first argument what is not recorded can never make faith; and the fellow dying for other causes, his indictment being free of your Majesty's name in all points, there can be no objection of danger hereafter. As to the danger that ensued of the Act of Association, my Lord Keeper with his own mouth out of the records showed that no man could be endangered by it, unless he were charged for attempting against the Prince, convicted and sentence given against him and the Great Seal put to a patent giving power to all men to pursue their lives that have attempted the like fact. No such matter can touch your Majesty, say they, seeing neither are you called once in question for the like fact, nor ever able to be, seeing nothing shall remain in records against you that may be objected hereafter with any ground to do you any harm. And this with many protestations of their affections to you and to the common peace between the realms, they thought were sufficient for the generals.

As to the particulars wherein consists your Majesty's satisfaction, first, for the obtaining of the process, they have after long bickering *pro* and *contra* granted to deliver it "autentiqued" with his hand that keeps the records.

As to the second point for razing the same forth of the registers, they said that the whole process could not be razed for then could not the fellow be arraigned. But this they have granted that nothing shall be in the records that may in any sort concern your Majesty or prejudice you anyway.

As for the public declaration which is craved presently they give answer that, seeing no public act has proceeded that might endanger your Majesty's name or right, there can no public declaration be made, for what has passed has been privately done and her Majesty's own hand should suffice, say they, making private declaration of her belief that all is false that the villain has spoken of you. And out of this private declaration may arise, say they, the contrary bruit to that which has passed of his private confession before. For what is to come must yet be craved, where if your Majesty will have him arraigned and in case he speak anything that then public declaration be made of the contrary or he being moved to silence that nothing be spoken or then that he be kept in perpetual prison and not arraigned so that their resolution is not to make any present publication of your innocency but are willing to give you contentment with assurance that nothing shall be done to your prejudice hereafter. For it was said to me by

one honourable Councillor that the Queen would indeed be careful of the matter to have it well to your contentment, because she will not that the enemies should see at this time or believe that she should be in such case with your Majesty as that she could not be sure of her own life. Something passed by way of argument for putting the fellow in your hands which I alleged was reasonable in respect he had calumniated you and had laid courses as he has confessed himself since to bring your Majesty unto England. It was good reason, said I, that he should be sent to be punished accordingly for all was one if he were hanged in Scotland or England. I found them very hard to that for said they it were an ill example to all traitors that should attempt against the Prince if any of them upon their pure allegiance of practice upon a foreign prince should be sent forth of the realm to be saved or executed at the pleasure of those they are sent to. I answered again that, albeit it was not the form nor needed not to be drawn in example hereafter, yet your Majesty might be dealt withal in such kindness as the fellow being executed by you both your honour and her satisfaction might ensue. But in this matter I would not insist, having no warrant but inspection of their declared resolution. I said I would not presume to be judge of your honour otherwise nor I had commandment and would not be satisfied therewith till I heard of your will hereanent. Therefore, Sir, I pray you think and resolve what your Majesty finds meetest to be done herein further. For however it be you may be assured that I shall not leave the matter till your Majesty may be very sure from after "clappes." I can certify you also of good tokens of affection both in Queen and Council in the preservation of your Majesty's honour in the handling this point. Therefore I will crave pardon to advise you to write two words of hearty thanks to the Queen herself for the kindly disposition you understand by me she has to conserve your Majesty's honour from the injury of all such calumnies that may be and have been unjustly laid upon you by such a villain, with your request to her, because the rest to be perfected that is necessary for the assuring of that matter in question as she has and shall understand by me particularly; and to cause one other to be written to the Council only signed with your hand giving them thanks also of their declared respect to your Majesty's honour and weal, requesting them in respect of the inconveniences that may ensue upon the not ending of this matter in a sure and honourable form, not to retard the matter but with all their credit according to their professed affection that they would advise her Majesty to continue the good disposition to give you full satisfaction in that matter, wherein they shall show themselves to have a special of their sovereign, of themselves and of the quietness and honour of their realm. These two letters in question will bring out good effects both in this particular and others as happily your Majesty may find hereafter shortly. Therefore I will once again request you that this may be done with all the speed can be if your Majesty's turns may be assured with gentle dealing and quietness. I hope you will not care *modo prædicetur Christus*, all is one. This is the very "trayth" of this matter. For other things I cannot nor will not deal in them till this be rest, which is the main point. So looking

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1598. to hear shortly from your Majesty in this matter and others what shall please you to command, I will end.

4 *pp. Copy in the hand of one of Cecil's clerks. Endorsed:* "Scotland 1598 Sept. The declaration of Mr. Da: Fowles sent to the King his master after conference with the Lords at Grenewich."

Sept. 12. **210.** DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 6. I am hereby to request your remembrance to cause such order to be taken speedily as I may have delivered unto me (according to the conference at the Council table) the true copy of the whole process "autentiqued" with my Lord Keeper's hand as chief of that judgment and the Clerk Keeper of the Records, as also the other point (whereof ye all give me good assurance) that nothing should be contained in the process prejudicial to his Majesty my master or that may bring his name in question hereafter. I crave earnestly that it may be with diligence set down by an Act of Council signed with all your lordships' hands for otherways ye know that I can give no assurance to his Majesty that it is so, and by consequence no satisfaction. Which so soon as I can advertise assuredly that it is done, I persuade myself shall persuade his Majesty more easily to forbear the suit of public declaration. London, the 12 of 7ber, 1598. *Signed:* D. Foulis.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. 13 [*sic*] Sept. Mr. Da. Fowles, Ambassador from the King of Scots to my master. To have authentical copies of the process against Val. Thomas."

Sept. 12. **211.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 7. Yesterday there landed at Leith an Englishman with his wife, his son, 2 daughters, a manservant and a maidservant transported hither from Elsinore (Elsingore) in a ship, whereof Robert Lukeup was master, who was stayed to take them in and bring them hither. This gentleman is a very high man, black of colour, of 56 years and remained only one night at Elsinore. He calls himself Moore, a Yorkshireman, and has been fugitive from England this 17 years as he makes open profession for the Q. mother's sake. His chief remaining has been in Germany (Almany) and the Low Countries. He is an avowed papist. He has neither trunk nor coffer but a barrel ship which yet is in the ship. He is very needy and pretends errand to have favour and says he is minded to go to Berwick or Bamboroughshire of whence his wife is and where she has 100*l.* *per annum*. This he pretends but some here have seen him with the Earl of Westmorland and with his company. Word is also come that he has been in Spain and that divers more to the number of 10 shipped at that time for the north parts in quiet sort. Upon understanding hereof I dealt with the provost that he, his wife, children and servants might be examined asunder

1598. and upon cross interrogatories. Many protestations he made of his good will to try out and hinder any practices that might this way arise, yet said he durst not deal without the warrant of his Majesty. I also then dealt with some of the ministry to have got the same done, yet could not. Whereon I prayed secrecy of the purpose and upon the King's coming this night will deal for warrant accordingly and learn what I can. In the meantime I have with diligence herewith advertised my Lord Governor that he may write to her Majesty's officers of the North to see the passengers landing in the east coast stayed till her pleasure be known, praying God if this be so that such traitors are thus clustering now homewards that there be no treacherous practices against her Majesty's person whereupon they should thus return or "platt" for troubles in the north. For which cause I write this in this haste. I hear here are letters come, some landed at Dundee, some at other places, to be delivered [to] the King's own hands upon pain of hanging. Yet the King was so very plain with me as I dare almost adventure my life he will understand no hurt to her Majesty or country but reveal it. So much I gathered from him by his speeches on Friday last to me. This night he will be at Dalkeith. Yesterday, he and Lord Hamilton dined at Dunipace and came but to Linlithgow. After my coming from him he received word that the castle of Dunnyveg should be delivered to such as he should appoint, so as the King would perform something to the bastard. But the King would not condition with him, yet sent him warrant for his safe coming and return and directed the Treasurer (by writing) to send some to receive the house.

Johnstone has entered his pledges and satisfied the Lieutenant in all things, but for surety that he shall leave the country before the 1 of the next in obedience of the King's pleasure therein. For caution whereof the Lieutenant desires Buccleuch (Baucleughe) to give his word. Buccleuch has overtured to the Lieutenant how the Scots' pledges may be had to be delivered to England. And the laird of Buccleuch also tells me that Lord Maxwell and Drumlanrig are entertaining with lands and pensions and wages the English Grahams to join in their particulars against Johnstone. The laird says, if this be, Johnstone and his friends must repel them in Scotland and pursue them in England, which he accounts will be dangerous to the banding of so many broken men together and which he would have prevented, as he would have and will give warning of anything that may import her Majesty or England and of which he has written to Mr. Lee in the absence of my Lord. It may please your Honour to cause this be stayed or provide that no blame be laid on Johnstone's friends in case our English claims be pursued by them for this. For Buccleuch will party him and many more who no way would offend her Majesty, as Buccleuch I presume truly protests.

For the matter of these strangers' return I shall do what I can and set R. As[ton] awork and all friends to learn the secret as it may be known. Edinburgh, 12 Sept. 1598 in haste. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript. If Markinfeild be living it may be that gentleman. Always this has been in Spain it is said and come thus compassed.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's*

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1598. *clerk:* "One Moore an Englishman arrived at Lyethe from Elsinore with his family."

Postal endorsements. "For her Majesty's special affairs, haste post haste with all speed possible. Berwick the 13 7 o'clock at night, P. Wyllughby. Rd. at Belford this 14 of Sept. at 2 in the morning being brought to me by a footman, Tho. Armorer. Alnwick this 14 at 5 in the morning, John Atkin. Morpeth this 14 at past nine in the forenoon. At Newcassill the 14 of September at one o'clock afternoon, John Bachler. Durham (?) the 14 Sept. past 4 afternoon. Buroubrygge xvth of Sept. at past xj of clock before midnight. Wetherbie the xvjth at past one in the afternoon. Stilton the 16 of September at . . . .(?)"

Sept. 13 & 15. **212.** EXCERPTS FROM LETTERS BY ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO RICHARD DOUGLAS, THE EARL OF ANGUS, EDWARD BRUCE, ETC.

Vol. lxiii, No. 8. In a letter from A. D. [Archibald Douglas] of the 15 Sept. 1598 to R. Doug[las].

In the 2 page says in 8 line: And all this is thought to be done to that end that the K. our sovereign may be brought to appear to be assistant in the fact alleged to have been executed by the Q. his mother of good memory; and so by consequence in respect of the Act [of] the Association unable to be capable of any matter within this realm, etc.

In the 17 line: In the which Act there is also a proviso contained that it shall not be prejudicial to the heir or successor of any that shall attempt, unless they shall be found assistant to the same crime. And to bring the K., our sovereign, to appear to be assistant to the foresaid crime all this matter has so far proceeded to the end that thereupon they may by proclamation publish his inability, and upon no other pretext do they found this dealing.

And in 31 line: I think therefore that it shall be very expedient that his Majesty may give some order for the helping thereof in time, which by appearance may be done in this manner: if Da: Foulis (Fouls) or any other should be informed to put this Q. in remembrance that there was promise made both by this Q. and Council that the K. our sovereign's innocency should be solemnly published and thereupon an order set down that whatsoever has been done against his mother of good memory should noways be prejudicial to his Majesty nor anything he might attain in this country n[ow?] and after. If any such kind of proceeding should be suffered to go forward, that it would be against this Q. her own promises under her seal and hand written, wherein is contained that her Majesty would suffer no such matter to be done during her life that might any ways prejudge his Majesty's title, the latter part of this may be proved by writing remaining in our sovereign's hands, and the other part I will be ready to affirm.

In the 3 page 11 li[ne]: Invented by unfriends whose posterity would be glad that the same course might be followed.

In the 13 line: With no small charges I have got forth all the matters that ever the Q., our sovereign's mother, was charged with.

In first page shows the fear that the E. of Angus (Angwish) promises this should not hold for his relief makes him fear to come home.

In the 4 pa[ge] advises a conceit of a letter to be sent from R. D. to him feigning a message done from him to the K. and a message to be returned back to him with offer of E[arl] Angw[ish's] offer of good offices.

A. D. [Archibald Douglas] to E[ar]l Ang[us] of 13 Sept. 1598.

In 2 page speaking of the K.'s foreign practices with princes against this state, in the 29 line: And if these courses shall be dealt into or suspected to be dealt into and no *good success to follow*,* all the harm that can be devised against his Majesty our sovereign, yourself, your friends and associates you may look for.

In the end of 3 page: Particularly of these matters that do concern these dangers I have written to Mr. R. D.

To Mr. Sam Cowb. (?) a l[etter?] per Hen. Carr (?).

To Bruce (Brus) Abbot of Kinloss (Kinlosh).

As that to Mr. R. Do: save that in the 2 page, 12 line, he calls the dealing intended against Thomson "(intended rigor)" the manner of proceeding whereof never pleased her Majesty but invented by some unfriends whose posterity, &c., *ut supra* in R. D.'s letter.

After he shows the danger if this peace with Spain go forward and this proceeding with Thomson and suspects the cause of free imprisonment of one Crauford in the Marshalsea: as cause of apprehension of Thomas and is kept for a witness, refusing him to the E[arl] of Cassillis (Castels) copies of the proceedings against the Q. his mistress and the copies of the treaties with the States and Spain for peace.

1½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Henry Lok. Endorsed:* "An extract of a letter of D. A."

Sept. 16. **213.** KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Vol. lxiii, No. 9.

Upon a grievous and heavy complaint made to us by the merchants, owners and master of a ship of Kirkcaldy called the *Grace of God* we are enforced to make this present suit. In so far as the said ship upon the fifth of April 1598, departing from the bay of Cadiz (Cales) in Andalusia laden with divers sorts of wines and a hundredweight of cinnamon, returning homeward towards Scotland looking for no harm at the hands of any Christian, was upon the eighth day of the said month, thirty-five leagues west from the Cape of St. Vincent, "onbesett" by a man-of-war of England called the *Green Dragon* of Bristol; and albeit our said subjects being both merchants and most willing to have supported the foresaid man-of-war in any his necessities, yet nothing would satisfy him except they would render their ship

* Underlined.

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1598.

and goods to the mercy of the said pirate; who [they] refusing to do the same, most cruelly pursued the said merchant ship and sank her. And the poor merchants seeing no appearance to escape, craving pitifully safety of their lives, were refused, so a number of them slain, the rest deadly hurt, their ship sinking was scarcely able to carry them to the nearest land; to the which (being the coast of Barbary) they were forced to run, where they were taken captives by the Turks, spoiled of their gear that was left "unpereisched," and their bodies condemned to perpetual slavery. And if by the mean of some English factors who were there their liberty had not been procured they had died under that servitude; an act so cruel and abominable, whereof the like has scarcely been heard, not committed by the "Barbares" but by such as should for Christianity [have] had greater compassion of their brethren. And seeing the inhabitants of the town of Bristol made upon their common charges the apparelling, "reiking" out and whole "outrede" of the said ship and therefore of all equity and reason should be answerable for any wrongs done by her, our petition is that the master of the said Scottish ship, who was present in her when she was thus miserably used and is able to justify the whole points of the foresaid complaint, may have redress of the said ship and goods, skaith, damage and interest sustained thereby against the said inhabitants of Bristol, and they condignly punished for committing the charge of any of their ships to such one as should have attempted so horrible a fact. And albeit we doubt not but the circumstances of the deed and the sincere affection which ye carry to the righting of any prince's subjects, much more to us, your dearest brother, will move you and your Council to take such order hereanent as we may be justly satisfied, yet we may more particularly recommend this injury done to the joy and contentment of our common enemy, to the disturbance of that trade which might be profitable to us both and noisome to our said enemy, that such speedy remedy may be had as our poor subjects have no cause to make us importune you with any new complaint or have recourse to any extraordinary remedy. Thus recommending the foresaid complaint to your Christian charity and that brotherly correspondence which we expect assuredly at your hands we recommend us unto you. From our Palace of Holyroodhouse the sixteen day of September, 1598. *In the King's hand:* "Youre most loving & affectionate brother & cousin, James R."

1 *p.* *Addressed and endorsed.*

Sept. 17. **214.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 10.

According to my last I repaired on Tuesday to Dalkeith and there after his Majesty had supped informed him of the suspicious repair hither of the English gentleman calling himself Moore and the reports that arose here with his coming that there were sundry English fugitives shipped at that time for their quiet return into the north of England, arguing some practices to be in hand perhaps dangerous to both countries. Therefore I told his Majesty I commended the same

1598. to his knowledge, praying him to cause the gentleman to be examined for discovery of the truth, that he might do as should appertain for her Majesty's satisfaction in this point. Hereupon he very freely and willingly said he should do it and acquaint her Majesty with what he should find therein and put the man out of his country in case he tried (?) him to be come for any practices. The next day I spoke the gentleman demanding sundry questions moving him to these answers, viz. That his name was Moore, a Yorkshireman near Wakefield; that his wife's name was Momforth born near that place; that he was no fugitive nor banished but had left the country voluntarily about 5 years ago, because he could not live there to his mind; that he had about this time twelve months written and sent his servant to my Lord Treasurer who then said he was an honest man; that Mr. Stanhope had caused imprison his said servant and my Lord Treasurer had caused loose him again; that he is of Williamson's acquaintance that was in prison and had part with him of the matter between my Lord of Shrewsbury and Mr. Stanhope, and was to return home again; that he knew of none but of himself and household returned or to return into the north. And to my judgment perceiving him to be likeliest to be a Catholic papist, I said to him that seeing all practices against her Majesty's estate and country had ever been devised by, consented or known unto and carried by men of his profession, it might be he knew of some, which if he should plainly reveal would be the best way to procure him favour. I persuaded him if he knew any to advertise it by letters or other ways as he thought meet, and offered him for courtesy sake my address of the same for his good, the better to move him thereunto. He said it was true, but they were not of his religion; for none of his religion would ever know of such wicked and unnatural practices. But if he had he would have revealed it. To conclude I willed him to advise better of the matter and do as he thought best, telling him he should find that favour of me. He gave me many thanks and asked where I laid, and so we parted. Yet I never heard from him since. On Thursday Mr. Moore went to Dalkeith to have spoken his Majesty. Coming to the Court the porter received him courteously and went to the King and told him of the English gentleman that he desired to speak to his Majesty. Whereat the King was very angry, yet sent William Hunter being then in place to inquire of him what he and his errand was, which William inquiring of, he answered that his name was Geo: Moore, his father's name was Francis Moore and dwelling in Yorkshire near Sheffield, entered to do service for the Queen of Scots, the King's mother, which being espied he fled and carried him with him; that his father was pensioner to the King of Spain and they lived at Milan where his father died; protesting that he had disbursed in the King's mother's service 900*l.* sterling; that the Bishop of Ross had paid 100 crowns, and that the Queen had directed 200*l.* thereof to be paid. But they got but one hundred; the other hundred was by sinister means detained; and the rest was behind. That after his father's death my Lord Treasurer and Sir Francis Walsingham sent for him home and got his pardon and made him many fair promises; that seeing no conditions kept he fell to the King's

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1598. mother's service and being discovered was imprisoned. Yet nothing but the carriage of a letter being tried against him, they could not take his life but at length set him at liberty. And finding that they pressed him to such bonds as a priest could not come to his house but his life and lands should be taken, he sold and mortgaged his lands and made money and voluntarily passed forth of the country to Brussels where he lived 5 years, and being there so dealt on by the Spaniards to do service against the Queen and his own country as he could not be quiet with them he went to Liège and there remained a year and a half, from whence he is come hither. But William Hunter asking him how long he has been in coming from Liège he answered not to that point, notwithstanding that he pressed him; but said if he might speak with the King he would tell him more particularly, saying he was commended to the Master of Works and Mr. Patrick Morton. With report of this William returned to the King who sent the Master of Works to him. Thus much Mr. Hunter told me very honestly, wishing he could do any service to recompense the favour he has in England, desiring that his name may be kept close.

The King very carefully sent to the provost to examine the skipper called Robert Lukeup that brought Moore hither, how and where he came to him and how he had behaved himself and what he found with him. The skipper confesses that the "Tollerider" of Elsinore commended him to him, that there he took him into his ship, that he behaved himself very well and so well as he got all their favours, and that when he was well he came to the prayers bare-headed. And yesterday going to the King to know what he had found in the coming of this man and to remember him to answer her Majesty's letter, the King said he called himself Moore, a Yorkshireman, and said that his father had served his mother and for this cause was forced to fly and had a pension of the King of Spain and died; that he said he also fell into his mother's service and for the same was imprisoned. Yet nothing but the carrying of a letter being tried against him he was set at liberty and my Lord Treasurer urging him to hard bonds he said he sold and mortgaged his lands and left the country; that the King's mother was owing his father and him 1000*l.* or 1200*l.* The King said further he thinks that his errand hither shall prove to be for seeking his letters in his favour either to her Majesty or to the Low Countries, or else to make suit to the King for this debt which he alleges the King's mother owes him. Whereof he said there was 100 crowns paid by the Bishop of Ross. And this was the effect the King said of what he had yet tried of him, having not spoken himself. I said that with his coming there was a report made that many more English fugitives should be shipped for returning in the north of England, praying his Majesty to cause try the truth of that as a matter of moment. He said he should and in his letter to her Majesty in answer of hers anent the Border accident he would advertise her whatsoever he found material anent this man's coming or confession. And remembering the King for answer to her Majesty I asked him what he heard of the Wardens' proceedings. He said they had met but he knew not what they had done; that he had written to Sir Ro: Kerr again according to my note

1598. to take true trial of that matter, that he might advertise him the very truth as he would be answerable to him, as also that Sir Ro: should do what he could to end that matter between himself and our Warden and if they could not end it he should then certify him and in the main preserve all in peace as he would answer to him; saying to me that if they can end it it is well; if not, he shall end it with her Majesty without any further troubles on his side, he should answer for it as also do anything else in his power to please her, and so would write in his letter to her Majesty; which I am sure he will shortly do, unless in the meantime some matter come from London anent his causes there that shall stay or change all. For here with God's grace no matter shall hinder the same. For the King is marvellously now devoted to her Majesty and resolved to run no course but what may please her. I know this from himself and otherways as makes me thus plainly write it.

For the West Borders the laird of Drumlanrig with the Johnstones his cousins and aid of Lord Maxwell has slain a Johnstone of the laird of Johnstone, whereof the Lord Lieutenant has complained to the King that he may stay the inconvenience. Hereon the King has by letters charged Lord Maxwell and Drumlanrig to be here this week on Thursday next. [*In margin:* Some slaughters in Fife and the West are lately done also.]

The King did only try my Lord of Mar anent the agreements with him of the laird of Dunipace, Lord Livingstone and Master of Elphinstone, and upon his own consideration has directed Mr. Patrick Galloway and Mr. Ro: Rollock (Rollogg) to go with Dunipace's offers to-morrow to the Earl that will agree. Mr. James Lawes and the parson of Calder go with Lord Livingstone to the Earl, as these matters agree. So I look for establishing of Mar Chancellor [at] the Convention 26th of the next in my conceit. [*In margin:* The Lady Livingstone was angry that Dunipace should come to Linlithgow into the house where she was. But the King did it. She stands still to her papistry.]

The King's Conservator of the Low Countries is returned. He says that the States' Ambassador is in disgrace for yielding so much to her Majesty and leaving her so free as without them she may agree with Spain. What other news as yet I hear not but I hope the King will acquaint her Majesty with what shall be of worth either come by him or letters to his Majesty. Word is also that the Pope is dead [on] 15 August; that the Cardinal has the oaths of the Low Countries under him for their yielding and serving him as now their prince, a copy whereof the Conservator has brought, and that the Cardinal is gone to marry the King of Spain's daughter with whom he has these countries in dower. All others to my next. Edinburgh, 17 September 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

2½ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.* "1598, 27 [*sic*] Sept. Mr. Nycholson to my master. His conference with More that lately arrived there. Wm. Hunter's readiness to do good offices. Desires to be supplied with some money."

James VI.
[1598, Sept.]

215. [GEORGE NICOLSON] TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxiii, No. 11

For Ireland I hear nothing more but that the rebel is plotting for the destruction of the towns. "Filius" writes nothing yet whether the party will undertake the bargain or no. But as I wrote I have a friend that for that purpose has a fit match. McSorley's not coming now this way will prevent what I wrote before that way. I protest I am above 40*l.* sterling out of my own adventure for such services and if I once had my suit I would spend it all but I should do good for more. The matter is not easy and yet if one of this nation could be won, all might be done with ease. But it is not for me to attempt nor any else before many good gifts first to be given.

It is here with some whispered that your Honour and all my Lord your father's friends are "discourted;" yet it gets no credit I praise God.

For the Border accident, notwithstanding the King's good mind and purpose to "pack" it up that no further trouble come thereupon, I hear it is not like to take effect as it ought. So as for helping all the remedy must be in my conceit the agreeing between the princes anent the taking up of feuds as I wrote to your Honour. And this motion would be made with speed by Sir William or other of account to conclude and perfect it, and the King dealt within it of a sudden to prevent the travail of the parties interested for hindering the same.

It may please your Honour to give order that I may be supplied with money according to my note made and sent to you with what shall please you to imprest me. Your direction to Mr. Lynfurth will serve.

After Wm. Shaw met Mr. Moore, Wm. Hunter could not to this hour see Mr. Moore. And yet I assure you he gave his travail both at Dalkeith and Leith for the purpose upon such "platt" as we agreed on. But I will not write more till I know more, saving that his seeking to the Master of Works and Mr. Patrick Morton is suspicious. *Undated. Unsigned.*

½ *p. In George Nicolson's hand. No endorsement.*

Sept. 19.

216. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 12.

Sir Thomas Erskine (Erskyn), a great courtier and very well affected to the amity, wrote to me that it was the King's pleasure that I should come this day to receive his letter to her Majesty. Whereon I rode to Dalkeith and the King being out hunting Sir Thomas delivered me his letter herein enclosed which it may please your Honour to deliver, as also to cause the King's letter enclosed to Mr. David Foulis to be delivered with speed and safety. And staying the King's return I desired to know of him if he had tried of the English gentleman what English fugitives were returned or to return to the north parts of England. The King said he had charged him to tell the truth hereof as he would answer to God, her Majesty and him and that he swore and protested he knew of none; but that the last he spoke with to any purpose was the Earl of Westmorland who would gladly have

1598. her Majesty's favour as any. The King said he had written very particular and in his favour, and that nevertheless if it were not her Majesty's pleasure he nor none she disliked on should have favour at all with him. The gentleman uses marvellous evil speech of the Spaniard and his agents, Stanley, Holt, and the rest, saying they favour none but such villains as will undertake to attempt unhonest matters against their country, which he says he would never agree to do and therefore lost their favours; protesting that if he can obtain her Majesty's favour but that his friends may relieve him with what can be made of his own and be had of their good wills, he will live and serve her faithfully where her Highness please. The King caused him to swear that he had no practice nor intended no dealings against her Majesty and country before he would speak with him. But this, Border matters and the rest to his Majesty's letter, which Sir Thomas told me was sealed with Mr. Aston's seal because the King's cachet wanted. All others to my last of the 17 hereof and next writing. Edinburgh, 19 Sept. 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. The King is wonderful desirous to please her Majesty. Wherefore it were pity but he were regarded kindly again.

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

Sept. 20. **217.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 13.

The cause of my long silence has been by my absence from Court upon some business of my own. Being now returned shall omit no good occasion to acquaint your Honour with such matter as occurs here. For the present here is no great matter of moment. Mr. David Foulis's (Fowles) letters are returned upon his first audience, by which appears a refusal of his demand concerning the "popplycasyon" [publication] of the King's innocency in the matter of Valentyne Thomas (Tomas). Yet he thinks her Majesty will be content to send him hither which the King likes not so well of, except he be conveyed by such one as will suffer none here to speak with him for suspicion sake that it may not be said he is seduced to deny that he has said before. If her Majesty resolve to send him the King's desire is to be confronted with him alone before the person that shall convoy him. The King insists by this letter he has written to her Majesty in his former request by Mr. David Foulis, saying that if he get not that favour he is hardly dealt with in letting so great an infamy lie upon his head, chiefly in that hereafter it may be laid to his charge.

I know your Honour has been advertised of the coming hither of Mr. Moore who is lately landed with his wife and children out of Denmark. Since his coming hither I have been very curious to understand what his purpose is. Yesterday he was conveyed to the King by William Shaw (Shaye), Master of the Works and Controller of the House, into a private gallery where he spake long with the King declaring the cause of his coming out of his country, which as he says was for the resetting of a Jesuit by his wife unknown to himself. He recounted the whole course of his service and how he had been seduced by the Cardinal and some Jesuits to enter in practice against her

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Majesty, which he altogether refused and for that cause could get no favour among them, so that having spent all he had was constrained of plain necessity to draw himself into these parts to see if he could make a means to her Majesty for some support of his living, wherein he earnestly solicited the King to be a mean for him, which he has done as may appear by his letter. He swore to the King he had not one penny to buy his dinner. If he have any other matter here it is not yet known. He shall be looked unto and your Honour shall be advertised. If her Majesty have any other matter to lay to his charge, than departing without licence for his conscience sake, he will not be suffered to remain here. The King protests he will neither intercommune nor reset any that have been practisers against her Majesty.

Sir Edward Shute (Chautt) is come hither and as it appears without leave. He has been at the King and says he is come away for fear to be committed for his coming hither before. I find him a man of no great capacity. He shall be looked unto. We rather think here he makes this excuse to get something, for I perceive he is but poor.

I find the King of very good disposition towards her Majesty which I would wish were entertained in kind sort. So long as he deserves well let it be acknowledged. If I found not this disposition in him I would not say so far to it. I will not bear with anything that may be offensive to her Majesty but write the simple truth of all as I shall answer to God.

I understand that James McSorley who is now her Majesty's rebel in Ireland was to have met the King in the Isles but hearing of the late proclamation fled his purpose. This proclamation does work good effects for it is very straitly kept in the West parts, the rather by George Nicolson's earnest solicitations and diligence at his Majesty's being there, by whose means and strait order it is the better kept. I will assure your Honour George does very good offices to draw the King to like well of her Majesty's proceedings towards him.

I have been lately at the Duke's marriage, who is come to Glasgow [with his] wife, where he is presently settling his affairs and making himself ready to pass to the Lewis (Loues) with the rest of that society. The Queen grows great and draws near her time. She looks to be delivered shortly after Martinmas. The King is very well satisfied with your advertisement concerning Bothwell and says he will keep as good a part to her Majesty in that point as she does to him. Although some for poverty's sake come to seek of him, yet he will not harbour any that she esteems traitors or practisers. Dalkeith the 20 of September. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript. When I write anything hereafter I will direct them to his loving brother James Hudson.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. 20 September."

Sept. 21. **218.** GEORGE MOORE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 14.

Though about a year ago I satisfied, I hope, your father by my letter concerning my leaving of England, my abode in Flanders and

1598. departure from thence, who answered me that he held me for an honest gentleman and would do for me what he could but durst not move her Majesty in that I required; therefore doubting whether her Majesty was acquainted therewith and now coming into this country, lest some wrong opinion should be conceived against me, I thought good by my letter to give her further satisfaction herein. The desire I had to enjoy the liberty of my conscience and the fear I was in that the receipt of some seminary priest into my house might be proved against me (I being by the Earl of Huntingdon's means bound to appear with my wife before the Archbishop of York) was I take God to witness the chiefest cause why I left England. And if I would have followed the Jesuit Holt in Flanders and the Spanish faction I could not have wanted preferment. But, refusing thereof, what misery and injuries I suffered therefor every man there can witness. Whereupon I retired myself to Liège and wrote to my Lord, your Honour's father. And hither now I came hoping to give here no offence to her Majesty and thereby to obtain her grace and favour to have some means out of my country for the maintenance of my poor wife and children, of whom I hope she will have compassion, and the rather by your good means if it may please you to be a mediator for us. I understand by an English gentleman who spoke with you in Paris, wishing that her Majesty would have a gracious respect to the Catholics beyond the sea, of your honourable disposition therein. Therefore I hope your Honour will not contemn me for my religion, seeing I never carried evil mind against her Majesty nor my country, but am and will be always ready to obey and do her Majesty any service I shall be commanded. Most humbly desiring by your lordship to know her Majesty's good pleasure. Leith in Scotland, the 21 of September 1598. *Signed:* George More.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil.*

Sept. 23. **219.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 15. Since your last of 22 August I have received no letters, yet I hope none will deal with your Honour's. I send you a note enclosed of such letters as I sent of mine to you that you may see if any want.

Mr. Moore spoke yesterday to me to send some letters to you, which I told him I would. And even now he sent this packet to be sent you which I presume to enclose knowing you will use all to her Majesty's best good and in hope the letters are of moment to her service, praying your pardon if I have done wrong; for I protested I yielded to this for her Majesty's service and advantage, finding no other in the gentleman but a desire of her favour and leave to help himself by his own means and friends and serve her Highness where she shall please to appoint him.

I am for certain told that the King has written to Mr. David Foulis expressly to come away and leave all of her Majesty's refusal to publish him clear of Valentyne Thomas's accusations. This will cause the Border accident [to] be hardlier holden unto I judge, as

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also cause new consultation to be taken anent the King's said accusation, unless the King be satisfied therein, as in that case I shall be then too weak to carry matters here.

For Ireland I advertise you for certain that the rebels are of mind to take the goods of certain towns, to disvictual them and after to attempt the surprising of them. They swear they will never submit themselves to her Majesty nor agree with her. I have this from one who was with them. It is good therefore to look to the towns.

Mr. Edward Bruce has a very honest gentleman to his brother called George Bruce who has long pursued in the Admiral Court one John Newton and Captain Clerk for certain losses and damages done him by them at sea. Which matter (he says) was well reasoned at the Council table and is now recommended by the King to Mr. David Foulis to solicit. If this matter were not lingered but ended with good and equal respect it would much profit her Majesty's service here. For Mr. Edward I assure you loves her Majesty and the amity and still gives sound counsel accordingly, and if his brother should find favourable justice would then account with his particular to await all opportunities to show his gratefulness, which I have thought good to commend to your knowledge and consideration, most humbly beseeching you to advance this cause to speedy justice.

On Thursday the King rode over to Fife at the suit of the Lord of Lindores to apprehend the goodman of Woodmill (called Arnot) that killed one John Murray, the Lord of Lindores's servant. What he has done I know not certainly.

I beseech you to give order that I may be supplied with some money to serve my needs with and pay my debts, as also to do service with in case of need, for here money does most. Your order that it may be given to Mr. Craven of Watling Street will suffice, for then his servant here will pay it me. Edinburgh, 23 September 1598. *Signature torn off.*

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Letter from Mr. Moore."

Sept. 26. **220.** KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Vol. lxiii, No. 16.

Having found by letters from my servant Foulis the continuance of your honourable and kind conceit of my innocency in this vile and untrue calumny forged upon me by Valentyne Thomas, I could do no less than by these lines to witness my thankful mind acknowledging my debt heaped herein, which by all honourable and loving offices I am obliged to repay; assuring myself that you will continue in the same loving course by seeing my name cleared herein and the ground of those calumnies clearly tried. The particular mean how to do this I remit to be declared by my servant, only I pray you not to think that I am wilful in laying down one only form to be done therein, but by the contrary shall be content of one of two or three divers means that that unjust burden may be laid off me. But trusting most in the means that your own wisdom shall find out for my

1598. satisfaction, I commit you, madam and dearest sister, to the protection of the Almighty. From Dalkeith the 26 of Sep. 1598. Your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin, James R.

½ *p. Copy. Endorsed.*

Sept. 26. **221.** JAMES ELPHINSTONE TO [DAVID FOULIS].

Vol. lxiii, No. 17. "Loving Eme." I received two packets, the first of the date of the last of August with a letter to his Majesty and the names of the captains "defait" in Ireland, which came to my hands the 20th of September.

The other yesterday the 24th of September, being in Dalkeith with his Majesty, containing a letter to his Majesty with the discourse of that which is passed before the Council there concerning Valentyne Thomas; wherewith his Majesty being ripely advised has directed me to advertise you that notwithstanding that by his former which he wrote unto you from Dalkeith the 18th of September willing instantly to insist in the public declaration of his innocency and by no other condition to be satisfied, yet having to understand by your letters the good affection carried as well by the Queen as the Council to his Majesty's exoneration of that scandal has resolved that you shall accept the conditions following.

First, that the whole process from the beginning, whole acts and depositions therein contained be authentically extracted and delivered unto the subscribed by the Keeper of the Records.

Next, that whatsoever be in the records of the said whole process which in any point may concern his Majesty, either of his alleged speeches to the fellow or his alleged propositions to his Majesty, be by the warrant of an Act of Council rased out of the said records and all the villain's depositions in that point declared to make no faith and to be untrue in respect of the contrarieties and the infamy of the accuser in so far as in any head they appear to touch his Majesty, being a personage of such rank and deserving.

And as to his arraigning, either to be sure in case it go forward that his former depositions being rased, as is said, he make no declaration hereafter that may in any sort touch his Majesty, but to die as a villain for other his demerits or else that he be condemned to perpetual prison.

And whereas in your former ye wrote to his Majesty that something had passed between the Council and you anent the delivery of Valentyne Thomas in his Majesty's hands, whereof they thought the example dangerous, his Majesty has willed you to certify them that he on no condition would receive him in case they had yielded to it, except the Queen sent with the said Thomas some special man of credit in whose presence he should have been tried and examined and nothing spoken at him by any Scottishman but in audience of him whom you should direct and after due examination and torture here as absolutely used by her servant, as if it were in England; that then he should by him be carried back to his execution there. Always as his Majesty

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remits that to the Queen's own discretion so he wills you most carefully to insist that without any further lingering the same may be put to some sure end and with such a regard to his Majesty's honour, present and future hope as there rest no seed that may bring forth such fruit hereafter which may disturb the quietness of both the states or be hurtful to his Majesty's right.

And since this subject has brought you in disputation of the Act of Association it is his Majesty's will that somewhat you shall deal anent the said Act, considering that the Queen both by word and writ has oftentimes declared that no Act or any other writ either public or private made in her time should bring any prejudice to his Majesty's claim of succession, but that his Majesty should by her be left in as good case as she found him; and since his Majesty by no deed has given her occasion to suffer anything be kept up which hereafter may harm his just pretension.

That ye therefore desire it to be declared that the foresaid Act of Association be in no case hurtful to his Majesty's title by any cause or occasion preceding that date hereof and to get an authentic copy of the said Act that it may be advised wherein it may be hurtful to his Majesty.

You being satisfied in the particulars above-written, his Majesty's will is you inform the Queen and Council anent his present claim and undoubted right which he has to the lands justly pertaining to him by his grandsire the Earl of Lennox and his deceased father of good memory, and the wrong he sustains through withholding of the same and bygone arrearages thereof; and that it would please the Queen and Council in friendly manner to possess his Majesty therein. Otherways that they grant his Majesty the benefit which to none can be refused that he be heard by his procurers and attorneys to plead his right in London upon his own charges before the ordinary judge and receive justice therein as appertains.

You shall likewise on his Majesty's behalf acquaint the Queen of the success of the Wardens' meeting for the trial of the last wrong received by his Majesty's subjects at hunting that in place of just trial of the offence or mind to repair the injury sustained, Sir Robert Carey refused any meeting to be after the accustomed manner, to wit, upon Scottish ground, a matter never heretofore controverted and a privilege were "bruick" upon our very dear charges, tending only by that subterfuge to escape just trial and condign punishment of such an attempt; which if his Majesty had not tendered the continuance of peace and quietness of both the states had not been "whil" now to repair by the friends of them who were wronged; that the Queen and Council will take such order thereanent as for "refuse" of justice greater inconveniences fall not out.

Please herewith to receive two letters, one to the Queen written with his Majesty's own hand, another to the Council signed by his Majesty's hand, *with the doubles of both the letters that ye may the better deal in the particulars in them contained.*

I am glad that his Majesty is so well pleased with your care and diligence in his service, wherein I need not request the continuance.

1598. Only I assure you his Majesty will not be unmindful of it as occasion of recompense may present. Wherein I shall not pretermit my duty in remembering the same, as ye shall employ me. From Dalkeith, 26 September 1598. Your very loving friend, J. Elphinstone.

Postscript. Receive herewith the certainty of the attempt committed by Harry Woodrington (Widrington) and Mr. Fenwick (Pheinis) at the hunting in Scotland according to the trial taken by Sir Robert Kerr thereanent.

I have remitted the subscription of his Majesty's letters direct to the Council to be filled by yourself, lest I should have erred in the style. Therefore direct it in the back as ye think expedient before ye deliver it, for it is blank on the back.

3 *pp. Copy, the words in italics underlined. Endorsed:* "Copy of a Scottish letter."

Sept. 26. **222.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 18. Yesterday the King sent for me to Dalkeith (Dawkethe) where he told me he had now written to her Majesty (when he had got word how the matter stood anent Valentyne Thomas) that she would clear him any of the 3 ways he had written publicly or privately or else as she pleased, leaving the same to her own pleasure, trusting only on her love and care over him and referring himself wholly thereunto, and wherein he said he had written to Mr. David Foulis to deal accordingly, willing me to send the same letters which he said my Lord Secretary should this day give me to your Honour and to pray you in his name (for I told him I wrote to none else) to deliver them to Mr. David Foulis that he might present to her Majesty the King's letters, as he would have him to do all other his letters so long as he is there and deal with her accordingly. This night at 8 hours the Lord Secretary sent me this, the King's packet, to Mr. David Foulis, which enclosed I send you, most humbly beseeching it may be speedily and safely delivered according to his Majesty's desire. Further the King told me that our Wardens had in their meetings refused to come to the Scots' ground and came with such armies as their meetings brake off without doing anything; saying to the first that it was the custom to come and sit in the Scots' ground, which for himself he did not so stand upon (as by his yielding to the Commissioners' sitting at Berwick and Carlisle did appear), as for the honour and custom of his country which he said he must stand upon for preservation of the ancient customs. And to the other he said that such untoward meetings did but hinder justice and encourage the thieves to their evils seeing the same; adding hereunto that Sir Ro: Kerr had thereon taken trial for this side on the late hunting accident and sent it subscribed by the witnesses to him, with which Sir Ro: would have come himself but that in obedience of his commandment that he should however keep the country quiet, he stayed to keep the people from attempting troubles whereunto he saw them inclined. This the King in effect said to me, willing me to write to you because himself had not written thereof to move her Majesty that

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1598. she would direct her Wardens to come and sit in the Scots' ground according to the old custom, and also meet with equal and reasonable numbers in friendly sort frequently for the doing of justice and terror of the wicked; most humbly beseeching your Honour to do this also, for the King is very desirous to have friendly and plain dealing in the Borders. The 4 of the next the Lewisers go forward towards the Lewis and the Duke goes Lieutenant to give possession to them; which will be done with ease enough for the first. This "platt" is no evil precedent for the conquest of Ireland.

My Lord of Mar agrees not yet to the offers sent him. Yet all is quiet and will end well amongst them. At Edinburgh, 26 September 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. I humbly beseech your Honour to supply me with some money for these services, for I am in debt and need the same.

In the cover of the King's letters to Mr. David Foulis there is a letter to Robert Jowsey which it may please cause be delivered with the packet.

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

Sept. 26. **223** KING JAMES VI TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

Vol. lxiii, No. 19. We yield you most hearty thanks for that we have understood by our servitor, Mr. David Foulis your "afauld" disposition not only to the weal and surety of your sovereign but likewise to the preservation of our honour from the malicious calumny most unhonestly laid against us by a debauched villain. And as we never doubted of your good affection to justice in any indifferent matter, so "mekill" less can it enter in our heart that in the due trial of so lewd an invention ye will suffer any sparkle to remain which may bring any prejudice to our present fame or future hope. Therefore we earnestly request you to weigh what inconvenients may ensure if a scandal in so high a point spread by the mouths of so many in the ears and hearts of the most part of the subjects of both the realms shall not be effaced in some public form. Nevertheless, the assured hope we have in your professed affection persuades us fully that ye will employ your credits at the hands of your sovereign, our dearest sister, that as by her privy writ she has lovingly certified us how small regard she has to the assertion of such a villain, so she shall continue her good disposition to give us full satisfaction in that matter according as we have given our said servitor direction thereanent. Which favour we expect assuredly of you for the special care ye have of the continuance of the amity betwixt your sovereign and us and the quietness and honour of both the states, besides our kindly desert and approved friendship to your sovereign and whole state. Whereof as at all occasions we have been ready to give testimony in the eyes of the whole world, so the particular proof thereof has not been unknown to yourselves, wherein we resolve to our life's end to continue, if any just correspondency in our most equitable demands (which we look not for) be not denied. Thus hoping for the perseverance of your friendly duty, a speedy end

1598. in a sure and honourable manner of the matter in hand and thankful meeting on your parts in all our just and lawful claims, which we shall be most willing by all good means to acquit, we commit you in the tuition of the Almighty. Dalkeith this 26 of September 1598. *In the King's hand:* "Youre loving freinde, James R."

1 *p. Addressed:* "To our trusty and well beloved friends the Lords and others of the Council to our dearest sister the Queen of England." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Vol. lxiii, No. 20. Copy of the foregoing.
1 *p. Endorsed.*

Sept. 27. **224.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 21. Where since and for my employment here, it being now near the space of a year, I have had but 150*l.* sterling by my good Lord Treasurer, your Honour's father's appointment, and that I am far in debt and have need of supply in time, I have enclosed to you my bill of what is now due unto me and written to and entreated this bearer, Mr. Craven of Watling Street, to await on you for the remain due to me, being 115*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* sterling, as by the bill will appear; beseeching you to assign it to be paid to him of whose servant here I have had a good part thereof, that I may clear my credit here and have to relieve myself with. If it would please you to be as good to me as by imprest to make it up 200*l.* and deliver it to the bearer, I would duly account for the same, be longer in troubling your Honour again, and so should have wherewith to do the service that you know I aim at. At Edinburgh, 27 September 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.
(George Nicolson's account of moneys due to him.)

Vol. lxiii, No. 21[1]. George Nicolson's reckoning what is due to him for his service of her Majesty in Scotland from the 15th day of November 1597 until the 27 of September 1598 being 316 days, viz.

Imprimis his entertainment for that time at 13s. 4d. per diem - - - - - - - - -	210*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
Letters carrying and bringing between Berwick and Edinburgh to and from my Lord Treasurer, Mr. Secretary, the Wardens and Sir William Bowes and him, all paid by him the said George Nicolson - - - - - - - - - -	36*l.*
Letters between sundry in Scotland and him, the proclamations and other extraordinary charges	18*l.* 10*s.*
in toto - -	265*l.* 13[*sic*]*s.* 4*d.*

Whereof

Received by my Lord Treasurer's appointment out of the Exchequer by the hands of Mr. William Craven of Watling Street, merchant tailor - -	150*l.* sterling.

There rests due to Geo: Nicolson for the said services for the time aforesaid which he desires may be given to Mr. Craven for him the sum of 115*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* sterling.

Signed: George Nicolson.

⅓ *p. Holograph.*

Sept. 29. **225.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD WILLOUGHBY.

Vol. lii, p. 223.

I have acquainted my Lords of the Council with your request that letters might be written to the town of Hull for restitution of such things as have been required at your hands by the Scottish King. Wherein the Lords do approve your opinion that it is the way to give mutual justice to do it on this side when it is required, only their lordships desire to be satisfied why you should use immediate authority to Hull, being not within your Wardenry; and further do desire to know what it is in particular, to the intent that they may write to Hull as of themselves to charge them to do that in justice the Scottish King requires you and which you recommended unto them, although they cannot well reprove them for not obeying it as commanded by you. Their lordships have also been acquainted with your care for the fortification, which they do well allow but that her Majesty's other extraordinary charges are such as make her unwilling to give ear presently to any such proposition. But where you speak of a course that may be taken by stopping some fords to hinder incursions without her Majesty's new charge, the Lords do like very well thereof and attend to hear your opinion therein. Her Majesty has willed me also to let you know that in consideration of these often differences growing between Wardens upon contentions for the places of meeting in respect of the point of superiority which prince shall send into other's ground, she would have you inform yourself to the end you may certify hither what precedents have been of late years, whereby she may better ground her insisting or yielding at such time as such occasions are presented. This her Majesty thinks you may well learn of persons experienced in the Borders. Whereof when you shall please to yield me any report I shall acquaint her Majesty with that you shall send me. I must further entreat your lordship that if Capt. Bowyer shall bring to you my letters directed to him out of Scotland you will be pleased to send them up unto me, for there is one that writes out of Scotland such things as are fit for me to know but he is loth to direct any packet for me to your lordship who are a person so [*blank*] and therefore has made choice to put them under the convenience of Mr. Boyer's [*sic*] name. And thus having little news to write you but that the King of Spain's death is confirmed and the Admiral's departure to marry the Infanta, I commit you to God.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "Copy of my master's letter to my Lo: Willoughbye," *and in margin:* "29 Sept. 1598."

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226. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir William Bowes.

Vol. lii, p. 224.

Before your coming to Berwick I thought it to no great purpose to write unto you being retired to your quiet from which I think you were loth to be diverted, and since your letters have not required any great answer or at least any such answers as of myself I could well make. You shall now understand there has happened a great question between Sir Robert Kerr and Sir Robert Carey concerning a meeting upon Scottish ground, as may appear by this extract of his letter lately sent hither. First, for the main point which prince should send out to the other, it is a matter that has been often disputed, if I be not deceived, and to the intent her Majesty may be well provided upon what ground to insist with the King's Ambassador here, with whom she means to expostulate for the words supposed to be used, howsoever they shall be able to justify the matter itself, her Majesty has commanded me to require you by all means possibly you may, to inform yourself in what sort this matter has been used in former times, why they should demand it or why we should yield it. And because you were one of the principal Commissioners of the treaty I pray you certify me whether at that time this matter was there overruled by any clause in your treaty, or how you think that it may be carried without doing injury to the Queen or without making her to insist upon that for maintenance whereof her ministers shall not be sufficiently provided. It is very like besides your own experience that you shall find upon inquisition by some ancient Borderers some things observed by them belonging to this matter. And though my own experience be nothing, yet can I not forget but that I have heard my father often speak of this to have been an old difference; and yet that when Sir Robert Bowes had occasion to deal in such a meeting and it was alleged to have been an old custom that the meeting should be kept at Foulden Church which is within Scotland, he caused it to be overruled, that the Warden of Scotland should come over to the "Bounde rode" to fetch the English Warden in token of honour. How much hereof I do truly recite I dare not affirm; only I have thought it not amiss to touch it by the way, referring the consideration and inquisition thereof to such course as you shall find expedient. From Nonesuch.

Postscript. I pray you send me your opinion what you shall think good to be done with these pledges which we have, the rather for that some of the Wardens desire to have them with promise to give other caution for justice, vowing that they are never able to be redeemed if satisfaction of all bills be required.

1¼ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "Copy of my master's letter to Sir William Bowes," *and in margin:* "29 Sept. 1598."

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227. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Robert Carey.

Vol. lii, p. 226.

Her Majesty having been acquainted with your letter certifying the manner of your meeting with the opposite Warden has well approved

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your just exception to those proud words which were uttered by some such persons as were sent over to you from Sir Robert Kerr. But it is her pleasure that you write particularly up hither whether these words were spoken as a message to yourself from Cessford or whether it were but the speech of the Scots to some of your company and so came to your hearing. Always, the replication made was very just and honourable. And because it is not like but the Ambassador Foulis will be able when he shall be expostulated here upon it to show some precedent of justification of King's officers requiring you to hold meeting in the Scottish ground, though doubtless he will disavow the words for duty and obedience, her Majesty has willed me to write unto you that you shall cause inquiry to be made amongst the most ancient gentlemen in that Wardenry what order has been taken for these meetings heretofore and what precedents they can remember either way, to the intent that she may not vary in matter from justice, though in the manner that these men require it, how just soever the action might be, she would think scorn to yield to it. I thank you very much for your writing to me, from [*sic* ? for] I cannot hear too often, but I will be bold to entreat you, except it be some very secret and not fit for more than one or two to know it, that you will direct your letters to the whole Board and not to me; because sometimes I am absent, and though private advertisements be fit for me as a Secretary, yet these things which are to be answered by advice of the Council would be more properly addressed to the Board, to whom I will present them.

1 *p.* *Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A minute of my master's letter to Sir Robert Carey," *and in margin:* "29 Septemb: 1598."

Sept. **228. JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.**

Vol. lxiii, No. 22.

I took the boldness to write to her Majesty of such matter as I gathered from Mr. Foulis by the way of conference and because since that time I have seen some part of his instructions whereby I know that which I wrote to be true and not his words only. I have thought it my duty to signify as much to your Honour that you may think of what shall be most for his Majesty's honour and contentment and the prevention of offences that may grow from other places. For I perceive that if a declaration of the King's innocence in this matter be not yielded to and a rasing out of all process out of all records that then her Majesty's letter will be put in print in all languages and the said letter put in record in many princes' courts and "apologes" and worse "alegenseis" made public to the world. Your absence at the beginning and prosecuting of this matter makes me address my poor thoughts to you herein, which I protest most deeply is only grounded upon a desire to serve her Majesty to my uttermost. For I perceive that this is so deeply apprehended by the King that nothing will content him but a public acquittal. I find no mean in this matter but if it come from her Majesty's own great wisdom, for it is in her

1598. power utterly to quench the fire and to give it place to burn. I perceive he has matters of pleasing humour to deliver if he get contentment in this point only, and likewise of the contrary nature, for I see now that Mr. Foulis has delivered this harsh matter in as mild terms as he can. Briefly, I see that the King being contented in his desires now it will make him altogether willing and ready to give her Majesty contentment in all that it shall please her to demand and to make him forbear all that may be offensive even in the greatest points, and by the contrary, if not contented, it will make him not only careless to content but studious to find means to better his conditions and make him arrange his actions and proceedings from her Majesty altogether. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Septembr. 1598."

Oct. 3. **229.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 23. Yesterday the King sent Mr. Aston to me to will me come to him for some matters which he would show me. Whereupon the King coming yesternight to Holyroodhouse, I presented myself this day to him before his riding to Linlithgow, whither he had gone sooner but for his going over the water and his writing the letters he sent to Mr. David, etc. Thereupon the King willed me to write up to your Honour that where Mr. David Foulis had advertised him that her Majesty said she had the King's instructions to the Pope and King of Spain, he assures that there is no such thing, and prays that her Majesty would not believe it but try it precisely and should find it not to be true but a device and possibly done by Pury Ogilvy, Sir Alexander Lindsay or other practisers to abuse her Majesty and him both. For which cause he desires that it would please her Majesty to try and seek out the ground of that matter for both their profits and warnings of such practisers, protesting that he had never given any such instructions nor any at all to them since that draft which was with his hand written, yet not meant to be used, and which was given her Majesty. Indeed he said he had often written to the King of Spain but in small matters, yet never received letter from him. But he said he never wrote to the Pope, neither could he in a good conscience do it by styling him Pope which his religion allows not. But if he should write to him it should be by the name of Bishop, which the Pope would not be pleased with. In this, he said, albeit he had written to Mr. David, yet he would have me write to and pray you to be means to her Majesty that she would carefully try the truth for his acquittal, her satisfaction and both their warnings to beware such knaves, he termed them.

The King also said to me that he was advised to write to Tyrone and them that they should not receive or harbour his rebellious subjects of the Isles, of whom some were already gone to him. But he said if he should do it he would send the very copy of his letter to her Majesty as no wrong copies should abuse him. His letter and dealing with Tyrone should be such, as if he did deal with them, he should

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be even with him, praying her Majesty to have no other conceit of his dealings in case he should write to him. This will not be evil for her Majesty that Tyrone want their services; for otherways they would go in good numbers, and so we reasoned. His Majesty protests if he write her Majesty shall know the least secret and all. The Lewisers press the King to this to the end the rebels of the Lewis and their friends may be forced to come in and give over their claims and give caution for their good behaviour. The old man is committed to the castle notwithstanding all his offers.

Having received very good letters from Lord Willoughby and Sir Robert Carey anent their late meeting with their opposites and the manner thereof, I acquainted the King therewith, who stands only on the matter of the coming into the Scottish ground that it ought to be and still desires it as a matter touching his country's honour and his own to preserve, lest it be chronicled to his dishonour that in his days the country lost such an honour and custom. In very truth I can see nothing but that the King's mark he shoots at is to have justice and peace on the Borders.

This estate is very quiet now without any news of moment. When may be the next Convention I know not. At Edinburgh, 3 October 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seals broken. Endorsed.*

Oct. 6. **230**. ROGER ASTON TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxiii, No. 24.

You shall receive here-enclosed his Majesty's letters to Mr. David Foulis which he desires to be presently sent away. They import her Majesty's service and therefore let them be speedily dispatched. Yesterday the Earl of Tyrone's man was here and delivered a letter from his master to his Majesty. I have handled that matter as you would wish. The letter with the credit is passed to Mr. Davy to be imparted to her Majesty. There is nothing that does "so sore move them" as the proclamation which was the better advanced by your diligence. Let me know whether you have heard from my Lord of Lindores or not. In haste from Linlithgow, the 6 of October. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Holograph, with address:* "To his loving friend Mr. Georg Neecolson at Mr. Molyneues in Netheryes Wynd." *Seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk (?):* "1598, primo [*sic*] Oct. Mr. R. Aston to my master."

Oct. 6. **231**. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 25.

Even now I received this packet of the King's to Mr. David with the directions contained in Mr. Aston's letter to me, both which I send you in the end your Honour may deliver the King's to Mr. David and see the cause of my thus sending of the same. I told Mr. Aston that some were come to Glasgow to come to the King at Linlithgow,

1598. whereof he promised and has taken good regard it appears. Sir Geo: Elphinstone, the rebels of Ireland's greatest agent here and now a great courtier with the King, told me that the proclamation stayed McSorley's coming and that McSorley should not come here. I perceive the King holds his purpose to acquaint her Majesty with these matters as they come. At Edinburgh, 6 Octob. 1598. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript. I also send your Honour the letter enclosed to Mr. Hudson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Seals. Endorsed.*

Oct. 7. **232.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 26. I have seen all the directions from the King to Mr. Foulis and the copies of the King's letters to her Majesty and Lords of Council. He writes kindly to her Majesty and yields her many thanks for her princely care of his honour and promises to study to deserve a continuance of her love. He takes knowledge that by his servant Mr. Foulis he has been informed of her honourable and princely dealing and like directions to her Council herein.

I perceive he has dealt very honestly in his last letters and has reported well and in high measure of her Majesty's kind speeches and promises to himself and of her like directions to her Lords of Council but he said he could find no more of your Honour and the rest of the Lords but rather a scantier measure of that they had received than he looked for. I perceive by his last directions a great change of the first and second styles, both of the letters and instructions, which appears plainly to be occasioned by his last honest report. For the Secretary's proud and avaricious humour does still show itself in giving a new direction in the King's name to deal very earnestly with her Majesty for the lands of Lennox (Levenox) and that in such a gross manner coming unlooked for as the gentleman thinks himself infinitely wronged thereby and as much grieved to have any occasion to offend her Majesty now, he having wholly bent himself to do good offices and to make a purchase of her Majesty's good grace and favour and therein to rest. Yet I perceive that if he obtains (as he looks for) an honourable and substantial form of contentment to the King in this first matter that then he will be bold to make a distinction betwixt the matters which are the King's own direction and those that are foisted in by others' humours. For if the King be satisfied in this matter now in hand, he will presume to excuse his small or little dealing in the other and willingly will leave such sour grapes for others to taste or present. And if the King be not contented in this he will be contented in nothing. But having had such words of her Majesty and thinking the matter so reasonable he rests very confident of full contentment. I perceive that in matters touching this estate he will be as well heard and believed with the King as any councillor or as his "cossinge" [cousin] the Secretary, for I know the King has commanded a fair cabinet to be provided for his secret papers of importance and the charge and credit thereof is appointed to Mr. Foulis. So that

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1598. it seems there may be good offices drawn out of his honest affection to her Majesty (which next his master he prefers to all other princes). I see her Majesty has great interest in him and he well disposed to do good offices. He never dealt so fairly with me before now, for now he keeps nothing back and considering what I have seen I must needs say that he has dealt very temperately and is well inclined. He wishes his cousin the Secretary here to crack such nuts as he has sent him, but it may be that he return them to him whole or at the least untouched.

Of this I thought it my duty to make your Honour acquainted because it is for her Majesty's service and it pleased her and you to allow my last presumption in like case. London the 7 of October 1598. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "That he has seen the directions lately sent from the K. of Scots to his Ambassador."

Oct. 8. **233.** KING JAMES VI TO DAVID FOULIS.

Vol. lxiii, No. 27. Understanding that our loved George Bruce in Culross has an action depending there against one John Newton, merchant and owner of the ship called the *Julyane* of London, and John Clerk, captain of the same ship, and that albeit in the same action sundry witnesses were examined upon a commission directed from the Judge of the Admiralty of England to umquhile Mr. Robert Bowes, Ambassador, and umquhile Alexander Home of North Berwick, provost of Edinburgh for the time, and their depositions returned back, the matter was therefore brought in question before the Council table and four of the same Council deputed to "cognosse thairintill," yet is there nothing done but shift and delay used therein to the great interest [*sic*] and "hinder" of our said subject; and therefore have we thought meet to recommend that matter to your care and diligence, willing and desiring you to prosecute the same to the final end and decision thereof, and for better expedition in justice to deal with and solicit such of the Council as that matter is committed to for putting thereof to a point that our said subject be not wearied with unnecessary delays and awaiting longer thereon. From our palace of Linlithgow (Linlydgeo), the 8 of October 1598. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Addressed:* "To our trusty servitor Mr. David Foulis presently at London." *Seal missing. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 9. **234.** INTELLIGENCES FROM SCOTLAND AND THE BORDERS.

Vol. lxiii, No. 28. It were first necessary, the cause of God being first respected, that every man should faithfully promise for himself and those of his domestical family and all others, his dependers and customers, that upon every Sunday and other holy days they shall repair to the kirk for the hearing of God's service before noon and that at the afternoon

1598. all quarrels and debates shall be decided by six men as are or shall be chosen for that effect.

Item, that all principal men shall be sworn "ilk ane" to another to stand fast and that none shall contravene this "bande" under pain of defamation: and whosoever shall come in the contrary directly or indirectly, he or they shall be esteemed as enemy or enemies to the rest.

And for this cause the number of twelve men are chosen as chief to sit and cognosce in these causes "ilk" Sunday afternoon, the goodman of Netherby being president, to whose "censcement" all have sworn, the Holy Bible touched with either of their hands, at the kirk of Arthuret the 9 of October, '98.

Sic subscribitur.

"1. Walter Grayme of Netherbye.
William of Middeyes, Jok his son.
Diks Davie, both for Scotland and England.
2. William of the Mote.
Richard of Brakenhill for England and Scotland.
Francis of Cannabie his brother for Scotland and England.
3. David of Bankheid.
Alexander of Kerkanders.
4. Fargie of the Medop.
Jok of the Layk.
5. Rob of the Fawlde.
Will of Milhill his brother.
6. William of Rosetrees.
7. Hucheon the younger and Hucheons Andro his uncle, both for England and Scotland."

And for Scotland only without exception of the Queen of England or her laws

have subscribed

"The laird of Radkirk.
William of Blandwood.
John of Gillisbie."

There is a Convention General of nobles and all others, commissioners, to hold at Edinburgh the 28 day of this instant. After the which time I shall resolve the best I may of all things.

1½ *pp.* *Endorsed:* "'98. Intelligences."

Oct. 9. **235.** DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 29. I send unto you here enclosed these three Articles concerning the King his Majesty, my master's satisfaction in the matter of Val: Tho: to be showed to her Majesty, whom I wish heartily to be requested by you to resolve in her princely honour and judgment that like as *extra ecclesiam non est salus*, so without one of these be granted there is no kind of redemption of his Majesty's honour (to both the princes' contentments) presently engaged, neither assurance that his name shall

1598. not be brought in question hereafter; of both the which, seeing the Queen's Majesty makes profession to have a special care, I am out of all doubt to have any further delay or stop in receiving full contentment to the King my master's mind herein, and that with good measure seeing by the law *regum beneficia debent ampliari.* If there be nothing (as I will not otherwise believe) but good and honour meant to the King, it is now time to pronounce *Sheboleth* unlisped and St. Hierom's question to be asked in the word ὁμοούσιον *contra Arrianos, cur non mecum loquuntur qui mecum sentiunt.* Plain dealing (as I showed yesterday) is the only just trial and touch of plain concert, *et veritas non quærit angulos.* If the villain's confessions touching the King be made the proper cause of his death, how can his Majesty be made altogether free from the like effect, the selfsame cause standing in full strength and force? No otherways forsooth than the fire is able to bring forth at one instant both heat and cold, *ejusdem enim causæ idem est effectus.* Shall Val: die by justice and the King's Majesty be acquitted by courtesy? No, no, sir, I am assured that neither is it her Majesty's will to resolve, nor the Council's to advise, to spare his Majesty in form and wound him in matter. And if the said confessions be reserved, it shall force his Majesty to fetch a greater stroke (if this be not sufficient) to cut the sinews both of this calumny and of others that may fall forth like unto this hereafter. For in so doing he will never be made to believe otherways than that such advantage is kept against him to be inspired with a new life at a fitter opportunity to give security to persons that may perhaps unhappily oppose themselves to a certain right hereafter and in the meantime to serve as a false inducement to irregular conceits and apprehensions of his Majesty's sweet and matchless disposition amongst the multitude. Such eggs are not to be kept for fear that cockatrices be hatched of them after this to the great trouble of both the Estates. And the best way to quench infection of mortality in time of pest is to burn all the rags that are contagious rather than to leave anything to renew the sickness hereafter.

Sir, be you assured that this my plainness proceeds of the perfect knowledge I have of the King my master's mind in this matter and of the love I bear to the continuance and increase of the happy amity between both the princes, being moved of duty to give you some glance of that which is necessary to be apprehended by all these that wish the quietness of both the Estates. I will not seem to recommend to a man of honour that which the equity, honour and necessity of the cause itself recommends sufficiently; only contented to entreat your careful pains to let me know her Majesty's will so soon as it shall be her good pleasure to determine hereof. D. F. London the 9 of October 1598.

1¾ *pp. Copy. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Copy of Mr. Foulis his letter to my master."

The first enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Articles propounded by David Foulis.)

Vol. lxiii, No. 30. His Majesty craves an Act of his justification upon the scandal made by Val: Tho: against him to be presently set down in such

1598. honourable and substantial terms as appertains, to be *printed and published* throughout all the boroughs and towns in England, containing the invalidity and falsity of the said Val:'s confessions and slanderous speeches whatsoever concerning his Majesty in any point, and the Queen's Majesty's and Council's will to the people not to believe any such slanderous reports as have or may proceed of the said Val:'s confessions or allegations whatsoever.

Otherways.

That whatsoever matter may or can have appearance to touch his Majesty directly or indirectly either in record or out of record to be presently *rased and delivered* to me to be given to his Majesty; and that the Queen's Majesty and Council shall testify by an Act of Council "authentiqued" with their own hands, that like as upon honour nothing shall be reserved that may hereafter touch his Majesty any way, that so in the same Act all the said Val:'s confessions and allegations concerning the King's Majesty be declared to be invalid, false and of no effect; and that the said villain be tried upon some special article or articles altogether separate both in nature and in manner from all mixture with the King's Majesty. And at the hour of his death the tenor of the said Act to be published to the whole people assisting the execution.

Or otherways.

That seeing all that the said Val: Tho: has spoken against the King's Majesty is known and confessed to be untruth and by consequence a scandal manifest, his Majesty demands that the said villain may be tried upon the point of scandal in the *Star Chamber* and lose his ears with the cause written in a paper in great letters about his neck, as is accustomed in the like causes; and that the said Val:'s confessions concerning the King's Majesty be there publicly cancelled by the "burreaw" [executioner] with reservation "allanerly" of one authentic copy thereof to be delivered to his Majesty, and thereafter that the said villain be tried upon felony or (as shall best please the Queen) upon some such points of treason whereunto the King's Majesty is no party in any sort, neither by personal nor instrumental instigation, or in end to be condemned to perpetual prison.

At foot:

I send you the copy of the record to be signed by her Majesty, which I have not specified in my letter.

1 *p. The words in italics are underlined. Endorsed:* "1598, 9 Oct. Articles propounded by Mr. Fowles."

The second enclosure in the same.

(Act propounded by David Foulis.)

Vol. lxiii, No. 31. Forasmuch as Val: Thomas, Englishman, a vagabond defamed for divers villainies and crimes worthy of death, especially for theft, for the which being apprehended in England to have suffered law and due punishment for his demerits, and perceiving no way whereby he could have any hope to escape the punishment of present death, most falsely and maliciously under the colour of his being in Scotland at divers times immediately before his foresaid apprehension did slander our

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dearest brother the King of Scots with some vile and odious speeches had to him (as he alleged) of us and our estate, thinking by this his most pernicious "invent" to have redeemed himself from the present and due punishment of death or at least to have prorogued his life for a certain time; the which allegation we by the advice of our Council having wisely weighed and duly considered in all points both in circumstances and in substance do find the same to be void of all probability and likelihood of truth. For the which cause not only are we content in equity and honour to cancel all the said Val: 's slanderous allegations and to reserve nothing confessed by him touching our said dearest brother, but also to the effect that the said calumnies and untrue accusations may not bring forth any suspicion or cause of evil thought of our said dearest brother in the hearts of the people to his prejudice in any point either present or to come, we make hereby declaration that the said slanderous speeches have been most falsely contrived by the said Val: Tho: disannulling by this present whatsoever strength or validity that may in any respect be given thereto at any time hereafter. And in case that any matter not known to us shall happen after this to be found either in record or out of record which may directly or indirectly touch our said dearest brother's honour and reputation in any case, we are likewise content and consent that the same shall be of no force, vigour or effect against him as a matter known to be most falsely and maliciously contrived, making our said brother (according to his assured innocency) clear and free from all sort of action whatsoever that may ensue hereupon for ever hereafter, and of all others of the like quality preceding the date hereof; and this present Act to be inserted in the books of record *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. In witness whereof we have subscribed the same with our hand and our seal. At [*blank*] the [*blank*] day of [*blank*] 1598.

1 *p.* *Endorsed:* "1598, 9 Oct. An Act propounded by Mr. Fowles."

Oct. 10. **236.** Sir Robert Melville to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxiii, No. 32.

It has pleased the King my master to write unto the Queen your sovereign and to your Lords of the Council in favour of this bearer, James Birrell, indweller in Kirkcaldy (Kirkadie), who has lost his ship full of merchant goods, being set upon by a pirate ship of the town of Bristol called the *Green Dragon*, set out by the inhabitants thereof and has with shots sunk the said James's ship and he and his partners utterly beggared without they have justice and have their losses repaired. I doubt not but when your Lordship shall be informed of the tyrannous murder committed by the said pirates against so many peaceable people but you will pity their estate; and in respect the bearer is my friend and neighbour I am bold to recommend him unto you for old acquaintance that I have had with your parents that rest with God, which likeways I have renewed with yourself, that for my cause he may find your Lordship's favour and furtherance that he and his partners may be restored to their goods by the said town of Bristol,

1598. as you shall have power to employ me for any of your friends and countrymen that shall have occasion to be factors in these parts. Burntisland (Brunteland), the 10 day of October. *Signed:* Robert Melville of Murdocairney (Murduharney), knyt.

½ *p. Addressed:* "To the right honourable my very good lord, my Lord Secretary of England." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. xmo Oct."

Oct. 14. **237.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 33. I rode to Stirling on Wednesday last, imparting to the King how far the matter of Valentyne Thomas had been dealt in according to your Honour's advertisement, that he might know the very truth of her Majesty's care over him therein, lest by advertisements it should be otherways advertised here, as I found it not. For the King said he gave her many thanks for her care of him and sought not to be cleared by proclamation but as her Majesty pleased, and by secret Act or record should be of that matter, or by any other means to take away the effect and force of any record of that matter if any be, as he had written and directed Mr. David to solicit her Majesty, to the which he refers the same; adding he would never for any man's persuasion whatsoever ken of her hurt but reveal it to her, showing me that he had received a letter from Tyrone by one Mure a Scotsman, Tyrone's English secretary, referring credit in a sort to Mure, that he had tried the proclamation might be discharged, for without support of men and especially of powder and lead and provisions from this country the Earl could not bide it. [*In margin:* I was indeed very careful to have the proclamation well and therefore got it 4 times altered before I would accept it; and still found the Lord Secretary's favour with defences thereof to his lordship.] Mure said that he denied him the same in plain terms and bitterly, charging Tyrone to have sent in his letters to her Majesty and wrested it to his own purpose. That Mure confessed the Earl's sending of the letters to her Majesty but alleged excuse why he did it. (For this the King said to me that Tyrone played the false knave to him.) That when the King denied those motions, Mure moved that the King would send Tyrone ten thousand men and offered that Tyrone would make the King King of Ireland and pay all duties to him, and for better persuasion he said to the King it was the way to get England, which he said was not meant him nor he would never otherways get, adding that there was a great man to succeed her Majesty. The King asked him who that was. He said he had forgotten his name. The King to try him in jest named my Lord of Essex. He said it was that same. Whereat the King laughs fast to see Tyrone's "rayles." The King denied that motion also. Whereon Mure said then that Tyrone offered this of duty and good will to the King but if the King would no way deal to aid him, he would seek to Spain and yield to Spain. The King said if Tyrone would have him to treat with her Majesty he would do it, so far as might stand with her pleasure, so as he would confess his fault and

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1598. truly humble himself and yield his obedience to her Majesty, but further than stood with her pleasure he said he would not deal for Tyrone. And so returned Mure. Scorning to have been overtaken by such a beardless youth, saying he had written all to Mr. David to show her Majesty to read it, if she pleased, as also sent Tyrone's letter for that purpose, he protested he should behave himself every way to her Majesty as dutifully as if he were her own son and do in this or anything as she would have him. In such sort (I protest before God) as sure he desires to be used by her Highness to give proof thereof.

The King, upon speaking of foreign occurrents, finds fault with the Estates anent their answer made to the 7 Admonition[s] of the subdued provinces contained in a little book printed by Wolfe of London of the Articles of Peace between France and Spain, for that in that their answer to the admonition anent the alleging of St. Paul the Estates infer that princes may be deposed, etc., as appears in that Answer, and so he would tell Monsieur Damon to advertise them; saying they might have stood upon and alleged their privileges and not wrested the Scriptures.

I am told, which I write albeit if it be so or no your Honour knows better, that Doctor Parsons (Doleman's maker) is at Rome dealing to have the King of Scotland excommunicated there and also to have a head and rules for all the seminaries and Jesuits that are to come into England (who are said to be there very many) to swear them to the King of Spain's allegiance as successor to our kingdom, and that they shall in their confessions swear the people to the same.

For this estate it is very quiet. On Monday the King rode to Stirling where he dealt for the drawing of Mar to agree with his competitors, which he puts off still to further advisement till the next Convention. Yet I see it will agree. On Thursday the King returned to Linlithgow and on Monday he is at Dalkeith and is thereafter to lie at Holyroodhouse for the Convention and after for the Sessions beginning 1 of the next.

The town of Edinburgh has this good time been advising whether to put in their "lites" of some noblemen of the Council and Sessions to be chosen for their provost, thereby to get their turns done in Court and Sessions and to recover the King's favour, or to make their "lite" of themselves, which they have resolved on, putting Jo: Arnot and John Robertson in "lite" with the provost. But the choice being to be made by the King's consent will not be before the Sessions, that the Lords may have security of them (by reason of the 17 of December). So as whether the King will alter their "lite" or no (whereof there have been divers speeches) or which of these shall be provost is not yet known. But if the King make provost himself, then he must provide surety; for the town will answer for none but for such as are of their own choice. I think Jo: Arnot shall be provost.

The laird of Johnstone was with the King at Linlithgow before he rode to Stirling, but got no leave to stay but must leave the country. The gentleman is valiant, fortunate, of many friends and much strength, and his good usage will profit her Majesty's service on the Borders and in Court by his friends. So as it were good policy he were

1598. well treated and made of in England, whither he intends to go. For it will gain his service to her Majesty and great quietness on the Borders.

The Duke came to Stirling to the King on Wednesday last and goes to the Lewis to give the Lewisers possession thereof and so returns.

Angus MacConnell's bastard is come to Glasgow and Dunnyveg is to be delivered to John Stewart. McSorley has stolen the bastard's wife to Ireland to him. He and Tyrone are like to cast out. Tyrone sends to Huntly to persuade the King to receive and entertain his offers. These I hear with many like matters; but no speeches of my Lord of Ormonde's cutting in pieces of any of them rebels, which I told the King and he thought was the cause of Tyrone's seeking to him. For the King said he had not of long time heard from him, nor never looked he would have sent to him. Edinburgh, the 14 of Octob. 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed.*

Oct.
[*c.* 15.] **238.** JAMES HUDSON TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Vol. lxiii, No. 45. The Lord of Spynie who passed by this way to France and Flanders is returned with good end of his own affairs and is a humble suitor to be honoured with the kissing of your Majesty's hands, for which cause only he is returned by this way and hereof I made your Majesty's secretary acquainted. But because I perceive in this nobleman a love towards your Majesty and he is able and willing to do you good service and in acceptable sort, if things sort as he supposes to make it known to you that he has discovered a negotiation presently intended to Scotland to the papists of Scotland from the "Spanyiolanised" papists beyond the seas. The party employed is (as good luck serves) so devoted to this nobleman that he came [to] be participant of all their secrets, besides his dwelling in Scotland amongst them and his credit such that little can be either intended and less performed without his privity. But because of the good affection that the nobleman bears towards your Majesty's service and the true honourable disposition that I know him to be of according well with his birth, I leave all to his own relation, for your usual princely courtesies and favours will augment in him the good beginning that I find in him to do his best endeavour to serve your Majesty.

There is a discreet gentleman, a follower of his named Mr. James Forrett who is known to Mr. Secretary and has a brother that serves the enemy as a captain of horsemen in Flanders. This gentleman affirms that the papists beyond the seas have a confident opinion that there is some great insurrection or rebellion toward in this your Majesty's realm but in what sort or by whose means he could not discover. This nobleman and this gentleman were no strangers to Mr. Bowes, your Majesty's servant, but did him good offices of my knowledge.

Mr. Foulis has received now a second letter from the King, all of his own handwriting, which is more than usual favour to any

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employed here. This his letter is to accompany one of the traitor Tyrone's which he is appointed to show to your Majesty. The King's letter is a discourse of that which passed betwixt him and Tyrone's man and very "respective" words towards your Majesty. The proud traitor's letter is all of his glory, of his fortune at Blackwater and Armagh and how that he is distressed for want of necessaries for the wars by the King's proclamation, willing it may be undone or else he must be glad to put that kingdom betwixt him and the King of Spain to whom he has already sent to like effect.

This gentleman that comes without his host may all in good time come to his fellows at London Bridge and all true subjects glorify God for His judgments and pray Him for your Majesty's prosperity and peace. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

Postscript. I see no fault in Mr. Foulis but his extreme earnestness in this affair that he has in hand. Otherwise his affection is good and his credit at home like to be great in secrets with the King. He is to keep all the King's secret pieces, whereof I have at length advertised your Majesty's secretaries.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed:* "Octobre 1598."

Oct.
[*c.* 15.] **239.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 46.

It may please your Honour to be advertised that the Lord of Spynie is returned from France and as he said at his passage over he will be an humble suitor to be honoured with kissing of her Majesty's hands by your good means if it please you therein to favour him with that courtesy. He has made good voyage for his own good for he has got confirmation of a piece of land of his cousin, the Bishop of Glasgow, that is worth 400 marks of our account per annum. He has seen a part of the Low Countries and was in Brussels and with Captain Forrett, whose brother, James Forrett, watched over his lordship all the journey. He will thank you for his last passport himself. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

Postscript. His request is that his audience may be of some other day than Mr. Foulis has his.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Octobr: 1598. Mr. Hudson to my master."

Oct. 20. **240.** HENRY LOK TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 34.

In his letter to your Honour of the 20th of Oct.

1. The letter enclosed of Mr. Richard Douglas to Archibald was to be sent by the merchant in whose letter it was enclosed, which he feigning (riding over Inver Esk a river and opening his handkerchief wherein it was) to have let fall into the sea, he so became master of.

2. I have sent the fellow, a copy whereof is delivered by the same merchant, to Mr. Archib:, so that this need not be (as I think) delivered at all.

1598. 3. He would have used George Nicolson for conveying this letter but he understood by the Laird of Wedderburn, the King's Comptroller General, that great watch was laid for intercepting his letters. I therefore durst not use that means.

4. Yet he craves direction to Nicolson for notice of your purposes of convoy of letters touching Mr. Hay (Heye), with whom he will acquaint him so soon as he comes back with the King on whom he has attended all this while.

5. Shows that the 20 of October last Mr. Richard Douglas was to ride to the Earl Angus to deliver Archibald Douglas's letter and that the Earl of Cassillis is not yet come, for whose answers he stays.

6. At whose return he hopes to deliver some unknown secrets and all plots to your Honour.

7. Shows his occasion of speech with the Queen [of Scots] and his secret observations of her mind: as also of many things by Wedderburn's inquisitiveness: the particulars whereof he reserves until his return.

8. Finally, wishes great secrecy and that his host (the conveyor of these letters) be encouraged and straitly charged from your Honour to secrecy and safe dealing herein.

9. And that in no case during his absence Mr. Archibald be discountenanced, whereby "suspect" of him may grow.

10. As also says a brother of Richard Douglas, lately come from the Cardinal in Low Countries, is coming to A. Douglas hereabout.

In one to me of the same date:

1. After observation of inconstancy in the state there and of the busy papist faction ready to devour the other;

2. And of expectation of the issue of the General Assembly and Convention to be held the 26 of the last, *scilicet* October;

3. He especially writes me to signify to your Honour his secret intelligence of being betwixt the papist Earls and Bothwell;

4. As also of A^{r}. Doug[las] plotting with him;

5. And therefore wishes A. Dou[glas] were borne in hand, that he had leave thereto, whereby (I suppose he means) that Earl Bothwell were "gracius" here . . .* and we liked of his proceeding.

6. And so concludes presently after the Convention to return hither with expedition.

1 *p. In the hand of Henry Lok. Endorsed by Lok:* "The contents of Rob. letter to your Honour and H. L. of the 20 Octob. 1598 from Ed[inburgh]."

Oct. 22. **241.** DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 35. I have still continued in longing to hear from the honourable Lords of her Majesty's Council these 3 or 4 days past. If your pains to remember their lordships to hasten my dispatch could (as I put no

* Illegible.

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doubt) bring me remedy to my disease I shall assuredly be like as I am bound to remain for ever yours most affectionate to command. *Signed:* D. Foulis. London the 22 of October 1598.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 23. **242.** JAMES TOBIN TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 36.

I crave pardon for presuming to trouble your Honour. After I departed [from] France to go for Ireland I arrived in Scotland and meeting one Mr. Nicolson, who promised me to send this my letter to you, being bound in duty thereunto for that I passed some time with one Fleming in the town of Glasgow, who came very lately out of the north part of Ireland and being a servant to O'Neill, who told me that O'Neill has received lately out of Spain some letters and the King of Spain calls him in his letters Prince of Ireland, and he immediately sent one Hugh Boy into Spain to know the King's succours of men against the next spring, and for the better upholding of his ambitious mind he has travailed with the Council of the Low Countries and one Doctor Lombard is come to the Pope to obtain leave that he may make money and authority against all such as bear arms against him; and for the maintaining of his arms in the meantime has daily out of Scotland powder, match and lead, notwithstanding that the King has commanded the contrary. No way to prevent it but to bring her Majesty's ships that lie before Carrickfergus *and that they may harbour in the river of Clyde (Kleyd)*, where they go out with provision to O'Neill. I go to the Earl of Ormonde to whom I beseech your Honour to write in my behalf that he may use me according to my deserts or that you may give me that which Sir Arthur Savage did promise me, which I have well deserved as I leave to be tried by him and divers others that were with him. If it please you to bestow the same on me I shall ever be most bound to you and shall be most ready to be employed by you. Dated in Edinburgh, the 23 of October 1598. *Signed:* James Tobin.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. The words in italics are underlined. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 24. **243.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 37.

At my late being with the King at Dalkeith he asked me if I had got any word to him. I said none since the last I advertised him. He said he marvelled considering how oft and kindly he had written to her Majesty that he had no answer, as also how her Majesty took his advertisements made in good will to her. I said surely he would hear she took them very well; and to be more particular with your Honour, I see he looks both for her Majesty's good will to clear him of Valentyne Thomas's slanders in such sort as shall be needful and as may content Mr. David Foulis for him, to whose soliciting he reserves the same; and likewise for thanks for his good will to her Majesty

1598. anent the proclamation; and his plain rejecting of Tyrone and his honest discovery of Tyrone's letter and message; and for her Majesty's answer anent the hunting accident (from seeking revenge whereof he very carefully stays the parties); as likewise to hear that her Majesty's Wardens be directed to hold their meetings in the Scots ground according to the ancient custom that friendly meeting may be for justice. In all which in my poor and weak judgment it were very requisite he had kind answer, in some of them by her Majesty's letter and in others by your letter to me to be showed him, with some touch that her Majesty takes in good part his purgation anent the alleged instruction of his Majesty to the King of Spain and Pope. For the King here is of a good mind to run a sound course with her Majesty and good answer and acceptance of his good will will encourage him more and more therein to the doing of her Majesty's one time or other further pleasure.

I hear that Sir Walter Lindsay is quietly crept in this country with very large commission to breed new troubles. The truth whereof I hope to learn of his Majesty who this day goes to Barnton to the christening of the Secretary's child and returns on Thursday hither to the Convention, which holds. The news whereof to arise I shall advertise your Honour as I shall learn. The Lewisers are now shipping for the Lewis, and all here quiet. At Edinburgh, the 24 of October 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. Yesternight I received Mr. David's packet, which I presently delivered. It was of the date of the 11 hereof, long in coming. And this day but the King receives the news therein, whereof for the present I can give you no part knowledge.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Of diverse things whereunto some answer is to be made him."

On a slip of paper inserted in the above letter:
00. feareth the intercepting of his letters and therefore is more sparing. 116 is sure "ticle" to deal with for if he be pleased he will pleasure 100. If not, he will forbear it, saith and seeth it. 15 pretends still such favour in England as fears 00. to deal. And 116. is very glad thereof and hopes of great matters by him.

In Nicolson's hand. The cipher 00. = *Nicolson;* 116 = *King James;* 100 = *Queen Elizabeth;* 15 = *David Foulis.*

Oct. 30. **244. King James VI to Sir James Johnstone.**

Vol. lxiii, No. 38. Licence to Sir James Johnstone of Dunskellie, knight, to pass forth of the realm towards the realm of England to remain in any part of the same he shall think expedient for one year after the date hereof. "Given under our signet and subscribed with our hand at Holyroodhouse, the penultimate day of October and of our reign thirty-two year, 1598. James R."

½ *p. Copy.*

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245. ACT REGULATING THE PRICE OF FOREIGN COINS.

Vol. lxiii, No. 39. Printed in *Acts of Parl. Scotland*, IV, 175, and in Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, I. 133.

"Apud Haliruidhous penultimo Octobris Anno Domini im vc lxxxxviiio."

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "Annent forrayne coignes."

Oct. 30. **246.** ACT FOR RECEIVING THE COMMUNION.

Vol. lxiii, No. 40. Printed in *Acts of Parl. Scotland*, IV, 173, 174.

Penultimo Octobris im vc lxxxxviiio.

His Highness's subjects shall communicate at the least once every year and shall present no excuse of deadly feud towards their neighbours under the particular penalties here prescribed.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "Annent none receivours of the Communion."

Oct. 30. **247.** ACT AGAINST THE RECEIVING OF JESUITS AND TRAFFICKING PAPISTS.

Vol. lxiii, No. 41. Printed in *Acts of Parl. Scotland*, IV, 174.

Penultimo Octobris 1598.

Publication to be made at the head burghs of every shire inhibiting the lieges to reset or entertain any Jesuits or excommunicated trafficking papists, and especially Mr. Gilbert Brown, Mr. James Gordon,* Mr. Rob. Abercromby, Mr. George Keir, Mr. [William] Murdoch (Murdo), Mr. Alexr McQuhirrie *alias* Gibson, [*in margin:* and Tho: Tyrie].

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "Annent Seminaries, Jesuites and traffickinge papists."

Oct. 30. **248.** ACT AGAINST REBELS.

Vol. lxiii, No. 42. Printed in *Acts of Parl. Scotland*, IV, 174, 175.

Penultimo Octobris 1598.

The sheriffs, stewards and bailies of regalities, their deputies and clerks, to present the authentic copy of their sheriff books containing their hornings and relaxations registered since 1 August 1590 to 1 August instant to the Treasurer and his deputies betwixt and the [First] day of [January], etc.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "Annent Horners."

Oct. 31. **249.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 43.

Since my last such reports have increased here anent the matter of Valentyne Thomas as almost moved the King to doubt and fear a

* The name has been struck through and is not in the printed Act.

1598. hard intent towards him more than that matter, but that he is of better hope and assurance of her Majesty's good will to him than some of his subjects would have him, who by many policies would have stirred him to anger thereat. Yet my Lord of Spynie's (Spinaies) coming with letters from Mr. David Foulis and a report how that matter stood and word that all matters said by Valentyne Thomas should be destroyed and an Act to clear the King thereanent took away and discredited those reports so far as the King noted to the informer the untruth thereof. Yet I see not but if that matter be not ended to the King's contentment there will want no evil informants to do the worst offices here, which were good were prevented for the good of both princes. And seeing that want of advertisements of the state of that matter gives vantage to the malicious to get their advices, if not credited, yet in the way to stir some matter in anger to make evil, it were not amiss that Mr. David wrote oftener, or your Honour in sort to be showed, or as you shall think good, to prevent and discredit the devilish devices, inventions and lies. For sure the time requires no less, none here, saving the King almost, caring for our friendship as were meet. All which I leave to your good considerations and my last letters.

On Thursday the King came from Barnton to the Convention, to the which so few noblemen came as grieved the King, and as at this Convention is set down that for the affairs of the King and Estate there shall be 2 general and ordinary Conventions of the nobility and estates in the year, the one the 10 of December, the other the 10 of June yearly, and a pain to be set on the nobility that comes not, which is to be set down before them the 10 of December next. These are to be besides such other Conventions as the King upon occasions shall call. In this Convention foreign coins are called to less price, horners are to [be] dealt with for the King's profit and drawing them to the King's obedience. The Kirk's petition was granted and the Acts anent Jesuits, seminaries, etc. renewed. And where sundry papists upon "alledgance" of feuds forbore to communicate, it is enacted that whatsoever upon feud or religion shall not receive in a year shall pay a fine, earls 1000*l.* Scots, lords 1000 marks, etc. And the King was to have received the communion on Sunday next but that for the 2 young French gentlemen he continues it till the next Sunday after that.

The King is preparing to send the French King hounds and 2 huntsmen as the French King has written for.

The Comptroller was put at to be displaced; yet he keeps his place one year longer.

The laird of Johnstone has the King's licence to pass out of the country and the King's letter to my Lord Scrope, to whom the laird wrote before to obtain him her Majesty's licence to come into England.

The book I sent you had been suppressed in case all could have been got in. Yet now they are sold currently. I suspect the author's name is in anagram in Greek at the foot of the epistle.

James Stewart of Glasgow is getting the King's grant to win the

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1598. Spanish pieces that were cast away on the King's coast for a 3rd part to the King.

The Earl of Crawford is now again ready within few days to go to England, but it must be as he gets money, which rules all their purposes here.

Angus continues with the Lieutenancy still.

The Duke of Lennox is here hunting this day with the King and the 2 young French gentlemen; yet goes by land to the Lewis, for which now the partners are all shipped almost.

This day at 12 hours was a great day of law between my Lord of Lindores and John Arnot of Woodmill which is continued till Friday next. Thus much for the effect of what was done this Convention. Edinburgh, ultimo Octob. 1598. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript. I have no word that Mr. Craven has for me any money, which I desire to know from him, for I have great need, God knows; and for God's cause have consideration on me.

Mr. Moore most humbly prays your Honour to be good to him and to vouchsafe your answer. I see nothing to him but honesty and love to her Majesty and his country. He, his wife and children live in such miserable want as is lamentable to see.

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

Oct. 31. **250.** THE EARL OF ANGUS TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

Vol. lxiii, No. 44. By your last letter sent to me, which by reason of my absence from this part of the country in discharge of this troublesome office in taking order with the West Borders, wherewith it has pleased his Majesty and the Estates to burden me, come not so soon to my hands and I could not so soon answer unto as I would, amongst other things wherewith ye have made me acquainted, whereof I give you very hearty thanks, I understand that both I and others of my quality, whom at that time like estate in trouble forced to follow like course for their relief, are now like to be blamed by some as it shall seem evil disposed persons in that realm to the common peace in matters whereof we are altogether innocent, as may best by all my proceedings past, if they be truly examined, be known, and specially may best appear by such letters as both I and the others sent by yourself to the Queen's Majesty of that realm containing such matter as might give sufficient testimony of our upright and assured good meaning towards the welfare of both realms; and albeit all that which was at that time by us proffered, was contrary to our expectation, even then by her Majesty rejected, yet it cannot be qualified that, notwithstanding the straits and necessities that I was driven unto, that ever I embraced a course prejudicial to her Majesty or the present estate of her country. And yet if I could be assured that anything in me (my duty always to my sovereign and country reserved) might be agreeable to her Majesty, I would not

1598. forbear to make offer thereof, whereby my good meaning might be confirmed. And therefore I will desire you very "effectuouslie" to let me understand how I may best behave myself that all jealousies may hereafter be removed. For I protest I am so far off from wishing the King my sovereign to take a course offensive to her Majesty that by the contrary considering his state and of the rest of Christendom at this present, there shall not be any in this country more willing and earnest that his Majesty shall follow a sure and friendly course with that state than myself (his Highness always receiving of her Majesty that thankful meeting that I know he deserves), as of late by all my advices in Council and to his Majesty in particular, as also by my actions upon the Borders for repressing the wrongs and injuries done and like to be done against her Majesty's subjects in the opposite Marches may particularly appear. But of this and further of my upright and honest intentions in that and other matters ye will hear further by my cousin, your nephew Master Richard, to whom I have opened my mind. In the meantime as I wish nothing more than to have yourself here present with us, both that his Majesty and we your friends might be participant of your grave and sound advice and counsel in all matters that might occur, so I will request to let me understand what in particular I may do for your benefit, assuring yourself there is no one shall be more willing and ready than myself. Off Douglas, the last of October, 1598. *Signed:* W. Angus.

1¼ *pp.* *Holograph, with address:* "To my verie welbelovit cousing Maister Archibald Dowglas presentlie at Londoun."

[1598, Oct.] **251.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxiii, No. 48. I give your Honour most humble thanks for the comfort you give me in your last of the 2nd hereof, and shall rest very well contented to stay and write no more anent my suit until the opportunity of my return or your meet time, and in the mean [time] ever rest your faithful and true servant, I protest as true as to my own life. Likewise I give you thanks for giving order to Mr. Craven to pay me till the last of September, as also for being so good to me to cause some warrant for some part of the extraordinary of my bill be paid, wherein whatsoever come I shall be content. Yet all letters bringing do I pay for after, 10*s.* the piece to the garrison men and post servants of Berwick, as they can testify, and the Governor's, for none pay them but I. And for the carriage of packets to Berwick I am driven of necessity to deal frankly for their carriage to prevent interception, which sometimes was meant and will be every quarter. And for your Honour's opinion anent giving money aforesaid for service, it is most true and my master still found it so, as I do. Yet I live in hope to gain and not lose by it by doing some service sometime thereby of moment to gain myself thanks and profit, if once I had my suit. Else all will go in one.

It is true that the King said he had written to Mr. David to come

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away and move no matters to her Majesty, unless she would clear him of Valentyne Thomas's accusations. This the King did upon receipt of Mr. David's first letters sent by sea, which contained his doubtfulness that her Majesty would not do it, and I heard he then wrote plainly so. Yet then the King wrote also thereon to her Majesty only anent the Border accident and Mr. Moore's trial, [*in margin:* The Kirk puts at Moore.] by whom I am of conceit good service may be had by his means abroad without charge and only by suffering his own means out of England. Those 2 letters to her Majesty and Mr. David I sent in my letter to your Honour of the 19 of the last. But therein the King told me he wrote nothing to her Majesty of Va: Thomas's matter then but stayed more certainty thereof from Mr. David. The 23 of September I received Mr. David's packet signed by your Honour for the convey thereof, by which the King understood that her Majesty was careful of the best way to clear the King for which the King gave many thanks in his packet sent in mine to you to Mr. David of the 26 of September, as your Honour I hope understood for I wrote the effects to you from the King's mouth. With that Mr. David wrote well of your Honour, yet not so of my Lord your father. But of this or other matters then advertised I write now no more.

I sent the King's letter to Mr. David with the letter to Mr. Hudson in my packet of the 6 hereof, the contents whereof I then knew not but repairing to the King he told me, hoping his course therein held towards her Majesty shall be well taken and at least acknowledged with thanks; which it may please you to procure and if you please as if I had made good advertisements of the King's good mind to her Majesty in the proclamation and his course held to stay support from rebels, and of what I advertise of him in my letter herewith. I rode to Stirling to have spoken "Filius" and known what he is doing. But he was abroad with "Pater," with whom I have not spoken to show him the frank dealing with "Filius," but shall not fail to do it when he comes near these parts, as you have well directed.

Sir Thomas Erskine understanding of Tyrone's man's coming, very honestly said to the King that seeing Tyrone had played the knave to the King in delivering of the King's letters to the Queen and that the King had now professed to run a sound course with her Majesty he would wish his Majesty to deal no way with him unless to try his errands and to certify them to her Majesty for her advantage, which the King said he would do. And now some 5 Irishmen come out of France they say and very likely to be so, for that I saw the French King's report for one of them called James Tobin (Dubin), being at Linlithgow seeking passport for Ireland, I prayed Sir Thomas to see that their passports should be for their passage to the Queen's subjects and not to the rebels and that letters might be written to Glasgow to see them so shipped, which he said he would do and I am sure will. And I also spoke to Mr. Aston to do it also to prevent the worst, because I came away myself. And yet the men seem to be honest and lovers of her Majesty. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1¼ *pp. In G. Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement.*

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252. George Nicolson to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxiii, No. 49.

