CALENDAR

OF THE

STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

SCOTLAND

AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

1547–1603



PRESERVED IN THE

Gt. Brit.

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

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.

Before treating of the contents of this volume, a few preliminary remarks may be made.

The State Papers of the sixteenth century relating to Scotland, preserved in the Public Record Office, were calendared in 1858 by the late Mr Markham J. Thorpe, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. His work, which was published in two volumes, comprising altogether little more than 1000 pages, deals with 86 volumes of original papers, from the accession of Henry VIII. to the death of Elizabeth, some additions thereto known as the "Conway Papers," and 23 volumes of original papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots, during her detention in England from 1568 to 1587. In accordance, however, with the system which prevailed forty years ago, Mr Thorpe gave the briefest possible indications of the contents of the different letters and papers, and his valuable work must be regarded as a Catalogue rather than a Calendar.

The earlier part of Mr Thorpe's volumes is being superseded by the *Calendar of Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, begun in 1862, and now within measurable distance of completion. This great work, edited successively by the late Dr Brewer and Mr James Gairdner, gives full abstracts and extracts from all documents of the period that are known to exist in England, whether in the Public Record Office or elsewhere. Inasmuch, however, as it is not to be continued beyond the death of Henry VIII., the present publication has been undertaken with the object of supplying students of Scottish history with fuller information for the period between 1547 and 1603, than they can obtain from Mr Thorpe's volumes. It, accordingly, is to embrace not only the original series of Scottish State Papers, the "Conway Papers," and the Papers

relating to Mary, Queen of Scots, all in their strict chronological order, but also analogous documents preserved in the British Museum and elsewhere in England, unless printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, or in other standard works.[1]

The abstracts and extracts now given are, it is hoped, sufficiently full for all practical purposes. Curtailment, when found necessary, has been resorted to only in the case of documents in general between November 1558 and December 1560, and will be in regard to documents in the Public Record Office alone, between March 1561 and June 1577. For further information with regard to these, readers are referred to the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, edited in eleven volumes (1863–80), under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, by the late Rev. Joseph Stevenson and the late Mr A. J. Crosby. This work, suspended for several years, has lately been resumed, but, under arrangements made with the authorities at the Public Record Office, it will not in future deal with the Scottish documents preserved there.

The present volume is the first instalment of the new Scottish Calendar, and covers a period of about sixteen years. It may be divided into four portions of time: (1) The government of Arran (1547–1554); (2) the regency of Mary of Lorraine (1554–59); (3) the troubles of religion, followed by her supersession and death, and inter-regnum thereafter (1559–1561); and (4) from the return of Queen Mary to her own kingdom in August 1561, till April 1563.

It opens with some references to the garrison of St Andrews, and their hopes of relief from England, before long to be frustrated by their surrender to the French before Somerset's intended aid by sea could reach them. As is historical, the murderers of the Cardinal, who seized the Castle, were afterwards joined by many, Knox and other preachers among them, ostensibly for the free exercise of their religion. All, however, being regarded as accessories after the fact, were so treated on

[1] As Haynes, Murdin, Forbes, Keith, etc.

the fall of the Castle. That they were on friendly terms with England would appear from a letter, addressed by Patrick, Lord Gray, then in the Castle, on 11th March 1546–7, to Edward VI. and Somerset,[1] binding himself, in return for certain favours in money, etc., to promote the young Queen's marriage in England, and deliver his castle of Broughty for an English garrison. Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, and James Kirkcaldy of Grange,[2] two of the witnesses, were outlawed as actual murderers; Henry Balnaves and Alexander Whytlaw, the other two, were notable among the Reformers. Gray, before long, proved as great a double dealer as his more notorious grandson, the Master of Gray.

The death of Henry VIII. brought no relief to Scotland, for the over-bearing Protector, who had done it so much evil as Earl of Hertford, was as ready, under his new dignity, to carry out the designs of his late master, either by force or by tampering with discontented Scotsmen of all ranks, by the usual inducements. One of his chief correspondents, while he prepared the army which overthrew the Scots at Pinkie, was William, Earl of Glencairn, now an old man, who had been taken at Solway Moss, and, from the letters before us, seems to have acted a treacherous part, sending all the news he or his spies could gather of the Governor's forces and intentions, up to the eve of Pinkie.[3] He is sometimes said to have been killed there, but the Governor forbade him to be in the field,[4] and he was in Council with the Queen Dowager at Stirling on 12th January 1547–8.[5] In July 1547 he proposed to Somerset to fortify a strong position on the Clyde, opposite the town of Greenock,[6] which, had it been acted upon, would have been as disastrous to the country around as Lord Gray's delivery of Broughty was to the borders of the Tay.

The Protector's religious views did not preclude him from

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[1] P. 2. [2] Father of the better known William Kirkcaldy. [3] Pp. 5–9. [4] P. 16. [5] P. 62. He was alive 20th February 1547–8, and dead by 22nd April following (*Privy Seal Reg.*, XXI. pp. 68, 87). [6] P. 10.

employing Lennox, though regarded as a Catholic by the Dowager and his cousin Stewart of Cardonald,[1] to scourge his countrymen in the west of Scotland who opposed his designs.[2] But Lennox's sole motive was hostility to the Hamiltons, and, though not a religious one, so far coincident with the Protector's aim. He, too, had a plan for establishing the English on the Clyde.[3]

On the Protector's return after his victory, he left garrisons in Broughty Castle and St Colme's Inch—the former under Sir Andrew Dudley, the latter under Sir John Luttrell. William, Lord Grey of Wilton, Governor of Berwick, was charged to see to them while guarding English interests on the East and Middle Marches of Scotland.[4] The Castles of Roxburgh and Hume were also in English hands, those of Eyemouth and Lauder, with some minor strengths, soon following.