The party that I wrote by my last was both to be baited and hooked is under suspicion here upon return of some matters from Mr. David. And some trapping questions were asked me of him, whereof I gave him knowledge. But I protest to your Honour they judge him wrong towards me. For he is not so open minded to me as to tell me at any time anything of moment. Mr. David wrote by sea otherways than he did by land, belike for fear of his letters opening, and it may be he will observe that course. But by his letters signed by your Honour he wrote well and honestly, but by his others I am told he persuaded great secrecy to be used here. It will be a very good rule and it is very good that his letters come and go with safety at all times. Wherefore it may please you to regard the same.

The King anent his dislike of the States' Answer said to me that an Estate was not wont to allow of such arguments, and that he, if it were the Estates' answer indeed and they stood to it, would tell them they were but knaves, suppose they were his "gossopps." But this to your Honour as all things else herein. A gentleman of better birth than wit or discretion was in hand with me and pretended that he had intercepted some Spanish letters as to the rebels of Ireland, which he seemed he would have delivered me, yet he did it not, but tells me he sent them into Ireland to Mr. James Fullerton and Mr. Ja: Hamilton of the College of Dublin to present to the Council there. He said to me that he told my Lord Hamilton of them and that he should say to him that his labour would be but lost. For England would not give him a "plack" for his pains. Whether there be indeed such a matter or no I know not but judge neither wit nor honesty in this informer. Yet sometimes good matter may come to unmeet hands.

It would get your Honour great interest in Johnstone and his good friends and you thereby might do her Majesty especial service in the Borders and in the Court if you shall cause that he may be well entertained and used in England, which I commend thus to your knowledge for your advantage.

It will be very well done in my judgment that your Honour offer freely the convoy of Mr. David's letters hither and safely and speedily cause the letters to be sent him from hence be delivered; which will both encourage him to write well and gain your Honour thanks.

I hear that McSorley's man has brought letters and little "propines" to the King, the Queen, Sir Geo: Elphinstone, his mistress, Mrs. Beatrice Ruthven (Bettridge Reven) which letters are not yet delivered.

It were pity but the King's favour and especial good will to her Majesty should be at least acknowledged with thanks. For he is upon a ground never to do anything to offend her. Indeed I put him upon this ground the day he came last from Stirling, hoping I have done both princes good service therein, as also that I shall not be blamed for the same. For I protest I did it for the best. I write this because the King has opened it to some and to excuse me against any that should "misinterpretally" advertise thereof; hoping if her Majesty

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like it and thank the King that there shall nothing come to the King (importing her Majesty) but he will advertise freely, as he is resolved both to do that and in great matters concerning him . . . her Majesty's advice . . . [*Remainder of letter torn away.*] *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand. No address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Octob: 1598. Mr. Nicholson to my master."

Nov. 1. **253.** RICHARD DOUGLAS TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

Vol. lxiii, No. 51.

My Lord, your letters of the 15 of September came to my hands about the 17 or 18 of October next, whether by the longsome journey your servant had in coming hither or whatsoever other cause I cannot tell. Always he excused himself both by his long tarrying long after ye sent off your letters as also by some stay and troublesome "hinder" he had in his journey. Always so soon as they came to my hands I made the haste I could both to make his Majesty acquainted with such matter as ye wrote and to have your other particular letters delivered to those noblemen and Councillors to whom they were directed but the time fell out very contrary, for it being close time and vacance his Majesty was very quiet retired for his pastime to Linlithgow, and all those noblemen and Councillors drawn in the country to their own houses for their private affairs and were not to come to Court before the 28 of this last October, at which day this last Convention held at Edinburgh, my Lord of Angus excepted who was then upon the West Borders busily occupied in this charge committed to him by the King and Estates in the last Convention in July for pacifying of that broken country shaken loose by the particular feud betwixt the Maxwells and Johnstones. But before all other matters I made his Majesty acquainted with the particular discourse of your letter and that whole matter touching Valentyne Thomas, who after he had thought upon it as a matter albeit not so particular as by your letter which his Highness had heard of divers times of before answered to me that he was sure that neither her Majesty nor any upright or well affected of her Council doubted of his innocence in that matter but knew sufficiently that knave was either suborned by some common enemy to make him odious or else by some farther drift of others, which for this time he would not touch since he knew it would appear manifestly ere it were long, always according to that which ye set down. All these instructions were sent to Mr. David Foulis to follow as ye had wisely prescribed in your letter, albeit I doubt if the man's sufficiency be able to prosecute them according to his direction. I caused his Majesty also to be moved of the suspicion and jealousy conceived of his actions in respect of the credit that the lately restored noblemen suspected to be papists and enemies to the State had about him for the present. He answered that for frivolous suspicions he was not able to be for himself by them who were evil affected and sought a quarrel, but he would answer that her Majesty nor others of that state had any well grounded matter to lay to any of their charges, which if it could be qualified such exemplary punition

1598. should be made thereupon that her Majesty should have no just occasion to doubt his honest intention. And for the rest of that which ye desired me to do I have spoken at length with all such noblemen and Councillors as ye wrote unto, my Lord of Cassillis only excepted who is not yet come in this country, and others also who are now in credit, who are all I find of a good disposition to move his Highness not only to go forward in a friendly course and a sincere kind of dealing with that Queen and whole state of that realm in anything that might be a common benefit to all, but in particular according to that which ye craved by your letters would also move his Majesty to do what in him should lie for the quelling of the trouble in Ireland, and to intercede with all other princes his confederates that this rigour extended against the merchants of that realm in foreign parts may be in some measure qualified, wherein also they will be the more glad to deal if they can understand that it be agreeable to her Majesty's pleasure that so should be done, and therefore desires you to do what you can to learn what her Majesty's inclination is in both these matters and thereafter to advertise them. And for my own part I am surely persuaded if these matters and others concerning both these countries were rightly dealt into as ye could well advise all the obscure dealings with foreigners which minister occasions of jealousy and suspicion should hereafter cease, but howsoever it be, what I can learn of these foreign courses, as little will pass but I have the mean to understand thereof, I shall from time to time make you acquainted therewith. As for your letter directed to my Lord of Angus, because as I touched in the beginning he was upon the West Borders, I wrote to him myself, which is the principal cause that this my answer is so long delayed. His lordship was very earnest to inquire of your welfare but principally to have you to return to this country for many causes but principally for the particular state of his house whereof no man, yourself excepted, is able very sufficiently to instruct him. He was marvellously moved at the reading of your letter to think that notwithstanding his quiet behaviour and that nothing has ever appeared in his actions but an earnest desire to peace and rest, that yet he should be mistrusted and his upright meaning called in question. And albeit no man be able to judge better than yourself how little he has been beholden to that state, and least to some of her Majesty's Council who caused or procured a great part of his trouble, yet I know ye move him to do what in him lies to remove all suspicions conceived of him, and to take that course for her Majesty's satisfaction that ye will lay down to him. He has written to you himself to the which I commit you, which ye shall receive herewith enclosed. He desires you very earnestly to deal with her Majesty and Council that since this heavy burden of the whole Borders is cast upon him that her Majesty will cause order be given to all her officers upon the opposite marches, but principally to the Warden and his deputies upon the West March, for their concurrence and assistance for doing of justice and keeping of good order, but chiefly that none of the Scots outlaws, whereof there is great number, be received or entertained within the bounds of their Wardenries, the profit whereof will as well and more redound to the benefit and

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quietness of her Majesty's subjects as of the King's Majesty's. What further ye desire my Lord of Angus to do ye may advertise him, for believe me there is no one, the King his master excepted, who has that power over him that ye have. As for this present Convention it was appointed for taking order with them that remain contemptuously at the horn for non-payment of the last taxation, taking a settled course for the entertainment of the King's house, granting of some privileges to the security of those that are gone to the "conqueising" of the Lewis (Leues), setting down a course for the coin for helping of this abuse of the going of foreign coin at so dear a rate, taking order for apprehending of some Jesuits, seminary priests and other trafficking papists suspected to be come in this country, and some other particulars. What shall be concluded in them all I shall advertise you by my next. From Edinburgh this first of November 1598. Your lordship's loving nephew to serve you. *Signed:* R. Douglas.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address:* "To the Right Honourable Master Archibald Douglas for public affairs." *No endorsement.*

Nov. 1. **254. Richard Douglas to Archibald Douglas.**

Vol. lxiii, No. 52.

My Lord, I have received from your servant Robert Laing a letter directed to myself with sundry others as to my Lord of Angus, my Lord of Cassillis, to the Abbot of Kinloss, and to Mr. Samuel Cockburn, all which according to their direction I have delivered, except such as were directed to my Lord of Cassillis who is not in this country but still as yet in Carrick (?). So soon as he comes I shall see them delivered to him, albeit I fear he be not found worth the pains ye take upon him. For since his marriage he is "clengit" out of credit and estimation both here and at home with his own friends. Your letter came late to my hands, whether by your servant's long tarrying or not I cannot tell. But how soon it lay in my power to learn the King's mind and obtain my Lord of Angus's letter according as ye craved I have made the earliest I could to dispatch you this answer. And first for that in the beginning of your letter ye accuse me of contrarieties contained in my former letters which stayed you from following the course that we laid down to you, surely if any contrariety was in them it is more than I can remember, except in the first sent by my lord of Kinloss concerning his dealing for you with that Queen in the King's name, which indeed was promised unto me, albeit that promise as many others [was] overthrown by unfriends, but yet my lord of Kinloss had in his option if he thought it meet for the weal of his Majesty's service. As for the other sent by Doctor Herries (?) I wrote to you only the opinion of your best affected friends what they thought meetest ye should do for your present estate and promised to send you a man to see who should hazard himself for your transporting hither and furnish you according to his small means anything for your necessity to the sum of twenty or thirty *lib.* sterling, and this I think at his being there, so ye would have come with him, he was ready to perform, for so he promised both to my brother and me. Always, since ye thought not

1598. that course meet for you, blame not me nor think not it was a vain promise for what succour I promised then I shall be able in grace of God to perform it and more also. But I know ye have in your heart condemned me long since both of negligence and carelessness of your estate, for so much and more your servant has told me, but God knows and all those that love you in this country will bear me record what a care I have had and have daily of your estate and that I respect nothing so far as your well-being and your honourable return in your country; but it lay not in my hand to work it so soon as I desired nor yet to perform all that by letter at several times I have promised unto you, which notwithstanding I looked for assuredly and [was ?]* promised unto me by those whom I dare not as ye may think . . .* prove (?), albeit by the malice of those who had more credit than . . .* did for me and my intentions had been crossed and these promises . . .* ineffectual. But I trust these better times be occasions . . .* and the hard conceit of you in a great part removed out of his Majesty's heart, as I hope shall appear ere it be long. But to come to your letter. The discourse of your letter concerning Valentyne Thomas's lies (?) I communicated with Sir Thomas Erskine, who now deals principally in his Majesty's foreign affairs, and my lord of Kinloss and others, by whom I perceive that his Majesty has been particularly acquainted with all the proceedings used against that knave and liked it very rightly as he should, and before your letter (?) Mr. Foulis was directed to challenge the Queen both upon her promises and letters and since (?) to use that form that ye prescribe. But Mr. David had put (?) him in a careless security that if he should be executed it should be done without making any mention of the King or any in this country but only arraigned to have attempted against her Majesty's self upon his own (?) or some just considerations of what country he gave himself out to be. Since my Lord of Spynie has brought his Majesty assurance which appears to content him that that matter shall not be meddled into in any ways to his prejudice. Always, be as it will, he seemed to be satisfied. But because no man here about the King can give information of the form (?) and particular proceeding against his mother, which matter is very necessary for him to know, my lord of Kinloss and I are very busy to inform the King that, since ye know that exactly and many other particulars concerning his service, it is very necessary that his Majesty speak with you, and upon this we intend to procure a favourable letter from him to the Queen of England for that effect, which if it procure not your return, as we would wish it did, yet at least we trust it shall make you the better treated there; and this letter if it can be procured we purpose to send to you by your own man Robert Lainge so soon as possible we may. My Lord of Angus has written to you himself, so far as I could take up your meaning, even as ye desired, and albeit indeed he has no cause to love that state, yet I am assured ye may draw him upon what course ye please. His estate is hard set by great sums of money paid by him to the Duke and others for his living, . . .* part of his rent in ladies' (?) hands. He is forced to content . . .* King who has not to satisfy him to be

* Hole in paper.

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at great charges in this his office of Lieutenancy; and herefor if to make the Queen assured that he should take no course against that state, ye could quietly procure him some help of her Majesty's purse, it would oblige him to your courses and relieve his present necessity. As for me I have written this other letter after the form I thought would best please you and for to show. But in a word, albeit we "man" make the best of it, we do nothing here to any purpose. The King by his own negligence and the fault of his officers is in a miserable estate. The nobility contemns and disdains him and he them, so that scarcely three (?) of them come to this present Convention, so that I look for no good success in any turn (?) he has to do. But yet I would gladly have you in this country and so would many and all your friends, for ye might help many things to go right. I write to you by the same man that brought my last letter before, a matter touching yourself and my brother Thomas, whereof I would be glad to have your answer for I have stayed him thereupon. Ye desired that this answer should be directed by Captain Selby or the Governor of Berwick to Sir John Fortescue to you, and that I may be sure that it go thither with expedition I shall in grace of God the "morne" myself ride to Berwick that I may see them sent away. And thus to the next occasion which I hope shall be your man Robert I commend your lordship to God's holy protection. Edinburgh, this first of November 1598. Your lordship's loving nephew to serve you. *Signed:* R. Douglas.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address:* "To the Right Honourable Master Archibald Douglas for his private affairs." *Slightly mutilated. No endorsement.*

Nov. 7. **255.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lii, p. 227.

Because you may be acquainted how things pass I think it not amiss to advertise you that Mr. Foulis has now received a final answer from the Queen, whereof I take it he will make a present dispatch. For the matter of Valentyne Thomas she has stayed the arraignment, so as he stands only indicted, in the which indictment the King is not so much as named, so as for matter of record there is nothing extant. For examinations wherein his name may be spoken of by that wretch, they are mixed with other matters and those things have been shown to Mr. Foulis which concern the King, and not only read unto him but an abstract made of them and offered to be delivered him signed under the traitor's hand. Secondly, which is a most plenary satisfaction, there is an Act drawn to be signed and sealed by the Queen with her signet manual, wherein she protests as much as she wrote in her private letter, absolves the King utterly and condemns the caitiff by the same words. All these things being shown to Mr. Foulis and he being asked whether this would satisfy the King or no, he was wary in his answer, saying he would impart it to his Majesty by his letters before he could avow it, "grating" still for more as a good servant ought to do. But surely, except impossibilities should be expected,

which is to revoke a word once spoken as never said, nothing can be more done than the Queen is willing to do which may not savour of weakness. You shall understand that there have passed many bruits out of Scotland that the King had commanded his Ambassadors to speak big to the Queen, which has made her wary to grant all satisfaction unless this man could warrant her that it would be thankfully taken. And herein also arises another accident, for Mr. Foulis having pressed for the yearly gratuity her Majesty has made this answer, that upon return from the King how he accepts this her princely dealing, it shall be ready for him. For the matter of Woodrington and Fenwick Mr. Foulis had delivered many particulars which are absolutely contradicted by her Majesty's Warden, in such sort as she cannot give credit to the one without condemning the other. Nevertheless, for argument of her Majesty's forwardness to do justice she has begun thus far to him that both Woodrington and Fenwick shall be committed to custody until by further and indifferent inquisition her Majesty may see more clearly into the cause. For her good acceptation of the King's dealing with Tyrone's messenger and certifying her by his letter she has made the Ambassador acquainted, to which I refer me with divers other particulars which I leave to his information, having thought good in these two main points to instruct you against his dispatch shall come, which I think he will send me to-day or to-morrow. You have written me five lines with some ciphers which I cannot decipher by my alphabet. I pray you therefore by your next send me a copy of the alphabet you write by. And thus having given order to Craven for all moneys due to you, I commit you to God. From the Court the 7th of November 1598.

1½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "Copie of my master's letter to Mr. Nicholsone."

Nov. 9. **256**. GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxiii, No. 54.

The King so earnestly longs to hear how her Majesty takes his late letters and good will shown towards her and especially how he shall be cleared of Valentyne Thomas's slanders, as he still asks me if I have no word to him. And such whispering reports are made here by some evil disposed persons that there is not that good meant him as to clear him thereof; but the "plat" contrary to make him odious to our people and for some harder course against him, which the King yet believes not, albeit it may be he is made doubtful with these reports what to say or think, notwithstanding Mr. David's letters to him which come so seldom as he is I hear angry at him that he writes not oftener. I see if the King be honourably acquitted of this matter, I mean Valentyne's slanders, he will then run her Majesty's course and discover what he can for her advantage and be employed therein as shall please her to desire and charge him, do all practisers what they can to the contrary. But if he be not cleared of that slander his heart and his whole people's will be wounded most highly thereat; which being then espied by the evil disposed they will sure get advantage to

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their desires to attempt such practices against us as now they dare not. And that will be seen and though never so wise men should be employed here to prevent the same. I am thus plainly warned and wished to make advertisement hereof by some of the best affected who would be loth they say their King should be hardly dealt with and their land so spotted, as also that such a gap should be opened to the practisers to peril the peace and good cause, as I cannot but of my duty commend this to your Honour's knowledge, wishing so far as becomes me that the King may hear with speed in these things to dash and discredit the inventions here; or if in these matters wherein the King hopes for answer from her Majesty her Highness means to do the same by some Ambassador, that then some taste may be given the King thereof to assure him that answer will be made to him and to content him in the meantime and prevent the intents of the evil disposed here.

For this Estate it is very quiet, yet not without some doubt of the old form it is subject unto, viz. of factions and troubles rising in the same; for I hear the wise do doubt so.

I send you the proclamations I last wrote of which are proclaimed; the other act anent the 2 Conventions ordinary in the year rests to be perfected at the Convention 10 of the next, until which time no great matters are like to be dealt in, unless it be the 20 hereof, of which as I hear your Honour shall be advertised.

The Lord President is made Provost of Edinburgh. The rest of the officers are townsmen.

Mr. Francis Dacre is returned from Dumfries to Edinburgh. He and Mr. Moore live but in poor estate here and very quiet so far as I can any way learn, not meddling or dealing any way but only hoping of her Majesty's grace.

Yesterday the King rode on hunting and carried with him the 2 French gentlemen, Vitry's sons. This day they go to Stirling and on Tuesday next they return hither again. The King sends the French King some buck hounds. Edinburgh, the 9 of November, 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

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

[*c.*Nov.9.] 257. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 55.

The King is in great wonder that he hears not from her Majesty and the rather because some will needs persuade that he shall not be cleared but accused by Va: Tho[mas].

I am quietly told that the Master of Glamis is coming to the Court again for the late "platt" discovered but in a part by the Queen to the King at Dalkeith and for which the Master has absented himself. Now it is thought that it will be attempted again by him, my Lords Errol, Home, Cessford and their partners, but whether there be "platt" or what it is, no man can or dare, I see, justify it. Yet it imports some change if it speed.

Mr. Dacre and Mr. Moore say and protest if they and some others were at home again with her Majesty's favour they should do her good

1598. service with her people by showing them how doggishly the Spaniards use and contemn them when they have once got them in case of fugitives, and persuading the people to beware of their charms and keep her Majesty's favour and country while they may. They think the Spanish agents should not so prevail to draw away the people's hearts to the Spaniards, as they should dissuade the same, and as by the miserable estate they return in should be approved to the people their friends. For they cry out monstrously of the Spaniards, I assure your Honour, to all sorts of people they speak with here, to the King and all.

The King called for redress of a horse stolen from one of his domestics and neither gets redress nor answer. The horse did not only "file" my Lord Willoughby's Wardenry but the very town of Berwick also, which cannot be denied, as wherever he be the Warden must answer [for] him. If he allege that the horse and man that has him is out of his Wardenry in Hull and that therefore he cannot answer him, that is both against the law, for the Lord Chief Justice of England has been answerable and answered the Warden for a horse stolen out of Scotland yet bought by or given to the Lord Chief Justice, and also would be an evil preparative, such as the thieves seek for. For if Hull or any place out of the Wardenry were a sanctuary for stolen goods, all stolen goods on both sides would be carried into the in-countries out [of] the Wardenries and so no true men get their own, nor need of Wardens. But the truth is the Princes are bound to other for redress of such wrongs and their Wardens appointed to execute their duties, for each Prince to other has had and I think yet has (for the Scots Wardens yet have and daily prove it) a power to command redress for her Majesty in any place or of any person in England or Scotland. And therefore I have thought it my duty to commend this to your knowledge, that my Lord Willoughby may be directed to make no such answer but redress, neither of which he yet does. Nevertheless, the one is looked for here.

It is meant the Acts made in June last, which should have been printed before, and these Acts shall be now printed. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand. Addressed.* 2 *seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598, 9 Nov. Mr. Nycholson to my master. The King's desire to know how he shall be cleared in the matter of Va: Thomas. Sundry proclamations published. Francis Dakres and More live there together in mean estate." *The endorsement refers to the previous letter,* No. 256.

Nov. 12/22. **258. ANDREW HUNTER TO HENRY LOK.**

Vol. lxiii, No. 56. I salute you heartily and wish from God all good things to you, your wife, family and actions as to myself. I have written such passing news as is here to Mr. Lelie and to my Lord Bishop of London, which Mr. Lelie will communicate with you and I know your brother here has written the same which he showed to me. I am glad that he is wakened from his contemplative life to this of action. I hope God

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shall bless him. As touching my own particular the Colonel Murray holds forward his course for moving me [to] depart but I am dealing as wisely and substantially with him as I can. If patience and wisdom cannot season him I shall make him wrestle with greater competitors and give him another object than Mr. Andrew.

I have found out clearly that John Naismyth whom the Colonel convoyed this time twelvemonth to Zeeland when he passed to Brabant and Flanders was most secretly familiar for the space of 16 days with Colonel Paton who betrayed Guelders to the enemy and with Mr. John Hamilton, Jesuit, and returned immediately to the Colonel before he went to Scotland and that he was in the Cardinal's court divers times. But I know all their negotiation ceases in respect of the absence of the Cardinal. Then ye shall mark the change of things in Scotland now silent to utter the renewing of the negotiation. I look that ye are careful with my Lord Bishop of London in my particular for I would gladly be home [in] this troublesome state of the wars for my calling and studies and family's sake. I hope with what diligence I can to visit you and therefore it will please you go to my Lord Bishop and let him know indeed that I repose upon his lordship and therefore am with the first occasion to address myself over to England. I have written to his lordship such current things as are here but I pray you pass and excuse my homeliness in so doing. I hope in better subject to speak and write to his lordship and as ye write to my Lord Bishop of Durham salute him in my name. The Lord preserve you, your wife and family. From Hague (Hagh) in Holland, the 22 of November, *stilo novo*, 1598. *Signed:* Mr. Andro Hunter, minister of the Evangel to the Scots Regiment in Holland.

1 *p.* *Holograph, with address:* "To the Right Honourable his loving friend, Mr. Hary Lok esquire." *No endorsement.*

Nov. 12/22.

259. Andrew Hunter to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxiii, No. 57.

The person, who is "suspect" to carry the letters and credit from these parts to Sc[otland], was here this last summer; is looked for again now hastily. His name is John Young, secretary sometime to Colonel Stewart in all his turns. It shall be well done if he touch your coast to have regard to him, or if he come through England. There is one Mr. Alex[r]. Dickson who sometime depended on my Lord of Leicester, professor of the art of memory. He is looked for here to come from the court of Scotland and under pretence of seeking preferment and refusing mean conditions to be dealing with enemies, for he is an enemy of your state. Have also regard to him and cause try out his actions, society and pretences in Scotland if it be possible by some that can do it. Colonel Murray and Captain Hamilton would gladly have me removed from this side of the sea and use the King of Scotland's authority to effectuate it. But I deal as circumspectly as I can and they shall not prevail without deciphering of their dealings to the States here. I keep up your Honour's letters direct to Monsr.

1598. Barneveldt as I have occasion. From Hague (Hagh) in Holland, the 22 of November, new style, 1598. Your Honour's to his power. H. (?).
½ *p. In Andrew Hunter's hand, with address. No endorsement.*

Nov. 20. **260.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 58.

Mr. Foulis being a little in physic to rid a cold has desired me to make known to your Honour such matter as by discourse and questions he has drawn out of Sir Walter Lindsay who is now borne home having the King's licence to return. If he will conform himself to the laws and so satisfy the Church he may remain and enjoy his living. Otherways, he must take pains to travel again, for there he may not stay. His brother, the late deceased Secretary, procured this for him upon hope that he might be converted.

He says that for most certain this young K[ing] is more vindicative than his father and that he ever urged his father to a substantial form of invasion of this land. He says that upon the fields since and before King Philip's death he has been very familiar with this King and likewise in the house, whom he finds so far from peace with her Majesty that he says he had rather to be boiled quick to death than to be unrevenged of this country.

He says that he was present when the King and Council "condused" with an Italian to furnish him of 12 galleons, every one of them to be of 1500 tons and that they should be garnished for the wars with ordnance and all kinds of furniture. Every one of them shall bring in them ready to be put together at a short warning certain galleys that draw little water for to land men with or to go up rivers, which vessels shall carry the cannon and are already framed after the manner used in Venice. Their keels shall be put together and all their upper work ready framed to put upon them at their pleasure.

He says that of certain the King has 140 ships ready, whereof the most part lie at Ferrol (Pharoll) and that he has 30,000 men ready and these ships before his coming out of Spain, and since he came to the Low Countries he swears that he saw with his eyes there, other thirty thousand mustered.

Mr. Foulis replied often and so drew out matter thus far and then thus. The King of Spain has great cause to make all this preparation and more for the Low Countries and for Ireland, where he would gladly give the Queen here something to do that so he might divert her forces from coming upon his coasts.

He said they know nothing; yet thinks the King of Spain will either make such provisions either for the Low Countries or Ireland, for they know what proportion the States use to set to the fields and they equal that and better it something and so they mean to keep them [at] work. They know that about 7, 8, 9 or 10 thousand men is all that the States can do ordinarily and for to encounter these they prepare, 10, 12 or 14 thousands for that service and what greater forces is found there to be ready must of necessity be purposed for this place. For as for Ireland he never means to send any force of Spaniards there for they die and

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cannot brook that country. But he will assist them with money and leaders to govern and discipline the forces. He says he will give his head for it if any great force go from hence to Ireland this spring.

Mr. Foulis asked why.

Because without all doubt there will be cause to use their forces at home and their best commanders also.

He says that he was present when Portugal gave in their complaints that our nation had taken from them since the beginning of these wars 30 millions, and he says that he said to the Secretary that it was not possible that their loss could be so great. The Secretary replied that he had a note of all that was shipped and customed for the King in the Indies, and of what came of that for Spain or Portugal, and that he found their losses to be much more than that sum.

This is that which Mr. Foulis could for the time try, and if he find any more worthy of advertisement for her Majesty's service he will most gladly perform it to his best. For I perceive a very honest disposition in the gentleman and a great desire to carry good contentment to his master, whereof he seems to gather great assurance from her Majesty's princely promises, and he swears to me that he is no gladder of his master's contentment than of the good offices that thereby he knows he shall be able to do for the good of the amity and increase of perfect love more particularly betwixt the princes than heretofore has been, whereof he says the time seems not only to allow but necessarily to require. London, 20 November 1598.

It may please your Honour to return my letter and the Master of Gray's letter when your pleasure and leisure will permit. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Vol. lxiii, No. 59.

Extracts from the foregoing letter.

1⅓ *pp. In the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed.*

Nov. 20. **261.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 60.

On Friday morn I received Mr. David Foulis's packet signed by your Honour for the convoy thereof, which presently and safely I delivered. Whereunto now by this packet enclosed the King returns answer to him, which packet it may please you to cause be speedily and safely delivered to Mr. David. The King acknowledges himself much beholden to her Majesty and renders thanks for her care and good will to him anent her offer of acquitting him of Valentyne Thomas's slanders. Yet he is very desirous further that all examinations and records of Va: Thomas wherein his name is touched may be drawn out of record and given to Mr. David that nothing thereof may remain against him. He still protests his innocency therein and his love to her Majesty, marvelling still how the man could imagine or yet can stand to such untruth never thought on by him; as also still hoping that God will never let Va: Tho: die without recanting those inventions. Wherein I see the King still in comfort that he will not

1598. die in them but cry *peccavi* when he comes to be executed. And for the Border cause the King says he is well content with her Majesty's order therein, saying he can crave no more but that the 2 gentlemen be kept safe until he prove what he alleges against them, which he says he shall and is good reason he do. But all these and all others he refers to Mr. David's letters and dealings. Always now Mr. David's letters have discredited all the forged inventions that were whispered here, and contented the King and many of the best subjects knowing now how the King is dealt with. But all these and others to Mr. David and his travails. And where I wrote that Sir Walter Lindsay was returned home, the King tells me he heard and thought so, yet he assures me he is not come but that my Lord of Spynie left him sick.

On Thursday the French young gentlemen rode with the King to Dalkeith and took leave of the Queen. On Friday they ended their hunting here. On Saturday the King kept close to write with them. On Sunday he banqueted them and this day took leave on them and so rides to the Queen to Dalkeith, who now is to take her chamber I hear. God speed her well.

This estate is marvellous quiet, yet there was a great fray at Aberdeen between the Earl Marischal and Errol's followers, which some judge will trouble the North, yet I think it will turn to nothing.

The laird of Johnstone went into England the 9 hereof hoping to have found by my Lord Scrope's means her Majesty's safe conduct; yet he found it not for which he is sorry and humbly desires that he may have that favour which he will by all means seek to deserve. He is fortunate, stout, honest and may be steadable to her Majesty, and has the King's licence and only gives place for a time in his obedience and love to the King. It were therefore not amiss that he found that favour or at least that Lord Scrope were written to to receive and entertain him with kindness and to safe and protect him in England, because he has many enemies where he is. In this Mr. David is to solicit her Majesty in the King's name I hear and is so directed by these letters. And yet the laird's great friend the D[uke] is gone towards the Isles and my Lord of Mar at Stirling, so as this comes of the King's own disposition to the laird. Edinburgh, 20 November 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address.* 2 *seals. Endorsed.*

Nov. 23. **262.** THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND AND SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD SCROPE.

Vol. lii, p. 228. We have shown unto her Majesty your letters directed to us severally and to one end and have received commandment from her to let you know that she does very well allow of your discretion in not answering before her pleasure first had, and for direction now her Majesty thinks it fit that you let the King know that having acquainted your sovereign with the King's licensing the l[aird] of Johnstone to pass out of Scotland into her Majesty's dominions and with his desire to you that he might have free passage through your Wardenry at

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all times, you are willed to make this answer: that although his desire for any subject of his (not ill affected to the amity) to live in her country shall not be denied, yet for any such standing warrant to all passing liberally up and down, especially upon a Border, it is no good precedent in these broken times in those parts of the Borders; though in effect he shall have as much liberty as he can desire, for if the l[aird] of Johnstone will give you notice when and where he would desire to remain quietly for his own commodity or ease, that her Majesty's pleasure is that he shall be protected and warranted by you; and whensoever he will acquaint you with his purpose or desire to remove or pass to and from any parts or quarters, he shall have your letter and passport for all favourable and good entertainment. And to this effect if you notify to the King what you have received, it is that which is agreeable with her Majesty's pleasure.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "Copy of my Lo. Chamberl: and my master's letter to the Lo. Scroope." *And in margin:* "23 No: 1598."

Nov. 23. **263.** INFORMATION CONCERNING GEORGE MOORE.

Vol. lxiii, No. 61.

James Reade, Englishman, of Wethermillet in the barony of Grestop in the county of Cumberland, dwelling in Copenhagen (Copmanhaven) this 23rd of November came to me at Elsinore in dutiful manner protesting his fidelity to her Majesty. He signified that one George Moore, a tall black man with a "bunche as a wenn" on his right cheek came from Spain to his house about the beginning of September with his wife, four children, 2 boys, 2 girls, one man and a maid, tarrying there with him 3 days. In talk he signified he was bound for Scotland intending by means of that King to recover his estate in England, being in Lancashire at More Hall. He had hope to be maintained in Scotland for that he was informed the King entertained all such Englishmen as came unto him and namely Francis Dacre (Dakers). *Unsigned.*

½ *p. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. 23 Nov. Relation of James Read concerning More now in Scotland."

Nov. 25.
Dec. 4. **264.** WILLIAM HUNTER TO JOHN WILLSON.

Vol. lxiii, No. 70.

Yours I received at Brest the 4 of December dated at Pembroke the tenth of November, whereby I understand of your safe arrival. I would be most glad to meet with you here that we might have had conference together concerning John Beveridge's (Bevrage's) direction. I thought to have come to Milford to you but my wife would not let me in no ways because she said that the pest was there. As concerning the price of salt the last that was sold here was for 5*l.* the tun. Prices are come down greatly here. The "turs" is 40 bushels and three bushels and a half will fill a "bristo" barrel. John Beveridge has written to me that ye and he have "frawchtit" a Frenchman and that

1598. his intention was that she should have come hither with her lading of salt and I to have paid her "frawcht." If she had come, I should have done for her as if she had been my own. Or if ye come hither I will do for you as for my own brother. But if ye come here I cannot assure you of the market, but that the last was sold as said is. If George Logan come I shall do all I can for him, but I am sorry that he comes to such a low market considering the great market that has been here, which was 12*l.* the tun. If he had come hither I would have had some venture with you.

I have here enclosed the just copy of two bonds or obligations due to me by a Fleming merchant called Burchart Bruckman who lodges in the house of Melchior Buen Aventura in Lisbon. I have sent likewise a full power to you to receive the same and have put in John Descosse our countryman in it with you because he is known to be a man of credit there. Ye shall deliver this other letter directed to him, wherein I have written that he should deliver you the money and that I have "frawchtit" your ship to be laden with that money which if he pay not that I shall be forced to pay you waste "frawcht." Therefore if he refuse ye shall take attestations before a notary of his refusal and then perchance he will offer to deliver you goods which ye shall take at such prices as they give there. If he will not nor cannot give you neither money nor goods, then ye shall see if ye can "gar" him make an obligation of the whole sum which is one bond of 120*l.* and another of 70*l.*, is 760 ducats at ten "ryells" the ducat, and let this obligation be made to John Kyle and John Beveridge to be paid at so short a day as they can, because they may then get the law of him the day being expired, which now we dare not pursue because the obligation was made in England. My good friend, I pray you to have a care in this and do for me in this matter as I shall do for you in anything ye will charge me. For there may be a great circumspectness used in this business with this man for he is wise and I trow he be honest. But if he refuses all conditions then ye may tell him that ye shall find a means to discover him and all his affairs which will perchance bring him to agree with you, but whether he do or not "mell" not with him nor do him no harm. I have sent two full powers here enclosed, the one of them is to John Descosse and you, the other to John Descosse and John Beveridge. Therefore ye may use any of them which ye please but if ye come to Lisbon yourself then it shall be best ye use it that is in your own name. If ye come not then ye shall use it that is made in their two names. Let me see your earnestness in this matter and how effectually ye will deal for me in it, as I shall do the like for you in anything I can. Ye shall inform John Descosse at large all the circumstances of this matter for I have written to him but short, referring the declaring of the purpose to your letter, which I pray you inform him for he will give you his best counsel for my sake. And if ye get payment of the said sum, ye shall lay it in pepper and cloves, to wit three quarters pepper and one quarter part in cloves but no salt without the tun which is 40 bushels may be sold here for 3*l.* 5*s.* I pray you, if your affairs may permit you, to come hither to Brest, that we may confer at length. I marvel ye send not a post to me of purpose

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as I have done this to you, for I never received your letter till yesterday. Wheat is worth here 3*s*. 2*d*. and 3*s*. 4*d*. the best of the market the bushel, which is but 8 gallons, "aites" 11*d*., beans 2*s*., barley 20*d*., rye 2*s*. 6*d*. per bushel. Brest the 4 day of December '98. *Signed:* Will: Hunter.

Postscript. If your return, God willing, be to London then shall ye direct yourself to Mr. John Williams, goldsmith, the sign of the Cross Keys in Cheapside, or if ye send me any letter or any other thing direct the same to him who will send it safely to me.

Ye shall note that both these bonds are forfeited on double payment for non-payment at their due day. But if he will pay the principal willingly, then ye shall not be rigorous to him because I am assured he will consider the want of my money so long, for as God lives I have paid it every penny. *Signed:* Will: Hunter.

I send with the other letters a letter written to me to Brest from Lisbon with his own hand, wherein he promises to make me payment. Let him see it and I believe that will make him very afeared, because he writes to me advertisement who dwells in England, of the making ready of the fleets there, which he may say he dare not avow, but ye shall not do him no harm for all this. As I said before his letter is written in Flemish which ye shall cause some honest merchant man of our standing read to him if he will not agree with you.

I have the King's Majesty's great seal at a patent to trade to Lisbon and likewise cockets of Edinburgh. If ye had been here I could have let you have them upon some conditions, and likewise a close mission from the King to the Governor of Lisbon, Don Juan de Silva, Conde de Port Allegre. Therefore it were good ye had them with you both for one cause and other. If ye come here we may perchance agree on the matter.

2¾ *pp. Holograph, with address:* "To my verrie loving freind Jhone Willson, Skoteshe marchandt, at Millford or Penbrock." *Seal over which is written:* "Even now I have received your second letter for I closed this present, wherein is an answer to both your letters." *Endorsed.*

Nov. 27. **265**. GEORGE MOORE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 62.

It seems your Honour's serious affairs will not permit you to have a poor man in remembrance; and the distressed estate into which I am fallen by carrying a dutiful mind to her Majesty and like affection to my country is such as I am not able longer to endure but shall be forced (if her Majesty refuse to grant me grace) to seek for relief where I may obtain it and not to perish here in misery. Wherefore I am bold to trouble your Honour once again, presuming that, as I always found my Lord your father my most honourable good Lord, for to obtain your good and gracious favour towards me, which I will endeavour to deserve by all means I can. Therefore I most humbly beseech you to procure me one drop of her Majesty's most princely

1598. grace for the relief of my poor wife and children and that by you I may know how my poor good will and desire to serve her is accepted. For I am ready to do her Majesty any service lies in me, either here or in any other part of the world. I can (I hope) have correspondence with a friend in Spain and another in Flanders (if so it may please her Majesty), whereby from time to time I can have understanding of their proceedings. For as I wrote to her Majesty that the Spaniards have intention to subdue this island, now that their King is dead her Majesty had need to be more vigilant than before. For I having discoursed sundry times with divers of great calling and of no less sufficiency, as well Spaniards as others, I found that they imputed great zeal to the King that dead is, but had a full assurance that this King would go through with matters against England and that not only his nobility, captains and commons were most willing and desirous thereof, but all the world besides ready to give assistance for the spoil of our country, which I protest makes my heart to bleed to think thereupon. For though religion be their cloak and pretence, spoil and to bring our country in bondage is the mark they shoot at. Therefore I pray her Majesty may providently provide for and prevent such mischief. And though the Earl of Westmorland has some imperfections, yet upon my knowledge he is very sufficient in the field under another for charge either of horse or foot, and I am privy that the Spaniards would not have him to seek to her Majesty but mean to employ him when time shall serve. Wherefore, for her Majesty to pardon him (considering his hearty and humble repentance and dutiful behaviour towards her Majesty since his banishment) were a most gracious and princely part. For Seneca says that forgiveness is a most valiant kind of revenge and Julius Cæsar held it the greatest honour and comfort to him to pardon those that had injured him. And to draw my Lord of Westmorland from the King of Spain's service and for her Majesty to allow him some competent means in any other country where it might please her to appoint him to live would in my opinion greatly import her service and the good of our country. And if it please her Majesty to respect him herein, I will undertake he shall most humbly and gladly accept thereof and most faithfully serve her in time to come. Wherein I humbly desire to know your Honour's pleasure for he expects some answer from me.

My poor wife understanding of the late death of her father is desirous to see her mother, who dwelling at Swillington in Yorkshire is very aged and not like to live. But fearing that she upon her entrance into England should be stayed or troubled and that her mother dare not receive her, I most humbly beseech your Honour to grant her leave and your protection that she may pass and be received, giving no other offence to her Majesty or the state but only as duty and nature bind her to visit her mother. Edinburgh in Scotland, the 27 of November 1598. *Signed:* George More.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

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266. DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 63.

I am advised in this matter of George Bruce to request your commandment to one of the Clerks of the Council to cause an officer make citation to Newton counter party to compear at the first Council day to hear himself decerned to make satisfaction to the said Bruce, at which day my Lord Keeper has promised to see the matter put to such point as equity will crave. *Undated. Signed:* D. Foulis.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "27 Novembr: 98. Mr. Foules to my master."

Nov. 27. **267.** DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 64.

I have received these letters presently from Scotland, the one to her Majesty from the King my master, the other to yourself from Sir Ro: Melville. Ye will be acquainted with the cause by your own letter, whereunto if your good assistance shall bring any furtherance ye will not fail to receive many thanks, her Majesty many blessings and the Council honour for their good justice. I must entreat your pains to deliver her Majesty's letter, I not being willing to trouble her myself till I hear from his Majesty of his own affairs. I look to know your mind in Mr. Bruce's matter with the bearer that it may be put to some point in time.

I am likewise to entreat you for a passport to Sir Walter Lindsay, knight, brother germane to the laird of Edzell, with his two servants, who is to repair presently to Scotland, upon their own horses or, if need be, upon post horses at their own reasonable charges.

Another passport also for five Germans who come to this town expressly from Paris to see the town, her Majesty's houses and the Coronation day, and now presently will return the morrow (God willing) accompanied with a Scottish gentleman called Mr. James Graham to Paris again.

You see how willingly I never cease to oblige myself to your favourable courtesies as I will still do to these "whom of" I hope to deserve their best thanks, craving pardon for this burden of trouble I give you altogether. *Undated. Signed:* D. Foulis.

1 *p. Holograph with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "27 Novembr: 98. Mr. Fowlis to my master."

On a slip of paper attached:

The names of the Germans.

"Philippus Auidergrin.
Julian Abasfeild.
Jo: Lodouicus a Mittelhosen.
Goffrid van Zulenburg.
Daniell Lamesdefer."

Mr. James Graham, Scottishman.
F.

In David Foulis's hand.

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Nov. 28.

268. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 65.

On Saturday last the King's Ambassadors, Mr. Peter Young and the Bishop of Aberdeen, returned to Edinburgh having been well entertained and "propined" with chains of gold by the King of Denmark and princes where they were; all who, so far as yet I hear, have all preferred her Majesty before the King and advised the King to deal no way concerning his title so long as her Majesty lives, but to keep good amity and peace with her Highness and no way to hazard the offending of her; and promised when it shall come to be the King's cause, as they said it was not so long as her Majesty lived, to aid him thereunto, and in the meantime, in case the King was sure he saw cause to doubt that her Majesty would do anything in his prejudice, they would send to her and entreat her for the stay thereof. And this is all I yet hear of their answers. Always, the King is very pleasant and seems well contented with them, albeit it is noted by some that these 2 have spent the King's money and filled their own purses and had but this slender answer they say. On Monday the King rode to the Queen to Dalkeith, whither the 2 also went to deliver to the Queen all the compliments they have to her and to acquaint her with all. These men bring word that Doctor Lerkins is in the parts where they were negotiating for her Majesty, as also that the King of Poland is beat back and defeated, lying at Danzig to make more forces to go against Duke Charles the next spring, and for which the Lord Dingwall is to come to take up some 2 or 3000 men here, as he has written.

The King I hear has heard and says that there are employed of seminaries and others and sent abroad 24 persons into England, France and this country to take away the lives of the Queen's Majesty, the French King and himself. He hears that Mr. James Gordon sought of 3 ships to have brought him home, who refused to receive him, saying they durst not. Unto whom Mr. James said he would warrant them and they should land him at Leith at 12 hours on the day, for he was to come and reason with the King and convert him. But the King scorns at it, yet says he shall hang him and he get him.

This estate is marvellous quiet. The Master of Glamis who was judged to have had some "platt" still in hand for some alteration and was charged off the town has now obtained leave I hear to come to the town and follow his adoes and that "platt" is now thought broken utterly.

The Earl of Menteith is dying here at Edinburgh and the Lord Secretary who rises marvellously has got the ward and marriage of his son.

The King has not yet communicated but will have Angus and Errol to communicate with him, and some think Huntly also, but I see no sign of it for Huntly dare not well come to these parts without too great a strength and charge.

The Comptroller continues still sicker and sicker, as I am in doubt he is in danger. I pray God keep him for he is very honest and well affected to religion and the amity.

I send you this letter enclosed from Mr. Moore, whom I keep

James VI.
1598. new watch of and surely can see no practice with him. At Edinburgh, 28 of November at night 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. Mr. David Foulis has written that Sir William Bowes is to come hither. If it be so I hope he shall do good offices for her Majesty's service.

1¼ *pp. Holograph. No address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "28 Novembr: 98. Mr. Nicholson to my master. The Scottish Ambassrs' return from Denmark and Germany. Their answer."

Nov. 30. **269.** ROGER ASTON TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxiii, No. 67. I have according to your desire sent you this bearer with such matter as has occurred here since your departure. This last night his Majesty coming from Dalkeith to Holyroodhouse being the ordinary day of Council, after the rising about 6 hours at night, the King going to his supper, I going to my own chamber met two men, the one being a young man and the other an old man, they inquired of me for Sir George Home. I told them he was in his Majesty's chamber. They desired me to do them favour as to get them a word of him, which I did. Coming to Sir George the old man says "I am Mr. James Gordon come here to cast myself in his Majesty's mercy." Sir George presently told his Majesty that such a man was come and what he desired. His Majesty presently commanded the Abbot of Kinloss to take him to the castle of Edinburgh till further trial be taken of his intention. His coming is diversely conjectured. He is to be examined this day and thereafter such order to be taken with him as shall be thought convenient. It is his Majesty's purpose to try his coming with all severity. At your coming you shall understand further of all things. By all appearance there will soon [be] great matter discovered by this man's coming. I can write no further of this purpose for the present. The Comptroller has demitted the office of Collector and Treasurer of the Augmentations to Mr. John Preston. This I have thought good to advertise you of in case any other report come to you. So to our meeting God be with you. This day I am riding to meet the Treasurer at Linlithgow, who has been long looked for. Holyroodhouse this Thursday at night late, the last of November. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

1½ *pp. Holograph, with address:* "To my very loving friend Mr. Gorg Necolson, lately employed in her Majesty's service in Scotland." 2 *Seals. Endorsed:* "Last of Novembr: 1598. Mr. Aston to Mr. Nicholson concerning Mr. James Gordon."

Nov. **270.** INFORMATION OF GEORGE BRUCE.

Vol. lxiii, No. 68. His ship the *Bruce* coming from Ferrol and with purpose to England or Scotland for their best market was met upon the sea by a man-of-war of England called the *Julyene* belonging to one Mr.

1598. Newton, master whereof was one John Clerk, and one other man-of-war, master whereof was one Petefer, having in their company 2 pinnaces which they had taken with men, "negers" and "Portingals" in them. Which *Julien* shot at the said *Bruce* and enforced her master to come aboard and bring his boat and carry away the "Portingals" and negroes from him and his prizes unto the *Bruce*. And the other man-of-war also put in some negroes into the said *Bruce*, in all to the number of 52. The *Bruce* being thus pestered with "Portingalls" and negroes to discharge herself of them returned towards the shore of Portugal to set them there on land. But being about 6 or 7 days upon the coast of Portugal one other man-of-war whereof one Busbrig was master meeting the said *Bruce*, by reason of so many "Portingalls" and negroes which were in her taking her to appertain to the subjects of the King of Spain, took her as a prize and brought her into England and detained her so long that before she came to Leith in Scotland where she discharged, what by the wines which the "Portingalls" spent and other waste which was committed while she was detained, when she arrived at Leith, 21 tuns of her wines and much of those which were left by long remaining on shipboard in the hot time of the year were much decayed, whereby George Bruce, the owner of the said ship the *Bruce* and wine and other [goods], was "indamnyfeid" about four hundred pounds. This matter was proved by the depositions of certain of the mariners of the *Bruce* examined here in Scotland by commission from the Lord Admiral of England.

This matter being heard before the right honourable the Lords of Privy Council of England at the Council table, although many objects were made against George Bruce's proof for the manner hereof not done in process judicial and a contrary process made, yet the Lords not being tied to forms of law took it that it was proved that all the damage which happened to the said *Bruce* came and was by the fault and occasion of the *Julyen* and her company by shooting at her and compelling her master to take in the "Portingalls" and negroes, without which she had gone safely on her voyage; and therefore that she was to miss the same. But by reason that greater affairs took off the hearing of the cause they could not be sufficiently informed at the Council Board of the proof of the quantity of the damage, neither what course they should take for the satisfaction thereof because although the *Juliane* gave the occasion of all the damage, yet they thought that Petifer's company was also in some fault and Busbrig might likewise. And therefore they rested in some deliberation whether they should contribute to Mr. Newton towards the satisfaction, or whether they should pay their parts thereof immediately to George Bruce and also Mr. Newton of so much. And therefore [they] referred the further consideration thereof to the right honourable the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord North, Sir William Knollys and Sir John Fortescue, four of the most honourable Privy Council; who once heard the same but by reason that George Bruce being called away out of England, attending upon the Lord Ambassador of Scotland, could tarry no longer in England about that business, the same took no good end or order but remains still as the Lords left it at their last hearing at the Council

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1598. Board. Every owner which set out a man-of-war is bound or should be bound that he shall not misuse a friend. *Undated. Unsigned.*

$2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Endorsed:* "1598 Nov. The information of Mr. Bruce a Scottishman for a matter of a depredation."

[1598, *c.* Nov.] **271.** ADVICES FROM GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxiii, No. 50. I am told, but whether true or no I know not, that Mr. David is directly to deal for safety of Valentyne's life. If it be, he has ere this attempted to move for it or will do it; which is strange if it be so.

15. (David Fowls*) has most earnestly written, I hear, that .00. (Nycholson*) may be looked unto and all things kept close from him and .00. sees more strangeness thereon than was wont. Yet .15. will be the little better by God's grace. 116. is sending if it hold to .119. and sure something is hid that I know not; as therefore it were good that some were here once to take away all the jealousies and see to these matters, as also to draw on some fruit to the honest spoiled subjects in these realms by the late treaties which many wise and honest both marvel and grieve should be thus lingered. The King has heard something of Sir Wm. Bowes which he is displeased with Sir Wm. for; yet it will easily pass over if Sir Wm. be employed. It is a strange intelligence the King has. I hear he is also angry at Mr. Porter of Berwick, Mr. Wm. Selby. Every wrong how little soever be done to his subjects is hardly pursued as the hunting accident, which indeed, though there be good colour for it, I wish had not been as it was. If the wrongs done ours were gently called on again, it were not amiss, I think. But when I have said the faults done to England were greatest and yet but pursued friendly and the King's own time attended for redress, it has been said there is no wrong equal to the King's mother's death. For these causes and Irish matters it cannot choose but be profitable to her Majesty's service that Sir Wm. were here and then by God's grace some things lying now dead will discover and work for the best, I hope. For good may be done out of this country to that service. And I still continue my conceit that this winter and next spring will be dangerous for practices here.

Cessford is minded to travel and my Lord Home also, as that "platt" with Glamis is at an end apparently. Yet things are so uncertain here as I leave all to time.

I have heard, but in great secret, and so I beseech your Honour to keep it, that .116. was troubled in his chamber in his sleep and has taken conceit that .100. shall outlive him, and thereon has written an apology and rule how his son shall be brought to succeed .100. to that place and how all shall be governed for the attaining thereunto and government of .116. possessions also, but the particulars I know not. Always this is given in trust to one to keep. I like not of these conceits nor know not what they mean.

Some are in purpose to persuade the King to beware of Moore as

* Interlineated by Sir R. Cecil.

1598. a man of that religion and as one that may be employed in the errand that the other 24 are in, and they mean to put the King in fear of him. Yet the King has given him protection to live untroubled here in Scotland. The Master of Works and he are inward and great. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement. The cipher* 116=*King James;* 119=*the King of France;* 100=*Queen Elizabeth.*

Dec. 1. **272.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 69. Mr. Foulis was joyful to go to her Majesty with his good news of the King's good acceptance of her pleasure of the matter of Thomas and he returned far better contented to see her Majesty's gracious and princely "contentasion" therewith. I perceive he is in great hope that she will deal very bountifully with the King at this time, wherethrough he doubts not but to do such offices as in despite of the devil, the master of unkind men, they shall have small power or place for their villainies.

For this malicious papist here I know not what to say of him, for I know it is he that the Lord of Spynie meant, and he it is that he means to work on, and of him would have had some speech of the grounds that were then in hand but that the place where her Majesty was then was narrow and Sir Hugh Carmichael present and others; and besides her Majesty offered no occasion of secret talk in the matter. Besides he is so precise in the matter that he would not consent that any living soul other than her Majesty either here or in Scotland should know that he would meddle with any such matters. And I know that till this man be unloading at home there will be nothing to be had of worth, for as yet there could have been nothing said but of projects, and when the time fits I know Spynie will know most of any, and he I know will be ready and willing to serve her Majesty, so he may be secret only with her. Your Honour told me that her Majesty was much distasted. You see the reasons why she had no more at that time but by this dread of displeasing her by other men's errors I am driven in that doubt that when like occasions offer I dare not but be silent lest other men's faults be laid on my neck. God is my judge and witness that out of the zeal of my soul to her Majesty's service I have ever done my best and never for hope of either gold or goods for hitherto I never commenced suit, for I know I can deserve nothing but by good thoughts and there is none that pays for such wares but God Almighty. I would wish that Mr. Foulis should be at home before this papist, first that he might sow his wheat before he came with his cockle, and next that he might find himself alone a little to see how he would take the matter; and as I said at the first I see Mr. Foulis has place of credit and great ear for affairs here and he shall have the keeping of all other papers whatsoever of secrets and therefore I wish that he were made "beheldinge." I take the man to be honest, wise and well affected or else I would be loth to say so far or yet to trust a Scot again after

James VI.
1598. him. I beseech your Honour to direct me in these cases for I would be loth to break my neck with going in a far path. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "First of December 1598. Mr. James Hudson to my master."

Dec. 2. **273.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 53. Coming to Berwick to have done some needful things for myself with Sir William Bowes, who being gone for some few days from thence, and returning yesterday to be this day in Edinburgh, I received this letter enclosed sent by Mr. Aston with my man to me, the effects whereof I leave to the letter, beseeching your Honour to pardon my thus sending to you in a bit of paper; for I am not at this time on the way furnished with more. Good Mr. Aston remembers and still does his duty as you know and may see. On Monday the King at "disjune" said of Mr. James Gordon, as in my last I wrote I heard part of the words coming in at the King's "disjune," and I doubt not but the King will acquaint her Majesty with what he finds in his return. Always the time is da[ng]erous as it might [be] good for her Majesty's service that Sir Wm . . .* me were here to see to matters now and to bestow for discovery . . .* ings. There are more Jesuits than he here doing no good offices. From the highway near Dunglas the 2nd of November [*sic*] 1598, being Saturday. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. I hope within few days to learn more of his coming which I judge to be for practice; which when I do your Honour shall know with diligence. It may please you in any case to keep Mr. Aston's secret from Mr. David.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "2 Decembris 1598. Mr. Nicholson to my master from Barwick."

Dec. 5. **274.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 71. The King having caused Mr. James Gordon, still prisoner in the Castle, to be examined, and willing that her Majesty should understand the truth of such matters as is discovered by Mr. James, has directed my Lord Secretary to advertise Mr. David Foulis all the same that he may impart all to her Majesty that by misreports the truth be no way altered nor no other than the truth credited by her. Whereupon, my Lord Secretary even now showing me the same gave me this packet enclosed and prayed me in the King's name to haste it away with speed, which I thus do accordingly, referring all to Mr. David's report to be made thereof. Which packet to Mr. David it may please you to cause safely and speedily be delivered to him. Always, the good and best affected are in great suspicion that some great matters are in hand and brewing here and in especial against her Majesty and England. And yet I hear not that Mr. James has discovered any-

* Small hole in paper.

1598. thing of moment anent her Majesty or country but these to Mr. David.

This estate is very quiet. Huntly has written and the D[uke] to have the Convention the 10 hereof, which was meant should be great, stayed and continued till further day. And the D[uke] has written plainly for hindering the choice of a Chancellor, doubting Mar should be chosen Chancellor this Convention, and for Huntly, who is judged shall be soon after the Convention very strong here, to labour the cause himself.

The Comptroller is recovering his health, yet has turned his offices of Collectorships to Mr. John Preston, a follower of Mar, at which the Secretary is scarce pleased.

What other news may fall out the 10 hereof I know not, but leave all to the sequel. The Lord Herries is now written for I hear to come to the King. Thus much for convoy of Mr. David's in haste according to the desire of the King. At Edinburgh, 5 December 1598. *Signed:* Geo: Nicolson.

Postscript. The Earl of Menteith is dead on Sunday night last.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil.*

[1598, *c.* Dec. 5.] **275.** [GEORGE NICOLSON] TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxiii, No. 72.

00 (Nicholson) never writes but he advertises 29 (Mr. Aston) if 29 (Mr. Aston) be in place, because he may advertise what 00 (Nicholson) cannot, which coming to your Honour is all for the service. Great suspicion is had by the best affected of Mr. James Gordon's thus coming and bold repair to the King's chamber door at the first. 00 (Nicholson) is wished away and 116 (K. of Scots) has been dealt with to discharge 00 (Nicholson) as I hear or at least to be ware with him and keep all secrets from him. It were (many of the best affected judge) very requisite and profitable for the service in these dangerous days that Sir Wm. were here with whom such as were my master's friends dare best deal. And 00 (Nicholson) says he will show Sir Wm. the way how the depth of the secrets may be known. It is whispered Mr. James was set on land at Dunbar with 3 Englishmen and one other for this country and with 20 others for England, but whether these be tried or not I know not as yet. Always the King seems to be in fear of his life and now careful to look to strangers. 2 men of Berwick coming hither about their honest affairs being apprehended upon suspicion and information made by an Englishman here of almost a distracted humour, one Fell sometimes a merchant of London that were better out of the country than here. I hear the King accounts he cannot touch Mr. James Gordon's life with honour, seeing he came into his house to cast himself in the King's mercy. I hear Mr. James says that the last time he fled was without order; but now he looks to be sent away and then will never come here again. Always the ship he came in is not known what she was, but judged to be once directed for the purpose to land the sworn practisers on the coast of England, Scotland and the Low Countries for the lives of her Majesty, the French King and Count Maurice.

James VI.
1598.

107 (Erroll) is quiet in 116 (K. of Scots') house and 2 men with masks on their faces have been with him and have quiet recourse to him and others as I hear.

The ministers have examined Mr. James who is obstinate, yet yields to conference. He would have the King to deal mildly with the Catholics and to keep clean from hurting them. But these and what the King means to do anent Mr. James to Mr. David's reports.

"Pater" will be here at the funeral of Menteith. Then he shall know what is done to "Filius."

There is purpose for Huntly to seek the Isle of Mull (Mula) from young MacLean but will not hold. The Duke's journey to the Lewis stays and he is with Huntly.

Sir Tho: Erskine writes to Mr. David by the King's direction some more than the Secretary does to Mr. David. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand, the deciphered names shown above in brackets being inserted by Sir R. Cecil. No endorsement.*

Dec. 6. **276.** DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 73.

In hope that my dutiful care in the King my master's service shall be found by you sufficient to plead my just excuses for my so oft importuning you, I will yet be bold to entreat your pains to remember her Majesty of my dispatch, whom to my humble suit shall be not to suffer any occasion of further stay here to no purpose to be given me but that my return may be hastened for the doing of such good offices as my wits, credit and care shall be able to perform. *Undated. Signed:* D. Foulis.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. 6 Decem. Mr. Da: Fowles to my master to hasten his dispatch."

Dec. 9. **277.** PROCLAMATION OF NON-INTENTION TO DISCHARGE THE ASSEMBLIES OF THE KIRK.*

Vol. lxiii, No. 74.

James, etc. "Forsamekle" as it is understood to us and Lords of our Secret Council that sundry evil disposed persons, enemies to the religion, common weal and quietness of our realm, have of late raised a bruit and seditiously would make the common people believe that we had discharged all conventions of the Kirk and preaching and ordinary hearing of the Word, sessions of the Kirk, presbyteries, synodal and general assemblies, taking of our Acts of Council and proclamations made 24 November last, whereby only all unlawful convocation of our barons and other our lieges by the said ecclesiastical judgment, but no wise the convening of themselves in ordinary form was and is discharged; therefore we with advice of the Lords of our Secret Council have declared and by these presents declare that neither

* Misdated. Should be 9 December 1596. *Reg. of P.C. Scotland*, V, 343-4.

1598. the words, meaning nor intention of our said Act and proclamation following thereupon was nor is anywise to discharge any lawful assembly of the Kirk established by the laws and Acts of our Parliament, but that the said sessions of the Kirk, presbyteries, etc. and all acts lawfully made by the said ecclesiastical judgment and also to the hearing of the Word shall stand and be used as of before as they are established by the Acts of our Parliament; declaring that it was never our intention to impugn nor prejudge the same by the said Act and proclamation nor by no other way but only to discharge the unlawful convocation of the burghs, barons and others our lieges in arms or otherwise at the desire or by the authority of the said ecclesiastical persons or judgments in any tumultuous form or of any other lieges without our licence. Our will is therefore and we charge you straitly that incontinent these our letters be seen ye pass and in our name and authority make publication of the premisses to all and sundry our lieges by open proclamation at the Market Cross of our burgh at Edinburgh and other places needful, wherethrough none pretend ignorance of the same. Given under our signet at Holyroodhouse the 9 of December and of our reign the 30th year, 1598. *Per actum Secreti Consilii.*

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Endorsed:* "The King's proclamation containing his purpose and mind not to discharge the lawful assemblies of the Kirk."

Dec. 14. **278.** ACT CONCERNING THE SECRET COUNCIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 75. Printed in *Acts of Parl. Scotland*, IV, 177, 178. *Cp. Reg. P.C. of Scotland*, V, 499, 500.

Act limiting the number of members of the Secret Council to thirty-one, whereof sixteen to be earls and lords. Seven to form a *quorum*. Days appointed for procedure. Powers given to the Council upon outbreak of any trouble or riot. Penalties for continued absence from the Council without licence. 14 Dec. 1598.

2 *pp.* *Draft.* *Endorsed:* "Secreit Counsaill."

Dec. 16. **279.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 77.

On Sunday last the King and his Household received the Communion at his chapel at Holyroodhouse and the Lord Secretary and Sir Robert Kerr also received it then. But the Earls of Angus and Errol did it not as was looked for, Angus being in the town here at the sermon at the College Kirk and Errol (that lodged in the King's house) being gone away some few days before. Always some suspect them, yet no fault found with them because they have received the Communion in their own parishes. On Saturday night the King dealt for agreement of Cessford and Buccleuch and made them friends in his cabinet on Tuesday morning. Since which there was no greater familiarity between them before Thursday night at supper at the Earl Marischal's; yet some doubt it will not last nor is heartily between them but only for obeying the King. On Monday the Earls of Angus, Marischal, Cassillis, Montrose and others of the nobility

James VI.
1598. went to the King looking to have fifteen to Council. But the President, Treasurer, Advocate and Mr. Jo: Preston being at the marriage of my Lord of Newbottle's daughter to the laird of Innerwick's son, the King stayed their coming and upon the same directed them with the Secretary and Mr. Ed: Bruce to go together to Council in the Tolbooth to advise and set down what things should be treated on at the Convention; which that night they did, the Lord Secretary drawing notes thereof to be given to every nobleman and other of the Convention, which was done accordingly, one of which I send your Honour enclosed. Some of the noblemen thought themselves scorned and not well used, that the things to be dealt in should be turned to the choice of those Councillors without them of the nobility. Always no fault was found thereat. On Tuesday they all met at the King's house which was guarded with the King's domestics in warlike manner to keep out the great back and followers of the nobility who were very strong here. And being set to Council, the Lord President and Secretary reasoned hard to have had the 2 half yearly Conventions established as before I certified you. But the Earl of Mar argued against the same, accounting them nothing differing from Parliaments but in the ceremonies of honours. And Mr. Ed: Bruce but by way of a "touche" noting the nature of this people, the great factions and dangerous practisers here, said that "propped" Conventions was the way to give advantage to practisers and greater treasons than he durst speak on, which so entered into the King as presently that matter was dashed. The money is to be cried up again upon better advisement. For other matters I refer your Honour to the notes enclosed.

The Duke by his letter to the King required that such as were in his lieutenancy for the Lewis service might be excused to attend him for that service, which the King granted. So as Huntly nor none of them of the North came to this Convention. Always, I hear Huntly is upon coming and some great faction in hand. My Lady is come to the Queen to attend her delivery.

The Lord Secretary was very strongly guarded this Convention with 20 chosen men of my Lord Home's and many other of his friends in fear of some "platt" against him; and he has for his strength, doubting yet some hurt, increased his household. The King wrote very earnestly and sent Ro: Stewart to the presbytery of Duns to will and persuade them to release my Lord Home from excommunication because he offers to satisfy the Kirk and banish all papists, Tho: Tyrie (Tyry) and the rest, out of his bounds. The King said that if they did it not he would give my Lord his warrant to pass where he pleased in Scotland and converse with all men. Always, the presbytery gave the referring answer, saying they were discharged by the Synod Assembly to do anything in that without their advice, adding they would send to his Majesty their answers thereunto by some of the Kirk.

It is meant here that some shall be sent in embassage to France and the King repents him he sent no sooner. My Lord Seton or Lord President are thought shall be employed.

Mr. Dixon is now also to be sent into the Low Countries.

1598. Nothing will be done anent Mr. James Gordon till her Majesty's pleasure be returned of what she would have him examined and her advice what should be done with him. The King longs now again very earnestly to hear from Mr. David Foulis.

Angus complained to the King of the Grahams for making an incursion and taking away goods of the Water of Milk from Johnstone's friends, which was the more regretted that it should be done, the Lord Lieutenant having upon pain of death forbidden any to ride in England and Johnstone being as it were banished in England. There [is] now some appearance he shall shortly have liberty to return home.

The King intended to have had the advice of the Convention how he should have prosecuted the hunting accident; yet yesterday he left it and other matters to the Council and rode to the Queen to Dalkeith. But they have yet done nothing in it but are to do by Cessford's advice. I have as good regard to this matter as I can, as you shall know after. Yet the parties are here pursuing it.

The Duke is with Huntly at Bog of Gight (Boggygight), intending to go to the Lewis when Colonel Stewart shall bring him word that the Lewisers are landed in the Lewis.

A Scotsman come out of Portugal has told me that the Spanish army lying at Oporto (Port a Porte) is scattered by reason of the pest and that an Irish ambassador landed there having the King of Spain's commission as he was served with horse with all diligence and so rode to the Court there; that there were 24 Jesuits and learned men with him; that they passed thither in a ship of Aberdeen from Lough Foyle. This man tells me this ambassador was as he can remember sometime a companion in the Low Countries with Colonel Norris. At Edinburgh, 16 December 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, with address.* 2 *Seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Note of business to be transacted at the Convention.)

Vol. lxiii, No. 89. Matters to be entreated at this present Convention.
Anent a settled order of Conventions.
Anent a resident and steadfast Secret Council.
Anent punishment of rebellion.
Anent provision of armour and "wappinschawingis."
Anent the exercise of the Monday.
Anent the West Border. *Undated.*
1 *p. No endorsement.*

Dec. 16/26. **280.** ANDREW HUNTER TO HENRY LOK.

Vol. lxiii, No. 86. I received your letters together with my Lord of Durham's. I thank his lordship and you. I hope God shall give me time and means to discharge the duty which I owe and am willing to repay

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1598.

to you both. I wrote unto you before but I fear my letters were not delivered till this time. Let me be holden fresh in my Lord Bishop of London's memory for my retreat from these parts is instant. Your brother has been and is here in the Hague with my Lord Governor since his first coming. What pleasure I can show unto him both yourself and his own discretion obliges me thereto. I understand there have been often great conferences and meetings betwixt my Lord Bothwell and Mr. John Hamilton, Jesuit, and others, whereupon has followed on his directing to Spain. There are some new made priests or Jesuits, Scotsmen, and one or two Englishmen of the north parts sent in the Island above two months since, to what place I know not. It is a loss if there is not one to attend on Zeeland. It will please you to salute my Lord Secretary in my name. As touching Col. Mur[ray] I deal as wisely as I can with him and hope to find out betime what are the dealings of some. Commend me heartily to your wife, to Mr. Lely and his wife and cause deliver this other letter to Mr. Inglis and the other to Mr. Hay or else keep it till my coming if he be not in the town. I look with delight to come over to you but I will not transport my family till the spring. Wherefore I pray you look out for some means that I be not an idle man there. From Hague, the 26 of December 1598. *Signed:* Mr. And. Hunter.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To the honourable his assured good friend Mr. Hary Lok esquire presently at London."

[1598, ? Dec.] **281.** [GEORGE NICOLSON] TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxiii, No. 78.

I have heard that Angus of late moved the King in consideration of his service to give him only leave to use his conscience as he pleased, whereon the King scorned and gave him plain denial.

The Kirk are in great suspicion that the true religion here will be shot at and the King in danger. Some of them have plainly uttered it in pulpit and some of them said and inveighed against the passing out of the country of the nobility to the Jubilee, whither are gone and to go 15 earls and lords of this country and which they would have called home and stayed to prevent the practices that they judge these noblemen shall return with. Mr. James Gordon makes merry in the Castle still wishing the matter of religion might be disputed on by equal numbers, etc. The ministry put in petition to this Convention that the Acts made anent Jesuits and trafficking papists might be put in execution and Mr. James Gordon put to his trial thereupon and convicted, but had answer of the King that what he could do of himself the Convention should not meddle in, with fair words.

The King, being dealt with to stay the marriage of Sir Jo: Kerr until the Kirk might have the opinion of the learned of other countries whether it might be lawful or no, said: "What? that would but show the ignorance of the Kirk here. Let the laws decide it."

The King when he reconciled Buccleugh and Cessford said to them as I have heard that they must for his sake and service "comport" with their displeasures and agree; for he was to use their service and would employ them.

Mr. Dixon goes for getting some books made upon the Title and other matters concerning that cause to be printed for to be cast abroad to make plain the King's Title and for other instruments to be ready against the time of use of them, which I pray God never be in my time. This I hear.

116. (the King) seeing 00. (Geo: Nicholson) writing do him no pleasure, and through 15. (Mr. Foules) advice also, directs all to 15. (Mr. Foules) and sometime causes others to write, who have this advantage that their friend writes letters to them, that their letters do good, which is showed to 116. (the King), but 00. (Nicholson) wanting all help keeps the quieter he says and wishes some were here, Sir William or any else.

The Earl of Mar in this Convention hearing the noblemen leave all to the King's pleasure said it was not well that they should not freely give their advice as Councillors which the King well allowed of.

I heard that the laird of Johnstone hears that my Lord Scrope has received her Majesty's safe conduct for the laird, but neither gives it him, speaks to him nor will suffer him to stir from whence he is, which sure is not the best course; for these people will soon remember and requite such treating if it be so.

I humbly beseech your Honour to keep these and the Scots writings very secret, lest Mr. David thereon increase my hindrance hereafter in these things.

The King will write to Mr. David again anent the hunting accident so soon as it is resolved on. I have wished the King and some of the Council to handle the matter with courtesy, and it is said to me it will be so.

The King and Kirk are not like to agree for the Monday holiday for exercises of war and the terms of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, which the King says he will not establish holidays, yet will not hinder the keeping of them. And other things increase great suspicion of their disagreement.

I send now no other Acts than that for the new estate of Council. The rest shall be sent by my next, and yet they are of no moment to our estate.

00. (Nicholson) tells me he never writes but he advertises 29. (Mr. Aston) if he be in place and gets his letters to your Honour, because you may have as much as 00. (Nicholson) can get. And this time he stayed for the same. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1¼ *pp. In G. Nicolson's hand, the decipherments of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil. No address or endorsement.*

Dec. 18. **282.** ACT OF COUNCIL CONCERNING THE COINAGE.

Vol. lxiii, No. 79. Printed in Cochran-Patrick, *Records of*

An Act of Council anent the "cunzie," concluded at Edinburgh 18 December 1598.

Cites Act of Estates 14 Dec. concerning coin. One ounce of silver of 11 *dwt.* fine of foreign coinage to pass for 50*s.* Scots, and one ounce of

the Coinage of Scotland, I, 192. Calendared in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, II, 264. Cp. *Acts of Parl. Scotland*, IV, 178, 179.

silver, 11 *dwt.* fine of Scots coinage to pass for 53*s.* 4*d.*; one ounce of gold, 22 carat fine of foreign coinage to pass for £30; one ounce of gold, 22 carat fine of Scots coinage for £32. The value of the following foreign coins is fixed. Spanish "ryell" *wt.* 21 *dwt.* 8 *gr.*, 45*s.*; "croce" dollar, 22 *dwt.* 12 *gr.*, 44*s.* 8*d.*; fifteen sous piece, *wt.* 7 *dwt.* 12 *gr.*, 15*s.* 6*d.*; French teston, 15*s.*; English teston, *wt.* $\frac{1}{5}$ *oz.*, 10*s.*; old thirty shilling piece, *wt.* 1 *oz.*, 53*s.* 4*d.*; the two part thereof, 35*s.* 6*d.*; the third part thereof, *wt.* 8 *dwt.*, 17*s.* 9*d.*; new thirty shilling piece, *wt.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *oz.*, 40*s.*; new twenty shilling piece, *wt.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *oz.*, 26*s.* 8*d.*; old ten shilling piece, *wt.* $\frac{1}{4}$ *oz.*, 13*s.* 4*d.*; new ten shilling piece and Scottish teston, *wt.* $\frac{1}{5}$ *oz.*, 10*s.* 8*d.*; half-mark piece, 7*s.*; Spanish pistolet, *wt.* 2 *dwt.* 14 *gr.*, £3 4*s.* 8*d.*; crown of the sun, *wt.* 2 *dwt.* 14 *gr.*, £3 6*s.* 8*d.*; "Hary" ducat, *wt.* 5 *dwt.* 15 *gr.*, £7 5*s.*; "gun-hall" angel, *wt.* 3 *dwt.* 22 *gr.*, £5 2*s.*; angel noble, *wt.* 3 *dwt.* 22 *gr.*, £5 5*s.*; double ducat, *wt.* 5 *dwt.* 10 *gr.*, £7 2*s.* 8*d.*; Ghentish noble, *wt.* 5 *dwt.* 22 *gr.*, £7 17*s.* 4*d.*; "Harie" noble, *wt.* 5 *dwt.* 10 *gr.*, £7 3*s.* 4*d.*; old rose noble, *wt.* 6 *dwt.*, £8; Portugal ducat, *wt.* 1 *oz.* 4 *dwt.*, £37 3*s.* 8*d.*; Thistle noble, *wt.* 6 *dwt.*, £8 5*s.*; "hat piece," £4 14*s.* 8*d.*; Lyon noble, *wt.* 4 *dwt.*, 10*s.* 8*d.*; half-mark piece, 7*s.*; Spanish pistolet, *wt.* 2 *dwt.* 14 *gr.*, £5 4*s.* 4*d.*; new five pound piece, *wt.* 4 *dwt.*, £5 6*s.* 8*d.*; the fifty-shilling piece proportionately. All former rates abolished. This foreign money is to be brought in to the Cunziehouse before 1 February next, after which date it is not to be used as current money on pain of forfeiture. No gold or silver to be carried out of the kingdom.

Printed by Robert Waldegrave, Printer to the King's Majesty. 1598. *Cum privilegio regio.*

Broadsheet. The above, especially in the rates of the various coins, varies considerably from the Act printed in Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland *under date 14 Dec. 1598.*

Dec. 20. **283.** CONFESSIONS OF VALENTYNE THOMAS.

Vol. lxiii. No. 81.

Collection of the principal points in Valentyne Thomas's confessions concerning the practice against her Majesty's person. Subscribed by himself 20 December 1598.

Valentyne Thomas otherwise called Thomas Alderson or Anderson confesses that his access to the King of Scots was principally procured by one John Steward of the Butt[?er]y who keeps the King's door and that he repaired to the King at sundry times and in sundry places and amongst divers speeches of many things concerning the state of England and her Majesty's person the King fell one day into some speech of the Lord Treasurer, whom he wished Valentyne Thomas to kill as having ever been his enemy about the Queen; which fact when Valentyne undertook to execute, after some speeches how it might best be done, the King further replied: "Nay, I must have you do another thing for me, and all is one, for it is all but blood. You shall take an occasion to deliver a petition to the Queen in manner as you shall think good, and so may you come near to stab her." And

1598. Valentyne told the King that it was a dangerous piece of work but he would do it so the King would reward him thereafter. And the King said: "You shall have enough." And after this Valentyne took his leave of the King and said he was to go to Glasgow for a time to his kinsman's wedding. And the King said: "Go as you say to Glasgow and then come again, when you hear that Sorleboy is come." And so he left the King and the laird Ardkinglass (Arkinglasse) came to the King. *Signed:* Valentyne Thomis *and by the following witnesses:* John Peyton; Edw. Coke; Tho: Flemynge; Fr: Bacon; W. Waad.

1 *p.* *Endorsed:* "Confession of Val: Thomas subscribed with his hand and brought by Mr. David Foullis 15 January 1598."

Copy of the foregoing.

Vol. lii, p. 229. $\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*

Dec. 20. **284.** DECLARATION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH CONCERNING VALENTYNE THOMAS.

Vol. lxiii, No. 82. Whereas one Valentyne Thomas otherwise called Thomas Anderson, a lewd caitiff born our subject, being apprehended on the Borders has delivered (without torture, menace or persuasion) diverse informations of practices contrived between the King of Scots, our good brother, and him for the taking away of our life, for which he was promised great reward by the King when it should be performed; forasmuch as it appears unto us that notwithstanding such satisfaction as we have given him by our former private letters (wherein we have declared how far we were from belief in any such accusation), he remains still much grieved with the scandal of such an imputation and has for that respect both by his letters and a special minister of his own with great earnestness moved us to deliver some testimony in more public form of our opinion of him; although we are no way bound to yield account to any person on earth of any our actions more than in love and kindness; yet we have now resolved in respect of the contentment which we receive by his denials and his detestation of any such purpose or practice, together with his so large profession of friendship and amity inviolable towards us, for further confirmation of our good will and sincere meaning towards him to add this writing to our former respective proceedings in the carriage of this action, whereby we testify that as we have been careful (even since his cradle) not only to preserve his estate from that danger in which it was like to fall but to conserve his own person in safety; so when we consider him to be a Christian prince of honour and religion (and judge him by the measure of our own mind towards him in all things) we do hereby profess to all to whom these letters shall come that we do give no credit to such things as the said Valentyne Thomas has affirmed against our good brother in any sort, but do still remain ready to continue all kind offices in as ample form as heretofore we have done without receiving any cause to the contrary. At our Palace at Westminster the 20th day

James VI.
1598. of December in the one and fortieth year of our reign. 1598. *Signed:* Elizabeth R.

1 *p. Placard seal. Endorsed:* "Valenten Thomas. By Mr. D. Foullis, 15 January 1598."

Vol. lii, p. 230. Copy of the foregoing.
1 *p. In the hand of Cecil's clerk.*

Vol. lxiii, No. 83. A Scottish version of the same. It concludes as follows: "Not only we do give no credit to such things as the said Valentyne Thomas out of malice had affirmed, but do hold and repute his speeches and depositions against our good brother to be false and contrived, forged and invented by him and therefore as we do give no trust unto them, so we will and declare them to be void and ineffectual and that they shall have no faith nor credit; and we ourselves shall still remain ready to continue all kind offices," etc.

1 *p. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil (?):* "A draght concerning Valentin Thomas, 1600" [*sic*].

[? Dec.] **285. David Foulis to Dr. Julius Caesar.**

Addit. MSS. 12503, fo. 425. I will pray you to show all the favour you may with sane conscience to this poor complainer and suffer not in equity a gate to be left open for "filshing" under colour of lawful prizes. I am not hereby to descant upon your laws but refer that to your own wisdom. Only thus I crave for the poor men, expedition and no offer of wrong. I look also for your warrant to "intromett" with the *Dragon* of Bristo[l] which is arrested at one Ously his instance, for my Lord Admiral promised that the Scottish complainers should be first satisfied before all other, for the indignity of the fact craves no less. There is some goods of the Norrises in the ship arrested also to the value of 60*l.* and more in their elder brother's house to the value of 40*l.* I wish that your warrant might be directed for the touching thereof and such order to be taken for the redress of the rest as ye shall think expedient, for I will cause some others to come here for the final ending of all things with full power from the party grieved and interested. *Signed:* D. Foulis.

Endorsed: "1598. The Scottish Ambassador, Mr. Foulis. In the behalf of the poor Scottishman that was robbed by the Norrisses and their company."

1 *p. Holograph, addressed. Seal broken.*

Dec. 21. **286. David Foulis to the Earl of Nottingham.**

Addit. MSS. 12503, fo. 21. The friends of Jasper and John Norris and one Paul have been instant to have them reprieved for a month with promise that they will to the uttermost of their power by the good help of their friends give

1598. satisfaction to the party for so much as they are able, if in the mean time they can agree with the party for so much as they are able to do. I with consent of party will be well willing that their execution shall be delayed for such a time if it be your lordship's pleasure, providing that it do not prejudge the party's further and full satisfaction, which I look for, as it has pleased you to give direction. For it is not the life of any man that is sought but only redress of losses, which to obtain in greater measure I will be a suitor to you that the reprieval may be till such a time and that the persons convict may be kept in sure custody. London, the 21 of December 1598. *Signed:* D. Foulis.

Endorsed: "21 Decemb. 1598. The Scottish Ambassador's letter for the reprieving of Jasper Norris and others."

1 *p. Holograph, addressed.*

[? 1598, Dec.] **287.** NOTE CONCERNING JASPER AND JOHN NORRIS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES.

Addit. MSS. 12503, fo. 24. A note of what restitution Jasper Norris, John Norris and the rest of their poor and condemned company are able to make for the safeguard of their lives.

Inprimis Jasper Norris and John Norris are willing to give all that they have or can procure of their friends, which is 12*l.* of copyhold land yearly to be paid unto John Norris and 20*l.* which is given them by their grandmother which is in their eldest brother's hands and 40*l.* which their eldest brother will give at any reasonable time; the which is all they can make or can procure for the safeguard of their lives. *Signed:* Jesper Norris, John Norris.

John Paul (Powell) 15*l.* which is all he is able for to give for the preservation of his life. *Signed:* John Paull.

John Ayer is willing to give 8*l.* which is all that he has for the preservation of his life. *Signed:* John Ayer.

Richard Yearet and John Jenkins are very poor men and are not able to give anything.

1 *p.*

c. Dec. 23. **288.** REGISTER OF COINAGE.

Addit. MSS. 33517, fo. 19. The Register of the five pound pieces and fifty shilling pieces of gold with the "remeidis" of weight and fineness. The assay of "ilk jornay" put in the box . . . kept by me David Dickson, compter warden since the entry of Thomas Foulis as tacksman to his Majesty of his Highness's "cunzehous" and first days printing of gold in his time, which was upon the 16 day of November 1598.

16 Nov. 1598 — Printed in the said five pound pieces and fifty shilling pieces of gold "ane pound aucht unce wecht, fynes and grane" and one half under. The assay put in the box, just weight.

James VI.
1598.

25 Nov. 1598 — Printed in the said five pound pieces and fifty shilling pieces of gold. Two pound "aucht unce foure deneiris" twelve grains of weight, fineness two grains under. The assay put in the box. "Hawie on this jornay" twelve shillings six pennies money.

1 Dec. 1598 — Printed in the said five pound pieces and fifty shilling pieces of gold. Three pounds fourteen "unce wecht" fineness and grain and one half under. The assay put in the box. "Lycht" on this "journay" fifty shillings money.

9 Dec. 1598 — Printed in the said five pound pieces and fifty shilling pieces of gold, four pound "ane unce ellevin deneiris" of weight. Fineness just. The assay put in the box. "Lycht" on this journey "aucht" pound, fifteen shillings money.

15 Dec. 1598 — Printed in the said five pound pieces and 50 shilling pieces of gold three pound ten "unce" weight, fineness and grain and one half under. The assay put in the box. "Lycht" on this journey five pounds money.

Sum of the whole gold past the "irnes" since the 16 day of November 1598 to the 23 day of December next . . . 15 *lb.* 9 *oz.* 15 *dwt.* 12 *grs.* which was the time that the said Thomas Foulis possessed the said house as one of the two tacksmen.

$1\frac{1}{3}$ *pp.*

Dec. 23. **289.** DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 84.

I will presume to wish that her Majesty may be remembered to specify in her letter to the King my master her resolution that Val: Tho: shall in no case be arraigned without his Majesty's privity and consent; to take knowledge of his Majesty's proclamations touching Ireland; not to forget the late discovery of the rebels' offer unto him; with many other demonstrations of his affection and good disposition to the maintenance of her Majesty's estate. This I have thought necessary to be advertised of in case it should happen her Majesty to take occasion to write before I have the honour to see her. I will reserve my mind in the matter of the money to my own relation, assuring myself (notwithstanding whatsoever warrant is passed) that her Majesty will not leave such a "yett" of great miscontentment open at so small a price as a thousand pounds; when his Majesty shall find that the effects of my negotiation shall not prove my several assertions either shall I be thought ridiculous in promising effectual kindness and yet shall report but words, or his Majesty thought to be lightly regarded when at such a time as this his demonstrative affection, his intense concurrence in all honourable actions with her Majesty, his deserved contentment shall be out-balanced with a mean sum of money. I persuade myself that her Majesty's wisdom will yet consider more

1598. deeply in the matter and grant not what is desired but what is expedient and profitable for herself, for it is not "losed" that may be rendered in the own time *centuplo cum fœnore*. I send unto you a letter sent me from Mr. Secretary of Scotland at the King's command, a further testimony of a noble and kind disposition which I pray God may produce the like in her Majesty's mind. I will prepare myself to receive her directions in this matter and all other things wherein my humble service may be steadable to the maintenance of the amity. This 23 December 1598. *Signed:* D. Foulis.

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

Dec. 25. **290.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 85. Yesterday morning at 3 of the clock the Queen began to travail and was delivered of a daughter at 5 of the clock the same morning. This day the King feasted his Council in honour of the day and was very merry and said he would still do so so long as he lived. The President is sick and was not there; neither yet was the Treasurer there. [*In margin:* The Earl of Glencairn and Lord of Newbottle were also absent, yet here and invited.] This town hereupon has more regarded the day than was accustomed. I mean not all but a greater part thereof than was judged; yet in quiet sort for avoiding the reproof of their pastors who, with such as are zealous, like not hereof, but judge this to be a beginning of further liberty and a drawing near to our Church injunctions as they term them. Many of the nobility are gone and to go out of the country, which is thought not convenient by the wise and honest by reason of the danger of the time and earnestness of the enemy to draw all men of accord to their bias. Whereof the King takes not that regard that is wished for staying of them.

This estate is very quiet, the matter between the Earl of Mar and his competitors, the Lord Livingstone and the rest, being referred to the President and others and like to receive good end. The King longs now again very earnestly to hear from Mr. David, how he ends the matter of Valentyne Thomas, as also how her Majesty takes his advertisement of Mr. James Gordon. Upon word from Mr. David or upon his return if he be coming with his dispatch, the King is determined to write to her Majesty that the hunting accident may be tried by 12 on the side of Borderers and condign punishment given as it shall be found meet: for so it is advised in Council I hear. All others I leave till further occasion. At Edinburgh, 25 December 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. The King has written for my Lord Home and some of the ministers of that presbytery of Duns to come hither that he may end the matter and get my Lord relaxed from the excommunication.

The Lewisers are safe landed in the Lewis and have taken the little castle there. The Duke is to go to them. Huntly claims a justiciary over them, which grieves them as they have sent to the King to discharge Huntly to claim it.

The haste of sending to France is now stayed. Again money is

James VI.
1598. scant. If that flowed here many things would be then done that are not.

1 *p. Holograph, with address and signature:* P. Wyllughby. 2 *small seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Two papers annexed:

(1) Out of the country. Earls of Argyll, Gowrie, Bothwell [*struck through*], Sutherland, Montrose's eldest son.

Earls to go out of the country: Marischal, Caithness, Crawford.

Lords out of the country: Sanquhar, Sempill, Master of Gray. Dangerous [*written against the two latter*].

Lords to go out of the country: Home. Cessford will be sure dealt with and found dangerous.

In G. Nicolson's hand.

(2) The extraordinary keeping of this day by the King is judged by many to proceed from some advice and policy of our bishops in England between some of whom and the King some think there is an intelligence. The Kirk and zealous persons much regret the observing thus of the King this day. What will follow I cannot tell but the Kirk doubts much of the worst; and if they shall preach against it I suspect it will renew old griefs, which needs not. For the King is but hardly persuaded of some of them and the papists increasing strangely in this country will not be a little glad at any displeasures to fall between the King and Kirk.

I send your Honour a note of the names of such as [are] gone and to go out of the country, so far as for the present I can remember, judging it a very meet matter to our Estate to have the King moved to stay them. I hear Gowrie is become a papist. But the King takes little care to this and yet sure it imports him most to see to it, unless he accounts otherways of it than he has cause, except he have other policy than I will conjecture. Some go to the Jubilee, some to keep themselves free from meddle in the King's affairs and in state matters which are accounted to be altogether misgoverned and neglected. The Treasurer is dealing now in great earnest to turn his office into the King's hands or to whom the King please, and the honestest think themselves happiest in least meddling. I pray God that good follow these unjustifiable malcontentments. But sure things cannot very long put off over thus. The new Council which is framed as near ours as they could will be seen to little effect either for mending of those matters of the King's affairs and state, or for long last in this Estate.

If it be convenient it were good that Sir William were here or some of account to keep the King and Kirk in good terms for there is need to do it, to stay the going away of the nobility, and to satisfy the King anent Valentyne Thomas's matter, and clear all jealousies between the princes and to deal in Border and Irish matters, so far as shall be thought meet. For the least of these are of no small importance. I doubt not but Sir William shall do good as much as may be or any man else of no greater state notwithstanding the devices used to move the King against him. *Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand.*

James VI.
1598. Dec. 27.

291. Queen Elizabeth to King James VI.

Vol. lii, p. 231. Printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.* (Camden Soc.), pp. 127-8.

If the argument of her letter should have the theme his messenger's late embassy chiefly treated of it would yield such a terror to her hand that her pen should scarce afford a right orthography. It may suffice therefore that he nor other king ever met with a better mind nor a rarer intent which has been uttered at full in her signature to such a grant as she supposes he might have asked of many kings and lacked such a furniture. The best new year's gift she can give him shall be that in his greatest causes he heeds well from what spirits the counsels that he will follow come, and God send him His grace to make a true "scantlinge" betwixt what is pretended and meant and judge aright betwixt what seems may be his best and what must needs be in deed, so that he never do aught that may endamage himself with thought to do him good, nor wrong his best friend that means him but good and yet will not abide a wrong. For his own dominions she wishes him guide them so as no innovators mar the fashion of his old government, remembering that there be in governments diseases that be in show not dangerous but in continuance perilous. Requests that he will remember the mind of the giver not the meanness of the gift. E. R.

Postscript. "This gentleman I assure you hath acquitted himself very faithfully and discreetly in his charge."

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "Copy of her Majesty's letter to the K: of Scots with her own hands," *and in margin:* "27 December 1598."

Dec. 30.

292. Henry Lok to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxiii, No. 87.

These enclosed with a letter from Sir Francis Vere I received yesterday, which for that they in part concern things fitter for your Honour (and withal a letter for yourself is enclosed) I therefore herewith send as they are unto you, craving the return of my own letter with perpetual command of my best ability to serve you. If the view of the discourse I last wrote of touching [Colville ?] or my further relation of particulars passing thereon between them may be acceptable to you, I shall be ready to wait on your Honour of purpose. This 30th of Dec. 1598. *Signed:* Henry Lok.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

[1598, Dec. 31.]

293. Queen Elizabeth to George Nicolson.

Vol. lii, p. 232.

Where we had ratified under our seal and signature in private and patent forms sufficient assurances to the King our brother of our perfect love and amity in a time when diverse circumstances of his proceedings towards us had given us cause of unkind exceptions, even in matters of great consequence, though we banished belief that he had ever harboured such barbarous practices as were reported of him, we found his servant Foulis still troubled because we had not continued

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1598.

the credit we gave him of verbal relations with some particular assurance mentioned in writing what the King might expect should become hereafter of the lewd traitor Valentyne Thomas. We have been pleased therefore to yield thus far to his importunity as to give you charge, being our minister, to fortify his reports thus far: that if either consideration of future danger to our person by this example (which is without precedent) or purpose to scandalise the King's honour to the world (whereof he has conceived so many causeless apprehensions) could have prevailed with us, the question of the wretch's life or death had been long since determined. For if it be rare to find any person left alive that is "convinced" [*sic*, ? convicted] by other men's witnesses for a crime of such a nature, how strange, nay how improvident, a course is it for a prince (in whose preservation so many souls have interest) for private respect and kindness to any person to lend that creature life whose own confession of undertaking to destroy our person makes his own process without use of other testimony for his condemnation. But seeing that which is past needs now no other repetition and that it is not our natural to turn over the leaves of former benefits, we will end the discourse of this unpleasant subject with this promise, that as we have been content to spare this caitiff for the King's sake only, so shall he not need to doubt (if he shall bound his actions and counsels within limits of due respects and kindness towards us) but we will still be precise in calling that to any further question, which may leave on him so dangerous blots and reputation. And further, to the intent he may plainly see that we are loth to smother any causes of unkindnesses, you shall also let him know that after we had been informed by our own Ambassador from Denmark and otherwise of divers propositions made to that King and other princes by his Ambassadors, we did also see the copy thereof in writing sent from the Secretary of Scotland by the commandment of the King his master, wherein though we will so much presume upon the King's respect towards us, as if he had not been transported at that time with sudden and unjust rumours, that he would never have been wrought to handle so impertinently with other princes a matter of so sour and distasteful nature to any prince as the bespeaking aforesaid by public embassy assistance for the recovering of that estate and fortune in which Almighty God has placed us an absolute and free monarch with[out] help or dependance of any but God's ordinance. Yet surely, when we examine the form as well as the matter in diverse places, we must needs conceive unkindness both in the King's sudden resolution and to suffer his orators in Denmark for want of other solid arguments to "farse" their propositions with such lewd reports of our valetudinary state, when we bless God for it, not only his own ministers' eyes see the contrary but all other persons see and find us as free from knowing what sickness or imbecility means as any prince or person that breathes. And therefore surely this course might have well been forborne, even for the King's own honour, lest the enemies of our common amity shall think it was a figure industriously used to draw us and our fortune to be contemned. To conclude, we desire the King our good brother to believe and judge us by ourselves and

1598. not by rumours; and seeing he both expects and finds good correspondency in us and our councils (who have not thought or expectation of aught he professes but his love and sincere friendship) he will be pleased (in regard the world is full of his expectations when our days be ended) to be careful that no *boute-feux* or factious subjects of his use his authority or name to colour any unkind or contemptible courses towards us or our state, either abroad or at home. By doing whereof he may not only be free from ill but from suspicion of evil, and so we both concur in obviating those common dangers wherein our common adversary sleeps not but daily practises both our ruins. We have caused Mr. Foulis to give thanks for the King's good respect in acquainting us with those overtures which were made him by Tyrone's messenger, which you may also confirm from us, assuring him that for any his offices of princely amity and kindness he shall ever find us as grateful as himself can be to us, who take small pleasure that the world should please themselves with any misunderstanding between those who are tied in so many kinds of obligation. What we intend in the matter of Fenwick and Woodrington we have caused our Secretary to advertise you, to which we do refer you.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk headed:* "A minute of her Majesty's letter to George Nicholson."

[1598, Dec. 31.] **294.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lii, p. 236. You shall now understand that although I could not answer many of your letters which I have lately received, yet have I acquainted the Queen with the same that she might thereby see your diligence, which she well approves, although she smiles to see how commonly the occurrents change: first, that one letter often reproves the other. Mr. Foulis is now dispatched with 3000*l.* He carries the confession of the traitor under his own hand with a declaration in writing, signed and sealed by the Queen in a patent form, not like a letter, whereby she professes to all the world that she believes not the accusation of this vile traitor, whom I wish had never been born. I send you the copy of the same that you may see the form of it. For the further proceeding with him assure yourself her Majesty will never do it, now that she sees the King desires the contrary (as I cannot blame him), though all honest men hold him as innocent as the child unborn. For stains are soonest seen in finest cloth and there is nothing so little which malice does not multiply. You shall also receive here a letter enclosed, signed by the Queen to yourself, which you may let the King see, for that peradventure his leisure or patience may not be such as will give him leave to be capable of all circumstances. When he has read it, you may retain it for your own discharge. Mr. Foulis has carried himself very discreetly and yet stoutly in defence of his Majesty's honour. He has much pressed to have had the Queen to have written precisely with her own hand to the King that she would never try Valentyne Thomas. He would also have had 4000*l.* Both which being now denied him, he showed to go away not the best contented. For the

James VI.
1598. matter of money, though true it is that her Majesty cannot lack 1000*l.* at any time, yet came he in as dry a season as ever I can remember in my life time, such and so great are the preparations for Ireland. But for the other matter concerning Valen: Thomas I must plainly tell you that till the last hour we durst have sworn her Majesty would not have denied to write it. For we that serve her know that she never means to proceed with the wreck. And we know also when she is sharpest in words towards the King that her heart never means ill to his person or his estate. [I ?] could not guess what made her somewhat sour in it two or three days before his departure, which in the end we found to be a mere unkindness conceived against the King growing out of this root, that when her own Ambassador came out [of] Denmark and some other merchants from some other parts of Germany, she had divers advertisements of the speeches used by the King's Ambassador to the King of Denmark of her infirmities and sickly state, whereof she having divers copies of some clauses contained, she sent to Mr. Foulis who sent her a copy of the proposition wherein there was even plainly words declaring her great age and her sickness, which I may boldly say to you she took very unkindly, as you may perceive by the letter enclosed. For as she is a lady of power and stoutness, so she is as sensible of unkindness in that sort (?) as may be. Now it remains also that I certify what answer Mr. Foulis has whether Fenwick and Woodrington shall still be in prison and whether the Queen will release the pledges again. For Fenwick and Woodrington her Majesty is not minded to deliver them out of prison until the cause has had its trial, expecting in lieu thereof strait warning as there be no riding upon the Queen's subjects in their absence, for else it may be said by the friends of the gentlemen that the King will delay any commission and the rather to keep them in durance which is a great weakening to the country. Of this much has Mr. Foulis been made acquainted, only I thought it not impertinent to inform and instruct you how things have been carried here, wishing you in any ways, though my letters should come before Mr. Foulis, that you do not acquaint the King with these particulars before he has had access, if he come in any time, for it were an injury to him; and seeing he means not without cause to kindle any unkindness between the two crowns, though he be very earnest for the King his Master, I would not willingly offer him discourtesy, except sickness by the way should keep him so long from the King's presence that he should be forced to write. For the pledges who are many in number and but poor, if her Majesty's subjects could receive satisfaction in any reasonable sort for the bills that are filed, I know that she would be content to deliver them up and to the intent it might appear what offer or surety might be by them or their friends granted, the matter would be of less difficulty. To conclude I pray you when you write next send up unto me a note of the names of those councillors that the King uses most at this day. And thus do I cease for this time. And so, etc.

I think my Lord of Essex shall go presently into Ireland with 14,000 footmen and 1000 horse, with which I doubt not he will give her Majesty a better account in one year than has been in seven.

1598. $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to Mr. Nicholson," *and in margin:* "1598. 31 Decemb."

Dec. **295.** HENRY LOK TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 88. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 291.

I have had conference with Mr. John Colvil[le], the scope whereof tends:

1. To signify his mishap at his last being in England to find your Honour absent in France and myself in the north, which "forsed" his overture and direction of address by any other than your Honour to whom by many especial favours he is eternally bound.

2. To offer his future service and especially to crave your presence and conference.

3. To show by many reasons the inconvenients growing to her Majesty by furnishing the King with money at this or any time, as also discouragement of her friends, etc.

4. That with little more cost he should be forced to discover him openly and thereby lose the means he now has covertly to hurt. And that sufficient able actors are yet in Scotland to direct such a course and perform it.

5. To offer to procure the public disgrace of the Scottish Bishop of Glasgow, Ambassador in France, by the state itself there.

6. To excuse his first "sale" from Bothwell, his late reconcilement with him in France; and showing the use of Bothwell's service offered in Spain or Italy; to which end they chiefly conferred.

With sundry particulars which I refer to your Honour's conference with him or myself. *Undated. Signed:* Henry Lok.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. December. Mr. Lock to my master."

1598. **296.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO MR. BRUCE.

Vol. lxii, No. 10.

Having received by the relation of this bearer an overture from you, Mr. Bruce, wherein you offer to do her Majesty acceptable service in discovering and preventing divers dangerous practices tending to the prejudice of her estate and consequently to the ruin of the whole island, which discovery of yours is offered to be made by you upon promise of secrecy and grateful acceptation, I do hereby assure you that for the secrecy of it your desire shall be completed in the most exact proportion that can be expected for anything here of my part. And for the recompense I do also hereby oblige myself by her Majesty's own direction that no service done by you of any importance shall be left unrewarded to the uttermost of your merit, for assurance whereof I pawn my honour and credit. Your friend as you shall deserve well of my sovereign. *Undated. Unsigned.*

I pray you take heed that you be not guilty of your own side of lack of secrecy and then be secure on this side.

James VI.
1598. ½ *p. Copy in the handwriting of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil:* "98. A copy of my letter to Mr. Bruce by J. Col."

[*?c.* 1598.] **297.** SCOTTISH GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

Rough notes of the descendants of Angus MacConnell and others, showing their relationship with other Scottish families.

1 *p. In Sir Robert Cecil's hand. Endorsed by him:* "Scotland."

1598-9.
Jan. 1. **298.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 3.

The matter between my Lord of Mar and his competitors being declared to the King and Council by the President, Treasurer and my Lord of Newbottle how they found and dealt in it, was laboured in Council the whole afternoon on Friday for agreement, yet took no effect. The King seems almost party against Mar. This matter still lies over again not agreed.

Montrose seeks but in very quiet sort to be Chancellor and Sir Geo: Home in like sort to be Treasurer, either helping other at the King's hands as the Lord Treasurer is in no great love now with the King or his office but desirous freely to leave it to the King to dispose on; but these are secrets and so I beseech your Honour use them, for it may be and is like these things may stay. The King is so inclinable to his Chamber and his favourites' advices and for their desires to do anything how inconvenient soever, as all good men are weary and will withdraw themselves by little and little as they may.

For foreign news as they go current here, it is said, and with many joyed at, that the King of Spain has vowed that he will be in proper person in England before May day, and that he has a huge army in readiness and has stayed many of the Low Country and of this nation's ships contrary to his great seal, for this purpose of invading England. Letters are come hither out of Ireland that Dublin will be taken and her Majesty's forces put out of that country. Thus much for this time. At Edinburgh the last of December 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. I am now told that the King sent yesterday Patrick Murray (always a favourer of Huntly and now a chief Commissioner for the King in this general "platt" and without whom nothing may be done) to for[bid Mr.*] Robert Bruce to preach any more till he heard more of . . .* sure. That Mr. Ro: should answer he could not take that nor durst not take it as a discharge, etc. and this day he preached as ever he does very calmly. Yet the King is minded, it is now told me, to stay the ministers' pensions unless they subscribe to the Articles made at St. Johnstone, as it is like the griefs against the Kirk will come to a height very shortly.

* Small hole in paper.

And this letter staying after the writing till now, I am advertised it is resolved at Dalkeith by the King and Chamber that Montrose shall be Chancellor and that the King is to come to-morrow to set it down in Council. Whereat some are angry, as I see nothing but great troubles here, the King being also resolved to cause the ministers to subscribe the Articles made at St. Johnstone or to displace them and charge them with doctrines to their accusation. This country will sure be once in a fire above my reach to quench for many things grow dangerous here. Edinburgh, New Year's day at night.

1 *p. Holograph, with address.* 4 *seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. Ultimo Decem."

Jan. 3. **299.** [GEORGE NICOLSON] TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxiv, No. 6.

On Wednesday last Sir Walter Lindsay came hither, the King being then at Dalkeith with the Queen. On Thursday the King returned to Holyroodhouse, proponing in Council whether he might speak Sir Walter or no. Some reasoned he might. In regard Sir Walter came through England, spake with your Honour and was dismissed with passport and commendation in large and friendly sort both for himself and 3 horses, which is no little cause of great suspicion what this dealing should be with you, the King charged the President to have sent him, which he denied; yet the King said he was sure he was at his house. Always, it was resolved that he should seek to apprehend him for satisfaction of the people, being in great fear and suspicion with the return of Mr. James Gordon and him and of others crept close into the country. Accordingly the King has made inquiry for his apprehension but cannot yet warn him out and sent word to the ministers thereof. It is resolved that Mr. James Gordon shall be kept still close prisoner until he may be shipped out of the country, which must be by the first commodity, after that the King shall receive and have done her Majesty's pleasure towards him. An Act is made to be proclaimed to-morrow containing his pleasure anent sending away and banishment of Mr. James Gordon, and that his return or incoming of his sort upon what pretence soever or in what manner soever without the King's leave shall be treason and death to them hereafter. Which the King will sure perform and execute hereafter.

The Kirk upon coming in of these excommunicates cry out against their coming and not punishment, against the Bishop of Glasgow's restoring and in the observing of Christmas day and Mondays, which the King he did but to feast his Council in joy of the Queen's safe delivery. Some of the Council judge the ministers will be charged to answer the same before the King and Council. Always they are determined to preach in all humility and soberness against these things. Yet I think the King will oversee all for this time. The King wrote to Lord Home and six of the ministry of Duns to come hither, that, now

when the commissioners of the general "platt" for the planting of ministers and providing of their livings through the whole land [are active], my Lord Home by their consents might be relaxed from excommunication. Yet the storm is so great as it stays. Nevertheless, the King will have my Lord relaxed and see him to keep his promise hereafter to the Kirk. And yet the Kirk are very hard in it.

Angus wears a jewel in his hat which the people judge to be a cross and murmur at it. Yet the King said it was none but scorned the people's daftness so to think it.

I certified you that the King had resolved in Council to write that the hunting accident might be tried by Borderers and condign punishment made accordingly for his satisfaction and honour. Since which time a councillor has said to me in good will that this matter must either be ended friendly between the princes selves or by the Borders, which he feared would not be without danger in respect of the interest the 2 Sir Roberts have in it, the one being to justify and the other to condemn the fact, and of the multitude that in this case will meet on both sides and that in malice and evil will, unless it should be tried in Berwick and that by neutral persons to that cause. This person says that there is a necessity that the King be repaired in honour and the parties some way redressed and that it will breed great troubles in case it be not so, wishing good care might be taken in it; persuading that in case her Majesty should enter the 2 gentlemen to the King, the King would in no way hurt them but courteously treat and dismiss them as her Majesty did Carmichael, Buccleuch and Cessford, and he advised me to take occasion to speak and take the King's word in secret for the same, that thereby I might give assurance thereof and draw in their deliveries for the King and parties' satisfaction (in which he accounts the King's satisfaction the satisfaction also of the parties) that this matter might be lovingly and friendly ended without danger either to the peace or the 2 gentlemen, Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Woodrington. I answered I was too weak to take so great a burden on me, and so I am and will be. If Sir William were here he might do as he should be directed and so end the matter. I shall have many overtures made for the service in this and anent the pledges, who cannot be kept the year out without fruit of that was meant to be done by them but the last treaties will be scorned, and if they be executed no more will be had but the Borders break and bring on a war, I assure your Honour. As also if their friends see they are not recoverable but must remain perpetual prisoners, they will very shortly account them as dead and not long hold thus quiet but break and disorder all worse than ever.

The King is advertised that Mr. John Colville is at London and that he made advertisement that the King sent for Mr. James Gordon and Mr. Wm. Crichton and others to come to convert his people, with other things to slander and wrong the King with. The King hears he is well entertained there, whereat, and at Mr. [*sic*] Walter's good entertainment there in England, my Lord Secretary says the King marvels and is not well pleased that such bad and evil persons should be so treated ever in England being the King's rebels and Mr. Walter

an exc[ommunicated?] person also. I said that for Mr. Jo: it was not known in England but that he had the King's licence and departed with his favour. He said no. I replied I knew it to be so, saying that when the King heard that Bothwell should be [in] England, he said to me he could not find fault with Mr. Colville's being there for he departed with his leave. And for Mr. Walter I said your Honour and our Estate I thought did not think it meet to stay [him] but to further his return to the King that his Majesty, to whom he is a faulter, might take order with him as he pleased and saw cause. [*In margin:* It is noted as a great fault in Mr. David that he was so familiar with Sir Walter and lay in a house and ate together.] He said it might be so, yet the King noted his good entertainment, long stay there, his courteous dispatch with licence to bring away 3 horses and letters to my Lord Willoughby to treat him; and the favour Mr. Jo: finds there to have been better than is without great suit granted to the King's best subjects, marvelling what it should mean. And very lovingly I must say he delivered this to me as a matter he would have kindly and familiarly, I thought, cleared to the King. As also he dealt with me anent the Border accident, wishing friendly contentment to be made to the King for his honour and seeming as if the King were satisfied by the 2 gentlemen's entry all would be well and they courteously and safely dismissed; saying he saw no hard purpose in the King in that matter but only an honest meaning to have some honourable satisfaction. In these my Lord told me he was directed to write to Mr. David, which he said he delayed for some few days until he might have either the letters sent by Mr. David or Mr. David's return and until this storm should break up that men might travel. Besides he willed me to come to him at any time and he should willingly and truly inform me as matters went here and of anything that should here arise to breed suspicion here against our Estate, that I might be means to clear all this way, and willing me to do the like to him and he should be means to clear all to our Estate again for avoiding of the devices of inventing practisers tending to put jealousies between the princes and for keeping of the good love and amity between them which sure he is of full mind to entertain with his best offices and endeavours, having been very plain with me in these and other things, wishing all love between the princes at this dangerous time when the King of Spain, the common enemy, so rages and is so strong an army. I humbly beseech your Honour to keep these secret lest Mr. David, if he be there, do complain hither that I fore-advertise his negotiation to this prejudice of his dealing. Word is come to the King that Mr. David has written and sent letters by a merchant, which are not come and whereat the King rages at the merchant and at Mr. David that he wrote not by these merchants now come. Yet the hope of Mr. David's letters or his own coming, looked for here within some few days, pacifies the King the rather because he hopes of great intelligence and matters by Mr. David. I hear he pretends doubts in sending letters by your address as if some had been intercepted and therefore alleges he has sent by land and sea otherways, which are not all he makes account on delivered. But I beseech you to keep all secret.

James VI.
1598-9.

3 January 1598.

My letter still staying by reason of the storm now breaking with such wet as I pray God these come safe to your hands, I have thought good to advertise you that yesterday the King came not hither as was expected and resolved with his Chamber to make Montrose Chancellor; so as till the next Council day, to be to-morrow, the same will not be done and then it will be reasoned against in Council by Mar and all the best Councillors as it may possibly be stayed and perhaps not dealt in but rest dead. Otherways the King must do it himself. Mar thinks this to be done in his contrary and thinks also Sir Geo: Home to be far altered from his late protestation in deepest sort of friendship to him in that he should be open and the advancer of this "platt." And the Treasurer, Comptroller and now Collector, Mr. Jo: Preston, being my Lord of Mar's sure friends, the King is drawn to urge them to give caution in Edinburgh for some 1500 crowns to Geo: Heriot for jewels which the King now has had of him. They are all resolved to refuse it, which will give matter enough to the Chamber to work the King's further displeasure to them for changing them. All [of] whom are ready to leave and give up their offices into the King's hands, as my Lord of Mar will do all his and travel, as yet they are resolved in case the King run on still these private courses and alterations at the Chamber's "appite" [? appetite]. *In margin:* I see not but the King is almost left by all men to run his own course and his favourites', the most and best attending [what ?] may be the issue. Always the Kirk is like to get the worst.

The gratuity for which I judge Robert Jowsey and Mr. David are striving, both having the King's warrant, will be by the King's next appointed to Robert and Mr. David discharged to meddle with it. That which I certified your Honour was made upon an apprehension taken by the King in his bed is now in printing but no more than 9 and upon most strait charge that it be secret. If no word come from Mr. David nor otherways hither, here will be new suggestions according to the old manner of the worst; who would have it thought that England neglects the King and that the Spaniard will meddle with England for the King, if the King would run that course; and that the King had need to prepare armour and weapons to do for himself, for England, they say, intends him no good; and the Monday exercise is meant for trainings and musterings to be diligently used in this spring and summer season. It may please your Honour to keep all these secret. Edinburgh, 3 January 1598.

There is a quarrel fallen between the laird of Shaw, a Kerr that Cessford is judged to maintain, and the laird of Bemerside, that the laird of Cowdenknowes must and will maintain, for a place in their parish church, which is not much now for the first yet may perhaps set the Homes and Kerrs by the ears. Bemerside is Haig by name, a depender on Cowdenknowes, who is apparent heir to the Lord Home and of a great friendship himself. *Unsigned.*

3 *pp. In G. Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement.*

James VI.
[1598-9, ? Jan.]

300. MEMORANDUM BY GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxiv, No. 5.

Some here do judge that the King has double dealing anent Sir Walter Lindsay, one colourable to avoid the suspicion of the people, and another inwards for some foreign traffic, which I cannot see nor believe.

Mr. James Gordon's coming is judged the more suspicious and dangerous, albeit he be close warded, because the man that came with him was never apprehended nor seen openly, as also because some say he went presently with Mr. James's affairs and is quietly returned with dispatch to pass away with Mr. James, which some account a furtherance of his errand and traffic. Yet my Lord Secretary (for I asked him this matter) says that there cannot be such a matter because the man was but only his servant that helped him on and off with his clothes and not able for such affairs and fled only upon sight of his master's apprehension. I cannot say no other. It is also quietly told me that Mr. James persuades that the King shall have a great friendship of the Pope and his adherents.

I see no appearance of good between the King and Kirk. For the King on Friday last wished some of them in Spain or Rome till he lost them. The Kirk are sure the best subjects to the King and so have ever been and the best devoted to the amity with us and will be in danger to be put at nought in religion. I daresay, but in the King's displeasure, as it were meet, if it were thought good, some were sent here to entertain the King and them in friendship.

It is sure a cross that Angus wears. The King "spered" before him and the Lords what it was that the ministers meant by saying the beast was now in the top and asked my Lord if they meant it not by him and what it was he wore. He said a mark which he had ever worn since the King made him Lieutenant, adding he would pledge it to the King if he would wear it. Whereat divers marvelled to hear the King so pass it over. *Unsigned. Undated.*

A slip of paper cut short at the end. In G. Nicolson's hand.

Jan. 8. **301.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 7.

This day afternoon my Lord Secretary gave me this packet to send away showing me that there was in a letter to her Majesty and another to Mr. David Foulis anent the Border hunting accident for trying the same by the Sir Roberts, if it could be, or else by my Lord Home and Lord Willoughby, indifferent and neutral men to those parties and that cause. This packet he desired might be delivered to Mr. David, if he be there, that he might give the letter to her Majesty and deal in that cause; and if Mr. David were come away that then your Honour might break open the packet and Mr. David's letter and deliver the letter to her Majesty, for he said the letters were to that Border cause effect and no others and that you would return her Majesty's answers thereunto. For convoy of which letters I make now this address unto your Honour.

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1598-9.

My Lord Secretary also told me that the King daily expected her Majesty's answer and pleasure anent Mr. James Gordon, being in doubt whether those letters were safely delivered or no and desirous to be quit and have Mr. James Gordon sent away, staying only to do the same till he hear her Majesty's pleasure therein. Which seeing he is not to be punished the best sort would fain have done that he might be gone. And yet he said he will return again to offer himself a sacrifice for his religion. These letters I sent to you in my packet of the 5th December, the delivery of which letters to Mr. David it may please you by some few lines to advertise hither. The proclamation anent Mr. Ja: and all others of his sect was but this day proclaimed, containing also a forbidding to reset or deal with Sir Walter Lindsay but to apprehend him as a practiser.

I dealt with the King this afternoon and complained as my Lord Scrope had directed me of the outrageous and cruel facts done in his lordship's Wardenry by them of these West Marches. The King said my Lord of Angus complained as fast as he and had greater cause; that the Grahams had been 2 times in England [*sic*] and run open day forays and raised fire and committed great spoils, etc. Yet in end he gave order to my Lord Secretary to write to and charge Angus to send his complaints to my Lord Scrope that either might do justice to other. And for the pledges he said the pest had hindered their deliveries, but now he should answer they should be delivered for his side, as that point (as I have certified Lord Scrope) will rest upon his appointment when he is ready to receive and deliver.

For this Estate my Lord of Mar with much persuasion and at the King's suit has referred the ordering of the matter between him and his competitors, the Lord Livingstone, Master of Elphinstone and Bruces, to the King's pleasure, as the parties are to be here to-morrow and the King to end that matter. The Chancellorship will be either to-morrow established in Montrose or not at all, I judge. For Mar is at Stirling but to be here to-morrow and in the meantime his friends are crossing Montrose. Craigiehall and Mr. Henry Kerr, the Duke's followers, came to Montrose, told him they heard he was suiting to be Chancellor and thought good to show him that my Lord Duke had the Great Seal and was interest[ed] in that cause, as they thought his lordship would do nothing to prejudice the Duke in his absence. He replied, if the King should charge him with that place he could not nor would not refuse the King, as they now do deal with the King who is so far entered with Montrose as they get but slender answers. If Montrose be Chancellor, as he is fair now to be, there will follow great factions on it; Sir Geo: Home, the Lord Home, Earl of Glencairn, the competitors of Mar, Cessford and a great many more joining with Montrose; and Mar and his whole friends joining together to run another course: but this to the sequel, for these Scots matters do not always burn when fire is among them but quench of themselves.

This day the 4 old ministers of this town were called down to the King to answer to such matters as he should lay against them. The King used a fair harangue to them that he had loved them and never sought their hurts but "oversene" many things in them, and yet they

could not forbear open reproving [of] his courses, which they were not to meddle with, and against which there was an especial Act made at St. Johnstone and subscribed by them. They answered very calmly no, they had not subscribed any such Act, offering to be tried and judged by any Acts lawfully made and subscribed by them and to suffer the death if they have offended in any of them. The King said the Commissioners had subscribed it for them. They said never with their consents; if they had done it, let them answer it. The King said he neither restored the Bishop of Glasgow nor did any of these things they preach against, without the advice of the Commissioners their brethren. They said then the King was to charge the Commissioners and not them. They said they saw they had his Majesty's displeasure through some misreports of them. They were his dutiful subjects and if his desire was to banish them or turn them out of their places, they would willingly yield to it to please him in all humility, so as they might be discharged by warrant of the Word. In end they desired that it would please his Majesty to set down in writing such matters as he would charge them with that they might so answer it as it might be with most plainness and neither mistake other. Whereon presently the King, commanding them to stay, withdrew himself, and in very short time came to them again delivering them in writing that he would have them subscribe to the said Act made at St. Johnstone. Whereon they have taken advice not till to-morrow to give in their answers. As it ends your Honour shall be advertised. The Commissioners were by but said nothing in effect. They are judged to be for the King and some fail not continually to inform him wrong of their preaching and will of themselves to stir him the more against them.

The greatest news now is here that Spain is coming for England and Bothwell to be a principal leader of some part of the armies of Spain; that he was in France lately about some practice and very hardly escaped taking. And for Ireland here is nothing good of it. Mr. Moore wishes that Cork be well looked unto for fear of the Spaniard. He has heard belike something that he gave me this warning. His estate is very lamentable and poor, being in almost a beggarly case, now little regarded here when they see him want. Edinburgh, 8 January 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "With a packet to Mr. David Foulis from the Lo: Secretary."

On a slip of paper attached:

The King was very sharp with me anent my Lord Scrope's complaints and said our complaints were set out with many painted words and on much paper; that my Lord of Angus should do the like and send as many complaints to my Lord Scrope; that we were near him to complain to him of every matter, but the Queen was far off and he would not do so though he had greater cause. He complains of my Lord Scrope's government, saying he does nothing to it; that he rules very evil suffering the Grahams to do what they please and in effect (to write the truth in this "by sorte" to your Honour) he says

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1598-9. my Lord Scrope might help much to hinder all these dealings, accounting much to be on both sides in his default. But this to your Honour only I humbly beseech you.

In G. Nicolson's hand.

[1598-9, ? Jan.] **302.** MEMORANDUM BY GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxiv, No. 4. For the hunting accident I sounded the King to find his mind in it and could produce nothing but he seeks to have them in his courtesy, I will not indeed judge for other cause than to show courtesy to them and especially for his own honour.

The matters on the Borders had need to be well looked into indeed, for albeit my thus long writing aforehand may possibly have made the less regard to my writing yet mark what will follow. I know Buccleuch and Cessford are both of one mind anent the pledges and Cessford in grief that he cannot relieve his pledges is determined to travail malcontent. If Sir William were here these things would help; for the pledges might be yearly changed for as good as much to the surety of the country, and so these doubts of their perpetual imprisonment taken away with good will on all sides. Indeed it was a happy device, otherways all had broken ere now. And for redress employment of good and wise men may do much as before I have written to your Honour. I am plain with you; if either the desire of the Wardens to do all (as I would to God they could) or the niceness and desire of the Commissioners to meddle no more be the cause of this delay in this work, it is not well but will be dangerous. I fear some quarrel will rise not looked for on the Borders nor meet, which would also be pacified and stayed. I know but dare not. If Sir William were here, your Honour would see many things amend I hope.

It will be very meet that the King have some satisfaction anent Mr. Jo: Colville's errand and Sir Walter's entertainment. For he is wonderful jealous over their being and entertainment in England. If you please to write thanks to my Lord Secretary for his goodwill to me, I would not doubt but to draw him to intelligence with your Honour for the good of both the princes as ye may handle the matter between you, for he is in especial favour now and may do good towards Ireland having Sir George Elphinstone the Irish "moyener" at his devotion. If you do it, I doubt not but to do good by it.

The King now at Dalkeith again spoke openly this day at dinner there that he was not well used by some of England; that Valentyne Tho[mas] had invented lies on him, that he had truly acquainted her Majesty with all and desired that he might be sent hither with her Ambassador to come safe and go safe to see if he could have a face to say these lies before the King; that it was denied him and the man preserved to his slander and prejudice as much as could be; and that nevertheless he blamed not her Majesty but would keep duty to her, etc. And speech being also of the King of Spain's purpose and great preparation for England, a gentleman (the laird of Dunipace) said to the King that Spain would never conquer England for him, adding

that if he had conquered it the King should have none of it. These things I heard, beseeching your Honour to keep all secret. I write at large in hope thereof.

However Mr. David may seem to join with your Honour, his forbearing to send by your address and his sending by sea and otherways argues he either not trusts you or writes of strange matters, as I conceive. I have heard that he seems as if some of his letters had been intercepted and as if for that cause he sent by sea and safe messengers in this sort. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand.*

Jan. 8. **303.** KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Vol. lxiv, No. 8.

As by these presents we give you most hearty thanks for the beginning taken concerning the reparation of the late attempt committed upon our subjects by putting in sure custody the principal authors thereof till further trial may be had of the certainty of the grounds from whence the same proceeded and circumstances of the execution thereof. So our princely duty will not permit us to leave off from insisting most earnestly with you for the accomplishment of your good beginning in that matter in granting us justice without any further delay, marvelling not a little that, notwithstanding both our other letters and express direction given to our servant Foulis touching that purpose, we have received not so much as any pretence of excuse for the lingering delay of the true trial and condign redress thereof, except that the Warden of the Middle March having as by your other letters we were advertised received your commandment to meet his opposite, whom we had likewise directed towards him for that effect, excused his meeting by an answer no less prejudicial to our liberties than the wrong itself was harmful to our people, refusing according to the inviolable custom of the Border to meet on Scottish ground, a question not moved by ignorance but (as appears to all men) for avoiding the said trial, whereof we commanded our said servant to give you and your Council notice, that instead of reparation of the wrong received a greater wrong should not be obtruded. We doubted never of your own good inclination to justice and satisfaction in that point, neither can we think that your Council will think it profitable for your estate that the Borders [which] by great pain on both hands have been settled should by so manifest an injury be shaken loose, and the same, if not authorised, at least by long delays unpunished, whereupon what effects may follow is left to your own consideration. Our care to hold fast that vowed amity which has been no less dear to us than our life makes us in this more friendly to expostulate that the offence may the more speedily be redressed and since the said offence is so notorious, committed by extraordinary convocation in fair daylight, our subjects (being always in peaceable manner) cruelly invaded upon Scottish ground, slain, prisoners taken, many deadly wounded and chased more than six miles within Scotland, their bond still kept (notwithstanding our complaint) as if they were lawful

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prisoners, so that if the principals who are in hands shall be diligently examined they cannot on their honours deny the same and the notoriousness of the fact without any farther trial meriting present satisfaction by delivery of the said offenders. We look therefore that as in any outrages complained upon by you we have ever been careful to have the same rigorously tried, neither have permitted our Wardens to suffer any notorious fact be denied but by present reparation to cut away occasion of further inconvenience, so in this matter we shall without all kind of delay receive the like correspondence both in trial and delivery. Otherwise, the delay being no less grievous to the parties offended than the refusal of justice, it will be impossible to restrain the barbarous insolency of that people, to the which as they are naturally inclined so their just grief will minister them some pretence of excuse, which hitherto upon promise of reparation daily made by us on your behalf and looked for by them has with no little difficulty been stayed. But if otherwise the offenders shall impudently notwithstanding their oath and honour (being examined as the weight of the offence requires) deny the fact, as we hope they shall not, or by variation of the circumstances enforce any further trial, we earnestly crave the same to be speedily by the officers to whom it does properly belong. Otherwise, lest the partiality of those Wardens should impede the due trial, we will not refuse to commit the same to the Wardens of the East March at such time and place as shall be appointed. Providing that the alteration breed no matter of delay and that in the meantime the bonds of such as were unlawfully taken be restored. Wherein if there be any further delay we will be enforced to esteem that justice is denied after so long lingering in redress of so public a wrong, the consequence whereof remitting to be wisely foreseen and justly remedied, right high, right excellent and right mighty Princess and dearest sister in our heartiest manner we commend us to you. Given at our Palace of Holyroodhouse the 8 day of January, 1598. *Signed:* Your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin. James R.

1 *large sheet. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Jan. 12. **304.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lii, p. 239.

Although my Lords of the Council had very lately written unto you concerning the accident of hunting (wherein both her Majesty and my Lords conceive there can be no way more proper to decide that matter with indifferency and expedition) yet, because it seems that it is not fully resolved there, I have thought good to pursue it again as that course which is most meet to be taken than by sending Commissioners to spend time in those circumstances which any such meetings would require on both sides, where contrariwise this way, (whereof your last letters save one make mention and whereunto her Majesty assented) will bring things to issue where now there is nothing but contestation of each side without possibility to discern what is true or false. You shall further understand that it seems very strange to

me to perceive that Sir Wa: Lindsay's usage coming through England should be misliked when, if all circumstances be considered, the King may plainly see how respectfully her Majesty's ministers obey her will, carrying themselves with due respect in all things that concern him. For proof whereof I will acquaint you particularly with that matter concerning him, how it happened. True it is her Majesty was not ignorant long ago what the condition of this gentleman was when he went out of Scotland, where he has been since and how much he has arrogated to himself when he was in Spain, making himself (as it seems) to be credited for his plots and promises, when I think and so did ever that his best commission for anything contrary to the amity was never more than an ordinary passport for his pilgrimage, the matter wherein he dealt being as all good men believe far beyond the limits of the King's meaning. When this gentleman arrived in England her Majesty was in question what to do with him. On the one side she knew she suffered a dangerous person to pass through her State; and on the other side she resolved not to use any extraordinary interruption when the King's public minister, Mr. Foulis, received him into his protection and spake for his passage. For the horses he carried, true it is, that thinking it necessary to show to a man of his ill affection how her Majesty held flat correspondency with the King and all his subjects, I thought it not amiss, seeing his importunity, to give him such treatment as might rather mollify his heart, who came from an enemy, and settle his opinion that no minister of her Majesty would refuse any reasonable kindness and never thought that it should have received any ill interpretation, especially he making his moan that he was not able to ride on hired horses. But herein, as I dare appeal to Mr. Foulis, who can answer all these proceedings, for I assure you it is a very troublesome thing to me in the place where I serve how to carry myself in giving passports to gentlemen of that nation, not knowing of whom to understand how the King is affected towards them. Other matter concerning him, or that ever he departed with any direction or correspondency from me, or that ever I had other direction from her Majesty than to let him know how suspected a person she took him to her and her State and rather to intercept than to trust him, I clearly and confidently affirm it that I have told you truly both in form and substance. For the matter concerning the other, being in England or negotiating with any of her Majesty's Council, I will only say this much upon my honour and credit, that I think he never came nearer hither than France and that the Queen scorns to give credit or suffer any dealings with any so turbulent humours. But because there are many other ministers of state, whom her Majesty uses and trusts besides myself, to whose doings I am not privy, I do but herein affirm my own knowledge and to this end that if the King have not better ground than from the advertisements of some loose and malicious spirits (whose reports have often proved so vain) he will rather forbear to suspect a probability than to make any challenge upon an uncertainty; especially considering how ordinary a thing it is for fugitives even of their own nation to start hither and live unknown. This much have I thought fit to answer you with all

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expedition possible, wishing with my heart that all that have credit in that Court and kingdom would as well follow their sovereign's mind in forbearing to contrive jealousies or practice against England, as we that serve here observe religiously her Majesty's will and pleasure, whose heart knows no evil. Then I could not doubt but as the two princes are near in blood and vicinity, so should there never happen the least interruption of love and amity. For experience teaches me to make a conversion of the old verse, where it is written *Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi* by turning backward *Quicquid delirant Achivi, plectuntur Reges.*

2 *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to Mr. Nicholson," *and in margin:* "1598. 12 Jan."

* Jan. 14. **305.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiii, No. 76.

I received your Honour's packet of the last of the last month the 12 hereof, wherein was her Majesty's and yours to me, the copies of the declaration and Va: Thomas's confession, in all which I shall with God's grace do as I am directed by you, being sorry so great a matter and of that importance should have been put to my mean handling. For that before it was by some marvelled at that her Majesty should not have employed to the King some of rank and degree as Sir Wm. who was then to have come with that dispatch. I would to God he had been sent in with this, for it may be this my employment herein may please or not please according to such humour as here they shall be in. Always, with God's grace, I shall do my endeavour and stay until Mr. David Foulis be come and have spoken the King as your Honour has very well directed me.

Since my last here has been much dealing anent the place of Chancellorship, my Lord of Montrose still pressing for it and the Chamberlain, Sir George Home, Sir George Elphinstone, Sir Robert Kerr, the Lord Secretary and whole competitors of my Lord of Mar earnestly labouring to effect it. On Friday the Earl of Montrose made the King the dinner and banquet and sent to the Earl of Mar to have been there, of purpose that his good will might have been dealt for and got there by the King's means, who through the Chamberlain's means is very earnest to have Montrose Chancellor. But Mar understanding the purpose made excuse, whereon Montrose followed and entreated Mar himself. But Mar said he had appointed to be with his lawyers and could not come, and so refused. Montrose, seeing my Lord of Mar a quiet hinderer of him, is not pleased. As it is thought, if Montrose get the place as he is like to do, in short time after the keeping of the young Prince and Castle of Stirling will be taken from [Mar] and himself soon thereafter again put at and straited. But the Duke's friends and servants, the Lord Ochiltree, the lairds of Traquair and Craigiehall, Mar and Lord Treasurer and that side have been the closest means to stay this place, because the Duke is interested in it,

* The letter is dated 14 Dec. 1598 and is so calendared by Thorpe. It is, however, clearly an answer to Cecil's letter of 31 Dec. and the date as endorsed is probably correct.

and have got good answer of the King that it shall not be disponed but with the Duke's good will and contentment, the King intending to get the Duke's consent to Montrose for some trifles. But the Duke's friends if they cannot keep the Duke from yielding will leave him to himself and do for themselves. As I see nothing [but] 2 great factions arising about this matter: Montrose having resolved to send for his son and the Earl of Gowrie to come home and to make all the friends he can to effect his purpose; and Mar and the rest being in like intention to hinder the same and to strengthen themselves against the other hurts; as in time some trouble may fall out hereon, and as also where the King intends to agree Mar and his competitors the same may be hindered.

For the matter between the King and ministers, the old 4 of this town have in writing to answer the King refused to subscribe. The King was marvellously angry at them and so rests yet. He made a great harangue to his Council on Thursday last, saying he was their King and they the ministers owed him obedience. He was as true a Christian and loved religion as well as any of them. He dealt not against the religion nor no point thereof, but only to have them obedient to him and to the Acts themselves had subscribed; that they should not meddle to reprove the King or his doings openly, but privately to admonish him and seek for amendment of what they thought wrong, asking his Council what they thought on it and seeking to make them out of love with the ministers, in such sort as it is now out of hope that they shall agree but leave the country. It touches for the first but the 4 old ministers of this town, yet it will reach to almost all save some few whom the King has got interest in.

Yesterday the King rode to Dalkeith and returns to-morrow to make end in these uncertain proceedings, which no man can tell whereto they will come, for so changeable are things here as is strange. It is said here that Westmoreland and Bothwell are both to be sent to the north with Spanish forces; that the Spanish army is likest to land in Ireland and possess meetest places there for their advantage against us. At Edinburgh, 14 December [*sic*] 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. xiiii° Jan. Mr. Nicholson to my master."

Jan. 14. **306.** GEORGE MOORE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 9.

Staying here expecting some comfortable answer from your Honour I suffer that want which longer I cannot endure. Yet will I not seek to her Majesty's enemies nor stay here without her leave but will rather come in and submit myself to her mercy, if so it may stand with your good liking, upon whose good favour I do rely, beseeching to know your good pleasure herein and ready to do you any service and to take any course you shall command me for the service of her Majesty and good of my country.

The Spaniards I hear intend this summer to make attempt either

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against Ireland or England or both. For I know they have a "platt" of Cork in Ireland and are desirous of it. They had also a resolution to have landed in Cornwall or Devonshire and by land to have taken Plymouth, which resolution I think holds yet. They have also a "platt" of Hull but how they embrace it I know not. And they themselves have said unto me that if they ever get landing they hold themselves assured of England, but I hope God will encourage all men's hearts to resist them and if it may please her Majesty to grant me her most princely grace and favour that I may return home I hope I shall be able to do her some service. I protest to your Honour I will be as faithful to her as ever was Mardocheus to the King his master and I hope neither her Majesty nor you will take in evil part my plain dealing. Because my Lord of Shrewsbury has known me of long time I have presumed to crave his favour by my letter here enclosed which I beseech you vouchsafe to cause to be delivered to him. I send it unsealed for that your Honour might see it. Leith, 14 January 1599 [*sic*]. *Signed:* George More.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598. xiiii° Jan. Mr. Moore to my master."

Jan. 14. **307**. GEORGE MOORE TO THE EARL OF SHREWSBURY.

Vol. lxiv, No. 10.

More than a year ago having retired myself out of the King of Spain's dominions because I would not follow a course most prejudicial to her Majesty and my country, I sent my man into England to my Lord Treasurer certifying him by my letter thereof and also of the cause of my departure out of England, which partly was the unjust presentments against me for recusancy, the hard dealing against me when I was collector, the verdict against me at Nottingham upon trial of land, the sentence in Star Chamber against me about Sir Thomas Stanhope's "weares," the desire I had to live with liberty of conscience, but chiefly the fear I had that the Earl of Huntingdon would have had my life, whose indignation and threats against me I understood of, I being bound by his means to appear with my wife before the Archbishop of York about the same time I came away. For I had heard that he put some unjustly to death and said to one that was no offender, yea, saith he, but if a jury go "of" you once, where are you then? Therefore, though I and my wife were most innocent, yet I durst not trust his jury. For when I complained of him to my Lord Treasurer he then told me that if ever he got me within his commission he would remember me. But he being dead I was and am most desirous to return home, and therefore humbly besought my Lord Treasurer to be a means to her Majesty for me, either to return or with her gracious favour to live where it might please her to command me, being ready to do her any service I should be commanded. His lordship made me a gracious answer but refused to move her Majesty because I required liberty of conscience. Upon my arrival here I presumed by my letter to certify her Majesty of all and of the cause of my coming into Scotland, which was, as I thought, to give being

here least offence to her Majesty and the sooner to obtain grace and favour. And for so much as your lordship has known me of long time and that I have always found you most gracious towards me, I am forced in this my distress to appeal to your most honourable good favour beseeching the same to afford me that good word and report to her Majesty and the Council as you shall think me worthy of, being willing and ready to come in and submit my body to her Majesty's good will and pleasure. For religion shall not take away my duty and obedience to her nor make me unnatural to my country. This I protest I will seal with my blood, if it may please her Majesty give me leave to come in and serve against the Spaniards, who I am persuaded will make some attempt this summer against England. Therefore I beseech you assist me with your favour that I may obtain grace. Leith, 14 January 1599 [*sic*]. *Signed:* George More.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by the Earl of Shrewsbury:* "14 Ja: 1598: 1599. A letter from Leythe from Mr. George Moore sent me within Mr. Secretary's packet, which I received at Sheffeld Lodge the 7 of Feb. unsealed as now it is. 1598."

At foot of the letter: memorandum to the same effect as the above endorsement, signed: Gilb: Shrewsbury.

Jan. 20. **308.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 11.

On Wednesday afternoon the King gave me very courteously audience in his cabinet as at good opportunity I showed him her Majesty's letter to me, which he thought not so plain but more dark (he said) than she needed have written, as if her Majesty were strange with him, which he said she needed not be: for he never gave nor would give her cause, he protested. He also said she did not free him in her declaration, but as proceeding upon his own protestation of his clearness and of her opinion of the same; and in which he said her Majesty might have cleared him upon and by declaration of his long and good behaviour towards her and upon her experience had thereof, it never being truly heard or seen that ever he so much as wished her harm. He says he marvels how the knave could devise such lies as are in his confession and he assures himself that if he had been threatened with torture he would have told another tale, adding that if he were sent hither by her Majesty's Ambassador and kept close in his house and to be examined before him by the Ambassador he could never have the face to stand to such wild lies and inventions but confess the truth and deny all, especially if he were tortured and rightly handled as a matter of that great importance deserves. In which case (he said) himself to have no power at all over the man, but her Majesty's Ambassador to bring him in, keep, examine and carry him away at his pleasure. He said the knave can never say he gave him penny, and yet he gives, he says, to the "hanters" that come to him but for his pleasure (which is very true and to all of them very frankly); and he says this with the circumstances of his confession which are all untrue, viz., that he spake him at Linlithgow, at Holyroodhouse, and that

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1598-9. Ardkinglass (Arkinlas) was there; for he protests he never spake but once on the fields and that Ardkinglass was then 30 miles off. The untruth of these things, he says, may make plain that he is but a lying and false knave and ought not to be believed. And to the argument used in Denmark and Germany by his Ambassadors he thought the slipping of one word, which he shall make clear to her Majesty by letters was not in their direction, should not be thus mistaken, neither was his intent any way evil to her Majesty in that embassage or other than he had sent to Mr. David Foulis to be showed for her contentment therein; protesting very earnestly that howsoever her Majesty should hear or think of him and his dealings, they should never be but honest and upright to her and to her good if he could; using some speeches as if he had some purpose to deal further and otherways in these behalfs hereafter both for her Majesty and his own better satisfaction in them. For her Majesty's determination anent the still keeping of Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Woodrington in prison until the matter be tried, he is very well content therewith and will see that no troubles be made of his side upon that country in the mean[time], desiring her Majesty's speedy return of her answers to his letter, that it may receive speedy trial and end. For the pledges he thinks it but meet that they give caution for such redress as conveniently may be made to the honest; and [he] thinks they and their friends will do so far therein as they can, accounting them poor and not able to endure and bear the charges of their imprisonment; which indeed is very true, as if your Honour should cause order be given that they might be eased in their charges, it would do good.

On Wednesday the Earl of Angus sent for me, showing me that the King had written and reproved him sharply upon my complaint for Lord Scrope, as he was sorry any such hard course was used against him; praying me to write to Lord Scrope that for all the matters he complains on and which he is to complain on again to Lord Scrope he will be on those Marches the 6 of next month and then send to Lord Scrope for a private meeting that they may advise on the best course for redress to be made on both sides and the stay of the present disorders and apprehension of the pledges which must be done with secrecy and before their purposes be discovered in that point or it will be impossible for him or Lord Scrope to get their pledges, he says (which I think very true and had need to be now well handled considering the loose estate of both sides there). All which I have herewith certified my Lord Scrope. That his lordship may be ready to yield his correspondency, the Earl protests his good offices for justice and the peace; as also that in his advice to his Majesty he shall ever wish him to prefer her Majesty to all the world and to keep kind friendship with her. The King told me he had been earnestly with Angus, which I see true. And he said (in the reading of her said letter) that as her Majesty desires that he would believe and judge her by herself and not upon rumours, so he wishes that she would do him, and protested that none of his should have power or credit of him or his name to colour or do any unkind offices towards her (by his troth he said it), as for his part he hoped of her again, noting by the way Mr. Jo:

Colville to be doing no good or honest offices towards him, but to be practising out of these matters of Valentyne Thomas, adding that Mr. Jo: says he is none of his King nor he his subject.

Yesterday I spoke the King showing him a letter that Mr. Rowe, now Governor for the time of Carrickfergus, has sent showing me that notwithstanding the King's proclamations sundry of his subjects trafficked with powder, bullet and aqua vite to the rebel in Ireland. The [King] said he heard it was true and willed me to give him note of their names and he should cause them be called before him and his Council for the matter and see them severely punished, adding he should find more than I had names of who should be punished also. He spoke to me and Mr. Hudson anent one Sivett a Scotsman that he heard was taken at Newcastle by the mayor. He said he heard the man spoke there that he hoped to see the King there in only foolish sort or after drink, which he would have released and not the advantage taken of his oversight or folly.

The King has made the Earl of Montrose Chancellor with a fair harangue that he is not factious but simple and well disposed to justice. The whole Council, Mar, the Treasurer and the rest voted and subscribed to his choice, indeed they could not help it and therefore did it. The Duke and Huntly are said to be coming hither, Huntly to seek the whole Isles in favour of the Islanders and to bind himself to pay the King duties for the same. Upon the Duke's coming I know not what may be; but all men look from that to see what will follow. The Chamber thinks the Chancellor will be for them. If not, they "wape" him, and if he be for them the Session will be for themselves. He has bound himself to entertain the King's house, to aid his officers against horners as none shall be, to be the cause that his Majesty shall be waited on with his nobility honourably and many others. But the King rests still determined to remove the 4 ministers. But all these and the many "platts" now in hand to the sequel and my next. Edinburgh, 20 January 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. On Tuesday Mr. David Foulis came hither and Sir Hugh Carmichael (Carmighell) and James Hudson. Mr. David spoke that night at length with the King. The next morning I told Mr. David I had received a packet from your Honour, yet with direction that I should not deal with the King until he came and should have first said all errands to the King, noting unto him how much he was beholden to you, which he granted protesting he should serve you, as also asking him if it might not prevent him that I should speak the King in the afternoon. He said no and gave me many thanks. Whereon I desired Mr. Aston to help me to the King to speak him in his cabinet (that overhearing might be avoided for preventing of conjectures by countenance and words to be overheard in the King. This I did because Mr. David gave me taste that the King was scarce well content and as he seemed that because he was "shorted" of 1000*l.*); which Mr. Aston did, and had such answer made by the King to the letter as appears in my letter. But he was something angry indeed that her Majesty had not written to him herself, saying she gave him no thanks anent his honest courses held towards her anent Tyrone's

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matters and others. I said her Majesty had directed Mr. Foulis to do it, as he would see if he read out the letter, and gave him many thanks, and that your Honour had certified me that her Majesty took in kind part. Aye but, he said, she had not yet written one word to him of it, neither had Mr. David told him yet of her thanks. And anent her Majesty's unkind taking of the argument used by his Ambassador, he said the word that slipped them was a Latin word signifying sometimes in health and sometimes sick; that there was no other meant but that she is mortal and he too, he said, and might possibly die before her as pleased God. He wished not her death nor the world should never see that fault in him. It was not his duty to wish hurt to her of and by whom he had received and looked to receive such good. Indeed, he said, she is a prince of great honour and had lived and reigned as honourable and with as much happiness as ever did prince, and if she should, by manifesting of the title to the right heir himself, clear that point to the world and her people, that she might leave them when it should please God to call her (as he for his part prays she may live long) in peace and out of the danger of the huge and great troubles that otherways will then come, her Majesty's life, reign and end would and ought to be memorably honoured and praised over all the princes yet ever written of. But these he spoke to me as of the "by" and upon his love to her Majesty's honour. I see the King intends yet to insist again with her for her favour to him that he may be perfectly cleared of Va: Tho: slanders.

Mr. David Foulis is put at and called to account anent the 3000*l.* He takes allowance (I hear) of 100 marks sterling in the month for his charges and for as much monthly for intelligence and gifts given for the King. When such "fleces" are taken out of it it is no marvel that it be said here, as commonly is said, that though England give the King money, yet it is with delays that a good part may be spent and left behind in England, as surely the sending of the King were the best course and most show her kindness to the King in it. For now when the King's officers make account of 3000*l.* and find so lessened, they storm.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Jan. 20. **309.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxiv, No. 12.

I have now received your Honour's packet and Lords' of Council. Anent the Border accident, in which the King wrote to her Majesty and prays answer, I attend and will not deal till her pleasure be returned thereunto, which it may please you to haste. Edinburgh, 20 January 1598. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Slip of paper probably enclosed in the foregoing. Holograph.

Jan. 20. **310.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 13.

It may please your Honour to be advertised that Mr. Foulis has delivered his credit charge with very good report of her Majesty's princely dealing towards the King which he has well accepted,

But this new Council and some of the Privy Chamber for the matters of money intend to control his accounts and proceedings with some more severities than he looked for. His Coun[cil] has given out that he has gone too mild a course rather seeking to please there than here. This new Lord Chancellor is much repined at by the best sort and the matter was much crossed. But the great promises on his part for the easing the King of his daily toils and a good reformation to follow in all his affairs, the maintenance of his house yearly without halt, and that the nobility should daily in some good proportion give their attendance upon the King's person at Court, and chiefly the credit of Sir George Home and his fellow friends of the Privy Chamber have wrought out this matter without great interruption, though it be doubted that few of the promised promises be kept. But faction has made it and faction is as like to unmake it ere it be longer.

Colonel Murray is arrived here from the States of Holland with letters to desire the King's favour and leave to take up one company of horse and of foot with a number to refresh the old companies now in that service. He is very portly man and of a good honourable house and of good affection to the amity. I heard him make a true report to the King of the barbarous tyrannies and the daily cruelties of the Spaniards under the Admiral's government and of their want of pay and mutiny and of the messages of some of the princes of Germany that he should remove them with speed or else they would with force. One thing that he reported was that they kept a quick woman great with child and stabbed the living child and because another young child cried they thrust the said child into his mother's womb and strangled him in his mother's blood. Which acts (as the King did) all the world may abhor. Here is a good King vexed with a factious and a crooked generation.

I perceived Sir Walter Lindsay plays least in sight and that he has not found matters as he hoped. It is supposed that Mr. James Gordon shall be suffered to part the country with condition that if ever he return he shall presently suffer death.

I will not trouble your Honour with long letter but only for duty's sake thus much. For I find my hope whereupon I came to have taken some order for such money as is owing me is like to be void and my labour and cost lost.

The King spoke to Mr. Nicolson and me for to write for the deliverance of a Scot that lies prisoner at Newcastle, whose name is Sivice. It is said that he spoke some words of his hope to see the King in England, which the King says he either spoke in folly or drunkenness and therefore requests that the man be put at liberty at his request; which matter and all others I refer to your good pleasure and to Mr. Nicolson's larger report, whom I find to be a very honest and sufficient diligent man and of very good credit and acquaintance here with many of the best sort. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

2¼ *pp. Holograph, with address and date:* "Edinborow, the 20 of Januar 1598." *Seal: a classical gem, the same as that used by Nicolson on his letter of the same date. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Without date 1598. Mr. James Hudson to my master."

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311. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO DR. JULIUS CAESAR.

Addit. MSS. 12503, fo. 431.

Please be informed that I have received sundry letters from Scotland in favour of the bearers hereof James Arnot and Thomas Marshall, burgesses of the town of Edinburgh, by which it is certified that the said persons have been spoiled and robbed of their whole substance by a ship and a pinnace of Plymouth belonging to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, captain of the Castle of the said town. The master of the pinnace is named Walter Job. The spoliation was committed upon 3 January 1597 about the height of Cape Finisterre where both Sir Ferdinando's ship and the pinnace aboarded the Scottish ship called the *Hart* of Leith of the burden of 109 tuns, detained her in their possession by the space of four days and nights, spoiled the said parties of their goods, merchandise, ship book and tables, did break down their ship above the water in such sort that they were forced to seek the nearest land which was Lisbon in Portugal, where they remained by contrary wind the space of 15 weeks, not having wherewith to load their said ship by reason their whole merchandise was spoiled, and they thereby made unable not only to perform their home voyage but also forced to pay 450*l.* "wast fraught" besides the loss of the goods taken from them amounting to the sum of 420*l.* sterling in linen cloths, jersey stockings, herrings, calf skins, parchment and grogram of Lisle, besides their whole apparel, victual and furniture of their ship. The King their sovereign at the earnest suit of the merchants in the said town of Edinburgh has very earnestly written to her Majesty craving that redress may be had in this matter. By reason that I imagine that the whole goods that are spoiled are not come to the use of Sir Ferdinando for that the mariner spoilers are accustomed to embezzle some part thereof, as also that I understand him to be your approved friend, I have done what I can to stay this complaint as yet uncome to her Majesty's hands, and in the mid time have thought expedient to make your worship acquainted therewith to the end that the commissioners may write to him and desire that such good order may be taken in this matter as the said merchants may be satisfied by such as committed the said spoliations; otherwise that the burden of his whole actions will fall upon himself, in case it shall be prosecuted with such rigour as the said merchants intend (?) to do it. By reason they are presently in this town I would request you that they may receive his answer what he will to be done in this matter with such expedition as conveniently may be. This 20 of January. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

1½ *pp. Holograph, addressed. Endorsed:* "Mr. Douglas touching a ship of Scotland called the *Hart* spoiled by a pinnace of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Ja. 1598."

Jan. 21/31.

312. [? JOHN COLVILLE] TO THE [? EARL OF ESSEX].

Vol. lxiv, No. 14.

Bothwell shall have entertainment of 1000 men to be levied and used in manner following: three ships with 300 of Stanley's regiment

1598-9. to go with him to Caithness, the Earl whereof is his brother uterine. Arriving there he shall levy his men, and having with him cannon, he shall from Caithness go to Orkney (which is but an hour's sailing or two) and there he intends to force the castle of Kirkwall (Kirkvay), which is not very strong, and by possessing that castle to possess all the small Orcade Isles, which will be easy for him to do with 1000 men. Obtaining these islands his purpose is to levy all the men he can that speak the Irish tongue and by the west seas where he will be out of danger of her Majesty's ships to go to Ireland, leaving garrisons in the said castle and isles to make them a magazine to receive victuals and munitions from the east countries and a receptacle for their hurt and diseased persons, the passage serving well for that purpose from Dansk and Hamburg to go to Spain and Ireland.

Item, he was in the month of November last in Paris, where he has debauched sundry Scottishmen to go with him, promising them golden mountains.

The King of Scotland may be assured that Bothwell means to trouble his Estate. Therefore the said King must take order with the Earl of Caithness and his 2 brothers James and John that they concur not with Bothwell their brother. And for that the said King has some forces in the Isle of Lewis, which is but 2 hours' sailing from Caithness, he may do well to send 200 men, the one to lie at Thurso (Ferso), the other at Staxigoe (Taxigo), for there be no other good harbours in Caithness.

¾ *p. Endorsed:* "Extract of a letter from Flanders. The last of January *novo stilo* 1598 [*sic*]."*

Jan. 25. **313.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lii, p. 235. When I received your letters and the enclosed from Mr. Foulis's packet, which by your advertisement I had warrant to open, I delivered it to her Majesty. She has therein found no more than heretofore she has done, as namely his prejudice in the Border cause and his desire of speedy trial. Of all these things her Majesty doubts not but when the King shall have spoken with Mr. Foulis he will receive satisfaction, the delay being much burdensome to her whose subjects are in durance and one of them dangerously sick and sequestered from their countries to the danger of the Borders, as being principal men to assist the Warden. You have ere this time, I doubt not, received a letter from the Council here which shows her Majesty's resolution for the Border cause to be tried by assize, and therefore to draw it to the other Wardens were preposterous and more tedious. Thus much you may inform the King for answer to his letter as a seconding of the former resolution contained in my Lords' letter to the intent that some one proceeding be settled and not upon every letter varied,

*Apparently an extract from a letter from John Colville to the Earl of Essex of 20/30 Jan. 1598-9 described in the *Calendar of Cecil MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm.), Part IX, pp. 33, 34. The letter is not printed in the Bannatyne Club's edition of Colville's letters.

1598-9. which grows by lack of each prince knowing other's mind, at the time they conceive each other's amiss. I pray you therefore confirm this as her Majesty's last and certain device and as the way to conclude the matters one way or other. You shall now repair unto the King and let him know that her Majesty having received an intelligence from Flanders where she has an eye to their proceedings, having thereby understood something that nearly concerns the King of Scots, has thought it an office of kindness to inform him of it being that which she knows to be very true, whereby he may well see the good affection of that Earl [Bothwell ?] to her estate, wherein he does no whit deceive her, though the King has been misled, to doubt any underhand favours of her to that unnatural subject of his. Concerning Gordon's (Gurdon's) coming in, it seems to her such a mystery that he should presume of such boldness as she cannot tell what to think and wish, but leaves it only to the King's own wisdom, to whom is best known how far that presumption may be dangerous to his estate. Requiring you to advertise Mr. Carey of the going on of this trial, as he shall be from home also, I commit you to God.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to Mr. Nicholson," *and in margin:* "Janu. 25, 1598."

Jan. 26. **314.** ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 15. The bearers hereof, John Johnston and Nathaniel Johnston, merchants and burgesses of the town of Edinburgh, by contrary wind in coming from Bordeaux, their ship laden with wine is stayed at Dover, and they now being come to London as minded to repair to Scotland and by post, have desired me to recommend their honest behaviour to your Honour. I can testify them to be honest men and dealers in the trade of merchandise and cannot refuse to pray you that they may have your passport and commission for post horses for the furtherance of their journey. This 26 of January 1598. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Jan. 26. **315.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Vol. lii, p. 241. Her Majesty has been made acquainted with the sickness of Mr. Fenwick both by letters from Sir Robert Carey and by information of Mr. Selby and has willed me to let your lordship know that she takes little pleasure to restrain them, considering how able and willing she thinks them to serve her. But because her honour is impeached by the King thus far that she is bound by treaty to do otherwise with them and she has already given her word that by an assize all shall be tried, her Majesty cannot in this time set them free without touch to her promise and show of neglect to the King. Yet has she thus proceeded

that if any more delays shall be brought on the King's part, she shall take herself freed of this promise. For if the opposite Warden by cavil may free himself of gentlemen of their sufficiencies, he will little care to bring the matter to trial, when I doubt not but compensation of crimes in other things of other natures shall sufficiently stop their mouths. This I thought good to write unto you both for their satisfaction that their restraint proceeds of no other neglecting of their cause. For the point of this indisposition, which doubtless flows by the air, though it cannot be suddenly changed but that they must a little while longer drink of your cup (to whom I am sure they are welcome), yet you may let them quietly and without ostentation (whereon exception may fall) take the air privately some time, wherein your judgment and their discretion, I know, may much be trusted how it shall be used. And now you know this resolution above said, it shall be very convenient that the Warden, Sir Robert Carey, be called upon to hasten this assize, for which Nicolson has order to press the King and to acquaint Sir Robert from time to time with his proceedings.

To yourself her Majesty returns gracious thanks and acceptation of all your endeavours and thinks herself pleased in the election of you, which for your comfort she willed me to tell you.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to my Lord of Durham," *and in margin:* "January 26, 1598."

Jan. 26. **316.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR ROBERT CAREY.

Vol. lii, p. 242.

The King still importunes delivery of Mr. Woodrington and Mr. Fenwick. Her Majesty has resolved that they shall be tried by the assize, which I think the safest way, for then shall you, I doubt not, but be able to "invert" other matter upon Mr. Cessford's neck, which *per compensationem criminis* shall stop his mouth and so with her Majesty's honour set free those gentlemen whom she esteems and holds in better account than to disgrace unjustly if other courses could be holden than are without continual exclamation. You shall see this letter which the King has written and what he offers, but the Queen resolves of no course of Commissioners, which is tedious, nor to bring it out of the Wardenry to my Lord Willoughby, but to have you and the opposite Warden try all and end all. I have written unto Nicolson to answer so, directly to call for it and to hold correspondency with you in it that it may come to end. Which if they shall on the opposite wilfully protract her Majesty will think herself bound no longer, nor to suffer her Borders by device to be weakened by lack of them, and the gentlemen to perish by sickness, of which she being informed by your letter has commanded me to write to my Lord of Durham her pleasure, in which I know they will have comfort. When the King wrote this letter he had not received her Majesty's resolution to have trial by assize. But now she has ratified her former, which he has long since received, by another letter 2 days since again. This being as much as the present affords I commit you to God.

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¾ *p. In the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to Sir Robert Cary," *and in margin:* "January 26, 1598."

Feb. 2. **317.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 16.

Since my last of the 20 of the last my Lord Secretary in a very courteous sort, showing how little the King thought the things Mr. David brought were to his contentment or honour, dealt with me to have commended this gently for some better regard to be had of the King therein and so to do my endeavour to prepare the way. I answered it would be best that he wrote himself to you in case the King would needs insist for further therein (which by all possible reasons to me I dissuaded the King, Secretary and other of the Council whom the King had showed these things to). Hereon he paused and said he would advise and within 2 or 3 days tell me what he would do therein. Yesternight he told me that the King has again viewed and reviewed such things as Mr. David brought anent his acquittal of that matter of Valentyne Tho[mas's] slanders, and the more he views them the less contentment he finds; the rather because they were accepted by Mr. David, saying if they had been sent to me to deliver him, he might have been the better content; but being received and brought by his own minister, who had plain instruction to have sought the King's acquittal in any of three sorts, and not otherways, the King thinks the receiving of them and keeping of them will be thought no other but a yielding and granting to his own condemnation, the inquisition (which I take to be his indictment) convicting Valentyne Thomas of the consenting and undertaking at Linlithgow my Lord Treasurer's life first and then her Majesty's, agreeing and being in the same words as is in his confession, so plain (he said the King noted) as though the King's name be not in the inquisition, yet by the words of Va: Tho:'s confession and by the inquisition itself by that jury the King is therewith convict, and yet the King protests he never spoke Va: Tho: at Linlithgow but shall renounce his kingdom if he did it. [*In margin:* The King said to me if ever he spoke Va: Tho: at Linlithgow he will yield to be convict.] That the King is angry at Mr. David and accounts it Mr. Da:'s fault and no evil purpose in her Majesty, whose letter sent to the King anent this matter is better than all these things and assures him she means well to him and better contentment than this is sent him, and that in hope and assurance that her Majesty will of herself and of her love to him upon the long experience she has had of his honesty to her, having ever cast off and refused all foreign offers and "platts" and all advices tending to any practice or action against her. [*In margin:* The Queen's letter which I delivered at Stirling they make much on as the best matter yet from the Queen and in case of need will use it large enough. I see still that mind in them.] He is in purpose to return all these things with his letter to her Majesty and therein to commend his case in that matter to her better favour for further clearing of his honour in this point. This he says the King is of intention to do within 2 or 3 days

and himself will also write to your Honour in this behalf. He protests he shall do all the good offices he can to entertain the happy love between the princes and hopes with your correspondency all shall be well. I hope this drawing of him to intelligence with you is a good service and shall be beneficial to her Majesty for he is the only man here with the King for all state matters, especially foreign matters. But this intelligence would be most close kept, not known to any but the Queen, so your Honour shall see good follow. I thought good now to advertise you these things but however they proceed or alter (as things commonly alter here) or however these matters shall be couched in their letters, you may see what is now in purpose, remitting the certainties thereof to the letters themselves when they shall be written.

Since my last also the parties here in the hunting accident complained to the Council that they could not get their bonds discharged but by their bonds remained prisoners as if they had been taken in war, desiring they might have oversight to remedy themselves. The Lord Secretary indeed very honestly answered that the King had written to her Majesty that if the 2 Sir Roberts stood upon ceremony and shall not agree anent the trial of that matter that it might be tried by my Lords Home and Willoughby and that the King looked daily for answer and trial of that matter, as they were to content themselves with what his Majesty did for them, as nothing was granted them but Sir Robert Kerr directed Home to take sure order that they broke not the peace; who is returned again. [*In margin:* The parties have been long of intention to have entered and paid ransoms that they might the freelier have taken revenge again.] The King expects and desires her Majesty's speedy answer to his letter that this Border matter may speedily be ended, as also he attended her pleasure anent Father Gordon who now is to be put to Dunkirk or Calais out of this country, because they gather her Majesty has nothing to say to him by reason in all this time there comes no word. For these Border matters, especially for redress to be had by the late treaties, Sir William Bowes if he were here might do good and though it were but for a month or 2 to put some end to this matter of Valentyne Thomas also, that once it might be dead here. He will have many affairs anent Border matters and other things, and then I might ride to Glasgow, Ayr, Irvine and those parts to espy and with the King's order to see stay made of the stolen aids of powder, lead, etc., to the rebels against the King's will by sundry too much to the rebels' advantage. For albeit the King made good laws thereanent, yet one neighbour will bear with another and none incur others' displeasures for us, as I have done and must do or some others before this be clearly helped.

The Council and especially the King's officers note that the gratuity never is got or comes without great attendance and suit and charges for it. Some of the best affected have said to me that the King and all honest men would think her Majesty did the King a great kindness if it would please her to appoint it certain both for the sum and days of receipt that it might [be] had without such charge, as surely it is strange to hear sometimes a 3[rd] part of it spent and often more about it.

For this Estate it stands thus: the Lord Chancellor brooks his place in peace, Mar has been feasted with him, the Treasurer and all the Council, and the Treasurer has feasted him again. The King sent Bogie with a letter to the Duke to inform him and satisfy him anent the placing of Montrose Chancellor before his return that the Duke may be content with it. The Treasurer was so plain, as yet the party that reached for his office let it lie quietly over. The Duke and Huntly are to be here this night, whereon some judge there will be some stir against the Chancellor, but I see it not. And yet either party are for certain quietly hoping for others "couping," as time will produce something amongst them but not yet. Huntly sent yesterday to Mr. Robert Bruce that he was coming, would see him and desire his good countenance. Mr. Robert said he belike understood not, that he stood in some disgrace with the King as he should rather hurt nor pleasure the Earl by his countenance. Huntly's servant said yes, his lordship knew it, but stood not upon that but would do Mr. Robert all the good he could. He comes (as he always does) strong.

The King and ministers are in way again of agreement and yet they preached not on Sunday. They agree to subscribe to the Act, which was that they should in no respect meddle with the King, Estate or Council or any of their doings, upon this proviso that the King or Council attempt nor do anything direct against the Religion or discipline, in which case they will speak; which the King agrees unto, adding let then all men speak ill on him. To this effect they are in way of agreeing.

Lord Livingstone and that side are here to be agreed with Mar, who is ridden to Stirling to his wife being sick. Yet both parties have now subscribed the submission to the King who intends to choose Cessford, Buccleuch, Traquair, Carmichael and others to help him to agree them in all points.

Colonel Murray is returned hither and has licence to take up 800 footmen and 100 horse to supply the Scots company. I have heard some would have it quietly in consideration that the King of Spain would give better pay.

Here came 2 Englishmen, one Bovell, the other Hastings, that offered to the King to make of 5 deniers of fine silver 11 deniers of the like for "cuche," cut and melt, and of 22 carats of gold, 23 of the like for "cuche," cut and melt. Bovell was the offerer and did it in one More's name. The Council thought much that they should so tempt them, as if the King or this Estate were either not able to discern between plainness and deceit or unhonest to entertain it, yet dismissed them willing me to write that More might be looked to that he practised no hurt by these deceits. Edinburgh 1* February, 1598. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

* *See* second para. of following letter.

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318. GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

101 (Boucklugh) a very sure, wise and constant man, says the way to try the matter will be best by the 3 Wardens of our side and the 3 of this side, the Lord Home, Buccleuch and Cessford, that so he will undertake the trial shall be without partiality, and the Wardens knowing best the estate of Border affairs may best devise the remedies and "midds" for settling all matters.

My last letter should have been dated the 2nd hereof but was wrong dated the 1.

When the King read the part of the letter he noted he was neglected, that he was not answered by her Majesty's letters again and began to find fault that Sir William came not in with the instructions when they were to him, found fault with the Queen's letter, said it was no clearing but a charging of him not to believe that she thought so on him, that he had answered that letter well enough, with other words as if the Queen in not answering his many late letters by letters again of her own held little account of him; finding fault that that he wrote for answer for should be written to me and not to himself, that he was a free King and held no lands of any and looked for her own letters again; that this manner of answering was as if his Secretary man should write to your man answer of what her Majesty wrote to him; with other words which I commend only to your Honour's self, beseeching you for God's cause that these things and Sir Ro: Kerr's words may be misknown and no answers made upon my writing but upon the King's letter when it comes (as it will do shortly), as also only upon the note signed by the Secretary. For all these things would be overseen to avoid the worst: for it comes not of the King's nature, neither is it meet to put at Sir Ro: Kerr, for he is great now as he will embark the King in his cause. Some of 40 (Marres) side would have these things hardly met with again and think then 116 (the King) will relent. But God forbid it should be put to that for that should only serve their particulars of that side.

I am not able to deal in these but desire your Honour I may be discharged unless it be to attend Sir William, which I will do freely till these matters settle. It were best he were sent with answer to the Border causes all and the matter of Valentyne Thomas as occasion shall be offered by the King's letter, which I dissuaded him from, telling him her Majesty meant well, as he might content himself with it. If Sir William come the things will calm of themselves and the better by the intelligence with 105 (the Secretary) and some contentment to Sir Ro: Kerr anent his pledges; these will turn yet to great calms. For Sir Ro: does not of evil will but of policy keep the King to these courses of purpose to cause the "middes" for Border causes come to consideration and 105 (the Secretary) I judge would be sought unto that thereby he may be acknowledged. For he said he was but a beginner and had his living yet to make. Therefore I beseech your Honour to keep and handle these things as they be overseen and not upon my advertisement quarrelled anyway at. For then it will cost me my life.

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Your Honour will see in the Border note mention is made of a note sent to me which is not so nor never so said, but this to your good help of me, praying that I be not condemned without trial; for blessed be God, my conscience is clean.

I think the King's letter will be ready on Tuesday next. The King will (?) write it with his own hand, yet will not send it but by the Secretary's dispatch, who is this day gone to Glasgow. So as I wish no answer to the Border cause till ye may see the letter that some may (I mean Sir William is sure best) come with answer and to deal in both things, and so some things will discover that yet lie quiet. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In George Nicolson's hand, the decipherments of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil. No endorsement.*

Feb. 3 & 7. **319.** MEMORANDUM BY GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxiv, No. 17.

3° Febr. 1598. The double of the note I gave the Secretary.

That the matter may be tried by an assize of 12 Borderers on either side at a day of truce between the Wardens of the Marches where it was done.

As also her Majesty requires that all other slaughters committed since the treaty was ended may be likewise tried, that thereupon such justice may follow as may terrify others from like offences; her Majesty intending nor desiring nothing more than the restitution of former quietness to the subjects of both princes by due observation of justice.

On Wednesday morn 7° Feb. 1598 — The note of that I gathered of the King what he had resolved anent the hunting accident.

That the 2 gentlemen should be first tried (by the Wardens) on their honour foul or clean; if foul, that then there needs no more; if clean, that then Wardens try by assize of 12 English to be named by Sir Ro: Kerr and 12 Scotsmen to be named by Sir Ro: Carey.

That each Warden may advertise other of the names to be ready against the day of truce to be appointed for this purpose.

That the Wardens may [have] full power also [to] try it by any other way they can or so end it if they can by any commodity to be projected or devised by them on the fields, or by the parties to ease the princes of further trouble.

That her Majesty may be moved for her consent and order to her Warden to this effect.

That they be enjoined to meet friendly and so depart however otherways they agree or not.

That for other slaughters committed since the treaties ended trial may be likewise so taken at meet times.

That his Majesty resolves and craves her Majesty's consent in this manner hereunto with speed with like order to her Warden to concur with his Warden herein.

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand.*

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320. JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 18.

By my last I wrote of Mr. Foulis's honest behaviour in the delivery of all matters and of the King's reasonable contentment.

Since this the Secretary has laboured his disgrace by the assistance of the Chamber, first for his payments for his brother's debts without a warrant (as was alleged) and next for returning so small contentment to the King in the matter of Valentyne [Thomas]. The first matter after much ado the King has taken in to his own hands to censure his servant as shall prevent him. But in the other the King purposes to write to her Majesty that he has received nothing whereupon to rest either assured or content, yet in very good, kind and mild terms, very far different from the advice of some of credit here, wherein also Mr. Foulis has played the part of an honest man and well affected to the amity.

The King is of himself very well inclined and of a good disposition towards her Majesty, the amity and good government of his own Estate and all, but gets small concurrence to go forward with the work. His letter is written and lacks but to be written over again.

For the matter of the Borders it seems necessarily to require the countenance of some person of good rank and judgment or else it is neither like to take speedy nor contented end. For though Mr. Nicolson does his best endeavour and that with very good discretion and boldness, yet he is much overmatched and will be downweighed. There was an overture made to have essayed an intelligence betwixt your Honour and the Secretary here, which has slept this 3 or 4 days but I think it will awake again. Likewise there is a purpose that the King shall make choice of some person of honour to whom he will communicate freely his affairs with England and therein use his advice; which if it hold will be the Earl of Mar who for honour, honesty and wisdom may well be accounted with the first courtiers of all. But in all these matters I will reserve my plainness till I see your Honour or may send more safely.

I am to ride out of this town to see the Prince before these things in hand will be ripe. Wherefore I leave all other things to Mr. Nicolson's advertisement.

For matters of papistry there appears no great danger. For the greatest of that faction are wearied of Spanish hopes and the ministers are watchful over that crew. The matter betwixt the King and them goes off and on according to the uncertainty of their humours, sometimes content and other times falling to new points. Things betwixt the noblemen for offices and places are like to be calm for displeasing of the King but the factions hold themselves firm upon their guard. Mr. James Gordon is a more silly man than he is supposed to be and is to be sent away. His coming was upon a zeal to his house and nation and commanded by the chief of their sect. Edinburgh, 6 of February 1598. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

Postscript. The Earl of Huntly came stronger here because of his feud with the Stewarts. The Duke is to ride to Glasgow to his wife and his sister the Countess of Huntly is a very subtle, wise lady and

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has for her pains taken with the Queen at this time, received a "brassiner" set with diamonds to the value of 1500 French crowns from the Queen as her gift. All Sir Robert Kerr's crossing of this Border matter is thereby to occasion the redelivery of his pledges, which is a wrong way to speed. These being there breeds good peace, for when they get liberty that matter would not be long unrevenged and the Borderers would find it amongst their cattle and especially if they had been loose these long nights of winter last past.

The Duke has restored the Great Seal to the Chancellor and for his goodwill had 1000 crowns of the same.

It is in notion presently that the King in his letter should require a reciprocal intelligence (?) to pass betwixt her Majesty and him and that each of them may from time to time utter their own griefs and kindly make redress as need shall require.

This Border matter has mightily tossed to and fro and so will everything else be unless it may please her Majesty to cause Sir Robert Kerr be better encountered. They are marred for lack of round replies out of a person of place and credit. Such a one as Sir William Bowes would fit them in their own terms or better and if this be they will wax unsupportable for power. George is much overmatched but sure he is a careful, diligent man as ever I see and lacks not spirit but power.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Feb. 9. **321.** ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 19.

There is come hither from France two merchants of Edinburgh, Patrick Edgar and Thomas Millar. They are desirous to repair home to Scotland by post and have required me to recommend them and their petition to your grave consideration. I pray you to see them used according to your accustomed favour. This 9 of February. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1598, 9 Febr. Mr. Arch: Douglas to my master."

Feb. 9. **322.** DEMANDS OF KING JAMES VI REGARDING THE BORDER INCIDENT.

Vol. lxiv, No. 24.

9° Februarii 1598.

1. It is thought that his Majesty's particular instruction to his servant at his late being with the Queen, his Highness's letter to her with his own hand followed with two letters of estate for justice of this fact complained upon are not here answered with respect by the note sent to George Nicolson nor with that satisfaction to his Majesty which by all equity by warrant of the treaties and by the late example of his Majesty in yielding of the very persons of his officers for her contentment he merited and expected on her part.

2. And yet that by impunity of this the quietness at that hand be not imperilled his Majesty is content the trial come in before the ordinary officers upon conditions following:

3. That the parties complained upon be caused to appear and give the oaths upon the truth of the complaint.

4. If they swear innocent, that notwithstanding they be thereafter tried by an inquest of 12 gentlemen on either side chosen by the opposite officers.

5. That the Wardens advertise other of the names they choose that they may be present at the day appointed for the trial.

6. That all frivolous altercations and allegeances set aside, there be no other question nor trial but whether that deed was committed by such men within Scots ground or not.

7. And if they differ on the ground, that the Wardens either go or send sufficient gentlemen to the place where the deed was done and try whether it be Scots or English.

8. Remembering always that their meeting be on the Scots side according to the ancient custom.

9. If this trial take not effect his Majesty is content that the Wardens be authorised *hinc inde* to agree between themselves upon what other form of lawful trial they can devise for clearing of this fact and settling of it by such quiet "mides" as they think meet, the like being agreed to by her Majesty for her part in this and whatsoever other overture shall be laid out for the quieting of the Marches.

10. The remanent "bludes" committed on either side since the dissolving of the last commission his Majesty agrees that they shall underlie the like form of trial in their own due times, providing this complaint be first tried and repaired according to the treaties.

11. Always that their meeting and dissolving be in friendly manner whether they agree or not as they will answer to their sovereigns upon their highest perils. *Signed:* Elphinston, Secret.

2 *pp.* *Endorsed:* "The orygynall of the Kyngs demaunds."

Vol. lxiv, No. 22. Copy of the foregoing.

1½ *pp.* *No endorsement.*

Vol. lxiv, No. 23. Another copy of the same. The following remarks in another hand have been written in the margin, viz. against para. 1 "A querrelous and ingratefull complaint without cause"; against para. 6 "An injust condition"; and against para. 10 "A dishonorable condition."

1½ *pp.* *Endorsed:* "The copy of the Scots K: demaunds."

Feb. 10. **323.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [? LORD WILLOUGHBY].

Vol. lxiv, No. 27. I have received your lordship's 2 letters anent the meeting for the trial of the hunting accident but have been daily so busied to see to their resolution here anent it as sooner I could not answer you.

The King set down the trial to be thus, as the copy shows, in my

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conceit unequal that it must not be tried whether it was lawfully done or no. I send it to your lordship that you may advise and write your counsel what answer were best to be made, wishing withal you persuade earnestly Sir William Bowes present[ly to be] employed with answer to this. For I am too weak to deal in it, so great is Sir Ro: Kerr now in Court. And so Sir William Bowes being here he will handle all well enough and may do it by your advertisement but without him I assure you of no good end. He is at Berwick and his travel will be but little hither. At Edinburgh 10 February 1598. Ge: Nycholson.

½ *p. Copy. No address. Endorsed:* "The copy of Nycholson's letter."

Feb. 10. **324.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 28.

Upon receipt of your letter of the 25 of the last I gave the double of the note enclosed to the Lord Secretary, showing him the Lords of Council and your Honour had written to me that her Majesty agreed so to the trial of that matter and further required as the note showed. He willed me to ride with him to the King on Sunday last, which I did. Where I showed his Majesty how desirous her Majesty was to have that matter of the hunting accident tried and put to some end and what prejudice it was to the country. Which he granted saying it was the like to him as he also desired as earnestly speedy end thereof. I told him that her Majesty had given her consent and final resolution that the Wardens of the Middle Marches might at a day of truce try it by an assize of 12 Borderers on either side and that her Highness also required that likewise all other slaughters since the treaties might be tried, etc. But Sir Ro: Kerr and the Secretary having spoken and moved him hardly therein before, the King stood something upon it that his meaning [in] all his letters and Mr. David's instructions to her Majesty was that first the 2 gentlemen, Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Woodrington, might have been tried foul or clean on their honours, which she had not caused to be done nor answered, but only that the note answered the last part of his letters and message, saying they could not nor durst not deny it; if they did, that then it should go to trial, he wrote and ever meant. I said I thought he could never think it equal that that trial of their honours should not as well cleanse as "file." He said, yes, they could not but confess it, it was so open and patent. Always, he said he would advise with his Council and give me good answer, agreeing to the trial of other bloods also. And finding the King many ways moved to have "cassen" off and gone back with the motion for trial of it, upon some new course to have been thought on and plotted by Sir Ro: Kerr (as I see, though I cannot prove) for peremptory calling for the delivery of the 2 gentlemen without trial, I did not only solicit the best affected councillors to move the King that as he had written and solicited for trial, so he should not at any factious person's persuasions go back with the same to the "touche" of his honour with her Majesty and breeding of doubts what his

meaning may be so to go back at this time when she has consented to him, as I also by Mr. Aston's good means couched to the King.

In your said last letter you write to advertise the King of something that nearly concerns him, which her Majesty discovering in Flanders thought an office of kindness to inform him of, in sort as if it were something of Bothwell, not mentioning what it is. I acquainted the King with sight of that part, who desires your Honour to advertise what it is and longs for it. Wherein it may please you to give him satisfaction by your next with speed. It seems some note thereof should have been sent which was forgotten.

On Tuesday the Border matter was reasoned in Council and Sir Ro: Kerr called in but not I. The next morning the King sent for me, showing me how it was resolved agreeable to the note enclosed, willing me to go to the Secretary to see it so set down, willing me to write that his Warden might name our 12 and the other Warden his 12; adding he also agreed to the other request for trial of other slaughters since the treaties ended, saying Sir Ro: Kerr said there were 4 Scotsmen slain for 1 English, which I said was clean contrary. I had caused Mr. Aston to move the King for the 2 gentlemen's liberties because they were sick and of fair possessions and great wealth not to be doubted to fly but when it came to trial would not be absent. He said, no, he would not do that, they were not in his hands. If they were he would deal with them like a prince. Yet I dealt with him therein but had only the former part of the answer. In good faith Mr. Aston does many good offices, more than I can write; but we are now over bowed. Always notwithstanding, the King directed me to the Secretary to see these things be drawn, which I did. The Secretary promised it at noon that day after that Sir Ro: Kerr and he should have set them down, which was deferred by reason Sir Ro: was abroad. That evening they set them down in the King's chamber and so that night and yesterday till evening again Sir Ro: had them in his own hands. Then they gave them to Mr. Geo: Young to set down, who gave me this note thus subscribed by the Secretary as your Honour sees in other terms and differing from the King's speeches as my note shows. Yet I could not help it but send it as it comes beseeching you that this wilful misunderstanding be not imputed my fault. For I cannot help it how unreasonable it is that it must be avoided as frivolous to try also (if it were done in Scots ground) whether it were lawfully done or no. They will not hear but the answer must help it, if our side stand upon that point as material. I told Sir Ro: Kerr, the Secretary and Mr. Geo: Young when this note was drawing that it might have sufficed that her Majesty made Sir Ro: Kerr judge over Mr. Woodrington, with whom he was in almost the nature of a "feade," and not that he also devise the trial. But speak what I can they hear me and do but as they please and kept the King so hard to this matter as they and others are bringing him to stand upon terms of honour and respect with her Majesty and to look for it on her, as thus and by the King's letter you will after see better. For he is writing to her anent Valentyne Thomas's matter, is to call for the pledges twice delivered and put all other matters in question, as it is above my power

1598-9. to deal in these things, as it will be found hard enough for Sir William or any else (though we shall find many good friends that grieve at these courses) to do good and stop the intended evil courses suffered to be meant to draw the King in, as he is prettily beginning (yet of other men's disposition and persuasion only) as your Honour may see. This Border accident and Sir Ro: Kerr's earnestness to get some ease to his pledges and perfect reconciliation of Mr. Woodrington anent Swinburne Castle "rode" set all jealousies on foot at once. And now Sir Robert Kerr is so great and the champion of the Chancellor and Chamber faction, and the Secretary so great with the King, and Huntly so joined in with them, and all so secure, as of necessity some of account must come with speed to keep all even towards our Estate. Sir William were meetest and yet he shall come to a combat as it were in this hard time if Sir Robert's pledges be not some way eased to win him. Yesternight he sent for me, protesting his good will to the amity, showing me it was not impossible that this hunting accident could end without bringing on a "midst" in all other Border causes, assuring I would see it so, and wishing in his love to the amity that it might be well considered and some way helped in all things to make a fast and perfect agreement, lest otherways accidents fell out of worse and greater importance. And surely I am of his mind, albeit I said it would be otherways laboured for, thereby seeking to cause the King cast off trial of the matter. He said, no, the King thought much that her Majesty vouchsafed not him answer by her letter, seeing the King had so often written to her; protesting that for his part he wished better between the princes. It was bravely bragged as I heard that it might be tried by the sword, 2 to 2, 4 to 4, or upward, which cannot be without peril to the peace agreed on. For this purpose, as I long ago advertised you, the parties had, as they yet have, the "fencer" among them. Some counsellers would persuade the entry of the gentlemen as if the King would deal honourably and courteously with them, and as the only way to end this matter with quietness. But this point is too high and dangerous for me. If Sir William were here he would have many overtures projected in many things and for good service to her Majesty. On Wednesday afternoon the King desired sight again of that part of her Majesty's letter to me which promises that as she has been content to spare Va: Tho:'s life for the King, so he need not doubt (keeping kindness towards her) but she will still be precise to call that to further question, etc., and sent out Mr. David Foulis to persuade me to send the letter in to the King. Mr. David was exceeding earnest, alleging the King would take it in evil part if I did it not, with many circumstances. Always I would not but said I would give the King sight of that part again in my own hands under trust that he would keep it close. Mr. David went in and after a pretty time of stay he called me in. I showed that part and found he was writing to her Majesty, the Secretary and Mr. David being there, and revolving all things anent Valentyne Thomas (as I judge) in some quick sort. As to answer these things here must be a better man than I and one that has strength to do it.

For this Estate it is settled in the estate I wrote: the Lord

Chancellor in good peace brooking his office and, where the Duke was to have the Great Seal for a year and further as the King should please and he agreed on at his return, the Chancellor has compounded with the Duke [*in margin:* 1000 crowns] and so has it. And they and Huntly have feasted and had many drinks of friendship among them. The Duke and Huntly are of the Council established on Tuesday last. Here is nothing now but the King must stand upon princely terms and they will maintain him in it.

The good Comptroller undertaking payments for the King in hope and upon condition to have had sufficient of the King to pay them with is distressed both at the parties' hands and King's.

On Thursday the King was labouring the agreement of Mar and his competitors. Yet it takes not effect but is continued till the 24 hereof. Edinburgh, 10 February 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. The friends of the pledges complain that they pay dear, have evil victuals and cannot have leave of the gaoler to provide for their own victuals. It is like to be heavily complained on to the King and will be counted a great hardness. Their excessive charges have superspent some of them. This would be looked unto with regard it be amended, and yet with wariness it give no advantage to Cessford's pledges to escape.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. 2 seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Feb. 17. **325.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 29.

The King's letter to her Majesty is ended but not yet written over again. The stay thereof has chiefly grown from his indisposition of health by a great cold wherewith he has been more sick than ever I have seen him and yet not near well; for the cold does but now begin to break and that slowly through his small regard to his keeping warm and in the house, whereof he does neither the one or the other.

His letter I understand is calm and very respective and only of Valentyne, which has proceeded from his own inclination and Mr. Foulis's good and dutiful mind towards her Majesty and the amity. If it may seem good to her Majesty to send in Sir William Bowes that he may answer proud people to their follies it seems here to be very requisite for her Majesty's service.

For touching that matter and the 2 gentlemen now in durance it is to be thought that her Majesty has been pleased to yield to rather more than less than reason, but in this I will reserve myself as I said by my last till I see your Honour. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

Postscript. The Q[ueen] is come to this town and the King and Council busied this day for the keeping of the two young ladies.

Edinburgh the 17 of February. This present great storm of snow only stays them here.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal*. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "17 Februar. '98. Mr. Hudson to my master from Dumbarow [*sic*]."

* Nicolson's seal as in preceding letters.

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Vol. lxiv, No. 30.

326. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

In my last of the 10th hereof I certified that the King was writing to her Majesty anent Valentyne Thomas matter and that the letter would have been ready about Tuesday last. But seeing it falls not so out but receives longer delay I have thought it my duty to inform you the causes thereof, which are these: that the King has been troubled with a cold and altering of his letter and is now (the Queen being come hither) so occupied anent the appointment of the keeping of the youngest daughter as yet the letter comes not to my hands nor is fully written as I hear nor like to be these 3 or 4 days yet. A Councillor assures me it is written in very kind and gentle terms anent both Val: Thomas matter, of which he meekly sets down the true estate, not to press but move her Majesty of her own disposition to clear off the same and yet but as her Majesty pleases; and also anent the hunting accident, which I hear he writes in with good terms and reason and yet intends when it comes to his hands, I hear, to do that in it as shall content her Majesty and gain him thanks he believes. And yet I am now credibly told and know that the King was also a deviser of the note subscribed by the Secretary which I sent your Honour the 10th hereof. [*In margin:* It is looked that your Honour should again subscribe such [answer ?] as is to be made to the note.] So as the letter reaches to these 2 points now I hear: but the truth of this to the letter which when it comes to me shall be hasted with speed. For the Border accident it is certain very dangerous and requires the presence and countenance here of some person of credit that is both stout and able to reason it with Border skill and good wisdom to bring the trial or end of it to good heads as much to our advantage as may be had. [*In margin:* I know none so able as Sir William Bowes to reason and bring this matter to good heads: his being here one month or two would do all.] For it is mightily backed here as whosoever come shall have their wits and hands troubled with it. And yet Sir Ro: Kerr protested to me he should be very indifferent to see it uprightly tried and said to another, I hear, he should also do as much as any whatsoever to help it to good end, accounting his means for the same as good as any's. Which is true for he rules those parts and parties.

This estate is very quiet. The Queen came yesternight to Holyroodhouse to the King and all busied anent the appointment of the younger daughter to some particular keeping and for mean for the same my Lord Seton was named once but I have avoided it. At Edinburgh 17 February 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

On a slip of paper inserted:

I suspect the King's letter will be sharp enough. 105 (the Secretary) will write with it. 116. V 2 tumlgr. 00. (the King's testament Nicholson) has now as your Honour shall see when it may be with safety.

In Nicolson's hand. The decipherments of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil.

Feb. 18. **327.** HENRY LOK TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 31.

Having received your letters and finding John Young nor his company gone, I presently took a course secretly with the postmaster for their delay till to-morrow, in the meantime directing speedily Robert Lang to your Honour, who not being indeed acquainted with the party but by report will not answer for him. By whom, if you agree of my vehement "suspect" grounded on good reason, I could wish that he with them all were suffered to depart to-morrow. I had a letter sent unto me presently directed to the constables of Ware, Royston and Caxton, where they should be to-morrow night, to take such course for search of such persons and for their letters as I shall direct them, provided that I be not made known to them, but that he as it were *ex officio* or at his peril did upon suspect of certain parties lately fled out of London stay and search them, and that such letters as he found upon search might be delivered to me to be viewed, restored or sent or brought up; which whether I might secretly open and view to avoid superfluous travail and publication of it or the Scots delay, I commit to your direction. Only I say that if he have not sent his letters by sea (which oft they do) I doubt not to see Colonel Stewart's Colonel Murray's (Moreis), Captain Hamilton's and perhaps the King's letters, besides Naismith's, a special agent with the Spanish for the King. All which I leave to fortune, only craving pardon for my boldness.

Careat (?) *successibus opto,*
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Always the travail, charge or publication of it shall not be great. I myself [will] be ready to employ my part therein. I beseech your Honour let the direction to me for the constables be yet so left to my discretion that I be no further discovered herein than is necessary, for fear of future inconvenience thereby growing to the service. And so craving the speedy direction for all by this bearer this night, this present Sunday. *Signed:* Henry Lok.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph, with address:* "For the Rt. Ho. Mr. Secretary with speed." *Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "19 Febr. '98*. Mr. Lock to my master."

Feb. 23. **328.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR ROBERT CAREY.

Vol. lii, p. 243.

I have imparted your letter bearing date 13 February both to her Majesty and to my Lords, wherein I must assure you that they have received great satisfaction. Where they had before advised of the trial by assize to be the readiest way because commissions are subject

* 19 Feb. 1598-9 fell on a Monday.

1598-9. to so many delays, they see that the King does mix his consent thereunto with so many other circumstances so prejudicial to her Majesty's subjects as I conceive they will find it a very uneven manner of proceeding which is offered by the opposite party. You have delivered many good and substantial reasons for her Majesty's justification, whereupon you are like to receive shortly her final resolution. But in respect that at this present my Lord your brother is sick at Drayton (though in no danger I thank God) and my Lord Admiral not at Court nor my Lord of Essex at this present, by whose advices and counsels when they meet this matter shall be ordered, I have thought good for the present to let you know that her Majesty wishes you to delay any such meeting, if it should be laboured, and yet not so as hereby you shall discover to have received any direction so to do; a matter her Majesty wills you to carry in such a sort until she have heard the whole Council, which being done you shall within four or five days after the date of my letter understand her further pleasure.

⅔ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to Sir Robert Cary," *and in margin:* "23 Febru: 1599" [*sic*].

Feb. 27. **329.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 32 This day my Lord Secretary gave me this packet to your Honour, wherein is the King's letter to her Majesty and my Lord's to you to the effects appearing best in the same. I see him fully bent to do all the good offices he can to entertain the love between the princes, for so he professes. I hear the King is "douce" in his letter and yet I see not but the matter of Valentyne Thomas is of that moment here as the King thinks he can noway be satisfied or quiet in mind unless he be cleared thereof; and the evil disposed are yet in hope to have matter for their better practising by it. As also the hunting accident is of no little moment (suppose the King nor Secretary now write not of it), for though the King pursue it no otherways but as and when he is solicited, yet I hear the parties and their friends, unless the King be satisfied, intend to take the first advantage they can to make us the complainers, and I look for no other when they can do it. If these 2 matters were some way passed over, all else here would go well. The travail of some of account for one month here would serve the turn and make all well, as also draw a more assured stay of aid for our rebels in Ireland, but whoever come must of necessity be skilful in Border causes, to reason them to the depths, which Sir William Bowes can do best of any man I know and unto whom sundry overtures for Border causes, etc., will be projected as her Majesty may take the advantage of all and do as she shall best please.

This Estate alters not from the old custom, still full of rumours and wrangles. Here has been no news but these ten days there is as yet bruits that Huntly is to have the castles [*sic*] of Edinburgh and keeping of the prince and Mar to be displaced. The King learning of

1598-9. it was angry and said he would have punished the devisers of those rumours if he knew them. It is also said that a guard is to be taken up and Huntly to be captain of them for these purposes: but all untrue. The King (Mar being at Stirling) caused write to assure the Earl of Mar of the contrary and to clear him of these bruits. Huntly is now aminded to return home again within some short time. The 1 of the next the "Burrowes" are to be here and some to be appointed to go to France to renew the ancient liberties they have had there anent their traffic and the King's guard. As I judge the Burghs will be moved for some taxation for the advancement of the Ambassador's charges for these purposes. At this Convention no other great matters are to be handled, unless that the King's youngest daughter be determined on who shall keep her and for gossips.

My Lord of Mar is come and his competitors to be now agreed: but this to the successes [*sic*].

I hear O'Donnell had one here excusing his delivery of the copy of the King's letter, which O'Donnell says was not to or for her Majesty but to Desmond and requiring liberty for his merchant to traffic hither for necessaries. McSorley likewise sent to the King to give him possession of the 20*l*. land, otherways that he would do for himself. To both these slender answers are returned I hear.

Cessford is at home agreeing 2 quarrels, one between Hunthill's son and one of the Kerrs, the other between a Young and a Kerr. So as he is diligent to keep all those parts in quiet among themselves. All others to my next and sight of the end of the Convention. Edinburgh, 27 February 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. The King and town of Edinburgh are like to fall out again. The magistrates' arresting a man, one of the King's servants was a mean to carry him away. Whereon they cause the King's servant to give bond to enter the man again, which David Selkrig did not, so as the bailiffs arrested him into the Tolbooth. The King's servants in favour of Selkrig tell the King the town was not to be judge to his servants but his own Master [of the] Household and that they did him wrong. Whereon the King sent up yesterday Mr. Francis Bothwell to the bailiffs to cause set his servant to liberty or to take a notary and break open the Tolbooth. Thereon some words passed between Bothwell and the bailiffs, whereupon there were offers of strokes. The King is angry and the Provost and town are angry, the Provost and bailiffs intending to render their offices in the King's hands. How it will end I know not.

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

On a sheet of paper inserted in the foregoing:

The King's letter is called here "doucely" written, but that to the letter and what is thought on it. Indeed it has been altered much for it was "highe." They will not write anything of the Border cause, yet seem if the gentlemen were entered that they should neither be long kept nor evil treated, as if the King in honour would so deal therein with her Majesty towards them.

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If 105 (the Secretary) goodwill be accepted he assures 00 (Nicolson) that he will deal more inwardly. He is the only man now that may serve best 100 (Queen Elizabeth) turns with 116 (King James). Therefore 00 persuasion and advice is that he be courteously entertained. So can nothing arise by 116 but it will be well handled and 00 thinks he has done well in this.

The Secretary writes by the King's direction now as your Honour may see. His desire anent Valentyne Thomas, Robert Jowsey and the discovery and desire anent Bothwell, etc., I remit to the letters.

If Sir William be curious and loth to come (as he has cause, this service being so tickle, uncertain and hard), the Q[ueen] must not be unserved for that he would be commanded expressly. For I protest I know none so fit as he. The King looked for him. He need be but here a month and the journey will be but 40 miles, whereby his charges will be as little as the journey from London to Berwick of another, and so may be better allowed, for charges here are great now.

The King has it in quiet that my good Lord, your Honour's father, gave her Majesty his advice for our estate, which she locks up close, and whereof here is some suspicion. But this is very secret.

I dare not venture to send the thing I wrote on. If I had been well I had gone to Berwick and taken it with me and sent it from thence. But I have been very sick and am still weak and unrecovered.

I am told but in uncertain manner that if the hunting accident be not ended to the King's contentment that what I write on in my letter is agreed in great secret to be overseen. And whether there were any other inward matters that came in out of Ireland with those I wrote of in my letter I know not but think there were none. Always, I am too weak for these matters.

I hear Huntly has some intention to get grant of some of MacLean's lands, whereof MacLean's friends are warned and will see to hinder it this Convention.

My Lord Home is now at peace again, lies in the King's house and hunts with him. I hope to make an inward kindness between him and my Lord Willoughby to take away that peril.

I remit me for the news of Bothwell to the Secretary's letter also.

In G. Nicolson's hand.

Feb. 28. **330.** SIR JAMES ELPHINSTONE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 33.

The King, being every way displeased with his servant Foulis at his return for that he had exceeded the bounds of his credit in accepting such satisfaction in the matter of Valentyne Thomas as was no way agreeable to his Majesty's honour nor his directions in that point, has therefore commanded me to return both the same to your hands, not meaning thereupon to found any grudge but to utter his discontentment towards his servant in accepting the same beside the tenor of his instructions. His Majesty has written at great length with his own hand how far he is not satisfied in the said writings in so plain and friendly manner as nothing can be added thereunto. And because of

your good disposition to the quietness of both the Estates I am the more bold to crave of you that (since the refusal of yielding to his Majesty a just trial of such a vile imputation cannot [but] be harmful to his innocency hitherto unstained, the granting whereof cannot but redound to her Majesty's honour and continuance of them both in a brotherly duty, as also to the stopping of the mouths of common enemies, who by such surmises seek the disturbance of that steadfast amity which is the pillar of both their weals) ye would travail by all good means that such a patent might be procured as thereby his Majesty's innocency might be clearly manifested, all the points of that villain's process, whereby his Majesty may appear to be interested, by some public warrant upon most just and lawful considerations razed and according as was by one of her Majesty's letters written with her own hand promised, that he should for no cause so much be punished as for contriving so false a calumny against a sacred person. And if her Majesty in respect of the patent already sent though not accepted shall refuse to give any other, I would wish you, for his Majesty's satisfaction and that due regard which (I doubt not) ye have to the Queen your sovereign's honourable acquittance of the inviolable friendship whereof at all occasions his Majesty has given assured proof, to find out some other honourable mean whereby all suspicion of keeping up such a treacherous calumny for endamaging his Majesty at unawares may be removed; and that either by appointing a special time for a public trial to be given to the said villain assisted by some of his Majesty's commissioners. in whose presence he may receive torture and be particularly inquired upon such articles as shall be given in by them. Or else that the said villain may be sent into Scotland to receive torture and examination in presence always of such her Majesty's commissioners as it shall please her to appoint, out of whose presence nothing to be inquired of him but they to be eye-witnesses of his Majesty's care to be exonered of that slander and that the ground of that whole invention might be cleared to her Majesty and all lovers of the common peace. Or else that he be sent to Berwick there to abide his trial in presence of commissioners deputed by both princes to that effect and thereafter return (if so it shall please her Majesty) to London to suffer according to his just desert.

These or any other ways which your Honour might find out more convenient for affording some honourable mean of his Majesty's satisfaction I would earnestly request you to procure to be granted, which as his Majesty will account as a singular benefit so will it be an argument of your earnest care in maintaining of peace between the two realms to her Majesty's quietness and contentment of all good men.

Further, his Majesty being informed that his servant Robert Jowsey is detained in ward for some bonds given by him as surety for Thomas Foulis, wherein some question is standing between him and the said Foulis by whom he has not been well used; and seeing that his Majesty is to take present trial therein and either to send the said Foulis to lie for his own bonds or else to make means by payment to relieve the same; that ye would procure the said Robert his liberty for a certain space that he may come home to the end that all accounts

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and reckonings being perfectly made amongst them their creditors may be satisfied and their bonds relieved, whereof his Majesty has an especial care, but without Robert's coming into this country cannot possibly be accomplished. Always upon condition that the said Robert or Thomas or either of them shall be tried debtors shall be sent both again to lie for their own bonds or by present payment the same be relieved.

His Majesty is surely informed that Bothwell who by his treasonable trafficking in his native country against so loving a prince having lost what he could claim here has now further taken upon him to utter his malice against the whole island, whereof if his Majesty had not been informed by a note in your letter to Nicolson, though somewhat obscurely, that the Queen had been something acquainted therewithal [he] had written to her Majesty in that matter. Always his Majesty hopes that as on his part he will carefully attend to the remedies of all dangers which may interest the common estate of both realms and will therein give due advertisement at all occasions, so on your part ye will with no less diligence prevent and foresee the imminent perils which may follow on the practices of such an undertaker.

And because I have not heretofore had occasion to trouble your patience and the prolixity of my first address may convince my indiscretion I look your Honour shall take in good part the weight of the errand, not so much of itself as for the apprehension which his Majesty takes upon appearance of refusal in so just a demand. And as the honour and standing of the princes and quietness of their Estates is the greatest felicity which may be attained unto by their followers, which cannot last without a steadfast continuance in mutual friendship granting each to other their reasonable petitions and procuring other's weal, wherein both our places of service may not a little avail and as I protest on my part to pretermit no good occasion tending to that end, so I look for an honest correspondence on yours. Holyroodhouse, the 28th of February 1598. *Signed:* J. Elphinstoun.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

[1598-9, Feb.]

331. George Nicolson to [Sir Robert Cecil].

Vol. lxiv, No. 21.

I did nothing anent the Lords of Council's direction until the receipt of your Honour's pleasure signified in your last upon the King's letter to the Queen of purpose that her Majesty might take the advantage of what should be offered by the letter, as also because the ground of that letter of their lordships proceeded from my advertisement that it should have been so resolved on to have it tried by 12 Borderers on the side, which albeit in truth it was so reasoned and thought meet, yet was it not commended to me to advertise for procuring agreement to it as a thing fully resolved upon as you well rightly noted and wrote to me in your letter of the 12 of the last, sent after their lordships' to me. But blessed be God that that part was never quarrelled at here but still approved as now your Honour sees under the Lord Secretary's hand in this note for the trial. So the matter (but not my

advertisement thereof) may by warrant of the King now be spoken on by that sort so far as is meet. But I see no sign that the matter could so have been tried, neither see I hope of it to receive trial or end anyway yet, without it be by some "myd" upon Sir Ro: Kerr's "platt" for procuring therewith some relief to his pledges, which if he get not will move some trouble, be what it will, and force the employment of some from hence to her Majesty anent the hunting accident, the pledges and Border causes, and also anent Valentyne Thomas. For staying of all which and continuing all other services here at this time Sir William Bowes, if he were here could, I will undertake, do most good offices and turn all yet to the best in despite of all the backwardness of this new Court and Council. Sir Robert Kerr said to me in the King's chamber at Dalkeith that it was not to the King's honour to agree that this accident should be tried, being so open on the day-light, so far done in Scotland and so manifest as it could not be denied nor the parties could not deny it. If they did, 2 as good as they would prove it on them. I said I marvelled he would say so, noting to him in plain terms again that his slaughters and Buccleuch's were as plain and open as anything and done without colour of lawful cause (as this was not). Yet they were not convict without a law and trial. He said he was not convict by law but by the King's order and but for one man, adding he would plainly tell the King (which sure he had done) that it was not honourable for him to let it go to trial but to call for present delivery of the parties. I said to him, will ye give the King that counsel? He said he would not make account to me what he would do, adding if the King "speired" his counsel he would say what he liked, with some other words, against all which I made answer, as from these words he fell to protestations that trial would not this way be made, Sir Ro: Carey being to labour one way and he another, as the 12 of the side would also do, adding that the one side were Scots and the other English. I said, nevertheless it was not honourable that trial should be refused, the King having written and solicited for it and her Majesty consented unto it. He said he knew not that, saying he wished all well and that the princes had need to end the matter by some midway, as it bred no further troubles, saying the Queen had much to do and the King much to do, as they had need to end this matter, adding that some wise, discreet man had need to be sent up for it and to clear and even all matters between the princes. After again he and I reasoned further of the matter and he protested much goodwill to the amity. I gave him a gentle taste that this dealing was not the way to advance his purpose anent the pledges, who had need to be safely yet courteously kept, lest there be some plot for their escape, advising him of better course. He said he had no meaning to seek employment for these things, neither had he purpose in this anent the pledges. I willed that where he seemed to know of a "mid" that he would open it for the help of these things. He said, no, let the King and Council find it out.

102 (Sesford) has received something that seems to be of importance out of England, which he has acquainted 116 (the King) with, which is kept close as I know not what it is.

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1598-9.

This Estate is declining (I mean in the present Council and Court for the most part) from the amity and drawing the King to great dislike (as much as they can) and carping at the Queen's doings towards him in dangerous sort, as some of account, wisdom, courage and friendship here had need to be here. What the intelligence to be between your Honour and 105 (the Secretary) will work I yet know not, but hope of good offices and stay of these courses by that person, with whom money must prevail: but this to some trial. None can do so much as he. Your Honour will see the King returns and recounts back all things anent Valentyne Thomas, as in that and the Border cause some of good account would be employed hither.

I can do no less of my duty than write these things of Cessford and yet I know he does this only of policy and not of evil will, for he protests the best offices in good faith. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1½ *pp. In G. Nicolson's hand, the decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil. No endorsement.*

[1598-9, *c.* Feb.] **332.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 34.

Some of the Council think the King worse used in these things returned by Mr. David than the slander itself and say that the King seeking and in effect begging his own purgation at her Majesty's hands is scorned to be so answered; adding if he had not put up greater matter, meaning his mother's death, these "scuffers" would never have been offered him; as also that in case he will do for himself (as they say he may, though I know not what they mean by that) he will get better dealing. I said that was not the way. It was said yes, a sharp man gets ever an appointment. So as I see here wants never plots, which I hope through your Honour's intelligence with the Lord Secretary shall still both be quietly discovered to you and defeated in great secret between yourselves, none knowing of this intelligence but your 2 Honours, their Majesties and myself. But this to what I will write after in cipher, for assure your Honour of good by it.

Your Honour has been very careful and many ways sought that some service might be done against Tyr[one's] person, which to my power I have been busy in, not a little to my cost. And yet so dangerous is it as nothing is done but all stands at it after they once consider the peril. This summer it fell out that one David Armorer and Wm. Hope were drawn to the robbing of some Englishmen, where John Rippon was by accident shot and slain. Hope was my Master's man and both of them are very stout, able and desperate and would adventure any peril to gain their country and places in Berwick (being garrison men) and to have something to relieve them with. Your Honour offered 400*l.* I presume they would do much, and might for their country and places again in Berwick and for 100*l.* apiece be drawn to give the venture and to go presently about it, having but some 10*l.* apiece put in their purses to furnish them there with more credit. They have means enough to go by privy commendations from hence,

as if they had no safety but with her Majesty's enemies. If they be employed they will venture as far as any and if they cannot effect the chief matter, yet they may at one time or other give her Majesty advantage of the Earl worth that favour. So as if you please I shall try them upon their oaths and I hope move them to it to my good also (if it be God's will I be ordained to have good). For they are very fit men and likeliest to adventure it, if you think well of it. I shall do as you direct and then it must be most close. I never saw yet a likelier way. Therefore it may please you to return your pleasure.

The time is so hard here with Mr. David Foulis as I cannot deal to show your letter anent Sir Walter Lindsay but to his hurt, which I forbear hoping he shall prove honest to your Honour again.

To be plain with your Honour I see no appearance that my Lords Home and Willoughby will agree on the trial. For they agree not well between themselves. But that for this cause may mend.

Some think the King sees some storm arising or has some purpose that he agrees with the ministers, considering he used in Council this argument, that he would be sworn he feared their harms bodily, the better to move the Council with him against them. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand. No address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Scottish advices. Service offered to be performed upon Tyrone's person."

[1598-9, ? Feb.] **333.** ANSWERS TO THE DEMANDS OF KING JAMES VI.

Answers to the King's demands.

Vol. lxiv, No. 25.

1. The requisition of the King's servant accompanied with his Majesty's instructions and letters prevailed so far with her Majesty that the imprisonment of the gentlemen complained on shortly followed before they were heard in their own cause or convicted of the crime objected, either by course of Border law or by the virtue of the last treaty, wherein if her Majesty observed not the rules of equity it was by doing wrong to her own subjects for the King's pleasure, so much did she bear more than due respect to his complaint. The ungrateful acceptation whereof may justly work in her Majesty a repentance of her overforwardness and a watchfulness how to avoid the like error hereafter, whereof no precedent in that kind can be showed in the King towards her. The example of the delivery of Cessford and Buccleuch is impertinent to this case, for they were delivered in their own default by order of the Commissioners till they made entry of the pledges under their several charges, as the English officers were for the pledges within their offices, and freed themselves reciprocally by delivery of the said pledges. It were long to lay down what shifts and delays were made on that part, especially by Cessford's keeping back his pledges and not delivering them at the meeting near the West Ford of Norham, whither nevertheless he brought them and their friends with all the power that he himself could make in warlike manner, made rather show to maintain those truce breakers by force to the great dishonour of both princes and open contempt of the treaty than to

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perform that dutiful obedience to his Prince which in this case in respect of his office he did especially owe. Besides the high indignity offered to her Majesty in the person of Sir William Bowes, one of her Commissioners, and in the persons of sundry, her principal subjects on the Borders, which dishonourable wrong rests yet untried, notwithstanding the King's word and promise made to the said Sir William Bowes for that effect and this crime in quality more heinous and former in time ought first to receive trial and satisfaction. And if the King means as he pretends the quietness of the Borders by due execution of justice, let him first (as being first in order and time) deliver Cessford and Buccleuch for the manifold murders of English subjects, whereof they stand by their own confessions convicted at the late treaty, and then if upon due conviction the delivery of Fenwick and Woodrington be refused he may with better colour allege that he is not answered with respect.

2. In the second the King makes but a show of desire of quietness on the Borders and betrays a manifest distrust of the justice of this present complaint, otherwise he would not require that the ordinary trial of this fact before the Wardens (which he heretofore offered) should be curbed with so many unlawful, unusual and unnecessary restrictions against the common and received form of proceeding and against the late treaty [*in margin:* See art. 9 of the late treaty] so much by him insisted on.

3. 4. 5. The three next cautions are unnecessarily set down; for it is the common form and cannot be refused by any officer that understands Border Laws.

6. The 6[th] restriction or condition unmasks this show of justice and makes it clearer than the sun that the King intends nothing less than an indifferent trial in this case, but endeavours by weaving delays the continuance of the imprisonment or worse of the gentlemen complained on, knowing and having of late experience since they entered to their offices of what moment their service has been and may be hereafter in meeting with the insolencies of his Border officers, in repressing the inroads and robberies of Scottish thieves, and in strengthening the hearts and hands of her Majesty's subjects dismayed and enfeebled by the overdaring of the Scots, occasioned by the weak resistance of the late preceding officers. Else what means it? —that the King will have the question only whether the fact was committed in Scottish ground and not whether it were done *jure*, being a trial that ought to order all causes and persons, warranted by the law of nature and reason itself. And in the other an intention rather as it seems in the King to inure her Majesty with a patient suffering of indignities than to preserve the Borders in peace as he pretends.

7. The 7[th] condition is not to be disliked.

8. For the 8[th] it may be a custom as truly pretended as their custom of the hunting whereof this trouble grew, but that no such custom was acknowledged by us in King Henry the Eighth's time may be proved out of their own History [*in margin:* See Buch. lib. 14, fol. 163].

9. The 9[th] condition opens the pack that they think so closely

covered, for the King in his own understanding expecting no less than a just refusal of his former unjust conditions, which cannot but appear such to every man's eye, they are so palpable, now offers a trial by the Wardens, the ordinary judges of this and the like causes, and therefore not to be refused. And his purpose or rather Cessford's (whose words and not his own undoubtedly the King speaks) he thought could not readily be discerned, but if they be well marked there lies hidden great disadvantage to her Majesty's subjects and to this cause, for the King is not contented that they should judge of this fact as Wardens being by their office tied to an ordinary course (wherein the gentlemen complained on and their friends will not suffer the English Warden to err), but will have them furnished with special commissions and so large that what final trial and order shall be by them agreed on as well for this fact as for further settling the quiet state of the Borders may be held and authorised for law; as if the Border laws practised in all ages, and all the treaties both ancient and new were imperfect and insufficient to decide this controversy, and as if some great secret were hid in Cessford's breast, which now he would utter for the great zeal he bears to the good estate of true men on the Borders and was not seen by the late Commissioners of both princes. If this condition should be accepted of, then Cessford will play his part. He "weeneth" that by his wit, his skill in Border laws and affairs, his boldness in affirming anything, be it never so false so it serve his turn, his cunning in compassing and contriving his drifts, his means to gain such as our Warden may in these matters be advised by, and by his bragging if the rest fail he can match and overmatch the English Warden, and then it will go hard if by hook or crook under pretence of quieting the Borders he free not the Scottish pledges, being the only mark is shot at, and for compassing whereof this molehill of the hunting is made so great a mountain; and if Cessford be one of the duumvirate to settle the quietness of the Borders nor [? near] to Northumberland.

10. From the 10[th] condition *abest omnis verecundia*, for it is required that the fact now complained on should be first determined and that then the murders committed on English subjects since the treaty being former in time should come after, as if they were abortive children or illegitimate, or as if the King had not to do with a prince his equal, or with a prince that did not know as well as any prince in Europe how to maintain her own honour and the right of her subjects. But peradventure some important circumstances may enforce this prevention. Let us therefore compare this fact with the murders of sundry her Majesty's subjects since the late treaty.

In the offence now complained on the English found the Scots, 100 at least in number, in English ground killing her Majesty's deer, cutting down and carrying away her woods unlawfully, pursued them lawfully in "hote troade," killed them found with the red hand and resisting the recovery of the deer and wood; the men slain very mean, the one a tailor by his occupation and the other a meaner fellow.

On the part of England, Mr. Ainsley, a gentleman of good worth, and his neighbours robbed on the night by the Scottish thieves many

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miles within England, lawfully pursued their own goods, himself murdered in the pursuit far within England, his brother unlawfully taken within England, carried prisoner into Scotland and still unlawfully detained there, albeit his releasement has been lawfully and with great instance required of Sir Robert Kerr.

Mr. Ferdinando Revely, a very able gentleman, riding abroad in the country about his affairs was laid for by the Scots under Cessford's charge and in the daytime cruelly murdered not far from his own house.

John Robson and Harrie Robson of Tynedale were likewise murdered by the Scots within England in "hote" and lawful pursuit of their goods robbed.

So that, the circumstances compared, ours ought to have priority of judgment and satisfaction if they were but equal in time: whereof then savours this demand that would take from her Majesty's subjects their due course, all of them being in time before the offence complained on, in quality more heinous, more in number, the persons far more worthy, and done since the late treaty.

And in the 10[th] condition it is worth the noting, that the King will have no blood repaired but such as has been shed since the late commission, whereby it is plain that he means nothing less than to deliver Cessford and Buccleuch for the murders on them filed by their own confession as has been heretofore touched.

11. And whereas in the 11[th] condition it is required that their meeting and parting may be in friendly manner whether they agree or not, it is a condition annexed of purpose to make our Warden secure that he and his company may be the more opportune to Cessford's violence, which if he be the stronger he will not fail to use [*in margin:* Remember their faith broken in taking Sir William Bowes.] if he see no other means to attain his purpose, that is to recover his pledges; for as it has been already remembered all these projects and fair shows of quietness have no other scope.

And if they that know the King and Cessford and how the Borders have been ordered, or rather disordered, of late years and by whose means and followers will speak their conscience, they cannot but confess that in their opinions this project and conditions are Cessford's own child fathered on the King and sent hither under his avowment.

3 *pp. Endorsed:* "Answers to the Scots King's demand."

[1598-9, ? Feb.] **334.** ANSWERS TO THE DEMANDS OF KING JAMES VI.

Answers to the King's demands.

Vol. lxiv, No. 26.

[The opening paragraph is as in No. 333 *supra* down to the words "freed themselves reciprocally by delivery of the said pledges."]

Concerning the conditions propounded by the King, without allowance whereof he seems unwilling the fact complained on should receive trial, her Majesty has cause to think herself "indignelie" used for that some of them are unjust and others of them dishonourable for her to consent unto and marvels that the King would so far overween

himself as to take upon him to prescribe an undue form to her Majesty not warranted by the treaties nor by the usual practice of Border justice, neither by equity itself.

Therefore to omit the particular answering of the said conditions her Majesty is contented that the fact complained on receive an ordinary trial before the Wardens assisted with a competent number of assizers and the question to be whether it were done *jure* or not, wherein their judgments may be directed by the treaties and by the usual practised laws of the Borders.

Always provided that the high indignity offered to her Majesty at the West Ford of Norham in the person of Sir William Bowes, one of the Commissioners, and in the persons of sundry, her Highness's principal subjects on the Borders, be first repaired according to the King's word given to the said Sir William Bowes to that effect.

Nextly, that Cessford, Buccleuch and all others be first delivered for the murders on them filed by their own confessions or by avowry at the last treaty, as her Majesty will be ready to deliver on her part all Englishmen then convicted of the like crimes.

And lastly, that the several odious murders committed on the persons of Wm. Ainsley, Ferdinando Revely, John Robson, Henry Robson and others, her Majesty's subjects, since the late treaty and in time before the fact complained on, be first, as being first in order, tried and satisfied, with the releasing of the brother of the said Ainsley unlawfully taken prisoner within England and still detained in Scotland, albeit his enlargement has been lawfully and instantly required of Sir Robert Kerr.

And touching the King's project of authorising the Wardens by special commissioners as well for ordering the offence now in question, as for approving any other overture may be laid down for quieting the Borders, her Majesty answers as before for the trial of the said offence.

And for the quieting of the Borders she thinks the King has not yet forgotten the great travails so lately taken by both their Commissioners for that effect, and withal is persuaded that the treaties already made and the laws now in use are sufficient to order all Border controversies and to maintain the estate of the Borders quiet and peaceable if the officers on both sides do their duties in punishing the evil and cherishing the good.

Therefore since it appears that the delay of the trial of this fact proceeds from the King as not contented with a due and usual proceeding, of purpose as it may be thought to disappoint her Majesty of the service of her officers, which have for his pleasure continued prisoners these 4 months, that her subjects on the Borders under their charge may be the more opportune to the robberies of their opposites, as since their imprisonment has been found by experience, her Majesty thinks not herself tied in honour to continue their restraint any longer, and yet being enlarged shall be always ready to answer the offence objected in manner and form as is before set down.

1¼ *pp. In the same hand as the preceding and similarly endorsed.*

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335. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 35.

I received your letter of the last of the last together with the advertisement of Bothwell's intention the 27 of the same at night, the next day (being still sick, yet well now amending I thank God) I went to the Lord Secretary acquainting him with the same, praying him to inform the King thereof, which he did. I also gave the note thereof to Mr. Aston to show the King, both which the King took in good part, having received the same in effect from Paris and out of the Low Countries. On Thursday he imparted it to the Council and liking the advice contained in the note he has written to the Earls of Caithness and Orkney to victual and furnish all their chief strengths and put their countries in readiness to withstand Bothwell's enterprise and thereafter to come hither with speed that further order may be taken therein and they therewith returned again with all possible diligence for that purpose. As also the like course is directed and to be taken with the principal gentlemen of those parts and Huntly to return with speed to prevent Bothwell's intention. Proclamations are made for general musters and for attending the King who in person will go against Bothwell wherever he land here and have no lieutenant but himself against him of whom he has an especial care and great fear of his troubles as he is earnest enough in this turn. After these orders shall be taken then the King intends to write or send to acquaint her Majesty with all and to crave her employment of some ships this way to defeat this enterprise.

It is also resolved in Council and Convention that some of account shall be sent into France. My *Lord of Newbottle** was moved but the D[uke] seeks to go and the Lord Secretary is like if he go to go with him. But the stay is want of money for their charges, which at this time they forbore to move the burghs for help in.

The King hastes all agreements of feuds. Yet my Lord of Mar and his competitors are not agreed but will, the King having agreed and made some of their followers drink together in his cabinet.

The matter between the King and town lies over not agreed but will be.

Mr. Henry Constable is come out of France hither seeking to the King but cannot get that favour. But this to Mr. Aston's, who was employed therein.

The young Laird of Bonnington (Bonyton), a great papist and trafficker, is also come with him. But the King will yield him neither presence nor favour till he first satisfy the Kirk and agree with his father. There is also a young gentleman come from the Bishop of Glasgow to serve the Lord Secretary for his secretary in foreign affairs, a man of good qualities and sufficiently and well commended hither by the Bishop and King of France's secretary and others. And many letters are come from the French King, Bishop of Glasgow and others, but all but compliments.

* Underlined.

Sir Walter Lindsay is a suitor for the King's grace but is plainly refused it until first he satisfy the Kirk. 105 [the Secretary] deals well and plainly with me and will try me what errands Mr. Constable has here. Edinburgh, 3 Marcii 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscripts. Mr. Hudson tells me that Mr. Constable has been in hand with him to carry a letter to your Honour when he returns, and that understanding he has acquaintance with Mr. Edmonds and that possibly the letter may be of moment for her Majesty's service has agreed to do it, as he would have certified you but that Mr. Aston has done as much as he knows, which he prays you to excuse in him.

What the thus incoming of the papists and traffickers means I cannot tell, but will not undertake sufficiently for the service in these suspicious times but beseech that some Ambassador may come hither. Sir William will find my old master's acquaintance so favouring him and he is so able for the Border cause as none is so fit as he.

Poor Mr. Moore, if he had any favour, would sure deserve it, for he is honest to his country. I send your Honour his letter that you may see his good will. Vouchsafe him by me or otherways what answer you please, I also pray ye return me the letter.

For Sir Ed. Shute he is in my conceit of no such "reatche" as he need be doubted, go where he shall. For he is a simple man I think.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address.* 2 *seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Mar. 4. **336.** GEORGE MOORE TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Vol. lxiv, No. 36.

I thank you for sending your messenger to me to-day but until I receive some kind of answer of my letters I have already sent or that my wife go into England I mean to write no more. Mr. Henry Constable lately come out of France was here with me; who disliking the Jesuits' course for the King of Spain came hither to offer his service to this King, to whom he is not acceptable by reason of some report made against him. Whereupon and upon my speeches withal he heartily repents him of this voyage and means to return to France. If he had known as much before his coming as now he does he would have accepted of conditions offered him by England and have gone into Ireland with my Lord of Essex. Here was with me also one Potter, an Englishman lately come out of Ireland and going into Flanders, who came by the Earl of Tyrone and says that the common report in Ireland is that the Spaniards mean to land in England and not in Ireland and that Tyrone now has no succour out of Spain for Parsons the Jesuit has persuaded the Spaniards and also published it in print that Tyrone has not taken arms for religion but for ambition and therefore deserves not to be aided. This Parsons does to that end the King of Spain, when he has conquered England, may also subdue him and Ireland and not yield him such conditions of peace as he should be forced to do if he assisted him in the conquest of England; and Tyrone now has served their turn enough that he is able to continue wars with England. Parsons in my conscience is a right Machevill without religion. I am persuaded also that if the

1598-9. Spaniards attempt England they will employ Bothwell for Scotland. I would see you but I dare not stir abroad. Your knight, Sir Edward Shute, is going into Denmark and to the Duke of Brunswick (Bronsewyk) with commendations from this King. God send me a dispatch that I may send my wife and children to England and follow soon after myself, but I marvel that I hear nothing from Mr. Secretary. Wherefore I pray you remember me to him if conveniently you can and forget not to send my letter to Mrs Isabell. Leith, the 4 of March 1598. *Signed:* George More.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Mar. 5. **337.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 37. My intention was not to have written before Mr. Hudson's return. I find by the return of my late letter directed to him sent by your Honour to George Nicolson that my former letters have been mistaken by the direction and not come into their hands to whom they were intended, which has made my labours less valuable than I looked for, but that shall be amended at Mr. Hudson's return.

The chief cause that moved me to write at this time was to let you understand of Harry Constable's coming into this country. He landed at Leith the first of this instant being recommended to some of our papists, kept himself secret Thursday and Friday, in which time he employed means to the King to let him know of his coming and that it would please him that he might speak with his Majesty presently. This being imparted his Majesty was desirous to know whether he had any letters, which was answered he had none except one from the Duchess of Guise (Doucses of Goues). What further answer was given in this I know not but the King altogether refused him his presence. Whereupon he sent to me and desired me to come and speak with him, which I did. After we had conferred a while of our former acquaintance, he begins to make a discourse to me of the cause of his coming hither. Thereafter desired my favour that I would be a mean that he might speak with his Majesty, which I undertook upon condition that he would deal freely with me. What intention he has here further than he has declared to me as yet I cannot discover. This far he has gone with me: he says his coming hither was first to offer his service to the King, assuring me he was not a practiser against her Majesty but in all dutiful sort did prefer her before all other; and next he would prefer his Majesty not only himself but in the name of all the Catholics both at home and abroad, except some that were traffickers and practised the course of Spain, whose names in particular he could show his Majesty. At length he told me further he was to crave his Majesty's letters to his friends in France, whereby he might be the better enabled to do his Majesty service. This being done, his purpose was to return from whence he came. I being in good hope to draw some matter out of him took upon me frankly to deal for him, not knowing he had used any other means. So soon as I had fit opportunity I moved the

1598-9. King for him, letting him understand his desire was to speak with him. His answer was to me, "I have already sent him my answer and the reason why I will not speak with him is this: he has no letters of recommendation. Besides he is known to be a fugitive and a practiser against his country. All such I will be "flyting frye" with. Besides he has undertaken to convert me, saying he had conferred with me long since and found me not so grounded in religion but I might be persuaded to become a Catholic." He was here at the King's going to Denmark, at which time there was some reasoning between them but Constable did not show himself altogether a papist at that time. I see for the present he is like to have no countenance here. I shall look into his doings as carefully as I can and advertise your Honour as occasion shall serve.

The advertisements sent to George Nicolson concerning Bothwell are confirmed both out of France and Flanders. Whereupon there are present letters directed to the Earls of Orkney and Caithness to be here with all expedition and to leave their countries in good order and to be fortifying their castles and havens till their own return, which shall be with all expedition; and proclamation to be made for all men to be in readiness and beacons to be set up in those parts in places convenient. There is an intention to write to her Majesty that three or four ships may be drawn to the north parts.

The employment to France is now afoot and the Duke seeks it by all the means he may. It is looked that he and the Secretary shall be employed. Mr. Hudson is presently to be dispatched. By him you shall be more particularly informed of all things here. No further for the present. Holyroodhouse, the 5 of March. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript. This man seems to be very careful here he may get safe to France and was in great fear to have landed in England at his coming hither, which makes me suspect him the more.

3¼ *pp. Holograph, with address.* 2 *seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "2 [*sic*] March 1598. Mr. Aston to my master."

Mar. 9. **338.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 38. The King is this day to agree Mar and his competitors and the 26 hereof he has appointed my Lord of St. Colme and other of Moray's friends to be with him at Stirling for taking further and better assurance between them and Huntly, who with the Duke and Mar supped yesternight together; yet no speeches between Mar and Huntly. Mar did thus far for showing the King he bore Huntly no evil will, but he will not agree with him without the Earl of Argyll's consent and agreement also. The King is hasting to agree all other feuds by all possible means, or at least to get them under assurance all to withstand these "plattes" now bruited of Bothwell. For which purpose also the owners of Fast Castle, Tantallon, Broughty and of all other strengths of the coast are charged to man and victual those castles and a gentleman is to be sent to her Majesty with letters and declaration of these orders and cares taken by the King of his resolution to

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concur with her against these and all other "plattes," with advertisement of what secrets the King knows in them and to move for ships and some money to enable him in his good intention. This Court would have Beltries (Baltreise) employed herewith: but others would not have her Majesty so soon moved again for money matters nor the King spend money about such errand but to write what is meet in these behalfs; so as these rest to be concluded on. This Court is putting at the Treasurer again, who little cares for what they can do nor will leave his office by force, do what they can. And yet he is weary on it. The King longs to hear how his letters are taken and the parties make him also long for word and resolution anent the hunting accident.

Young Bonnington has had presence of the King and promised to amend to the Kirk and his father. But Mr. Constable gets not presence, yet writes to the King and has received word that the King will protect him here. Yesterday Mr. Robert Bruce suiting for his stipend got it "decreted" with him before the Lords of the Sessions. The King being there in his contrary was angry and raged at it.

Sir Edward Shute is going to Denmark and so to the wars against the Turk, protesting wherever he go he shall keep duty to her Majesty and country and praying me to certify so. Edinburgh, 9 Marcii 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

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

Mar. 12. **339.** CONFESSION OF ROBERT LIVINGSTONE.

Vol. lxiv, No. 39.

The confession of Robert Livingstone, the son of Robert Livingstone of Little Airds (Ardess) and laird thereof and brother of Alexander Livingstone laird now of Livingstone in Galloway in Scotland, set down at the Savoy in the Strand in the house of the right honourable the Chancellor of her Majesty's Duchy of Lancaster, the 12th day of March 1598.

For the true declaration of his birth and lineage as above he has been brought up as a page with the Lord of Livingstone of Callendar, the chief baron of that surname and Lord Livingstone. Since he grew to man's estate he has served and attended upon him, his lord and master, as well in the country Stirlingshire and where his lands have been, as also waited upon his lord when he has been at the Scottish King's Court, attending upon the King there and in the King's journeys of pleasure.

He says that the Lord Livingstone has the custody of the young princess, daughter to the King of Scots, because the lady his wife is a lady of good and honourable behaviour and this Lord of Livingstone's father had the bringing up of the King of Scots that now lives in his youth together with the Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine.

He says that he this examinant was as the master of Lord Livingstone's household and chief usher of his lordship's house for the space of six or seven years last, until about four years now last of all past and then he says that he did go to the service of Sir John Livingstone of Dunipace (Dyney Paisse) in Stirlingshire and often he attended upon him in the King's Court for one year. He is a gallant courtier and

1598-9. about 3 years last past, about a month after midsummer, this examinant fell in danger of the laws of Scotland for the slaughter of a gentleman of Scotland called Mr. David Foster of Stirling and for that he was upon the field when the deadly feud was executed, this examinant being almost a mile from the place where and when the slaughter was done by other persons of that other side of the deadly feud.

This examinant protests and avows upon his soul and the salvation thereof that he was never in any part of Spain, France, Italy, Germany, the Low Countries, Denmark or Ireland in his life nor out of Scotland, but only that he for the danger of that feud came into the Isle of Man shortly after Michaelmas last, and from thence he came to Beaumaris (Bewmaryce) and so to Westchester [*sic*] and so to London.

He the said Robert Livingstone is admonished, seeing he is now fallen and come within her Majesty's protection and kingdom and in regard of favour that is fit for a man in his cause and case to deserve well now in this dangerous time, when princes' home-born and naturally born subjects be often seen to become unnatural and monstrous subjects, and then strange-born countrymen more to be doubted, he is charged as he expects favour and courtesy to declare the truth and his knowledge and hearsay if ever he did know or speak any treachery, traitorous matter, malicious or envious matter against our now sovereign Queen Elizabeth of England or not if ever he himself did ever wish or intend evil unto her Majesty or not; or wish or commend any enemy unto her or not; whether King Philip of Spain or any other Spaniard or of the Spanish faction or not; or Tyrone her Majesty's rebel in Ireland, or any rebel in Ireland or elsewhere; especially within this year now last past before the day of this examination. To these questions and every part and all parcels thereof he directly and plainly answers that he never in his life time does remember any such speech or wish or intent, but he is assured that he never did hear any such thing spoken, intended or meant or written within these twelve months last past; neither of any other person or persons or else of or by himself, of or against her Majesty. And the like question he is demanded in the behalf of evil words, speeches or mischief against his own King, the King of Scots, and the like answer he does answer thereunto.

2 *pp.* *Endorsed:* "12 Mar. 1598. Examination of Robert Levenston, a Scottsman."

Mar. 13. **340.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 40. This enclosed was sent me by sea before my arrival here and by a contrary wind put back here. Because officers here are very careful that the season should not pass which now is only proper for this accustomed furnishing, they have urged me to be thus bold to commend the bearer, one Robert Sky, whom Mr. Lindsay has employed to cause brew and bring to Scotland this said beer for the King and Queen's house. It may therefore please your Honour to pardon my boldness and to speak to Sir John Fortescue who will as at other times

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at your request quickly dispatch the matter. Edinburgh, the 13 of March 1598. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

Postscript. Here is a mighty jar falling out betwixt the King and his Lords of the Session for a cause betwixt Mr. Robert Bruce and other two placed ministers, wherein the King has found them over partial (as he alleges) himself being party in the matter.

The King is so offended with the Treasurer that his enemies in the Chamber take opportunity to hoist him from his office, wherein they are like to prevail and likewise against the Comptroller. It is in head by the Chamber to move his Majesty employ a young gentleman, one Sempill of Beltries, to her Majesty about Valentyne Thomas's matter and for this last intention of Bothwell's but the young man himself yet knows not so much. He is a raw piece to employ and one unskilful, only a scholar. He is son to John Sempill and Mary Livingstone, the King's mother's servants both.

Since the writing of my letter the Lord Treasurer is committed to the Castle for the causes aforesaid in this letter.

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

Mar. 13. **341.** JOHN ARCHIBALD TO GEORGE NICOLSON.*

Vol. lxiv, No. 42.

Having as yet continued my travails in the adoes committed to me by the honourable Ambassador (your late master) I will as heretofore reserve my honest duty in discharging this business and therefore by your counsel let them in absence (of your good master) be recommended to such as have credit to return their answer. And since, as ye will perceive, they are weighty and special heads I will "concreddeit" them to be discharged by none other but my own natural brother, whom ye shall direct to such as will hastily make his dispatch. Seeing our Islesmen are in present preparation at the desire of the Earl of Tyrone to pass in Ireland, therefore let their offices which L. is contented be considered as follows:

First. L. is content upon condition of appointment to keep the whole Highland Isles of Scotland at home.

Secondly. In case they raise their army either in whole or in part for support of the Earl of Tyrone or any his colleagues, L. shall make due advertisement either to the Deputy of Ireland or Council of my Lords, or to both, whereby they shall be duly resisted.

Thirdly. L. shall have two special gentlemen descended of his own house and of his name, who are conversant in the Earl's own company but for the present are here with L. and by them L. shall make the Deputy of Ireland from time to time foreseen of the Earl's special projects (?) and attempts, so that by their privy travails the Deputy shall ever have due intelligence and foreknowledge of the Earl's special adoes. And L. shall after receipt of answer make the two men be known to the Deputy.

Now, brother George, what proof I have given heretofore in this special service ye in absence of your master can reckon. And for

* Misdated. Should be March 13, 1597-8, and is the letter enclosed in No. 130 *supra*.

assurance of these turns L. is content to direct his own son with me up to Court by your mean for approving of this matter, consideration being had of travails. For I need not recount to you the worthiness and honesty of L. and what his power is to resist this matter, seeing you can sufficiently enough learn the same by others. And now my Lord Argyll is to pass in France by sea, who has left in his hands the government of his whole country, so that his power is more nor enough (blessed be God!) for resisting this errand. So resting my brother's return back whom I pray God return safe with continuance of your health I take my leave. The Highlands, the thirteen of March: "Your awin assuret brother, Filius."

1½ *pp. Holograph, with address:* "To his loving brother George Nicolsone presently at Edinburgh."

Mar 15. **342.** MARK JAMES TO DR. JULIUS CAESAR.

Addit. MSS. 12503, fo. 439.

I have delivered the Scot his ship with all her furniture and all the "stagskines" and all the "eyrron" saving some 37 pieces somewhat more than half a ton which at her first coming in was stolen by consent of some of the Scots with some of the tallow, and Mr. Francis Cotton being a justice sent his warrant and found the said "eyrron" in a hedge and has it in his possession and will not deliver it. He says that if he had money that the Scot should not have had so much for his freight and for the tallow and "pippestaves" it is not worth 30*l.* I did offer the Scot all the tallow and all the "pippestaves" and discharge Mr. Dandys of his 40*l.* and for the other things in his schedule it was spent at sea as well by his own mind as Mr. Dandys. This I thought good to acquaint your worship withal. From Portsea, this 15th of March 1598. *Signed:* Mark James.

[Writer goes on to discuss a quarrel between himself and a cousin which has nothing to do with Scotland.]

1¼ *pp. Holograph, addressed. Endorsed:* "15 Martii 1598. Mark James of Portsmouth signifying the delivery of the Scottish ship and furniture, etc."

Mar. 16. **343.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 43.

Albeit it seemed that all violent courses should have been forborne here and that no change of officers of estate should have followed the placing of the Chancellor and the society made among him, the King's Chamber and Secretary, etc., but that all should have settled here in great peace, yet the plain contrary now breaks out in the ancient form of the mutableness of this inconstant people changing or plotting for changes with every changeable blast of the wind, as by this which follows your Honour may perceive.

In my last I advertised you how the King had discharged Mr. Robert Bruce of his stipend, being 14 chalders of victuals given him by the King and commissioners of their "platt" in the surest form accustomed in those behalfs, and that Mr. Robert suing and recovering

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it before the Lords of Session in the King's presence, the King was wonderfully angry at it. Which matter (having now other matter proceeding on it) I set down at this length. The King came in person to the Tolbooth and persuaded the voting against Mr. Robert and in a manner commanded it. The President stood up thereupon, said to the King he was President and had first place to speak, and therefore he said to the King that he was their King and they his subjects bound to obey him in all humility, which they all would do in all things for their lives, lands and "geir," but in that matter of law and conscience being sworn to do justice they would do as their consciences led them unless he commanded them to the contrary; in which case he said he would not vote at all nor no honest man there; protesting he did it not for Mr. Robert's sake being of little acquaintance with him. And yet he said he heard and kenned he was an honest man. The Lord of Newbottle then also stood up and said to the King that it was said in the town to his slander and theirs that they durst not do justice but as the King commanded them, which he said should be seen to the contrary. For they would vote against him in the right in his own presence. The King reasoned much and very earnestly, sometimes persuading, sometimes taunting and chiding, and the Treasurer in the time of the reasoning of it wrote some few lines and sent it to Mr. Robert's lawyer, to be resolved whether that clause was contained in Mr. Robert's grant or no as a matter of most moment for the grounding of his vote upon. Which point Mr. Robert's lawyer stood after most upon. After it was fully reasoned the Lords all (save Mr. David Magill and the Secretary who was absent for the nonce) voted with Mr. Robert. Whereat the King raged marvellously and is in great anger with the Lords of Session. That day after he was gone away and the Lords risen the King was told of the Treasurer's note, whereon he sent for Sanders Douglas that carried it and Mr. Jo: Russell (Mr. Robert's lawyer) and discovered the note, urging it was sent him as counsel to him how to reason the matter. And entering into great rage against the Treasurer he came to the Tolbooth the 13 hereof, openly charging the Treasurer to have given partial counsel by the note and commanding him to enter into ward in the castle here that day before 4 of the clock, which he did very dutifully. Sir Geo: Elphinstone (a man preferred to the King by the Treasurer) being with the Treasurer, the Treasurer "regrated" to him his hard dealing with the King at his unfriend[ly] appetites, adding they should know he was not dead born. Sir Geo: tells the King thereof as if the Treasurer had spoken it by the King, who thereon alleges that the Treasurer boasts him with his friend and so is more angry at him. The next day the King sent Sir Robert Kerr and Sir Geo: Home to him to propone to him to confess his fault, to remit his office into the King's hands (which is the mark they shoot at) and to come in the King's will. He replied he would do anything to satisfy the King but would neither give over his office nor come in the King's will to have his unfriends (meaning them 2 for some and the greatest of them) to have it or yet to censure him. Sir Robert Kerr replied quickly again, he was in the King's will and danger for more than these. The Treasurer replied again, he was as his subject

1598-9. in his will but he trusted the King would do nothing against him but by law, and then he feared not for his unfriends. Afterwards others were sent to him to persuade him to them, which by no means he will yield unto. Yesterday, the 2 knights were sent again to him with articles to the same effect written with the King's own hand, which he received and with the advice of the Earl of Mar, the Lord of Newbottle, Mr. Edward Bruce and Mr. John Preston and others of his friends he answered to this effect, that he might be at liberty and the matter considered and censured by the King and his Council (and his nobility if so it needed) and he should obey what they thought good (knowing well of a sure party and of justice there) and this he sent down to the King by my Lord of Mar, who withal dealt with the King and was very plain and got answer that the Treasurer might go to his own house and there remain his own prisoner in this house and this town. The Treasurer had word yesterday sent him that the parties, his privy enemies, were tiding on the matter and that if he yielded not they would yield. Upon his first remitting he was advertised he was to be removed to some other ward and to be straited indeed. Whereupon he wrote to the Duke, the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Ochiltree and his other friends to come to him. The Duke has written to him to yield to nothing for he shall not be "soused" but relieved and all friends are coming to him. Sir Geo: Elphinstone went to make his excuse to him but he noted to Sir Geo: his unthankfulness and said he would be his neighbour and so let him go. So as the Treasurer remains in this town warded. Mar is now agreed with my Lord Livingstone and all his competitors well enough now able to do much for his friend and is this day to be made familiar with the Secretary also. He and a great many will stand sure to the Treasurer and they will be strong here this night. The Chamber espying this and withdrawing themselves for this time from this in hope of a better time, as this is like yet to pass over with quietness. The King and they looked for the Chancellor should have done much for their courses. But he is neither scholar nor lawyer able to serve their turns in the Session or Council, as the King in anger thereat called him "snifler" and some of the Chamber think that now he is Chancellor he will seek to stay by calm courses and the friendship of the honest (and so he intends indeed) and therefore wish some fitter in his place with his contentment, and also some better for them in the Session and Council. Until which time that they get some such in for their purposes they are like to surcease from these labours, unless they be put at for this their "mynte," which may well be, and then down goes the Chamber or 2 mighty factions will arise.

The 12 hereof the Chancellor went to the Comptroller telling him he must either furnish the King's house or give over his office. The Comptroller said he could have done it if the King had not hindered it, but as it was he would furnish it no longer than Lammas next; that he was willing to remit his office so the King would quit him of the debts he was in for the King, otherways not; adding the King might do with him what he would and take it from him, but if any other offered him that wrong he would let them "ken" they did him wrong.

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1598-9. Thus the drift was to have "couped" the Treasurer and Comptroller and to have had these places to themselves or friends. The Treasurer was for composition turning his office to the Earl of Cassillis; but the Earl discovering it for advice to some of the other party, it was disappointed. Thus this Estate stands now very dangerous for troubles in itself. The Chamber being able to carry the King with them in their courses will be a great party and violent for Sir Ro: Kerr their champion is violent and strong, and the other party standing of good men will grieve to see the King so led by such persons to whom the King has so far yielded as now all honest men are willing and desirous to withdraw themselves from the service and to behold the event. The King swears he will have Mr. Robert Bruce's cause reversed; which the President understanding says he will pen in Latin, French and Greek to be sent to all the judges of the world to be approved and that by his vote it shall never be reversed. And so say the whole Session. The King whispers (and gives it as part of the cause of his anger to Mr. Robert and the ministers) that some of them have written to her Majesty or Council. Thus your Honour sees me plain, yet I write these but as I hear desiring these and all other things from me may be private and secret.

The naming and sending of the Ambassadors for France only stays for want of money to furnish their charges. For the King is most earnest for the same. Mr. Constable remains still here but to go with Angus into the country, there I judge to see Mr. Dacre, to see whom also here is one Richard Owen, an Irishman born, that says he will go and yet he pretends to be come from the wars only to see his friends. He is a professed papist and enemy to the English, as here he has opened himself to some in quiet. Here is much longing for word out of England and meet that some were here for one month. It needed no more to end the Border matter, which I cannot see however it will be met for trying of, without a greater peril for Va: Thomas's matter and all other meet things this way. The King is to be at Stirling the hinder end of this month, a good place to solicit the agreement for trial of the Border cause. For the King out of these men's companies will yield to my reason and these men will have little credit there. 29 does me great pleasure. He wrote many letters to your Honour, suppose they were directed by name to another, wherewith you were acquainted, albeit you opened not the letters as it appears by your return of his last letter in that sort sent you; so as he lost his labour and yet performed his duty to you, as he will ever do and "on fresh" again when the party is at London. Edinburgh, 16 Marcii 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. Even now I am told that the King hearing of the Duke's coming with his friends is angry at him that he should come in that sort to boast the matter. The King has sent sundry articles to the Treasurer, impossible to be performed, containing that he should furnish the King's turns and enact himself for performance of them or else that he should be discharged his office, and his answer is to be urged before the Chancellor and the Commissioners in this case. But the Treasurer will desire and stand upon it that he be first cleared and

tried of the fault alleged for a fault in him, and then that he will answer to the articles and do what is reasonable and within his possibility therein for the King's service at the sight of his nobility or Council. So as the Chamber have taken heart again this night, as it may well breed a stir here. The Treasurer is a very honest man, well devoted to her Majesty and the amity and has many ways given proof of it, as in the matter of O'Rourke (Oroarke) here is well approved. God forbid he should be overthrown! But I fear it not, he has such love of all honest men.

Here are so many circumstances and so many matters, and I so ill a writer as I cannot write the 20th part of these matters.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. The cipher* 29 = *Roger Aston.*

Mar. 18
28.

344. Father William Baldwin to Robert Bruce.

Vol. lxiv, No. 48.

Copy of a letter written by Father William Baldwin an English Jesuit at Brussels to Mr. Ro: Bruce being then in St. Omer both in the Netherlands.

Good Mr. Bruce this shall be to welcome you to this country again and withal to relate unto you what bruits have been blazed of your being at Paris, which might well grieve your friends to hear but nothing abated the trust they have reposed in your honest and sincere dealing. So it is that some have "attached" you of two or three principal points: first, that you should have made a submission to the King of Scotland, proffering him your service and in particular by revealing the conspiracy late treated of for the ruin of his realm and person and that the parties assembled in this treaty should be my Lord Bothwell, Sir Wm. Stanley, Mr. Owen, yourself, Father Holt and Ty[rie] and this at Mr. Owen's chamber one day and at another time with Jehan Baptista Taxis and Ayala. The second point was that you should desire a passport for to go to Scotland to reveal to the King the particular manner by which his ruin was to be wrought. Lastly, that you should intend and make so much known to the King of France to write a book against Jesuits. These are the principal points, as you see great enough, and what truth there is in the first yourself and your conscience can witness, and what your intention should be in the second and third your own innocency must in time discover. I have had these bruits both by your friends otherwise and letters also, which made me that very night before I came from Brussels to write you a larger letter advertising you thereof, both for my own satisfaction as willing to perform the duty of a friend, as also for your knowledge of that which passed that you might clear yourself and not permit your friends by long silence deem a false bruit a certain and unfeigned verity; but I was at the sudden forced to come hither to Antwerp upon some incident affair, which might not be adjourned to another time and so I deferred the sending of my letters till some other opportunity. Well, when we see you here we shall have a more larger discourse of all that has passed. In meantime persuade yourself I

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never believed any such proceedings of you as I have rehearsed, knowing how untrue the things were that were reported to be treated of by us, as also persuaded of the sincere honesty of you, which I suspected presently some feigned friend or known enemy might have bruited upon mere imagination of the matter handled and persons present to discredit you here. This is all which at this present I shall trouble you with, not wishing thereby you should be afflicted but only to the intent you might ere you write know what has passed and also how far I and Mr. Owen are from the believing of it. Antwerp this present 28 of March 1599. Willyam Baldwyn.

1½ *pp. In the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed:* "Copy of Father Baldwyn the Jesuit's letter to Mr. Robt. Bruce."

before Mar. 21/31.

345. Letters Patent of Henry IV of France to the Scots residing in his kingdom.

Vol. lxiv, No. 54.

Henry, King of France and Navarre to all present and to come greeting. Whereas the late King Henry II by his letters patent of June 1557 [*sic*] granted to all inhabitants of the kingdom of Scotland subjects of the King the Dauphin of France his son and of the Queen of Scotland his wife to reside in this our kingdom and there to hold and possess benefices, dignities and ecclesiastical offices and to acquire moveable goods as they should think good as though they were originally natives, without anyone after their decease being able to claim the said goods by escheat (*par droict d'aubayne*), as has also been practised in Scotland where the French have the same right of naturalization, provided they be actual inhabitants of the kingdom (*regnicolles*) or dwelling in France; whereas it is apparent to us by the extract that the privilege granted to them by the Queen of Scotland then reigning and the three Estates of the realm of Scotland [was] confirmed by Act of Parliament of the said country; and the Lord Archbishop of Glasgow, Ambassador, near us for our very dear and beloved brother and cousin the King of Scotland James IV [*sic*], now reigning in the said country, has required us for the maintenance of the confederation which has been kept so long between the two crowns to declare our intention upon this and to expedite our necessary letters of declaration and confirmation;

We let you know that we desiring to treat well and favourably the subjects of the King of Scotland and let them feel the fruits of our good regard for them, as well in consideration of the ancient confederation and alliance so long kept and observed between the two crowns, as of the particular love we bear to our said brother, have of our special grace declared and ordained by these presents that all the subjects of the said King of Scotland who wish to dwell in our realm may there hold and possess benefices and ecclesiastical offices, acquire every sort of goods moveable and immoveable, without anyone on their decease being able to claim their said goods as belonging to us by escheat; and that they enjoy the said privilege granted to them by Henry II, which we grant anew and confirm to them by these presents, plainly and

peaceably, notwithstanding the impeachments which heretofore may have been given to them in the enjoyment of the same by the decrees (*arrests*) of our Council and without that by reason of the present grace the said Scots be held to pay us or our successors any indemnity, of which to whatsoever value it may amount we make them gift by these presents signed by our hand, on the condition (*à la charge*) nevertheless that if by reason of the benefices of which the said Scots shall be provided in this our realm there be process or contention they do not summon any of our subjects but before those of our judges to whom the cognition thereof shall pertain.

And so we command our friends and lieges (*féaulx*) holding our Court of Parliament, Grand Council, our accountants in Paris, treasurers general of France, and all our bailiffs, seneschals, provosts (*prévosts*) and others our justices and officers or their lieutenants, present and to come, that they suffer the said subjects of the realm of Scotland to enjoy our present licence and permission and all the contents of these presents and to use them plainly and peaceably, putting an end to all troubles and impeachments to the contrary, for such is our pleasure. Notwithstanding that the financial value of the privileges is not here specified and that such gifts are not accustomably made except for the half or third [in] the ordinances made by us or our predecessors for the order and distribution of our finances.

That these presents may have effect in many and divers places we will that henceforth on the *vidimus* of the same made under the royal seal or duly compared and examined (*collationnées*) by our secretaries and notaries credence (*foy*) be given as to the present original to which we have caused our seal to be affixed.

"Donné à Fontainebleau au mois de Mars l'an de grace 1599 et de notre regne le dixiesme. Signé Henry, et sur le reply par le Roy de Neufville, et scellé du grand sceau de cire verte et à costé visa."

Examined (*collationné*) with the original by me, councillor and secretary of the King in his finances, Pasquier.

And below is written: Examination (*colation*) of the present copy has been made with the original written on paper by me Esmée Bluceau, notary royal at Fontainbleau, in presence of Gille Bluceau, clerk, and Jean Guyen, dwelling at Fontainbleau, witnesses, 1 April 1599. The said Guyen has delivered to wit (*scavoir*) signed. Signed: Gille Bluceau and Bluceau notary.

And again is written: Examination of the present copy has been made with another copy on paper by the King's notaries in the Chastelet of Paris, 23 November 1599. Signed: de St. Julian and Neurry.

Examination made upon the copy examined by the said de St. Julian and Neurry, 4 April 1600. Signed: Beaufort, dit Le Roy.

3 *pp. French. Copy in a French hand. Endorsed:* "Lettres patentes du Roy Henry 4me octroiées aux Escossois. Anº. 1599."

Vol. lxiv, No. 52. Another copy of the foregoing grant but omitting the specific reference in the preamble to the grant of Henry II and with slight variations in the wording of the privileges conferred. "Donné à

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Fontainebleau au moys de Mars l'an de grace 1599 et de nostre regne le dixiesme."

2½ *pp. French. Copy in a French hand. Endorsed:* "Coppie des lettres de naturalité du moys de Mars 1599."

Addit. MSS. 19044, fo. 313, and 30666, fo. 293.

Two further copies (as S.P. Scot., Vol. lxiv, No. 52). Registered in the Parliament of Paris with the proviso that Scots who are not denizens shall have no power to succeed those residing in France and that Scots who are denizens shall not be deprived of the benefit of the above letters on leaving France. At Paris in Parliament the last of July 1599. *Signed:* Du Tillet.

8 *pp. French. Copies in an* 18*th cent. hand.*

Vol. lxiv, No. 55.

Another copy of the same with the preamble: * "Donné à Fontainebleau au mois de Mars l'an de grace 1599 et de nostre reigne le dixiesme. Signé, Henry: et sur le reply par le Roy de Neuville est accosté visa, collationné à l'original par moy conseiller et secret[air]e du Roy on de [*sic*] ses finances, Pasquier.

With the "collations" of 1 April 1599 by Esmee Bluceau, notary, and Gille Bleceau or Bliceau, clerk, and declaration by Jean Guyen (Guinnon), and of 23 November 1599 by the King's notaries St. Jullien and Noury. Also a further "collation" dated 11 October 1605 by L'Aigle "premier huissier au bailly de Rouen."

8¼ *pp. French. In a French hand. Endorsed:* "1605. Certificate of the prerogative of the Scottish merchants in France above the English."

Addit. MSS. 19044, fo. 397*d*, and 30666, fo. 79.

Two extracts from the Registers of Parliament recording the registration of the above letters patent on 31st July 1599.

3 *pp. French. Copies in an* 18*th cent. hand.*

Mar. 24. **346.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 44.

Lest your Honour think long to hear how these intended changes go in this uncertain Estate I have thought it my duty to advertise you of all the same. Yet first to begin with *Mr. Francis Dacre who returning on Wednesday last from Dumfries told me it was a common report in the West Borders and many words came to his ears that his life* was sought for and 1000 marks to be given to the killer of him. He said he marvelled that any such hardness should be meant him, considering he was never yet upon the "platt" or knowledge of any hurt to her Majesty or country, nor will never be he protests, whatever misery he endure, but still prefer her Highness before all the world, and so behave himself as he shall never offend in his duty to her or country; standing upon it with many great oaths and protestations. He makes very great lamentation that he should be thus sought for his life, as also that her Majesty knows not his true heart and great want, and desires nothing more than that he knew how to please and satisfy her Majesty in any suspicion (if there be any he said) taken of

* The date of the letters patent by Henry II is given here as June 1555. It was really 1558, after the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin.

him, as also how he might do to move her for her gracious relief to be yielded him here, rather than anywhere else out of England; because he says he has not the language of other countries *and having her Majesty's favour can live better of two hundred pounds here than with more in any other country;* protesting if he could find that grace of her Majesty for himself and his son (though it be very little for them to live on) they should rest contented therewith till God moved her Majesty to be better with them and no way hearken or be beholden to any others whatsoever but always ready at her service as she should charge them. This is the very effect of and almost his own words in many parts which I thought my duty to commend to your knowledge to dispose on as you please. *The Earl of Angus has heard of this and told it the King I hear. Mr. Constable has not yet had speech of the King, yet spoke with the Queen,* who thinks him but simple. He has me in suspicion to be his hindrance, but I have neither dealt with nor against him. Yet I mark as much as I can all he does, which is not worth the noting so far as I see. *He is seeking* (?) *the King's letters to the French King in his favour for the pension that is unpaid him there.* The Sessions of the Kirk have had him before them and enjoined him either to subscribe to the Articles of Religion *or depart the country within* 15 *days.* Proclamation is made commanding all Jesuits and papists off the country and shipmasters and others not to bring any of them home upon pain of death. Indeed such is the misery of some of our papists here that they suit the King for relief, which may be the cause of the proclamation. Mr. Ja: Gordon is at Seton well entertained till he can be shipped.

The very date of the date of my last *the Lord Treasurer refusing to agree to the Articles was charged to pass* 4 *miles from the town* within 24 hours and within 14 days after to pass and enter himself in ward in Inverness. In obedience whereof he went to Craigiehall, since which time he remained till yesterday there; the King by messages treating with him to have had him confessed a fault and demitted his office and he by his friends labouring again to have surety first for discharge of his credit and bonds given for the King and to keep his place in Session, but not yielding to have made any fault, in the note he made objected as partial counsel in him, which if it had been a fault the King would never have treated with him but have put him to the extremity; *for he rages bitterly and openly against him. After that the King and Council had in Council resolved that Cassillis* should be Treasurer, the Duke, Earl of Glencairn, Ochiltree and many of [the] Treasurer's friends came to back him, the Duke and Mar reasoning the case with the King and persuading him to try by the Session or Council whether it was a fault or not before he should condemn the Treasurer. But he would no way hear them with patience but still sought to force the Treasurer to demit his office; because he has that estate in it as he cannot be displaced without a cause, as whoever have it without his resignment till a parliament cannot execute it with effect to the subjects. Yesterday he had leave and was sent for to the town the fitter for agreeing, who seeing the drift to be to have him resigned before he had surety for the debts he contracted for the King would in no case

consent so to depart with the office; yet upon surety would willingly have done it. Until the very time of the King's riding this afternoon they were all busy about this matter, the King concluding *in end that Cassillis should have the office, which is so set down and proclamation now made thereupon* to intimate it to the people for accepting Cassillis as Treasurer. [*In margin:* Old Sir Ro: Melville is Cassillis's deputy but the old Chancellor's post must now be scattered.] And withal Cassillis is willed to agree with the Treasurer and dealings in hand for their agreement. But Cassillis takes it without the Treasurer's consent, who will not resign to him but upon good and equal conditions, and thus it now stands. The Duke would not speak to the knights of the Chamber that are dealers for the discharge of the Treasurer. So as *I see not but some faction will now* arise indeed here. *The King is also drawing the office of Comptroller from the laird of Wedderburn;* but in good terms towards him and with hope to the Comptroller that he shall be discharged of such debts as he has contracted for the King's affairs and uses; upon surety whereof he is willinger (as the Treasurer is) to demit than keep his office, and David Murray is like to get it. If these changes hold the Clerk of Register is judged shall be changed and so by others of the Chamber faction in their places the Chamber to be stronger. *The King looks that the Earl of Moray's friends shall all meet him that he may take assurance anent Huntly;* but I hear none of them will be there being malcontent to see such course held by the King against his own name. The King returns from Stirling about the 3 of the next. He was *angry at the Duke's coming to back the Treasurer,* and the Lord Fleming also coming for his cause was, because he was at horn, commanded to ward. So as the Chamber carry the King as they please. Yet the great ones go not to Stirling now with the King. There the King will hear more in humble sort said to him. *The King indirectly has caused Mr. Ro: Bruce be dealt with to give place to the King's anger and leave this place. But he will not do it unless the King either command him or his flock discharge him* (who have been dealt in to that effect) that he may do it with good warrant by the word. *I hear the King is aminded to banish him* [*from*] *England and Scotland.* The King still says he cannot be sure of his life so long as Mr. Ro: is here, which is strange he should say so. *My Lord Maxwell is commanded to ward beyond Forth* for that he agrees not to enter his pledges and give longer surety to Johnstone. Thus much for this time, enclosing this cipher for that I intend to write after the safe passage some matters of moment to your Honour, beseeching that what I write next be kept secret. Edinburgh, 24 Marcii 1598. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. My Lord Home is also a malcontent with Sir Ro: Kerr and others of the Chamber fully resolved to travail and surely of a peaceable mind and well devoted to the amity. Otherways motions had prevailed to have made him as far in as others have been.

I see no better way now with 116 (the King) than to have 105 (Secretary)'s friendship for he is the man whereon 116 (the King) depends for advice and manages all foreign courses.

Mr. Hudson takes journey on Monday next. He can show all.

1598-9. 2 *pp. Holograph, with address.* 2 *seals. Endorsed with notes of the contents by Cecil's clerk and the words:* "R. at Richmond the 31st." *The passages in italics have been underlined. The decipherments of the ciphers shown above in brackets inserted by Sir R. Cecil.*

[1598-9, *c.* Mar.] **347.** SIR ROBERT CECIL ON THE STATE OF SCOTLAND.

Vol. lxiv, No. 53. A memorial of the present state of Scotland how it grows every day with more affection to popery.

Chancellor. The Earl of Montrose, a Protestant in profession but allied to the Papists. He married the old Lord Drummond's sister and was a great favourer of Huntly in the slaughter of Moray.
Graham.

Treasurer. The Earl of Cassillis now made Treasurer, and the Prior of Blantyre put out of his place for favouring the minister Mr. Robert Bruce. Memorandum that this Cassillis is but simple, young, governed by the King's Chamber, and I remember when he was here, Capt. Fortescue (Fostecue) his only guide, who now is gone and employed for Rome (Room). Kennedy.

Secretary. Elphinstone of Elphinstone a Papist. He has lately received from the Bishop of Glasgow a secretary to serve him.

P. The Lord of Livingstone, keeper of the King's daughter in Linlithgow (Lyteho). He is a great Papist.

The names of the Chamber that rule him.

Sir Ro: Kerr, Warden of the Middle March.

P. Sir Geo: Home wholly Huntly's creature. His wife a Gordon (Gourden). Master of the Wardrobe.

P. Sir G. Elphinstone.

P. Sir P. Murray of the house of Tullibardine (Tullibarn), wholly Huntly's. David Murray his brother.

President of the Session.

P. Prior Pluscardine a Seton and a great Papist. He married the Lord Drummond's daughter.

The Lord Home, a known Papist.

Moray a Stewart now living.

The Abbot of St. Colme, a favourer of Moray.

Huntly to have the keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh and to keep the Prince.

Huntly married the Duke's sister.

Mar married the Duke's sister.

The Duke has married the Sheriff of Ayr's sister.

Morton had many daughters married. He is old and not of action. His wife a great practiser, great with the Queen. She was daughter to the Earl of Rothes (Rothins).

Morton's daughters thus married.

One to Argyll.
2. to Errol.
3. to Lord Home.

4. Master of Glamis always favours the papist Earls.
Orkney and Caithness, Stewarts both.*
Caithness is brother to Bothwell by his mother.
Buccleuch is son-in-law to Bothwell and in his heart popish.
His toleration of Gordon.†
The employment of Ambassadors.
The speaking with Tyrone's messenger.
His sufferance of aid out of Scotland.
His speaking in open Convention. Every tale of counter intelligence a sufficient condemnation.

2 *pp. In Sir R. Cecil's hand. Endorsed by him:* "98. A Memoriall of the state of Scotland."

Mar. 25. **348.** DAVID FOULIS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 45.

I were to blame if I should let slip such an occasion to testify my thankful remembrance of your manifold courtesies shown me while I was in England. I can but give thanks and reserve a most willing mind to deserve the continuance of your love and favour towards me. The present estate here of all matters, their causes and chief springs, together with their apparent events, I will remit to the sufficient relation of the bearer, who being an eye-witness can inform better than a bare paper. Only my own service I will recommend unto you. Edinburgh, the 25 of March 1599. *Signed:* D. Foulis.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "By Mr. Hudson. Compliments."

Mar. 26. **349.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 46.

Where I have long (as your Honour knows) served and taken pains in her Majesty's service here at many times to my great peril and never yet got any stay for me to rest and depend on in my age, and being without means to live on after my leaving of this service, as my service now is not with that comfort and courage to me as it would be in case I knew of any stay for my age; and that my good Lord, your father, rests with God, under whose hand I have his testimony and commendations of my service with his promise and declaration of his intent to have done me good if God had granted him life; and my master being also dead; I have none nor will depend on none but your Honour, whatsoever befall me, for obtaining me some relief at her Majesty's hands. Which because you may do it upon better ground for me I do not suit but to her Majesty's ease of half my entertainment here, so as for what service I can do her Highness shall not be at more than a noble a day besides carriage of letters. For I seek nothing for intelligence. And for the abatement of the other noble a day I desire but my poor suit of 20*l.* in reversion commended twice with your father's hands or 30*l.* in reversion to the tenant's use for 52 years, whether your Honour likes better to move for, and 3*s.* 4*d.* by day for

* Error. Caithness was a Sinclair.
† The last sentences refer to the King.

my life out of Berwick of the pensions of the non-residents or first falling void there at the Governor and Council's appointment. For the first her Majesty shall but forbear the fine of the same when it comes to leasing, being but 3 years' fine. The other may be had by the Lords of Council's order without her Majesty's trouble or any penny increase of her charge in Berwick and without the want of a man, being chosen of the non-residents there. And so I knowing whereon to live may be more bold to live in better sort than now I do, and may do it better. For I shall make my suit worth 3*s.* 4*d. per diem*, certain during my life and so pray for her Majesty the world see she rewards her service and I may attempt that for her which now I may not. Many of less service than I have had treble such rewards. In this I have instructed and entreated Mr. Hudson to solicit you, beseeching you to give him credit for me and to help me herein. Edinburgh, 26 Marcii 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Mar. 27. **350.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 47.

Having the commodity of this bearer I have thought convenient for the discharge of my duty to accompany him with these few lines to acknowledge my bounden duty to your Honour as the only pillar of all my hopes. By your honourable dealing towards [me] you have not only enabled me to serve her Majesty but bound me to yourself during my life and relieved me out of the misery of the world, for the which I shall daily pray for you. I do persuade myself of the continuance of your goodness to me as I shall be ready to deserve by all the good offices I may. I perceive my intentions this time bypast have not been rightly taken up, for all the letters I directed upon the back "to his loving brother James Hudson" were to yourself and those I directed to Mr. Hudson for himself were "to his loving brother Mr. James Hudson, servant to the King's Majesty of Scotland." By the return of a letter sent to George Nicolson I perceived that all my travails had been to no purpose. I am now to be directed as it shall please you to communicate to this bearer whom I trust as myself. I have willed him to move you in my own particular, from whom I hope to receive comfort as I have done before. I refer the estate of all matters here to the sufficiency of the bearer. From Edinburgh, the 27 of March. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, 27 Mar. Mr. Roger Aston to my master. By Mr. Hudson."

Mar. 28. **351.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 49.

For the matters of moment I refer to the enclosed note, hoping the cipher sent with my last is safely come to your hands. For news here they are in effect as they were. The Earl of Cassillis and Lord Treasurer now like to agree, as the Earl to have the office with his

1599. good will. And the Comptroller is now upon new conceits among them liker to be continued than removed and yet he offers to take upon his lands 10,000*l.* Scots for them to do the King's turns with upon security of the King's lands for his repayment, so he may be relieved of the debts he contracted for the King and leave his office. As the matters of this Estate go still so uncertain as nothing can be certainly written thereof. The King rode yesterday from Linlithgow to Stirling and returns hither on Tuesday. He marvels he gets no answer of his last letter to her Majesty (which was sent by me the 27 of the last month). The laird Beltries is to have in his instructions to deal for relief of the pledges, who [it] is said here have made a "mynt" to have escaped in which young Whithaughe's leg should be broken and one of the b[order]men slain. For Kirk matters I look for no changes in them but a shovelling of them over till the General Assembly at Aberdeen the first Tuesday in June. Then I think the King will get his will. The 15 of the next month the baptism is to be only with them of the country, Huntly and the rest. The Sessions are broken up and no appearance of any great matters here, as Mr. Hudson will show you. He takes journey to-morrow. Edinburgh, 28 Marcii 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

On a slip of paper enclosed:

Laba7‡nomlbpfnw 59. W. (Matthew Sempil L. Simple's servant) is now fully dispatched with large commission to 59. (Sempil), yet the commission is limited to his instructions. There is in them besides that I wrote before that it should be learned and 16. (the King) advertised what ⑭ 00 wrenbapoksmag8Δxw (Spain will do this year). And where 14. (Spain) has been sounded by 16. (the King) direction whether ramtook692/75. 16. st nbe 12 (he will trouble the King's title to England) or not, and that 16. (the King) is answered that upon condition he will not. 59. (Simple) is to deal for more certainty thereof and to learn the conditions as 14. (K. of Spain) and 16. (K. of Scots) are like to agree in that point. Laba7‡noo khmqbpφɔ Cl. st (Mathew will certify your Honour then) and for that purpose see Cl. (your Honour). Therefore when he does come it may please your Honour to deal inwardly with him therein. He and W*P* (Nicholson) have agreed thus.

lgobmqnvrahq7owl (Master Dakers) I perceive is some way moved to have comfort that he shall be better used in ⑭ (Spain) than ever he was if he will go thither again. But for certain he will not do it if he can do any other ways: for he hates them.

62np23pw (Tyrone) has a favour in ⑯ (Scotland) and a dealing in very secret with 16. (the King) W*P* (Nicholson) conceives.

C. (L. Secretary) can best help all here and can and will stop such courses and draw 16. (the King) to cast off all and only depend on 12. (England) if he be entertained and Cl. (your Honour) and he agree once on it, which W*P* (Nicholson) wishes and thinks he has done good service in to bring it to that, that it is in 12. (her Ma^{tes}) will.

In G. Nicolson's hand. The decipherments of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil.

1599. Mar. 31.

352. GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxiv, No. 50.

Where it pleased your Honour very favourably to procure and direct payment to this bearer, Mr. William Craven, woollen draper in Watling Street in London, as well for my entertainment until and for the last of September 1598 as for letters bringing to me and sending by me and for extraordinaries disbursed by me for her Majesty's service here fully unto the said time; and with consideration that the defalcations in the offices should not be borne by me; I yield you most humble thanks, rest your servant and "beademan" for your said goodness to me. And now being run in debt again unto Mr. Craven for money had of his factor here and in want besides, I have made up my bill and enclosed it to your Honour coming to 142*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* sterling; beseeching you to assign the payment thereof unto the said Mr. Craven for me in your accustomed form of your goodness to me with speed and favour that he think not much with me nor withhold his former kindness of lending me money by his servant when I shall afterwards need. At Edinburgh, the last of March 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

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

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(George Nicolson's bill of expenses.)

Vol. lxiv, No. 50[1].

George Nicolson's bill of what is due to him from the last of September 1598 until and for the last of March 1599 for her Majesty's service in Scotland.

Imprimis for his entertainment in the same time being 182 days at 13*s.* 4*d. per diem.*	121*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*	
Letters carrying to and from him in the same time between your Honour, the Wardens and him, all paid by him the said George.	21*l.* 10*s.*	
		142*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* sterling.

Signed: George Nicolson.

Slip of paper. Holograph.

[1599, ? Mar.]

353. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 51.

Mr. Francis Dacre is about to send for his son from Liège hither, protesting he will never pass over sea again, albeit he may be better there entertained than ever he was. For (for certain) he hates their former dealings towards him. I also perceive that he would give his son in marriage to any honourable man's daughter that would and could be means to her Majesty for her grace and favour to him for the restoring of his house. Which I thought my duty to advertise your Honour that you may (if you think meet and please) take the benefit thereof to your use for any of your friends meet for him, so far as her

James VI.
1599. Majesty should like of. For the house is very ancient, honourable and exceeding great for living and commandment of men as any subject almost in the whole isle. And if such a thing might be with her Majesty's good liking, I in my duty to your Honour wish you the benefit of it before any else. For now that my master is gone, whose fortunes I ever constantly followed, I have none under God and her Majesty but you to depend upon. Mr. Dacre is (as I presume your Honour knows) a plain gentleman without any deep reach, almost out of hope of restoring by any means he can make in England and therefore (though he would gladly by some such means be drawn under her Majesty's good grace and countenance) dare not without some appearance of good success seek that way, lest thereby he also lose the King and be cast off here, where he is put in great comfort of the King's favour when time shall serve, and to be honourably relieved here in the mean season. And it seems some project is made him for his son's marriage with some here of strength meet for his assistance to the lands on the Borders; which he needs not if he had her Majesty's favour, for then the whole country would follow him. For surely they bear him good will which one day will "kithe." If your Honour would have this offer I think I could move him to cause his honourable friends to motion and solicit it for him. I have sometimes conference with him, whereby I try out these things; hoping I shall not be any way blamed for the same. For I do it to do good for her Majesty's service. The King has made him very large protection. I beseech you reserve this to yourself and these by-notes.

As you will be assured of 34.'s friendship to be reposed on for matters in ⑯ so that party may be well trusted for he is very constant and honest. But C. is the man best able to do 12. service, being employed in foreign affairs also, as I wish his entertainment with all kindness, assuring you he is the only man best able to do us good. And albeit there be some "plattes" and hopes for his discarding, which some hope for within short time, I yet cannot see it but rather that he shall rise greater, and I beseech you to mark my opinion herein. I would be sorry to persuade otherways than for the best. I can have favour on both, yet this is meetest for us.

When the Prior of Blantyre's friends, the Duke, Lords Fleming, Ochiltree, Mar and all, came hither to back the Prior's standing in his office, the King dashed them all as they retired and left it without doing anything, but the "mynt" they made. So as I see the King is wholly as the Chamber and Secretary advise him.

W*P* is in suspicion here and looked at as if he had the plague.

The King in his anger has said that if he get no answer anent the hunting accident but be still neglected, he shall let the parties take their own mends as I hear. So as I see no good like to come of that matter. But these in by to your own knowledge and good consideration, wishing some here. For I am too weak for them and not out of peril.

Mr. Moore finds but cold entertainment here and as plainly "rancounters" it here, as I marvel of his boldness. I have commended my poor suit to Mr. Hudson's soliciting of your Honour, beseeching

1599. your goodness to me therein. I also beseech your order for the money due to me according to my letter and bill. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement. The cipher* 34=*Earl of Mar,* C=*The Secretary,* ⑯=*Scotland,* 12=*Queen Elizabeth,* W=*George Nicolson.*

April 1. **354.** JAMES HUDSON TO DR. JULIUS CAESAR.

Addit. MSS. 12504, fo. 220.

It may please you to receive Mr. David Foulis's very hearty thanks and commendations for your courtesies shown him at his last being here. I was with the King when he made a very honest report of your favours to that nation and he took me for a witness therein, which I could do no less than avow. If I should write you the King's words you might think that I meant to speak you fair but I assure you that his Majesty holds a very good and respective opinion of you. Of this I thought it my duty to advertise you in respect of my master and out of my love to do you service.

The bearer hereof, John Wilson, having fallen in trouble as is better known to your worship has requested me to be a suitor for him, that you will be pleased to make his ship free and that he may have his furniture restored, for her needless charges and her companies will undo (?) him, if she lie any longer and compel him either to sell her or run in debt. Hereof it may please you to consider wherein I hope my suit will breed the poor man some comfort, as I shall be ever ready to my best to obey you. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

Endorsed: "Mr. Ja. Hudson. 1 April 1599."

1 *p. Holograph, addressed.*

April 3. **355.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 56.

I understand that there is yet an intention in Scotland to begin some intelligence betwixt your Honour and the Secretary there; likewise a great desire on their parts to take some advantage in the present unordered matter of the Borders. Because my duty towards her Majesty and my particular obligations to you bind me straitly to say what I know to be true either in the matter or persons to be dealt with herein I will therefore freely write a truth and leave all to your wisdom. The Secretary first having credit with his uncle, James Elphinstone, to draw an assurance for a matter of 800 marks sterling falsely made the deed in his own name to his public shame, which matter was not known to all men. He committed as gross a fault against one Carkettell under trust and friendship, and the man is known to be extreme covetous and a mercenary man, evil affected to our state, presumptuous and ever stirring coals for Sir Robert Kerr who chiefly pursues this Border matter. What he is to our Estate he has showed it ever, a man that has ever wrested all his friendship to his own use "broking" unhonestly with all his particular friends, a partial borderer and a taker of blackmail with the King, making many unjust reports and forgings, which may

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1599.

more justly be called his actions than the King's, and suffers not the truth to come to his ends. The honourable and good nature of the Lord Governor of Berwick being weighed with his subtle and evil conditions, it were to be wished that his lordship were advertised to be wary with him as a dangerous man to hold friendship with, and that this might the better take effect it would come from a person of honour because it is to be doubted that he has over great interest in his lordship.

The enlargement of Mr. Woodrington and Mr. Fenwick with the grace given them in their country is a thing very honourable to her Majesty and profitable to the country and not "displeasant" to any honest or well affected man in Scotland. The knot of friendship that breeds all evil is the Secretary for invention, Sir George Home for making and dressing all with the King, Sir Robert Kerr for the Borders and young Sir Robert Melville as an associate and Sir George Elphinstone in like sort. These men having the King's favour and ear (and chiefly Sir George Home) wrest things to their wills and keep the truth from the King and hide their own faults under a colour of loving the King. Only Sir Robert Kerr is no such "kilcow," but that if Mr. Woodrington be countenanced he will make him glad of reason either in particular or public; and as for the pledges in York, if their last attempt had not been, yet were they in her Majesty's will to hang at her pleasure and that by the treaty lawfully. And for this unworthy company named, as they are unworthy that her Majesty should own but seem to look to them, so can they not be better beaten down than by her Majesty's favourable countenance showed to her own good subjects here and her well devoted honest friends in Scotland, which in effect are the good honourable true Earl of Mar, the Earl of Cassillis now Treasurer, making this profession, Sir John Carmichael, the old Treasurer, Sir Thomas Erskine of the Chamber a worthy, wise young gentleman and cousin german to Mar, Mr. David Foulis and divers others. But these be chiefly them that advise reverence and honour to be still given to her Majesty and of these only employed in affairs touching England is first the Earl of Mar, Sir Thomas Erskine and Mr. David Foulis. This Earl is so publicly known for honourable, true, wise and well affected and having the affairs with England chiefly referred to him that the other sort dare not joust (?) with him but by craft under thumb. If Sir Robert Kerr should be paid all his merits at once, the way is to countenance Mr. Woodrington and Mr. Fenwick and to set at liberty Buccleuch's pledges. Of that man's sorrow for offending her Majesty (to which he was forced) and of his honest justice and good and lawful devotion to her service, with the good that may be drawn out of his service if so it seem pleasing to her Majesty, I leave to a fitter time, praying your Honour to pardon my bold prolixity. From Bewtrove near Durham this 3 of April 1599. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

3 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Mr. Hudson to my master. His opinion of the Scottish Secretary."

1599. April 10.

356. George Nicolson to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxiv, No. 58.

The Earl of Cassillis has refused the treasurership, understanding that the King had used some words that his wife's purse should be opened for her rose nobles, and seeing him so "straited" for money to the baptism, as now none can tell who shall be Treasurer. The Chamber do furnish this time the baptism because they will not be blamed for the want, having been the cause of Blantyre's discharge [*in margin:* Sir Geo. Home, Sir Geo: Elphinstone, Sir Ro: Melville, David Murray give their bonds for this furnishing]; as also to have time for drawing in one meet for their turns. The Master of Elphinstone was offered the place but will not take it to disburse any money of his own. So as they have sent to Blantyre and intend to move him to seek the advantage of Cassillis's bonds, against whom the King is marvellous angry and who lies sick at Stirling, as I cannot tell who shall have that office. But some friend to the Chamber as David Murray is like again to be Comptroller. But all these are so uncertain as none knows how they will go or these matters settle. The King has been feasting with Mar and his competitors and each of them with others for confirmation of that friendship, and at the baptism intends to agree Crawford and Glamis and as many more as he can. The baptism holds on Sunday next. The Earls Hamilton,* Huntly, Errol and the noblemen and ladies of the country are only to be gossips. After the baptism the King and Queen go in progress to Stirling and so to Falkland, there to remain. The King of Denmark or his brother is looked for here the next month, which will strait them here for his entertainment. The King longs for word and answer of his late letter to her Majesty and of her pleasure to the hunting accident and Border causes. This day he directed Mr. Aston to will me write for answer in the Border causes. I send you a note of the letters sent by me lately to you. Mr. Bruce is like again to be put at. The King has written to Mr. Hudson to travail for the liberty of Sivice, which letter I send enclosed. My Lord Home is to pass into foreign parts through England very shortly as he can be ready and the goodman of Hutton Hall and Geo: Douglas with him. Mr. Dacre is summoned before the Session of the Kirk to answer for his religion. Edinburgh, 10 April 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

¾ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Memorandum of letters sent by George Nicolson.)

Vol. lxiv, No. 57.

I sent your Honour these letters, viz.—

The King's letters enclosed in the Lord Secretary's to you of 27 February last.

Mine, Testa. 98 to your Honour, 5 March last.

Mine to your Honour, 9 March.

Mine 26 March.

Mine with the cipher, 24 March.

Mine to your Honour, 28 March.

Slip of Paper. In G. Nicolson's hand.

* D. [? Duke of Lennox] apparently inserted here.

James VI.
1599.
April 12.

357. Queen Elizabeth to King James VI.

Vol. lii, p. 243.

Right dear brother, though your last letters gave me more course of wonder than reason of answer and that your rare deed of return with scorn of that did well deserve a kingly and gracious acceptance might make me remember how never such like an act had ever sorted with the dignity of one prince to another, yet "postposinge" all such urged cogitations I meant ere now to have sent you a messenger express with utterance of some important matters as fitted me to tell you and most expedient for yourself. But the "desease" of that person has retarded it much longer than I meant, and therefore do by these lines tell you that one shall presently be sent to you by whom at large you shall not be ignorant of my whole mind in this and many other matters. And wish not amiss for your own sake to stay some of your pretended purposes till then, which perhaps will lighten better your eyes than blind counsel will advise, which I pray God undo not your best as you think them. And thus I end with fitter wish for you than you take for yourself. Your most affectionate sister if you have grace to think it so, E.R.

½ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A copy of her Majesty's letter to the King of Scots," *and in margin:* "12 Aprill 1599."

April 13.

358. Sir Robert Cecil to James Elphinstone.

Vol. lii, p. 244.

When your letter of the 28th of February came to me it brought with it two diverse effects; the one contentment in your profession of so great affection to perform all honest offices between the two princes our sovereigns; the other grief to behold in your relation how short of satisfaction the Queen's late writings and declarations prove to the King's expectation. To particularise this point is not my purpose, having no such commission, especially in matters of their nature, wherein as I cannot be too wary, so I assure myself you exceeded no commission in those things you proposed. Only in general for the present I may inform you that her Majesty meaning to send a gentleman well instructed to the King with whom she intends (according to former custom) to deal clearly and freely, both being true badges of solid friendship, for when that liberty ceases then friendship may be truly termed formality; an office which had long ere this been performed but that the gentleman fell sick who was appointed for the service. Now her Majesty has sent these letters to the King, wherein no less (concerning her purpose of sending) is contained. Besides I have in charge to move you as from her Majesty to procure a passport from the King to be delivered to Mr. Nicolson for Sir William Bowes's repair to the King to deal with him in causes of importance. For the other particular matter concerning Mr. Jowsey (Joyssy), I forbore to write of it until I might also have written somewhat, but now lest you might misconstrue my silence I think good to let you understand that I have spoken with Mr. Jowsey and with those that are become his sureties

to those that are the creditors, whose answers were nothing but complaints of loss and importunity of satisfaction. How I can therefore free Mr. Jowsey without any proper caution or payment I leave to your own judgment to consider and doubt not when Mr. Jowsey has written to you in what case he stands (as he promised me he would) but I shall stand free from any conceit of coldness to give furtherance to any of his Majesty's recommendations, which shall not vary from my duty to my sovereign. And for yourself I pray you believe that, as I think we are both born for nothing more than to study the conservation of royal amity between the two princes, so will I ever in contemplation of such your intentions resolve I remain your loving and assured friend.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk, headed:* "A copy of my master's letter to the Scottish Secretary," *and in margin:* "13 Aprill 1599."

April 14. **359.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 59.

Yesterday I received your letter of the 6 hereof with the proclamations. This day I repaired to the King showing him that her Majesty was to write very shortly to him and had directed me so to certify him that he should not think long for the same; which the King took to my sight in good part, asking me most earnestly and often why he had not answer in the Border cause. I said I knew not but thought all would come together to his contentment. But he said he marvelled he got not answer to that matter which he specially longs for, more through the importunacy of others. Then I gave him one of the proclamations and the printed laws set down for the people in the old Marshal's camp and army, which he took but being to ride on hunting he read them not. Here is word that before my Lord's [Essex] going thither to Ireland a cruel and bloody battle should be fought there; all the English slain with loss of the battle and many of Tyrone's principal leaders with 600 of his best men slain. Her Majesty's writing hither unless it come with some of account, fit and able to reason the Border matter, will be both unpleasant here and unprofitable for her service [*in margin:* Sir William Bowes has been looked for to come hither and still is], for I am far too weak to deal in these matters and by my employment here some so spite me as they would and do argue that her Majesty neglects the King, saying (as is true) that I am a mean man and was but Mr. Bowes's servant. As to deal truly with your Honour (as I always will) some of credit were need to be here, and it were but for a month, to put some end to these great matters, which once passed over, I shall be able to do as I have done and I hope better for her Majesty's service, but otherways I can do no good and therefore in all humility do in that case desire to be discharged this place, though I trail a pike for my living (as I must having nothing to live on) for I had rather beg than have her Majesty's service miscarry through my insufficiency. Of which I have thought it my duty to advertise your Honour.

This Estate in general stands still confused, the nobility and grave Councillors nothing pleased that the Chamber should meddle and carry

the King in all things, placing and displacing at their pleasures, having his Majesty so addicted to them as he uses his authority to their humours. Now the Earl of Cassillis is in greater strait than Blantyre was ever in; for where the Earl, notwithstanding his acceptance and seeking of the treasurership and placing in the same by proclamation, has now given it over, the King is seeking to apprehend him by pursuivants as he escaped narrowly at Stirling. [*In margin:* the Lady his wife is come hither to solicit for his relief.] The King also is seizing on his and her houses, raging mightily against him, as it will cost him deeply to rid himself of these troubles. The Prior of Blantyre is come hither, and this office to be some way determined on the next week, as all other great matters here, the King and Council having these 3 or 4 last Council days ended nothing of moment and referred all things till the 17 hereof. This want is there stopped and nothing else, otherways they would go fast enough forwards with their Ambassadors which is now on foot again and with all things. At this 17 day order is to be taken for provision for the King's children, his house and his other necessaries, how they may be furnished. Order is also to be taken anent this office of Treasurer, anent the Lewis which is almost lost again, Balcomie (Baucony) dead and Colonel Stewart come hither, and those enterprisers all labouring to have the King go in person to the Isles the better to countenance their now refurnishing thither intended to be taken in hand again by the enterprisers. MacKenzie is still in the castle here hardly accused to have been the author of the enterprisers' hurts. Order is to be taken to resist Bothwell's intents and Caithness is come and my Lady Orkney but the Earl is so complained on here as he (is thought) dare not come, yet stays upon pretence to keep the countries of Orkney and Shetland, and many other matters will then receive resolution. Here is new order upon the ministers' complaints that Bonnington and all other papists must avoid the country or satisfy the Kirk.

My Lord Home, the goodman of Hutton Hall, and Geo: Douglas are going to travel to foreign parts and pass through England. [*In margin:* They will be I judge at London about the last hereof.] It will be good and profitable to her Majesty's service they be well entertained, for my Lord was ever the best neighbour we had. There is some emulation between him and Cessford.

To-morrow the baptism holds. The Duke, Earls of Huntly, Mar, Chancellor and a great number are come and my Lord Hamilton looked for this night to be here very strong. So as to-morrow and Monday here will be nothing but feasting, dancing, running at ring and other sports and mirth till Tuesday, what time these sports will turn into the troubles of Council, how to maintain the King's state, etc.

The Master of Elphinstone [*in margin:* the Secretary's brother] is made a Councillor and the King has promised him a place in the Session, and is in way to be Treasurer but will neither pay old debts nor engage himself for the King but serve him with and as far as his own revenues and casualties will serve. Edinburgh, 24 April 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. It may please you to give speedy order that Mr.

1599. Craven may have the money due upon my bill as also to further my poor suit to be presented you by Mr. Hudson.

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

Probably an enclosure in the preceding letter.

([George Nicolson] to [Sir Robert Cecil].)

Vol. lxiv, No. 60. It is true and I was acquainted that C. (Secretary) wrote to Cl. (your Honour) as your Honour writes: but that was done with the privity of 16 (the King) and in his behalf. But if C. (Secretary) be entertained by Cl. (your Honour), 12 (the Queen) will have that advantage T ⑯ (in Scotland) as they never had. And therefore W (Nicholson) think it a notable service it be so and desires Cl. (you) therefore to entertain him. C. o—o ysmw4aa6 (secretary will be great (?)).

laba7a ntomlb7f (Mathewe Symple), after he has been in ⑭ (Spain) will return to ⑯ (Scotland) and see Cl. (you), if he do it not as he goes. This will be before Whitsunday or thereabout that he 0—0 M.T. ⑫ (will come in England) for the purpose your Honour knows, as W (Nicholson) desires he may be taken knowledge of with favour and in most secret manner. *This I hear and know* that the party is gone.

Poor Mr. Moore intends to send home his wife and children to seek for her Majesty's favour and to follow and put himself in her hands to be hanged if ever he have done anything against her or country. It is a pity on him he is most hardly handled here and sure would be a good and servicable subject.

Doctor Herries is come hither. I think meet to have him in cipher by this mark — [*symbol*].

17 (the Queen) is sure suspected to be a papist or declining that way.

The "mynt" made by the pledges for escaping is said here was drawn on by 2 Englishmen and the pledges innocent of the first "platt" and only "constutes" they say. Some said they were hanged. If it were so all would then go roundly to the worst and the peace be once sure broken. Therefore God forbid it should be so, for then her Majesty would be forced to send men to keep the Borders. *Undated. Unsigned.*

½ *p. In G. Nicolson's hand. The decipherment of the ciphers shown in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil. The words in italics are underlined.*

April 17. **360.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 61. It may please your good Honour to have in remembrance my suit for her Majesty's passport for the laird of Buccleuch. That he wrote not for it was that he was loth to be thought troublesome and that he thought in so reasonable and so ordinary a courtesy usually due to strangers my simple credit would be heard in so lawful a motion and the cause simply. Why I took it in hand is that I am assured that he is the best affected Borderer of great power in all Scotland to the amity,

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most willing to honour and serve her Majesty and most able either to do good or evil. He is the only true man of his word and simple, the best "justicer" to our Estate of that nation. I humbly beseech you that if you be not pleased to move her Majesty herein that it may please you to write to him your letter in courteous manner whereby he may understand to be welcome and to have his pass at his arrival here, which now will require the expense of time by reason of her Majesty's great and weighty affairs. I know he is loth to come by Berwick by reason of the great familiarity between my Lord Governor and Sir Robert Kerr. I beseech you pardon my boldness herein for my fever will not permit me to wait on you. Yet I would be loth to be unable to return the gentleman no contentment. Discontentments at home and a provident foresight to eschew inconvenients are the causes of his travel for a short time. The same reasons move the Lord Home for he is clean fallen out with Sir Robert Kerr and with Sir George Home, his cousin, which discord breeds no harm to her Majesty's service on the Borders. Touching the chief of the Chamber and the Secretary who now sway matters I have already said a truth to your Honour and leave all things to her Majesty's good pleasure and wisdom. Beseeching you to declare your pleasure to the bearer, the gentleman porter of Berwick, whom by my letter I have entreated to do me this favour. London, the 17 of April 1599. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

April 17. **361.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 62.

It may please you to receive the King's letter for the releasing of one Sivice who lies at Newcastle for foolish words by him spoken. Of this matter the King desired Mr. Nicolson and me to advertise you when I was newly arrived in Scotland, which I did but heard not anything of your pleasure therein.

This other letter of Mr. Aston's because it contains news (such as they be) I send to your Honour.

It may also please you to receive one other letter of the King's to me, which as it is covered I sent long since to you but driven back with weather divers times it has made thus long stay. I beseech you pardon me of these "fashereis" for your Honour sees I cannot avoid them.

It may please you to signify your pleasure touching Buccleuch and touching Mr. Aston in your wonted favour towards him because he expects answer by me. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599. 17 Apr. Mr. Hudson to my master."

April 17. **362.** KING JAMES VI TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 63.

Being desirous to have our trusty cousin, the Lord Home, our great Master "Stabuler" and Warden of our East March, honourably respected and friendly used every way by our dearest sister and her

ministers in this his journey through that realm, we have chosen to recommend him in particular to your good furtherance and credit, requiring you according to the place you occupy with our said sister to procure him both her good countenance "induring" his remaining and her permission to him freely and safely to depart forth of her realm at his pleasure without any her stay or impediment, respecting his known disposition to peace and quietness in the room he occupies and the favour which for that cause he possesses with us. From our Palace of Holyroodhouse, this 17 of April 1599. *Signed:* "Your louing freind, James R."

½ *p. Addressed. Seal missing. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "By the L. Hume."

April 20. **363**. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 64.

On Sunday last the King's daughter was baptised and named Margaret, second daughter of Scotland, the Duke, Earl of Huntly, Lord Hamilton and the rest of the noblemen and ladies being gossips. That day and Monday were spent in feasting, dancing and running at ring and glove. On Tuesday the Council was great and much trouble anent the ceremonies how the marquesses should be made and entitled. In end the Lord Hamilton and Huntly were created marquesses and they and the knights then made proclaimed as the note shows. That day the Earl of Cassillis seeing the Treasurer's office to be taken from him and the rigour of his contract to be taken came in and protested he was ready to accept the office. But the King and Master of Elphinstone having agreed for his displacing and the Master's entrance to that office now under the Great Seal passed to the Master of Elphinstone, the Lord Secretary's brother, the Earl's offer was refused and the breach of his contract urged. Which the Earl seeing broke out in rage to the Master of Elphinstone and said he should have his life too if he took his office from him. The Master replied he would not take the office from him but if the King would charge him with it he would not be "bosted" from it by him. Always the Master is now Lord Treasurer and the Earl by the King in effect scorned and like to pay some good sum before he be cleared at the King's hands. As now the Earl and his friends are seeking the best way they can to get cleared by the King's good means and favour and labouring the Secretary's friendship partly therein as I hear. The Prior of Blantyre is got cleared of the debts he contracted for the King and thereon freely demitted his office, remaining still a Lord of the Session and a Councillor. The now Lord Treasurer is a very stout and a wise man, as the Chamber are much stronger by him. As your Honour may see they increase their strength according to my former.

There is also an Act made that the King may dispone on Comptroller's place which is to be done before 1 May next. The Comptroller being sick at home has his servant soliciting that if the office be taken from him he may be freed of the King's debts and is in good hope of it. By law these offices could not have been taken from the Treasurer or

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1599. Comptroller. David, now Sir David, Murray is to be Comptroller. But if Wedderburn be not well dealt with he will sure let David Murray know he does him wrong.

There is no order yet set down where the young daughter shall be kept but it may be at Seton. It will come to this that all the children will be kept at one place. Some would have it so, both to ease charge and get a change of some man's greatness.

The Ambassadors are thought on to be sent and Beltries to go within 15 days. But here is such uncertainties as till things be done none know how they will be. Crawford is here but Glamis is not come, as that agreement stays. Colonel Stewart and the enterprisers of the Lewis are seeking to have the King's presence to some of the Isles for the help of their cause or the Marquess of Huntly to countenance and help them, for he can best do it. For this they will move that the King may gratify him with something, which the King will do. The Marquess offers the King very fair and good services, that let the King send his officers into the North in all places from North Water north in the Highlands, Lowlands and Isles and he shall cause them obey and pay their duties to his officers. He is in special favour with the King and has feasted the King there and is in better estate than ever any Earl of Huntly was. Here is a whispering that her Majesty and Spain should be agreeing. Edinburgh, 20 Aprilis 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Probably an enclosure in the preceding letter.

(George Nicolson to Sir Robert Cecil.)

Vol. lxiv, No. 65. I hear that here is great surprise conceived what the agreement with Spain may mean, some judging some "platt" to be therein to the hurt of 16 (the King's) st (title) ∧n62 ⑫ (to England). W (Nicolson) thinks (Dr. Harris)* to have brought this news. But this to your Honour's self.

The names and titles of the new creation of these following, 17 Aprilis 1599.

John, Marquess of Hamilton, Earl of Arran, Lord Evan.

George, Marquess of Huntly, Earl of Enzie, Lord Gordon and Badenoch (Badzenoche).

Knights made by the King and Marquesses.

Sir James Elphinstone of Barnton, knight, the Secretary.

Sir David Murray of Gospertie (Gosfurdy), of Balvaird (Bavard) one of the King's Master Stablers and to be Comptroller;

Sir Jo: Campbell of Ardkinglass, knights.

Sir Claude Hamilton, the Lord Paisley's son.

Sir Alexander Hamilton of Fendon, Innerwick's son, a great baron.

Sir Jo: Hamilton of Goslington, knight.

Sir Mark Kerr of Ormiston, Sir Robert Kerr's brother.

Sir Jo: Crichton of Frendraught (Fendreth).

Sir Jo: Ogilvy of the Craig.

* Represented in MS. by a symbol.

Your Honour see C. (the Secretary) rises and 91 (Sir Rob: Kerr) also. It may please you if I stay here, give C. (the Secretary) thanks for me. If it please you to consider my case you will think it strange that I can do any good here, having never been able to [do?] any man good here or yet to procure them thanks, never any having ever had thanks for me, which I hope you will also consider must be cold comfort to me, especially that I have not anything to live on after; beseeching you to be good with me and consider my estate. For I live not out of hope one day to be able to do you good service, which the better your Honour by your good means helps to enable me, the better able shall I be to do you service. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand. No endorsement. The decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets inserted by Sir R. Cecil.*

April 23. **364.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 66.

On Saturday in the afternoon last I received your Honour's letter to the King, which I sought by Mr. Aston's means to have delivered that night. But by Mr. Aston the King sent me word that he would receive it on me the next day afternoon. So as then I delivered it in the presence. The King asked me if I had answer to the Border cause or no. I said none but I thought Sir William Bowes had order in it. He said Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Woodrington he heard were at liberty, which he marvelled of and asked me what the cause was. I said I knew not but thought that his note sent up being that they should be there at the meeting when it should be, they might be demitted to the Warden to be ready for that purpose to cleanse or file themselves. But he asked whether the Queen agreed to the note or no. I said I knew not. Then he withdrew himself to read the letter in the cabinet. Which he did and the Secretary also coming in. After, he came out into the presence, where finding Mr. Edward Bruce he walked long with him as I thought imparting the contents to him, in sort as I thought him well pleased. Mr. Edward is very honest and loves the amity. The King very willingly agreed to give Sir William his safe conduct and so did the Secretary, as it is done and sent herewith in very large and good words to Sir William Bowes. The 17 of the next there is a great Convention for advice what shall be done anent the Lewis and McKenzie's trial deferred till then. For the advertisement anent Bothwell the Earl of Caithness has been here and promised to withstand both his entry into Caithness and getting any men there. The Earl of Orkney is charged to be here to answer the complaints against him as the device of my Lady's coming frees him not. Caithness, the Marquess of Huntly and the Lady are gone homewards this day and all settled in peace here, the Treasurer in his office and Sir David Murray to be Comptroller the first of May, as the Chamber, Sir Geo: Home, Sir Robert Kerr and the rest are now strong and sure in case they can agree among themselves; as surely it will not be good to touch this point any way against them, for the King is altogether for and with them. Mr. Dacre is still put at by the Kirk and in way of excommunication. Some would persuade him that I am the cause, but having

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no direction I (here) neither dealt with or against him. Thus much to certify your Honour of the receipt of the letters and the sending of the safe conduct to Sir William Bowes. Edinburgh, 23 April 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. On Monday night the King is to be at Stirling, a good place to deal with him in Border causes, as I wish Sir William's coming to him to be there. For there the Borderers partial in these causes will not be. Then the King will be both good and reasonable therein I doubt not, as I certify Sir William, who I hope in God will do her Majesty good service, notwithstanding all things in the contrary, for many favour him here.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "23 Aprill: 99. Mr. Nicholson to my master. R' Aprill 30. From Edinborough."

April 23. **365.** KING JAMES VI TO DR. JULIUS CAESAR.

Addit. MSS. 12504, fo. 229.

The certain report of sundry our subjects and in special of the bearer hereof have given occasion to these presents, whereby we yield you hearty thanks for assisting the bearer by justice to the redress and satisfaction of so notable enormity and great loss sustained by the owners of the ship called the *Grace of God* of Kirkcaldy sufficiently known to you as Judge of the Admiralty. And because the said redress is not as yet accomplished, we desire to augment and continue your equitable favour to the final effectuating of the said redress being now always easy to you as Judge in respect of the certainty as well of the actual committers as their owners and "outreikares," for whose wrongs of all equity, reason and their own particular bond they are answerable. Thus expecting the continuance of your equitable favour and speedy redress by justice of the said loss, ye may be assured of our favourable countenance in the like. From Holyroodhouse the 23 of April 1599. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed:* "23 April 1599. The Scottish King for justice in a cause of his subjects against the Norrices and their compa[ny]."

April 23. **366.** SIR JAMES SCOTT TO DR. JULIUS CAESAR.

Addit. MSS. 12503, fo. 424.

By the certain information of this bearer I am enforced to yield you most hearty thanks for that undeserved courtesy uttered by you rather of your accustomed kindness to all my countrymen than any my own merit, who as yet had not the honour to be acquaint with you. Fearing always the just challenge of ingratitude he has taken occasion by these presents not to requite but to acknowledge that obligation of courtesy; desiring you to continue the same unto the final end and good success of my most equitable suit to the effect I may have redress, although not correspondent to my extraordinary loss and damage, yet in such measure as your sincere judgment may permit,

1599. giving at all occasions counsel and assistance to the bearer to accept satisfaction thereof rather by payment nor punishment of the committers, which I refer to her Majesty's clemency and your favourable censure, lest I being altogether "postponit" and frustrate of justice (which hardly can I believe in respect of the quality of the fact and certainty of the committers) should be constrained to suit redress by extraordinary means. Thus looking for the increase and continuance of your equitable judgment and favourable assistance and counsel to the bearer unto the final effectuating of my suit as I shall be ready to acquit to you with such commandments as it shall please you to honour me with. From Balwearie the 23 of April 1599. *Signed:* James Scott of Balvery, Knight.

Endorsed: "30 [*sic*] Aprilis 1599 Sir James Scott of Galvery [*sic*] in Scotland, knight. He gives you thanks for your good favour showed in his cause touching the spoil committed at sea upon his goods and prays the restitution (?) thereof."

1 *p. Holograph, addressed. Seal.*

April 25. **367.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 67. Together with this packet which I send you herewithal I received the King's safe conduct for my entry, as I may be further directed from your Honour agreeable to your former letters to me and mine in answer, as I doubt not you have received ere this.

Albeit Mr. Nicolson mention no further of the King's journey northward than Stirling, yet I hear that he is purposed to go to Aberdeen, there to be entertained by his great favourite, the new Marquess of Huntly. So as if her Majesty's pleasure be to direct me speedily towards the King I would be glad to know whether I should expect his return to Edinburgh or make my repair unto him where he shall then reside.

I think her Majesty's service might be advanced by some intelligence to be entertained about Dumfries, I being credibly advertised that the papists of those parts are trafficking both with some papists of ours and those of Ireland by the special employment of the Abbot of New Abbey, a notorious lewd instrument in these treasons for religion. I have procured some watch to be laid about this Abbot who is ordinarily received at Terregles, the Lord Herries's house near Dumfries. This man supposed to be privy with the catholic practices in Ireland, being or seeming to be in great disgrace with the King, might without great difficulty (as I think) be taken by some choice men from Carlisle by means of the Grahams, so as the said Grahams be no ways made privy to the purpose. I am borne in hand (but not from Buccleuch himself) that Buccleuch would willingly show his thankfulness to her Majesty in any such like service as taking of this man. If her Majesty be pleased so to direct me I might conveniently put him to his proof in that or such like.

There has of late been a mass solemnly celebrated at Terregles, at which were present sundry persons of best quality thereabouts and

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amongst the rest Francis Dacre, not without great suspicion of the Earl of Angus himself, Lieutenant there, to have been present, whereof I shall have more certain advertisement at Edinburgh shortly.

That whole country standing in very ill terms for religion, being the principal way of convoying intelligence from Scotland or the Low Countries into Ireland, might as I think be much bettered or at least made less hurtful by the Lord John Hamilton the other new Marquess, having the government of his son-in-law, the Lord Maxwell, chief of those parts. Which Marquess was wont to be especially well affected to the cause of religion and well acknowledging her Majesty's favour extended to him and his brother during the time of their banishment, and might be solicited for these good offices to both the realms, if her Majesty be pleased so to direct. Berwick, this 25 of April '99. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

April 25. **368.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.*

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 391. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 421.

. . . at our manor of Greenwich the 25 of April 1599 in the 41st year of our reign.

You shall understand that we are pleased to send you now to the King of Scots from whom we have lately received letters complaining himself of lack of sufficient clearing in the matter of one Valentyne Thomas, who had accused him of some things whereof we take no pleasure to make repetition. And yet because you may sufficiently understand the same we have thought good to instruct you how it has passed hitherto.

There was one Valentyne Thomas who had been in Scotland and had access to the King, who afterwards was apprehended on the Borders for divers lewd offences and being brought up to London and committed to the Marshalsea, he voluntarily confessed according to this enclosed. After it came abroad that this Val. Thomas had thus touched the King, the King used speeches to our agent there and publicly to other that we had not proceeded kindly with him to suffer him to be traduced and not to hear his answer. Whereof when we were informed we caused the King to be truly acquainted how the matter was carried and what the party had affirmed.

First, his apprehension was for other crimes committed on the Borders, for which he was there stayed and sent up hither. Where being committed to prison he confessed the matter to some in the prison. This being brought to the ears of the keeper was revealed to some of our Council, who having examined him and finding [this his confession of so perilous a purpose to be voluntary and confident, fell into great anxiety of mind as when they brake it to us their grief] transported them [so far as hardly they could find] words to deliver their mi[nds].

* In Vol. lxiv following No. 67 there is this pencil note : 25 April 1599. Original instructions signed by the Queen to Sir Wm. Bowes, Ambassador in Scotland, sold at a sale in Piccadilly in Jan. 1836 by Wheatley, No. 191 Piccadilly.

1599. As soon as we heard this we [immediately gave] order that it should be kept as [secret as could be] and took more care how the [King's honour might] therein be saved than what became [of the matter]. But when it fell out that by the p[arty's own] openness in the prison the bruits [were dispersed], we did by letters under our own hand [deliver unto] himself the substance of the accusation [and our] incredulity of the matter, both at one inst[ant and] after we had long forborne to proceed [against] him, and knew not how it would sound in [the] ears of the world, that any man that [should] confess so much of his own intention (ho[wfar]soever from truth he derived the author) shall receive no trial, (by which imp[unity others] might take advantage) we resolved to [suffer] a judicial proceeding against him for his [offence] and yet with reservation of any thing [that] might touch the King's honour. For as we [had] forbidden any mention to be made of the [King in the] indictment, so had we commanded our lea[rned] counsel, whensoever he should have [gone] about to slander him, to have put [him to] silence.

Shortly after he was indicted the King [sent] hither Mr. Foulis who dealt very s[eriously] with us in many kinds about this matter, [first,] laying down the scandal of the King's na[me; next] to desire to know whether the delin[quent] would stand to it; thirdly in expostu-l[ating] to have the indictment rased and the party either examined in the [presence of the King's Minister or sent to him to be there confronted, or at least a proclamation made over all our burgh towns that he was] falsely [accused.

To the]se and other his propositions we gave such answer as the matters required. And though he proposed many things not proper for us to yield to, yet we dispensed with his importunity (which we imputed to his zeal to his master's service) and returned that answer by him, which in honour we could do to any prince that lives. We suffered him to see the indictment, how the King's name had therein been forborne and other crimes only presented. We wrote to him in our former style and because his Minister insisted still that his arraignment could not be without scandal to his master's honour, for that the indictment might have relation to him, and that any words of his at his arraignment might spread far in the ears of the people, we did not only suspend his trial but gave him a copy of the indictment and sent him with a patent under our hand, whereby we did profess to give no credit to those matters whereof Val: Thomas had accused him; and for more proof of our sincere dealing we caused his confession to be delivered him under the traitor's own hand. For requital of all which we have now a letter of expostulation for further satisfaction and, instead of thanks for that we did, a return of all the originals under our own hand as not worthy the keeping. In which letter we have noted particular points and thought it good to direct you to answer them as follows:

[In the letter he complained that the patent we sent him was obtained by importunity only.] The words that [carry that sense we have] here interlined, which tend [not to that effect if] it be well observed. For whe[re in his letter] he urges twice that this patent [was not of our] own good will but by his seeking, [you are to]

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1599. remember to answer that point in [this sort:] that we spake in those words because [there was] no necessity of a new justification by th[is form] (but at his entreaty), in respect that we [had by] our private letter before in the very begin[ning really] and freely protested that we cleared [him].

In another place he insists upon the canc[elling] of the indictment, a matter which you [must] say was beyond example and could not be done because he should have been tried [for other] matters, on which depend causes of consequen[ce that] concern other men. So as if this should [have] been, it would have argued that he had [been] falsely indicted in all things. And yet considering that in the indictme[nt he] is not named (for we send you thereof the [copy]) you may well allege that there being [no further] proceeding, the indictment is of no more [force] than the plain confession. For he ha[d committed] many other treasons and should have been [arraigned] without ever mentioning of this matter e[xcept he] should have done it voluntarily at [the bar]. In which case as we had provided if he [had been] tried, so in respect that no such thing [should] be, we have stayed his arraignment [and will] do so long as the King shall give no [cause to] the contrary. Whereof you may as[sure him.

And for the examinations, though they could not be sent unto him because they contained matter concerning divers of very good quality], besides [those that concerned] the King, yet are they [supp]ressed from all men's view.

Of this matter thus carried it is our pleasure that you shall say thus much unto him: that long ere this if we would have believed reports we might have concluded the purpose of this proceeding. For if the carriage of his affairs of late years be observed, and that we were not in our own mind loth to receive hard impressions which all those states with whom we are in amity represent unto us and the enemies of the common peace brag of, we might imagine that is rather a matter urged to serve some purpose than so kind and friendly a proceeding in so rare a case should be so little esteemed. For we cannot conceive why these strains should be used, except it be intended to possess the world with an opinion that we are bound to yield an account to any earthly prince of our proceedings further than we think convenient. And therefore we require you to make the King understand that in a time when he has used so strange intimations to prepare the minds of other princes in future time to further his pretensions, and when he shows himself so little to value our good will (that because all is not granted that he or his think reasonable) therefore nothing must be thought acceptable. We shall quickly repent us to have yielded so [far as we have done, for unless it were in our power to revoke words spoken or to make living men unborn, we know not what we can do] further [without touch to our honour as now he] has used it.

Therefore if any fine concept [about him think to] extort anything from us by [any undue manner] or seek under colour of satisfaction [to prescribe] us any particular form of proceeding, [assure] the King that he will find the counsel [unsound], whosoever give it. For we do pla[inly] affirm that he shall find us far [from] anything that may

diminish our own [absolute] power and greatness over all our own ac[tions, as] we have been heretofore at all times and occasions extraordinarily careful to stop [any] course, which might either blemish any [of his] pretensions or further any others.

All this we will you plainly to tel[l him] as a thing for which we are sorry, even f[or his] own sake that he gives himself [so great] disadvantage. And to the intent [that] he may see that we will be more [slow] to apprehend matters of great moment [than] he was (when he taxed us in open [Convention], for things done and said that were n[ever] purposed), we will make him both [a judge] of that we hear and make our ju[dgment] upon his answers. Such is our unwill[ingness to] nourish the least concept again[st him. Only we remember by the way how all things have "sorted" of late years with the instructions wherewith Kerr was employed] from Scotland; who [were the] authors; what the King conceived of them then; how Huntly and the rest brake out into open action; and the resolution that the Catholic Lords should underhand prepare for Spanish amity, without discovering the King's name openly: do not [these] concur with all the succeeding courses and the present plots? As for example: is it not a strange presumption that Huntly dare propound for the keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh and the young Prince, thereby to be able to give laws to all his adversaries? What may be the service that he has done since his exile into Spain that can be conjectured worthy of such a trust; or what can be collected that the King does so much raise the reputation and power of the papists in all other things, but that he does it to please those princes which are our mortal enemies, with opinion that he less prizes our friendship? To what did Logie's confession tend at his death but to a declaration of the King's inclination to favour the Catholic party? How frequently from Spain, Rome, Brussels and other places do we hear reports of propositions made by those Scottish gentlemen who have commissions under the King's hand for their residence there and avow their particular negotiations to be by his direction, though the King deny to have directed them, when they come home again, as Colonel Sempill, Lindsay and others? But in [all those dealings so contrary to his liking, the world does account it but slender proof that they did offend him much when their punishment] is so little.

To speak of late courses held [against the ministers] though in some particular cases we do not excuse their forwardness or presumption to [the King, may] minister matter enough to ground opi[nion that the] King is disposed to give strength to the [adverse] party. Is it not manifest that Gor[don in] confidence of Huntly's credit made an a[udacious] entry into Scotland and went away im[pune]? Do we not also plainly see that divers [of the] dearest and inwardest councillors and favour[ites are] held Catholic affected and other th[at are] otherwise declared now changed and sup[pressed]? Surely these be motives to men that [be] observers to conclude that some second [party] possesses the King's mind, though we [that are] loth to seek what we would not find [suspend] any such belief.

And though we do deliver this to him be[cause, perhaps it] may

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1599. be that others do not speak so [plainly], yet do we it not as assuming to ourse[lves any] authority in the orders of his affairs othe[rwise] than as a neighbour prince that wish[es him] well and knows by experience that [of small] beginnings have followed great perils. [And] that to the intent the King may see [that we] have other matters than these which [are] *extra nos* in comparison of nearer [matters (?), you shall therefore desire him to give you leave to deal freely with him and to let us know clearly his meaning, what is true] or false [and what] we may trust to in these before[menti]oned and as follows: first, to pass over his proceedings in bespeaking assistance even with some disgrace unto us (as though we were in great sickness or weakness) for that which by the law of God and nature is ours; secondly, all men see that to the base messengers of our known rebels he affords access; and though he after informs us of that which passes, yet is it certain that the first man is to punish that ever came from him. To which we trust it cannot be answered that he is in amity with the traitor, though he be with the King of Spain. How his subjects traffic from his dominions to nourish the rebels with all necessaries is well known. And though some prohibitions be made, yet known offenders even of his substantial merchants in Glasgow and elsewhere remain unchastised.

There is not so errant a varlet of English birth nor so simple a fugitive of ours but at least gets access to his person. And further, you may seriously remember unto him how strange a matter it appears to us that the hunting accident wherein peradventure by heat of blood there might some error happen to be committed by our subjects has been so bitterly pursued by him; being a matter wherein we know he is not only abused by Cessford in the information but exasperated to serve his own particular turn. For where we were [contented that the fact complained on might receive his trial with other things to be objected on our part, it appears] by one of the King's [articles that at such trial] he will admit no circums[tances that may clear] the gentlemen, if any such [can be produced.] He will needs restrain all examin[ations . . .] tend whether the matter were [done on] Scottish ground or not, and not whether it were done *jure*, being a trial that [ought to] order all causes and persons warranted [by the] law and natural reason itself. . . .

Besides in the tenth Article of his de[mand] he inserts another condition: that wh[ere] there are many other foul and exorbit[ant] things untried and unrepaired that h[ave] been committed against us, yet he reso[lves that] in this trial that this complaint [be] tried and repaired before any other be [spoken] of. Where considering that in this [article] there were only two poor men los[t their] lives it is forgotten how on the [part of] England divers gentlemen as both Mr. [Ainsley], Mr. Ferdinando Reveley, Mr. Robs[on of] Tynedale and many other have been [taken] and murdered since the treaties [which] might make an easier compensation f[or this] late fault, and all circumstances c[ompared] ought to have priority of judg[ment and] satisfaction.

[Besides where the King has so long insisted to have these two

1599. gentlemen (for Mr. Cessford's satisfaction) to be personally delivered before any] other thing [be satisfied, he does] forget that Cessford [him]self and Buccleuch, with many others filed by their own confessions or by avowry at the last treaty for divers murders besides their facts for which they were first entered, remain still undelivered into our hands. In which considerations may appear the moderation of our proceedings that pass over for quietness' sake matters of such moment, whilst other factious spirits about him multiply every other trifle. Which if it were truly represented to the King we think he would bethink him of some other course of proceeding and content himself with that disgrace and restraint already received and endured by the two gentlemen. For, otherwise, considering that they are principal men of service on the Borders, it may be conjectured that these hard conditions of trial are only offered to delay the time and to leave the Borders naked to the violence and oppression of that perfidious Warden under whose hand is extant how he has practised the escape of those pledges which were in the Castle of York; a matter so suitable with his other actions as we do less marvel at this his attempt, though we do much grieve to understand how much he is in the King's favour.

[Besides these frequent intercourses these new dispatches to Brussels and elsewhere tend but to weaken the opinion of the mutual amity] and if we sh[all discharge our wonted love] towards him sincerely [we must say that] either those he uses mig[htily encroach] upon him or else we m[ust imagine] a casual revolution of circums[tances] to concur to increase these strange [probabilities]. All which being laid to this matter, [wherein] many effects of care of his honour and [confidence] in his sincerity have appeared in us, were enough to breed much doubtfulness in [us if] our heart that cannot resolve to c[ondemn] him did not lead our eyes from looking [unto] these and many like actions, which [we] could wish he would better carry [if not] for our sake, yet for his own good [many] ways.

Now are you thoroughly acquainted what exce[ptions we] have taken and how we would have you [answer]. There rests further these two things for you [to do]:

First to procure answer from him in writ[ing to] as much as you can and to see what it is [he would] have and whether it be that he is re[solved to] be satisfied only after his own fashion [or whether] he only desires the form of this pate[nt to be] changed in some matter. Whereof we hear [that he makes] this construction that it consists on[ly in a] preface declaring the matter at le[ngth and] when it comes to clear him it is p[assed over] with a barren clause. Seek therefore by [speech with] him to discover whether it be some chang[e of some] clause that may content him or [whether he] stands still upon those terms that [Foulis did] propound, to which we mean by no [means to be] reduced.

[By which course of debating with him and laying before him his danger to give no just cause of offence by standing upon these punctilios with us, you shall inform yourself more fully how he is disposed.

Secondly, you shall underst]and that seeing the state [of the King]dom is so subject to faction and alteration [in] the Court and

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1599.

Council and that he is so easily swayed by those that are about him, we have resolved to advise of some course to be taken with some noblemen and barons that are good patriots, sound in religion, of ability and mean to subsist if there be occasion and of staid government, to the intent that as the Catholics and Spanish faction daily make pacts and friendships against them and the lovers of religion and amity, so upon knowledge from them at any time how it may be fit for us to advise the King to keep the reins in his hand of these unbridled and seditious spirits who seek to trouble the peace of the whole island, we may use their endeavours and opinions as heretofore we have done to the safety of that King and his estate. For to other end shall none of our actions tend nor ever have done.

And therefore because we have many overtures made us to make use of divers men that profess good affection to the amity, whereof we will ground no belief but upon good foundation; and knowing well their properties to be full of levity and partiality as their private "feeds" and friendships lead them; we refer to you the consideration of this course and the judgment in whom it may be fit to repose any confidence to good and honest purposes for the safety of both kingdoms whereof the division cannot but be very perilous and for which we will hereafter take order as we shall understand more particularly how things are carried and who are fit to be employed.

13 *pp. Contemporary copy. Endorsed:* "Greenwich [25 April], 1599." *The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

[?1599,] April.

369. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

Vol. lxvi, No. 18.

By letters brought to his Majesty by Sir Walter Lindsay from the Cardinal of Caietan advising him to enter in league with the King of Spain and the Archduke, showing the King how plausible it is to the Court of Rome that the said league be perfected and that both the princes are so catholic given that they will, at the desire of his Holiness, remit all questionable matters betwixt them and the King, and that the said league may many ways greatly advance his affairs. So Sir Walter Lindsay is returned with answer to the Cardinal; as also a Commission is directed to the Lord Sempill presently remaining in Spain authorising him with sufficient power to conclude a league with the King of Spain, which Lord Sempill is a great papist. So there is another commission sent to the Master of Gray, resident in Paris, to conclude the like with the Archduke. His Majesty of late had long conference with one Henry Constable, a countryman of yours, by whom he received such advertisement from the Admiral of Aragon. Moreover, there is a great number of noblemen and barons confederate together by his Majesty's special direction, being all papists, such as Huntly, Errol, Great Constable of Scotland, Angus, Lieutenant, Montrose, Crawford, Chancellor, Rothes, Caithness, all earls, barons, Sinclair, Home, Ogilvy, Gray, Maxwell, Seton, Livingstone, who also has the princess in keeping.

They think good to make this motion that, if it happen any nobleman of good account that has been a friend to the Estate of England, if for oppugning himself against these practices he incur the King's displeasure so far that thereby he be exiled his country, that he may make his retreat to Berwick and so to the rest of her Majesty's dominions, notwithstanding the King's earnestness for his delivery. *Undated.*

1 *p.* *Endorsed:* "Apr. Advyses from Scotland."

May 5. **370.** LORD HOME TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 68.

Being this far on my journey as a traveller and desirous to have kissed her Majesty's hands I presented my humble service and "imbrecit" her commands. But to deal freely with your Honour I have already so disposed my affairs that I am for the present rendered unable so to do, being come on my own hackneys accompanied only with a couple of gentlemen without other apparel or train fit for a man of my private rank and quality, "meikle" less to present so high and mighty a princess as her Majesty. Therefore I will beseech you with all kind of instruction possible to supply my inability at this time and from me signify my dutiful mind in her Majesty's obedience. Which oversight, not truly for any other regard than is before written, myself shall redress to her Majesty's contentment at my return which shall be, God willing, the rather hastened for this effect; and if such were your pleasure to favour me so far as by your friendly construction of this my not pretended excuse her Majesty should rest satisfied and my passport for myself and horses were procured with such speed as you conveniently could find expedient I would in that case acknowledge very great obligation. Besides that I should find myself always "redeuable" for such courtesies as I presume both to have deserved in any time past and shall remain ready to requite in all time coming both to her Majesty, the country and your Honour's self in particular. So leaving to your accustomed discretion and courtesies I rest remitting all further to bearer whom you may trust. London, the 5 May '99. *Signed:* Alex^{r} L. Home.

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

May 7. **371.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 69.

I have received her Majesty's instructions together with her address of me to the King of Scots, as also your letters to the same effect; for the accomplishment whereof according to my duty I have endeavoured with the best speed I could to furnish myself with money and other necessaries, so as I purpose, God willing, to-morrow to take my journey towards Edinburgh. Nevertheless, I understand the King to be in his progress at or about Stirling, not intending his return (as I am advertised) until the 16 of this instant. By my former letters I

James VI.
1599. have certified your Honour of the King's going northward towards Aberdeen and Strathbogie which journey is in part altered by the nearness of the Convention. In my said letters I desired direction in case her Majesty should employ me that way whether I should tarry his return at Edinburgh or attend upon the King in those remote parts; wherein if I shall receive no answer from you I shall think it best to stay for those few days until the King's return at Edinburgh, the more ripely to inform myself in the estate of all things there.

There have lately laid upon this coast certain Dunkirk pirates and nearest to this town one ship which has laid off the Holy Island and has lately taken the ship and goods of an honest merchant of this place. My Lord the Governor has used the best means to redress this dishonour but being enforced to take such unapt barks as came to hand here the service has not as yet succeeded to his desires. Nevertheless, he has yet again rigged out another to undertake the pirate as God may be pleased to give success. Besides the adventure at sea my Lord the Governor wrote to the Admiral of Scotland and I to her Majesty's agent using all the best means we could for the poor man's relief, who resorting to Edinburgh and not finding the Admiral presented his petition to the King, who upon opening the letters gave "indelayed" order for a ship to be furnished and put forth together with letters of commandment to stay the pirate and restore the goods as they might be found within his precincts. The pirate with his prize was found at Crail within the Firth. The captain on land was required to be stayed by request of the English owner made to the magistrates of that port according to the King's letters, but neither would they stay the said captain nor could the Englishman recover his goods without paying some composition. Which wrong done to her Majesty's subjects and contempt of the King's authority, if I be not otherwise directed, I shall after answer obtained in the greater matters of my employment lay before the King the reset within his country of these Spanish enemies to spoil her Majesty's subjects and this people to receive their goods. I learnt by examination of a Scottish merchant stayed here in his passing that 12 pirate-ships were put from Dunkirk to the sea, of which number three returned, the rest employing themselves upon the English coast; which ships (as it should seem) I hear to have driven some other coming to this place into the mouth of Tyne, besides other losses, which I doubt not but you will hear of if report be true. We of this town conceive grief that we shall receive her Majesty's pay and suffer her people to be spoiled and carried away within our sight, as this ship was, and be seen to make no attempt for recovery, being indeed utterly unable, as having no shipping at all to be employed upon any occasion either of pirate or greater attempt against this town.

This day passed by into Scotland one Hunter, a Scot born but richly married in Bristol and as I hear made free denizen of our nation. The man has been conversant in Spain and is called into Scotland by the King's express letters with purpose as it seems to return him into England with some employment for his service. Whereof I thought meet to give you advertisement, because if I mistake it not he may

be challenged as the Queen's subject if he shall make attempt transgressing the laws and cannot expect the freedom of a stranger. Berwick, this 7 of May '99. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

May 8. **372.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 70.

The King has received a packet with letters with my Lord Sempill's own handwriting and Colonel Sempill's, signifying that the King of Spain mustered in March last 35,000 men, that their leaders and officers were all grave and ancient men with white beards and the army all brave and choice men, and that 22,000 of them are to come to this island and to Scotland, for certain the Lord writes he knows upon sure knowledge and not by uncertain report. The King is also advertised in great secret here that sundry of his nobility have a dangerous dealing and given their assurance for the disquieting of this Estate and the aid of the enemy, and is as I hear (keeping this very secret) quietly dealing by all possible means to discover this secret, pretending if he discover any guilty not to let them escape unpunished. These matters, and the report of her Majesty, and the King of Spain and Cardinal's agreement trouble the King, I hear, more than ever anything did him in his life and so amaze him as he knows not what to do. Of these I thought good to advertise your Honour with this speed.

For this Estate it is presently marvellously quiet, yet what the Convention may produce I know not, Angus being resolved not to suffer the Marquesses to prejudge him (by presuming to sit above him by reason of their new honours) of his ancient place, which may if it come to this point breed great troubles, for they are great parties. For the Kirk matters the General Assembly as I hope you know is continued until the last Tuesday in September and to be at Montrose, the King having appointed a Convention of the Commissioners and certain chief ministers to be at St. Andrews with him in July next, intending there to lay the ground of his purpose for erecting bishops the next General Assembly. In the meantime the Kirk has ordained a fast for humiliation and prayers to God to prevent the inconvenients doubted. In setting down whereof they are careful that the King take no exception. Mr. Ro: Bruce is summoned again anent the suit he recovered as you heard the last Sessions, so as the King's anger still remains towards him. Here is nothing but Ambassadors to be sent abroad if they can get money, feuds to be taken up, and general musters to be here according to former order set down in this behalf, etc. Monsieur de Vitry has sent the King a horse and other tokens, as there the kindness increases. Thus much for this time referring now all to Sir William Bowes who shall understand all I can learn him here for his furtherance in her Majesty's service, wherein I put no doubt of great good of him. Edinburgh, 8 May 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

James VI.
1599.

Postscript. Here are many speeches of the great hurts the Dunkirkers do to the English on the north-east coast of England, where they reign at sea as is here said.

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

May 10. **373.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 71.

The advertisement of the Spaniards' intent of arriving here is advertised to the Prior of Blantyre by the Lord Sempill who was offered a large charge of 5000 of them, yet refused it and stole away into Italy sending this advertisement as certain to the Prior to advertise and assure the King of; which the Prior seeing of this moment came to Stirling and there imparted these news to the King as matters most nearly touching him, the rather because of Lord Sempill's assurance thereof. This as I wrote before troubles and amazes the King, the Pope being to excommunicate the King here and Bothwell to be furnished with 5000 to land on this side, the great army being to land on the west here of Scotland near England for invading the same, and to enter Ireland with some of their forces. When Sir William Bowes speaks the King he will understand the very truth to which I leave this. The Earl of Tyrone is still drawing aids from hence to him, notwithstanding the King's proclamation to the contrary, as surely I see no way so good to hinder the same as to buy the things had from hence out of his hands and to turn thereby their traffic with him to us, for the people on the west cannot live without that trade.

Monsieur Damon has direction to acquaint the King with the order taken by the Estates and their resolutions that all men of whatsoever country carrying all aid to the Spaniards shall be lawful prizes, and therefore to pray the King to discharge his subjects that trade now much used by corns and other provisions for the enemy's good. These I hear as also that if this matter be moved this Convention it will get but hard answer. But Sir William is like to see the issue of this and the resolution anent the Spaniards' withstanding, to which Convention I refer all, looking verily for some news. Yet thus much I hear the King protests to be her Majesty's against the Spaniards. Edinburgh, 10 May 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. 2 seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

On a slip of paper attached:

Within these few days one showed 17 (the King)* that there was much speeches and their name in question to be a great dealer with ⑭ (Spain). Hereon 17 (the King)* blushed, yet replied it was not true and so denied it. Always that party is not in the right way W^P (Nicholson) judges.

In G. Nicolson's hand. The decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets inserted by Sir R. Cecil.

* *Sic, rectius* Queen Anne.

James VI.
1599. May 10.

374. King James VI to Queen Elizabeth.

Vol. lxiv, No. 72.

The bearer hereof having given us proof of his fidelity in our service and being to repair within the bounds of your dominions for his lawful affairs humbly craved by our recommendation so much the more be accepted of and furthered in his reasonable suits at your hands, whereunto we have yielded knowing your disposition towards all them that are recommended by us, which we shall not omit to acquit in the like case. It will therefore please you favourably to accept of him and in his "adois" make him receive such countenance as by his report we may hereafter have occasion to render you hearty thanks and acquit the same in the person of them who shall in your behalf happen to have the like suit. Given at our Palace of Holyroodhouse, the 10 of May 1599. *In the King's hand:* "Youre verrie loving brother and cousin, James R."

Large sheet of paper. Addressed and endorsed.

May 12.

375. Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxiv, No. 74.

Upon my arrival here, albeit I find this Estate outwardly quiet, yet is that quietness not without suspicion of hatching some disquietness according to the manner of this country seldom continuing long in one estate. The malcontentments hitherto appearing unto me are these: *that the King so earnestly prosecutes the principal ministers;* that he has *so bitterly defamed them in his last book* which though it be secret as whereof a few copies were only printed, yet as it spreads it is likely to grieve many, especially in these points: *that he will not endure the Church discipline* and that he is resolved *to take none for faithful to him, which were not faithful to his mother.* Other discontentments are: that *the King gives his care so affectionately to some his misliked favourites,* especially those of his Chamber; that he has upon so small merit *advanced Huntly to his late honour,* prejudicing some other of his own rank in their ancient precedence; in which thing *Angus seems so miscontent* that he gives out he will not give Huntly place and hereupon is expected some trouble to arise between them two; which variance, whether it be in deed or in show to cover some of their former Romish complots, I leave to the sequel to give better assurance. And other offences are that the King's larger expense forcing him by want to call for *new taxations* of his people and those demands masked *with Ambassadors before into France* and *lately to Tyrone* having shown small good effect are nevertheless likely yet to be continued at this Convention expected to *be the 17th hereof.* Whereat some wise men think there will be small appearance of the nobility by the occasions afore delivered.

I hear of a persuasion laboured *here that her Majesty is in way to conclude a peace with Spain,* leaving out this King, which must give occasion of consultation here how to make their own way with Spain; a matter seeming to me of no other use but to get money and more cleanly to prepare a *way of entertaining intelligence with the*

James VI.
1599. *Spaniards.* There is lately come to the *King letters from the Lord Sempill* showing the great Spanish forces lately mustered in Spain, whereof *about 20,000* shall certainly be employed *in Scotland;* that the conduction of a good number was offered to himself but refused for his allegiance sake. With this advertisement *the King is said to be much troubled* but whether this carry truth in it or mere device as I dare not lessen the danger, so I cannot but suspect the young "platting chamberiers" to pass such intelligences as these into our hands to please the King with sleights as means to temper the English proceedings here.

The Earl of Angus as the King's Lieutenant-General of the West and Middle Marches having lately appointed a justice court at Jedburgh (Jedworth) is discharged thereof by the King and that discharge reaching only to the Middle March is supposed to grow from Cessford, which if it be so will make him some work.

Since my journey upon the sudden leaving of my physic which I was in hand withal to enable me for this service, I find myself not very well, yet shall my health not be spared to do her Majesty the best service I may be able. Edinburgh, the 12th of May, 1599. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

Postscript. The King is over the water at Falkland and not expected here till Tuesday.

2 *pp. Addressed. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "The King's bitter prosecution of the ministers causes of discontentments. The King will not endure the Church discipline. Huntly's preferment disliked. None faithful but those that were faithful to his mother. Angus, malcontent, will not give Huntly place. Taxations for Ambassages. Peace with Spain. R' at Grenwch the 16th." *The words in italics have been underlined.*

May 13/23. **376.** THE KING OF FRANCE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS AMBASSADOR TO SCOTLAND.*

King's MSS. 114, fo. 288. "Instruction que le Roy a commandé estre baillée au Sieur de Bethune Conseiller en son conseil d'Etat, &c., allant Ambassadeur pour le service de sa Majesté vers le Roy d'Ecosse, le 23e May 1599.

Le dit Sieur de Bethune etant arrivé au lieu ou sera le dit Roy d'Ecosse luy presentera les lettres que sa Majesté luy écrit, tant celles qui sont signées que les autres qui sont ecrites de sa main, les quelles ne contiennent qu'une asseurance que sa Majesté luy donne de son amitié en le priant d'adjouter foy a tout ce que le dit Sieur de Bethune luy dira de sa part, comme a elle même ainsy qu'il verra par les doubles des dites lettres, que sa Majesté a ordonné luy estre baillés.

* These instructions are important because Teulet failed to trace them: "Malgré toutes mes recherches, je n'ai pu trouver aucun document relatif à cette ambassade, qui n'a laissé aucune trace, ni dans nos archives ni dans nos bibliothèques." (*Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse*, IV, p. 217.) The Ambassador was Philippe de Béthune, brother of Sully. Some references to his mission are to be found in the correspondence between France and the French ambassador in London (*Mission de Jean de Thumery, Sieur de Boissise*, 1598-1602, I, pp. 343-346, II, pp. 29-30).

Apres, il luy dira sa Majesté l'avoir envoyé expres devers luy pour le visiter et l'asseurer de son amitié, de laquelle il le priera faire entier état, comme les Roys d'Ecosse ont toujours fait de celle des Roys de France ses predecesseurs, luy disant que si souvent les autres ont employé leurs armes pour la deffense et conservation de sa couronne et sujets, sa Majesté n'estre moins desireuse et preste d'exposer les siennes pour le bien et accroissement d'icelle et le contentement particulier dudit Roy, pour n'avoir moins a cœur tout ce qui touche et importe audit Roy et a la nation Ecossoise, que se qui concerne sa propre personne et son Etat, comme elle luy temoignera toujours par éffets dignes de leur paternelle et ancienne amitié contractée et conservée de main en main tres cherement par leurs ancestres au prix du sang de leurs sujets et quelques fois de leurs personnes.

Que sa Majesté eut plustost envoyé devers luy pour luy declarer sa bienveillance, comme elle reconnoit que la raison et le devoir d'amitié et bonne voisinance requerroit qu'elle fit si elle n'en eut esté advertie et empeschée par les guerres auxquelles elle a esté continuellement occupée et tellement engagée depuis son advenement a la couronne jusques a la paix que Dieu luy a donnée, que tant s'en faut qu'elle ait eu moyen d'accomplir tels offices selon son desir, qu'elle a eté souvent contrainte de manquer a soy mesme pour mieux entendre et resister a mil sort etc. d'accidens qu'elle a combattus et surmontés par la grace de Dieu et l'assistance de ses bons amis et loyaux sujets en poursuivant et deffendant l'heritage de ses peres contre ceux qui vouloyent s'en emparer.

Neantmoins si sa Majesté n'a satisfait plustost a ce devoir par demonstration exterrieure et publique comme elle fait de present, elle n'a laissé de s'en acquitter en son cœur pour avoir toujours souhaité toute prosperité audit Roy, et favorisé par voeux et par tous autres moyens ses affaires.

Elle n'a laissé pareillement de bien recevoir et estimer le compte que le dit Roy a fait souvent d'elle par les asseurances qu'il en a données de son amitié par lettres et par personnes qu'il a envoyées devers elle, et mesme par la semonce et priere qu'il luy fit de donner son nom a son premier fils.

A quoy le dit Sieur de Bethune luy dira que sa Majesté fut trés marrie de ne pouvoir satisfaire, priera le dit Roy de ne l'imputer a faute de bonne volonté et d'en accuser seulement la miserable condition en laquelle elle étoit lors reduite qui maitrisoit tellement ses volontés qu'a peine pouvoit elle disposer d'elle mesme.

Sur cela le dit Sieur de Bethune luy pourra representer sommairement les miseres desquelles sa Majesté a esté assaillie et envelopée depuis son Regne, les grandes traverses et contradictions qu'elle a rencontrées, les necessités extremes qu'elle endure, les perils ordinaires qu'elle a courus et les autres incommodités qu'elle a combattues et vaincues pour remettre son Royaume en l'etat qui l'est de present, qui est tel en verité que l'on peut a bon droit esperer de le revoir bientost aussy abondant et puissant en toutes choses qu'il fut oncques.

Tellement que le dit Sieur de Bethune peut dire au dit Roy d'Ecosse que sa Majesté estime que son bonheur n'a permis qu'elle l'ait

James VI.
1599. fait plus tost visiter, a fin de pouvoir accompagner cet office d'offre de moyens convenables a sa dignité et tels que sont ceux desquels sa Majesté jouit de present par la grace de Dieu et par sa vertu, dont il luy dira avoir charge expresse de le prier de faire entier état.

Apres, il luy representera la souvenance que sa Majesté a eue de sa personne et de son Royaume quand elle a fait la paix avec le Roy d'Espagne, ayant exprés nommé et compris en icelle l'un et l'autre et fait mention des anciens traités d'alliance et confederation qui sont entre les Roys de France et d'Ecosse ainsy que le dit Sieur de Bethune luy fera voir par l'article qui en fait mention.

Luy disant sa Majesté avoir fait mention en la dite paix desdits anciens traités, expres pour engager a l'observation d'iceux sa reputation et la foy du dit Roy d'Espagne.

Ce qui a esté en partie cause que sa dite Majesté n'a estimé estre necessaire (quand elle a esté priée par l'ambassadeur du dit Roy d'Ecosse de renouveller les dits traités anciens) d'en rien mettre par écrit, et aussy qu'il eut falu chercher et prendre des pretextes et fondemens pour bastir le renouvellement de la dite alliance, tous autres que ceux desquels avoyent usés leurs ancestres a cause de la commune amitié que est de present entre leurs Majestés et la Royne d'Angleterre, laquelle il n'importe pas moins au dit Roy d'Ecosse de mesnager qu'a sa Majesté pour plusieurs raisons qui sont mieux connues du dit Roy que de nul autre.

Au moyen de quoy le dit Sieur de Bethune luy dira que sa Majesté a jugé par sa prudence estre plus utile et honorable a leurs Majestés et a leurs sujets et pays, d'embrasser les moyens propres pour jouir des éffets de leur ancienne alliance que de donner ombrage a la dite Royne du renouvellement des dits traités ou leur faire etranger de fondement comme il eut fallu faire, car l'un ou l'autre étoient inévétable.

Car sans cela les Ecossois ne laisseront de jouir de l'exemption de la Traite foraine, tout ainsy, qu'ils faisoyent du tems des Roys François premier et Henry deuxiéme et leurs successeurs en vertu des lettres que sa Majesté a fait de nouveau expedier, lesquelles ont esté delivrées a l'Evesque de Blasco [Glasgow], ambassadeur dudit Roy d'Ecosse, dont le dit double sera baillé audit Sieur de Bethune pour en repondre.

Sa Majesté a semblablement accordé a la nation Ecossoise en faveur dudit Roy d'Ecosse des lettres d'exemption du droit d'aubeine, a fin de temoigner l'estime qu'elle fait de la dite nation et l'affection qu'elle porte a la personne dudit Roy, dequoy les lettres ont aussy été dellivrées a l'Ambassadeur dudit Roy et audit Sieur de Bethune le double d'icelles.

Le dit Sieur de Bethune fera valoir envers le Roy d'Ecosse les deux graces susdites que sa dite Majesté a accordées en sa faveur et considerations auxdits Ecossois luy representant qu'elles ne furent oncques comprises aux traités de paix et alliance faits entre leurs predecesseurs et leurs alliés et Royaumes, mais avoir été concedées seulement par les Roys François premier et Henry deuxieme meus de certaines raisons et considerations qui ne sont de present si preignantes, toutesfois sa Majesté avoir voulu luy temoigner en cette occasion sa bonne volonté.

A quoy il luy dira que sa Majesté s'attend aussy qu'il correspondra avec toute sincerité de sorte que les sujets de sa Majesté jouiront en Ecosse des mesmes immunités, franchises, privileges et autres droits qui leur ont esté cy devant accordés ainsy que l'ambassadeur dudit Roy a promis a sa dite Majesté, dont le dit Sieur de Bethune demandera et raportera a sa Majesté telles lettres, depêches et actes qu'il aprendra, étant sur les lieux des sujets de sa Majesté estre necessaires outre celles qui ont esté representées par le dit Ambassadeur, dont sera baillé copie audit Sieur de Bethune.

Pareillement il asseurera le dit Roy d'Ecosse que sa Majesté luy souhaite toute prosperité et qu'il ne se presentera jamais occasion de luy temoigner par effet le soin qu'elle a de luy, qu'elle ne l'embrasse tres volontiers en l'assistant en la deffence et conservation de son Etat contre tous ceux qui injustement entreprendront contre iceluy par tous les moyens que l'état de ses affaires luy pourrant permettre.

Et comme sa dite Majesté estime que rien ne peut estre si utile et honorable au dit Roy d'Ecosse, tant pour sa personne que pour son Etat, que de conserver cherement l'amitie et bienveillance de la dite Royne d'Angleterre, le dit Sieur de Bethune l'admonestera et priera au nom de sa Majesté d'avoir ce point en singuliere recommandation, luy disant que sa Majesté fera pareil office envers la dite Dame, en sa faveur, le priant de croire que ceux qui pourroyent luy donner conseil d'en user autrement, ne desirent pas tant son bien ni sa grandeur que fait sa Majesté.

Laquelle il luy dira avoir eu bien agreable le choix qu'il a fait de la personne dudit Evesque de Blasco pour estre son ambassadeur pres d'elle, pour l'asseurance qu'elle a qu'il en sera trés bien servy et qu'il fera tous bons offices pour les maintenir en paix et bonne amitié, ainsy qu'il a trés bien commencé depuis qu'il est en charge.

Si le dit Roy d'Ecosse s'enquiert dudit Sieur de Bethune de la santé de sa Majesté et de l'etat de ses affaires, il l'asseurera que sa Majesté se porte trés bien et avec autant de force et de vigueur pour supporter toutes sortes de travaux et faire les mesmes exercices du corps et de l'esprit qu'elle a toujours fait, a quoy elle a tellement accoutumé sa nature qu'a peine les plus robustes la peuvent ils suivre et imiter, signes tres certains de la providence de Dieu qui a voulu accompagner son courage invincible d'une telle force et bonté de nature qu'elle surpasse toutes les autres de nostre siecle.

Il adjoutera que le plus grand pensement qu'ait maintenant sa Majesté est de ramasser les tables des naufrages passés de son Royaume pour les remettre a sa premiere grandeur, combler le reste de ses jours et de son Regne de felicités semblables a celles desquelles ont jouis les Roys ses predecesseurs lors que la France étoit plus florissante. A quoy il luy dira avoir ja donné trés bon acheminement principalement depuis la paix qu'elle a faite avec le Roy d'Espagne, par laquelle elle a commencé a relever la reputation de cette ancienne vertu françoise qu'aucuns voisins d'icelle avoyent voulu fouler aux pieds, car elle a par un Edit tellement reuny ses sujets divisés en la Religion, qu'ils n'ont plus qu'une mesme volonté d'obeir et servir sa Majesté et jouir en repos des graces publiques, en quoy les chefs des uns et des autres,

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Mais sa dite Majesté est tres empeschée a pourvoir a la necessité et pauvreté du peuple que la longueur et rigueur de la guerre avoit reduit au dernier periode de misere, ayant englouty et consommé non seulement les biens et facultés d'iceluy mais aussy les personnes, non en une province seulement, mais generalment en tous les endroits du Royaume: de sorte que l'on peut dire en verité que les deux parties du peuple du labeur, duquel depend la richesse du Royaume, y sont morts, qui est un mal lequel comme il ne peut estre reparé qu'avec le tems, aussy sa Majesté est contrainte et forcée de patienter et compatir avec iceluy en le soulageant et dechargeant tant qu'il luy est possible.

Raison, que le dit Sieur de Bethune cottera particulierement audit Roy d'Ecosse, avoir autant et plus porté sa Majesté, que nulle autre, a la dite paix avec le dit Roy d'Espagne, ne pouvant continuer la guerre sans argent, dont elle se trouva du tout épuisée apres la reprise de la ville d'Amiens, en laquelle il luy representera qu'elle fit un effort incroyable, luy disant cette mesme necessité estre cause encore que sa Majesté ne peut si tost qu'elle le désireroit gratifier ses voisins ni recompenser ses bons sujets et serviteurs comme soulloyent faire les Roys ses predecesseurs, mesme a l'endroit des Roys d'Ecosse d'autant qu'elle est contrainte d'employer ses meilleurs deniers aux reparation et renvitaillement de ses places de frontiere, et a l'entretenement d'un grand nombre de gens de guerre, qu'elle a esté conseillée de retenir jusques a ce qu'elle voye que deviendra la guerre desdits Pays Bas, la raison voulant qu'un Prince qui voit encore son voisin en armes ne quitte du tout les siennes, ayant principalement a faire a une nation du naturel et de la qualité qu'est celle qui regente encore aux dits Pays Bas, ou il luy dira que les Espaignols ont autant de pouvoir que jamais comme ceux qui sont toujours maistres des forteresses et des principalles charges du pays, et surtout de l'armée, chose qu'il luy dira qu'ils ont bien fait sentir depuis un an aux Princes et sujets de l'Empire, aux pays de Westphallie, Cleves et Julliers contre leur neutralité, lesquels ils ont entierement ravagés, non moins a la honte que au dommage trés grand du dit Empire.

Sa dite Majesté desire que le dit Sieur de Bethune represente audit Roy ce point de la necessité d'argent pour doucement l'excuser de l'octroy d'une certaine pension, de laquelle son Ambassadeur s'est laissé entendre qu'il s'attendoit que sa Majesté le gratifieroit tout ainsy qu'avoyent esté ses ancestres par les Roys de France, a fin qu'il n'attribue a faute de bonne volonté la dillation et remise de laquelle la necessité susdite contraint sa dit Majesté d'user en ce fait en luy donnant occasion d'esperer d'elle le mesme traitement et plus favorable encore, s'il est possible, que ses peres ont receu des predecesseurs de sa Majesté soudain que ses affaires le pourront permettre.

En quoy toutesfois il prendra garde de n'engager plus avant sa

dite Majesté, a fin qu'il ne soit rien promis que l'on ne puisse tenir, car sa dite Majesté a éprouvé combien semblables promesses legerement faites pour engager ceux auxquelles elles ont esté adressées n'ayant esté accomplies, ont offencé la reputation et le service de sa Majesté.

L'Ambassadeur dudit Roy d'Ecosse a aussy demandé que sa Majesté entretienne une compagnie de cent hommes d'armes sous la charge dudit Roy d'Ecosse, ainsy que faisoyent ses predecesseurs, de quoy si le dit Roy parle ou fait parler audit Sieur de Bethune, il luy dira que c'est bien l'intention de sa dite Majesté de le gratifier de la dite compagnie; mais vouloir devant, refformer et remettre en honneur sa Gendarmerie, laquelle il luy dira avoir esté durant la guerre tellement abatardie, non en sa valeur, mais en sa forme et règle ancienne, a cause du grand nombre de compagnies qu'il a fallu créer et employer, que sa dite Majesté a esté conseillée de delaisser pour quelques tems sa dite gendarmerie sans la payer, pour trouver moyen de la remettre en son premier ordre.

A quoy il luy dira qu'elle a telle envie de pourvoir, reconnoissant que d'icelle depend la principale seureté de sa Couronne, qu'elle ne sera contente qu'elle ne l'ait fait comme il convient, et alors sa dite Majesté aura a plaisir d'entretenir une bonne compagnie audit Roy, mais il s'informera sous main a qui il voudra donner la Lieutenance d'icelle, d'autant que sa Majesté desire qu'elle tombe entre les mains du Sieur de Vuimes [Wemyss], tant pour sa valeur qu'elle a eprouvée en maintes occasions, ainsy que le dit Sieur de Bethune representera audit Roy, que pour se que sa Majesté luy en a fait promesse, s'il connoit qu'il soit necessaire en luy recommandant le dit Sieur de Vuimes comme personne que sa Majesté affectionne et desire gratifier.

Le dit Sieur de Bethune asseurera aussy le dit Roy d'Ecosse que sa Majesté veut que la compagnie d'Ecossois qui luy sert de garde soit d'oresnavant remplie de gentilshommes de la dite nation selon son institution, parce qu'elle croit en verité qu'elle en sera mieux servie, et aussy qu'elle veut faire connoistre a tout le monde, et principallement audit Roy plus que jamais l'estime qu'elle fait de la dite nation et la fiance qu'elle y a partant sa dite Majesté avoir commandé au Capitaine de la dite compagnie d'y donner ordre, comme il fera, a mesure que les places vacqueront, a quoy sa dite Majesté a voulu mesme obliger le dit Capitaine par le serment qu'elle luy a fait faire quand il a esté n'agueres receu en la dite charge, de sorte que le dit Roy se peut promettre d'en recevoir toute satisfaction.

Finalement le dit Sieur de Bethune dira au dit Roy d'Ecosse que sa Majesté n'a fait la paix avec le dit Roy d'Espagne pour oublier et mepriser ses anciens amis et bons voisins, lesquels l'ont assistée et secourue en ses necessités, mais a fin de se mettre en état de pouvoir avec le temps se revancher de plusieurs plaisirs qu'elle en a receu et sortir de la condition miserable en laquelle est reduit un Prince qui ne peut maintenir et conserver son Etat sans le secours d'autruy, comme elle a éprouvé tant que la guerre a duré, qu'elle a souvent reconnu que tels eussent esté maris de sa ruine, qui ne l'eussent pas moins été, qu'elle eusse vaincus ses ennemis et mis fin a la guerre par les armes, tant est grande la puissance qu'a sur nous la jalouzie au respec de l'amitié.

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Chose toutesfois que sa dite Majesté ne veut que le dit Sieur de Bethune represente au dit Roy d'Ecosse pour se doullour et plaindre de personne, au contraire sa dite Majesté veut qu'il sçache qu'elle abonde en gratitude et reconnoissance envers ceux desquels elle a esté assistée, mais a fin qu'il entende que plusieurs et diverses causes ont fait resoudre sa dite Majesté a la dite paix, desquels elle desire bien que ses amis et principalement le dit Roy d'Ecosse soyent duement informés, ne doutant point qu'il ne l'ait esté diversement de ce qui s'est passé comme l'ont esté plusieurs autres.

Jaçoit qu'il soit notoire a tous, sa dite Majesté avoir rendu, en faisant icelle paix, a ses alliés tout le respect et devoir d'amitie qu'ils pourvoyent justement attendre et desirer de sa foy, laquelle aussy a toujours été et sera a jamais inviollable, plus chere et recommandée a sa Majesté que sa propre vie.

Car devant que d'entendre a la dite paix durant la negociation et en la conclusion d'icelle, sa Majesté non seulement a adverty pleinement ses dits alliés des raisons et necessités qui la contraignoyent de la faire mais aussy leur a fait offre de la rejetter ou de les y comprendre avec des advantages tres grands pour eux et leurs Etats, se resolvants a l'un ou a l'autre party.

Mais comme la disposition de leurs affaires n'a pu leur permettre de ce faire, aussy l'etat et condition de celles de sa Majesté n'ont permis qu'elle ait refusé ou differé davantage la dite paix, par laquelle tant de bonnes villes usurpées sur elle, luy ont esté rendues a trés bon compte, ainsy que le dit Sieur de Bethune representera au dit Roy.

Et comme de tous les attentats faits contre la France il ne reste plus a reparer que celuy qui fut fait du vivant du feu Roy par le Duc de Savoye en temps de paix sous pretexte d'amitié sur le Marquisat de Saluces [Saluzzo], lequel a esté remis au jugement du Pape.

Le dit Sieur de Bethune dira au dit Roy que sa Majesté poursuit maintenant ce fait par les moyens qu'il convient pour en avoir la raison. A quoy elle n'espere pas moins de la rectitude et équanimité de sa Sainteté que de la justice de sa cause, qui est si claire qu'elle ne peut estre revocquée en doute ni desniée par les hommes, que Dieu ne la luy fasse telle qu'il a toujours fait des autres injures et offences que l'on a entrepris de luy faire, sa Majesté n'ayant moins de courage et d'envie et ayant beaucoup plus de moyen de sortir a son honneur de cellecy que des autres pour couronner l'œuvre de la restauration entiere du septre françois a la gloire de sa Majesté Divine et au contentement de tous ses bons voisins et alliés, au rang desquels le dit Sieur de Bethune dira au dit Roy d'Ecosse que sa Majesté le tient et veut tenir et maintenir cy apres avec pareil soin qu'ont fait les Roys ses predecesseurs et plus grand encore s'il est possible, de quoy il luy promettra qu'elle luy fera recevoir les éffets quand l'occasion s'en presentera.

Il mettra peine aussy de penetrer aux intentions, fins et esperances du dit Roy d'Ecosse, comme d'aprendre et reconnoistre sa conduite tant dedans que dehors son Royaume quel est l'etat de ses affaires et qu'elles sont les intelligences et correspondances qu'il a et avec quels Princes ou personnes en Espagne, Angleterre, Italie, Allemange ou ailleurs, a fin d'en pouvoir rendre compte a sa dite Majesté a son retour comme

de toutes autres occurrences, et a fin qu'il ait plus de loisir et de moyen de s'en informer. Sa Majesté entend qu'il sejourne aupres dudit Roy deux ou trois mois, durant lesquels il pourra advertir par lettres sa dite Majesté de ce qu'il jugera a propos, pour ce faire luy sera baillé un alphabet en chiffre duquel il usera.

Sa dite Majesté entend qu'il fasse le dit voyage par mer, tant en allant qu'en revenant, et qu'il s'informe aussy comme le dit Roy d'Ecosse aura receu le placard que les Etats des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas ont n'agueres publié contre la trafic d'Espagne auquel ils ont compris leurs alliés comme les autres, a fin d'en advertir sa dite Majesté, d'autant que les dits Ecossois ont jusques icy trafiqué librement et sans empeschement aux terres du dit Roy d'Espagne, comme ils ont tiré plusieurs grandes commodités, il est a croire qu'ils n'auront a plaisir d'en estre maintenant privés.

Toutesfois le dit Sieur de Bethune ne fera paroistre au dit Roy que sa Majesté soit aucunement malcontante du dit placard, pour y avoir été ses sujets compris ainsy que les autres ains luy dira qu'elle a plus de compassion de ceux qui l'ont fait que de mauvais satisfaction de ce qu'ils font, connoissant trés bien, qu'ils y sont plus portés par desespoir procedant du danger auquel ils se trouvent, étans abandonnés d'un chacun, que de manquement de respect et de bonne volonté envers ceux auxquels ils doivent l'un et l'autre.

Le dit Sieur de Bethune visitera aussy la Royne d'Ecosse, luy presentera les lettres et recommandations de sa Majesté et l'asseurera de son amitié, usant pour ce faire des termes qu'il verra estre plus propres et convenables pour s'en acquitter dignement.

Il verra pareillement les enfans du dit Roy, se congratulera avec luy et la dite Royne de leur prosperité.

Et rendra temoignage a tous les principaux sieurs du pays de l'affection que sa Majesté porte au dit Roy et a la nation, et fera tous autres offices, qu'etant sur les lieux, il jugera estre dignes de sa Majesté, tant pour favoriser le dit Roy, que pour rendre son voyage plus honnorable et utile a sa Majesté et a son service."

Fait a Fontainebleau le 23e jour de May 1599.

3 1½ *pp. Copy in a later hand.*

May 20. **377.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 75.

I have at full and particularly at several times travailed with the King in all points of her Majesty's instructions and have received from him his particular answers by speech. I have let him see the weighty importance of the substance therein contained and that it is high time to put an effectual end to those jealousies depending between their Majesties of so dangerous consequence to him. Because I am zealous faithfully to travail between them according to her Majesty's trust signified in her letter to him to cut off all misunderstandings to the end that continually hereafter an honourable and sound course for

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1599. preserving the amity may be proceeded in between them, I have promised the King to set down in writing his *particular answers to every of the heads by me laid before him** out of the said instructions that I may do him right. His Highness has promised me that he will *with his own hand*† ratify those answers as truly delivered and besides write his letters unto her Majesty effectually signifying his resolution to deserve and retain her kindness which he acknowledges himself to have abundantly received heretofore and which he esteems above all other on the earth. Now for that I address my course to deal only with himself and that the King's great occasions at this Convention have entertained him so as my access could not be so frequent as to make speedy dispatch of answer unto her Majesty for the better discharge of my duty and faithfulness and that I would be most loth that my gracious sovereign might conceive any want of diligence in me to discharge her trust to the best of my skill, I have thought meet hereby to beseech your Honour to signify thus much unto her Majesty that she might be pleased to impute this my longer stay of answer only to my fervent desire to effect her service substantially and with best fruit.

This Convention has had small resort of the nobility. I hear not that any great matter is concluded though sundry have been propounded, as the King's going in person to the Isles and some others which are put over to further deliberation.

One cause was likely *to have made a great division between the Stewarts undertaking chiefly by the Duke in the behalf of Blantyre, late Lord Treasurer, and the Master of Elphinstone, Treasurer now,** for the place appertaining to the Treasurer in the Sessions house, which being promised by the King to Blantyre at his resignation was challenged by the now Treasurer as due to his office; which matter was so hotly handled that the Duke and the Stewarts after the manner and phrase of this nation gave up all kindness with the Elphinstones and their favourers, who being now great in Court by the credit of the two brothers, the Treasurer and the Secretary, the matter grew to terms of great faction. But finally it is concluded by the King that they shall be both placed by both their removing from that place for a short season and then both to be placed again by putting out someone, either the Master of Glamis or the Bishop of Dunkeld, and so giving to both their desire.

I am advertised that Bothwell levies 1000 men in West Flanders and that 15 Dunkirk pirates employ themselves in spoiling on the northern English coast. I could wish that Berwick and Newcastle were furnished and provided to avoid any attempt which may be intended by these means. I hear by Scottish advertisement of a slaughter of certain English gentlemen committed by them of Liddesdale within the English ground reported to me thus: in the revenge of Mr. Whitfield's slaughter by the Liddesdales, an abstinence being taken by the Wardens that the English should attempt nothing in Scotland nor the Scots in England, leaving them to their advantage if either should take other within their own country, the English

* Underlined. † Doubly underlined.

1599. understanding a purpose of the Scots to resort to a football play within English ground, the English preparing to assail them were betrayed, as is informed me, by one Francis Foster of Kershopefoot (Cressopfoote) in the West March. Whereupon the Scots furnishing and bestowing themselves fitly, by a signal given them by two women sent for that purpose discovering the English ambush, the Scots set upon them in the English ground and slew four or about that number, of whom Mr. Ridley is said to be the chief. Of this thing out of England I have hitherto heard nothing. Yet I acquainted the King therewithal, who told me that Buccleuch had complained of the same things against his own people unto him, requiring that such direction as his Highness might be pleased to give in that matter might be secret between the King, me and Buccleuch himself. Which I will further prosecute as I may be directed from your Honour or advertised from the English Warden. Berwick [*struck through and* Edinburgh *written over*] this 20 of May 1599. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "R' the 29th at Grenwch."

May 29. **378.** KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Addit. MSS. 35831, fo. 325.

I must confess indeed that I have found by the message which your Ambassador has delivered unto me the true effects of that sincerity whereof in your last letter you do make profession, which has made me both glad and sorry; glad for that it is the truest part of kindness that one friend can use to another not to suffer the root of jealousy and suspicion to take ground in their hearts but at the first to discover them which otherwise being close harboured and nourished would bring forth the bitter fruits of causeless and undeserving hate, but sorry that any such superficial circumstances or false reports should ever have power to breed in you the least suspicion of his honesty whose friendship has ever been so approved towards you that I have ever remained clear and free of wronging you in any sort. And therefore I think ye should never have suffered the smallest jealous concept to have once but entered in your head of such a friend whom of ye have had so long experience of his never breaking friendship unto you. The particular answers to your particular griefs I remit to your Ambassador who I trust will faithfully acquaint you with them. This far I will generally affirm to you upon my honour that the most part of them are "alluterlie" untrue and some of them "conjecturallie" be wrong builded upon true circumstances. But I pray you, Madam, to be this far acquainted with my nature that I am so precise in substance as I am the more careless in outward show and circumstance. And now in one thing I must crave pardon but to chide with you and excuse myself. This is anent the bitterness ye wrote (?) against Sir Robert Kerr. Ye blame him of two things; of the one case none can be witness therein but I protest ye wrong him as far as a prince can do a poor gentleman; of the other he is not a Christian if he be not clear wherein no lawful trial shall be refused and I will here promise unto you on the word of

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a prince that if he be found guilty thereof I shall presently displace him and thrust him out of all his offices and preferments besides further punishments at your discretion. Think not therefore I pray you that my gracing of him is any ways in contempt of you, for your Ambassador did deliver no accusing message of him unto me but by the contrary did to-day kindly and familiarly use him, but I protest my gracing of him does only proceed upon his resolution to quit all his wild Border fashions and only employ himself in my service according to the daily proof he gives of maintaining quietness and justice within his charge, and this much I must as it were "rounde" in your ear on my honour, he is the subject in Scotland of one that in private conference used oftest to persuade me never to give you cause of grief but always to please and honour you. And therefore, good Madam, let me entreat you to play your part of a wise and equitable prince in this case. Let present good behaviour abolish out of your royal mind old bypast offences grounded upon private men's particular grudge and account of all them that serve me in that degree that your friend and their master does account of them; and thus remitting all other particulars as I have already said to your ambassador's advertisement I commit you, Madam and dearest sister, to the tuition of the Almighty, praying you to assure yourself that I ever was, am and shall remain your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin, James R.

Endorsed: "Copy of the King's letter written with his own hand to the Queen of England, 29 Maii 1599. Sir William Boues being ambassador here."

2 *pp. Copy in a contemporary hand.*

May 31. **379.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 398. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 428.

[Please your Honours having at length obtained the King's letters with such answer as I could] draw [from him to the propositions enjoined me] in her Majesty's instructions [I have retur]ned herewithal trusting your Honours will see them [delivered] unto her Majesty with signification of the true cause why they have been so long delayed, growing indeed from a discontentment first offered by the King to me, then expostulated with him by me in such sort as has made him slower to give me satisfaction with any such good disposition as he showed in the beginning; which occasion grew in this sort.

At my second audience having at large debated with him the course of his late actions as they are set down in my letter to her Majesty, finding him in all appearance as willing to satisfy as I could desire, I devised with him how his answers might be so set down in writing as I should mistake them in no point and therefore concluded with him that I should give him an extract of such things as I had propounded and therewithal present unto him a draft of his answers as I had collected them, to the end that comparing the one with the other, which he constantly promised to do by himself alone, he might more amply both do himself right and give her Majesty better contentment

and satisfaction. This I did because her Majesty directed me to obtain as much from him in writing as I could.

The very next day after I had delivered him the said extract the King calls Sir Robert Kerr to be one of his Secret Council, a matter which grieved me so much to see him so slenderly valuing her Majesty's displeasures towards that man, which in her own words he had received but the day before. As being required by the King to some triumphs in his house and afterwards to go with him ahunting as before I had done, I excused myself by my business, yet to my special friends in court I dissembled not my grief, which was, said I, to see the great hope I had conceived by my happy labour to have removed all misunderstandings between their Majesties so suddenly overturned and that for so small a matter. This miscontentment of mine the King took so offensively as at my last audience before his going to Linlithgow he graced me with no person of quality to convey me to his presence, where being arrived I dealt with him thus. First, I complained of the long delay of perfecting such his answers as I had before delivered him in writing together with such letter as he promised me to write unto her Majesty, vowing [that I should purchase great blame at her hands by this long delay. The King excused himself by the multitude] of his [business which so narrowly straitened him now upon the] point of his departure . . . writing, he could neither have . . . he would, but I should not fail to [receive the same from Stirling] within 3 or 4 days. I replied that [might the contentment] given to the Queen lessen the offence of [the delay I should] tarry with the better comfort but I saw [continually] such new matters offered unto her as [had near] quenched the hope I had so well conceived [of ending] all differences. The King asked wherein. I answ[ered in 3] several great points since my coming. The f[irst that] notwithstanding her Majesty's high and just displeasure [towards] Sir Robert Kerr signified unto his Highness by her own [words] delivered to him by me in writing, for the . . . she had specified both the matter, the proof [and her] detestation thereof, and her grief to see that man re[ceived so] far into his favour as before he was, that notwith[standing] all this the King should the very next day so highly advance him, how could it be taken for other than willing neglect or rather (if I might, said I, apply [such] a word to so great a prince) a mere contempt [of] her Majesty's displeasure. The King answered that the Queen [had] been ill informed, that she had objected the same things [before] to Mr. Foulis, that the very mentioned letter cha[rged not] Sir Robert Kerr with any intermeddling with Yor[k Castle] or the pledges, that he had charged Sir [Robert] therewithal, by whose answers he was thoroughly [satisfied] that opinion to be merely mistaken. I replied [that] himself knew her Majesty to be a prince too wise and [circumspect] as to write so particularly and press so sharply the cause she had done, if she had not better ground [than his] Highness mentioned to me; but if it were admitted d[oubtful] as whereupon her Majesty had received apprehension [one way] and he another way to give no admittance [to her] Majesty's charge so solemnly given, and that not [only] be rejected but the man at the very instant gra[ced with] new

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increase of honour, it appeared to me a matter [of so] high a nature to be expressed in words by m[y apprehension.

My Lord Ambassador (quothed the King) why should the Queen impeach my bestowing of favours on my own subjects. Sir (quothed I) your Majesty may best answer yourself why should you impeach the Queen's jus]tice to be done upon her subjects, as in hanging [of Val]entyne Thomas, but yet you altogether mistake the [state of] my proposition, for I meddle not with your favour to Sir Robert [Kerr] otherwise than as it is a manifest neglect of her Majesty's just displeasure signified against him to you by me. The King was somewhat troubled with my words concerning Valentyne and laboured to show a great difference. But his imaginary distinctions I avoided easily and pressed this matter as effectually as I could, letting him see that this one act would weigh down all the words that he should write or speak towards her Majesty's satisfaction. But to conclude this point, I could draw him no further than that Sir Robert Kerr should satisfy her Majesty either by his oath or by the trial of gentlemen of either nation, so as if he were found guilty, he should be used as a traitor to the King's person.

The second of the points before mentioned wherein I found her Majesty's honour newly touched was an imputation of withholding Border justice, which I had received both from his Highness and from his Council delivered to me by my Lord the Secretary and my Lord of Kinloss, unto whom the answer which I had then given, I was now myself to deliver unto his Majesty. I said therefore that I found the wrong imputation of the Queen's withholding Border justice in the hunting accident builded upon a mistaken and imaginary ground which is that by law it being the last committed it ought to be the first redressed. I said that I found not either their lordships or any man else could show such a law. The King wondering at this called for the Lord Secretary and Sir Robert Kerr and demanding of them what they could say to that assertion of mine they pleaded custom, which, said they, made a law. I denied that either there was such a steadfast custom or that such custom as there was could make a law. I said it was true there were many precedents to begin at the last attempt but it was true that there were many which began either where justice left or at some definite time within such compass as was thought good. I gave for instance the last commission and all commissions which I heard of and I showed that indeed that beginning at first or last [was merely arbitrary at the discretion of the Commissioners or Wardens] for the [time. I concluded that removing] that mistaken ground and dishonourable imputation aforesaid [I as her Majesty's Ambassador] presented unto him this offer, that if [it pleased him then] and there to set down time, place and [persons for] Border justice, I would procure her M[ajesty's Wardens to meet] according to that intent and reciprocal[ly to give and] to take; only I required that because some [of the principal] officers being parties were no fit judges or [executors of] that justice in such case, the ordering of th[at justice] might be committed to his Warden General, [which offer of] mine, if his Majesty refused, he must take the imp[utation of] delay of justice

to himself, which hitherto, said I, [has been] so prejudicial to her Majesty's honour through this whole [nation].

The King paused at this unexpected offer and aft[erwards] said that I had said well demanding of the Lord Secre[tary and] Sir Robert Kerr, who stood by and heard, what they s[aid to it. Sir] Robert answered that it was a very good offer and would have bound this justice to have begun s[ince that] commission, which the King taking hold of, I answered that my offer comprehended all justice in the co[mmission and] since the commission. For goods, said the Secreta[ry. For] justice, my Lord, said I. I understand, said the Se[cretary], that matters of blood were referred to the Prin[ces, which] allegation the King taking out of his mouth ampli[fied and] confirmed. I answered that the reference of bl[ood to the] Princes could not be understood forgiveness or [forgetfulness] but that seeing the particular facts were examined, filed and recorded in the Wardens' books, the j[udgment in] law of the said facts was expressly limited in [the treaty and] the setting over to the Princes could be no other tha[n that by] their special and royal authority *fiat justitia currat lex.* But the King, finding by this course that [he would be] forced to deliver Sir Robert Kerr, Sir Walter Sco[t and] Sir John Kerr into the Queen's hand, traversed this [point very] curiously, concluding that the Queen and he w[ould bethink] them on that point. I answered directly that [both their Majesties] had under their Great Seals *verbo regio* ra[tified the act] of their Commissioners and I for her Majesty did insta[ntly desire the execution thereof at his Majesty's hands as her Majesty was ready to do for her part. But the King could not] so underst[and and I said expressly that that answer] must draw the imputation of the stay of Border justice from the Queen to himself, and so I left that cause.

The third of the points aforementioned I propounded to the King in brief: that he had violated the league between their Majesties within this last month twice, which I proved thus. A pirate of Dunkirk taking an English ship and goods out of the haven near Bamburgh brought them to his place of ordinary repair at Crail within his Firth, and albeit by the Lord Governor of Berwick's letters to the Admiral and mine then her Majesty's Ambassador to her agent Mr. Nicolson, the matter was complained of to his Highness, yet nevertheless the pirate was afterwards on land at Crail, was aided and assisted by the men at that port and the Englishmen forced to purchase their goods again at the pirate's hands, which because the King understood and suffered I took to be a violation of the league.

The King answered that upon signification made to him by Mr. Nicolson he granted commission to stay the pirate and the goods but the men of Crail disobeyed it, neither did he know that the pirate was on land and in their hand after his commandment came unto them. I said that I saw not that his answer avoided my former imputation of breaking the league. Since that time I propounded also another of that kind: that another Dunkirker took an English ship in his water under Fastcastle (Fawscastle) and brought that likewise to his port of Crail; that that Dunkirker was taken lying before the same port by the

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Earl of Orkney in favour of her Majesty's subject and albeit I had demanded both at his Majesty's hand justice of the said pirate persons and given a note in writing of the English and Scots names to the Admiral of Scotland, which he promised should be brought to justice, yet before the Admiral could discharge that promise his Majesty had discharged the pirate's ship and all her men, which was another wrong and violation of the league; besides that his Majesty and all his Council upon full audience and examination of the matter had ordered the Englishman to give money to them [of Crail for his own goods, which was a strange manner of proceeding and injurious to the Queen.

The King answered that he was made believe that the pirate had taken] the second English ship in the main sea, not in his water and because he was earnestly [requested by his merchants (?) not] to provoke the Dunkirkers with any hard [treatment he had dismissed that ship]; but if he had known, as now he do[es, it had been] taken in his waters, he would have proceeded [against the] pirates. Touching the order in Council for [the Englishmen] to give money to them in Crail it proceeded [from this]: the men of Crail proved the English had offered [twice that] sum to the pirate for redeeming of his goods [which they] afterwards buying the Council thought good to give [them only] some part of that money which they had given the p[irate]. Nevertheless, that now the Englishmen had order for [their] goods without giving any money at all. I replied . . . had commanded the Englishmen they should give n[othing] at all for their goods, having promised to procure or g[ive] satisfaction, as thinking it a matter of great indign[ity] to the Queen that her Ambassador should be privy to so [great a] wrong and dishonour to his Prince and nation; that I answered the Lord Secretary and Lord of Kinloss upon signification of this order from his Majesty and the Council Board . . . the King's supposal of the ship to have been taken without [his seas] and therefore he dismissed the men, I told him [his] error was no avoidance of the wrong because it [was confessed] at the first by the parties themselves to the Earl of O[rkney] for that the stay was demanded by me, therefore [the delivery] of them without question of trial must need be [without colour] of right. I added that his Highness himself had [told me] that he was certified from the Lord Sempill that the Spaniards intended to land an army [in Scotl]and and that I could not see any other purpose of [those] Dunkirkers seeking such opportunities and his p[eople] entertaining familiarities but to be esteemed as [preparatives] of such a matter. The King earnestly denied [that they should] find any favourable reception there or other than to [be used as] enemies to him and his estate.

Having finished my prosecution of the 3 points and prevailing so little with him to receive any meas[ure of] satisfaction to her Majesty I told him plainly that I was grieved to foresee to what issue his carriage of these things would sort unto which I [leave to God and leave his answer to the] Queen my sovereign and so [took my] leave, the King leaping then on horseback [for] Linlithgow and promising to send his letters and his answers afore mentioned, noted with his own hand within few days.

1599. Thus much I have thought meet to signify unto your Honours apart rather than to insert the aforesaid into my letter to her Majesty, commending it unto your wisdom how far you shall find it meet to impart unto her, myself being grieved to offer her from my pen matter of such quality as this, having from my very heart done my best to keep the amity sound and untainted, but such is the fatal facility of this King to be carried with his partial chamberers as not only I but also all the religious and wise of this nation that I meet withal do greatly doubt what event it will have, seeing that by many signs there appears a divinity in the disease of this estate. Edinburgh, ultimo Maii, 1599.

6½ *pp. Contemporary copy or draft. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

May 31. **380.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 381. (Contemp. copy *ib.*, fo. 386 & later copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 411.) Printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, XVI, 373.

Upon receipt of your Highness's instructions and address to the King of Scots I prepared myself and ordered my journey, so as I arrived here five days before the King's return out of the North, which I certified to Mr. Secretary together with such advertisement of things here as I could gather for the time. Between my arrival and the King's return I received from divers persons of good quality sundry courteous observances of good respect. Immediately upon the King's alighting from his horse on Tuesday, the 15th hereof, he sent unto me Sir Thomas Erskine, a special gentleman of his Chamber, to give me his welcome. The next day I desired audience and albeit I was answered that Thursday was the day of Convention and the day before to be employed in preparatives thereunto, so as I should be heard upon Friday, yet the King altering that purpose gave me his presence on Thursday in the afternoon. Towards the King I was conveyed by Sir Robert Melville accompanied with some dozen gentlemen and finding him in a bed chamber after favourable receiving me and some gentlemen in my company, I signified my address from your Majesty and delivered him your letters. After the reading whereof, observing his countenance, he seemed to me to have received much contentment, having before (as I understood from some private friends) doubted some less pleasing phrase than (I think) he found. At the entry of my speech I excused the weakness of my hearing, praying of his Highness that it might not be offensive; which it pleased him to take in good part commanding all out of the chamber except the Secretary, who kept his place without hearing. Whereupon, I addressed my speech to the King to this effect.

That to the manifold fruits of kindness wherewith your Majesty had so tenderly embraced him ever since his infancy to this day, this one had been lately added a rare example of good affection, namely wherein your Majesty had equalled his honour with your own safety, that for his sake had given life to him which sought your most precious life; that your Majesty had restrained the greatest stroke of justice in your kingdom in a cause of highest quality, only in respect of him,

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And yet further you had at his instance to avoid those vile imputations conceived against him given ample satisfaction to content him; for all which nevertheless you had lately received from him this strange and [unexpected retribution with an expostulatory letter full of misunderstanding returning a hard interpretation and] also that public instrument [which your Majesty had given to his Ambassador] as though it had been a thing not [worth the keeping] with sundry other actions of his (the partic[ulars whereof I was afterwards] to lay before him), as they gave the world occa[sion to mark an] alteration in him, so did they move your [Majesty to] address unto him expressly to know his mind [from himself being] in the meantime loth to harbour any hard con[ceit against him], therefore expecting from him a resolution agreeable.

To this my speech the King answered: that of the [fruits of the good] affection and kindness which I had mentioned already [from] your Majesty he acknowledged himself to have received ma[ny ample ones] with large protestations that out of a thankful heart [and good desire] he had done his best endeavour to requite them. Touching the proof which I had commended to him in the matter of Val[entyne] Thomas he could not perceive that so large measure [of kindness] had been offered him for the saving of his honour, as both [his innocency] and his deserts unto your Majesty might justly challenge; [seeing] his readiness to deserve well of you in all occasions [wherein it] pleased you to try him, as his earnest protestations sig[nified unto] you in a matter so nearly touching him, besides his n[earness in] blood and the quality of his estate he thought to [be motive] sufficient to induce your Majesty to have been as careful f[or his purgation] in sort as he should be himself. Wherein he profess[ed freely his] concept that your Majesty had not answered his expecta[tion. As] touching giving the traitor life, he thought it not [much, seeing his] conviction, not naming him directly, yet evidently [implying his] name, was now already past. For his expostula[tory letter he had] written to your Majesty, he had set down rather what [might be gathered] thereupon than that himself directly insisted upon [that interpretation].

Touching sending back the instrument it was done because [he could] not perceive but that it made his cause rather wo[rse than better] in that it mentioned the thing rather granted by [importunity] than growing from the equity of the cause, and th[at the considerations] were gathered from your Majesty's own good deserts [and honourable] disposition towards him, not from any such like of h[is towards you] and therefore left him further engaged not cleared [from that imputation].

Touching any actions of his that the world would take [notice of or] conceive to be prejudicial towards your Majesty, he was ready [to justify him]self and to make evident that no such could be verified [of him.

To this I replied that in the imputation laid upon him] by Valentyne Th[omas that it should not be prejudicial to his honour] your Majesty had given am[ple and large declaration which] if it were not so conceived to be by his Highness that [concept must]

grow by comparing his desire with what he could devise, not [what] was sufficient. Touching the traitor's conviction I understood [not] by any instructions which I had received from your Majesty that you had hitherto proceeded to his trial but only to his indicting. Here the King interrupting me said I mistook it, for the wretch had undoubtedly received his trial and conviction; upon which point while we differed the King called his Secretary to deliver his knowledge herein, who was of the King's mind that he was already convicted by a jury for that purpose. I required to know upon what ground that supposal was builded when they showed some words to that effect drawn out of an instrument brought by Mr. Foulis and found by a jury at London. I answered that that course was holden in indictments, giving them better to understand the course of the English proceeding in cases capital. Which point was thereupon set over to riper deliberation. Since which time perusing your Majesty's instructions I find these words: *We have stayed his arraignment and will do so long as the King shall give no cause to the contrary, whereof you may assure him.* Whereupon in my next audience I satisfied him in that error.

I proceeded to answer his Highness in the matter of his expostulatory letter and sending back the patent, showing that he had misunderstood your Majesty in the most material points of your patent. And as to his interpretation of your words in the said patent: *that he had with great earnestnesss moved your Majesty to deliver some testimony in more public form, etc.*: that thereby he enforces that it was thrown by importunity and not obtained by goodwill. I answered that your Majesty spake in those words because there was no necessity of a new justification by that form (but at his entreaty) in respect that you had before by your private letter in the very beginning really and freely protested that you believed it not.

Then did I lay before him that this whole matter (under his pardon) was mistaken by him, showing that the wrong herein done to his honour and fame stood not in question (as he conceived it) betwixt your Majesty and him as parties, which I made manifest unto him by examination of the particulars thus:

Admitting the first part of this question to be wherein he is touched; the answer is in his honour and fame. The second part is what ground this touch has; the answer is the accusation of a man ready to witness it with his life. The third part is who receives and judges that accusation against him; the answer must be not your Majesty who had signified both by private and patent letters that you believed it not; but the world which is indeed the hand of God in the hearts of men [sitting over that precious thing named honour and fame, according to the old rule that honour is *in honorante* not *in honorato*]. The only good evidence [toward (?) this judgment is true understanding] the actions of the judged, the danger [is mistaking the report]. The fourth part by way of conclusion is [who can deliver the King from this imputation]; the answer whereunto seems naturally to [arise out of the premisses] that the matter enforcing the world's true persuasion [must be the world's] true understanding of his actions towards your Majesty [to be soundly good]. Herein I could inform

1599. him of many actions of his [wherein the world] made hard construction of his disposition towards your Majesty [and] noted a great change from that he was wont to be. [He might be] pleased to judge wisely how dangerous to him was [this general] apprehension being backed with this forcible presumption [which he might] remember himself to have urged against me in the matter [of the] Tumult, *cui bono?* Hereby it appears that the substance and soundness of his clearing consisted in the [proving] his actions past and to come towards your Majesty to be kind [and faithful]. The manner might reasonably be conceived to be this that he [would] be pleased speedily materially and briefly to dec[lare himself] in those actions which I was to lay before him, so as they [might appear] delivered merely from himself than signified to your [Majesty by] his hand. Lastly, the person who could deliver him fr[om this] imputation [as] might appear by the premisses must be himself [by way] of evidence of declaring his actions past and to come [in the world] by way of true discerning what was appearing [most likely] to be his right on that behalf. Touching your M[ajesty's clearing] of him out of your good affection, I did with due rev[erence deliver] my particular opinion to the King that it was to be esteem[ed a] principal good inducement and testimony to persuade [the world's] judgment, but the true forcible persuasion to carry [the world in the] cause could no way proceed from your Majesty but from [himself]. Yet how far your Majesty had proceeded herein, only [to gratify him] appeared in these three points, namely that f[irst you laboured] to suppress that imputation: secondly, that you we[re so ready] privately by your letter and publicly by your pa[tent to testify] your not believing of it: thirdly, that you k[eep the accuser] unexecuted and unarraigned to weaken the streng[th of that] evidence against the King, which the accuser we[re otherwise] likely to testify with his life.

[The state of the question standing thus I commended] unto his judg[ment to consider how much he had wronged him]self so little to esteem [that your Majesty's so honourable] testimony expressed in your patent as to [send it back] again with expostulatory letters full of miscontentments and [prescrib]ing unto your Majesty other devised courses of his clearing: a [mat]ter which by a prince of your wisdom and greatness could not be [well] interpreted.

The King answered this speech with an earnest intimation of his good affection to your Majesty and a general discourse of his desire to deserve well of you before any person of the world. As for the sending back of the patent, because it might seem to import matter sufficient to satisfy the world for his innocency and yet implied no further than that his earnest suit and your Majesty's honourable disposition without respect of his desert had drawn you to give that public testimony, he thought he could do no less than to let you know what he judged thereof. Howbeit himself was much better persuaded of your meaning towards him and would therefore for the present content himself with such testification of his innocency as you had before given in your private letter. From thence he descended to declare his detestation of that villainous attempt supposed against

your person, concluding with this protestation that he desired of God so and no otherwise to possess either heaven or what he esteemed best on earth, as he was free from any heart's thought of wishing the shortening of your days, or desiring by the loss of you to enjoy that which is yours. This speech the King uttered with that earnestness and good show as I kissed his hand to show my contentment by these good words and prayed him to give me leave to commend unto him four short points never to be forgotten in the ordering of his actions towards your Majesty which were these:

That no person living could do him so much good as you, none could so much hurt him as you. From no living person he had received so many benefits as from you. None desired less recompense from him or advantage by him than you, as desiring of him no other thing than a faithful true heart's thought and actions agreeable to advance the cause of God and good of himself.

The King very willingly acknowledged all these to be true and promised to keep them in memory accordingly. Here I took my leave for that time.

[At my next audience, first, I cleared his error formerly mentioned concerning Valentyne Thomas's arraignment, and conviction.] Then I remembered [unto him that I had promised to lay before] him the particulars of these his actions [of late, wherein and whereby] the world had noted great change of [his affection towards your] Majesty. Which because they were many I [desired his leave to help] my memory with a little paper wherein I had [set down 2 or] 3 words for every head. The King command[ing all out of the] chamber agreed willingly to my desire and hea[rd me at length] propound unto him those particulars contained in your Maj[esty's instructions] in sort as I am there directed. To every of the [which in order] the King answered me with a large declaration of his [part; in which] conference was spent near three hours. In [conclusion I] laid before him that in respect of the preciousness [of the matter and] to take away all misunderstandings between your Majesties [and that] hereafter neither they nor the like should prejudice the [course of] the happy amity to proceed between you, I show[ed myself] much careful to do him right in report in his answers [and] prayed his Highness that for this cause I might set down [what I] had received from him in writing, which done I might [present them] unto him, so as it might please him to help my memory [with his own] hand. This I moved as well for my own more hon[est discharge] as because your Majesty in the latter end of your instruc[tions commanded] me *To procure answer from him in writing to as* [*much as I can*]. Besides which his answers ratified under his own [hand, the King] promises me to write unto your Majesty at large. And so [I took my] leave upon my second audience.

According to which resolution taken with the King as aforesa[id I extracted] out of your Majesty's instructions the particular carriage of [the King's late] actions, digesting them into several heads or propositions [to the end] that both the King's answers might more aptly be there[unto referred] and that such particular points in the King's said answers [as my] memory could not so fully carry in such

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variety [might by him]self be added upon the view of the extract, in [the doing whereof] he promised me faithfully he would impart the [said extracts] to no man, but having perfected his answers agreeable the[rewith he would] return them to me again. It may please y[our Majesty] to receive here as in the due place as well the [said abstract out of your instructions as the King's answer thereto], both ha[ving been largely debated in speech bet]ween his Highness and me bef[ore they were set do]wn in writing as is afore mentioned, which [if they have be]en longer delayed than your Majesty expected I do mo[st humb]ly beseech you not to impute it to any slackness of mine, having in all duty applied myself in your service to the best in my power, but to the King's deferring to send his answers and letter to your Majesty, partly upon his urgent business as he alleged and partly (as may be conjectured) upon some further occasion, which I have signified in my letters to Mr. Secretary particularly and more at large.

It may please you to observe in the King's answers; first, that all which is written with the ragged hand is of his own setting down and written with his own hand, as I think your Majesty will perceive by his former letters and this last; secondly, that I did purposely leave some things for himself to set down, wherein he might show both his own mind and writing in case he might peradventure alter little of the other; thirdly the matter of substance which he has altered in the first answer is putting out this word (*for the present*). Which word he neither excepted against at my first repeating his answer in words, nor at the last perusing the same in writing with me before his taking horse at his last departure northwards, only he questioned upon this word, *Contented*, which nevertheless I constantly affirmed to have been his word before and drew him then also to stand unto. In the fourth answer, albeit he put out (*Taken great band of him for satisfying*) yet I am informed that so it is.

In the last answer, albeit I left it to his own setting down, yet have I reported his answer truly in words as it was given me, in my letter to Mr. Secretary, which was that Cessford should satisfy your Majesty, by his oath or by the judgment of English or Scottish gentlemen of credit so they might be named by the King, but this being the latter, whether he will stand to the former or no I dare not assure your Majesty. Lastly the unhandsomeness of the paper may appear unworthy your view, except your Majesty will privilege it by the hand and handling of a King.

Now where it pleased you in the end of your instructions summarily to draw them to two heads, the former has been in the premisses satisfied [so far as I could. In the latter which is to note to your Majesty the names of such noblemen, barons and good patriots with whom] you may settle [some particular correspondency for the safety of the King] and his estate against the common [enemy, I must humbly beseech your Majesty] to receive for answer that my for[mer small acquaintance in these] parts and the shortness of the time affor[ded not sufficient means] to satisfy your Majesty's expectation in this behalf, [only I am strongly persuaded] by the most honest and wise of this nation [that I meet withal] that in all the parts of this

1599. kingdom which have rec[eived the exercise] of religion, especially the barons and burghs, [will be more than] double the force of any other part whatsoever which will [bend themselves] to favour the Spaniard or Romish religion. For the [chamber which is] generally noted to abuse the King's facility, they are [fast running into] the hate of the best and envy of the worst disposed for these reasons. They have withdrawn the nobility for advancing themselves. They have impaired the King's revenue a third part since their prevailing against the Octavians. They sway unevenly the [greatest matters] of government in the state by their particular mean as the[y term it]. They are seen to draw in from time to time, men of th[eir own] humour as Sir George Home has now done Sir Robert Kerr [to become as] it were the champion of the Chamber, whose untimely [and unadvised] advancement now lastly to the Council Board, being by [me diligently] intimated to the best disposed by apparent reasons to b[ring such peril] to the amity and so great hurt to the King by so deeply [neglecting] your Majesty's just offence, has done and will do these Cham[berers no little] hurt, which they already foreseeing do privily make gr[eat means] and promises to me on the behalf of Sir Robert Kerr. Whereu[nto my answer is] short that the cause is not mine but the honour of your M[ajesty with the which] I will join no particular of mine own and which I have plai[nly testified] that no true Englishman will suffer to be violated in the [person of any man]. Beseeching you to interpret my travails, according to [my faithfulness] not judged by my small skill, which defect I hope your M[ajesty will be pleased] to supply shortly with a man much more sufficient b[oth in health and] judgment in these affairs. At Edinburgh, the last of May 1599. *Signed:* Willm. [Bowes].

8 *pp. Mutilated. The words in square brackets have been supplied where possible from the contemporary copy on fo.* 386 *which is also mutilated and in some cases from the Harl. transcript made before the fire, the latter being however not always a complete or verbatim copy.*

[1599, May 31.] **381. Answers of King James VI to the Propositions submitted to him by Sir William Bowes.**

Vol. lxiv, No. 76. To the matter of Valentyne Thomas the King answered that, seeing your Majesty in your wisdom and judgment discerns him to be clear, he could not but hope out of your kindness to him you would so declare him to the world for the full satisfaction of his honour and such other just regard as might most import him. For the points of his letter whereof your Majesty had taken harder apprehension than he meant it, he made this construction: that seeing the patent seemed to import satisfaction generally to the world and yet implied no further than that importunity of requests and your Majesty's own honourable disposition without any merit of his had procured that open signification by patent he could do no less than lay so much open before you in his said letters, yet was himself far better persuaded of your meaning

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towards him and could for the present* hold himself contented with such declaration of his innocency as he had received already in your Majesty's first letter; not doubting but your Majesty out of your wonted kind affection towards him, finding yourself satisfied in his innocency of this imputation and such other misunderstandings as you have conceived of his actions, would seasonably hereafter and that without delay deliver him of any such inconveniences as might grow unto him by so indirect and injurious a ground.

[*In the margin against the foregoing in the King's hand* The transcending of his command by his servant Foulis in receiving the patent in that form being countermanded by him to receive any except in such form as it was craved, except the King's mind had first been known, was the cause of the return thereof, not as his Majesty protests for any "tichteing" (?) of your Majesty's favour therein but only that ye should not have thought that his request was thereby fully satisfied.]

For the matter of Kerr's instructions, restoring of the Earls and advancement of Huntly your Majesty might rest assured that all purpose of favour to the Spaniard or the Catholic cause was in them clean defeated. The said Earls during the time of their banishment having so good experience of the little favour they found with the Spaniards did fully persuade both themselves and him there was no good meant by the said Spaniard to either or both; and therefore upon their earnest and humble submission, after he had restored them to some expectation of his favour, finding them to have fully satisfied and contented the Kirk, he could do no less than in due regard of himself and his kingdom to win three such principal personages as they were by their birth and place.

For the advancement of Huntly to a higher degree of honour, it was a thing promised to his cousin the Duke of Albany [*struck through and* Lenox *written over in the King's hand*] at the said Huntly's [contract of *inserted in the King's hand*] marriage with his daughter, being one of the nearest kinswomen he had, which promise was now performed unto him to comfort him in that good course of loyalty and conformity in religion, which he doubts not he will continue [*inserted in the King's hand in the margin* at the Duke's request that now is, making some of his father's old servants bear witness of this promise *and at the end of the paragraph* which advancement was not only done to him now but also to the Marquess of Hamilton, a man of well known and proved affection both to the religion and amity betwixt your Majesties].

Touching the said Huntly's keeping of the Prince and Edinburgh Castle, it was a mere imagination gathered by such as know not his mind, and so much he declared at the first to the Earl of Mar and all men may see since by the sequel.

For Logie's confession it was a mere slander raised by one Hunter, a minister in the Low Countries, who having first bruited it afterwards solemnly denied it, was nevertheless convicted of raising that slander,

* The present *struck through and* his own part *written over in the King's hand.*

as the States themselves have declared it to be true, that Logie touched him with no such thing and as your Majesty may be more thoroughly satisfied from them, if you may think so convenient: a matter very unlikely [that *inserted by the King*] seeing Logie himself had so deeply offended him in Bothwell's treason and died banished for that offence [*added in the King's hand* the King would have put him so far on his counsel].

For the employment of Colonel Sempill, Lindsay, Ogilvy or any others the King protests that neither they nor any others have had any commission or direction from him to deal in any sort as might be prejudicial to the league and amity standing in force betwixt your Majesty and him. As for Colonel Sempill he has only a commission for traffic of merchants. For Lindsay the King understands not that he has pleaded any such commission from him, and if he may be certified of any such he having [taken great bond of him for satisfying *struck through and inserted in the King's hand* refused him any favour except he first satisfy the Kirk or depart the country] he shall give him his full trial and desert. For Ogilvy he has so traitorously belied him as if he may get him he will proceed against him with strict justice and rigour.

Concerning the ministers it is true that [question *struck through and written over by the King* his Majesty] has [been between his Highness and *struck through and written over by the King* found fault with] them for delivering open rebukes in the pulpit, which he takes to the traducing of him to his people, but that matter is now fully [compounded between them in what sort *struck through and written over by the King* settled] by the assent of the Commissioners and presbyteries [*inserted by the King* and concluded how] those reproofs shall be delivered hereafter. And he dare very well refer the report of his carriage thereof to the chief ministers and commissioners themselves. [*Added in the King's hand* always the King affirms that what he had done therein has been for the maintenance of your Majesty's example whereof he assures himself ye cannot but allow].

Touching the last entry of James Gordon, the King reported it thus: the vain man having vowed to withdraw the King from his heresy (as he termed it), howsoever he might be pleased to do with him, presented himself openly in his presence chamber, whereof so soon as he had knowledge he caused Gordon immediately to be taken and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, where after he had continued some time he dismissed him out of the country upon sufficient bond that he should return no more [*added in the King's hand* without ever having had any access unto him].

For his councillors and favourites he has not anyone which frequents not the Church dutifully and communicates not in the Sacraments in such sort as neither he nor any man can with just or religious reason hold them suspected: his Highness conceiving this intimation to grow, either from envy of some of his own or from the liberal taxation of such as are ignorant, a matter too ordinary and usual in his nation against such as bear place. For those of the better sort which are altered from places about him it has grown rather from

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their own desires than any mislike of his.

Touching that which your Majesty takes for bespeaking assistance, the King conceives it to grow from the late employment of his Ambassadors into Germany. In which cause he had well hoped your Majesty had received satisfaction by his servant Foulis having lately laid open the very instructions as they were by him given to his said Ambassadors. Which negotiation intending no other thing than reconciliation and continuance of peace amongst Christian princes, with taking away of such occasions as may impeach that happiness, he trusts your Majesty will not in so good and just a purpose remember the offence of one mistaken word, himself with earnest protestation wishing the continuance of your happiness by the good will of God.

Concerning access given by the King to any messengers of your Majesty's rebels or base persons of English birth, the King answers that he knows not any attainted of high treason either resiant within his dominions or admitted to his presence. For Dacre, Moore, Constable and such others he has only tolerated them of princely pity, esteeming them rather hurtless wretches than traitorous practisers against your Majesty. For his ready admitting Englishmen to his presence he has done it only of love and special respect to that nation, least of all doubting or desiring it might any way be offensive unto your Majesty. And as for the impunity of your rebels' messengers [*in the King's hand* there never came any unto him but that time what he sent the Earl's letter unto you].

Touching the nourishing of your Majesty's rebels in Ireland by his subjects contrary to his proclamation, if he may have notice given by your Ambassador or Agent of the particular persons so trespassing, the King promises to do justice upon them according to their demerits. [*in the King's hand* and as yet he takes your own agent Nicolson to witness that he never got trial of any and so never pardoned any.]

For his frequent dispatches to Brussels and elsewhere tending to weaken the opinion of the mutual amity [*in the King's hand* his Majesty solemnly doth protest that he is utterly innocent of all dealing there or elsewhere that may in any sort be harmful to your Majesty's person or state, for he saith he hath no great cause of inwardness with the Cardinal considering his pretence and the "ghaiste" that he so lovingly and liberally doth harbour, but the King saith if all rumours be true your acquaintance in these parts is far greater than his].

For his bitter pursuit of the hunting accident [*in the King's hand* the King says he wonders how your Majesty can call his loving and patient entreating of you for justice to his subjects a bitter pursuit, and where ye blame Sir Robert Kerr for urging him in that matter his Majesty hath sworn that neither the said Sir Robert or any other did ever solicit or remember him of that matter but only deal for the true trial thereof as the King pleased to direct him; and anent the said Sir Robert's practising for setting free of the pledges the King declared unto me that upon the first bruit thereof he straitly examined him and took his oath upon it privily; who not only denied it but with

that attestation that it should be imputed unto him as a point of high treason against the King's own person if ever he were found to be guilty thereof and will for that cause refuse no sort of lawful trial therein; all which his Majesty hath made him also to repeat in my hearing. And the King doth think it very strange that considering how willingly he entered himself in your hands and how dutifully and carefully he hath ever since maintained justice and quietness within his charge, your Majesty should be so easily misinformed of him in respect of the daily proof he gives of his honest behaviour in his office, which the King thinks should have forced to wash out of a clement prince's memory all old and bypast griefs].

4½ *pp. Endorsed:* "The King's answers to the several propositions contained in the Extract."

June 5. **382.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Vol. lxiv, No. 77.

Although we have already committed to your charge divers matters of great importance wherein you are to procure us answer from the King, yet may we not omit the demand of justice for this so notorious an untruth without doing injustice to our own people and open dishonour to ourself. The fact as it was committed we doubt not has been related to you in Scotland for both the first slaughter and this second insolent murder even within the realm of England cannot but give several causes to publish the same; for what can more increase the outcries of our subjects than to be murdered within our own dominions unprotected or what can breed more triumph to the adverse party than thus to spoil and slaughter our people unrevenged. For your better instruction we have caused our Secretary to send you such particulars as have been advertised hither from the place where the fact was committed, wherein you shall see sufficient ground whereon to demand justice. But forasmuch as we observe to what length all such satisfactions are extended and that we know that the new credit which Cessford has obtained in Court does give him means to excuse or avoid all imputations, be the crimes never so notorious, we do command you seriously to lay before the King how great an indignity this is to us to endure without satisfaction, and what opinion the world may conceive if any partiality of his ministers may excuse or obscure this fact so clearly appearing to the world. To this and other matters we do expect your answer and so forbear for this time to trouble ourself any further with this so unpleasing subject.

1¼ *pp. Draft in the hand of Cecil's clerk with corrections and additions in the hand of Sir R. Cecil. Endorsed:* "1599, 5 June. M. to Sir W. Bowes. Entred."

June 6. **383.** ANDREW HUNTER TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 78.

Because I am uncertain how soon I shall be at London I took occasion here to let you know of my journey within Scotland so far as I will commit to paper till meeting.

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Landing in Fife, meeting with some of the chief of the ministry and of the University of St. Andrews, I find the King and the Church like two adversary camps resting themselves because the season is not fit.

Such as ever did love and assist the good and common cause are most lurking, least regarded, but do not dissemble to see better and to be in action if any faction should in any great personage be moved touching the liberty of religion, which men think somewhat controlled, and the King's preservation whom they think abused by Council.

The faction of the Stewarts which is small regarded at Court have as I am secretly informed some thing in attempt for placing themselves about the King.

The late slaughter in the Borders is thought to proceed upon the despair which some pledges that thought to have escaped at York are in, counting themselves as dead men. Hereupon their friends seek to be revenged and to commove (?) the Border.

It is shown unto me secretly that the laird of Buccleuch, upon pretence of the good, minds to depart the country that his presence (which is thought favourable to contain the Border) may be removed to the "lowsing" of the Border.

Somewhat further I remit till I meet with your Honour. The Lord preserve your Honour. The 6 of June, Newcastle. *Initialed:* A. H.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Postal endorsement:* "Rec. Caxton, 9no Junii, after 10 in the forenoone." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "6 June '99. Mr. Hunter to my master."

June 8. **384.** SIR JAMES ELPHINSTONE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vcl. lxiv, No. 79.

The many advertisements both from France and the Low Countries of the Spanish preparation and their being presently upon the sea in some exploit against this isle, as also his Majesty's certain intelligence of Bothwell's preparation to be their waymaker, have moved his Highness more deeply to consider of the consequence of so hazardous an enterprise. For the which I have commandment of his Majesty by these presents to entreat you for further surety in this matter and the Queen her Majesty's and Council's advice for preventing the same, and that some few number of her ships may be directed to await about our water mouths and such other straits which way they be most likely to pass to impeach their coming undiscovered; and that for the surety and weal of both the princes and realms against the common enemy such steadfast conclusion may be taken as may be able to assure us against their assaults. Wherein, as his Majesty will omit nothing so he looks for the like concurrence of her Majesty. And that for the respect ye carry first to your sovereign and next to his Majesty and the good of the whole isle, ye will pretermit no mean which may be available to the disturbance of so ungodly and unlawful a design. Edinburgh, the eighth of June 1599. *Signed:* J. Elphinstone.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599. viijo Junii. L. Secretary of Scotland to my master."

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385. ADVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

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The King has thus distributed the books of his latter will to his son; one to the Queen's Majesty, another to the Prince's schoolmaster, one to either of the Catholic Earls and one to the Marquess of Hamilton. They are all sworn not to divulgate this book during his Majesty's lifetime and shall perform the same to their power after his death.

The Duke of Lennox is retired from Court and dwells now at Glasgow for the love of Blantyre, whereat his Majesty is angry. For Blantyre is banished from Senate, Court and all credence. The Earl of Atholl holden in ward because he will not subscribe an assurance to Huntly, that new erected Marquess. All gentlemen of the name of Stewart now evil looked on and dare not come to Court. The Earl of Orkney cited under the pain of treason to compear before the Secret Council. All his matters do grow very hard and it is hoped that he shall never be demitted home again, for the King is his deadly enemy and has taken upon him by himself to try all points of accusation against him, which are many and odious, and to decern conform to his own arbitrament and to this he has referred himself.

The gentlemen of Stewarts have met twice in divers places, and great numbers thither because they be dispersed afar from [each] other. And therefore his Majesty is thus minded against them, first to charge them to enter in several prisons, then to hold courts against them, and to have them convict before judges for convocation of his Majesty's lieges, which is a capital crime by the law.

The Earl of Orkney coming hither by sea "umbeset" a pirate of Dunkirk and brought her prisoner to the "heavening" port of Leith, but the King reproved him bitterly for the same. His Majesty immediately thereafter directed a gentleman of his own who is Admiral-Depute called the laird of Bogie to set her free and to give her a passport as a friend that she should be thankfully received through all the "heavening" ports of Scotland; and albeit she had then her captives other two ships, one of England that she had spoiled of wheat, she demitted that ship freely but sold the wheat in the north of Scotland by virtue of that passport.

The other ship was of Amsterdam in Holland but for any "solistation" that the agent here for those States men could procure the King would not pain himself to cause her [to] be restored again, alleging she was a lawful prey to the Spaniard, in respect of the wars betwixt them, wherewith he would not intermeddle. And so that pirate is passed free from hence, because of the amity standing betwixt him and Spain, says he.

The States men of Holland have made a placard certifying all princes that if any of their ships be taken with rovers toward Spain they shall be accounted as a lawful prey. In the meantime divers of our Scottish ships having addressed themselves toward Spain and Portugal with corn are apprehended by the way by these Hollanders and the owners have sent word here to the King how they are troubled in their traffic. For remedy whereof the King has written back to the Hollanders reproving them of such an arrogant placard as it were

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commanding and inhibiting all lawful princes and their subjects to attempt anything that were prejudicial to their new erected republic, which consists only upon rebels and rebellion. Next, that since they have found him at all times heretofore a beneficial prince to them and their State (albeit against his duty as he is of late informed) to grant them his crown to debate their cause against a lawful king, their own just lord and master, and has preferred them to other princes with the baptism of his son, as he honours them by an hereditary Ambassador among them, whom he may transport if he please to the Spanish dominions and thereby be hurtful to their Estate; for the which respects he wishes and requests them by his French letter that they provoke him not to anger but may rather acknowledge their own estate not to be so sovereign as may enlarge the self further than free princes do, and not so far, nor yet so lawful as they would seem to "cleath" withal, being of the self but tyrannical and the more subject to decay.

As also that they will demit these Scottish ships to their just owners with all equipage as they were taken withal; that after their certificate sent back to him and his Council, he may thank them by their agent here with credence. To whom he has spoken more particular[ly] in this affair and has required him apart to write in this cause for their delivery, which if he find in effect he shall be ready for the like, etc.

The King of Spain has sent here a privy letter desiring his Majesty to advise with his Council whether there be a peace standing between the two realms or not, and if there be any "failze" on the side of his subjects against any Scottishmen, then let him send his Ambassador to qualify the cause and he shall send another to answer in Scotland; and if it may please him to certify by his answer in writ the authentical answer of his Council that there is no grudge, that then he will be so good as to admit his Ambassador in Scotland not only to maintain the old peace but also to prolong a new peace, if so may be accorded. Or if none of these do like him, that at least he will admit this far to propone to his Council if it may so please them, to direct some "condigne" personages of state from Scotland to Dunkirk to meet with some equal commissioners of his in office of state and all other honours, there to treat upon such articles as the King of Scotland shall propone by his commissioners, etc.

The King is very secret in this matter with some particular officers of state as namely, the Lord President, Secretary and Advocate; and they study "mekle" on the matter now in Edinburgh late at night during his Majesty's absence, which is like to be long, so "culloratlie" convoked that either of them sups with other night about, so as the deliberation of this matter shall go by a "tryumphirat." In whose hand the intercepting of this answer shall fall, God knoweth. But I trust to understand the substance, God willing. In the meantime myself is sufficiently acquainted with the carrier.

The Pope has sent here also as quietly as he could by intercession of one Chisholm, a near friend to the Bishop of Vaison beside Avignon (Avinion), a province pertaining to the Pope, certifying of some garrisons transported from the King of Spain's dominions to his ships

and galleys, and that he understands they are like to come in Scotland. Therefore for the formal proceedings that he hears of him concerning Kirk matters he wishes him with blessing well to continue, hoping he shall do better with time, together with some other points of effects and credence to the bearer.

Another message in writ from the King of Poland containing very bitter and sharp words, marvelling greatly that he had sent afore a "condigne" personage subject to them both for help, and yet was frustrate; and therefore desires in brotherly friendship now in his highest distress to support him with armed men, and he shall cause warships to meet them on the sea betwixt and the first day of September next to come.

I certified "lang afore" that the Master of Elphinstone, elder brother to the Lord Secretary, was nominated to be Treasurer, but the Earl of Cassillis intervened at the King's request and Blantyre would not demit that office till the new entrant should promise to pay him a great sum of money which he had disbursed on the King's affairs. Cassillis taking a proof of the office was brought upon the snare to pay the debt and to accept the office. But now being contrarily advised desired a day to deliberate, at the which he should either accept or refuse the office. The King and Council expected all that day, but the Earl came not and so Elphinstone is "cled" with that office gratis and now our Court stands upon such props as may be judged, etc.

Now the Earl of Cassillis is come to the Senate desiring them to devise some way either by law or "solistation" at the King's hand that he may be freed of that debt that he is obliged to Blantyre. They have written to the King in this matter, which if it prevail not, it is thought that Blantyre (if not also some greater) shall smart for it, Cassillis is so bent. Edinburgh, the 8 of June instant 1599.

3 *pp. In a Scots handwriting, a signature has possibly been cut away. Endorsed:* "Scottish intelligence."

June 9. **386.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 81.

For convoy of this enclosed letter I have thus addressed therewith this to your Honour; finding no other but that the Lord Secretary is very willing and ready to do all the good offices he can for preservation of the amity between their Majesties and countries. And as I have by my former advertised, so you still see (I trust) a confirmation of my intelligence in the rising still of the faction of the Chamber, the King reposing wholly on them and their services, the Lord Secretary being the very disposer of all, as none here is able to do the good service he can nor therefore meeter for her Majesty's use in doing good between the princes. His brother is now in great place and Treasurer and has the Prior of Blantyre's place in Session and is ready and able as any, both of himself and friends, to do good offices to her Majesty and to gain her good concept (as I understand) that he may find the same anent the gratuity now assigned to his receipt and office. Great threats and boasts were used against him by the Stewarts for his entry to Blantyre's place in Session. Yet now at the King's late being in

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1599. Stirling the King made all well between the Duke and now Treasurer with promise that Blantyre shall have his place in Session again, as the Duke is returned to Glasgow well contented. Yet the King still seems and is displeased with Blantyre, as I see still the Chamber faction guide all and will do still (as before I certified), their credits with the King and friendship in Council and Sessions still increasing. Cessford is of the Council very like, unless for her Majesty's cause it be stayed, to be shortly made Lord. He and Sir Geo: Home prepare the King's mind still for the benefit of their own side, as the Chancellor, Treasurer, Secretary and the rest of their friends easily effect all also in Council and Session. Great malcontentment is thereat, yet none "kythe" in their contrary as still they grow greater and stronger. The Lord Livingstone has now also both the King's daughters in keeping, notwithstanding the excommunication of his wife. The Earl of Orkney, having been deeply charged with great oppression and some of his brethren against him, is now by the Lord Secretary's means agreed with all he makes any reckoning of. So as this storm is passed over his head and he to go home but to return against winter (the King being for the most part till then to be in progress from hence) to be a strength then to the Chamber and that side. He took one of the Dunkirkers by virtue of the King's commission, which I got here, and hopes of the more favour therefore anent the piracy committed against him. Otherways he will rather do evil than good offices, I do partly hear. Cassillis is very like to pay 2000*l.* sterling anent his dealing with the Treasurer's place. Glamis rests still in ward because he will not subscribe to assurance with Crawford, as the Lord Maxwell is here under commandment because he will not give assurance to Johnstone. Maxwell and Herries and their friends are still at their old vomit by Mr. Gilbert Browne's infection of papistry, as the minister of Dumfries dare not tarry there but is now gone to the King to complain of them, etc. Angus has governed so loosely as that country is now almost broken and he giving up this office.

Here is an Ambassador looked for out of France with the first fair wind. I have heard that the King of Denmark is aminded to meddle with our English traffickers.

The King and Queen are now from hence, the King at Falkland and Queen at Stirling but to be at Falkland within 3 days with the King. Neither of them to be much here before Martinmas. Angus MacConnell and his son Sir James and bastard son are here in this castle and MacLean sent for, as now the King thinks thereby to have their obedience and his duties of them, as he will have no journey to those parts this year. McKenzie is still in ward for the better peace of the Lewis, which by McKenzie's imprisonment is now seen to be in reasonable peace to the enterprisers, whose wants are their only hindrance there. Now that Sir William is here I do my duty and show him what I hear. Beseeching your Honour to advertise me what I shall do, that I may dispose on myself accordingly, for I do depend thereupon wholly. Edinburgh, 9° Junii, 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. Poor Mr. Moore has sent his wife to suit for her Majesty's grace, as his letter to your Honour shows.

1599. 1¼ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Mr. Nicholson to my master. Letter from the Lo: Secretary of Scotland."

June 11. **387.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO THE EARL OF ANGUS.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 385. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 416.

[Complaint being made unto me of a murder and certain prisoners taken by the Borderers under your charge against the men of the Middle Mar]ch of England, whose names I [send your] lordship hereenclosed, I have thought it my part to request you (for the authority you bear as the King's Lieutenant in those places) to take such order as the said prisoners may be freely delivered into England and restitution of their goods (taken in English ground) may be made until such time as the process thereof may be referred to the law. [Which request I] have [thought fit to ma]ke you because [I thought not to] be present, his Majesty being now resiant at Falkland. Edinburgh, the 11th of June 1599. Your Lordship's very loving friend. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

½ *p. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

June 15. **388.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 82.

The Scottish merchant which was taken with "cornis" and by your Honour and my Lords of Council dismissed and licensed to go for the coast of France is now by his takers arrested and imprisoned at Louth (Lew). He has written me a long letter wherein he says they do him these injuries of malice, seeing his ship discharged by your Honours which they would have made prize. Wherefore his humble suit is that you would be pleased to write your letter to the mayor of Louth that if there be no just cause against him he may be dismissed and put at liberty or that he may answer anything that they can charge him with here, and not to be persecuted there by them who have already killed and hurt his men, sold his "cornis" and taken away the furniture of his ship and herein it may please you to show your pity and honourable pleasure. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

Postscript. The man's name is John Wilson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, xvº Junii. Mr. Hudson to my master. One Johnson [*sic*] a Scottishman arrested at Lowth by them that took his ship on the coast of Spain."

June 16. **389.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxiv, No. 83.

I have received her Majesty's letter of the 6th hereof with the extract concerning the murders in the Middle March. Taking the opportunity of the King's sending for me the next day to Leith I

1599. solicited her Majesty's satisfaction and received good promises for "indelayed" order to be given by his Highness in those causes. But for the present he is earnestly busy in trying out that great indignity (as he terms it) of Ashfeild's taking away from that place, done (as he says) by the Lord Governor of Berwick's servants to his great dishonour. In his serious trial of this matter it pleased him to send for me on Thursday the 14th hereof, where I found him sitting in Council, and giving me a chair next unto himself the King entered into large discourse of this matter, summarily dividing it into two heads. The first was that great dishonour offered to him in taking away of Ashfeild. The second was the slander (as he termed it) imputed unto his people of Edinburgh of offering violence to me. The former act he imputed to the Lord Willoughby's servants, assisted (as he conceived it) by me. The ground of this persuasion was that in my presence my coach carried him away, which coach being an unusual thing in this country was thought to be brought purposely and employed to that end. He demanded whether the Queen had given me commission so to do, or if not what else might justify that act of mine, and thirdly what was my part in it. To the second head, which he called the slander, he said a barbarous motion might well raise a barbarous commotion, wherein if I could show any particular persons trespassers he would see them punished. I answered to the former of his heads propounded that the third point avoided answered the other two, wherein I craved his admittance that perceiving it to be matter of crimination I might be short, direct and true, which I comprehended in these very words: "I am no party to the violent carrying away of Ashfeild out of your Highness's dominions"; and that I said was the defence I would stand upon only for my discharge. If his Majesty required further enlarging of some circumstance for his more ample satisfaction I would deliver the certainty of mine own act and my opinion of some other men's. Which when the King desired me to do, I said that a coach was ordinary to all men of my rank in our nation. That besides the special use of it for my wife I used it for myself for the pleasure of conference and especially for reading unto me abroad that the time might not be lost. That at that time I used it so with the company of my good friend and not above three servants waiting upon me. That being upon Leith Sands and seeing some honourable Scottish gentlemen I left my coach and took my horse together with my friend, passing the time with them riding up and down the sands near Leith. [*In margin:* Ferniehirst, young Sir Robert Melville with others.] In the meanwhile my coachman washing his horses in the sea and then coursing them up and down the sands after their manner, Mr. Waterhouse (secretary to the Lord Willoughby) and Mr. Ashfeild desired to go into the coach, which the coachman ignorantly suffered and then being bidden to pass on forward with both sides of the coach open came close by the Scottish gentlemen and me, they being in number about 8 or 10 and with me only three and my friend. I protested upon my allegiance to my gracious sovereign that I was merely ignorant either of Ashfeild's entry into my coach or of his being in it at his passing by; otherwise, if out of his unwillingness to go he had shown any sign in word or deed, we had

given him help. But because we had no knowledge of him he passed by us and concerning that passage of his participating with any act of mine this was the whole truth. Touching my opinion of Mr. Waterhouse's note himself had told me that he had procured Ashfeild's passport this way at his lordship's hands upon promise given unto his lordship that he should return upon his call. That Ashfeild had given his handwriting so to do. That his passing by so peaceably put me out of doubt that he went willingly to make good his credit as aforesaid. That as my coachman informed me he met divers Scottishmen on the highway and in one company near Musselburgh eight or ten of gentlemanlike show, of whom I thought if it pleased his Highness to demand he should find no tokens of unwillingness in Ashfeild's passage. That his entry into the coach must be his own desire and no enforcement, besides the testimony of sundry Scottishmen by. That Waterhouse being a little man and a weak could not enforce Ashfeild being a tall man and a strong to enter the coach against his will. I concluded therefore that being bound upon his credit to go, his entry upon his own desire and his passage without show of miscontentment to any that met him, I took to be sufficient persuasions that he went willingly, and therefore no peace broken to the King. His Highness discoursed upon these circumstances as seemed to him [im]probable, concluding as he desired to find us faulty, but I said my act and word were evident and no subject of suspicion. That I laboured not to persuade but yielded to his Majesty's desire to inform him of my knowledge, which when it received weak contradiction the King remitted it to farther trial. And here I took occasion to answer the second head before mentioned that by the premisses it appeared there was no barbarous motion on our part and that therefore the commotion was merely injurious, which point I concluded in these few words: that because our safety touched the King deeplier in honour than us in our lives, I recommended the care to him of so important a point to both their Majesties and their realms; and said I would avoid all offence given or to be given by me or mine.

The matter of Ashfeild here resting, I solicited the contents of her Majesty's last letter at large and received such answer as is afore mentioned.

The King yesternight sent unto me Mr. George Young, requiring me to send him 3 of my servants to be examined, especially the coachman and one other which were with the coach. I have returned answer that the threats of sundry persons given to all such servants of mine as were about my coach at that time enforced me to send away my said servants, as well to avoid the dishonour which might ensue to our nation as also to the King in breaking his letters of safe-conduct given to me and my followers.

It is conceived that this night or to-morrow upon the return of the King's messenger from Berwick this matter will take some resolution, which I shall advertise unto your Honour accordingly. Many shows of violence have been pretended about my house, especially in the night, and many warnings have been given me by my well-wishers to beware. Amongst other I send you enclosed a paper given up at the

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window to my servants this other night, at which time my lodging was beset on both sides and the fields laid with horsemen led with personages of good quality upon an idle imagination that I would fly away.

The well disposed in the high town have entreated me to remove my lodging thither, but I am resolved having made no fault I will show no fear.

Such papers of Ashfeild's as I could come by, together with Waineman's declaration under his hand, I dispatched away to the Lord Willoughby, having required him to confer them with the parties' examinations and certify them in particular, wherein I can make no help, my clerks being all withdrawn from me except one. And I hope by your Honour's good means myself to be withdrawn by your next letters. Which withdrawing of mine will now be necessary for the Queen's service, I being so wholly pursued by them which sit at the stern in this government as I can be able hereafter to do her Majesty little service agreeable to her expectation.

I am credibly informed that 10,000 Spaniards or about that number are landed in the northwest part of Ireland and of them most part are said to be pioneers. The truth whereof, because it is better known unto you, I forbear to trouble you with further circumstances.

I must commend unto your favour the good and dutiful behaviour which I have found in Mr. Waineman so far as I have yet proved [it], which I doubt not you will respect as your wisdom shall think him deserve. Edinburgh, 16 Junii 1599. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

3½ *pp.* *No address or endorsement.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(A note delivered at a window in Sir William Bowes's house, 14 June 1599.)

Vol. lxiv, No. 83[1].

My Lord, it will please your lordship to "exseipt" of this advertisement concerning this most dangerous estate whereinto your lordship is presently fallen by the conceived hatred of this people. First, I would wish you to keep yourself within doors for there is suspicion of your intention to depart secretly this night. Wherefor all the fields are set both back and fore and that by your particular enemies. And I assure you they are resolved to have your life if they may. Next, your friends do wish you to have an especial care to keep well your own house within the turnpikes for there are certain evil minded folks gone down in armour to the backside and have shown no less than that they meant to have you out perforce. Therefore your lordship's favourers and friends have willed me according to that I have seen to advertise you as you tender your life to look to your gates and windows not only this night but also to be very circumspect at what time they be opened to-morrow and that it be not early (?) till the Council appoint a guard to attend upon you. Now I have no more to speak to your lordship at this time but I pray you to credit this as I write under the faith of a true Christian, which I have both heard and seen and was desired to show your Honour. Adieu. *Unsigned.*

1 *p.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Endorsed by Sir W. Bowes:* "A note delivered in at a window to my servants in my house, xiiij° Junii 1599."

June 18. **390.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 84.

I have instantly received your letters signifying her Majesty's gracious acceptance of my service directed by her first instructions, a thing much comfortable to me at all times but most specially now, being straitened with such difficulties as I doubt not have been certified to your Honour by others and partly by mine own letters. Which straits, albeit they "remyt" in the fury of the people, yet I cannot see but in the highest they are still "whotlye" pursued, so as if any apparent fact of mine could be convinced I should receive the extremity of justice, but that I am in little hazard of, as all these curious inquisitions may well declare. It is urged against me for a strong presumption that I sent not my servants before the King and his Council to be examined, albeit I have offered that such as I have here in Scotland unsent away to avoid the fury of the people shall satisfy the King in any directly propounded matter of facts, so as it be set down in writing and done in my presence. Otherwise, I see not how I can with my duty to my sovereign abandon the right of her Ambassador and dishonour my nation in exposing unexpert men to curious and general interrogatories, which they cannot understand.

At the finishing of the King's inquisition at Leith, 2 days being wholly spent in this matter before his returning back to Falkland, I sent Mr. Nicolson to his Highness to desire on my behalf, seeing no proof could be found against me, I might be cleared by some open proclamation, the better to avoid such inconvenience as might happen to the general cause of the amity so particularly touching both himself and his realm.

The King refused this motion excusing himself that the people charged him with too much backwardness, which imputation would be increased to his prejudice if he should openly acquit me. And yet it is evident under the King's own hand that he charged the Lord Willoughby and his servants with this fact.

On Saturday, the same day of the King's return, by his order 4 Englishmen trafficking and loading their ship at Prestonpans (Salt Preston) with salt, were apprehended and brought to Edinburgh and being imprisoned were carried to examination in the public place of justice in the Tolbooth. I understanding these men to be merely faultless wrote to the Lord Chancellor as by the copy herewithal sent will appear unto you. Hearing they were charged with nothing but had spoken with Mr. Guevarra as the coach passed by and afterwards with some servants of mine in no other place than in the highway from hence to Berwick, I desired they might be permitted to continue in my house. I undertaking to answer them at any short time of the King's call. This request was only so far granted as to commit them to a place less vile

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1599. than the common prison until the King's pleasure be further known, expected to be this day.

Touching the Border causes, such answer as the King was pleased to give in performance of his former promise to me I have required Mr. Nicolson to write unto your Honour. For the blood he refers it to that "bothomles" justice ordinary in this nation.

Now to the answer of your Honour's last letter: the effect concerning the person was before performed without violence or wrong, as Ashfeild has testified since under his hand to be showed to the King and as many as will see it of this nation. Yet will they not forbear to say that he had given him an "intoxicate" drink during his quaffing at Leith as though some opium had been given him with his sugar in his wine, which so bedulled his senses as he wist not what he did for the time.

Concerning the ambiguity noted by you in my former letter it grew thus: being curious to know of my informer what manner of hand the propositions were written in and happening to have at the instant the King's answers wherein his handwriting appeared at large, he concluded assuredly it was not that hand, which gave occasion to that my marginal exception.

In the best search which I could make for his papers I found but one importing conditions with the English Catholics, which Ashfeild now confesses (as I hear) to be given him by Sir Robert Kerr, appearing to me by conference with other his writings to be verily his hand, which paper I hitherto keep in my own hand, only to discover the writer, sending a copy to the Lord Willoughby with all the rest that came to my hands and another copy herewithal unto your Honour. In this search Waineman did the best he could in that straitness of time and those extreme perils and fears which the poor man was put into so hastily begun by an Englishman calling himself Sir Edward Shute, a man (as I am informed) entertained by the King at the charge of 20*s*. weekly for some great service which he may do at that ill-expected day. This man together with Francis Dacre has been very busy to stir up the people to the heinous apprehending of this fact.

And here I must remember that Waineman told me of Dacre's speech openly before the Chancellor upon first complaint of Ashfeild's taking away: that Dacre amplifying the man's worthiness said he was able to raise 20,000 men for the King's service in England. When these words came afterwards to scanning, I said the man was a great deal the fitter for us, but the Chancellor excuses Dacre and imputes those words to Waineman himself, whom Dacre drew to the Lord Chancellor to purge himself of betraying Ashfeild. Which Waineman exposing himself to more perils than I would have had him has been very hardly delivered from their hands. And indeed I have been much troubled to save the English from this malicious inquisition.

I conceive that this matter may advance the Queen's service and stand the amity in good stead, because it may be drawn to break the Catholic complots so fearful and hateful to all the best disposed in this nation, especially seeing it will appear to be managed by a faction instantly in possession of the King's favour but envied both in Court

1599. and by the chiefest of the nobility, especially because the ministry and favourers of religion, seeing the return of many papists, supposing the approach of the Spaniards, and so well knowing the facility of their King with the unsoundness of his principal favourites, will (as I think) not hardly be brought to hold hand to the removing of these wicked instruments: a matter which requires some advice with the best affected of the nation, which I would be glad to make ready for a new Ambassador to execute that shall be less hateful to the King and his courtiers than I am now grown to be. After some entry made hereinto I hope her Majesty will not be miscontent that I return to Berwick to take some order for my health, which I cannot "attend" here by any means, having indeed borne out these brunts with better countenance of strength than I can be able to make good anywhile. Whereof I doubt not but you will have favourable remembrance as to my great comfort I find you have. Edinburgh, 18 Junii 1599. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil:* "17 [*sic*] June '99. Mr. [*sic*] Bowes to me."

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Sir William Bowes to the Lord Chancellor of Scotland.)

Vol. lxiv, No. 84[1]. Understanding that some Englishmen trafficking at Preston for salt are this last night apprehended as trespassers against the King's laws, being indeed upon lawful trade, I am on the Queen my sovereign's behalf and for your good "neighbourhead" of Berwick to pray your Lordship that they may have trial and dispatch without delay, the rather because they are taken to be blameless, that they are said to be of Berwick, and that in this time of dangerous misunderstandings nothing may needlessly be aggravated between the realms; especially since both Berwick and other English [ports ?] have lately since this mine employment received so hard measure at the Dunkirkers' hands, under the managing of your Admiralty here in marine affairs, peradventure less fit (things standing as they do) to come into curious interpretation. Ed. 16 Junii 1599.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p. Endorsed by Sir W. Bowes:* "Double of my letter to the Chancellor."

June 22. **391.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 85. Since my last of the 18 matters have succeeded with me thus: Sir Robert Kerr made himself mediator for the Berwick men mentioned to be taken at Prestonpans and procured their remission from the King, but so as they must not come at me (though I sent for them and charged them upon their duties to our sovereign) and were therefore guarded back to their ship. Likewise I am certified that commandment is given that no Councillor or any of the King's servants shall visit me unsent by the King.

Yesterday in the afternoon I rode abroad to take the air for my

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health and that northwards to avoid the vain suspicion of my privy departure, but watch being had upon me more than 40 horse were suddenly out of the town spread over the fields after me, among whom were chief the Earl of Orkney and his brother the Master with other gentlemen. Yet none offered very near me, only the bruit was raised through this town that they had me in chase.

I am privily borne in hand that I shall not be suffered to depart until the King get some return of his message from her Majesty. But indeed I must confess myself not wise enough to perceive the continual slights wherewithal I am assayed and offered to be deceived as I was in my former advertisement of the Spaniards' landing in Ireland, truly delivered out of the mouth of a person of quality that said he saw their ships. Some think that I shall be stayed until the Convention expected the 10th of the next month. I do therefore humbly crave of your Honour that I may receive timely direction how I shall frame my answer in case of such conventing or carry myself if upon her Majesty's leave I be stayed upon my leave-taking at the K[ing's hand ?]; also how far I may satisfy the desire of the best affected, who desire much to know the particulars of Ashfeild's negotiation in the innovation of religion, for that very fear vexes the greatest herein interested lest it should stir up the Kirk and by them the people.

Francis Mowbray, a choice gentleman, was sent to the Lord Governor of Berwick to make way for Sir Robert Kerr's meeting with his lordship. But the Governor answered him openly that he would not meet with Sir Robert until this matter of Ashfeild's taking away were determined and I returned.

It is wished here that her Majesty would be pleased to urge Cessford with an assize of honourable personages in the cause of rescuing his pledges and it is believed that he would fall under that burden if he be warily charged.

The offence between the Stewarts and the Elphinstones (formerly specified) is lately refused by the Duke to be compounded: I think in expectation how this cause will sort wherein all that faction, namely the Treasurer, Secretary, Cessford and Sir George Home are thought engaged. From Edinburgh this 22nd of June. *Signed:* William Bowes.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "22 June 1599. Sir William Bowes to my master from Barwick."

June 24. **392.** JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 86. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 195-6.

In this late matter of Sir William Bowes if her Majesty think it agreeable one of her own subjects shall show a precedent where Scottishmen have done the like within England as yet unredressed. The gentleman is Captain Shelbye. Item, I find your Honour has given great contentment to Monsieur de Wemes who I trust shall not prove unthankful.

Fearing to disturb your better affairs I commit your Honour to

1599. God's protection. From London this Sunday early. *Signed:* Jo. Colville. ½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "24 June '99. Mr. Colvile to my master."

June 25. **393.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 87.

I have received your letters of the 21st, whereby I find myself greatly comforted that her excellent Majesty accepts so graciously of my services so far as she had then received notice from Lord Willoughby or myself, my letters of the 18th being as then not come to your hands. I hope her Majesty will pardon some slowness in that dispatch, I being till that time so toiled with taking care for Waineman, for Valentyne and the papers, and for my own servants that had intermeddling in that matter, that all might be removed from danger to themselves and dishonour to the Queen and her nation, besides that having my outer gates open in the night, I was forced to stand upon the defence of my inner doors to withstand some treacherous violence.

I think myself much bound unto your Honour for furthering my deliverance from this school of patience with her Majesty's gracious favour, intending (if God will) to ride to-morrow to Falkland and to take such leave of the King as he will give me. I hear he is extraordinarily perplexed with this matter and that he has drawn a letter of serious complaint hereof to the Queen, which having received divers alterations I hear not yet to be dispatched. This matter is so much the worse taken both from Lord Willoughby and me for that they say we did it on our own heads, which conceit we have been very willing to uphold, seeing they could justly take no advantage against either of us both or our followers, thereby to bring the least dishonour to our nation.

Her Majesty's desire to be advertised by me what sincerely I conceive in Waineman's dealing I must satisfy the best I can in this sort. He willingly without request or reward, only in the name of his duty to God and the Queen, revealed this matter to me, after some wary inquisitions made by me after him and his fellows. Finding him loth to become an accuser of his friend I pressed him with his oath to answer me directly to articles set down with my own hand, as you will find in his declaration sent by me to the Lord Willoughby and by his lordship returned to you by Valentyne and Waineman. Therein appeared to me some light oversights, which because I would have him show himself to be seen the better I passed by. The King's conditions written with his own hand mentioned in Waineman's declaration I could never see, and therefore if any such there were either Waineman reserved it when he brought me the rest or Ashfeild kept it about himself, for which I gave Lord Willoughby advertisement to make good search. I learnt since by Lawrence Dutton, an Englishman, at whose house Ashfeild, Waineman and Shute lodged, that Waineman supping there the same night of Ashfeild's taking away (for he withdrew himself from me contrary to my direction that night) he showed great tokens

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of sorrow and let fall some tears for his wretched friend, and yet being pressed by Shute together with Dacre accused both the fact and the doers before the Lord Chancellor as I have formerly signified.

By the said Laurence Dutton I learnt yesternight that Ashfeild was curiously inquisitive of him how he might return 1000*l.* by exchange to London, but I cannot find by what means he should come by it, which point I must commend to your memory when Ashfeild shall come to examination.

The Kirk here having of late found great tokens of God's displeasure, by the assent of the King appointed a fast to begin for the presbytery of Lothian as yesterday, being the 24; for preparation whereunto warning has been given to the people every Sabbath since my coming.

Since the accident of Ashfeild's taking away the King sent some of his favourite Kirk commissioners to the presbytery of this town to mediate a prorogation of this fast. This proposition from the King was sadly debated amongst the ministers, some thinking it meet to yield to the King's request, others conceiving that the motion was behoveful neither for God nor the King. For the former because the occasions procuring this resolution were not diminished but increased. For the latter because the people and the whole Church having taken so great apprehension of these occasions should conceive hardlier of staying the fast than was meet for them of the ministry to have any part in.

The conclusion was that they thought the motion no sufficient warrant for them to stay so precious a public duty.

The fast therefore was celebrated yesterday to take end on Thursday next, whereof the first and the last are wholly fasted with public prayer and preaching, the other bestowed in meeting once a day. At this exercise I and my family presented ourselves, whereunto my conscience bears witness that I have not seen a more powerful and holy practice of religion. The preacher delivered as motives of this fast amongst other reasons some which I observed as pertinent to my duty, namely these: that there was a general coldness in God's service throughout the land; that 2 parts or 3 of this realm were not furnished with means to teach the people to know God; that to this decay was joined a frequent return of conjured enemies to the gospel; that the mass has been lately with little fear celebrated in Dumfries in honourable presence; that the Abbot of New Abbey had drawn sundry in those parts to abjure their religion and to be new baptised after the popish manner; that foreign papists were received into this kingdom and under the King's protection; that the King's two children are brought up under an excommunicate person, enemy of the church [*in margin:* Lady Livingstone sister to Errol], being to become princes here or otherwhere to the great hurt of religion; that the young nobility of this realm went abroad meanly instructed and returned home either atheists or papists.

The preacher laid many reproofs upon the people and it seemed a wonder to us that find them so "headling" in things which they understand not, to see them so obedient to the voice of poor men.

It seems to me and other discreet persons of this nation that the King fears to hear of Ashfeild's matter at this fast and therefore desires to prorogue it; which offer of prorogation carried further with it this suspicious clause, namely that he required it to be referred to the Synodal Assembly to be the third of July for examination whether there were causes of public fast or not. Edinburgh, the 25th of June 1599. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

June 26. **394.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 88.

Upon receipt of your letters of the 21 yesterday signifying her Majesty's pleasure for my return I purposed this day to repair to Falkland there to attend the King's pleasure for taking my leave and had prepared my boat and laid my horses at Kinghorn (Kincorne). This morning the Lord Chancellor sent a gentleman unto me with advice that I should not lose my labour, he hearing of my purpose to go towards the King, whom I should not find at Falkland but abroad in the country attending his disports, requiring me further that I would not enter the journey without making his lordship acquainted and desiring to know whether I would so do or no. Always he pretended that this was done in favour to me that I might not lose my labour. I answered that I would take it no otherwise than as done in favour and agreeably I will give knowledge unto his lordship as I should find best to dispose of myself in that matter, and for this day I would stay my purpose of passing over the water. I think his lordship had this intelligence from the ferry boats provided for me yesternight.

I understand not what this may mean and therefore I humbly pray your Honour I may receive her Majesty's direction what I shall do if this curiosity be continued to hinder the taking of my leave. Edinburgh, 26 Junii 1599. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

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

June 26. **395.** JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 89. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 196, 197.

To the end nothing be unknown to your Honour that I either know or do negotiate into, please you be informed that in the matter of Gravelines the merchant here, finding he could not obtain her Highness's good liking* thereunto, he has therefore at request of his informers sent the offer of that service to Count Maurice and Barneveldt by a Fleming dwelling at London called Englistead and what answer they get your Honour shall know.

Item, fearing much the crossing of the sea because of the Dunkirkers (in whose hands if I fall no ransom will save me), I moved

* The words "good liking" are omitted in the Bannatyne Club edition of the Letters

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Monsieur de Wemes to get me from the French Ambassador two lines as if I had been employed to France for the said de Wemes's affairs; and going to receive that letter the Ambassador (who seemed to me a gentleman very ill informed in matters of these two realms) began to inquire many questions concerning the King, his "umquhyill" mother, and of this estate. Whereupon at the sudden I took occasion to repeat the history to him from the arrival of the Queen from France unto this time, remembering the benefits of this Majesty to the King from his cradle and again his unkindness both to her and to such at home as did save his life, and how none be so acceptable to him as they that be either *Almani, Romani, Hispani vel Jesuitici.* Whereupon he did seem to pense marvellously and in end said, if the King suffered himself to be led with a Spanish or Italian advice he should ruin himself, for they sought nothing but their own grandeur to the prejudice of all other realms. When I parted from him he requested me to see him at my return, wherein I shall be ruled and in all my other actions by your prudent directions.

Item, if my nephew arrive before my return, please question him on these points: what was Constable's errand to the King and what answer he has got; who be they that the King dealt privately with in this estate; and touching the money that should come from the Pope who should go for it and when.* For these be the matters I desired him specially to inform himself upon. Craving pardon for this prolixity I humbly take my leave. This 26 of June 1599. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

June 26. **396.** ——— TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Vol. lxiv, No. 90.

I received your letter this Tuesday at night which I showed to his Majesty immediately thereafter. His Highness marvelled of your desire so suddenly to depart and after some little conference commanded me to make you advertised that ye should know his will by my Lord Chancellor, touching your returning to his Majesty for any occasion. His Highness called presently for a secretary for dispatching of this same direction to my Lord Chancellor. Falkland, 26 June 1599. *Signature cut out.*

¼ *p. In a Scottish hand. Addressed:* "To my verie guid lord, my Lord Ambassadeore." *Seal. No endorsement.*

June 29. **397.** SIR WILLIAM BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 91.

By my last of the 26th I advertised your Honour of my purpose to go over to Falkland to take my leave of the King and of the advice given me by the Lord Chancellor to stay until I might receive notice from him of the King's best opportunity. To this motion albeit I yielded of necessity for the time, yet I dispatched a messenger with my letters directed to a good friend of mine near about the King's person, whose answer at that time and advertisement this day, both herewithal

* For the "scare" news collected by the nephew, of very doubtful value, see Colville's *Letters*, p. 302, August 18, 1599.

1599. sent to you, will give you taste what changes have been in the King's thoughts concerning me. According to the former of these letters upon Wednesday morning the Lord Chancellor sent me word by Mr. George Young that on Friday then following, which is this day, I should know where and when the King should be [*sic, rectius* have] leisure to give me audience. Instantly, I have received notice, not from the Lord Chancellor as he promised for the person, nor agreeable to my friend's letter for the place to be at St. Andrews, but from the Lord Secretary, that I shall be heard at Falkland either on Monday next, or on Tuesday morning following, with an honourable person to accompany me thither, the particulars whereof shall be showed to me on Sunday next from the said Lord Secretary.

The Ambassador from France arrived at Leith yesterday about 11 hours and is there well lodged. Of this man's coming, being a great Catholic and supposed to have privity with the Bishop of Glasgow, because they are both of one religion and name of Beton, great fear is conceived by the favourers of religion here that his negotiation may prove as much Romish as French, and by the prosecution of a former matter of near alliance to Ashfeild's overture, which such as it is I think fitter to reserve till my coming to Berwick.

The heart burnings between the favourites and malcontents begin to grow to more show and are not unlike to bring forth some novelty ere it be long, except all the better order be timely taken.

Such small advertisements as I have instantly received concerning this Ambassador's entertainment I send your Honour herewithal. Edinburgh, this 29th of June 1599. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

Postscript. I hear that the French Ambassador is this day very solemnly visited by the Chancellor, President, Secretary and others with great offers of entertainment.

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

June. **398.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxiv, No. 92. I beseech your Honour to pardon my boldness and presumption in craving once more your resolution for Mr. Aston and Mr. Nicolson whose faithful endeavours to serve her Majesty zealously I have so long and often seen that in my bounden duty towards her Majesty's service as also in my duty towards you (to whom all their best powers is directed) and out of my honest love and friendship to them that trust to my careful remembrance I owe a true discharge of their expectation. Therefore am I forced once more to crave your honourable pleasure towards them that thereby I may put them in some certain hope of her Majesty's gracious bounty towards them. There is nothing that more urges me to this boldness than their miserable estate at this time amongst those barbarous people there than that those two dare not show themselves openly in the streets for fear of the people's rage against all of our nation which you may perceive by this pitiful letter of Mr. Aston's, as also of his further distresses which I wish of God that I were able to relieve. May it please you to be persuaded by my

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never suiting for myself that I am loth to importune you. I beseech God to move her Majesty's heart by your good mediation to have pity of these poor servants of her own now in the time of their greatest misery and that from her hands they may (as it were) receive a new life. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

Postscript. It may please your Honour also to receive a letter from Mr. David Foulis to me, wherein some things to be read.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Placard seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599 June. Mr. Hudson to my master."

[1599, *c.* July 1.] **399.** QUEEN ELIZABETH TO KING JAMES VI.

Cott. Calig., D. ii, fo. 390. Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 420.

[Hav]ing und[erstood of an accident of] late in Scotland wherein we are not yet informed of all particular circumstances we [have fo]rborne to write to yourself as rather attending [what] should proceed from you whom it more concerns. [For] until we heard from our Governor of Berwick that he had in his custody a lewd person who had abused his passport for which he doubted to be called in question by us, it being one of his principal charges, as to all other our Governors, to be well advised to whom they give licence to travel to any place whatsoever, we did not know, neither could have believed, that any person of his condition could have been so acceptable to yourself as is reported or in so great and inward friendship with any of your so near counsellors as now we understand the laird of Cessford is become even since we had greatest cause to look for justice from you against him. But of these things we mean not now to particularise further, not knowing well till we have heard our Ambassador speak what to believe to be true or false. Only this we are touched in honour to require of you and do expect at your hands in honour to be performed by you, that our Ambassador being our public minister and one whose service we have present cause to use may be freed from any disgrace or danger by any of yours, which, howsoever reports amongst those that would interrupt our common amity may spread or increase, we will never believe it to be true till we hear it from yourself. In which respect as we have written to him to repair hither, so we do hereby acquaint you with it to the intent that he may be licensed presently to return. And if [any] further injury be to be expected from any of yours [to] be offered him, that you be pleased to afford him your [protection for his more safety in his return as that to which] princely honour binds y[ou, which being done when] he shall be charged with any undue [proceedings toward] you and heard to answer for him[self, that course] may be taken which belongs to honour [and justice of which] we trust neither you nor any person liv[ing has just cause] to be doubtful at our hands, whomsoever [it concerns].

1¼ *pp. Contemporary copy. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

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No. 1.

400. Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

By my last of the 29th of June I certified your Honour of the notice given me from the Secretary that I should have certain knowledge for my attendance on the King as yesterday. But receiving none at all I solicited my dispatch this morning by Mr. Nicolson, who being directed to the Lord of Kinloss, his lordship repaired "indelayedly" unto me, showing me a letter received yesterday from the King directed to himself to this effect: that he should make his repair unto me and signify his Highness's pleasure, appointing him that when I would pass over the water towards Falkland that l[ord] should accompany me to Leith and see me boated, and give me notice that upon my arrival at Kinghorn other barons of those parts should accompany me to Falkland. Thus far the letter specifying no certain time but leaving all circumstances at large, his lordship informed me further as from the Council that they thought I might have access on Wednesday next, the fourth hereof, but would give me no assurance thereof; yet did he desire me as from the Council to know of my determination. I answered that I thought it best to make myself assured of the certain time and place by the King's pleasure to have me and accordingly his lordship should have understanding from me of my intended journey that way.

The last of the past month I had advertisement, though by no English mean, of 3 English ships taken on the broad seas coming from their fishing by a Dunkirker and the poor men straitly kept under hatches by him before the town of Crail (Carreyle). Hereupon I wrote to the Lord Chancellor and the rest of the Lords as by the copy herewith sent you will perceive. Whereunto the answer given was a reference of the matter to the King with all speed and favour to be solicited by their lordships to his Majesty. At the same time Monsr. Damon, agent for the States, complained before the Lords, as he had before done, of the same pirates and now last of all for a ship of Holland taken at an anchor in one of the King's northern roads. To which complaint when he had received an accustomed cold answer Mr. Damon protested openly before the Lords that he must have justice or he must return to his Lords whence he came. This cause therefore being roundly prosecuted both by me and Monsr. Damon has brought the matter thus far: that (as I am borne in hand) the sails are taken from all the ships till the matter be further inquired upon, and for the English I understand by my espial that one ship is dismissed to bring the money for composition with the pirate for the rest, not permitting any of them to come to me. Neither as yet could I have any speech to them or from them.

In this cause I can do much the less for that I have had privy advertisement of these Dunkirkers' purposes to intercept what English they could best come by, of my train or Mr. Nicolson, and of hazarding myself this way I have had warning of persons of good quality to beware. The passage from Leith to Kinghorn being 7 miles and the Dunkirkers lying so aptly to be so employed, as I intend not to hazard

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This morning likewise I received the King's letter in the matter of the pirate, the copy whereof I send to you herewith. The tenor of this letter, so much as concerns me, differs much from many speeches delivered by the King of me concerning this matter and the rest of my employments. Wherein he has wholly misjudged both my purposes and actions. Which letter I do the rather note because I neither wrote nor sent to his Highness herein, as I would have done if I durst have adventured Mr. Nicolson over the water.

The French Ambassador received a great entertainment, whose abode here (as it is thought) will not be under 4 or 5 months, which occasions the jealous eyes over him to think that some more extraordinary matter than is expected from France will be negotiated by him.

The displeasures between the Stewarts and Elphinstones mentioned in my former letters are as yet suspended, the King labouring earnestly to settle it to his own liking.

Here are bruits confidently received of hard success of her Majesty's arms in Ireland.

I am advertised that Mr. George Kerr who was employed from the Lords in the great practice to Spain with the Abbot of New Abbey and sundry others of the worst disposed papists have upon coming of this Ambassador made their repair hither and here keep close. This matter I will inquire out by the best means I can. Edinburgh, the third of July 1599. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Addressed and endorsed. Seal.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Sir William Bowes to the Chancellor and Privy Council of Scotland.)

Vol. lxv, No. 1[1]. In his Majesty's absence and because I understand the matter will admit no delay I must commend unto your lordships on the Queen my sovereign's behalf and in right of that honourable league standing in force between the princes the lamentable distress of 3 English ships now lying before Crail, being taken and brought thither (as I understand) by the same pirate calling himself a Dunkirker which took the English ship before about the latter end of May last hard under Fastcastle, and then dismissed (as his Majesty told me) because it was not known at the time of the dismission that the ship was taken within his waters, otherwise he said he should have answered it with his life as a pirate. Now therefore the same pirate having added to the former piracy this new attempt, besides the detaining of the poor Englishmen in miserable captivity, threatening as I am informed because they are not able to redeem the said ships and goods at his hands to set the same on fire "undelayedlye," I must hereby in the right of justice beseech your lordships that instant order may be given agreeable to the quality of the cause for the apprehending of the said pirate and his men, whereof I understand 7 to be Scottishmen, with stay of their ship and putting them in safety, so as the poor Englishmen may be

relieved and her Majesty upon notice given unto her by me may find herself honourably dealt withal to respect his Majesty's subjects upon like occasion with like measures as hers do find here. My lodging, 29 Junii 1599.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "Double of my letter to the Chancellor and Council."

July 4. **401.** JOHN SEMPILL TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 2.

I have not received as yet my licence for fifty or threescore tons of corn and my Lord Admiral's pass for the sea. Upon your Honour's word I have bought the corn and stay only here for those passes and the note of information which you promised to send. Into the which I shall be diligent according to my discretion and judgment and shall, God willing, send back an answer with diligence by reason of the commodity of another Scottish bark which I take with me, who goes only but to the first place. I directed my host at London to have received these directions who has written unto me that he has been twice at your Honour and could not have the same. Whereupon I have taken occasion to send this bearer upon my charges expressly to that effect, whom unto you shall deliver all the letters, for he is a trusty messenger not to be doubted. If in case you have lost the note of my name for the passes it is John Sempill, merchant, of Dumbarton in Scotland. Bristol, this fourth of July 1599. *Signed:* Jhone Semple.

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

July 5. **402.** [SIR WILLIAM BOWES] TO KING JAMES VI.

Cott. Calig. D. ii, fo. 237. Copy in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 301.

[By your Highness's letters of the first here]of I have perceived your Majesty's [gracious acceptati]on of the requisition made by my letters [unto the King] on the behalf of 3 English ships detained [captive by] a pirate now lying before your Majesty's port of [Crail. In] which cause it pleases your Majesty by your said letters to interpose [your h]onourable promise of satisfaction. Wherein for your [so favourab]le disposition to tender the estate of the poor [distressed] English subjects I am both to signify to the Queen and myself for the same to render unto your [Majesty all] humble and respectful thanks.

[I rece]ived also your pleasure by my Lord of Kinloss [giving] leave for my repair towards your Majesty at [Falkland] as this day, which most willingly I would have [attended] accordingly, but finding my disposition of health unapt either for long journey or absence and hearing [your Majes]ty to be retired further off upon the serious affairs [of your] state, I have desired the said lord in this behalf to present unto your Highness my excuse until your [return], which I trust your Majesty will be pleased to accept. 5 July. *Unsigned.*

1 *p. The words in square brackets have been supplied from the Harleian copy made before the fire.*

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Vol. lxv, No. 3.

403. Sir William Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

Since my last of the third hereof I have received 2 letters from your Honour, the former directing my repair unto her Majesty's presence, the latter attending upon her Majesty's letter to the King. My answer to the former is that I receive exceeding great comfort by her Majesty's most gracious acceptance of my so slender travails and think myself bound unto you for the relation of so great a benefit. To the second, it is my great joy that I shall see her face whom all mine shall ever serve faithfully and whom my heart and soul commend daily to the throne of Grace. Only I must beseech you to put her Majesty in remembrance how far since her call necessity detains me from that duty. For first I cannot hope to be at Berwick before the 18th and I doubt of my ability to ride fast by the unaccustomed forbearance and ease which I have had here, having been loth needlessly to provoke this people to more vain speech of me by my riding abroad. Yet shall I use diligence to my best ability intending, if God will, to go to Falkland to-morrow for expedition sake; otherwise, I should have no great desire to be there now in the time of the French Ambassador's presence to make him and his eye-witnesses of so great difference made in entertainment of us two, so much this new friendship delights for the time and so curious observance as has been used to the French having seldom been seen here. But I hope her Majesty's letters will cause some better respect to be had unto me than has been since the last accident; especially no delaying of me from taking my leave. In which thing since my last letters I have found that Wednesday, which was the day by the Council required for my being at Falkland, the King was gone to St. Andrews to the Convention the day before.

By my last I certified you of 3 English ships taken by a pirate, the said ships then lying in the port of Crail, as also of my letters to the Lords for their relief, together with the answer thereto made by the King's letter written to myself. This letter I took occasion by my letter in answer to give the King thanks for, signifying unto his Highness that I would give her Majesty knowledge of his honourable disposition to do her subjects justice. Wherein I entreated his Majesty's favourable proceeding, advertising him more particularly of some things which his said letters seemed to mistake. And here I must crave pardon to relate this matter at more length, as wherein some portraiture of this Estate may be seen. And first I must remember that the points of my letters to the Lords were these: that the same pirate which had now brought these ships to Crail had in May last taken an English ship in the King's waters and being at that time dismissed by the King at unawares his Highness then said to me that if he had known so much he should have been executed for that fact; that the same pirate and his men might now be apprehended and answer for their former facts, and that the Englishmen might be set at liberty. To the said points the King's letter answers in effect that he will give me satisfaction, which promise has been thus performed.

For avoiding the suspected surprise mentioned in my former letters, finding it not fit to adventure Mr. Nicolson or any of my

servants, I joined covertly with Mr. Damon in employing a fit person to prosecute this cause and gave my advice likewise unto him how to follow it, besides my letters before mentioned sent to the King in answer of his, and the best means which I could procure for my part. Mr. Damon for his part made his repair to the Convention of the Burghs then in hand and laying before them the great inconvenience that must follow to all their merchants by such piracies committed and tolerated here upon the English and Hollanders, the Convention very readily addressed a discreet person to the King to inform him of their request for justice against the pirate. This motion from the Convention was coldly received (as it is interpreted) because the King is discontent with the burghs for standing so fast with the ministry. Hereupon Mr. Damon solicited the cause himself with the King, plainly affirming that the Hollander being taken on the King's water by a pirate and no Dunkirker, if he could not receive justice at his Majesty's hands, the Estates could not deny the offended parties remedy by reprisal. But the King reasons the matter against Damon with great favour to the pirate, who was even then in Falkland making his means in Court together with his complices of Crail. Which town besides that it has flatly disobeyed the Council's letters to apprehend the pirate and his men, does likewise both buy the goods and, under colour of mediation for the English to redeem them, are partakers of the benefit themselves.

To conclude, I am thus advertised by the person afore mentioned to have been employed, that the pirate was then presently dismissed with the King's privity and [had] taken the Hollander away with him into Orkney, where he means to take more fishers, Englishmen coming from Iceland (Island). For the English ships they are indeed dismissed but upon ransoms agreed upon, for which they have left as pledges some of their company in the town of Crail, not suffering any of them hitherto to come unto me. Now how well this agrees with the King's promise in his letter I will expostulate with him at my taking leave.

At this Convention at St. Andrews the Duke and his friends were so strong as the Treasurer and Secretary kept them away. And whereas there was expected some innovation in Church matters, as the erecting of a bishop, etc., there is nothing done but all put over to the next.

Cessford has employed himself at home to harken after Ashfeild, to make reconciliation with sundry of his own name and to call for the English pledges dismissed at my brother Harry's suit, the poor men being under his charges as then Keeper of Tynedale and merely unable to support the charge of lying there. And having procured the Lord Ochiltree, Sir George Home of Wedderburn, the laird of Fernieherst, the laird of Ayton and some others to become sureties for re-entry of the said pledges when they should be called for, that demand being now made, and that as I hear only of those men which became sureties for my sake, I have written to the English Wardens for relief in this matter for entry of these persons at the prefixed day, which if I cannot obtain my said brother must enter himself and for anything I know bear the mercy of my most malicious enemies; and then (but not before) I must make complaint not without some grief that so great travails in so good a way to have done well, if the Wardens had been so pleased,

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should yield so small benefit to the realm and to myself undeserved misliking. And yet I am somewhat comforted in that the only pledges at York with very little other general justice has kept the thieves in such ado as great quietness has ensued, except for some slaughters on the West, which nevertheless with good and timely pursuit might easily be redressed. Edinburgh, 9 July 1599. *Signed:* Willm. Bowes.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 9. **404.** INFORMATION FROM GEORGE MARSHALL.

Vol. lxv, No. 4.

Doctor Herries (Harryes) a Scotchman came from France through England and so to Berwick and being brought before my Lord Governor as the manner of that place is to all strangers he told his lordship he had been long out of his country but intended not to stay above the number of 10 or 12 days and then he would return towards France. Whereupon his lordship gave him leave to pass, but it seems his entertainment was such in the Scottish Court as he held not his first pretended determination, for at Whitsuntide when by occasion I was at Edinburgh with my Lord Ambassador I saw Doctor Herries attend upon the King as one in especial favour with his Majesty, having access to the King and Queen's chamber and speech with them both at his own pleasure. Whereupon I made inquiry of his return towards France and it was answered that his Majesty had made stay of him and it was thought he should return no more. In this manner I left him when the King removed from Edinburgh, since which time I saw him not till now in London and at her Majesty's Court at Greenwich.

For Hudson, he is a young man and one of the King's musicians, lives in the Court but in small esteem. He is an Englishman and at my being there his most attendance was about the Queen's chamber. I saw him not here but one in London told me that he saw him in London and that he was lately come from Scotland. Mr. Waineman told me of one other, whom I saw not, that he did know in the Scottish Court, which he did see here within these few days, whom he intends to stay if he can see him again, but his name I know not. *Undated. Signed:* Geo: Marshall.

1 *p. Holograph. Unaddressed. Endorsed:* "9 July 1599. Information given by George Marshall."

July 10. **405.** ADVERTISEMENTS FROM JOHN COLVILLE.

Vol. lxv, No. 5. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 197-199.

From Bruce the 10 hereof.

Three days before my arrival to Paris (which was the 5 hereof) did his man come from Spain and informs:

That he left the King at Barcelona being prayed to go thither by some citizens thereof who came to find him at Valencia. Their request was to have liberty to prepare 100 "galeres" under commandment of Barcelonians and not of Castilians with promise to be ready upon his "sold" when his service should require, providing they might be

permitted at other times to seek their fortune where best pleased them. And this is granted though his father would never consent hereunto. For which the King has got two hundred thousand ducats and the Marquis of Denia 30,000 to dress the matter with the King and they have lifted for this use six millions of ducats which they had on bank.

The 10 great galleons which were "beied" at St. Sebastian are gone to Ferrol where all the ships appointed for this navy should meet and the Italian "galeres" should meet at Cartagena in the Straits.

Prince Doria is attended every day with 18 "galeres" and the 10 "galees" of Naples which did convoy the Archduke and Infanta from Spain to Genoa are gone back to Naples of mind to return in haste with these of Sicilia and Messina to the number of 20 or 30 "galees."

They were in great business to disappoint the Hollanders and the "Lentado" appointed to attend on them.

He does as of before, notwithstanding all these preparations and fleeing bruits, assure that this year the Spaniard shall be able to do nothing in these parts, his reasons being the fearful plague which is among them; the year being far spent and neither the "galees" as yet come to places appointed nor a "bastant" army lifted; that the Marquis of Denia (who governed all) held opinion never to invade England so long as her Majesty lived; because, said he, she has her people under such obedience and commandment, such force by sea, so many trained soldiers, such fidelity in her Council, such wisdom and experience herself, that to invade her should be but "inutilly" to hazard their men and money, which with better hope might be reserved to a better time; and that he would advise the King ever to have treasure and shipping in readiness but never to invade till after her death, for then he might the more justly allege his title. Then both her Council, nobles and people should be distracted in divers opinions, some following one respect, some one other; and finding this rupture within their own bowels he might with assurance attack and be persuaded to import all with small danger.

The "Lentado" did affirm the contrary alleging the time to be most proper during her Majesty's life, because there were many just occasions of war to be alleged and great assistance of other princes to be expected against her, which neither could be alleged nor expected against any intrant, because (said he) she has done so many indignities both against the King and other "voisin" princes, being therewithal a Huguenot and under censure of the Holy Church. This debate was in May last at Madrid and the King seems to like the Marquis of Denia's advice best and even now Baptista de Taxis, Ambassador, conferring with Bruce hereupon said it was the best advice and such as the King must needs follow.

He has willed me promise in his name that he shall make a 3 months advertisement before they shall be able to attempt anything, in case any new resolutions intervene, *sed cum expostulatione.*

That Bothwell is much disgraced, yet they have no will to lose him, and he himself finding now his weakness for lack of good counsel

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is seeking to have some wise man of his own nation to govern his affairs; and he has set his mind on one of two whose names your Honour shall know at meeting.

For Scottish affairs.

He does assure that Glasgow had shown by writ both to the Spanish Ambassador Baptista and to the general that the King is Catholic Roman, and that it is so your Honour shall have a letter from one other of good credit; that if the Bishop's health will permit he will go home this year and sundry other pernicious persons be sent for by the King, as they give out their self to Bruce in secret, as one Friar Gray, Cordelier, one Campbell, Capuchin, and Mr. Jo: Fraser (Frissell), late rector of Paris, whose books for truth be already gone home with his servant called Ro. Manners.

Of some matters touching Monsieur de Bethune by word I shall inform your Honour because it were tedious to write all. *Unsigned.*

2¼ *pp. In Colville's handwriting. No address. Endorsed:* "From Bruce the 10 of July 1599."

July 17. **406.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxv, No. 6.

Forasmuch as the laird of Balwearie (Bawwery), the principal baron of Fife both in living and friendship and well given in religion, has a suit for a ship and goods taken at sea by Englishmen, which this gentleman James Colville and one John Kynnaird are soliciting for justice, I have thought it my duty to your Honour to acquaint you with the sufficiency of this honourable gentleman and likewise that you becoming his means for redress in his suit (if so it shall please your Honour) may thereby have and command him and by his means almost all Fife in anything here for her Majesty's service or your own particular so far as shall appertain. A matter of that worth and to be had only for advancement of justice, as I cannot let pass but commend it into your hands and choice. Edinburgh, 17 July 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

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

[1599,] July 17 / 27. **407.** MADAME HELENE HUE TO HER HUSBAND HERMAN HUE.

Vol. lxv, No. 7.

On personal and family affairs. Dated Mantes 27 July.

2¾ *pp. Holograph. French. Addressed:* "A Monsieur, Monsieur Herman Hue d'hostel de Monsieur de Bethune, embassadeur pour le Roy de France en Escoce." *No endorsement.*

July 28. **408.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 8.

In the time of Sir William Bowes's being here I did him the best offices I could, following him to Berwick to entreat him to commend my poor estate but so far as I may know of a stay to live on when there

shall be no use of my service, which once being I may then be bold to attempt that which now I may not, beseeching your Honour to accept in good part his dealing for me and to advance my poor suit, being also for her Majesty's ease of charge here.

On Thursday last I returned hither finding that James More, Tyrone's servant, and Cormack McKaye and Nele McGuye, McSorley's servants, had brought horse and hawks to the Court, one horse being said to have been won from the Earl of Essex or some of the greatest in his army, but I cannot learn their privy errands. Yet I hear they craved that the Islanders might have but the King's oversight to repair to and aid the rebels with their loose people, and the towns on the West to traffic with them for their supply of powder, lead and other necessaries, and they should before Christmas put out all the English and give pledges to acknowledge the King or his son the Prince at his choice, if he so pleased, their right and natural prince. Sir George Elphinstone is the man to whom these were directed and that entertains them and their errand between them and the King. There is horse and hawks sent to him, I hear, and McSorley has sent the Queen a horse which by reason that he is hurt is not yet come to her. I hear McSorley is to come to the King very quietly, either to Inchmurrin (Inchmeren), Dumbarton or Glasgow, as also that Tyrone meant to have come but that upon Ashfeild's going away he apprehended a fear. I have heard he said that if he had spoken the King and that the King would be advised by him, it should be worth 100,000*l.* to the King. These "propine" bearers "lightly" our army in Ireland as not respecting them, telling their news in great glory to their own advantage for their best credit here. These matters I write but as I have heard, referring the certainty to better knowledge. More is returned to Glasgow and McSorley's man to follow and so to be gone.

On the 15 hereof 3 galley boats of the Glens in Ireland, fraught well with musketeers (McSorley's men) approaching suspiciously the coast near Ayr, the town and country fearing their intents manned ships and forced them to yield and so brought and put them in prison in Ayr, but finding no act done they were dismissed, whereupon they began to spoil the country. Which the town and country seeing apprehended and imprisoned them again. Yet by the town's order or King's they were again freed and put to the sea and so departed. 2 galleys more came in the end to the 3. They were 140 musketeers. What it meant I know not, yet I hear they came to have apprehended either the evidences of the Glens being kept in Islay in Ballynaughton (Balle-naughten) or to have got certain cattle that Angus MacConnell's bastard promised his repudiate wife now with McSorley, and that being disappointed of both and a mist carrying them wrong they fell on that coast and purposed only there to have victualled themselves. Always those parts doubted them to have been Spaniards and were at an instant 6000 men to have resisted them.

Angus MacConnell and his bastard son are still prisoners here and his son Sir James prisoner at Falkland. He has sent for Huntly to come to relieve him and looks for him. He came in upon the King's and sundry Councillors' warrant to come and go safe as I hear. MacLean

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was so laboured for to come in, yet excuses and keeps out, as the whole Isles are but obedient as they are good for themselves to avoid the worst.

Now the Prior of Blantyre is in his own place in Session and he and the Treasurer and Secretary with the Duke and Chancellor have feasted kindly together as the fears of troubles that way are now ceased and done and all well. My Lord of Mar has been very earnest to have had his action in Sessions against the laird of Calder called, but for all his mean was frustrate, as he is now scarce well pleased with the Chancellor and some others of the Session minding to cast bones amongst them. I am in great secret told that the Chancellor at this Convention intends to yield up his office to the Duke upon considerations between themselves. Yet his son is sent for of a purpose in the Chancellor to have resigned it to him. But these things are so uncertain and all their doings so changeable as it is not to write of intents nor of anything here till it be first done. And therefore these to the sequel.

The Master of Glamis is here like to do for himself. Every man doubts he will work some changes, for he is of that spirit and wants neither wit nor power. Only the King's evil will to him has been his hindrance. Yet he is ever a player amongst them at the best games here.

The French Ambassador is exceedingly well entertained by the King who takes him with him to Stirling, Hamilton, Glasgow, Inchmurrin and the rest this "grease" time to show him his hunting sports. He is a papist, yet so discreet as he will not suffer any Scotsmen to hear his masses and uses them to himself and own train. For his errands they are wonderful secret, not known to the Council nor any but to the King and Secretary, and the great secrets, if there be any, not yet opened to them neither, as is thought, as therefore I can say nothing of them. I am told he is to deal for licence of a legate to come from Rome and an Ambassador from Spain hither to solicit by the King's means a general peace through Christendom, but I cannot say what truth is in it. The Duke is in election to be sent to France, for which some charge is like to be imposed on the burghs and country. The old league will be renewed in best sort; for here is nothing but joy of the 2 Kings' liking and loves together.

William Hunter is labouring to be agent in London for the Scots merchants and to have allowance of them for that purpose. His speed will now shortly appear at the Convention of the Burghs I hear.

The King is of mind to send some to her Majesty anent Ashfeild's matter (which some would dissuade him from). Who it shall be, I know not. But Sir William Bowes escaped very well and I must needs praise God for my escape also. Yet the King and Council were clear, for it was only the rage of the people. If my Lord Willoughby had not taken good part and showed himself resolved and honest Sir William had not (I more than suspect) escaped as he did, my Lord wants not here his part of their privy and greatest displeasure, as he might perhaps have found if he had been here.

The Session is this day broken up and the Convention at Falkland to end on Tuesday next; after which till the General Assembly at

1599. Montrose (Monross) the first Tuesday in October the time will be calm and dead, the King being in the meantime to attend his sports of hawking and hunting. At this Convention Angus is to be established with allowance of entertainment or some other Lieutenant of the West for quieting that Border and doing us justice. But the certainty to the end of the Convention, which I shall, God willing, attend then. Edinburgh, the 28 of July 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Inserted in this letter: Sir Thomas Erskine, Beltries or Mr. David Foulis are to be sent to her Majesty anent Ashfeild (I hear if they send about it). I am told that the King makes account that if her Majesty charge him with anything anent Ashfeild, wherein for him he is clear he says and cares not what be said, he has as great and many matters to reason on between her Majesty or some for her, and some of his rebels still entertained with their practices. I am told that Cl. (Your Honour) is now of late come far in 16. (King of Scots) displeasure and dislike. Whether it be true or not or what may be the cause I know not. W (Nicholson) will try this as far as he can. 16. (K. of Scots) has strange intelligence out of ⑫ (England) sometimes.

Seeing these Irish courses continue here I am under condition to give one 40*l.* by year in monthly payment, after the rate, to watch them and see what may fall in our hands by that means. If your Honour please and like it I humbly beseech your answer and mind therein at your best next leisure.

2¼ *pp. Holograph with address. The decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil. Seal (crushed). Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

[1599,] Aug. 1. **409.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 9. I have this long time past attended some good resolution from her Majesty concerning myself, which now by letters I have received from Mr. Hudson, by the which I understand her pleasure, which although it be not so comfortable to me as I expected, yet I do not despair but upon some further good occasion her Highness may be moved to have better consideration of my long service and enable a willing mind to continue the same, who will hazard his life and all he has for her cause. But now, Sir, if I shall be constrained for want of mean to leave my place and service and to withdraw myself to some quiet life, which I will be "constreitt" to do if there be no better consideration had of me, then all is lost I have done and I unable to serve hereafter. I have tasted of your Honour's kind care of me, which you shall never have cause to regret. Howsoever the world go with me the ground of all my hope is to discharge the duty of an honest man, which I shall ever profess to you to discharge in all dutiful sort as appertains. Wishing you many happy days. Falkland, the first of August. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Primo Aug."

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410. George Nicolson to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxv, No. 10.

On Monday last I went over the water to try the truth of what I wrote your Honour in my last of the 28 hereof [*sic*] that I had heard here. Finding by McSorley's letter to a courtier which was showed me that McSorley had sent the horses and hawks and not Tyrone, and that only for a token of his duty to the King and Queen and not for practice but to increase the King's love to him for his advantage and help to Angus MacConnell's lands and the 20*l*. land the King gave him when he knighted him, hearing nothing at the Court of any of Tyrone's men being there, yet my informer still affirms it, yet I doubt of the truth of his information and see no reason to approve such information. Always because the report was and is that these "propines" came as well from Tyrone as McSorley, I showed the Secretary the reports and the just suspicion that might be conceived thereon and wished him to move the King to declare the truth of the matters by some means to her Majesty. Who said he should do so and learn the truth of the King and advertise it me. I also moved some sure Councillors to the same effect, who also promised to deal with the King, as I hope for something from the King in it, as also for more discovery of the truth of these matters carried with the King by Sir Geo: Elphinstone. Yesterday morn news came to an Irish physician that on Tuesday "sennett" the Earl of Essex and Tyrone had fought, that Tyrone had lost 2500 good men and my Lord Deputy 4000; that it began at 8 in the forenoon and lasted till seven at night; that both sides gave it over and my Lord Deputy retired to Sligo, and that Tyrone followed him to give him new and sudden assault but what was further done he heard not.

The French Ambassador was so sick as of a sudden and in all haste a surgeon and a physician were sent for to him on Saturday night last [*in margin:* this bad people said he was poisoned], but he is blooded and out of peril. For his errands they remain still secret, yet I hear it for certain he has showed the King that her Majesty should be agreeing with Spain; that the French King is suspicious over it and that there should be some emulation between her Majesty and the French King and some motion to the King thereupon made by this Ambassador for preventing all doubts by other friendships to be made by them, but I cannot believe the last part nor what I wrote before concerning the motion of such Ambassador to be dealt for for leave this way. He stays not now so long as he meant nor goes further than Stirling and so departs within one month and he pretends through England.

I dealt with the King anent the West Borders, wishing him to take extraordinary and special order for the West Border, showing if he did not all would go wrong [*in margin:* I dealt with the Chancellor to this effect the 16 of the last, whereon proclamation was made he told me] for I said his borderers bragged and said he would have war with us and they would be aforehand. He said his labour had been to order it, that he had committed to ward the principal commanders and would see such order taken therein as we should not complain and

1599. that himself would go in person after his hunting upon these bad knaves to that effect, willing so to certify; as also that in the meantime he should give straiter charge to the Earl of Angus to be careful for her Majesty's contentment and the quietness with us; raging mightily against his broken borderers, saying they were false, lying, debased villains and that he should hang them for it. And the Earl promises me to do us good justice and keep good order and rule towards us, complaining very sore, as he has good cause, of the mighty disorders and brokenness of that country; saying to me that if her Majesty urge and move for delivery of the offenders, as he be so directed by the King he shall do it, as also all other good offices he can to preserve the peace and deserve well of her Majesty. [*In margin:* The Lord Maxwell is now to be out of the Secretary's charge and to be with the Lord Hamilton in ward.] At this Convention the King has warded the Lord Herries in Tantallon with my Lord of Angus, Drumlanrig at Blackness with my Lord Livingstone, and Johnstone with the Duke in Dumbarton. Yet Johnstone is overturing for the Wardenry and is the meetest in that country for it and I hope shall get it. For unless he, Buccleuch or Sir John Carmichael, I see none fit for it. My Lord of Angus is to have the place till Michaelmas, as the bad men knowing that (he thinks) will the less care for him, thinking if they can escape and hold from him till then, they need not fear him; but that agreeing with the next to be appointed they shall do well enough after their old shifts, as his lordship prays that if his deeds do not fully answer his true meaning, yet he may not be misdeemed by her Majesty. This he has said to me in secret, wishing that I would move the King to appoint the place to be without charge to him or some else, as such excuses should not be.

Here is word in this town that on Friday last the English borderers of the west came in to Closeburn, spoilt the country and slew 6 Scotsmen. And here is also word that on Monday night 400 of the Batesons and other broken men of this country rode into England to Gilsland to take all the men and goods they could get; but these to the Warden's report, assuring your Honour there will be too many outlaws, unless all be better looked to on both sides.

For Ashfeild's matter I see the King is of mind to send the laird of Beltries with a letter to her Majesty concerning his mind therein, and that he hears of the agreement in hand with Spain. After his return he intends to send an Ambassador as he shall be thereon occasioned. Beltries is plain and honest and by means of Sir Geo: Elphinstone, whose sister he married, he may do good offices. The King is of purpose to have a continual "ledger" in England also. To-morrow William Hunter's employment gets allowance or disallowance among the merchants who are earnestly laboured by the King to yield to give William allowance that he may attend their affairs at London.

The Convention at Falkland ended on Tuesday night or rather yesterday morning. In it a great motion was made for the raising of money, viz. silver from 5*s*. 4*d*. to 6*s*. the ounce, gold from 3*l*. 4*s*. to 3*l*. 12*s*. sterling the ounce. The Chamber and that side laboured it,

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but Mar's side stayed it in Council as it is referred to certain Commissioners to see first whether it [is] meet or not to be done, according to which it is like to be set down or stayed. The Secretary in the Convention Council prevailed and has got that he is to have a register for every shire of certain writs to be made which were before some registered and some not and an allowance of every of them, as it is judged it will be 1000*l.* sterling by year to him. These things are like to bring the King in greater and greater hatred with his people who are already too far malcontent with the courses of the Chamber as almost the nobility and good Councillors are, as some day it cannot choose but breed a mischief here. The Duke was advertised, I hear, that the Chancellor was content that the Duke should hear that he could be content to resign his office to the Duke to see if the Duke would deal with him therein for it. But the Duke distrusts his meaning and will not take any such knowledge, neither see I how it can be true. The Session being broken the Council are all gone abroad but appointed to convene and keep residence here again, whereof some of the Council themselves see little appearance. Yesterday the King began his buck hunting which he will end he told me the sooner to repair to the Borders for ordering all matters there. Edinburgh the 2nd of August 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. I do still humbly beseech your Honour that I may by your goodness receive some relief at her Majesty's hands for my encouragement in her service and my comfort when I shall be old. For when I shall be past service if I have nothing of her Majesty the world will judge I have either not deserved but committed some monstrous fault or that I have foolishly lost the advantage, which will be to both my grief and shame, which for God's cause I beseech your Honour to consider with compassion towards me.

Yesterday there was in this town a great fight between the Earl of Crawford's followers and the Master of Glamis his. In which were of the parties about 30 but none slain, as that quarrel is quickened again, my Lord Ogilvy (Ogleby) being now on the Master's side against Crawford.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 12. **411.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 11.

Lest your Honour think me negligent I have thought it my duty to advertise you that Mr. James Sempill is with the King taking his dispatch for England and so to take journey from hence about Wednesday next. His employment is drawn on by the Secretary and Chamber who only know his errands, the other side of the Council knowing little thereof. I yet hear for certain he carries letters to her Majesty in mild and pleasant form touching the gratuity and Mr. Ashfeild, the King's good usage of Sir William Bowes (as they call it) for her Majesty's cause, and with discoveries of some secrets; all to please her Majesty for getting the gratuity and his honour (as he terms it) repaired anent Ashfeild. For these purposes I hear his employment is for certain,

but as yet he nor none of that side has acquainted me with so much as his going. I heard that Sir Robert Kerr labours to have been employed and had been but that the King thought her Majesty would neither have accepted him nor allowed the King's discretion therein. What Sir Robert meant by this, if thus he meant, as I am credibly told he did, I cannot judge.

The French Ambassador is now well and hunts with the King who takes him with him on Tuesday from Falkland to Stirling and so to Inchmurrin and back by Hamilton to hunt and feast with him. After he departs by sea about yet a month hence with the Scots merchants that go to Bordeaux. I hear he has indeed offered to renew the league for the Scots guard and men of arms to be about the King, that it is to be accepted and the Duke to be chief commander of them, and the laird of Wemyss his lieutenant and depute; that the Bishop of Glasgow is to have commission sent him for this effect that the Ambassador has dealt in his favour, that he is to be restored by Parliament to be hasted for the purpose, and the Duke to gather and pay him all the duties of the bishopric during his life, and after to have it to himself. Therefore the Duke seeks for his restoring. By this means the King's sending into France and that charge shall not need. The King still hears that the League is articled and agreed unto by her Majesty and sent for the King of Spain's consent thereto; that this is carried by the Cardinal and their agreement now looked for. This puts them here still to their studies. The King entertains most kindly the French Ambassador. The ministers first by message in humble sort moved the King to take order with the French Ambassador that though he used his papistical prayers and masses, yet that he might not use his sacrifices, being against the laws of the country; that the King answered he could not with courtesy forbid him, being an Ambassador, saying he would not stay long and that he would have him as fain gone as they. On Tuesday last this presbytery wrote to the King in humble sort to this effect and sent Mr. David Lindsay to the King therewith. But what answer he has is not yet come till Tuesday again. The ministers have so solicited the King as my Lord Livingstone is charged to remove his wife, the excommunicate, from the King's daughters, as she must either recant or my Lord and she leave that charge, which may happily fall in the good Mistress of Ochiltree's hands. I certified you of the great malcontents here. They drive off but no whit diminish. What may in time come thereof when their devices to furnish the King's wants and their own that now are guiders must be urged upon the country as is shortly by some one or other device to be, for their wants are great and will not long suffer delay of supply, I cannot say but leave to the sequel.

[*In margin:* Here are news that Tyrone's son is taken and many come in to my Lord Deputy. Yet it gets no such favourable and frank report as ill news do.]

Ciiij dealt with the King plainly anent the propines come out of Ireland and the speeches here that Tyrone shall have sent to him and the unmeetness for the King to have any intelligence with those rebels. The King says he has no dealings with them against her Majesty nor

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had no messages from Tyrone but only from McSorley, who seeks to be his subject, and that he gave leave to a gentleman to send into Ireland for hawks; but neither had nor would have dealings with any of her Majesty's rebels anyway to her prejudice. Angus's son (Sir James) is still a prisoner. The King takes 700 (?)* mark lands from him and looks that the possessors will come to Dumbarton to him, 18 hereof, to take these lands in feu of the King and not deal with Sir James. In like sort the King means to pull the rest of the Islanders as he may, which will yet breed troubles there. The Scots broken borderers ride mightily among themselves and near this town, as the borderers are still in evil case. Yet Angus is gone in good mind to help it. Thus your Honour sees the disorder of this Estate. Edinburgh, 12 August 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

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

Aug. 14. **412. KING JAMES VI TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.**

Vol. lxv, No. 12.

Although occasions were presented to us meriting our more speedy interpellation in a matter which so far concerns us, yet we resolved rather to furnish patience in our delay than to write till first we had searched the grounds and found the assured truth of the whole matter. And next that we had occasion to lay the same before your eyes even whenas your Ambassador were present to bear record to the verity of that which we should report therein. Therefore (though slowly) we have directed James Sempill of Beltries, our servant, instructed with the true estate of that whole accident and circumstances thereof, as by just trial we have carefully learnt, expecting of you according to your letter that such a course be taken therein as may belong to honour and justice, and that we may be acquitted of any imputation which thereby may appear to any person to rest upon us, either to our disgrace or to the show of violation of any point of that common amity, which we have ever holden so dear, and that by such a mean as if our case were your own you would upon the bygone proofs of our friendly deserts assuredly look for at our hands and what we have in this or other purposes committed to the sufficiency of the bearer it will please you with favourable countenance to credit on our behalf. And so, right high, right excellent and mighty Princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commend you to God and His holy protection. At Falkland, the 14th of August 1599. *Signed:* Your most loving & affectionate brother & cousin, James R. *Countersigned:* Elphinstone.

1 *p. Addressed. Placard seal missing. Endorsed:* "14 August 1599. King of Scotts to her Majesty by Mr. Semple."

[1599,] Aug. 16. **413. JEREMY LINDSAY TO JOHN COLVILLE.**

Vol. lxv, No. 13. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 199, 200.

Your wife has taken the sea against my will, for I thought she should have stayed till your next advertisement. But she would not

* In fact took for the Crown 60 merk lands about Dunnyveg and set to Sir James in feu-farm 300 merk lands in Isla at 40*s.* each yearly, he to pay his father 1000 merks *per annum.* (*Reg. P.C. of Scotland*, VI, 24-5.)

1599. be stayed since she understood that ye desired her to come. If it had pleased her to have tarried any longer she should have been welcome so long as we had anything to ourself. The bearer can tell you all particulars. Mr. James Sempill is directed towards London to supply Mr. Foulis's place. I hope we shall not find so many tales as before. The gentleman is very courteous and will employ himself in better services. Therefore I pray you as I have done before to eschew all kind of occasions that may make you be spoken of here, for if this gentleman shall be compelled to speak as his predecessor did it will do you and your friends more evil nor anything that has been spoken before. Therefore I pray you to think upon this and do that we have not cause to remember you any more on this matter. From the Pannis this 16 of August. *Signed:* Jeremie Lindsay.

Postscript. I pray you haste Thomas back again Martinmas because I have sundry things to do with him then.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. No endorsement.*

Aug. 17. **414.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 14. My Lord Secretary very kindly has acquainted me with the laird of Beltries's employment, who this night sets forwards from hence with James, Sir George Elphinstone's brother, and Mr. David Wardlaw, the Secretary's servant, with him. His lordship told me he was the means that this his friend had this employment and does it in hope of your Honour's favour to be showed him for his sake. For his errands they are for the gratuity, anent Ashfeild and what was here done in it (without any complaint at all), with referring the matter for repair of the King's honour as her Majesty pleases, who knows as well as any prince what belongs [to] the honour of princes, &c.; and anent the hunting accident for trial thereof at her Majesty's pleasure, &c. And withal he will advertise her Majesty the truth of his dealings in Irish matters and the French Ambassador's errands and satisfy her in all her conceits or reports made her of anything he can as the King himself will do by him or me or any at her Majesty's pleasure in anything. [*In margin:* Anent that of Sir Ro: he is to excuse the King.] The laird shall not [*sic*] be able to do either anent Sir Ro: Kerr's advancement or anything else and that truly and faithfully and with all speed as he shall understand her Majesty's pleasure. For the gentleman he is of honourable and English descent as my letter with him to you will show, very honest, plain, wise and religious, I can assure you of my own knowledge, and very careful to show himself a good instrument for the preservation of the happy amity and increasing of the love between the princes. The Secretary and Chamber faction are the means that he is employed. They are strong and rule and will rule all, for the King favours them very strangely and this gentleman also; as if her Majesty give him gracious acceptance and good speed, the King and they all will ever be bound to her and run her courses here as all will be at her devotion for the good of her service so far as they all can advance it, and that now with their own seeking and purging themselves of all things to her great honour. I wish her Majesty the advantage thereof

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upon this opportunity at this time now accounted so dangerous, as I have thought it my part in my mere love and duty thus to advertise it unto you, leaving all others to the gentleman's report. And thus much for this matter.

Here is now apparently too certain news of the Spaniards landing in Ireland with 14,000 men and of more yet to come for other place, and that shortly, with which now when it proves in earnest I see no great contentment here.

For the news in this Estate all is quiet, blessed be God. The King rode but yesterday (if then) to Stirling and the French Ambassador with him, who takes small pleasure in being here. On Tuesday Mr. David Lindsay reported the King's answer to the presbytery, that the King had spoken the French Ambassador and could not try that he had the mass or sacrifices but prayers in his house; that he was to hunt with him and leave his priest and now to haste away; that he had craved the King's leave for another Ambassador to reside here; that the King showing him the disposition of the people had therefore willed he should be of the Religion and no papist that the French King should send.

The Lord Maxwell crept quietly to Dumfries when he should have gone to his ward, which bred suspicion of troubles that way here. But his friends chid him as he is gone I hear to my Lord Hamilton to ward. Cessford is at home now, not well pleased with the Court because his courses were not followed, nor the Court pleased with him. He is so peremptory. This I hear and believe, as if her Majesty made fair weather with the King at this time, the storm may fall on Cessford. He would have had Mr. Ashfeild commended as the King's domestic servant. But the Secretary saying it was not meet, for that that was all the extraordinary favour the King would give for the credit of his own, it was denied.

William Hunter is denied at the merchants' hands, yet labours his said employment. Beltries had set forwards on Tuesday but that that day the Collector was at the marriage of the Master of Lindsay and the Lord Oliphant's sister, as money was not to be had for charges. This much for the present. Edinburgh, 17 August 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. I hope Beltries shall give her Majesty satisfaction in many things, for so the King would have it and the laird will endeavour it, for he means very well.

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

Aug. 17. **415.** JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 15. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 200-1.

Such advice as I had yesternight from Mr. Lok by his wife I enclose, having a long discourse to make touching the French Ambassador whom I find very well affected to this Estate, which I know not only by conference with himself but by one that is in bosom. Within these three days he desired me to get a packet of letters conveyed to Monsieur de Bethune to Scotland but I told him they could no way go

so safely nor speedily as by your Honour's means, which he said to me he would solicit. Of before I showed your Honour of one Englistead that went a month ago to Count Maurice for the matter of Gravelines, whose long abode makes the party beyond sea think that Count Maurice has embraced the matter. But as more certainty shall come, your Honour shall be informed.

The stay of my nephew grieved me much but in that he does not write at all unto me I attend him daily with some good matter, knowing our Scottish Court never to be so quiet as it is but when they have some "snaik stone." *Quand le meschant dort, le diable le bersse.*

To conclude, Right Honourable, I her Majesty's poor Mardocaius, lying before her gate, am ashamed thus to be idle in a time so full of affairs, but I will patiently attend till by your favourable means I may be set to work. So being afraid to "impesche" your great affairs I remain your poor bedeman ever in humility ready and obliged to serve your Honour. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

This 17 of August 1599.

They that come from Scotland within these two days show that there has been a fray betwixt the Earl Crawford and Master [of] Glamis's servants in Edinburgh, and that all is quiet outwardly.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To my Lord, my Lord Secretary's Honour." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, 17 Aug. Mr. Colvylle to my master. Letter from Mr. Locke."

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Henry Lok to John Colville.)

Vol. lxv, No. 15[1]. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 293-4.

This is the third letter that since departure I wrote unto you, which if they had all arrived had not yet rested unanswered. But now not doubting of this, I pray you inform me particularly of your success with the Earl or merchant, of the acceptance of the offers you carried from Paris and of the cause that I never heard word from Frater, which I assure you in staying in places for them and sending to harken after them has stood me in near 40 crowns besides my greater disappointment than you could think. Especially let me know of your estate and wherein one of us may comfort other. I am in haste yet loth to leave too soon. I pray you salute the good brotherhood at Boulogne and honest Mr. Nicolson and pray for me who am tired here since here is no occasion worth my stay like to fall out this year and I am altogether solitary. If I could do good nearer you I would you could procure my return to you and ever I pray you wish to me as I do to you. From Bayonne this 22 June, 1599. *Signed:* Henry Lok.

Postscript. If you write to me cover your letter to Francis Lambert, English merchant at Bayonne. There from Rouen (Rone) weekly letters pass hither. Else deliver it to Thomas Honiman, merchant in London, or else Alderman More for me, as soon as you can for I long to hear from you.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To his loving brother, Mr. John Colvil, at the Pot de Estaingne at Bolong or elsewhere with speed." *Seal.*

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416. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 31. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 201.

Yesternight my nephew is arrived with direct answer from the party to the heads given him and with some other information and letters from other friends that will show how the King and Court be occupied. I do only enclose a letter from George Nicolson attending your pleasure to call on us for my nephew is urged to haste and so I hope you will think expedient after hearing of him. This Sunday early. *Signed:* Jo: Colville.

½ *p. Holograph, with address:* "To my Lord, my Lord Secretary's Honour." *Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "August 1599. Mr. John Colvill to my master."

Aug. 21. **417.** JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 16. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 201-2.

I have herewith enclosed such matter as I could collect of my nephew, wishing to know your pleasure. We did attend all yesterday and this day about your lodging but were afraid to importune your Honour, choosing rather to attend your leisure. So I humbly take my leave. This morning the 21 of August 1599. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

¼ *p. Holograph, with address:* "To my Lord, my Lord Secretary's Honour." *Seals. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, 21 Aug. Mr. Colvyll to my master. Collection of Scottish advices brought him by his nephew."

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Colville's advertisement.)

Vol. lxv, No. 16[1]. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 202-4.

Advertisement by my nephew the 18 August, 1599.

Mr. Constable and the laird Bonyton came conjunctly in commission from the Pope to the King and have offered for the first to him a hundred thousand crowns for lifting guards with two millions to entertain his wars how soon he shall publish liberty of conscience and denounce [wars] with England; and of all these sums a fund is laid and showed to the King how they shall be collected.

Item, the Pope promises to him by the foresaid the concurrence of all Catholic princes with assurance of a contribution of 20,000 pounds sterling more from the Catholics of England and the service of 20,000 Englishmen how soon he shall show himself against the Queen and on this head Constable promises largely.

The King by word and promise has accepted their offers and Constable goes by Denmark (where he is amply recommended) to the Pope with the King's Great Seal thereupon.

The laird of Bonyton and one Mr. Alexander McQuhirrie, Jesuit, (who is arrived from Rome since the coming home of Bonyton) shall return back with Monsieur de Bethune, Ambassador, and shall inform Glasgow and the Pope's Nuncio of all. And Bonyton shall furnish a ship laden with "quhyit" as if she went only for merchandise, which ship shall go to Spain and there shall receive the first payment with some priests' books and other popish furniture.

With Constable and Bonyton did Glasgow write to the King that if he would not now embrace the Pope's offers the Pope would never again know him but would assist some other competitor to his prejudice; and this advice which Glasgow did send (like as all the advices he does send concerning this matter) comes from Scotland from the President who is instrument for all the Scottish league and he it is that makes Glasgow to project things to the King that be impertinent to himself to propone, as if they were proponed by the King's friends abroad.

The more to illude the King it is said by the forenamed commissioners that the Pope of all Christian princes does affect him most for his learning and pure life and that by his advice the Pope can be content to reduce the Church to that estate it was into five hundred years ago. In this the King does not a little glory. Again the Pope calls him the heir of a martyr called by God to punish a heretic queen [?, *erased*] and confederate with the Turk.

They have desired the Abbey of New Abbey on the West Border to be a retreat to such as for their conscience shall flee out of England, which the King promises to do connivently.

Item, Monsieur de Bethune though he pretend no errand but from the King his master to visit the King of Scotland for entertaining the old amity betwixt the two nations, yet he is as earnest to persuade the King to embrace the Pope's offers as Bonyton or Constable is and his persuasion shall prove of no small importance; for whereas of before the King had promised to the Pope and to other Catholics in France (as to the Guisards), yet in respect he did afterwards deny the said promises and did somewhat to the contrary (as in the beheading of Fentry), therefore his sincerity was much suspected with them. But now de Bethune has taken on him to put the Nuncio and all his friends in France out of doubt and Constable has promised to do as much at Rome.

Sanquhar (Saquhir) is rotting and all that he pretended was but collusion.

As to the estate of Scotland the King is much offended with the Ministry, chiefly with Bruce and Melville. Yet they think to make some friendship in case the King utter his partiality and by means of Blantyre, Morton, Cassillis and Lindsay they are devising to send for Argyll and Gowrie if they could get any secret assurance of favour here. Wherein Mr. Bruce has communicated with Sir William Bowes as your Honour may perceive by one of my letters. Otherways he had written to myself for the same effect.

How it does stand betwixt the King and Queen and what she has in head, please your Honour receive by the parties' information verbal.

Mr. Ja. Sempill of Beltries is to come for the King's gratuity, with which sundry of your enemies should be comforted, specially Bonyton.

The musters and provision of arms made in Scotland be all preparatives against you and the King having money does think that he can have out of his own and your country so many men as will serve his turn.

The party's opinion how to "impesch" him shall be by mouth declared.

The King's pedigree which is collected by himself in manner brought with the party and prefixed to the answer made by Mr. Dixon unto Mr. Cecil's book against the King shall be joined to the Red Lion in the King's great standard.

Item, the King's great familiarity with the Jesuit who arrived with de Bethune breeds great suspicion and malcontentment.

4 *pp. In John Colville's hand. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, 18 Aug. Advices of the negotiations of Mr. Constable and the L. Bonyton with the Scottish King from the Pope."

Aug. 22. **418.** LETTERS OF ARRESTMENT BY KING JAMES VI AGAINST THE SHIPPING OF HULL.

Vol. lxv, No. 17.

To our sheriffs in all parts conjointly and severally. "Forsamekill" as it is shown to us by Alexander Brown, merchant burgess of our burgh of Edinburgh, that where he having lately bought within the country of Flanders certain muskets with the "bandrellis" and other furnishings thereto of purpose to have brought and transported the same to our realm and to have sold the same to the officers and servants of our house and being on their journey home in the road and harbour of Hull true it is that the officers of that town by the command and direction of the magistrates thereof took and "intromettit" with the said armour and noways would render and deliver the same again but still keep and detain the same most "wranguslie" against all law and justice; our will is therefore and we charge you straitly and command that incontinent these our letters seen in our name and authority ye arrest all and whatsoever ships, crews or vessels of any of the inhabitants of the town of Hull lying at whatsoever harbour or port of our realm and that ye take the sails thereof, wherethrough they noways depart but to remain under arrestment aye and till redress and restitution be made to the said Alexander of the foresaid armour according to justice. Given under our signet and subscribed with our hand at Stirling, the 22 day of August 1599 and of our reign the 33 year.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "The King's letter for arresting all ships of Hull; containing Sanders Browne's complaint. Stirling, 22 August 1599."

Aug. 23. **419.** JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 18. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 205.

I am bold to enclose such other letters as my nephew did bring, one from my son-in-law, one from the principal party and one from Mr. Ja: Murray, subscribing "Phenix," who is well known to her Majesty, but I was sore afraid to send that letter, because it makes report of some of the King's passionate and malicious words, which should not be thought upon, much less repeated. Alway your Honour will excuse your servant to render as he receives with all fidelity. The pedigree

1599. and sundry other matters that be longsome to write I remit till I have the honour to know your mind for dispatch of the young man. This 23 from London. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To my Lord, my Lord Secretary's Honour." *Seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, 23 Aug. Mr. Colvyll to my master. Letters from his son-in-law and Mr. James Murray."

Aug. 25. **420**. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 19. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 205-6.

Yesternight is arrived Mr. Ja. Sempill and a two days before one Mr. Ja. Stewart, brother to the Earl of Orkney, having with him a very evil affected person called Manners, who was about a year ago servant to Mr. Fraser, late rector of Paris, your mortal enemy. I know the said Manners was sent home for no good offices and he is come hither as I understand without passport, wherein the bearer can inform more amply. For that my nephew may not long stay I am bold yet to importune your Honour that I may know your mind therein, being myself near by to attend your pleasure. This 25 of August. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To my Lord, my Lord Secretary's Honour." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, Aug. 25. Mr. Colvile to my master."

Aug. 26. **421**. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 20. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, No. 20.

By your answer does appear that your Honour is somewhat grieved with my insecrecy and "hant" with the French Ambassador and that I cannot remain here without the King's offence. For answer whereof God and my conscience bear me record I never did or shall do anything that may justly offend your Honour. As for secrecy I must confess I am neither endowed with that nor no other good quality but with much imperfection. And as for the French Ambassador I believe he has understood by me more nor ever he did of the King's behaviour and ingratitude to her Majesty and upon this subject was the most talk that ever we had. As to the King's displeasure I have his ample passport undischarged and it is well known that never one had or has his displeasure but your friends. If I should say I did first lose his kindness for the same cause I should neither lie nor vaunt. Notwithstanding rather or her Majesty should be obnoxious for such a worm as I am, with all my heart I shall seek my fortune in some other place where I may live with safe conscience, only beseeching your Honour for your natural humanity, since I am resolved whithersoever I go to be a faithful Englishman, that your pleasure may be to mean my woeful estate to her Highness, and so having your passport with her Majesty's misericord I shall not be long a doing. For my nephew's affair if it be thought "inutile" he also receiving your Honour's passport shall return. Thus with the sorrowfullest heart that ever I had I take my leave

James VI.
1599. humbly craving your answer. This 26 of August 1599. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To my Lord, my Lord Secretary's Honour." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 26. **422.** JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 22. Being directed [for] certain his Highness's affairs towards her Majesty I will most earnestly entreat your Honour that I may be made partaker of that gracious favour which she has been accustomed to vouchsafe on others his Highness's servitors in like cases of before as to know (by your advertisement) at what time it may best please her Majesty that I deliver such credit as I have in charge, which I will most diligently observe. London, 26 Aug. 1599. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 26. **423.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 23. It may please your Honour to be advertised of the arrival of Mr. James Sempill of Beltries who is addressed from the King towards her Majesty. His humble request is that you will be pleased to procure her pleasure when he may have access to her. The gentleman is of a very mild and good disposition and in good favour with the King and inclined to do good offices to his best power. But because the gentleman will make known his own desire by his own letter I will break off my boldness. *Undated. Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, 26 Aug. Mr. Hudson to my master."

Aug. 26. **424.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 21. This gentleman who should have come in April last only for money (as I wrote from Scotland) has now for a preface the matter of Ashfeild to handle and to assay what favour with her Majesty and your Honour he can procure for their Secretary who is the only cause of his employment and his ground and chief affair is to get money into his own greedy custody. This young gentleman is of himself a good youth but of small experience or sight. Abroad he is linked in with the faction of the Chamber and is brother-in-law to Sir George Elphinstone and so one of that number whereof the Secretary is the head. As for himself, Sir George Home, Sir Robert Kerr, Sir Robert Melville, both Sir George Elphinstone, Sir David Murray and all this company, because I have already described them to your Honour divers times I will leave that and all other things concerning them to your wisdom and good pleasure.

This gentleman hopes her Majesty will give occasion to speak of

Ashfeild and thereupon he to take occasion to deal as he is directed. He writes a good hand and wrote the Lord Sempill (his chief) his instructions for Spain, the King's "poyeseis," his testament and such things whereby his credit began and is seconded by his brother-in-law, Sir George Elphinstone's credit and now employed by the Secretary who has moved the King [to] commend him highly in his letter to her Majesty, thereby to encounter Mr. David Foulis because it pleased her Majesty to honour Mr. David Foulis in her letter to the King with praise of his diligence and good carriage at that time. For with her Majesty's commendation he bears yet the jealous and evil will of the Secretary and therefore would the Secretary raise up another for his own honour. But by Mr. David Foulis's letter to me which I sent you a while ago you perceived how wisely his travails were taken and what profit was reaped by the "refuess" thereof. Even so it is now that if her Majesty stand anything in this matter of Ashfeild he will pass from it to the gratuity, which is his grand work (as I perceive by Mr. Foulis and Sir Thomas Erskine, by whom also I gather a guess that there is some matter of alteration towards these governors of the Court presently which matter time will make known in short time. The French Ambassador has only handled this old league betwixt them and offered a company of men-at-arms to the Prince, which the Duke of Lennox shall command under him and the laird of Wemyss under the Duke; also that the foot guard shall be only Scots as it [is] wont to be. The rest [is] a compliment and to no great relations. The misery and want is such amongst them that here is one Heriot sent to procure somewhat for a present for the said Ambassador's reward at his departure which is hoped to be bought and paid for with her Majesty's money and for this present only is he stayed in Scotland, for he would gladly be gone home but he must hunt till this be prepared.

The point that all these courtiers shoot at is to disgrace all well-affected men in Scotland to her Majesty and so by necessity to get themselves to be used in all and to do all. But honest men hope for the contrary. *Undated. Unsigned.*

Postscript. The King and Secretary have both written to me to assist this young gentleman with all my best endeavours.

1¼ *pp. In Hudson's hand, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "26 August '99. Mr. Hudson to my master."

Aug. 26. **425.** MEMORANDUM CONCERNING ASHFEILD.

Vol. lxv, No. 24.

Nonsuch, August 26, '99. Reasons proving that the Scottish Ambassador cannot justly complain of indignity done to the King his master in the late withdrawing of Ashfeild out of Scotland to Berwick.

These reasons may for brevity's sake be aptly drawn from the consideration of the persons whom that action principally concerns: and first from the person of her Majesty.

From the person of her Majesty.

It is her Majesty's right that her subjects retire themselves under

James VI.
1599. her obedience upon occasion of her service. Albeit in this withdrawing of Ashfeild, by the straitness of time and Ashfeild's hasty dispatch for Germany and Rome, her Majesty had no understanding until it was done, yet did it appear unto her Ministers to be effected by them as a necessary duty on her behalf: namely, to her Ambassador that perceiving Ashfeild's undutiful employments in Scotland he should make speedy advertisement to the Lord Willoughby, letting him see his error to grant passport to a person of such disposition: to the Lord Willoughby that he should repair his fault by recovering the person: and to them both jointly, especially to the Ambassador, to provide that this recovery might be without indignity to the King, which was so effective as may appear by the subsequents.

From the person of the King.

The King immediately upon advertisement of Ashfeild's retiring repaired from Falkland to Leith, where calling in Council about the number of 20 he bestowed a whole day in the inquisition of this supposed indignity, wherein he proceeded in strict examination upon oaths as well of English as Scots persons. He heard the English Ambassador openly deliver first a direct and short answer to the charge, namely that Ashfeild was withdrawn with his assent, not by violence; and a larger discourse by way of information to give satisfaction to the King touching the particulars of that action. This answer of the Ambassador, because it could not be disproved, the King said then he must accept for the time, protesting openly that if he found it otherwise he would see it punished. Since which time and especially at his taking leave, the Ambassador effectually requiring of the King that he might be discharged of that injurious imputation as dishonourable, etc. his Highness acknowledged that he had no further trial than presumption upon some circumstances wherein he thought his honour to be some way interested. Hereupon it may be justly inferred that the supposed indignity has hitherto wanted matter of proof, except the Scottish Ambassador can deliver some further thing than has yet been objected against her Majesty's ministers aforementioned.

From the person of Ashfeild.

It behoved Ashfeild in duty of his allegiance; in discharge of his former promise under his handwriting; for avoidance of the peril to lose the benefit of his native country, and by disobedience to forfeit the expectance of a goodly inheritance, being announced by the Lord Willoughby in so precise a manner as was presented unto him by the said Lord's servants to return to Berwick; especially he conceiving reasonably that the same return was without peril to him. He therefore to that end made merry with the said Lord's servants at Leith, entered into the coach at his own requisition, accompanied only with one man in the sight of 40 or 50 Scots, passed near by the Ambassador accompanied with sundry Scottish gentlemen of good quality when the coach windows were open, went wittingly and willingly on the King's high street to Berwick at 4 hours in the afternoon about the midst of June, meeting sundry Scottish gentlemen and others on the way, without the said Ashfeild showing the least token of miscontentment, till leaving the said coach he willingly took horse and so went on to

Berwick without any more in company than the 2 gentlemen of the Lord Willoughby's and their 3 followers. Since that time Ashfeild has signified under his own handwriting that he was not enforced to that journey either in body or mind as very well knowing that he might have relieved himself with any small raising of his voice if he had been miscontent. This certificate of Ashfeild's own handwriting was showed to the King by the English Ambassador, as also to the Lord Chancellor and all the principal of the King's Council.

From the person of the Lord Willoughby.

The Lord Willoughby carefully tendering his duty to the Queen understanding of Ashfeild's purpose then immediately to pass into Germany, furnished a ship sufficient to take Ashfeild at the broad sea without any wrong doing to the King, which ship was ready and rode off the Island of May, at the very instant of Ashfeild's retiring, so as it was merely needless to use any force within the realm of Scotland.

From the person of the Ambassador.

The Ambassador, having then to respect that the Queen might be served, the Lord Willoughby redeem his error and himself be kept without peril, had for his part no other thing to attend than this that the matter were not defeated nor defaced by unlawful handling; which was the only cause why he repaired to Leith sands himself to see that as Ashfeild should want no help to further his willing return, so he should in no wise find any force. For conclusion it cannot seem probable that the Ambassador who knew that Ashfeild could not escape the ship lying ready for him at sea would adventure to have him enforced in the sight of so many Scottishmen in his own presence to the manifest defeat of so important a service and so certain a peril unto himself, except he had found assuredly that Ashfeild did go with as good will as they afforded him conveyance.

2 *pp.*

Aug. 28. **426.** MEMORANDUM CONCERNING AFFAIRS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH WITH KING JAMES VI.

Vol. lxv, No. 25.

Nonsuch, Aug. 28, '99. A brief view of her Majesty's affairs with the King of Scots.

Her Majesty's affairs with the King of Scots may be reduced to these 3 heads. First, what matters the present Scottish Ambassador is likely to propose on the King his master's behalf to her Majesty either heretofore handled or propounded of new, with a brief of such answers as have been formerly given by her Highness's Ambassador. Secondly, such matters as her Majesty may be pleased to expostulate on her own behalf with the said Ambassador. Thirdly, such principal matters as it may please her Highness to give respect unto for the preservation of the common peace, to be dealt in now or reserved as to her wisdom shall be found best. Of the first kind those ensuing may be some particulars.

Val: Thomas.

The King after his answer given to the Ambassador in the matter

James VI.
1599. of Valentyne Tho[mas] (last certified to her Majesty out of Scotland) sent his Secretary to the Ambassador with intimation to this effect: that the King might hereafter be greatly prejudiced by the record of Thomas's indictment imputing to the King that dishonourable intention to take away her Majesty's life, which record might give hold to the Statute disabling him from succession, which (said he) the King could not but in respect both of his honour and right be earnest with her Majesty to avoid. The Ambassador answered that the indictment could specify no less than Thomas the actor, the action of treason intended, with the places of contriving; neither contained it any more than was necessary to make it sufficient in law, which could not be justly excepted against by the King. The Secretary replied that the places named in Scotland as Stirling, etc., did necessarily imply and involve the King in that guiltiness. The Ambassador answered that besides that jealous inferences ought not to defeat the great justice of the realm in such a traitor as Thomas was, those places and circumstances mentioned at large might be interpreted to McSorley, Stewart and others, with whom the said traitor had practised. The Ambassador concluded that manifold experiences which the King had of her Majesty's benefits and the further expectancy from her of such kind as her Majesty has no like to look for from the King ought in all reason to induce him to rest and depend upon his good desert and trust without pressing of ungrateful jealousies. This thing is therefore here again remembered because the new evil is likely to touch it by the way.

Ashfeild.

It is advertised out of Scotland that albeit the King will not accuse her Majesty's late Ambassador, yet he will require her Majesty as a prince so well knowing what appertains to honour that she will tender and salve the King's honour in that matter, pretending that he expects thanks from her Majesty for bearing so much with her Ambassador. This may be thus answered that the King must show in particular circumstance directly proved that the Ambassador has wronged him in that matter, or else besides the substance of the thing itself the very imputation of wronging the King is a wrong to her Majesty in the person of her Ambassador. The Ambassador's answers in this matter of Ashfeild are set down at large by themselves.

Hunting accident.

It is advertised likewise that he will renew the complaint of the hunting accident. It may be answered that he must show good matter to prove that this cause should receive an extraordinary trial from the rest of the Borders, especially seeing her Majesty both before and since has received greater indignities in more heinous slaughters of her subjects and yet demands no other [than] the ordinary course of redress, which nevertheless she obtains not.

Lady Lennox's lands.

The Secretary from the King required the late Ambassador to signify unto her Majesty that he hoped she would not prejudice his right in alienation or demission of those lands and it may be that this Ambassador will renew this petition.

Gratuity.

It is advertised likewise that this Ambassador will require the gratuity, with divers overtures of kindness in some things concerning Ireland, with other important matter to gratify her Majesty.

For the second kind, namely such matter as her Majesty may be pleased to expostulate on her own behalf with the said Ambassador the particulars following may be remembered, viz.

Hard entreaty of the Ambassador.

The Ambassador's strict entreaty in watching his house nightly, by 40 horse or more following him riding abroad only to take the air in manner and report of pursuit. The King's refusal to reform this dishonourable behaviour of his people, though he had heard the Ambassador and upon diligent inquisition could not disprove his apology.

English prizes taken by Dunkirkers.

Why 5 English ships have been received at Crail as prizes by a Dunkirk since the beginning of April and not dismissed without ransom, though the Ambassador complained thereof often to the King yet could not obtain the pirate to be punished, howbeit at his 2 several entries he was in the hands of them of Crail.

Sir Robert Kerr.

How the King could so little respect her Majesty's earnest expostulation given in her instructions and by her Ambassador delivered unto him, particularly specifying so great dishonour done unto her by Sir Robert Kerr and expressing she was grieved that nevertheless the King held him so high in his favour. Yet the King did the next day after he had received this in writing from the Ambassador honour him with the place of a Councillor. The King refusing also upon the Ambassador's requisition to sequester him from the exercise of that place until he might give her Majesty satisfaction for his attempt to break her castle at York, so dishonourably to take from her cautionary pledges for execution of justice on her Borders. But this her Majesty may be pleased to mitigate, remembering to the Ambassador the King's promise that he shall undergo the judgment of an assize for this fact.

Border justice impeached.

Why the course of Border justice and namely the execution of the last treaty is not performed on the Scottish side seeing her Majesty's Ambassador offered to the King on her Highness's behalf and that in the hearing of the Secretary and Sir Robert Kerr that if his Highness would then instantly indent with him the said Ambassador for time and place, the English Wardens should meet his to proceed in full course of justice; which the King then refused standing precisely upon the trial of the hunting accident in a more special form than ordinary justice.

Support of the rebels in Ireland.

Why there ensues no punishment to the Scots furnishing her Majesty's rebels in Ireland with powder, victual, etc., though the Ambassador gave up the names of sundry faulters to the Lords of the King's Council.

James VI.
1599.

What good answer the Queen shall receive from the King in these things before he can expect his gratuity.

The third head mentioned in the beginning is reserved to riper deliberation.

3 *pp. Endorsed.*

Aug. 29. **427.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 26.

On Wednesday this day 8 days one Sanders Brown, burgess of this town, complaining to the King as the letter enclosed shows got that letter of charge for arresting all ships of Hull in whatsoever parts of this realm as by the letter will appear, whereon this day "sennet" they arrested and took sails from 2 ships of Hull, no more being then here. Thereupon I moved the King and got at Glasgow his letter of charge for freeing of those ships again and discharge of his former letter and his missive to the provost and bailiffs here to see it executed as by the copy appears. Upon my return hither thereto sundry grieved at me for the same. Some said I was ill suffered here and others quarrelled me even in the presence of 2 bailiffs who for that time stayed their rage commanding the earnestest of them to ward whom I got spared and who nevertheless casting himself before me in my way to my lodging quarrelled me again with evil words which I also passed over with good speeches to avoid my embarking in tumultous terms with them. The Lord Provost understanding hereof intends to pacify them and is very angry at it. Sanders Brown gave me no evil words but said he vowed to God that if he got not redress for those muskets he should have as much English blood as they would or could (I am not sure whether) have got. I was dealt with by sundry of the Council to have given my word to have caused them be restored. But I could not simply so promise, yet I said I would do my best to get him them again. They say Anthony Atkinson, searcher of Hull, took the 20 muskets with their furniture and 2 rapiers and daggers from a Scots gentleman, the laird of Robertland's son, called Cuningham, servant in chamber to Count Maurice, who complains not and is come to see his friends and to return, and that Atkinson said what should the King do with muskets, give him beans and peas it might serve him. At which the King grieves, the muskets being for his domestics and the rather because he hears his subjects have been lately ill used along almost or all the coast of England, especially at Yarmouth, where he hears they said to his subjects that he was banded with Spain and Denmark against England and had sold his birthright, as also that his people could not be suffered to land to bury a dead man, with much more. The burghs have complained to the King of some of these things, wherein he minds to inform himself more specially and then by Beltries to advertise her Majesty for her order to be taken therein; as also that Mr. John Colville and his wife are provided for at Durham with the Bishop, in which the laird is also to deal further than he had before direction, so soon as the King shall write to him in these matters. For the muskets, if they be not restored, it will displease all here and

1599. sure do hurt. Therefore it may please your Honour to command Anthony Atkinson by your letters to send them hither with the 2 rapiers and daggers to me by the first ship, that I may thereby stay all unmeet inconveniences at this time, which I humbly beseech you to do with all speed, certifying me your order to be given therein that I may satisfy them here the sooner to avoid my further peril and the touch of her Majesty's honour by my hurt, if I should get any.

Yesterday they arrested another ship of Hull, yet the letter I have got will discharge them I hope. For the Lord Provost and Council sit on it this day. The muskets, bandoliers and staves are valued at 40 marks sterling; as if that Brown be driven to sue for them they will spend him as much more; as therefore it may please you to cause Atkinson send them hither which he may do without any charge and that almost weekly by English or Scots ships.

At Glasgow and Dumbarton the King has renewed his charge for restraint of aid to the rebels in Ireland. Complaint was made to him that there were some of his subjects taken and hanged by the English, which he approved, saying he would do so himself to any he would learn carried the rebel any lead, powder or other provision.

The French Ambassador was at Glasgow well feasted with the Duke of Lennox, as the King was also. On Monday they rode to Hamilton, where they stay till to-morrow feasting and hunting and then come to Stirling and feast with the Lord Livingstone and others this way. On Tuesday (?) the Council sit down again and the King will be here for a little. All quiet. Praying your remembrance of the muskets and 2 rapiers and daggers with your speedy answer to me. Edinburgh, 29 August 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. My good Lord Provost sent for me even now, showing me all should be done, the ships freed and order taken with the disordered quarrellers of me, for deed he is an honest councillor.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, with address, to which is added by Nicolson:* ". . . your Honour to keep these matters [lest] Beltrees think I prevent his information when it come and so hinder me here again." *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

The first enclosure in the preceding letter.

(King James's discharge of his order of 22 August.)

Vol. lxv, No. 26[1]. To our sheriffs in all parts. Our will is that incontinent these our letters seen ye pass loose all and sundry arrestments made upon the ships and goods of the inhabitants of Hull at the instance of Alexr. Brown or any others our subjects and that ye charge the persons that have taken the sails and other ornaments of the same ships to redeliver the same to the owners and suffer them freely and peaceably depart at their pleasure, etc. Notwithstanding our letters of arrestment of the 22 of this instant. Given under our signet and subscribed with our hand. At Glasgow, the 26 day of August and of our reign the 33 year, 1599.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed by G. Nicolson.*

James VI.
1599.

The second enclosure in the same.

(King James's letter to the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh to execute the foregoing.)

Vol. lxv, No. 26[11].

Albeit in our former letter of the 22nd inst. we ordained the ships and goods pertaining to any the inhabitants of Hull being within our realm to be arrested and stayed, yet finding it no ways expedient that the subjects of our dearest sister shall be anyways stayed or hindered, etc. We have by another letter discharged the said arrestments, etc., and therefore have thought meet hereby to request and desire you "effectiouslie" to give that concurrence and assistance to the due execution of our last letter, etc. Glasgow, 27 of August 1599.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed by G. Nicolson.*

Aug. 29. **428.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxv, No. 27.

This bearer, John Cunningham, merchant and burgess of Edinburgh, having occasion to go to London about his trade of merchandise minds to do his duty to your Honour for the kindness you have heretofore showed him and has prayed me not only to present you in memory of him and his good mind and travail taken some time to good MacLean as your Honour knows, but also to commend him to your favour at this time for a bill of store as he will show and suit to you for himself; which of my kindness with him I cannot refuse, suppose it were meeter for me to sue for myself. Therefore in all humbleness I have presumed to commend his suit to your honourable and accustomed kindness and goodness. Edinburgh, the 29 of August 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. [The] bearer is a very discreet man [and] very honest as he may yet do [good] service if need be.

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

[1599, *c.* Aug. 29.] **429.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 28.

The King and I had much reasoning anent the stay of the muskets and the evil words used on him on our coast and the hard usage of his people. Some had told him that Atkinson was bolstered up to do such wrongs as also that they of Yarmouth durst not speak such words but with allowance which the King said he will try. For the arrestment of their Hull ships none of the Council allowed it nor the King when he saw the inconvenience. He was angry with me for saying his letter for their arrestment was in nature or rather a letter of marque or reprisal. Always he amended it. Thus your Honour sees our mutability here, one day doing and another undoing, never constant. 97 (Sir Thomas Erskin) was in greater heat against us than I will write, but more of him hereafter. God bless ⑫ (England) from ⑯ (Scotland's) tricks. C. (Lo. Secretary) is honest yet.

Jo: Cunningham, MacLean's old friend, is going to London about his merchandise, having desired me to commend him to your memory

1599. and favour in his lawful errands, which it may please your Honour do.

McSorley nor none of them on that side met the King. The King swears he has no dealing with them, adding he cannot avoid them sending to him, which shall never be entertained anyway to her hurt, saying if he might be sure of her Majesty's good acceptance and correspondency with him he would acquaint her with the greatest and least matter, as she should see there is no cause to suspect him as she does he hears. He blames Mr. Jo: Colville and has heard that your Honour was his entertainer. This I do but hear as also that thereon he thought much with you, which now upon his mind by Beltries will mend. *Undated. Unsigned.*

Slip of paper in Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement. The decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil.

Aug. 31. **430.** HENRY SAUNDERS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 29.

Since my coming into Scotland I understand there has intelligence been given up of my being here, which made me at this present presume to write unto your Honour, though but a stranger to the same, to signify my good intent and meaning towards my country, lest my silence and close carriage of myself as at other times it may benefit, so at this time and in this case may perhaps endamage me. True it is that for a space I have left my country, but neither my allegiance towards my prince nor my natural affection to the same. Such discontentments as I have found therein, as I confess I have done some, yet are but for private respects and not concerning either prince or state. Indeed for myself I have been evermore unfortunate and the hap of our whole family, perchance not unknown to you, has been no less disastrous. Yet this I trust shall be no cause to draw my departure in suspect, for here or elsewhere I shall be always ready to perform the office of a dutiful subject. I have your hand together with the Earl of Essex's to license me to travel; no place therein prohibited me, no time limited of return. Edinburgh, the last of August 1599. *Signed:* Henry Saunders.

¾ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 31. **431.** JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 30. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 207.

According to your last answer given to this bearer I attended your coming on Monday like as I have done ever since and now hearing of your arrival I hope you will not be offended that I put you in remembrance, desiring to know your pleasure both concerning my nephew and myself. Thus being loth to importune, I attend in humility your answer, committing your Honour to God's blessed protection, this last of August 1599. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

½ *p. Holograph, with address:* "To the Right Honourable my Lord, my Lord Secretary's Honour." *Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

James VI.
1599.
[*c.* Aug.]

432. JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 32.

Since I cannot confer with you myself, the cause whereof I construe to come of only necessity, I have returned the bearer sufficiently instructed both by these letters and by mouth to deal with your Honour and to return your answer.

The heads wherein I crave resolution of yourself and your mediation to her Majesty are these:

My last notes given you anent James Douglas of Spott and the customable meetings on the Borders.

Anent the pledges at York as the bearer can inform.

Anent Mr. Colville and his residence here.

To remember that her Majesty give direction to Nicolson anent the Dunkirkers if it be not already done as her Majesty promised.

To remember her Majesty of her letters to the King and to answer the particulars anent Crawford the Scot and the peace with Spain, conform to her Majesty's answer to me.

His Majesty also willed me to ask of your Honour anent this peace and how far it was advanced that he might foresee his own interest thereby conform to the league 11 article and according to her Majesty's promise to forewarn him of her proceedings therein.

These are for the present my demands to your Honour, resting to be commanded in anything I can show you, remembering you withal to refresh her Majesty's memory anent the money matter. *Undated. Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Mr. Simple to my master. 1599."

Sept. 1.

433. [SIR ROBERT CECIL] TO JOHN COLVILLE.

Vol. lxv, No. 33. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 295-6.

I have sent you so often messages by this bearer whom you trust as methinks you might thereby understand reason. When your dealing with me was more secret it gave you better means to discover dangerous practices than now it does. For when you came to the Earl of Essex it was in more private form than since your continual abode has made it. But if you remember the wonders offered from Bruce and what treasures of the Pope's should be intercepted, with other such like overtures, methinks you might well answer yourself that your good will is better than your means.

For your nephew's employment I was not privy to it, neither do I see any fruit in it. Therefore, bear with me I pray you, especially at this time, for entertaining you when there are some particulars not well reconciled between the two Estates, to which I would be loth to see any addition made by any further cross constructions of your dealing with me, though the conscience is sufficient witness that there is not, nor ever was, any just occasion for any person living to take offence. This is all which for this time I can say unto you. And so I rest at all times ready to do that to you which shall be fit for me. Your loving friend. Savoy, first September 1599.

¾ *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "Copy to Colvile, 1 Sept. '99."

James VI.
1599.
Sept. 1.

434. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 34.

That your Honour may understand the full end anent the ships of Hull and the order taken anent my usage, I have addressed thus these presents to you. The Lord Provost, Bailiffs and Council sat in council according to my last and there agreed to obey the King's charge and free all our ships, which is freely done and all our ships at liberty, and the King's former charge for their arrestments discharged and "nulled." [*In margin:* Sanders Brown was not himself at Hull he says.] Then they tried the barbarous speakers to me and committed 2 into the Tolbooth prison with order that they should remain there till they satisfied me. Whereupon they sent some of their friends to me to pray me forgive them and procure their liberty at the Provost's hands, which I agreed unto and did so, the Lord Provost sending for them and causing them satisfy me, whereon they were discharged. So as all is well for this time and I in quietness, God be thanked. The Lord Provost desired me to be means that their neighbour might have his pieces restored, and so did the King and Council at Glasgow, the King accounting the muskets not worth her Majesty's troubling for them. But the evil words there and on the coast used against him he intends, as by my last, to try and commend to her Majesty's knowledge and redress and to be either at better or worse point with these things. It may therefore please you to cause the muskets, staves and bandoliers and 2 rapiers and daggers to be sent hither, as in my former I have desired, that these requesters may be satisfied and the party redressed, as no more come hereof. [*In margin:* But that James Forman, one of the bailiffs was both wise and stout and commanded the earnestest to ward very sharply, I cannot judge what might have come of me. As I wrote in my last such was the appearance. As James Forman deserves thanks and kindness when he needs.]

I hear that the King of Denmark not able to deal with the Londoners as he meant is in exceeding great rage and intends to be better provided for them against the next time. I have it in manner as I believe it, as also that that is the least hurt he intends us if he can do more. But this to better intelligences.

The King intends very shortly to offer his concurrency to her Majesty against the Spaniard in all kindness and deep protestation. But these and all others I remit and refer to his Majesty's direction to Beltries, which I think shall be sent this week ensuing.

Sir Ro: Kerr I hear has certified that he and Sir Ro: Carey are to meet; that Sir Robert Carey is to be strong and that therefore the King would write to sundry to accompany Sir Ro: Kerr, which I hear is so written and whereon I have written to Sir Robert Carey what I hear, wishing him to be very wary for hardly can they meet without peril of the peace. But this to my next. Always Sir Ro: Kerr is very diligent trysting on the Borders very politicly and on Thursday I hear meets Buccleuch. The laird of Cranston has slain one of the Rutherfords and one Tate, as but for Cessford's greatness it would divide divers. Yet Cessford rules all very politicly.

For this Estate it is very quiet; the King entertaining the French

James VI.
1599.

Ambassador with feasting and hunting. This next week the Council sits down here and the Commissioners for the money, which will be either now "lighted" or not. The Border matters (the country being broken and not yet mended by my Lord of Angus) are like to come to new consideration, as well in that as for what the King shall do himself in person therein or otherways. I humbly beseech your Honour to be means to her Majesty for some comfort now to me in my discomforts, or otherways that I may depart this place and seek my fortune. Edinburgh, 1 Sept. 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

[1599,]
Sept. 1.

435. ——— TO [? JOHN COLVILLE].

Vol. lxv, No. 35.

In the reign of the King's mother John Armstrong called the "lairdis Jok" and "Hob the nobill" came to the prison of Newcastle and broke up a "postroune zet" and took out John Armstrong called "Johone of the Syd," their kinsman and no fault found with it by England but only punished their own gaoler for his sloth.

In the year of God 1594 Sim of Whithaugh (Quhithauthe) come to Bewcastle and took out one Armistrong of the "Gyngillis," a Scotsman, and no word spoken of it.

In the year of God 1595 the laird of Cessford present came to the town of Wooler in "Cukdaill" and slew a Scotsman that had the Warden's protection and dwelt seven years in England, and in the fourscore sixteen year [1596] the laird of Buccleuch took Will of Kinmont out of the castle of Carlisle and we are informed here that an English priest was lately come out of Dieppe (Deip) and brought to England and that the Governor of Dieppe found no fault with it.

I have sent you as ye desired some examples like this that is done to Ashfeild and may show you that Master James Sempill will be "na onfreind to zow underhand." Therefore do nothing that may offend him. And I warn you to advise well with whom ye deal there in your secret matters, for there is foul play played. They that ye would little know would do so to you and some that for your sake were willing to have done good offices are like to be drawn in a "hoistnet." By God ye are ill used and they both, if ye kend all that I ken. But I am more "fleyit" for them nor for you, because ye are out of hand and they lie under folk's feet here, but they shall do ye best they can and be ye wiser in times coming, but above all I pray you if any man has been sent to you within this month that at his coming home he keep himself quiet for a while, for I assure you he is in hard. Commend me to your wife. I pray God to comfort you and her, and if ye may be in Dieppe about the hinder end of the month, ye shall hear further from me and ye shall ken who has done you the wrong: so the Lord to keep you and send you deliverance this first of September. *Signed thus:* ✠

2 *slips of paper. In a Scottish hand. No address or endorsement.*

James VI.
1599. Sept. 2.

436. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 36. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 207-8.

Since neither my cousin nor I can go out of the country without passport, his request is to have one with some notice that his name shall not be revealed nor the parties directing him, wherein for myself I am out of doubt. In humility craving also one other passport for myself; for [if] her Majesty or your Honour should be reprovable for me rather let me be sent home to fill the cup of their cruelty for now I am loathsome to myself, seeing my "erdly" hope is like to fail me. Praying God they may merit at your hands such honourable respect as is "careit" to them and that they play not one day Tyrone's part.

And since your Honour is, as the Lord judge me, the subject in the world I most honour and love let it not be offensive that I beseech you mean my pitiful case to her Majesty, for within this month my wife and distressed "menze" be forced to leave the country, the King refusing to give her a penny of my own goods, so that without her Majesty's accustomed grace I am "schent" for ever and shall be forced to starve. Therefore, my gracious Lord and Mæcenas have pity on me in this deplorable extremity, in which the less I can merit, the more shall be your merit and recompense at His hands, who I hope shall continue still His blessings upon her gracious Majesty, whereas the oppressors of Naboth shall receive due reward. This 2 of September 1599. *Signed:* Jo: Colville.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To my Lord, my Lord Secretary's Honour." *Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 6.

437. HENRY SAUNDERS TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 37.

Immediately after I had written to your Honour concerning my being in Scotland I received a commandment to make my repair into England delivered unto me here by such as had direction from you, which I suppose you would not have done if my letter had been received before such commandment had been sent. My trust is that upon the receipt thereof together with this, you will rest well satisfied touching my being here. I shall be always very ready to obey your commandment in any matter. Howbeit, I do beseech you for this time to hold me excused if I return not so soon as peradventure is expected I should, for I trust hereafter to render a better account of myself and of my absence than now I could if I should return.

In England I have been evermore crossed. Hard fortune has always followed at my heels and never to this day have I had the grace to happen upon any manner of preferment in the wars. I have no such friends as are able to procure it me. My brother that to the judgment of the world has many great friends, yet can he get no advancement that ways for himself, although I know he has laboured that all he could. For service at home, if it may please you to call it to memory, I should have once been towards your Honour, but in such sort as I should rather have been a stranger to you than otherwise. It pleased you so to accept of me and not otherwise. Since that, and that

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very lately (as my brother could well have certified you, had he been so disposed), I was borne in hand and that very strongly for the space of a quarter of a year for a place I should have had in the Lord Treasurer's service that now is, but how in the end I was deluded, mocked and strangely put besides it, none can better tell than my Lady Raleigh. Which matter did disgrace me not a little and the grief of it has touched me very near. Besides all this it is well known that I have sustained many losses, some, as it is well known, by such as are nearest to me in blood, and some by sundry others. Such debts as are owing me I cannot get, and those I owe I must look to satisfy; so that I only must be just to all men and no man be just to me. This is a hard case. Many other grievous losses, over great for me to bear, have I sustained by other accidents, whereof to inform you in particular were far unfit. If I should return, I think you would leave me to the wide world and what would then my hindrance or misfortune there pleasure or profit you? Wherefore let me entreat you once again to hold me excused for my not returning at this time and to suffer me to seek some good fortune abroad that never could attain to any at home. And the rather because my hands have ever been clean from sedition, as my heart is now from the thought thereof. From Edinburgh, September the sixth 1599. *Signed:* Henry Saunders.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Placard seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 9. **438.** JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 38. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 208.

Such advice as I have from Scotland I have enclosed, whereby you may see how I am handled both within and without. As I can learn further of the party that has hurt me or of any other matter serviceable to her Majesty in the parts where I go, I cannot omit to advertise except I be expressly inhibited. For beat as you will, as a dog I must still fawn, and if I perish I shall be found, God willing, dead in the high not in the by way. Yea, though friends and foes and all should concur against me *Impavidum ferient ruinæ, quia conscia mens ut cuique est ita concipit intra pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo.** Thus in humility taking my leave I commit the relation of some other particulars to this bearer. This 9 of September 1599. *Signed:* Jo: Colville.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To the Right Honourable my Lord, my Lord Secretary." *Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 11. **439.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 39.

On the 3rd hereof I received your Honour's of the 27 of the last containing your mind that you will have no intelligence or dealings with any in anything whatsoever but what you will acquaint her

* Horace *Odes*, iii, 3.8. Ovid *Fasti*, i, 485.6.

1599. Majesty with, willing me to certify to any that shall move for correspondency to be held with you, which I shall, God willing, observe according to your direction. I ever thought it best for her Majesty's service that whensoever any pleased to intend secret course with your Honour not to stay but further it, knowing as peradventure some would write more plainly and in more secret matters (for such is their nature here) in private to you in hope of secrecy and your correspondency that otherways would not; and thereby her Majesty and your Honour receive more secrets and profit for the good of her service than ever otherways will be had. As therefore I thank you for conceiving so truly of me that I mean well for her Majesty's service, so shall I observe your direction in such sort as I shall neither offend nor warn any here thereby of any such matter and yet keep your charge. I never doubted but was ever certain you gave and give her Majesty all coming to you. A Councillor of 34. (Earl of Mar's) side told W' (Nicholson) that C. (Lo: Secretary) had said to 16. (the King) that if 16. (the King) would give him leave to do, and do and carry matters towards 12. (her Majesty) as he should set down, he would undertake by Cl. (Your Honour's) means all 16. (the King's) turns go well with 12. (her Majesty) and upon that "plat" that 99. H. P. (Baltres is gone), so as it were not amiss at this time but the best policy that that good that is meant to 16. (the King) were freely done as for love of 16. (the King), and some regard to C. (the Lo. Secretary), with kindness to 99. (Baltrese) for C. (L. Secretary) I do assure your Honour is exceeding great and rules all, 16. (the King) having subjected himself to his advices. How long this will last I know not, but so it is now. Unless the gratuity be had I will not hope of good but the worst here. But if that be had, all other matters will pass over well enough I judge.

Of late there have been such evil reports spread abroad of the evil usage of Scotsmen upon our coast, and so many tales thereon, as very many have been much moved thereat, and thereon some having occasion to Bordeaux and to our coast have made pause to hear the certainty and been earnest with me to know whether they might be safe or not and craved my writing for their safeties so much as the same might help them, which I have given to divers hoping there is no offence therein. What this meant I know not but now these "rumorouse" complaints do stay. I have charged Mr. Saunders to return and to keep the charge secret as he will answer it, and earnestly persuaded him to obey, yet in my judgment find him no way so determined, saying he hopes this his letter enclosed will satisfy your Honour towards him. Indeed I see no evil yet to him. Here are many Englishmen come hither, some of whom I know not. But I think it very convenient that some politic wise man were thrust among them to espy what dealings they have here or what "platt" is among them. The laird of Beltries has sent as you know Mr. David Wardlaw hither in post for further proof of the matters her Majesty is not satisfied in. I see they make account that Sir William Bowes shall be disgraced, which if it be, it will be time for meaner men to be wary. But I cannot think it can be so. The King I hear contradicts him far and deeply with protestations, with which Mr. David is returned this day with speed. But all these you will

better know by the laird than I can write. C. (Lo: Secretary) is strong with me in all.

For this Estate it is very quiet, yet so uncertain as not worthy writing thereof. The silver and gold is for this time not altered but continued to new day. The King intends to have a journey to the Borders and for this cause has continued also the General Assembly, but these to their uncertainties. Sir James MacConnell is escaped and gone and the King in rage at it, as the Islands will be loose again. The French Ambassador makes haste to be gone, yet the King stays him and minds to propine him with some gift before, so as yet it will be 12 days before he go. On Friday the Council meets the King at Linlithgow, who has been here these 3 days past very busy with his Council about finding the means for maintenance of his estate, etc., yet little done but continued till Friday. The laird of Wedderburn is dealing for his relief anent such debts as he contracted for the King's service in his Comptrollership. Edinburgh, 11 September 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. Yesterday complaint was made to the King that Captain Carlile had taken in Ireland 3 "craires" of the West of Scotland and misused the men. The King said to the complainants that then they had carried some support to the rebels, which the parties denied. Some of the Council thought and said that they were the King's subjects and ought not to be so misused [or] confiscated at the Englishmen's own hands but tried before Scotsmen first. Beltries is directed to complain of and crave the muskets. But for the other complaints of Yarmouth I hear they shall be passed over, whether because they judge them to have not been true or for what cause else I know not.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. The decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil.*

[1599, ? *c.* Sept. 11.] **440.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 40.

The laird of Beltries has at great length written hither to the King his conference with her Majesty and your Honour, in which I hear her Majesty dealt very plainly with him, showing the little cause the King had to make mention of her valetudinary etc., the King's entertaining of foreign intelligencies, etc., and many things wherein her Highness notes the King's unkindness; but all these to the truth of them knowing nothing more than by secret advertisement C. (Lo. Secretary) being strong with me now indeed. The laird certifies that Cl. (your Honour) said he knew that her Majesty wished none but the King to succeed her. The King says if it were so then Cl. (your Honour) would sure enter into intelligence with him and show better good will. I hear also that the laird has sent him the thing drawn by Mr. Jo: Colville against the King's title to England written in evil words of the King and the like of his son as if the King were but King

1599. upon toleration.* The King rages very strongly at it and swears to be even with him and his entertainers, still suspecting Cl. (your Honour), yet in policy as Cl. (your Honour) will see, misknows it to Cl. (your Honour). But these things I will not affirm to be true. Yet I have heard them but not so as I can say they are true, your Honour knowing more in them than I. Sir Ro: Kerr has as I before wrote (I still hear) procured letters to the Warden of the East March and to sundry others to attend him at his advertisement for the King's service. This was done I hear for a meeting to be had with Sir Ro: Carey yet expected. 91. (Sir Ro: Kerr) as I hear has of late received at 2 several times 600 angels, a matter if it be true (as I cannot say) and done without the privity of some for 12. (her Majesty) very needful to be looked unto, what it may mean. It is a great secret if it be true and of importance. Buccleuch is now stayed and travels not yet. It has been told me that Cessford rode out to have fought with some English gentlemen, himself and his page only. His mother cried out missing him and feared it had been for Buccleuch upon the old quarrel. Now Cessford is here seeking Cranston's escheat which will grieve the laird of Buccleuch and renew that quarrel and perhaps make a change. For Mr. Saunders, I see him a great malcontent reaching to speak with the King, for what purposes I know not. He says he is verily persuaded that your Honour upon his letter will not call him home, whither I persuade me he will not return. He pretends disgraces and debts to be the cause and protests to keep his duty loyally to her Majesty and country. But these things and his mind I refer to his letters.

Sir Alexander Home of Manderston has dealt with the King very earnestly that he may one day meet my Lord Willoughby in England and another day in Scotland for days of truce. But the King will not allow him to do it, charging him to meet not but in Scotland according to the old customs; adding that if he gave them a little they would take more to this effect. Sir Ro: Kerr seemed to have laboured the King therein also. Yet the King will none of it.

It were good that some of account were here for her Majesty against Martinmas that might look to what secret dealings is here. For men see I can neither give them money nor procure them favour and therefore will not cast that into my hands they would to others that might afford them both. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In George Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement. The decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil.*

Sept. 14. **441.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 41. The reasons why Mr. Sempill would have seen your Honour this week past were that he might have shown you his instructions touching this matter of Ashfeild and Sir Robert Kerr before his servant returned

* See Colville's *Letters*, pp. xxix and 355. Spottiswood's assertion that Colville pretended to have written the attack in order to justify his *Palinod* appears here to be contradicted.

James VI.
1599.

that thereby it might appear that he showed no new thing but that which he first received. He would and still will show you what was presented before his coming away betwixt the King and the French Ambassador, as also what the Lord Sempill had to "speer" for. He has the copy there of which with anything that he can do he is most willing to be free with your Honour in, to which he holds himself obliged for your honourable courtesies towards himself. He looks shortly for his servant's return and certainly if he bring not a discreet contentment I must needs say the fault is not in this gentleman for he wrote freely to the King that if he would have his affairs to go well here he must not only forbear to offend the Queen but also seek all means to please her in all his actions and that he thought her Majesty would not be contented till the new Councillor, Sir Robert Kerr, was displaced of his Councillorship. I perceive a very good nature and disposition to be in the gentleman's self and another humour there is in other courtiers whence he came. He is very respective how to keep all matters calm and both to please and satisfy her Majesty as far as he possibly can. He accounts himself half an Englishman for his grandmother was an English woman and he the true Lord Sempill if he had his due. Of this I thought it my duty to advertise your Honour. London, the 14 of September 1599. *Signed:* Jas. Hudson.

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

Sept. 17. **442.** GEORGE MOORE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 42.

Since my arrival in this country I have endeavoured myself to give her Majesty and your Honour also satisfaction as well for my coming hither as for my faithful duty towards her and my country, most humbly beseeching her grace and your good favour therein either to return home or to live in any part of the world to do her service. According to my true meaning and advertisement to your Honour I sent my wife and children into England to be at her Majesty's disposition and further to solicit for me and sundry letters I presumed to write to you but doubtful of the delivery thereof, because I never heard any kind of answer. Of the imprisonment of my wife I am too certain, yet I do not despair of your good will towards us, but am, as I was, most ready to return home and submit myself to her Majesty's mercy or to remain where by her or you I shall be commanded; for that I may have means from my friends in England to maintain me and to discharge my debts in this unfortunate country. But without present help I must be forced to retire myself into some other place. Whereof I thought to advertise you, that if it please you to respect me (which more than most humbly I desire) I may receive some present comfort, but if I may not be so happy, yet I hope you will hold me excused if I depart hence and seek other means to live, seeing necessity has no laws. Which course I would be sorry to take. Therefore, vouchsafe I beseech you to have consideration of us, showing that favour to my wife and children in England and that good to me as we may all and

1599. our friends remain for ever your obliged poor servants. Leith, the 17 of September 1599. *Signed:* George More.

$1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 17. **443.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv. No. 43.

The Council convened with the King on Friday last, according to my last, at Linlithgow, where the King meant to have taken assurances between the Lords Maxwell, Herries, Drumlanrig and the laird of Johnstone and to have taken caution on them for the quietness of the country. But Johnstone was sick and could not come, and so was Drumlanrig. Hereon the Lord Herries offering all reason was freed and directed to repair home and assist the Earl of Angus against the 22 hereof, on which day the whole country by proclamation are charged to attend the Lieutenant for riding upon and burning the broken and disobedient persons and their houses, and Buccleuch is by the King desired to be with the Lord Lieutenant and give him his aid and advice. [*In margin:* The King pretends to go in person to cause the Lieutenant be better obeyed; yet intends it not if the Lieutenant take any order herein.] The Lord Maxwell alleging his young years and yet unableness to give the King surety was commanded to prison to this castle; yet at my Lord Hamilton's suit called back and licensed to be with him. Johnstone is to be removed to the castle of Doune but shortly to be enlarged and Sir John Carmichael to be Warden and the laird of Johnstone to assist him, if this purpose hold which is very secret and I beseech your Honour so keep [it]. Here are great speeches of exceeding great preparations in making by Cessford for a meeting to be had with Sir Robert Carey who I see not how possibly they can meet with such numbers without danger of the peace breaking. Such feuds are amongst the people and this late matter between Mr. Henry Woodrington and Sir Robert Kerr no diminishing of the same. Of the substance of these intended gatherings and preparations I have advertised my Lord Scrope and Sir Robert Carey according to my duty, wishing that good regard may be given.

For certain the meeting intended between Buccleuch and Sir Robert Kerr held not. Neither is there yet appearance of any kindness inwardly between them, but rather of the contrary. For Cessford labours and was at Linlithgow to get the escheat of the laird of Cranston for killing a Tate, and Buccleuch crosses him and was with the King at Linlithgow about the same and is promised that Cessford shall not have it. The laird of Cranston is a depender on Buccleuch who will not suffer him to buy Cessford's escheat. This matter may quicken the old quarrel. Buccleuch stays not but holds his purpose to travel, yet seemed as if he would stay, as yet he does. Nevertheless within this month he will travel and through England to do his duty to her Majesty.

I met of late "Filius's" master to whom I showed how kindly her Majesty took his good will and offers and how willing she would be to requite the same; as likewise how liberally his servant was dealt with by reward of 600 marks Scots, which he took in good part, with protes-

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tation that he would be ready to do her Majesty any honest services he could. Macintosh (M^c^entoishe) has I hear slain some of the Campbells of the house of Cawdor (Caldell) which upon Argyll's return may quicken to troubles between Argyll and Huntly, this being done as is thought to assure Huntly of him.

Poor Mr. Moore sends your Honour the enclosed letter hoping still of her Majesty's grace; which if he get not he is in that misery here as he cannot stay but must creep away he says. He desires her Highness's grace but for leave to his friends to do for him what their disposition will move them unto and to live and serve her Majesty where she will appoint him.

Here are letters come that the Master of Oliphant, father to the now Lord Oliphant, and the Earl of Morton's eldest son should be living and prisoners in Turkey; but I see no appearance.

All foreign coins are by proclamation commanded to the mint house, but no money raised.

Yesterday the King rode to Stirling to see the Prince, and returns on Tuesday hither where the Queen is also, and he and she now to stay.

Here is nothing now more cared for than to give the French Ambassador entertainments and feasts, with propines, which is looked for from England, for a kind farewell. Scots horses and sundry things else are shipped for the French King. The Ambassador goes with the Scots fleet that go to Bordeaux. Edinburgh, 17 of Sept. 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 19. **444.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 44.

At Mr. Sempill's servant's return I was in the country, but now I perceive by this last return from Scotland that this matter of Ashfeild will be more largely handled and that the King and Sir Robert Kerr marvel that her Majesty should take any offence at all in that matter but rather yield the King some good contentment in his desires as by Mr. Sempill is required. It seems that small good is like to ensue of the matter and this gentleman is much perplexed how to touch it without offence to either part. Busy bodies and factious people soil their hands with reports of many matters and amongst others how that your Honour should entertain Mr. John Colville here with a large allowance and give him passports and privileges to come and go to and fro this realm at his pleasure, which the King cannot believe till he hear from this gentleman therein by your own mouth the truth. For he said, how shall I believe that when I know that Colville offered service to him long since by a third person and that he answered flatly that he would have nothing to do with him for he was ever upon the wrong side. Thus honourably and respectively I know he spoke when another at that time entertained him at whose hands I looked not for that measure. Thus found I unlooked for effect both the ways and do not mean to omit the merit of either in his own time. It is a thing

that moves the King exceedingly to see Mr. Colville still with tongue and pen to persevere in the highest degree of malice against both his actions, his honour, his person, fortune present and future at all times in all places and that he has the liberty of this land and access to honourable and honest persons. For he is a man of all others most odious to the King. The King says he meets daily with matter of his malice. But because I see a mind in the gentleman to be sure with your Honour in all matters I remit the full effects to himself who wishes all well and will endeavour his best to have it so. At London, this 19 of September 1599. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

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

Sept. 22. **445.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 45.

The King, being given to understand of the evil appearance of the meeting appointed 27 hereof between Sir Robert Carey and Sir Ro: Kerr and no way minded to have the peace perilled, resolved yesternight in cabinet and wrote to Sir Robert Kerr sending it this day with one of his own, charging him upon pain of his life that he should meet quietly with C of a side, and if Sir Ro: Carey would not do so that then he should not meet but advertise him that he might acquaint her Majesty with it and take order in it; and that Sir Ro: Kerr should send to Sir Ro: Carey to this effect and acquaint him with his letter; as it may well now be that this meeting shall break off, which I could not see could have been without danger of the peace. On Thursday last the goodman of Manderston, Sir Alex. Home by name, convened the barons of the Merse (Mars) (they all being charged by the King's letters to attend Sir Ro: Kerr) and thinking it no way meet either to enter with Sir Ro: Kerr and Tynedale into their particulars or yet to subject themselves to attend that Warden or yield to such a preparative, Sir Alexander Home came hither yesterday to the King with their articles and has got the Merse freed from Sir Ro: Kerr's attendance in this or any other without the King's further charge. Sir Ro: Kerr understanding of their resolution is angry and sent to the King to have prevented them, yet lost his labour, for the Merse are freed from that charge. Sir Alexander is very honest and well affected to the peace and has no way pleased Sir Ro: Kerr in this matter. Of this I have advertised Sir Ro: Carey, praying him nevertheless to have regard to himself and the keeping of the peace.

Sir John Carmichael is made Warden of the West and proclamation sent to Dumfries and letters to my Lord Scrope to intimate the same. Hereon Johnstone is to receive liberty to assist Sir John. The country is marvellously broken. This week the Batesons have slain 2 gentlemen of my Lord Fleming's. It is now questionable between the Wardens anent their meetings. The King will in no wise have any meetings to be on the English side.

To-morrow the French Ambassador is feasted by the King and departs the next week with the Bordeaux fleet. The ministers have very bitterly prayed against his priests, not person[s] but idolatry and

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his masses, using good words of the French King and with exception of his Ambassador, whose errands are judged to be for some great mystery, because they are so secretly kept. The King has prolonged his dispatch for the coming of his propine from London for him. The King sends horses and other things to the French King. On Monday the King rides to Linlithgow where and whereabouts he will spend some time. The Queen remains here. The Ambassador means to ship then also.

The Earl of Moray intends to travel yet. The Master of Orkney has acquainted me that he intends also to travel and desired me to use my credit for her Majesty's licence to him and his servants to pass through England, which I humbly beseech you to let me understand her Majesty's pleasure in, that I may do accordingly. It is a matter of favour and kindness and that in gratitude will bind the gentleman to her service and may credit me here who is discerned to be of small credit and by but this matter of courtesy may get favour here. This Estate is very quiet for the present. Thus much to acquaint you with the Border matters which do "shovell" over. Edinburgh, 22 Sept. 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. The King rages mightily at Sir William Bowes, saying he will never trust Puritans for his sake.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed with date and notes of the contents by Cecil's clerk.*

Apparently inserted in the above letter.

Vol. lxv No. 46.

WP (George Nicholson) dealt with a Councillor and with 98. (Mr. Aston) to advertise 16. (K. of Scots) of the evil appearance of this meeting which was done not as from WP (G. Nicholson), whereon the King was moved to write as my letter shows. 98. (Mr. Aston) is very honest and to his power always doing good offices worthy thanks.

The King stood something upon it that the Merse should attend Sir Ro: Kerr as if it stood upon the honour of his Warden, Sir Ro: to be well accompanied at this time. And yet he protested that if Sir Ro: should do anything to endanger the peace he would take his life, as I hear.

Mr. Saunders acquaints me not with [it] yet intends I hear to go into France with this Bordeaux fleet. He keeps quiet and meddles not so far as I can see.

Of late, I mean this summer, there has been printed here a number of books containing anagrams and prophecies applied to argue the King's good fortune to be the great man. And now some other like work is in hand. All meant I hear to be dispersed to persuade the people of the King's good fortune and to be ready against the woeful day, which I pray God may be Doomsday with me, for I will never wish to live longer.

Mr. Dacre is of new again summoned before the Kirk. But the King sent the Comptroller to stay the Kirk's proceedings till the King might take order in it, which will be to free Mr. Dacre from them he is promised. His son is now coming hither, looked for within some 20 days. I hear again there is some thought of matching his son in Scotland, which I yet see not how.

1599. Mr. Constable goes away into France with this fleet, commended by this King to the French King and his Ambassador.

Sir Ro: Kerr had so informed the King as the King by all means had dealt to fortify him at this meeting: but considering the danger by WP (Nicholson) means as afore, will in no wise hazard so great a matter upon Sir Ro: Kerr. 91. (Ro. Ker) is evil inclined says WP (G. Nicholson) and will one day do a mischief.

Here is a brother of the Earl of Atholl come home called Mr. Patrick Stewart. He comes from Rome I hear and is or was of the Order of the Capuchins, yet is gentlemanlike. Some suspect him. The King and Queen use him well. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand. The decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil.*

Sept. 22. **446.** JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 47. I am so bold as to entreat you for a little conference before I return to my master her Highness's answers negative to his demands of satisfaction in this matter of Ashfeild; not that I should call in question anything I have received of her own mouth, but suspecting how they shall be taken by my master and fearing the worst and that which I least would, to advise and devise with your Honour the best means how to hold all things in such frame as may further the increase of their friendship, which by the crooked affections of evil disposed instruments may other ways wax cold. In which respect laying apart all public place (?) and not being ashamed to crave as a scholar your resolution herein, I hope thus far to be satisfied as I doubt not your Honour is fully satisfied, with the cause wherefore I suit ill. So looking either to be acquainted by you of your hasty repairing hither for your own affairs or time and place to be appointed where I shall come [to] speak you I commit you to the protection of God. London, 22 September. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, 22 Sept."

Sept. 30. **447.** GEORGE NICOLSON'S BILL OF EXPENSES.

Vol. lxv, No. 48. Edinburgh, ultimo Septembris 1599. George Nicolson's bill of what is due to him for his service of her Majesty in Scotland, viz. for his entertainment and letters carrying and sending to and from him.

Imprimis his entertainment from the last of April 1599 until and for the last of September 1599, being 153 days at 13*s.* 4*d. per diem*	102*l.*	
Letters carrying to and from him from the last of March 1599, his former bill of letters being but till that day counted and paid, until this last of September	15*l.* 10*s.*	117*l.* 10*s.* sterling.

Signed: George Nicolson.

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At foot in William Skynner's hand: May it please your Honour the former sum of 102*l.* is paid to the hands of William Craven out of the Receipt as warranted by the privy seal remaining there. The other sum it may please you to cause to be otherwise supplied unto him as to your honourable consideration may seem good elsewhere. 6 November 1599. *Signed:* Wm: Skynner.

½ *p. Endorsed:* "Craven. Last of September."

Oct. 5. **448.** JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 49.

The bearer, a baron's son in our country, purposing to France for the universities, called James Wood, I could not deny him to insist with your Honour for a passport to him in ordinary form to pass with his horse as he can, conform to that which he has from the Governor of Berwick hither. London, 5° Octob. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal of arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, V^to^ Octobris."

Oct. 10/20. **449.** JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 50. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 210-2.

I am and have been in France ever since the 24 of the last, notwithstanding any bruits reported to the contrary, which be purposely given out by myself that such there of my own nation as seek to make their credit at home by my discredit may not know my footsteps. Since my arrival I have yet learnt nothing worthy of your Honour except that being in Calais I found Robert Manners there and the Earl of Orkney's brother who did much vaunt that they came out of England without passport even in the time when all were on their guards. They embarked at Gravesend and Thomas Douglas was their convoy as they say themselves. At my coming to this town I heard a Capuchin was gone home in secular apparel, calling himself Barkley, but my informer thinks it to be the young Lord Forbes, who a 7 year ago did render himself Capuchin at Brussels. And this same day is gone to Newhaven from hence for Scotland the Earl of Sutherland (Sudderland) and cousin to the Earl Huntly, who was once well "nurist" with Mr. Bruce, minister, but now is revolted. As I go further up if I fall upon anything more material I shall inform but I would have some notice from yourself if it will be acceptable, for by your last lines it seems to me that your Honour was somewhat offended, which has been one of the sorest crosses that ever I had, seeing that to my remembrance I never did offend her Majesty or her Estate or yourself in particular so much as in an undutiful thought.

Item, that your Honour may be acquainted with all my proceedings, please you understand that at my departure from thence some put me in hope to obtain the money which the King owes me so being I would abstain from speeches, persons and places that might offend him, which for the space of two months I have promised to do, that my friends should not see me "opiniastre."

1599. In the meantime (if I may unoffending your Honour) I would recommend my pitiable estate and my family's to your wonted favour that by your good means her Majesty may be moved to have compassion on us; beseeching you if any comfort can be obtained that it may be delivered to my wife in such form as I have at length written to Mr. Willis for causes contained in his letter. From Rouen, the 20 of October 1599 *stilo novo*. *Signed:* Jo: Colville.

Postscript. If in the company of an Irishman there be one called Campbell taken, please your Honour be informed that he is a Capuchin and gone home for ill offences and that he is the preacher of our nation most vehement against Religion and the amity and he it is that has corrupted the young Lords Seton, Drummond, Elphinstone, who be all yet in Paris and were his auditors. Be assured the Bishop of Glasgow and Fraser have committed much to him.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address:* "To my Lord, my Lord Secretary's Honour." *Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 12. **450**. GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 51. On Tuesday last the Council going to the King to Linlithgow for resolution anent the Border causes, the Earl of Angus, the Lord Hamilton and sundry others being there in Johnstone's contrary, and the Duke, laird of Buccleuch and others in his favour, the matter was hardly reasoned that day and the next day forenoon, Angus (for now the cause is his against the laird of Johnstone) alleging he could get no sufficient pledges of the Johnstones, and Johnstone that sufficient pledges were offered him, as needlessly and wrongfully he raised those troubles in Annandale. But the trial thereof is continued until Tuesday come a "sennet" to be here and the laird in the meantime sent hither to this castle, in which he entered yesterday afternoon. And George Murray, one of the King's Chamber, [was] sent to receive Lochmaben Castle for the King, Johnstone being directed to write with him to that effect. This Geo: Murray is Johnstone's own. In all appearance the day of trial and confronting the Lieutenant and Johnstone will be exceeding great and may well breed a great stir, which I verily look for. In the meantime Angus is not to meddle with the Johnstones. The Lord Secretary was not at this resolution but came on Wednesday after it was resolved, being sent for out of Angus to come to the King anent the dispatch of Mr. David Wardlaw who came on Saturday last hither from the laird of Beltries and is this day or to-morrow to return with the King's letter and resolution to all, whereon the gratuity will be required.

For our Borders the friendly meeting of Sir Robert Carey and Sir Ro: Kerr and the good justice done between them is great terror to the evil, and good appearance of better order hereafter. But the sight of Mr. Woodrington's and Mr. Fenwick's "rode" to Langholm with such force and in such good order for the "punde" helps much and lets them here see that their and some of her Majesty's can give them meeting, and therefore such men would be encouraged and not for their

pleasure here snubbed. [*In margin:* Sir Ro: Carey does very well in causing such "pundes" be taken. None can justly find fault with it and it terrified Teviotdale I know, as it is not amiss to do so oftener in good order. Sir Ro: Carey deserves commendation for his good course and care.] Thus much that your Honour may see the end and resolution of this Council at Linlithgow. I leave Mr. David Wardlaw's dispatch to the report of Beltries, by which you will know the certainty which I cannot. Edinburgh, 12 Octobris 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. I have by Mr. Craven sent to you for my entertainment to relieve me with, most humbly praying your order therein to be given in your accustomed favour.

And I also pray your Honour help me at her Majesty's hands for something to rest on in my age that the world may see she employs none that she makes not able to live in some sort like an honest man, which is all I desire. For I have nothing but depend on her Majesty's goodness, who has done for many less troubled and endangered in her service than I have been these 23 years.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 14. **451.** JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 52.

There be come to this town yesternight three gentlemen from Scotland by sea purposing to France, in whose favours I cannot but insist with your Honour for their passport. Their names be James Beton of Creich, Master Andrew Fletcher and Henry Brown. Having thus occasion of writing to you I cannot omit to heartily thank you for your good reporting of me to her Majesty anent my affections to the continuance of the peace betwixt the princes, which as I had her own word of it, so can I not but esteem it to proceed from your good mind towards me and whatsoever gracious acceptation I had of her Highness in my last audience. I wish I could serve you to any good offices. London, this Sunday, 14 October. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

Postscript. The bearer also Nathaniel Johnston, merchant, has a Scottish nag to transport to France with him, if your Honour will vouchsafe him your passport. *Signed:* Beltreis.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, 14 Oct."

Oct. 23. **452.** JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 53.

There be come up from Yarmouth five Scottishmen purposing to France and impeded by contrary winds are forced to come this way and to pass under your safe-conduct for the which I must be a suitor unto you. Their names be David Lindsay, apparent heir to the Earl of

1599. Crawford, and his eldest son, James Beton and James Isaac, his servants, going for Edinburgh, David Pitcairn and Patrick Guthrie going for Dover. I cannot but both thank you for your last courtesy and also assure you of my carefulness over those whom I shall recommend in this or any other manner as I wish to be accounted such an instrument in the common cause, as both your Honour and her Majesty by your means have conceited of me. My adoes crave your presence and your place gives no place to the surmising jealousies of others. If without offence it might be done I would suit it at your next being here; if not, I had yet rather be silent nor become a subject of talking to the multitude. Neither are my matters so misty but papers, if you so please, may impart them. I look to see her Majesty shortly. London, this Tuesday, 23 October 1599. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Placard seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 25. **453.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO LORD SCROPE.

Vol. lxv, No. 54. Forasmuch as this honourable gentleman, the bearer hereof, of very many friends and great worth (although for the present he is distressed for matter known to your Lordship and which no doubt in time will mend to his enabling to do good pleasures to his friends and such as now shall further him) is to be a suitor to you wishing in my love to you that now you should do him pleasure and so bind him and his means (which are great) to your service, I have made bold to commend him to your favour and furtherance, beseeching you to further his request in the kindest sort you may in your good discretion. Your honourable and honest friends have moved this to me with purpose to acknowledge your favour to be showed him any way as they may pleasure you. So many bear him good will so far as they may, as if you do him pleasure, in time you will think it well done. But these to your good secrecy and consideration, assuring you the party is very secret, wise, honest and thankful. Edinburgh, 25 Octob. 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address:* "To [Lord] Scroope, L. Warden of [the West] Marches at Carlisle."

Oct. 26. **454.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 55. On the 13 hereof I received your last letter of the 6 and on the 15 I showed the King the order taken by your Lordships of her Majesty's Council for the restoring of the muskets, etc. The King took it in good part and was very glad, saying her Majesty's subjects should be better used here than his were of late along the coast of England, noting that himself had been also with evil words spoken on and bruited by them to have been banded with Spain and Denmark and sold his title to Spain, and marvelled upon what ground it was spoken, what such

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1599. speech meant and how the people durst take such boldness to speak so largely, with some touch as if it could not have been without some information for what purpose he knew not. After this I told him I had received a letter from Sir Ro: Carey clearing his intent anent the great meeting which should have been with Sir Ro: Kerr that he meant no such or greater meeting for his part than for doing justice in peaceable sort and no way in contempt or displeasure. This the King seemed to believe, yet noted that such a meeting served for nothing unless that the Wardens meant by the same to muster and see whether her Majesty or he could make more men, adding that he saw nothing in Sir Ro: Carey but a very honest gentleman well disposed to do justice. But of Mr. Woodrington he spoke very hardly and the plain contrary, and therewith speaking of the late meeting and good justice between the 2 Sir Roberts, he said now Sir Robert Kerr is become an Englishman showing plain sign that he was very glad that he agreed so well with Sir Ro: Carey. Then I told him also how Sir Ro: Carey had certified me of Mr. Woodrington and Mr. Fenwick's "rode" to Langholm; that it was not done to displease the King or offend any his good subjects, but only for a "puinde," thereby to get redress to her Majesty's subjects and to daunten those unruly people that made their preys in Hexhamshire and had bragged that they would not want so long as the carles there had it, and that this "puinde" should be redelivered whensoever these wrongs should be repaired; which then the King allowed and found no fault with. Yet now upon further complaint to him of the matter, he directs this letter enclosed to Beltries to complain of it, notwithstanding that I sent him word to put him in memory how I had dealt with him and I thought satisfied him therein. In our then conference he said he could get no justice anent the accident of hunting nor answer but by Sir William Bowes only "fiffles fuffles" he termed it, meaning he could not tell what to make of Sir William's answer therein [*in margin:* Indeed Sir Wm. Bowes knows how to reason and answered it well I heard], saying he had sent to require justice therein but knew not what answer to get. I said that with his Majesty's pardon it was long of himself that it was not tried, his Majesty when he had written for and her Majesty consented to trial therein making Sir Ro: Kerr (an enemy to those her subjects) judge over them, putting it over with new matter and manner of trial by note sent up, which if his Majesty would peruse he would see to be true and a strange note scarce agreeing to reason in his own judgment, I thought he would judge in case he should review it. At which he seemed to marvel, concluding that now he called for justice and would see who it was "longe on."

Since my last here have happened no great matters. On Tuesday the King came hither having been at Beil, Ormiston and other places here in Lothian hunting. The matter between the Earl of Angus and Johnstone is continued till Thursday "sennet" with order that Angus shall bring in all the pledges of the broken men and Johnstone cause his to be sent in, and in the mean no complaints were heard of either part (both being aminded to have charged others as high as they could) but referred till the pledges be in and thereafter their complaints to be

heard and Johnstone still to remain prisoner here till then. Yet Drumlanrig is to be enlarged from Blackness to his free ward upon bond in this town. The Duke, Earl of Mar, Lord Fleming and Buccleuch were here very strong in favour of Johnstone. But the Duke for his pains and some of the rest he chid very hardly, asking them if they had nothing to do but to cross his proceedings with their gatherings, wishing them beware how they used so to come in his contrary. He is much against Johnstone, yet will make them all friends. Angus, Sanquhar and Cessford were on the other party very strong also and have the King's favour. Yet the best is agreement; for Johnstone is of many friends and very strong. My Lord Sanquhar offered to fight with Johnstone if the King would give him leave; that Johnstone was the author of the misrule of his name, but Johnstone was never brought before the King nor out of the castle. My Lord Sanquhar has slain one of the Johnstones about 13 days past. The King intends to make them all friends as this matter is like to pass over very strangely. One Watty Cairncross (Kerncors) has slain 2 Michelsons, cousins to Sir Geo: Home, which grieves him and sundry other slaughters have lately [been] made, so little justice is here. Sir Geo: Home and the Duke, Mar and Blantyre have had friendly speeches, as Sir Geo: will be their friend. The Secretary was absent again at this time.

The King is at great rage and examination with some ministers of Fife anent something judged to be written by some of them in requital of the King's testament. But all these and others to the sequel. Edinburgh, 26 of Octob. 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. The Lord President pleases not the King, etc. It may please you to cause this letter of the King be delivered to Beltries. I certified how Sir Jo: Carmichael was Warden and that proclamation was sent to publish the same. Yet it was stayed and so stands yet. Lochmaben was delivered to Geo: Murray. But Sir James MacConnell, Angus's son, has taken Dunnyveg again and forced all that minded to have taken lands of the King in his bounds to yield him surety and pledges to hold of none but him, as I never can see the King in perfect peace here.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 27. **455.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 56.

Forasmuch as this bearer, Edward Johnston, burgess of this town, has acquainted me with his going into the Low Countries and his purpose to do what service to your Honour he can in his voyage, which may fall out to be of great moment, for he is a very fit man and well practised in such courses and heretofore has done good services, as I hope you have heard of, I have thought good to accompany him with these lines to you, that thereby you may if you please employ him, the rather because he is very honest, secret and wise and will not look for more at your hands than your good countenance and help in his honest claim of some debts. His chief with whom he is very inward

James VI. 1599. is a worthy man as any in this nation and well affected to the amity as this bearer can show you. Edinburgh, 27 of October 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 30. **456. JOHN CAMPBELL TO JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES.**

Vol. lxv, No. 58. The weariness of this loathsome prison and the great desire I have to visit my parents and friends move me to write unto you at this present, trusting so much in your lordship's courtesy and favour that it would please you to put your helping hand for the procuring me my wonted liberty and the rather for that not having committed anything contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm there is but small or no occasion at all why I should be detained. Wherefore my humble request is that you would vouchsafe so to move Sir Robert Cecil in my behalf, by whose commandment I was committed. I have found him very favourable unto me and he has promised long since my speedy deliverance and now the only cause of my stay here is the want of one who would solicit and follow my cause to Sir Robert Cecil and put him in mind of his former promise. In the meantime, if it will please you, do me that courtesy as to send Mr. Elphinstone or any other of your gentlemen that I may understand by them some news of my friends and also communicate unto them my mind more at large. From the Marshalsea, the 30th of October 1599. *Signed:* John Campbell, son to George Campbell of Stenston.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed:* "Campbell the Capuchyne."

Oct. **457. JAMES HUDSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].***

Vol. lxv, No. 60. It may please your good Honour to be advertised that my lord has willed me to let you understand how he has been divers times with the Lord Treasurer for a Scottishman, one Lindsay, who came from Bruges and had aboard his ship a merchant of that town with 8*l.* in value of goods, against whose goods an information was put into the Exchequer and he was adjudged to pay 20*l.* and had his goods again and the man is here at liberty by the suit of another Fleming. He supposed he might have had the like favour for the Scottishman but it was answered by the Lord Treasurer that because he brought in a subject of the King of Spain's and concealed him that therefore his ship and his goods were confiscate by law and himself in the compass of treason and that for respect to the King, the amity and my lord's request he and his ship should be free but the merchandise goods confiscate as things only proper to his merchant, he therefore having no power to procure and

* In Thorpe's *Calendar* said to be addressed to the Lord Treasurer in accordance with the endorsement. But it is evident that the letter was sent to Cecil in the first place.

meddle therewith. Then the Scot desires to have his freight deducted out of the goods, which he says is the custom of the sea. In this he is either offered 20*l.* or that my lord appoint one merchant and he another to modify his freight. To this the Scot says that my lord's merchant will say wholly to my lord's liking and the other (either will not or) dare not say otherwise than to like effect.

This is the state of the cause and that which the Ambassador has willed me to advertise your Honour what effect his request at divers times has taken and withal humbly to pray your Honour to find some means for better remedy for the man that otherwise is utterly undone and beggared; which upon your last commandment that I should advertise you what his lordship's requests were and that you would make answer thereto by me I have thus boldly done, wherein I crave your pardon.

Now what in free speech the Ambassador says to me is this: first, the man being bound for Rochelle was driven in here by storm and this Scot concealed his passenger; a great matter seeing that many English trade in Bruges daily and this Scot has carried four English merchants thither whom it was not his part to discover more than he did this man, seeing neither the one or other were either traffickers in state or war affairs and that this enemy is still in London with more favour than he can have. Next, that the King of Scotland, when an Englishman came and "plenid" that a Dunkirker had spoiled him and made sale of his goods in a port in Scotland, did not only cause [to be] restored all that was found with the Dunkirker but has given the man action against all that bought any of his goods, with his royal promise that he shall have all law or favour may afford, even from his own hands if otherwise he could not prevail, with certification to the Dunkirker that if he presumed any more (or any of his complices) to attempt the like either upon Scots or English, either upon his coast or in his waters, that it should be on peril of their necks, notwithstanding that the Dunkirker showed a letter of marque against all Englishmen and their goods. Again, that many English ships have been, and might often have all their goods, confiscated, which have been favourably foreborne and overseen they passed easily under their "burthings," with many other like restitutions which have been made upon suit by the King's only favour to our nation. And if anything wanted to the suitor it was rather in the lawlessness of the part or people where it happened than in want of good will in the King and that in your Honour's father's time for these favours to our nation he did the like for them. All Scotsmen say that when they have suit here and once commence it in court that then it is so costly and so tedious that their best is either at the first to seek remedy before your Honour and the rest of my Lords of Council or else quite give it over. For it is 16 years since they have proved spoils by sea done on them by English pirates to the value of 25,000*l.* and now divers have suits with small redress. Thus much under your favourable correction I have been bold to certify you of. London, the [*blank*] of October 1599. *Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

2 *pp. Holograph. No address. Endorsed probably by Cecil's clerk:* "1599. Octob. Mr. James Hudson to the Lo: Th'rer."

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458. JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 59.

It may please your Honour to be remembered of my last letter written at the Ambassador's desire for one Lindsay, a Scotchman, wherein was showed my lord's sundry requests to the Lord Treasurer and small success with humble request for your honourable favour for the poor man's good dispatch. The bearer understands the matter to be as I set it down and by him my Lord has willed me to crave your pleasure therein for the poor man's comfort. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Octobr: 99. Mr. Hudson to my master."

[1599, ? Oct.]

459. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. BOURTON.

Vol. lxv, No. 61. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 208, 209.

By these I commend me heartily to yourself and loving bedfellow, thanking you of all your kindness. By these I only pray you think that I have failed in my duty so much not for any fraud or deceitful meaning but for lack of means being as you know deprived of my own means. You will therefore impute all to my fortune and not to my fidelity and hold me still in your favour and for the count of your chamber I pray you be as reasonable as you may. If I may ever acquit your kindness with the like be assured to find a thankful man. *Undated. Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To my loving friend Mr. Bourton at London." *No endorsement.*

[1599, ? Oct.]

460. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT LONGE.

Vol. lxv, No. 62. Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 209.

I have received your letter and your count and surely, suppose I remember not upon all given up in your count nor what you have received of me, yet I remit all to your conscience and honesty, in which I confide much and if, by means of such "middes" as Monsieur de Wemes has laboured for me, there can be any money got, you shall receive the half of that you give up and that in full payment, and I pray you continue your kindness to my wife that we part in such kindness as we began. I do my commendations to faithful Mr. Bourton and his good bedfellow. This [*blank*] from Paris. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

Postscript. Robert take in good part what I may do, for if my fortune were better my actions should show more liberality. If I were with you I could say to you many things I will not write because you cannot read.

1 *p. Holograph, with address:* "To my trest friend, Ro. Longe at London." *No endorsement.*

Nov. 3.

461. JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 63.

I have received a letter from his Majesty by the conveyance of Mr. Hudson and your Honour's direction, for which amongst many

better offices I become daily more obliged to you. I have now twice in your absence found (as I can conjecture) the present fruits of your affection to the amity in her Majesty's most gracious accepting and hearing me in his Highness's service. I am not able to requite it but shall present it unto him for whose sake it is vouchsafed me, as I have done already. The contents of my letters I doubt not are imparted by others to your Honour and I am sorry that when we have on all hands been about to maintain quietness betwixt the princes, our labours should be thus impeached by ill disposed persons on the Borders, for repressing whereof I will even beseech you to continue as ye have begun from the time of my service this way to do good offices *ut finis coronet opus*. For the only mark I aim at as the chief recompense of all my travails is that matters may be in as good, if not better, estate than I found them, which by your assistance and others of the like affection I hope to bring to pass. London, 3 November 1599. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

Postscript. Please your Honour make this packet pass through of my two last audiences, being of themselves good; and concerning the matters now complained upon it were best they went with diligence for keeping all in tune.

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

Nov. 12. **462.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 61.

On Saturday last a Dunkirker of 90 or 100 tons sent to the bailiffs for leave to come into Leith to repair and victual themselves, which the bailiff showed the King and asked his pleasure therein, which was that they should come in. Whereon they came into Leith and there lie.

That day the King was so busy as I could not speak him. Yesterday afternoon I showed him of her coming in and commended to him to do in it as should appertain, showing him that if they had done any hurt to her Majesty's subjects she could not choose but think much he should receive them; or if they should do hurt after their receipt and refreshing here in their return, her Majesty might think they were enabled here to do the same and that he did other ways to her in either than she did ever to him; saying to him that for discharge of my duty and in my love to him also I commended this to his good consideration as a matter that would be looked at after. He said the bailiff told him they were the King of Spain's men and had done no hurt and being in friendship with them and his subjects well used by them he could not refuse them, asking me if I knew they had done hurt or I could complain on them. I said not, but I knew that of late some Dunkirker had spoiled some ships "thwart" Tynemouth. He willed me to try and he should try himself if they had done any hurt, accounting he could do nothing to them unless they were faulty. The Lord Secretary said to me that the King would forbid them to do any hurt in their return and if they did it should be remembered when ever they came hither again. In this manner the matter is put over, as if any good be done it must be with our own ships. On Saturday last I wrote to Sir Jo:

1599. Carey of her coming hither and herewith I have written to him to send to Newcastle to see if there be any will complain of this ship; as also to see what can be done to take her. For in this if we can do anything ourselves we shall be best served. Example, the last Dunkirkers that were here; and I hear there are many on our coast. The Dunkirker is a fly boat. She has 10 good minions and sakers, 6 murdering pieces all well placed, 60 muskets and 70 men, whereof 8 are Scotsmen besides boys, the captain's name is Jasper, a man of 60 years. There is in her an English boy and some hid persons as I hear. She is a fine vessel and sails exceeding well. They say they have been long on the coast of Norway and came in for victuals. But some judge they bring privy letters and errands; others that they are come to try and spy the coasts and harbours. Thus much for this time till I learn more.

The King has said that the King of Spain has but dallied with us and will have no peace with us. And so I hear at another hand, as also that there is proclamation that all Catholics that will come to them at their landing shall be rewarded, and if they cannot so yet if they come to them when they march forward they shall be rewarded, or yet fly when they come to the fields against them; or if they cannot so, yet if before the joining of the battles, they come to them and render their weapons they shall be rewarded and received. But if they do not so but be in the battles against them, then such will be the fury of the sword as they cannot select and save them from the rest; that this spring after this advertisement the Spaniard is to land in this isle. The King hears that the wars in Ireland are begun again and that the enemies purpose to lie about and surprise the walled towns this winter. But all these to your good secrecy as things I do but hear and that in great secret.

For this Estate it is in the old manner tumbling over. On Thursday the laird of Johnstone brought in most of his pledges and is gone to bring the rest on Thursday next and thereafter to be freed and go hence. The laird of Buccleuch staying only to see him at good peace has brought the matter between him and Sanquhar and Drumlanrig to end in effect, Johnstone having subscribed an assurance and they 2 to do the like or the King to strait them. But they have promised the King to subscribe. The laird of Buccleuch has hereon taken leave of the King and Queen and goes through England. Crawford goes by sea. The laird if he be favourably heard can show the state and means to mend the Borders. The Lord Lieutenant Angus came not with his pledges but excused the same and is to bring them this week as that country they mean thus to quiet and that Carmichael shall be Warden and Johnstone to assist him.

The 4 sessions of this town (without touch by name of our English players Fletcher and Martin with their company and not knowing the King's ordinance for them to play and be heard) enacted and the preachers exhorted their flocks to forbear and not to come to or haunt profane games, sports or plays now when they ought rather to make their recourse to God by prayer and fasting to prevent the displeasure of God hanging over them, and threatening them by the sword now by reason of cruel slaughters among them by the late players here and the

1599. great famine of late and appearance of it in no less measure this year. The King, hearing of this and that this should be done (as it was not) to countermand him, summoned by a macer the said sessions to convene before him and his Council the last Thursday, when he threatened them and in end concluded as by the proclamation which was proclaimed will appear to your Honour. The ministers utterly refused to countermand anything they had said and to endure the extremity. Yet honest counsellors, especially the Provost, brought the King from his hard resolution with conclusion that the charge should cease towards the ministers and the ministers let the matter lie and be dead on both sides. So as yesterday in their preachings they used very gentle exhortations (as they do ever with great respect) to forbear all profaneness, in sort as the wise might know their constancy and none nevertheless touch them for the same with reason. The King this day by proclamation with sound of trumpet has commanded the players liberty to play and forbids their "hinder" or impeachment therein. The bellows blowers will and do say they are sent in by us to strew contention between the King and Kirk. Thus this matter stands over with an increase of dislike between the parties, King and Kirk.

This day the King is gone to Corstorphine (Christorphin) to hunt a match with Cessford. So as till Thursday the King will not deal in Kirk matters with the ministers he sent for. This winter the most of the greatest noblemen will lie in this town, as Hamilton, Huntly, Errol and Mar, etc. On Saturday the King chose the Provost, putting the Chancellor in leet to be Provost and one Wm. Fowler to be a bailiff. But the town chose the old Provost and left out Wm. Fowler, whereat inwardly the King grieved and the Chancellor "mynting" at it thinks himself outshot, as none knows what change it may work. For bailiffs, Tho: Fisher, Tho: Gedisse, William Alde and Ric: Doby are chosen. Edinburgh, the 12 of November 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. After the writing hereof 2 merchants of London, Smith and Marshall, came to me showing me these Dunkirkers had their goods and other men's to sell here that they had taken before Tynemouth and that the prisoners that were kept close were Englishmen. Whereon I rode with them to the King to Corstorphine and showed the same to him, desiring they might be seized on and the goods forthcoming to the crowners and the ship searched and prisoners relieved. Hereon the King sent Geo: Murray to the Provost and bailiffs to will them to give command that none buy any goods from them till the King's pleasure be known as also that in the meantime the goods nor prisoners be conveyed away. The Provost said, seeing the King had received them, he could not now strait them; that there was war between us and them and a league defensive and offensive with them as well as with us; that they could no more hinder them to dispose of their prizes here than of any of our nation coming hither with the price [? prize] of any Spaniard; concluding that he would do what he could so far as he had warrant and sent to the bailiff to the best effect to cause all be stayed till the King's pleasure be further known and that his deed might be by warrant of King and Council. So that

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till Thursday I know not how it will be but do wish that God would give these Dunkirker thieves into our hands.

Sir James MacConnell, Angus's son, is now fortifying himself by O'Donnell and intends not to come more to the King. Some of those men out of Court have found out that the Comptroller and Sir Geo: Elphinstone received bribes of Sir James furthering his escape which are reserved to be used as a scourge to them as opportunity shall serve, but that side guides all.

The King will not have his Wardens to meet ours any time on the English side but on the Scots and will write to her Majesty or Beltries again for the same by the next.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(The King's proclamation regarding English plays.)

Vol. lxv, No. 64[1]. Printed *in extenso* in *Reg. P.C. of Scotland*, VI, 39. Calendared in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, II, 266.

James, &c. Forasmuch as we and the Lords of our Secret Council, considering the late contempt and indignity done to us by the 4 Sessions of our burgh of Edinburgh in taking upon them by a public act to countermand the warrant and liberty granted by us to certain comedians to play within our said burgh and in ordaining their ministers publicly to discharge their flocks to repair to the said comedies. . . . Our will is that incontinent these our letters seen ye pass and in our name and authority to the Market Cross of Edinburgh and there by open proclamation command and charge the said whole persons of the said 4 Sessions because they are one multitude to convene themselves in their accustomed places within 3 hours next after they be charged by us thereto and there by a special act to cancel annull and discharge the other act foresaid made by them and to give a special ordinance to their whole ministers that they after their sermons upon the next Sunday publicly admonish their own flocks to reverence and obey us and our said warrant and to declare that they will not restrain nor censure any of them that shall repair to the said comedies and plays, &c. Holyroodhouse, 8 of November 1599 and 33 of our reign.

Slip of paper. Copy in G. Nicolson's hand. Endorsed.

Nov. 15. **463.** PETITION OF GEORGE SMITH AND RICHARD MARSHALL TO KING JAMES VI.

The 15 of November 1599 to the King's Majesty of Scotland.

Vol. lxv, No. 65.

We George Smith and Richard Marshall, citizens of London, coming hither about such debts as is owing unto us by some of your Majesty's subjects and shipping certain goods to the value of 200*l.* sterling to have been sold in your Majesty's country to the benefit of your people, do here find a Dunkirker assisted with divers of your own born subjects in her in your town of Leith that have taken and are selling of our goods in our sight to our great grief and utter undoing, unless it may please your Majesty, which we most humbly beseech you, to give us redress of our said goods, which we hope your Majesty

may do for justice sake, being spoiled of our goods by these Dunkirkers and your own born subjects, and for our Majesty's our sovereign's sake being in such league with your Majesty. As also where we understand they took the master and others of the ship wherein our goods were and have them and some other prisoners hid, either in the ship or in some house closely kept, we beseech your Majesty in our said poor countrymen's behalf to cause search be made for them and set at liberty.

½ *p. Copy. No endorsement.*

Nov. 16. **464.** JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 66.

I must recommend to your Honour's safe-conduct for their passage to France certain gentlemen of Scotland, my friends, and an honest man of Edinburgh, to wit John Elphinstone, James Elphinstone and Johnston, with their own horses brought from Scotland, as their passport from the Warden bears, and the bearer can more particularly instruct.

I would be glad to know of her Majesty's first direction towards our Borders anent my last note of complaint, or any other affairs, to the end I might have occasion to certify his Highness of her Majesty's princely disposition and loving kindness towards him and the continuance of their amity, with her Majesty's other gracious answers to my suits. Novemb. 16, 1599. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Placard seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Nov. 17. **465.** JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 67.

I understood by Mr. Hudson this day of your mind anent the heads of my last letter and, which pleased me better, of the bettering of your Honour's present estate. As to the first I have resolved to send the bearer to his Majesty for expedition, that delay bring not matters in worse case than they yet are. For since God has by good instruments so blessed my labours that the princes are in better fashions nor they seemed at my entry, I shall be very sorry if I leave it not in the same estate now whenas I expect my return home. It will please you grant him a passport. 17 Novemb. 1599. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Seal torn off. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

[1599, Nov.] **466.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 57.

I hear that the King said when it was said to him that her Majesty would not think well that he should thus receive the Dunkirkers in consideration what stir Sir William had made about the last, that he could not nor would not refuse them, they treated his subjects well and we used his subjects very evil, that he was in friendship with them and would not refuse them; and why might not he as well as the

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King of France do it? He had done it and she could not find fault with it. And why should she find more fault with him than the King of France, to whom the King sends with the first fair wind 8 horses by the laird of Bantaskine, Livingstone, by sea. The King made a great doubt that if he sent through England the horse would be hurt of spite, and so did the Treasurer, etc. These news of the going back of the peace with Spain came but hither on the same day the Dunkirker came so far as I can perceive. If her Majesty send ships my Lord Admiral had need to give strait charge to the captains to use diligence, and it will need so far as ever I could see his lordship's charge. For the news of Ireland it is said here that the rebel takes this heart and dealings in hand in hope that my Lord of Essex shall come there no more but be distressed in England. God of His mercy sake make love amongst us in England! Here a courtier said to me that my master, meaning your Honour, now trod on my Lord of Essex, etc. but the Almighty God preserve true love amongst us! For we have enemies enough and too many. Indeed I honour you and will serve you while I live and wish I had the honour to be your servant; for in heart I will be it.

An old man to please the King seeing him offended that the Chancellor was not provost jested merrily and said that the Chancellor was fat and the President "swampe" and fit to travel and himself not so old but that this year being the year of Jubilee her Majesty might die and the provost and he march with the King on foot to Newcastle. Whereon the King laughed and was pleased. This I heard but inly and secret to your Honour's self, by this ye may see what pleases.

I told the King at Corstorphine that there were 8 Scotsmen in it. He said he thought there were of all nations and I told him of the English boy, but he referred all to Geo: Murray's message to the provost, who I cannot think would do less than he may in this case. But it will be sure best that her Majesty's ships do her own turn, for here are words and no deeds. *Undated. Unsigned.*

1 *p. In G. Nicolson's hand. No address or endorsement.*

Nov. 20. **467.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 68.

The Ambassador has willed me to move your Honour that you would be pleased to let him understand her Majesty's pleasure touching the matter of the gratuity which she was pleased so graciously and freely to grant, that he thought the King doubly obliged and honoured thereby and himself most happily content. The gratification that I find in him of longing home is to relate to the King how happy he may think him of her Majesty's love and friendship and watchful protection and to warn him to be as careful to merit the continuance and increase of it with all love and due regard. Surely the great honour that it has pleased her Majesty to use him with has not been lost. He says that her very favours, courtesies and honours that she is pleased to give to all sorts do still shine with majesty and gravity and that the wisest princes in the world may with honour learn of her to govern the great

and guard the small. A thousand times has he wished the King to have heard and seen that which he has, and some of his Council and Court. He says that in many points of piety and in disposition the King very nearly resembles her Majesty. He says that whosoever has the theory of good government, he is sure she has the practice thereof. I find so much of him in like matters that I dare affirm he abhors dissimulation, and so he should for he is nobly born and of good inclination and well seasoned with religion and will surely tell some men of their errors at his return home.

The Ambassador has willed me to show your Honour that the laird of Wemyss being bound for France is a suitor that her Majesty will be pleased by your good means that he may be honoured with kissing of her Majesty's hands and that he may have your passport for himself, his servants and his own horses which he brought with him, 8 in number, as may appear by Sir John Carey's passport sent herewith. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "20 November '99. Mr. Hudson to my master."

Nov. 21. **468.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv. No. 69.

On Thursday last the King being come from his hunting with Sir Ro: Kerr I delivered him the petition (whereof enclosed I send the copy) in the behalf of our 2 merchants of London, praying his Majesty to yield them redress against the Dunkirkers. That day he was so busy about his Border causes with the Lieutenant and Johnstone, etc., as the bill was not read. But on Friday he caused it to be read in Council, where I hear the whole Council reasoned that the King would not meddle with the Dunkirker, both because he had leave to come in and that the little goods (they said) they had taken were lawful prize, and that if they should meddle with them his subjects should not be able to travel by sea for them; but that his Majesty should request for restitution of our men's goods. Whereon the King sent to crave them of the Dunkirker, who said that he and another Dunkirker still at sea were partners and had but got 60 pairs of stockings and 8 firkins of soap which they had divided between them and that his share was partly sold and partly worn amongst his company and so all gone; but that if they had been in place he would have restored them all, he said, at the King's or bailiff's request, as I heard. They have 2 prisoners, one of Emden and other of "Wemblinge." On Saturday in the night I was quietly advertised that they were quietly requested to haste away, because the King was importuned against them, and that they were accordingly to depart. That day by proclamation at the Market Cross it was forbidden to buy any goods of them. On Sunday morn I told the King that they were going away and prayed they might be stayed till they made redress to our merchants. He told me as before that he had read my bill but as his Council had said he could not meddle with them, asking me what I would have him to do. I said if he could not do it against the Dunkirkers there were yet of his own born subjects

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1599. in her who, if he should "straite," might possibly move the Dunkirkers to make redress, because if the Dunkirkers should want them they knew not the coast nor would get home. [*In margin:* there is 4 Scotsmen pilots (?) and one quartermaster.] This the King seemed to like very well, asking whom he should employ, which I left to himself; who said one of the bailiffs willing Mr. Aston to remember him, which he did. Whereon that afternoon the King put Tho: Fisher to threaten the Scotsmen and entreat the Dunkirkers all for procuring of redress. To whom answer was made that they had but 30 pair of stockings and 4 firkins of soap for their share which was all gone; that they had no English prisoners nor yet an English boy. On Monday night the wind kept her forcibly in till she put out of Leith (Bantaskine putting out that night also with the 2 horses for France). That night the King sent for me to be with him and bring our 2 merchants with me yestermorn, which I did. The King sent for the bailiff, and hearing me say she was gone that night out of Leith seemed angry that she was gone and examining the bailiff what he had done, he recounted he had searched her but saw no goods and declared their speeches tending to the effects rehearsed that they got but 30 pair of stockings and 4 firkins, that there was no Englishman nor boy in her, the which the King also repeated. Whereon I asked whether the thieves [*in margin:* some repined that I should call them thieves] or our honest merchants were to be trusted, etc. In end he willed the bailiff to speak our men and get their note of what they wanted. Whereon our Englishmen are this day to give him new petition, but to no purpose, the ship being gone, other than for further trial. What the King will say for this to her Majesty by letter I know not, but I judge he shall excuse it with his own hand or by Mr. James Sempill, to which I refer your Honour and to the merchants who will complain when they come home, and so did show the King. The King told me the Dunkirkers were very churls for that he had requested for the liberty of the 2 prisoners and that they answered not unless he would give his hand writ for them, which the King took as if they would then have 2 Scotsmen for them again. They fought amongst themselves yet would not be ordered by the King's officers. And where (as I heard) the searcher had taken cloth of them for custom, the King caused render it again to them, as here they had in hardiness offered them. The King told me the captain came to the palace to have spoken with him, but that he refused to speak him. The captain made motion, but how I cannot learn, to be "receit" and have "vent" for corns he should bring in. This [is] true that he motioned it.

For this Estate the King has ever since his return on Wednesday night from hunting been very busily occupied about the West Border and Kirk causes. On Thursday Johnstone brought in the rest of his pledges save a deadly wounded man and another. The assurance meant to be made between him and his competitors, Sanquhar and Drumlanrig, was in going back and evil countenances amongst them. Yet the King has perfected that and drawing them to submit for agreement, which will for the time quiet those parts, the assurance also standing between the Maxwells and Johnstones. But as the King pacifies one

1599. trouble others do arise still here, as now into the west parts the lairds of Lochinvar (Loughenvar) and Bargany with the tutor of Cassillis and others are in troubles. The King and ministers have had many and long conferences by way of free communing in which the "greves" amongst them and the King have been friendly and quietly ripped up, either satisfying other, and yet they have resolved on nothing anent the matter of bishops for vote in Parliament, but referred all to the General Assembly. All other matters quiet. Edinburgh, 21 November 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. My Lady Livingstone is to be relaxed excommunication for conference for her conversion, which I never look for.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Vol. lxv, No. 69[1]. The enclosure in the preceding letter.

(Petition of George Smith and Richard Marshall to the King of Scotland, 15 November.)

Slip of paper. Copy of No. 463 supra *in G. Nicolson's hand.*

Nov. 21. **469.** FURTHER PETITION OF GEORGE SMITH AND RICHARD MARSHALL TO KING JAMES VI.

21 Novembris, 1599.

Vol. lxv, No. 71. Whereas we George Smith and Richard Marshall of London did attend upon your Majesty on Monday was 8 days past to have spoken with you about the Dunkirker which has robbed us, and since that we have delivered our petition to George Nicolson on Thursday last concerning the loss we have sustained by the Dunkirkers and your own born countrymen and lying in your town of Leith, we have attended ever since upon your Majesty's answer to our great hindrance and this day having spoken with your bailie, he wills us to bring in our bill, which we have lost. May it please your Majesty to appoint who shall make restitution for that sum which we have lost, we shall soon prove our bill. Otherwise we crave your answer under writing to our petition that we may certify our Queen's Majesty and her Council thereof, and craving your leave to depart.

½ *p. Copy in the same hand as No.* 463 *supra. Endorsed:* "The copies of two petitions delivered to the King of Scots touching goods taken at sea from George Smyth and Richard Marshall by certain Scots and Dunkirkers."

[*?c.* Nov.] **470.** GENERAL BAND FOR THE PRESERVATION OF KING JAMES VI. AND HIS TITLE TO ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

Vol. lxv, No. 72. "Ane generall band voluntarlie maid be the guid subjectis of the Kingeis Majestie for the preservacioun of his Hienes persoun and persuit of his undoutit richt to the crownis of Ingland & Irland maid anno 1599."

James VI.
1599.

Forasmuch as the eternal providence of God has established kingdoms and monarchies and has appointed kings and princes to bear rule over the same, representing His divine [power] in ministration of justice to their subjects, and honouring Him by establishing true and Christian religion according to His word: in contemplation of which benefits redounding to the people by the lawful authority of the prince, they are bound to love, reverence and obey their native sovereign[s], to procure at their uttermost power their standing and advancement, to resist and withstand all and whatsoever practices or attempts which may be hurtful to their person or estate: Therefore we undersubscribed, natural and loyal born subjects of this realm, calling to memory and finding daily before our eyes the great felicity and inestimable comfort wherewith the most happy and gracious reign of our sovereign has enriched us and the wonderful quietness wherewith we have by God's providence and his Highness's prudent government in so universal troubles of all Europe been blessed, acknowledging ourselves most justly bound with our bodies, lives, lands, goods and gear in his defence and safety against whatsoever of what nation, degree or quality soever they be that would directly or indirectly attempt any harm against his most sacred person and estate; therefore we and every one of us, conjointly and severally in presence of the Almighty Power by whom princes rule, (whom we call upon not only as a means but as a just avenger of such as shall violate and contravene these presents) of our own free motive and will bind and oblige ourselves mutually each one of us to others in that firm band and holy society whereby we solemnly vow and promise before the great God with our whole powers, bodies, lives, lands, goods, children, servants and all that is under our commandment, truly and faithfully to serve and humbly to obey our said sovereign Lord against all estates, dignities and earthly powers whatsoever, invade and pursue by all manner of hostility, as well by force of arms as by all other means, all sort of persons, their complices, assisters and partakers as shall attempt or undertake by deed, counsel or consent to any practice that in any respect may tend to the harm of his Majesty's most royal person, honour, estate or dignity and shall never desist from any manner of hostile pursuit of such traitorous tyrants till they, their counsellors, "tyders"* and partakers be all utterly rooted out to the example of others upon esperance of impunity to attempt the like. And because Almighty God amongst others His inestimable blessings which He multiplies upon our said sovereign Lord to his glory and our great comfort has established the undoubted right of the crown of England and Ireland in his Majesty's most royal person next to his dearest sister Elizabeth, now Queen of England, which notwithstanding divers persons upon frivolous and impertinent pretensions would go about to impugn contrary to his birthright and the most ancient and allowed laws of both the realms, whereof we upon our bounden duty to our native sovereign and moved in conscience to advance the righteous successor [have] solemnly sworn and protest by the name of the great God not only at our uttermost power and strength (?) to maintain and

* "Aiders" in Nicolson's copy (vol. lxv, No. 73 *infra*); "leaders" in the two other copies (*ibid.*, Nos. 74 and 75).

defend our sovereign in his undoubted right and title to the crown of England and Ireland against all other pretenders whatsoever; but likewise shall readily without any drift or excuse upon whatsoever pretext bestow ourselves, our lives, children, friends, goods and whatsoever else in the pursuit thereof against whatsoever persons that shall after the decease of the Queen of England hinder, impugn or withstand his Majesty, his heirs or successors in the peaceable getting, enjoying or possessing of the foresaid crown of England and Ireland, and shall by all forceable means take the uttermost revenge upon them, their aiders, counsellors, partakers or assisters that by any means possible we or any of us can excogitate or devise and never desist till we establish our dearest sovereign (or in case of his decease before, which God forbid, his heirs and successors) in the royal crowns of England and Ireland and peaceable fruition of the same (without prejudice always to Queen Elizabeth, his Majesty's dearest sister, during all the days of her lifetime). And for the more sure corroboration of this, our voluntary band and entry in so holy and lawful society, we and every one of us undersubscribing confirm the whole contents thereof by our solemn and great oath taken upon the Holy Scriptures with this express condition that none of us shall upon any respect of persons or cause for fear of danger nor hope of reward separate ourselves from this condition or fault in any part of the premisses during our lifetimes, and if we do in the contrary (as God forbid) that we by our most gracious sovereign or his heirs and rest of our society be not only reputed as perjured persons unworthy to bear office in any Christian realm or civil commonwealth, but also to be prosecuted as most vile and detestable traitors and public enemies to God, our sovereign prince and native country; to the which punishment and pains we do voluntarily submit ourselves or every one of us without appellation or reclamation, like as we are content that these presents be ratified by the Estates in the next Parliament and presently inserted and registered in the books of Council *ad futuram rei memoriam* and that executorials be directed thereupon in form as "effeirs." In witness whereof to this present band subscribed with our hands, our seals of arms are affixed, the year of God 1599, and of his Majesty's the 33rd year.

1 *p. Copy in a Scottish hand. No endorsement.*

Vol. lxv, No. 73. Copy of the foregoing in G. Nicolson's handwriting, with slight verbal alterations.

1¼ *pp. Endorsed by Nicolson.*

Vol. lxv, No. 74. Another copy of the same. Dated 1599 in the 34th [*sic*] year of the reign.

⅓*p. Contemporary copy in an English hand. Endorsed:* "Anno 1599. The copy of the bond entered into by the K. of Scots subjects for pursuit of his title to England."

Vol. lxv, No. 75. Another copy of the same. Dated 1599 in the 34th [*sic*] year of the reign.

3 *pp. In a late hand probably of the* 18*th cent. Endorsed:* "Anno 1599. The copy of the Bond made by the Scotch for preservation of

James VI. 1599. their sovereign's person & the pursuit of his undoubted right to England & Ireland."

Nov. 27. **471.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 76.

The King has now written and sent his letters in the Secretary's packet enclosed to Beltries, which I send with this diligence to your Honour, praying you to cause the same be delivered to Mr. James Sempill with speed and safety. On Sunday night Mr. Da: Wardlaw came post hither for the King's directions and Treasurer's how the gratuity should be disposed on, which here is kept close that creditors should get none. [*In margin:* "hardred" is like to get nothing.] The King is well pleased now, as I hear, but in great rage against Sir Wm. Bowes. By these letters the receipt of the Dunkirkers will be excused, to which I refer that matter.

The day of the writing of my last my Lord Sanquhar, having solicited the King and had promised that where one Read a minister was placed minister in a part of his lands, the presentation whereof belonged [to] my lord, and had let the "teithe" [tithe] from my lord to the laird of Balthayock (Bathiak), Blair by name, and getting no redress thereof, rode after the laird and minister, being but 5 and the laird and minister 2 in company, and kept them prisoners. At the which the ministers complained and got the King to make proclamation against my lord for the same. The King is very angry at it, yet my Lord Sanquhar intends neither to come in nor set at liberty the men till the matter be mended to him for he says and here they account it no greater wrong than to let the tithe of any man's from the landlord's and to prejudge any of their presentation; so as this matter has hindered the submission to have been with Johnstone, Drumlanrig having also got respite till the 10 of the next month to be advised with his friends. The King labours these agreements at all hands. The Chancellor and Sir James Sandilands are submitted, and Cassillis and Bargany by friends are laboured to agree. The 10 of the next month the Convention will be exceeding great and, as I hear, will treat of some solid course to be set down for having all the King's subjects ready for arms against he need them, which is looked, nay hoped, by some shall be shortly. God prevent them of their hopes, but this to the trial. Always some device is judged shall be then for getting money to support the King's estate and help the courtiers. I hear, which I beseech your Honour to keep close, that there is a general band subscribed by many and to be subscribed by all earls, lords and barons binding them by solemn vow and oath to serve the King with their lives, friends, heritage, goods and gear and to be ready in warlike furniture for the same at all occasions, but especially for his claim to England. 99 (Baltress) had a copy thereof sent him, which if he showed not to Cl. (your Honour) is for worse purpose. Some judge they will raise the silver to help the wants and now see how the King may be furnished to go the next summer to the Isles (as he intends). This gratuity will put off the King's anger from the Treasurer for a while. For the King,

because he supplied not his wants, raged and said he would change him, and inwardly blames his Council and Chamber as sellers of him, as I have quietly heard.

90 (Sir Geo: Hume) and 91 (Sir Ro: Ker) I hear are at secret emulation. [*In margin:* a Councillor asked me who had made 91 (Sir Ro: Kerr) a friend to ⑫ (England), assuring me that he reasoned in their favour and that very earnestly.] What it will turn to I wot not, but the great companies to lie here this winter will sure breed some "plattes." The Chancellor lies in the King's house and so must Huntly; the Duke and Mar, Errol, Hamilton, Glencairn, Cassillis and other, will lie all this winter in the town. Thus much till I know more. Edinburgh, 27 Novemb. 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. Before I have humbly desired your Honour that it would please you to be means that I might have a licence for the bringing in of such corn as would come to this country, etc. Now, Mr. Aston, a gentleman that has deserved a great deal a better turn, being indeed ever a servant in effect to her Majesty and her ministers here has acquainted me that he will suit your Honour for such a licence, which, and though I were never to receive good, I cannot wish him to be hindered but furthered in, and therefore desire you to get him his suit and to let me have a part in it; which he is well content with and will pleasure us both till her Majesty may otherwise help us. I certified you it would be sought for for others that had not deserved it at her Majesty's hands and that the King would write for it to relieve his country with and that being granted his request were satisfied aforehand, which now I hear he will be moved to do. I humbly beseech you to give us this licence with speed and for it we have desired Mr. Hudson to solicit you, beseeching you to hear him in our behalfs. If it come not by licence it will be stolen (?) hither as it uses. Yet the licence would do us good and bind us to pray for her Majesty and your Honour.

A servant of the laird of Creich has confessed that there was a plot to have shot the Comptroller, Sir Ro: Kerr and Sir Geo: Home by some Johnstones, Scotts and others. What it will work I know not, but the Council will examine it further this afternoon.

1½ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seals broken. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. The decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets probably inserted by Sir R. Cecil.*

[*c.* Nov. 27.] **472.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 70.

This band as W[r] (Nicholson) hears was made because Cl. (your Honour) should say to 99 (Baltress) that 16 (K. of Scotts) had the goodwill of 12 (her Majesty) but that ⑯ (Scotland) would be most against it.

W[r] (Nicholson) is plainly told that 16 (K. of Scotts) purpose and care is only how to put ⑯ (Scotland) in arms and more books are to be printed here in secret for stirring up the people's hearts to the King.

The King answered one of our 2 merchants with questions: how

1599. chance[d] the great ship at Berwick; said he suffered the Dunkirker and took her not, and yet he knows she is not ready. He asked why the Queen's ships suffered her. But these to their reports.

I never received letter from your Honour since yours of the 6 of the last month, which was opened, being 7 weeks and more.

91 (Sir Rob: Ker) has used very exceeding great protestation to W' (Nicholson) of his good intent ever hereafter to do all good offices for 12 (her Maty) he can. And if he can recover that favour he will be diligent to requite it with the best service he could. Indeed he is a new man, but more of this when I have further heard him. *Undated. Unsigned.*

Slip of paper. In G. Nicolson's hand. The decipherment of the ciphers shown above in brackets inserted by Sir R. Cecil.

Nov. 27. **473.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 77. The cause of my long silence has been rather for want of sufficient matter than to have neglected my duty to your Honour, to whom of all others I am most bounden. The cause of my writing at this time is to crave the continuance of your favour towards me as I shall be ever ready to deserve to the uttermost of my power. Your Honour has been the instrument to procure her Majesty's gracious goodness towards me, which I never craved longer than my actions merited. Although it has pleased her Highness to withdraw her former bounty, yet I shall never omit any part of duty that appertains to a loyal and faithful subject. I am to be censured by all my actions and by such instruments as have been employed here by her Majesty, whereof as last I take Sir William Bowes to be a witness and for my daily actions Mr. Nicolson can best declare.

That which I will presently crave till her Majesty may be moved to have some consideration of me is a licence to transport some quantity of peas and beans, a matter which has been ordinarily granted heretofore to divers. I have acquainted Mr. George Nicolson with this my intent, who would, if it please your Honour, be partaken with me and so to extend it as a benefit to us both. If you vouchsafe to accept of our suit there rests then a restraint to be made of all such as shall transport that kind of grain without licence. Here are sundry preparing themselves and think to bring here a great quantity without licence asked or given as they did this last year to the number of 20 ships laden without profit to any but the buyers and sellers and their confederates. This I leave to your good consideration who I doubt not will think us as worthy that benefit as others. I have written to Mr. Hudson to solicit your Honour in this matter, from whom I look to understand your pleasure.

Here is no matter of substance to write of for the present by these letters. The King informs his Ambassador here to answer the matter of the Dunkirker lately departed. I find by all Sir Robert Kerr's actions he has a special desire to woo her Majesty's favour and I know he is at this time driving a faction of the Council and Chamber, such

1599. as are in best credit, to bind up a sure friendship among them thereafter to settle their standing by running a sound course with her Majesty, and for performing of this Sir Robert shall be employed to her Majesty with so ample a commission as he should be able to bind up a more warmer kind of proceedings between the princes than before. For myself, God is my judge I speak it for no other intent but for her Majesty's service, he is the man at this hour may do her best service considering his office, his place in Council and Chamber. I find the King very well satisfied with her Majesty's proceedings towards him and the gentleman presently employed has done good offices. Holyroodhouse, the 27 of November. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "22 [*sic*] Novembr, '99. Mr. Aston to my master."

Nov. 29. **474.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [SIR ROBERT CECIL].

Vol. lxv, No. 78. These bearers, George Smith and Ric. Marshall, citizens of London, being the men that had and saw their goods sold by the Dunkirkers at Leith and very diligently solicited the King to yield them redress, can show your Honour all the same and the King's answer and speeches to them. Wherefore I have thought it my duty to accompany and commend them to your Honour for your better satisfaction in the circumstances of that matter. Their losses were great and their debts here many and evil, as they are much to be pitied. Edinburgh, 29 of Novemb. 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

¼ *p. Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

Dec. 14. **475.** ACT AGAINST PRINTING BOOKS WITHOUT LICENCE.

Vol. lxv, No. 79. Printed *in extenso* in *Acts of Parl. Scotland*, IV, 187 (apparently under date 31 July). Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, II, 266.

At Holyroodhouse, 14 December, 1599.

The King and his Estates presently convened prohibit the printing and publishing of any book, especially invectives or libels, chronicles or annals to the prejudice of the present state or disgrace of the age past without the King's licence being first had and no new book concerning the present state or a history of time past or present age printed without the realm may be brought within the same or sold until first seen and revised by the King's Secretary and his attestation printed thereto.

Slip of paper. In G. Nicolson's hand. Endorsed: "Act anent printing or bringing in books, &c."

Dec. 15. **476.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 80. Since my last of the 27 of the last I have been visited with extreme sickness as I cannot get abroad to learn their proceedings here at this Convention ended but yesternight, so as I have entreated good Mr. Aston to write your Honour all things for this time, beseeching you to excuse me herein for he is honest. Here is nothing so much desired by the King and his officers, Treasurer, Comptroller and Chamber, as money, which by way of taxation they sought not for, but as they

1599. thought by a way less offensive of a certain sum of every head of cattle and sheep through the country, which being utterly refused, the King laid open his wants and sought their advices and helps in their own form. Whereon they have taken time to be advised with the whole rest of the nobles and barons, who are all to convene here again about the 25 of February next, which will be a great Convention of the 3 Estates and may possibly breed some alteration; which was now doubted by the Chamber who to prevent it renewed their band with the Chancellor, Treasurer and Secretary, all whom are but indifferently liked. *The King in his harangue said he knew not how soon he should have occasion to use arms,** but whensoever it should be he knew his right and would venture crown and all for it, praying them that the country might be furnished with armour according to his former Acts made this time 2 years. Which is agreed unto and the armour to be sent for with diligence. So as now on their fashion which is little worth they will be shortly prepared. The King is now calling on the Scotsmen that were sureties for our pledges and minds to have our pledges to keep as hard as we do his. Beltries has written to the King that her Majesty is angry at the receipt of the Dunkirker and at the printing of the book here in Mr. Wentworth's name. For the first the poor citizens if they be heard can show enough. For the latter Mr. James Fullerton told the compositor that he and Mr. Robert Charteris must be examined by the King, that one of them had given out the copies and must answer the matter. Whereon the compositor is gone fearing the weakest would be put to the walls. This matter is too soon opened, the wind never yet served so far as I could perceive. Referring all to Mr. Aston. Edinburgh, 15 December, 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1 *p. Holograph, with address and date* "16 [*sic*] Decemb. 1599." *Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, xv to Decem. Mr. Nicholson to my master. A suspicious harangue of the King at a Convention for a taxation for money. A secret message to Brussels."

Dec. 16. **477.** ROGER ASTON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 81. The cause of my writing to your Honour at this time is in respect of Mr. Nicolson's sickness, who this 10 days has been constrained to keep his chambers under the physician's hands. Because here has been an Assembly of the three Estates and his inability to certify the substance of such matter as has passed, although of no great substance yet for your better satisfaction I have thought good to set down the whole matter as it passed.

The day appointed for their meeting was Tuesday the 10,† when the King declared the causes of their sending for, which contained two points principal. The first was for the preparation of armour to be brought home according to the former ordinance set down in the last Conventions past, which although was agreed upon yet unperformed.

* The words in italics are underlined. † *Sic, rectius* 11.

1599. Whereupon his Majesty desired that by their advice some order might be taken for the home bringing of so much armour as might furnish two thousand horse and 15 thousand foot and this to be distributed in every shire according to their quantity. It rested then to see how this armour should be brought home. Upon certain conditions it was undertaken by the laird of Burleigh (Borle) and his partners to furnish the whole, providing that the nobility, barons and burgesses would take them off their hands and pay for them as they bought them, allowing a reasonable commodity for their adventure and laying out of their money. This matter held them doing the first day taking them to advise and to give their answer the next day, which they did with consent that according to the Act of Parliament made for this purpose they would condescend for the furnishing of so much or more as was ordered by the late Act of Parliament, which was that every earl should have furniture for 20 horse, the lords 10 and the gentlemen every one according to their rent, freeholders and other meaner sorts to furnish footmen according to their living and such like the burghs. In failing to buy this armour when it comes home the furnishers shall have letters of horning to force them to buy or else incur the danger of the law. This far for this matter being concluded.

The King passes forward to the "boutt" he shot at and first declares his great necessities by the super-expenses of his housekeeping, the paying of his debts, the repairing of his castles and palaces, the entertaining of his children, the entertaining of a guard of 50 horse about himself, as also the 50 horsemen to attend the Warden of the West March, the entertaining of an ambassador in England and France, with allowance for his privy purse, the mounting of the artillery and provision of powder. This being cast and considered amounted to five hundred thousand pounds of this money. His Majesty understanding that the whole people began to murmur and judge against that which he was to propound, after he had dealt with so many of the nobility, barons and burgesses as he thought convenient, could not find that his intention would take effect, refusing to propound that which he intended, which was the raising of a custom of corn, malt, meal and cattle, of every "boue" of grain there should have been given by the seller 16d. of this money, for every "coue" 2s. and a "sip" [? sheep] 12d. and this to have lasted for 5 years. This being an innovation it was much "gragged" at and chiefly by the barons who were a great number. Whereupon the King took another course and propounded his necessities giving in the particulars in writing, craving their opinions how he might be relieved, which could not be but either by their own help or else by granting him some way of the people to relieve him. Upon this they took them to advisement, chiefly the barons, for the earls and lords granted that the King ought to be helped. After the barons had well advised they granted to bestow of their own but would not condescend to new customs and for this cause desired that the whole nobility might be convened with the rest of the Estates and what should be thought meetest for his Majesty's relief they would do and for this purpose there is appointed the 20 of February. In the meantime the King will labour with such as he thinks may best bring

James VI.
1599.

his intentions about and so attend to his intent. The chief cause that these matters take not effect is the general ill will that is borne to the Comptroller, who is the "groundlear" of this purpose with some of his associates of the Chamber. This far concerning the proceedings of the Convention where I was present from the beginning to the end.

Many bruits pass here among us of changes and alterations and that by the coming of the Duke, the Earl of Huntly and others to Court, envying the greatness of the Chamber and their associates. The Duke and the Earl of Mar came this last night and are lodged in the Court. Huntly is coming. The Chancellor, Treasurer, Secretary and Comptroller "rendessoued" with the Chamber. How long it will hold I know not; many say not long. In my simple opinion it is not material their courting or discourting. So long as the King keeps a sound course it is not material what they do.

I heard the King say within these two nights that he was advertised both from Brussels and England that the marriage between Duke Mathyas and Arbella was far advanced, which he was no ways content of but would hinder it if he could. The Bishop of Glasgow's agents are here pursuing the Duke for the bishopric, which the said Duke presently possesses. The King takes so strong a part with the Bishop as it is looked the Duke shall want it.

The pledges of the Middle March are now called for and their cautioners charged to enter them according to their bonds. Upon their delivery hither being kept very strait sundry gentlemen procured their liberty and gave in bond for their entry, which now is called upon. From Holyroodhouse, the 16 of December.

The horse that should have gone to France are driven back and are preparing to come by land. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

4¾ *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal of Arms. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599, xvj^to Decem: Mr. Roger Aston to my master."

Dec. 17. **478.** ORDINANCE CONCERNING THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR.

Vol. lxv, No. 82. Printed *in extenso* in *Reg. P.C. of Scotland*, VI, 63. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, II, 267.

At Holyroodhouse, 17 December, 1599.

The King and Lords of his Secret Council, understanding that in all other well governed Commonwealths the first day of the year begins the first day of January ordain that in all time coming the first day of the year shall begin upon that day, these presents to take execution upon the first day of January next and command the clerks of his Highness's Session and Signet, the directors and writers of the Chancellery and Privy Seal and all other judges, etc. within this realm to date all their decreets, infeftments, charters, etc. according to this ordinance and ordain proclamation hereof to be made at the market crosses of the head burghs of this realm.

Slip of paper. In G. Nicolson's hand. Endorsed.

Dec. 18. **479.** JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 83.

Having received of late from his Highness new matters to deal in

1599. with her Majesty, I thought good to remember your Honour of our last and earnestly to request your resolution therein as he who has found by experience the good fruits thereof aforetimes. I mean anent the money matter, subject to a piece of change not proceeding so much (as I take it) of her Majesty's own mind, being both princely and permanent, as of the nature of the matter itself, which is to be always changeable. And so wish I her Majesty should change, not her first word thereanent but her present possession from herself to them on whom she vouchsafes it.

Therefore if I could be anyways encouraged by your good counsel herein that I might find her Majesty tractable in this, I would yet press by a piece of temperate importunity to move her as the widow did Christ. Otherways I will be loth to impeach her princely ears in a matter whereof I am already resolved against all hope.

My master thinks that I have it by my last report of her Majesty's answers herein which touches me the more if it take no effect. If any miss be in me moving this change, it shall be found (or none at all found) of negligence not of malice, and when I shall know it I shall be about quickly to mend it. If of my master's part, his honour must bind him and no money buy him to amend. Beseeching you to excuse this my boldness and vouchsafe your good advice herein, I assure you that if I looked no deeper in the matter than the bottom of a purse I could easily pass it. London 18 10bris 1599. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

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

Dec. 24. **480.** JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTRIES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 84. Let the bearer have his passport for his passage towards his Majesty. I would use expedition and will do what in me lies that her Majesty may have contentment in all honourable and friendly correspondence from his Highness. I am bound at all hands so to do and what further your Honour thinks meet for the present I am still ready to be disposed of. London, 24 Decemb. 1599. *Signed:* J. Sympill of Beltreis.

¼ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599. 24 Decem. The Scottish Ambassador to my master. For passport for one to go into Scotland."

Dec. 24. **481.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 85. I received the 20 hereof your Honour's of the 13, and with the same packet the laird of Beltries wrote to me enclosing a letter to Sir George Elphinstone which he wrote to me to deliver, which I sent him presently upon receipt. I hear not what should be the contents of his said letter further than that he should write that the gratuity would not be had, whereat the King inwardly is angry I hear and some would have the King not to seek it. Always in answer of that letter the Secretary has sent me this letter to Beltries, praying me to send it him

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1599. with speed, which therefore causes me to send it to your Honour, beseeching you to send him the said packet with speed and safety. [*In margin:* Sir Geo: Elphinstone writes the other letter to the laird, which I beseech you cause also be delivered.]

About Friday was a "sennet" as I heard the King received advertisement (for so he has said) from Brussels that in the peace to be between us and Spain it is concluded and to be an article in the same that Mathias the Emperor's 3rd brother shall marry the La: Arbella; which the King is also since advertised of I judge by Beltries, as also that the L. Beauchamp is to come to Court; which the King accounts to be in his prejudice, saying, as I hear, that if he find the former to be true he will not longer hold off but try his friends and do for himself and hinder it as far as he can. For which purpose I will not say nay but that his messenger and the Secretary's employed to Brussels may have this employment, but I know it not. Always I perceive ever they here would have us in peace with none. The King is resolved after the Estates relieve him to have an Ambassador ledger in England for making him intelligence and friends in England and another in France. The King, in his anger against Sir Wm. Bowes being occasioned to speak on him, said the Queen sent him never any honest men. One said yes, my master was an honest man. The King said he had played him unhonest parts also. In end he said I was an honest man (but what he thinks God knows). He hears Mr. John Colville is writing against him. And to clear that he knew not of the printing of the book written in Mr. Wentworth's name but from henceforth will have the like prevented, he has made a proclamation (mentioning no such book), forbidding the printing of all books in private or public that shall not be first allowed by him. He has also proclaimed as I hear the first day of the year of God to begin on New Year's Day, but these to the proclamations which I shall get and send you that you may judge by the sight of them. The King's horses that were shipped for France are driven back and now the King sends them through England. The laird of Bantaskine who should have gone with them drinking with the laird of Blairquhan (Blawwhen) a Kennedy (Kennity) (and a great baron and far in displeasure with the Earl of Cassillis, his chief) fell out with Blairquhan, who then struck and hurt Bantaskine in the face with his sword hilt, but for that time were parted. Some friends to both, especially Mr. John Kennedy, laboured to have had them agreed and Mr. John says that Bantaskine was agreeing unto it. Always Bantaskine lies for him in the evening and with a baton struck him and after with sword hurt him in the hand and body. At this the King is in anger as Bantaskine shall not now go with the horses. Mr. John Kennedy urging and offering to fight Bantaskine, that he hurt Blairquhan under trust and speech of agreement, as they 2 are like to fight for it. Otherways it will raise a great quarrel here. Mr. Aston is to go with such as go with the horses through England [*in margin:* and to seek for some deer to be sent to the King], to whose letters (myself not yet going abroad) I refer your Honour both for more matters and certainty of things here. By Mr. Hudson I understand your goodness to us anent the licence. Edinburgh, 24 December 1599. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript. Poor Mr. Moore wearied of this country and people keeps his duty very faithfully to her Majesty and lives in hope of her grace by your means, resolving what misery so-ever he endure never to depend on other hopes. Now he seeks the same by the solicitation of his wife who is to deliver your Honour his letters to that effect. In my conceit he is able to do his country good service.

I shall, God willing, learn what men may be had and are fittest of the Islanders to serve her Majesty in Ireland. Argyll is to return through England, who may do most herein now that MacLean wants. But the Isles are in such disobedience by Sir James MacConnell, Angus's son, as the King if he hold purpose goes this summer to subdue him. Sir James's brother has come to Arran and taken a house there of the laird of Skelmorlie's (Skrimdolaye's), Montgomery by name, and keeps the house, the gentleman's wife and his children to force the laird to give over his right for the old rent to the McAllasters, dependers on MacConnell, who means not to come in the King's obedience, so as these troubles will hinder the getting of men for that service. But I shall not fail to learn and give you satisfaction in that point, without letting any man this way understand anything. Sir James I hear had a "plat" for O'Donnell's daughter which is disappointed. There is nothing here for Irish news but that Tyrone has commanded my Lord of Delvin and all men to assist him in his country's behalf or to look for the worst, and that Tyrone is like to prevail. These be their news here, always reported to the worst for us.

2 *pp. Holograph, with address. Seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Dec. **482.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Vol. lxv, No. 86.

I declared to the laird of Buccleuch your Honour's direction but found him in his bed with a fit of an ague upon him, whereof he had the "greyinge" yesterday. By this her Majesty's extraordinary honour granted him (by your good means) I found him much joyed and refreshed but withal very sore grieved that his indisposition would not permit him to enjoy that which he is glad of and longs so much to receive. Because your Honour has been pleased to do him many favours already he humbly requests you to pray pardon for the fault of this unhappy fever and that by your good means he may be made acquainted with her Majesty's next time of leisure that he may wait thereupon according to his duty and earnest desire. *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

Postscript. The Ambassador will crave audience and I will write to you the manner of Mr. Henry Woodrington's "road" (if it please your Honour), for Buccleuch has already made a very honest report to the Ambassador far differing from his information and yet true and I shall send it by one of my service.

1 *p. Holograph, with address. Seal crushed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "December '99."

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483. James Hudson to Sir Robert Cecil.

Vol. lxiv, No. 73.

The bearer hereof Mr. Kello having a letter from the King to her Majesty I am commanded to commend him to your Honour and to beseech you to vouchsafe your favour and furtherance towards him, which the King nothing doubts of knowing you not only to be a favourer of virtue but also a great maintainer thereof and a protector of all such as embrace it. The present which he has is esteemed to be of singular rarity. I know the King has very favourably commended the party to her Majesty's good liking and holds her to be a most excellent and skilful judge in all "vertewes." *Undated. Signed:* Ja: Hudson.

½ *p. Holograph, with address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1599. Mr. James Hudson to my master."

[*c.* 1599.]

484. Memoranda relating to Scotland.

Vol. lxiv, No. 1.

Laird of Drumlanrig (Dunlanriig) a Douglas.

Johnstone he takes his part } both these dwell in Annandale.
Maxwell }

L. Seton brother Prior of Pluscardine.

Earl of Arran, David Hamilton, L. Claud Hamilton, L. John Hamilton, all 4 sons to the D. of Chatelherault.

Claud dwelling in Paisley which is from Edinburgh 22 miles.

The 3 brethren saving John are all married (?).

The L. Claud has married Seton's sister.

Sir Alexander Lindsay is L. of Spynie.

Sir James Lindsay of the house of Crawford.

Sir John Lindsay.

The Earl is the elder brother.

The L. of Kinfauns (Kinfaunez).

My L. Ogilvy has 2 sons: Ogilvy of Ogilvy one Master of Ogilvy and the other Sir John Ogilvy.

The L. John Hamilton made Marquis of Hamilton at the christening of the King of Scots' daughter and so was the Earl Huntly made Marquis of Achendown [*sic*].

Sir James Stuart that was Earl of Arran was slain by Mr. James Douglas, son to Sir G. Douglas of Parkhead.

The E. Huntly is the Marquis of Hamilton's nephew by his sister.

The L. Johnstone and Drumlanrig sisters' children.

The L. Maxwell has married Hamilton's daughter.

The Earl of Angus is Lieutenant of the West Borders.

In the West Border are Annandale and Liddesdale and Wauchopedale (Walckurdale).

Over against it in England are Allendale (Allerdall) and Eskdale (Eyckdale).

Johnstone dwells in Annandale at Lochwood.

Maxwell dwells at Lochmaben (Loughmeoyll) and Dumfries.

The L. Buccleuch's commandment is in Liddesdale.

1599. Buccleuch's mother was aunt to this L. of Drumlanrig (Dunlanrygge) whom Bothwell (Bodwell) married.

Teviotdale is under my L. of Cessford.

The L. Home is Warden of the Merse (Marsh).

Leith from Edinburgh but a mile.

Linlithgow 12 miles.

Stirling 24.

Stirling stands upon the Forth.

Falkland over the water of Forth.

The E. of Morton, a Douglas, dwells at Lochleven (Loughelevyn).

The Earl of Menteith, a Graham (Gryme), dwells 12 miles from Stirling.

St. Johnstone, upon the river of Tay 24 miles from Edinburgh.

Dumbarton now in the keeping of the D. of Lennox.

Sir George Home is of the house of Ma[n]derston.

The E. of Gowrie of the house of Ruthven (Ryven).

The E. of Mar has the keeping of the young Prince, Henry Frederick.

The L. of Livingstone keeps the two young Princesses. They are both called Elizabeth.*

The L. Morton has six daughters. The first the L. Home married. The second the L. of Findlater (Fynleter), laird of Ogilvy. The third the Master of Glamis (Glaymes). The 4th married the E. of Errol. The 5th to the E. of Argyll, a Campbell by surname.

This list is followed by genealogical notes in the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil and in pedigree form relating to the base sons of James V, to the Duke of Chatelherault, to Lord Sanquhar and others.

3 *pp.* *In the hands of Sir R. Cecil and his clerk.*

[?1599.] **485. Articles presented to King James VI against the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester.**

Vol. lxiv, No. 2. Articles reproving John, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, for errors against the hope and ground of salvation. Presented to James the Sixth, King of Scotland: next Defender of the Faith by the title and right of England, if so it please God and Q.E.

Prefaced with a letter from Hugh Broughton to James VI: In England some departing from the truth of the faith which the nation held and leaving the Church were condemned to die. But pardon was offered them if they would come to the Church as the realm held the assembly to be in the right faith. They replied that they would rather die than come with them that believed that our Lord's soul went down to Gehenna. John Cantuar: sent word that they should die and he himself would burn in that opinion. Now B. Elmer knowing John to be in a most deadly heresy spake to Cant:'s chaplain to request me to inform the damned and said that he was sure I would save their lives. He promised but did not. And so they were hanged for denying

* *Sic*, the younger was named Margaret.

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them to be good Christians that hold our Lord went down to Gehenna; and in the realm died for the religion which the Queen sware to defend. Thereupon God plagued the realm with the rebellion in Ireland and with great plague and famine in England. Upon new stirs I opened the Anglo-Tigurine confession which says *per inferos intelligimus non locum supplicii destinatum impiis sed defunctos fideles.* At this John kept such an uproar that some of my friends had purposed to kill his messenger. [*In margin:* He forged himself to be one Thwaites my friend and pressed above law to rush into my study as to mischief me.] The very same day I was purposed to have come to your Majesty for that great promises as I was by many informed would come to nothing, as indeed they did. But upon John's "coile" I made for Germany and printed the Article's meaning. To that he answers by a libel scoffing the Scottish mist and the British nation, as having a mind to set nations by the ears. Also he allowed D. Bilson's sermons. To his libel law should answer: and the Scottish mist should turn into a parching sun: and the British be brutish unless they teach the most reverend father that he has greatly forgotten himself. To D. Bilson's sermons I oppose theses, which of order belong to your Majesty's care, seeing John usurps England's authority to judge as he will. And now he being the accused may not be his own judge, but the next in esteem of right. I humbly desire that all your learned Christians be moved to join with the truth and thereafter commend your Majesty's success to the mercy and justice of God. *Signed:* Hugh Broughton. *Undated.*

Articles for John Cant: and B. Bilson.

The arguments against the belief in the descent of Christ into Gehenna are set forth in thirty articles.

6 *pp. Apparently holograph. Endorsed in a later hand:* "Articles presented to James 6 of Scotland. 1599."

[*? c.* 1599.]

486. Charges by the Roman Catholics against Robert Bruce.*

Vol. lxv, No. 87.

Capita criminum quorum reus agitur Robertus Brusius Scotus inpræsentiarum custodiæ mancipatus Bruxellis.

Pecuniam Regis nostri Catholici ipsi concreditam, in Scotia dispartiendam, causæ Catholicorum promovendæ adversus hæreticos et Anglicanæ factionis mancipia, firmandæque magnatum cum Rege nostro amicitiæ, a Brusio infide in usus proprios retentam, incomparabili præjudicio eiusdem causæ Catholicæ, eaque ratione præclare cœpta concidisse, magnosque conatus successu destitutos.

Accepit autem in hunc usum distribuenda in Scotia 22000 aureorum

* Although the writer of this document used a good latin and possessed some considerable classical knowledge (e.g. his reference to Suffenus shows he had read Catullus), his grammar and spelling are irregular. Apparently it was in part dictated by a reader who used the soft "c," hence many words are written with an "s" when a "c" is intended (e.g. "seu" is generally written for "ceu"). There are other errors, such as an incorrect use of the subjunctive. The editor has confined himself to amending words where the correction was fairly obvious and desirable in the interest of sense. For Bruce's justification of his conduct, *see* Appendix, pp. 1131-7 *infra.*

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1599. coronatorum aliaque post reditum 8000 in eosdem usus eroganda, constituentia simul summam triginta millium.

Res clara et ab ipsomet Brusio confessa.

Atqui cum in huiusce narrationis serie non infimam partem sint habituri, quatuor Scotiæ primatus titulo Comitatus insignes, hi nempe, de Huntley, de Angus, de Arroll, de Bodwell, operæ pretium est, eorundem qualitates et conditiones summatim perstringi.

Comes de Huntley (cui gentilitium cognomen Gordon) amplissimas ditiones præ omnibus magnatibus Scotiæ possidet, dominatur in partibus borealibus regni; Regi Scotorum arcte sanguine junctus, impræsentiarum (annis 95. 96.) in hisce partibus degens, ob causam Religionis profugus.

Comes de Anguss, gentilitio cognomine Douglas, primum inter omnes Regni Comites in dignitate gradum tenet, potens terrarum possessione et subditis, Catholicus etiamnunc in Regno latitans.

Comes de Arroll (cognomine Hey) multæ est potentiæ, hæreditarius Regni conestabilis, quem Conestabulum vocant, Catholicus, Regi sanguine junctus, et Religionis causa profugus, degens hisce in partibus.

Comes de Bodwell, ejusdem cum Rege cognominis, Steuart, eidemque patruelis, ut cujus pater Regis matri fuerit frater naturalis, etsi etiam aliunde ex legitimo thoro Regi sanguine junctus, et hic potens est, marisque præfectus, quem Admirantum vocant, profugus degit in Galliis.

Iste etsi a Religione Catholica habeatur alienus, est tamen infensissimus ac infestissimus factioni Anglicanæ hostis, spirans ultionem nefariæ barbaræque cædis suæ amitæ Reginæ Mariæ, vir bellicosus, audens, animoque præsenti, eaque de causa ne adversarius noceret in socium ascitus est ab aliis Catholicis, quorum etiam causam strenue gessit.

Hujus ut cæterorum graves de Brusio querelæ, illius culpa causam quam tuebatur esse oppressam, et ivisse pessum, cum potuisset efflorescere, si ille susceptam Regiæ pecuniæ dispensationem administrasset ex fide; qua de re plurium sunt testium depositiones.

Guilielmus Chrihton presbyter Societatis Jesu (mihi Martinio ante annos 43 in Scotia studiorum sodalis)* dicit initio biennii quo Brusius in Scotia hæsit dispertiendis regiis nummis in usum causæ Catholicæ, ipsum bene negotium gessisse fideliterque incepisse, sed in progressu a recto tramite deviasse, eundemque parantem huc reditum anno 89 fuisse interpellatum a Barone de Fentry viro nobili, quique Brusio [*hiatus*] dispensationis fuerat datus, ut aliquid subsidii penes ipsum relinqueret, quod utiliter in causam Catholicam absente Brusio posset distribui, ad quam petitionem Brusius respondit, negans sibi vel teruncium superesse, etsi deponens affirmet sibi fuisse compertissimum hanc infitiationem a vero fuisse alienam.

Hujus depositionis veritas, et negationis Brusii falsitas, convincitur ex eo, quod ipsemet Brusius huc reversus asseruit Secretario Cosmo Alasci reliquisse se penes matrem in Scotia duo millia coronatorum tradenda dicto Baroni de Fentry, quod haud quoque est factum.

* Almost certainly at St. Andrews (1552-6).

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Sed et anno 92 Brusius hinc scribens in Hispaniam, ad Dominum Joannem Idiaques, ait a se relicta esse in Scotia duo millia aureorum, rogans ut is dignaretur apud regiam Majestatem intercedere, ea sibi Brusio dono dari, quandoquidem ea sunt (ait) extra loculos regios.

Ejusdem infide dispensationis aliud profertur experimentum, dum in Scotia hærent Brusius, patres Societatis Jesu Gordon, Crichton, aliique primates regni, inter quos et prænominati duo Comites de Huntley et Arroll, nunc hisce in partibus profugi. Hi inquam fasciculum literarum ad Regem nostrum Catholicum expediunt in Hispaniam, easque literas manuum propriarum subscriptione firmant et fulciunt, Regiæ Majestati detegentes synceritatem suæ erga ipsum affectionis et deliberationis, obnixe poscentes ac flagitantes ipsius in hanc rem subsidium.

Hujus fasciculi literarum fideliter transmittendi negocium et curam committunt fidei ipsius Brusii, qui eadem provincia suscepta sibi delegit quendam nomine Thomam Pringill, laboris et impensarum illi per malignam mercedem subministrans 12 aureorum, nec amplius, qui hac indignitate motus legationem suam in Anglia (quâ ipsi iter erat) prodidit, fasciculumque prætio vendidit, ibique resignatis lectisque literis, confestim hujus rei nuntius est in Scotiam amandatus cum summo capitis discrimine prædictorum primatum, a quo discrimine non nisi sumptis armis se vindicarunt adversus hæreticos et factionis Anglicanæ asseclas et mancipia, connivente ad hæc Rege, potuissentque ea occasione perpræclaris gestis causam Catholicam promovere si non Brusius denegato quod penes se habebat subsidio, causæ desertorem se reddidisset, qui etiam hoc confœderatis renuisse dicetur: ut ipsis hoc poscentibus latorem literarum significaret, alioquin cautius tantæ molis negotio prospecturus.

De hac maligna mercede a Brusio dicto Pringill subministrata, eaque de causa rem ab eodem fuisse proditam, videre est in depositione dicti patris Crichton.

Archibaldus Paton Scotus tribunus militum et chiliarchus dicit ex multorum relatu, intellexisse se Brusium infide in dispensatione regiæ gazæ esse versatum, eaque de re quærominias accepisse se per literas e Scotia transmissas.

Joannes Hamiltonus Scotus, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor, deponit de pluribus conatibus pro causa Catholica susceptis in Scotia, quorum inter cæteros unus causæ victoriam et triumphum ducebat, quibus conatibus Brusius apud hunc testem confessus est se defuisse, nec regia pecunia opem ferre voluisse, eo quod Primates illi talibus cœptis non causæ Catholicæ negotium agerent, sed propriis servirent cupiditatibus; qui Brusius dum a deponente urgetur sese hac in parte explicare et rationes edere, cur in tam præclaro opere tales Athletas ope destituisset, obmutuit, non habens quod daret responsi.

Idem testis ait multos Catholicos Brusii proditionem esse detestatos, et Comitem Huntleium ipsum despuere, ceu proditorem, quique causam publicam everterat.

Addidit Comitem de Anguss huc amandasse virum qui Brusium argueret multarum calumniarum adversus magnates.

Multis etiam exaggerat Brusii perfidiam, ipsumque post infor-

1599. tunium Classis regiæ 88 renuisse naufragis in Scotia Hispanis exiguum subsidii.

Patricius Chyne Scotus nobilis, Regis nostri stipendiarius dicit se ab anno citra (deponit autem mense Junio anno 95) audisse in Scotia graves quærelas Comitum Huntley, Angus et Arroll, diserte et aperte culpantium Brusium, seu proditorem, ipsiusque culpa et crimine, magnos conatus fuisse destitutos.

Hugo Gray Scotus et hic Regis nostri stipendiarius, deponit habere se ex relatu illorum qui ex Scotia huc se contulerunt, ibi graves esse Catholicorum de Brusio quærimonias.

Joannes Grisson filius viri nobilis domini de Penmorey in Scotia deponit audisse in Scotia anno 94 graves Catholicorum quærimonias de perfida Brusii administratione commissæ sibi a Rege Hispaniarum pecuniæ, prædictosque tres primates de Huntley, Anguss et Arroll ipsi huic testi in mandatis dedisse ea de re cum Brusio expostulare.

Joannes Sapyret cives [*sic*] Bruxellensis anno 94 in Scotiam missus cum 10 millibus aureorum, eo destinatis a Summo Pontifice, promovendæ a primatibus Catholicis causæ Ecclesiæ Dei, idque in unius tantum mensis subsidium, promissis totidem menstruis in eundem usum, hic testis presens fuit in Scotia tempore conflictus de quo mox, asseritque audisse se gravem quærelam et accusationem ex ore ipsiusmet Comitis de Anguss, de improbis Brusii gestis, causæ Catholicæ inimicis.

Andreas Clerck Scotus Regis nostri stipendiarius, deponit de retentione pecuniæ regiæ per Brusium, atque inde conatus altos successu fuisse destitutos, hic asserit se interfuisse conflictui mensis Octobris 94 stetisseque a partibus Catholicorum duobus acceptis vulneribus, quando divino miraculorum mille horum triumphum tulerunt, adversus octo millia hæreticorum, cum ipsis acie decertantium: asserit amplius, nisi tunc Catholicis defuissent media victoriam urgendi, et hostibus instandi, potuisse res magnas pro causa Catholica perfici.

Fuit autem eadem tempestate in Scotia Andreas Small Brusii famulus, semestri ante eo transmissus ad dispartienda (sicuti ait) octo illa aureorum millia quæ anno 90 fuerant in hisce partibus Brusio annumerata causæ Catholicorum in Scotia promovendæ.

Daniel Foster Scotus militum ductor, ex illis qui prænominato Comiti Bodwell sunt assectatores, hic asserit se mense Julio 95 eidem Comiti adfuisse Lutetiæ Parisiorum, seque in has partes in obsequium Regiæ Majestatis venisse, atque per multa vituperia et opprobria de Brusio ex ejusdem Comitis ore accepisse, ut qui necessitatibus recusarit subsidium, cujus beneficio incrementum grande fuerit causæ accessurum, sic ut ejusdem incrementi fiducia ipsemet Comes propria sua monilia Brusio pignori offerret, sed frustra, unde in tantam indignationem idem Comes accepit ut Brusium infamari avare et improbe, retentionis pecuniæ Regis Hispanorum, eaque occasione causam in Scotia ivisse pessum, addito etiam frequenti jurejurando, si quando in has partes venisset, uti ipsi constitutum fuerat (vivo Archiduce Ernesto) se vel coram ipsomet Archiduce trucidaturum Brusium, nihil devitans hac vindicta vel propriam animam permutare vel deponere.

Idem hic testis ait se discedentem a Comite Bodwell fuisse illic ignorantem hujusmodi de Brusio inquisitionem hic faciendam vel

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1599. fieri, quem alioquin compertum habet suas de Brusio quærimonias et accusationes manus subscriptione fuisse prompte firmaturum.

Comes ab Arroll, alter illorum primatum qui huc transfugerunt, in sua depositione admodum amare et acerbe invehitur in perfidiam Brusii, illiusque avara retentione pecuniæ regiæ perpræclaros ausus eventu prospero fuisse destitutos, aitque sibi indubitatum, Brusio tempore negati subsidii abunde pecuniarum in manu fuisse, ut qui hoc ipsum primatibus Catholicis ante arma sumpta significarit, quos tamen ubi ad rem ventum est urgenteque necessitate, defraudavit, ne quidem oblatis a Comite de Bodwell pignoribus persuasus, cum tali subsidio res præclaræ potuissent fælici successu terminari, quæ hac de causa interciderunt.

Comes de Huntley non minus acerbe Brusii perfidiam culpat et damnat, addens haudquaquam credere se a Brusio fuisse erogatum dimidium summæ triginta millium, quæ a Rege Hispanorum accepit in usus causæ Catholicæ in Scotia; confirmat etiam aliorum depositiones denegato Comiti Bodwell subsidio mille aureorum, ne quidem oblatis pignoribus, tunc quando præclarum facinus erat feliciter exequendum, quod propterea successu caruit, addens post graves de Brusio quærimonias, Catholicam causam afflictam et oppressam esse in Scotia, eo quod ille se ejusdem causæ desertorem præstitit.

Uterque horum procerum gravibus et amarulentis de Brusii perfidia quærelis, quibus Regiæ Majestati, regiisque ac judicii ministris persuasum fieri supplicant, Brusium esse causam præcipuam et primariam internecionis rei Catholicæ in Scotia, obtestantes ad hæc ut in posterum ab omni Regii obsequiique negotio illius opera arceatur, qui se totum propriis commodis devovit.

Asserunt Brusium esse calumniatorem, et mendacem criminatorem Primatum, qui solo religionis Catholicæ zelo fortunas omnes, adeoque capita et vitas presentibus discriminibus intrepide objecerunt, hoc agente Brusio, ut illorum fervor tepescat, quod haud dubio futurum aiunt, nisi justam de illo vindictam ferant, alioquin parati et avidi Regiæ Majestati Hispaniarum prompti obsequio esse presto, modo ne Brusius idem obsequio admisceatur, qui istos tam gravi dedecore molitur aspergere, mendacibus suis scriptis Romam ad Patrem Sanctum, et in Hispaniam ad Regiam Majestatem transmissis, quarum injuriarum dignam reparationem poscunt et flagitant.

Caput Secundum.

Multa prototypa horum scriptorum sunt reperta apud Brusium, et etiam nunc sunt in promptu.

Brusii consilio et opera nonnulli confœderatorum sese dissociarunt a Catholicis, illosque in necessitate, quando ad rem ventum fuit, destituerunt, irreparabili causæ Catholicæ præjudicio, pro qua alioquin res poterat bono et prospero successu geri.

Comes ab Arroll asserit ipsiusmet Brusii jactantiam de tali consilio et opere, seque ait comes experientia comperisse, nonnullos amicorum et consanguineorum qui prius omne subsidium et opem addixerant, promissis violatis desertores factos, tempore prædicti prœlii, quo 6 Octobr. anni 1594 pauci Catholici octuplo majorem exercitum hæreticorum profligarunt, qua in parte deponenti suspicionem adversus

1599. Brusium auget, quod prius ejusdem famulus Andreas Small fuerat istuc in Scotiam amandatus, qui cum prædictis desertoribus colloquio miscuerat.

Uterque prædictorum Comitum de Huntley et Arroll persæpe in hanc erumpunt obtestationem et accusationem, a Brusio esse proditam causam Catholicorum in Scotia.

Joannes Grison (qui et prius) ait hoc ipsum se audiente Brusium jactabunde dixisse, sua opera nonnullos dominorum Catholicorum in Scotia aversos a cæteris, quo iisdem faceret fidem et re demonstraret nihil ipsos nisi Brusio auxiliatore posse præstare, necnon quod animadverteret conatus non successuros: ideoque se amicos admonuisse ne iisdem se miscerent.

Atque Brusius cum esset in hisce partibus, Catholici vero Scotiæ illic satagerent, mirum quid de eventu potuerit prænunciare, neque hæc admonitio ab alio quam a dicto Andrea Small potuit fieri, quem tamen Brusius asserit se eo ablegasse distribuendæ pecuniæ regiæ, in causæ Catholicæ subsidium, etsi falsum id esse, confessa hæc dissuasio convincit, quin eandem dissuasionem ideo factam magis est verisimile, quod tunc per hæreticos administratores regni apud Regem Scotiæ reconciliationem ambiebat; de qua mox.

Brusius communicat secreta consilia cum ministris Calvinismi Regni Scotiæ, Regisque consiliariis asseclis Anglicanæ factionis, ipsiusque suggestione obices et repagulatores objecta præclaris cœptis pro fide Catholica. Quin et talis societatis fiducia, Brusius ab anno 1590 confestim ab ipsius reditu e Scotia, acceptisque a Duce Parmensi novis octo millibus aureorum in subsidium causæ Catholicæ in eodem Regno, egit serio cum prædictis ministris et asseclis de reconciliatione et libero reditu in patriam. Id ipsum perquam solicite urgens, et adhuc instans etiam annis sequentibus 92 et 94 additis quoque pollicitationibus et promissis, ibidem se præstiturum perutilia et grata obsequia, ut qui longo usu, multarum rerum cognitionem esset adeptus, sed et eo confidentiæ est prolapsus, ut se venditarit de parta apud regem suum reconciliationis gratia, liberique in patriam reditus venia.

Ad hujus accusationis intelligentiam et evidentiam, convenit lectorem esse præmonitum, e numero duodecim Consiliariorum Regis Scotiæ in illo collegio quod ipsi est a latere, diciturque Privatum, sive Secretum, alia pars sunt ministri calvinismi, ita procurante factione Anglicana.

Istius vero petitæ reconciliationis probationem, sub jam dictis promissis, nihil opus est aliunde petere, quam ex prototypis literis ipsiusmet Brusii apud ipsum deprehensis ad Regem Scotiæ; ad Regni Cancellarium infestissimum et capitalem omnium Catholicorum hostem; ad Robertum Brusium titulo Superintendentem ministrorum, unde per ludibrium vocatur a Catholicis, papa Scotiæ; ad Robertum Melvin e numero illorum duodecim Consiliariorum Regisque Thesaurarium; ad matrem pluresque alios, quorum nomina et qualitates nobis sunt incognita, sed ejusdem cum aliis substantiæ et fænoris; omnes dignissime attenta lectione clare prodentes hominis genium et intentionem.

Has literas lingua Scotiæ in Gallicam transtulit, et est interpre-

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tatus Consiliarius Martinius, non recusaturus etiam Latinis reddere.

Archibaldus Paton chiliarchus (qui supra) dicit se audisse ex ore Brusii gloriabundi de accepta reconciliatione in Scotia, et confitentis suam communicationem literarum cum ministris Scotiæ.

Joannes Hamilton, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor, qui prius, deponit, se audisse ab alio qui asserebat audisse se quærimonias ipsiusmet Brusii pœnitentis, quod tantum operæ impendisset Catholicis, etsi semel cum Rege suo atque ministris detur redire in gratiam, tantundem se præstiturum pro eorum causa promovenda, quantum hactenus laboravit in partem diversam.

Idem asserit sæpenumero, se ex ore ipsiusmet Brusii accepisse, intercessione Roberti Melvini, se Regis favori insinuatum, et in eo contineri ac fóveri.

Joannes Grison, et hic prius, dicit ipsummet Brusium, ab anno citra (deposuit autem mense Septembr. 95) sibi testi esse confessum, laborare se pro obtinenda reconciliatione in Scotia.

Daniel Forster, qui etiam prius, asserit sibi esse compertissimum, Brusio indultam fuisse in Scotia reconciliationem ante triennium (deponit autem eodem mense Septembr. 95) sed a quibusdam privatorum inimicorum ergo, remoram objectam executioni.

Georgius Kar asserit ministros Calvinismi in Scotia persæpe audivisse ex his regionibus fideliter edoceri de rerum nostrarum statu et conditione, eorumque quæ hic geruntur aut parantur, fatetur tamen authores sibi esse incognitos.

Hic testis addit, Robertum Melvin (qui Regis Scotiæ quæstor est ærarius et de numero 12 Senatorum privati et summi Consilii) esse virum callidum, vafrum, et sæculi prudentia insignem, ipsique Regi percharum. Ad hæc, pervicacem et obstinatum hæreticum, quod ipsi est veluti hæreditarium, ut cujus pater fuerit inter primos qui in Scotia hæreseos fuerunt damnati sub Jacobo 5 hujus Regis avo materno.

Quantum vero sit Brusio cum hoc Roberto Melvin communicationis et amicitiæ, liquido constat, ex prototypis literarum penes Brusium detectarum, in quas operæ prætium est accurato examine inquiri, ut qui vir sit Brusius clarius innotescat.

Comes Huntleyus dicit se audivisse a Comite Craford Scoto, qui asserebat se hoc ipsum a Rege accepisse, Brusium flagitare liberum sibi in patriam reditum concedi, sub sponsione patefaciendi et accusandi consilia Catholicorum in Scotia, quibus cum Rege Hispaniarum communicant: addit, Brusium hujus reconciliationis apud Regem oratores emittere et adhibere prænominatos Robertum Melvin et Robertum Brusium antipapam. Necnon hunc Melvin sibi Comiti deponenti asseruisse, omnium quæ hic geruntur conscium se fieri per hunc Brusium captivum.

Quæ diximus prototypa literarum apud Brusium reperta tam ad ipsum Regem quam ad Scotorum papam: necnon hunc Melvill Comiti deponenti asseruisse omnium quæ hic geruntur ad Regni Archigrammateum, quem Cancellarium vocant, virum nequissimum et perditissimum, qui fertur præcipuus fuisse auctor cædis et martirii Reginæ

1599. Mariæ, et ad alios plures; hæc inquam omnia plenam hujusce conatus et ausus fidem facere possunt.

Sed et videre est scedulam ipsiusmet Regis manu scriptam, qua revocatur in Scotiam præstitis quibusdam quæ ibi non sunt expressa, sed quæ videntur sita in mutuo intellectu promendo ex præcedentibus annorum scriptis.

Comes ab Arroll dicit, confestim a reditu Brusii in has partes circiter annum 1590, se huc misisse quendam Alexandrum Dixon, cui revertenti in Scotiam Brusius plures tradidit literas ad ministros Scotiæ perferendas, cum mandato accurate insinuationis ipsorum favori demerendo, quas literas hic deponens dissuasit tradi: cœpitque ab eo tempore Brusius ipse esse suspectus, concepta de illo diffidentia cum opinione perfide ipsum in causa Catholica versari, uti etiam exinde desiit Brusius cum deponente communicare consilia et deliberationes.

Addit deponens, prænominatum Robertum Brusium papam Scoticum confessum sibi deponenti plures se literas et admonitiones recepisse a Brusio captivo, addito tamen elogio proditoris, et curaturum se, ne ab ipso circumveniatur, aut proditione capiatur, hoc est quod in proverbio, Novi Sinonem et Sinon me, conveniens ad illudendum principi viro Catholicos, et ad fidem astruendam Sinoni.

Patricius Cheyn (deponit mense Junio anni 95) dicit se ante quadriennium audisse ipsummet Brusium confitentem, suam cum ministris Scotiæ familiaritatem. Addit prænominatum Melvill esse hæreticum insignem, ipsiusque patrem, ut hæreticum, flammis fuisse traditum.

Hugo Craig ait Brusium jactabunde professum communionem quam habet cum ministris regni Scotiæ, quodque ipsorum interventu et intercessione obtinuerit a Rege reconciliationem. Animadversum est porro Brusium, cum nequierit justificare hunc suum conatum ambitæ reconciliationis, hac excusatione culpam adumbrare, id a se factum, conscio Duce Parmensi et Cosmo Malti qui illi erat a Secretis, quo tutius transferret illa octo millia aureorum, quæ anno 90 ipsi fuerunt hic annumerata in subsidium causæ Catholicæ in Scotia, utque commodius et tectius posset eo loci deservire Regis nostri dictæque causæ Catholicæ obsequiis et commodis. Atqui interrogatus qua specie probationis id redditurus sit verisimile, nihil allegavit præter scedulam quandam testificationis dicti Cosmi, quæ ab hac re tam est aliena, ut nec cælum quod dicunt nec terram tangat.

Accedit quod omnes illi quorum intercessionem implorabat, per suas literas factas promissis obsequiorum suis illic patronis præstandorum, in compensationem tanti beneficii reconciliationis, hi inquam omnes sunt astuti vulpes, viri vafri, callidi, veteratores, rebus gerendis exercitati, causæ Catholicæ hostes jurati, quam angue pejus oderunt, prænominati, nempe Cancellarius, quem in suis scriptis ipsemet Brusius vocat potentem et versatum inimicum, Robertus Brusius, papa Scoticus, Robertus Melvill, aliique ministri Calvinismi, ut nequaquam verisimile fiat, huic captivo fuisse mentem, intentionem, aut spem illic omnibus illudendi, duplicis exploratoris officium præstando sub debita Regi nostro fidelitate, ibique posse tot aureorum millia in subsidium causæ Catholicæ adversus tot tamque potentes illius hostes utiliter

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1599. distribuere, quin potius qua est capacitate non potuit ignorare omnium in se oculos fuisse convertendos, exigendamque fidem tot promissorum quibus literas suas infarcierat, quam exoraret promptius.

Est et ex alio capite hic fucus præstitus, consensus a Duce Parmensi tanto remotior ab omni verosimili [*sic*], quod ipsemet Brusius respondens ad propositas interrogationes (7 vers.) dicit se navem illam qua e Scotia anno 89 profugus fuerat hic advectus, rursum ablegare in Scotiam, addito mandato revertendi huc intra bimestre ad transvehenda illa octo millia quæ de novo fuerunt ipsi denumerata, vel confestim adnumeranda, intra quod tam breve spacium non poterat concepisse se de consensu Cancellarii et ministrorum Calvinismi obtenturum gratiam reconciliationis et tuti reditus in patriam, e qua paulo ante se quæritur tam acerbe et tanto capitis discrimine fuisse profligatum.

Ut longe sit verisimilius et magis credibile quandoquidem toto post quadriennio tam grandem summam octo millium (præter illa duo millia quæ penes matrem in Scotia reliquerat) sibi reservavit non dispartita, totoque illo tempore tot missis nuntiis et literis perseverarit omnem movere lapidem ad obtinendam dictam reconciliationem, verisimile inquam est, hac ipsum mente fuisse, ut ea gratia obtenta se beatulum redderet in Patria, regis nostri pecunia, latifundiis illic comparatis, et e paupere locuples factus illuderet felicitati et nimis generosæ credulitati Ducis Parmensis, ibique perageret officia ministris grata, quibus per tot annorum tam frequentes epistolas se obstrinxerat.

Quæ machinatio fraudulenta alio etiam argumento fit probabilis, voluisse nempe Brusium, insigni aliquo testimonio sibi demereri Regem Scotiæ, et Calvinismi ministris specimen edere suæ fidelitatis pro ipsorum causa adversus Catholicos, ut ab illis credi posset non temere, nec aliter quam ex fide, literas illas suas promissis onerasse; res autem sic se habet.

Est in parte Occidentali Scotiæ arx Dumbarton, nulla vi humana expugnabilis, amp[la] ac speciosa, vinario et fonte perenni riguo, mirandum naturæ miraculum, aluiturque nobili flumine regni; cum illius præfecto transactum fuisse creditur de ea dedenda in potestatem Catholicorum, qui illic potuissent percommode belli sedem sibi deligere, (cum sit capax multi præsidii) et ad omnem casum securissimum habere refugium seu asylum; istius deliberationis particeps hic factus Brusius, protinus prædictum suum famulum Andream Small amandat in Scotiam, prætexens mandatum de distribuenda illic regia pecunia, quam quadriennio ante in talem usum hic acceperat, eidem suo famulo concedens sarcinam literarum ad prænominatos Cancellarium, antipapam Scotum et alios plures; nec est absimile vero hunc tabellarium etiam laxiora et pleniora mandata accepisse illic verbo detegenda; fuitque hujus legationis talis eventus et effectus, ut confestim præfectus ille cum quo de arce reddenda agebatur, fuerat loco motus, aliusque exploratæ hostilitatis in ipsius vicem submissus, ut non immerito cordatos omnes teneat suspitio, conatum illum de reddenda Catholicis prædicta arce a Brusio misso famulo fuisse detectum incomparabili causæ Catholicæ præjudicio.

Sed et trium testium depositiones notabiles hoc ipsum non obscure

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1599. confirmant, Patri[s] Gulielmi Crichton, chiliarchi Paton, et Gulielmi Foret, qui pro Rege nostro Brugis militum præfecturam tenet.

Evidentior ejusdem infidelitatis probatio est quod inter innumera Brusii scripta reperta est una charta quæ prius fuit gemini folii, cujus prius folium est lacerum et corruptum; fuisse tamen scriptura refertum, testantur reliquiæ alterius folii: ubi post paucas lineas Robertus ille Melvill sese subscribens ait se commisisse cætera fidei latoris ejusdem ore explicanda: scripta fuit autem hæc epistola mense Junio anni 94 circiter bimestre post prædicti famuli profectionem, et ab eodem post aliquot menses huc perlata et Brusio reddita uti confitetur.

Sub hac lacera charta Commissarii suspicantes latuisse anguem responsionum dicti Melvill, ad ea quæ cum Brusio insidiose gerebantur, vel quid aliud monstri ibi fuisse alitum, e re visum fuit, eundem Brusium perconctari de contentis in abrupto folio, et quid mandati tulerint pauca illa verba adhibenda fidei (credentiam vocant) in altero folio conscripta; hac visa, primum ille animi turbationem vultu prodidit, mox sese confirmans, ait sub illa eadem forma chartam hanc e Scotia fuisse transmissam, deservientem in volucro aliarum literarum, id ipsum constanter asserens, quantumvis a Commissariis admonitus, absurdum hoc esse et ab omni verosimili remotum.

Pomeridiana vero hora reversis Commissariis, Brusius sponte prioris suæ assertionis palinodiam canit, jam confitens fuisse folium integrum et laceratæ partis utramque paginam fuisse descriptam talibus verbis quæ res familiares concernerent, quas nihil opus erat ad cujusque alterius deferri notitiam, ideoque se priorem illam folii partem lacerasse, quæ sane non jam vacillatio, sed contrarietas et mentiendi audacia, idque ministris justitiæ in os, cæteris* Brusii dictis et factis fidem abrogat et jam non suspitionem sed præsumptionem inducit in tali carta et inter tales aliquid ministerii secretæ proditionis fuisse versatum cui rei fidem astruunt etiam ea quæ proximo sequenti capite tractabuntur.

Cap. 5 & 6. Brusius dedit operam insinuari gratiæ et favori Elizabethæ Angliæ oblato et addicto eidem fideli ministerio, præsertim in detegendo arcana molimina Regis Hispaniarum necnon remedia et vias quibus iis possit obsisti.

Hinc ipsi multa communio cum exploratoribus et Commissariis Anglis nonnullos familiariter accipiens, usque eo ut apud viros probos et cordatos in suspitionem venerit duplicis et amphibii exploratoris.

Johannes Wems
Symon Graham

Horum depositiones vehementer premunt Brusium ipsum deferentes manifeste perfidiæ et conspirationis cum ipsamet Elizabetha Angla, sed cum sint prolixæ sola tamen lectis poterit dignissime interpretatio seorsim ascribi.

Carolus de Nevill, Anglus, Comes Westmorlandiæ, non infimus quondam inter primates Angliæ a multo tempore profugus et in hisce partibus, Regis nostri liberalitate alitus, dicit se antehac fuisse instanter interpellatum a Brusio ut aliquid literarum daret Regi Scotiæ asserente Brusio sibi ad manum esse fidelem latorem, qua in parte etsi deponens se difficilem preberet, victum tamen cessisse importunæ Brusii instantiæ datis ad Regem literis quibus obsequium suum et spem ipsi devovebat

* From here onwards the document is in another handwriting.

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1599. ad ulciscendum barbaram illam ac immanem cædem matris, quæ literæ paulo post ad ipsam Elizabetham fuerunt perlatæ; quod deponens asserit sibi compertum, ex eo quod post longum intervallum quidam primatum ex iis quæ ipsi sunt sanguine juncti capta occasione familiariter apud Elizabetham agens mentionem injecit de in gratiam admittendo hoc deponente post tam longum exilium ad quæ illa conticescens tantum mandat suo Cancellario Cecilio bipedum nequissimo et pestilentissimo proferri literas quas illi commiserat asservandas qui confestim prolatis [*sic*] quas ad Regem Scottorum deponens dederat literas illas tradidit inte[r]cessori legendas ut intellegeret pro quo viro se interponebat unde rubore et verecundia perfusus ille deponentis amicus conticuit et abiit.

Comes ab Arroll asserit se audisse a fide dignis aucthoribus (a quorum nominatione excusationem petit) Brusium communicare sua consilia in Anglia et hac in parte socium ipsi esse Hugonem Owen Anglum, addens ipsummet Brusium se vendicare de societate et communione quæ ipsi sit cum Archibaldo Douglas magistro natione Scoto, qui ob crimen in patria perpetratum exulari missus ante multos annos confugit in Angliam, ubi ab Elizabetha placide susceptus amice habitus ad hoc dignitatis est evectus ut præsit omnibus exploratoribus (oryceis) et emissariis, qui ab Anglia orbem terrarum pervolitant, pestes teter[r]imæ et Angliæ unice vipres; ex potentia hujus tam præclaræ functionis ergo ille se vendicat titulo conciliarii Reginæ.

Hunc Archibaldum Douglas suis coloribus depingit Doctor Hammilton in sua depositione apud Commissarios facta.

Ab eodem Archibaldo fuit inter cæteros ex Anglia huc emissis [*sic*] explorator Johannes Moubray Scotus Archibaldo famulus cui clam cum Brusio multa communio etsi palam fingerent capitale dissidium, uti subsequentes depositiones testificantur.

Archibaldus Paton chiliarchus asserit Brusium scripta communicare cum prænominato Douglas [*hiatus*] ab hoc exploratoribus familiarem se præbere et amicum designans nomine hunc Johannem Moubray, quem ait vidisse se ante biennium (deponit autem anno 95) cum Brusio familiariter agentem, qui hac de re admonitus et reprehensus a deponente simulavit sibi gratum fore deferri et accusari hunc Moubray, adjungens se documenta et probationes subministraturum quibus in suspendium possit adigi; ad quæ deponens respondisse se ait, non esse hujuscemodi accusationem convenientem aut decoram suæ functioni et qualitati sed ipsi Brusio ex officio hanc incumbere necessitatem qui in talem causam regiis gaudet stipendiis.

Hoc autem a Brusio non esse prestitum est extra omne dubium, suntque a Commissariis inter Brusii cartas deprehensæ litteræ familiares, quibus Moubray protinus a discessu ipsum amice instruit de prospero appulsu in Zelandiam post quam Antverpia solverat et quod se preparat ad reliquum itineris peragendum; idem deponens asserit ob sinistram quam de Moubray conceperat opinionem dum hic ageret, et ut plus hac de re certitudinis explicaretur curasse per alium eundem admoneri caveret sibi a Brusio qui illum seu exploratorem erat delaturus: ad hæc Moubray respondisse confidenter nihil sibi ea ex parte esse periculi neque Brusium tale quid ausurum, habere enim

1599. penes se literas quibus Brusius se urgeri ac pungi persentiscerat; addit insuper hic deponens eundem Moubray fuisse domesticum prædicto Archibaldo Douglas in Anglia credique esse illi consanguineum, qui dum hic agens interdum per aliquod temporis spatium abfuisset, post reditum interrogatus an rediisset ex Anglia id ipsum est diserte confessus.

Jacobus Creighton ait prænominatum Moubray esse de numero domesticorum prædicti Archib. Douglas principis et magistri exploratorum in Anglia eundemque aliquando huc hæsisse circiter bimestri et post absenciam per quintam hebdomadam vel eo circa reversum esse Bruxellam per alium mensem, utens Brusii familiaritate quem crepusculo, vespertino aut nocte visebat, interdum tamen fugientes odia et inimititias maledictis se mutuo impetentes, usque eo ut Moubray quendam nobilem Scotum sollicitaret sibi socium ad trucidendum (ut simularet) Brusium. Hic deponens asserit Moubray ab omnibus fuisse habitum pro exploratore Angliæ et huc emissum ad moliendam proditionem.

Gualterus Buccanan dicit Moubray dum ageret in his partibus fuisse hæreticum necnon communi fama habitum pro emissario Archibaldi Douglas eundemque familiariter usum Brusio etsi apud alios fingeret se tam esse ipsi inimicum ut concilium caperet de tradendo, non tamen destitisse a frequentatione tam ante quam postea tales minas.

Hugo Craig deponit de eadem familiaritate et communione inter Brusium et Moubray asserens hunc fuisse famulum Archib. Douglas et venisse cum literis ad Brusium, cui etiam redeunti per Zelandiam in Angliam impetrarit a sua Celsitudine literas salvi conductus et eundem pessime de causa Catholica promereri et adversus hanc dira moliri: addit hic deponens intellexisse se a pluribus Regimini Scotiæ frequentantibus, Brusium communicare cum exploratoribus Anglis.

Patricius Steyn deponit de multa atque intima familiaritate Brusii cum Moubray quem asserit fuisse in familia dicti Douglas.

Brusius hac de re interrogatus a Commissariis inficiatur se familiariter usum consorcio hujus Moubray magis quam aliorum Scotorum, negatque habitum fuisse pro exploratore sed aliquando excurrisse ad visendam sororem quam habebat degentem in civitate Montensi Hannoniæ, eandemque inpræsentiarum degere Antwerpiæ.

Atqui tales peraccomodi sunt ac idonei proditoriis functionibus obeundis quas tam specioso colore lucent ac velent, nec est absimile vero istud fuisse inventum illius callidi Archibaldi exploratorum Angliæ archietecti, eumque tam commodam occasionem tecte per suum famulum proditionem struendi non neglexisse.

Doctor Johannes Hamilton ait Brusium inter Catholicos Scotos defamari et notari opprobrio duplicis exploratoris; observatum est a Commissariis permultas epistolas aliaque scripta esse inter Brusii cartas e quibus forsitan plurimorum occultorum documenta et probationes possent deprehendi, sed cum loquantur lingua Scotica et plurima sunt in charactere inconcinno, adjungendus esset fidus interpres tam linguæ quam scripturæ bene gnarus et peritus.

Art. 7m. Brusius tam dictis quam scriptis mendacibus peracerbe insectatur et infamat illos proceres Regni Scotiæ qui illic fortunarum suarum

James VI.
1599. jactura et per tot capitis discrimina sese objecerunt factioni Anglicanæ et hæreticæ; cui factioni adeoque ipsimet coripheæ Elizabethæ jucundissimus siet [*sic*] nuntius, eorundem procerum exterminium; eo quod in horum tribus solis hæret, quicquid humanæ spei apud Scotos est residuum pro causa Catholica; quam spem isthic [*sic*] Brusii machinatio opprimere et ad internecionem delere satagit, tanto majore molimine, quod etiam in universum ordinem patrum Societatis Jesu persæpe est amarulentus et per callumnias contumeliosas speciatim ex his sibi assumens lacerandos et per mandacia [*sic*] traducendos duos, quorum in patria Scotia præcipuus fuit labor in vinea Christi; uni nomen Jacobo Gordonio venerabile est, etiam strenuam in patria fidem navavit, senex illustrissimis attavis oriundus, filius, nepos, frater, patruus, Comitum de Huntley; altri nomen Gulielmo Crighton qui oriundus non ex ignobili prosapia Chrightonum uterque pius, isthinc eum segetem domini transmissi nunc profugati apud nos hærent refugi, veneranda pietatis exemplaria.

Hujusce septimæ adversus Brusium examinacionis indagatio etsi posset videri supervacanea, nec esse judicio vindicandum hic quicquid in ea parte ab ipso comperiatur peccatum, qui se advenam sive exterum dici vult Regi nostro, non subditum neque alios notarit quam exteros idque de commissis in externis regionibus. Quia tamen Regiæ Majestatis interest suorumque fidelium consiliariorum cura incumbit variam de tractu illis quos sua Majestas sibi ascivit alumnos et stipendiarios et manifestum fieri quales sint quibus suam partitur munificentiam (e quorum numero Brusii menstruum stipendium minimum deest quin trium senatorum supremi Concilii Machliniæ salaria equet) necnon qua illi sint mente quos ea sola de causa Rex alit, ut causam Religionis in cæteris regionibus ac regnis foveant ac permoveant; ea propter operæ pretium visum est hujusce rei veritatem inde exponere, quo certior fiat deliberatio quid hac in causa sit statuendum et pronior fiat conjectura veritatis de sceleribus quæ Brusio crimini dantur.

Porro quousque ille se effuderit in callumnias adversus tales patres et proceres indefessos propugnatores causæ Catholicæ tam doctrina et exemplo quam armis et capitum objectu, convincunt tot amarulenta scripta prosotypa [*sic*] penes ipsum reperta quorum exempla ab ipsomet Brusio sunt tradita numero [*sic l.* nuntio] apostolico summæ ecclesiæ pastori impertienda necnon Stephano de Ybarra, necnon ad Johannem d'Idiaques in Hispaniam transmissa, Regi nostro communicanda, illud satagens ut a cœpto studio promovendæ causæ Catholicæ in Scotia dominum sanctissimum et Regiam majestatem revocaret desertis illis athletis.

Sed et ipse Brusius hujus se videns convictum, per propria scripta, non est ausus ire inficias, tantum excusationis loco (conduplicata calumnia) adferre se nil nisi vera scripsisse, cum sint callida mendacia, quæ etiam vera ab omni viro Catholico et pio fuissent cælanda et contegenda ne nullus superesset amplius in Scotia causæ Catholicæ propugnator. Ex his unum (seu guttulam totius maris salsitudinem arguentem) proferemus quo admodum infeste et proterve Brusius insultat patribus acerbe improperans et hoc nomine apud suam sanctitatem et Regiam Majestatem illos traducens, quod ipsorum impru-

dencia res omnis fuerit in Scotia turbata e plena cum Catholicis tranquilitate, eo quod patris Chrightonii opera et instantia Hispanus a Rege nostro missus ad explorandum in Scotia rerum statum (necnon alius id agente patre Gordonio a Patre Sanctissimo eo transmissus cum subsidio decem millium aureorum appulerint palam qua re vulgata dicit exercuisse adversus Catholicos persecutionem quæ prius fuerit sopita).

Quae sane cum sit apperta et impudens calumnia, in illam tamen plenis buccis desonat Brusius suis scriptis ad quam redarguendam non sunt probationes a longinquo petendæ, sed e multis sufficere potest testimonium unius sui famili prænominati Andræ Smal in eadem captivitate detenti, qui a Brusio in Scotiam missus anno 94 ad obeunda illa de quibus in precedentibus egimus ministeria, eo appulit multo tempore ante adventum illorum a Summo Pontifice et a Rege Catholico missorum. Hic asserit ob sævientem adversus Catholicos persecutionem clam fuisse expositum in terram loco importuoso, ibique dilicuisse apud Catholicos et amicos quod longe diversum est ab eo quo tam proterve in patres Brusius debacchatur.

Sed et hoc verum est ita seviente tempestate adversus Catholicos nihil ab illo emisso Brusii famulo collatum subsidii ex illis octo millibus aureorum quæ anno 1590 in hunc usum Brusius a Duce Parmensi acceperat sed neque ex illis 2000 aureorum quæ discedens e Scotia anno 89 apud matrem reliquerit uti literis ad dominum Idiacum est confessus.

Hoc autem constat tunc fuisse detectum tractatum de reddenda Catholicis arce Dumbarton quæ securissimum ipsis futurum esset asylum. Et multo confederatorum fuisse desertores illorum procerum quando mense Octobri ejusdem anni 94 ad rem ventum fuit, ibidem adhuc hærente prædicto Andrea Small; fuitque tunc peroportunum illud suæ sanctitatis subsidium 1000 aureorum comparando milite auxiliario qui duorum procerum hic nunc exulantium turmis juncti vix millenarium numerum complerunt.

Attamen acie congressi cum hereticorum octo millibus eoque amplius insignem quam antea commemoravimus victoriam reportarunt hostibus cæsis et profligatis suorum perpaucis desideratis, ut tunc victoriæ instando eamque urgendo res servari et in vado constitui potuisse credatur nisi Brusii opera (ut non absimele [*sic*] vero est) tres fuissent objecti obices pecuniæ nempe Regiæ retentio, et detectio dicti tractatus super arce Dumbarton. Summa autem testificationum apud Com[m]is[s]arios depositarum supra eodem hoc septimo capite accusationis adversus Brusium hæc est.

Prædicti Comites de Huntley et Arroll hic exulantes graviter in ipso arguunt et culpant, non modo infidam dispensationem pecuniæ regiæ tunc quando Dei causa et Religionis necessitas id efflagitabant (quod hic primo loco excusum est) aliosque jam dictos obices ipsius opera (uti creditur) inventos, sed et acerbas illas et infames examinationes quibus tot ipsius scriptis et apud tales se vident traductos quæ præ cæteris hæc impingit esse ipsos Regi suo rebelles et propriis commodis et causis pretexere Religionis Catholicæ nomen et titulum, Regem Scottorum esse magis Catholicum et magis sincere quam quisque horum procerum quos persequitur, eundem Regem juste esse illis

James VI.
1599. infensum ac hostem in eo quod cum prius inimico Rege Hispaniarum societatem et fœdus ambiant qui sibi vult arrogare coronam Regni Angliæ soli Regi Scotiæ debitam, ob quas tam atroces a tali illatas injurias prænominati proceres obnixe Regem obsecrant et obtestantur ut digna juris animadversio in Brusium statuatur, calumniatoribus in exemplum; ipsimet alioquin dedignantes in tam ignobile et vile subjectum ultionem exercere, modo hanc a Dei et Regiæ Justiciæ ministris sibi impertitum iri persentiscant, eo præsertim nomine quod per hunc (publica tamen Scotia teste) fuerit tam grande malum et tam gravis lues invecta causæ et Ecclesiæ Catholicæ adeoque ipsi toti orbi Christiano.

Quam justiciæ vindictam si a Regia Majestate consequantur tanto eidem Majestati se sentient devinctiores, tantoque promptiore et alacriore animo ad ejusdem obsequia se devovebunt, uti hactenus, nec rebus suis nec sanguini proprio pepercerunt pro causæ Catholicæ defencione. [*In margin:* In hanc sententiam obtestantur hi proceres in suis depositionibus.] Quibus nunc etiam effertur liber in patriam et in Regis gratiam reditus cum præteritorum oblivione tantum ut se Calvinismi ministris accomodent quod abhorrent voluntarium exilium præeligentes, alioquin si tam pernisioso viro hic conceditur impunitas non poterit non languescere hæc ipsorum erga suam Majestatem devotio, pluriumque in Scotia Catholicorum concident animi qui usu exigenti sese perhibebunt cunctantiores et segniores.

Chiliarchus Paton diserte deponit de contumeliis et injuriis quibus Brusius tam dictos proceres quam patres Societatis Jesu traduxit, idque falso, necnon scire se Brusium esse inimicum toti prædicti [*sic*] societati eundemque jactabunde interminari effecturum se ut hisce in partibus dicti proceres cum aversione et indignatione excipiantur, et ut in patria propriis suis in portis in suspendium agantur.

Gulielmus Chrighton presbiter dictæ societatis astruit illis scriptis diffamatoriis quæ adversus dictos patres et proceres Brusius curavit referri ad suam Sanctitatem et Regiam majestatem hoc agi ut causa Catholica fiat plane deplorata in Scotia: Hic idem suo quodam scripto quod Commis[s]ariis tradidit modeste respondit Brusii examinationibus.

Doctor Johannes Hamilton dicit Brusium post proditam causam publicam se precipitem dare in contumelias et defamacionem procerum Catholicorum regni Scotiæ eaque se ex ipsius ore accepisse; asserit vidisse se scripta calumniis et mendaciis referta adversus proceres Scotiæ quæ Brusius obstruit nuncio appostolico, simulac intellexit a sua Sanctitate susceptam curam promovendi causam Catholicam in Scotia. Eundemque minari suspendium proceribus Catholicis Scotis etsi nulla alia supersit spes humana illic reparandi Religionem Catholicam quam quorundem procerum ope; addit Brusium maledicere et obtrectare omnibus quibus videt cordi esse causam Religionis Catholicæ apud Scotos, idque præ cæteris patribus Societatis Jesu: hunc etiam dicit asserere Regem Scotiæ esse magis Catholicum quam sit ullus procerum quos profligavit.

At Regem nihil esse minus quam Catholicum per causas scientiæ et experientiæ, asserit dictus pater Gordon qui totis annis novem continuis hæsit in Scotia, vineæ Dei cultor indefessus, ab anno nempe 84

1599. usque ad annum 93, quo tempore huc reversus transiit Romam ad summum pontificem, a quo impetrato subsidio rursum abiit in patriam 94 etiam tunc presens quando mense Octobri ejusdem anni conflictum fuerat.

Hic asserit a Rege hanc sibi esse factam gratiam et adjectum hoc decus in honorem familiæ de prosapiæ [*sic*] Huntillorum Comitum ex qua eosdem cum Rege avos supputati ut circiter semestri exceptus hospitio in ipsa Regis aula familiariter cum ipso ageret, multum de religione disputans etiam ministris interdum presentibus, habet enim sibi persuasum rex nulli suorum ministrorum sibi esse ob eruditionem cedendum, et licet in nonnullis rex dicti [*sic*] patri cederet perstitit tamen pertracte in heresi, uti de hac re ample in ipsius patris depositione quæ sane digna est attenta lectione.

Alexander Hebrun centurio dicit se ipsummet Brusium audivisse profitentem iracundiam suam et iram adversus patres dicti [*sic*] societatis eo quod (uti aiebat) intelligeret se ab illis accusatum; precipue vero hanc iracundiam edens adversus patres Gordon et Creighton.

Gulielmus Forrett centurio equitum qui Brugis sunt in præsidiis dicit audisse ab iis qui Brusio sunt familiares eidem nobilitatem Scoticam esse vehementer despectui et de patribus societatis idem non verecunde loqui.

Johannes Sapiret legatus missus in Scotia [*sic*] anno 94 cum subsidio suæ Sanctitatis 10000 [*sic*] aureorum, hic asserit apud Scotos hisce in partibus ferri rumorem Brusium se vendicare daturum operam ut omni qua poterit via obstet ac noceat Catholicis Scotis eo quod recusant ipsius amplius amicitiam.

Hugo Craig refert audisse se quærimonias Brusii de patribus Societatis Jesu ejusdemque minas adversos [*sic*] utrosque illic quidem (patribus) sub hac formula proverbii Scotici priusquam a me cœptæ negotiationis provinciam mihi eripiant. Ego ipsis abradam capitis verticem (coronam sacerdotalem) et decoratas reddam prelongas togas, istis vero proceribus communicantem in hanc sententiam si ipsis in proposito stat me opprimere nec qua tenetur mecum communicatione uti sentient esse me per quem hoc negocium est cœptum quique progressionem et incrementum dedi et quem revereri et observare tenentur, vel eo solo nomine quod in me situm est ipsis permultum efficere et nocere, utpote in cujus manu est, hisce in partibus tantum in ipsos cure indagationem ut nihil huic precepturi subinde nisi mecum transigant et in patria cum illos [*sic*] pertractaturis in discrimen suspendii propriis in portis seu perturbatores tranquilitatis publicæ.

Brusius indignatur se clam a patre Gordon petitas Romæ a sua Sanctitate suppetias causæ Catholicæ in Scotia et a patre Crighton idem actum in Hispania apud Regem nostrum et hunc bolum administrationis illarum pecuniarum sibi esse ereptum.

Art. 8 Walterus Buchananus, nobilis Scotus, etiam testis est eorum quæ audivit Brusium indignabunde evomentem adversus quosdam patres Societatis Jesu. Brusius [*sic*] esse mente a Rege nostro Catholico qui ipsum tam gravi impensa et sumptu tot annis aluit unde non difficilis est conjectura qua intentione Brusius se effunderet in tales contumelias et opprobria adversus prenominatos patres et proceres tam indefessos

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1599. athletas et propugnatores causæ Catholicæ magisque credibile aucupatum ab ipso esse favorem Elizabethæ Angliæ.

Hujus accusationis fidem ac veritatem affirmant quærimoniæ Comitum exulum, de quibus supra, qui tunc exaggeratione doloris deplorant adversarios causæ Catholicæ et Regis Hispaniarum esse nactos tam pernisiosum instrumentum quam fuerit ille Brusius.

Franciscus de Crome ait se audisse Brusium asserentem Regem Scottorum benignius quam pro ipsorum meritis agere cum suis subditis eo quod secreto communicent cum ejusdem Regis inimicis nominato speciatim Rege Hispaniarum Catholico, addens dicti causam quod is omni via satagit sibi usurpare Regnum Angliæ (uti ait) soli Regi Scotorum debitum.

Art. 9. Brusius in eo ipso qualemcunque fecit Regiæ pecuniæ distribucionem sibi rem quærens apochas numerato majores et pleniores emunxit.

Quin et una apocha offertur duorum millium aureorum quæ multis judiciis arguetur cujus pœna etsi non per jura scripta certe per leges edictales est laqueus et suspendium.

Prius membrum hujus criminacionis comprobatum a Comite de Huntley qui recipiens in Scotia a Brusio jussu Ducis Parmensis seu donum Regis Hispaniarum aureos asserit se Brusio tradidisse sponte et ex liberalitate apocham recepto pleniorem sic afflagitante Brusio.

Comes ab Arroll dicit Andream Small Brusii famulum in Scocia [*sic*] transmissum anno 94 flagitasse a se Comite apocham mille aureorum oblatis tantum octingentis: sed a se deponente responsum fuisse nolle recipere quincquam [*sic*] ab illo qui causam Catholicam prodiderat.

Uti etiam Comiti de Huntley tunc sunt oblati ab eodem famulo 600 aurei ea condicione ut suis literis commendaticiis ad Regem Hispaniarum Brusio procuraret delegacionem rerum Scoticarum apud suam Majestatem qui cum indignacione et aversione respondit se daturum operam ut Brusius de prius commissis meritas lucret pœnas, sic diserte ipsimet famulus testatur hac de re a Commissariis interrogatus. interrogatus.

Alterum membrum de apocha duorum millium aureorum quæ Brusius curassit annumerari a uno Comiti de Morton anno 92 ea certe laborat gravissima suspicione falsi, idque permultis ac validis argumentis quæ longum esset hic repetere, ex allegatis tamen et probatis sunt evidentiora quod Brusius dicitur artifex mutandi aliorum characteres et signa.

Sed etsi vera asserta fuisset illa numeratio duorum millium eo tempore quod apocha exprimit, ex hoc Brusius se reum proderet longe majoris criminis inniisse nempe pecuniis Regiis causam hereticorum et adversariorum causæ Catholicæ eo quod (uti ex testium deposicionibus astruitur) dictus Comes a Moreton toto triennio vel circiter ante annum 92 ejusdem causæ Catholicæ se desertorem constituerat ministris Calvinismi manum dedens quorum tenore et ope ad præfecturam cujusdam provinciæ in Scocia fuerat evectus, cum tamen Brusius ab anno 89 præter illa quæ anno 94 turpiter per famulum obtulit et generose recusata sunt uti jam dictum est nihil subsidii incuterit proceribus illis

1599. Catholicis qui tanta rerum suarum jactura per tot capitis sui et suorum discrimina causam Catholicam ad usque extremum propugnarunt et cujus causa nunc in exilio degunt.

In testis deposicionibus comperiuntur permulta alia probra Brusio impacta minus quidem criminosa sed tamen alienissima a viri boni officio et hominis ingenium et mentem testificantia, nempe inter cætera Brusium esse sibi Suffenum et gigantea arrogancia qui aliorum præclara gesta sibi ascribit sese etiam venditans de nobilitate, diviciis.

Hujus facti et jactanciæ testimonia non sunt Commissariis e longinquo nec aliunde quam a propria experientia petenda eademque sunt in ipsius scriptis passim obvia Brusium se venditare sua opera procuratam in Scotia unionem et confederationem Catholicorum.

A se Regem esse factum propensum ad fidem Catholicam redditumque Catholicis propitium et favorabilem.

Comes ab Arrol asserit hanc societatem et confederationem fuisse procuratam a patribus societatis diu ante adventum Brusii, fuit enim (ut ante dictum est) in Scocia pater Gordon ab anno 84 totis novem annis continuis; *horum patrum labores Brusius sibi arrogat, eo quod anno 87 eo appulerit cum pecunia Regis nostri, cujus tamen fuit infidus dispensator, uti ex primo capite scripti convincitur; estque in præcedentibus etiam hoc demonstratum, loco confederationis de qua procurata Brusius se falso jactitat, fuisse ipsum procuratorem et causam dissociationis desertionis confederatorum, unde causæ Catholicæ in Scotia occasus.

Comes de Huntley arguit et ridet Brusii vanitatem et arrogantiam, qui audet se jactare de dicta unione, addens a se Comite primum e latebris in lucem Brusium fuisse pertractum, qui illum commendarit Duci Giusiano in Galliis, per quem fuit amandatus in Hispaniam et postea hisce in partibus ad Ducem Parmensem transmissus, ceu idoneus rebus Scoticis gerendis, cujus tamen beneficii immemor nunc tantam gratiam tot maledictis rependit.

Pater Gordon hac de re deponit in eandem sententiam, nempe vanam esse Brusii jactitantiam de unione Catholicorum a se procurata.

Pater Crichton hac de re deponit, nunquam fuisse Brusium provectum eo authoritatis aut familiaritatis apud Regem Scotorum, ut de negotio Religionis cum ipso esset ausus agere, ideoque esse futilia et mara somnia, quicquid hac in parte gloriatur et venditat.

Addit hunc esse humili prosapia, cujus mater est filia cujusdam Edinburgensis quæ secundo nupsit Thomæ Flammin viro honestæ familiæ sed remoto a primogenitura et inopi; qui primus deduxit in Franciam hunc Brusium suum privignum. Plura hic refert de Brusii humili educatione, et tandem receptum fuisse in alumnum Seminarii Scotici quod Summus Pontifex instituit in Pont-a-Mousson Lotharingiæ.

Chiliarchus Paton dicit Brusium esse in patria humili conditione et re pertenui. Joannes Veymis addit columen et caput familiæ Brusiorum tam esse re macra ut omnis ipsius census annuus non assequatur summam 100 aureorum.

Atqui apud Com[m]issarios adeo contemptim de Comite Arroll

* From here the handwriting appears to be that of the former copyist.

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1599. Regni Conestabulo Brusius loquitur, ut se venditet posse plures suæ familiæ Brusii in aciem educere quam dictum Comitem suæ.

Assignavit J. Martini, vidit R. de France.

21½ *pp.* *Copy.*

[? *c.* 1599.] **487.** SUMMARY OF THE CHARGES AGAINST ROBERT BRUCE.

Vol. lxv, No. 88. Denunciations a la charge de Robert Bruce, Escossois.

1. Il est coulpable de plusieurs poinets de trahisons, si que, de tenir intelligence et correspondence avec les espies d' Angleterre; d'avoir versé fraudeleusement en la dispensation des deniers du Roy, en frustrant coulx que sa Majeste Catholique vouloit estre gratifies, et tenant pour luy la meilleure part. Oultre ce que par faulses et simulez quitances et signatures il faict semblant de distribution.

2. Il a tatché de par faulxes informations mettre les Catholiques de son Pays en la disgrace de sadicte Majeste, afin qu'elle ne se fiast et ne se servist d'eux, en ce favorisant la Royne d'Angleterre, laquelle b'a plus grand craincte que des dictes Catholiques.

3. Estant adverti qu'un' forteresse d'Escosse de grande importance devoit par l'addresse du Capitaine estre mis es mains du Roy d'Espagne, il en a faict l'advertissement au seigneur qui comandoit en chef sur icelle forteresse procurant que le dict Capiteine fust changé et par ce moyen l'occasion de si grand bien perdu.

4. Il a correspondence et intelligence avec les ministres heretiques de son pays par la faveur desquels il a obtenu par patentes permission d'aller, venir et converser entre eulx.

5. Il tient grand' correspondence avec Robert Melvill, homme heretique de tout temps et conseiller du Roy d'Escosse, et pensionaire secret a la Royne d'Angleterre, lequel toutesfois Bruce veult persuader entre homme prudent et modest et non ennemy aux Catholiques.

6. Semblable correspondence tient il en Angleterre avec un grand traitre de la Religion Catholique et ennemy de sa Majeste Catholique.

7. Il tire finiment tout ce qui peult des Peres de la Societe de Jesus de son pays et puis en envoye les advertences, (aulcunefois par son homme propre) en son pays a son correspondant illecq pensionaire a la dicte Royne d'Angleterre et aultres heretiques de son dict pays.

8. Il empesche et traverse tous les negoces de son pays qui ne passent par ses mains, mesmes s'en vant aussy si les seigneurs de son dict pais ne suivent ses directions qui les fera pendre a leurs portes, luy procedant ceste presumption du credit qu'il a en Angleterre et avec les heretiques de son pays. Car de sa part il ny a nul credit pour estre fils d'un pouvre gentilhomme et d'une fille de merchant.

9. Il s'est vanté d'avoir procuré qu'en la battaille du mois d'Octobre de l'an passé 94 les seigneurs Catholiques combattant n'ont esté secondez de leurs parens et amis, les ayant faict separer l'un de l'autre.

10. Il trompe les officiers du Roy par faulx rapports au prejudice

1599. d'aultruy, mesmes le Seigneur Stephano d'Ibarra, pour tirer argext de luy, comme il a faict endroict un Jehan Re enseigne, lequel il a faict employer pour estre envoye en Escosse, et de la en Hollande, a un sien amy pour la reddition d'une ville au Roy ce qu'ayant emprins, le dict Re n'alla plus loing que Calais, s'en donnant illecq du bon temps, et puis retourna disant avoir esté en Escosse et d'avoir faict l'office.

11. Il contrefaict des lettres comme a luy envoyez d'Escosse pour advertance, et toutesfois il les forge en sa chambre, selon qu'il estime servir au goust des officiers du Roy et d'aultres seigneurs pardeça.

Tesmoings d'Anvers.

Richard Stanley. Moss° Jaques Gordon, p'bre. de Louvain.

Le Conte d'Arroll. Pere Guilliaume Crichton. de Bruxelles. Joannes Weymis.

Symon Grahame.

1⅔ *pp. Copy in a French hand. Endorsed:* "Capita Criminum quorum reus agitur Robertus Brusius Scotus inpræsenciarum custodiæ mancipatus Bruxellis."