Though much damage was done on the Tay and Forth by the commanders of Broughty and Inch Colme, supported by the English fleet, the chief interest of this period centres in the English occupation of Haddington, and its subsequent siege by the French and Scots.

Some months before that event, however, Grey of Wilton had been approached by Sir George Douglas with a scheme for a fresh invasion by 6000 men, under his own guidance, through the heart of the southern counties, which he asserted would either result in the capture of the Queen Dowager and her daughter, or some nearly as important result.[5] Grey submitted it without delay to the Protector, who at once replied, scouting the plan as a mere trap to destroy an army, warning Grey to beware of Douglas, and stating the only conditions for dealing with him.[6] By the Protector's order, guarded intercourse was kept up with the Douglases till the opportunity to punish their duplicity arrived.

He and Grey were otherwise fully occupied with reports

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[1] P. 5. [2] P. 19. [3] P. 23.
[4] Pp. 31, 32. [5] 20th October 1547, p. 28. [6] P. 31.

from Broughty and Inch Colme, of the Scottish attempts to regain them—especially the former, whose captain burned and plundered on Tay side, planned to get Perth by means of the Ruthvens, and took Dundee, which town he was unable to hold above a month or two.

About this time an offer was made to Grey of Wilton to surprise the Castle of Edinburgh by means of the porter,[1] but though approved by the Protector, and the Lairds of Ormiston and Brunston engaged to assist, the opportunity was lost. Preparations the while were quietly proceeding for two fresh inroads on the East and West—the former under Grey of Wilton, to survey Haddington and take hostages of the country to the gates of Edinburgh—the other under Lennox and Wharton, to ravage Annandale and Nithsdale, and, if possible, capture the Earl of Angus. Both expeditions started about 21st February 1547–8.[2] Two days later, Grey reported from Haddington the delivery of Bothwell's house of Hailes with his standard, besides other places of strength there; and a week after, that he had received two others, and pledges for delivery of Borthwick and Dalhousie.[3] He had returned hurriedly to Berwick, owing to a report that Lennox and Wharton had been overthrown, taking Sir George Douglas with him, whom he agreed to put in charge of Yester, his nephew's house, on giving his eldest son and another as pledges, apparently trusting him so far. Meantime, the Governor had recovered Salton, where Grey had placed Cockburn of Ormiston in charge, and burned Ormiston House, with the whole of Brunston's effects, to punish these two English partisans. About the same time, Sir John Luttrell had evacuated St Colme's Inch, bringing his men to Broughty Castle.[4]

Turning to Lennox and Wharton's raid, they crossed the March on 21st February, and, encamping at Lochmaben, awaited events.[5] Angus, then at Drumlanrig, sent them mes-

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[1] 30th November, p. 45. [2] Pp. 80, 81. [3] P. 85.
[4] 6th March 1547–8, pp. 90, 91. [5] P. 79.

sengers and letters to gain time—a course which might have succeeded with his son-in-law; but Wharton lost no time in attacking him, and though nearly foiled by the "treason," as he calls it, of the Master of Maxwell and his band of assured Scots, in the end put the Earl's forces to flight, as he graphically reported to Somerset.[1] This breach of faith was fatal to Maxwell's unfortunate hostages, who were hanged at Carlisle to the number of 14, and caused deadly enmity between him and Wharton, as shown in subsequent papers.[2]

Grey of Wilton, having been with the Protector, returned to his post, with full instructions, early in April 1548, and by the 24th was tracing out the fortifications of Haddington, with the aid of Sir Thomas Palmer, an engineer officer, who had been engaged strengthening Broughty by a new detached fort.[3] Grey remained there for nearly two months at this work, also watching the Governor's movements and the arrival of the French auxiliaries, long anxiously expected. He further took the opportunity of sharply punishing Sir George Douglas for his long course of trimming. On Sunday, 3rd June 1548, by skilful arrangements, he took the Castle of Dalkeith, and though Sir George escaped, his wife and son (the Master of Morton), with other important prisoners, were taken, with a large amount of spoil stored there by the country around.[4] Angus, who was then at Tantallon, some 20 miles distant, and had professed to Grey a wish for amity, escaped an ambush laid for him, and got to Edinburgh by sea a few days after.[5] From this time their credit with the Protector was at an end, though both still made verbal offers of service by means of Lennox, when writing to ask favour for some of the Dalkeith prisoners.[6] They appear in the Queen Dowager's company, at the ceremonies on the delivery of the *Regalia* of Scotland by the Council to the Lieutenant of France, during the siege of

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[1] Pp. 80–83.

[2] See also an interesting work, *Repentance Tower and its Tradition*, 1895, p. 12, by George Neilson, F.S.A. Scot.

[3] Pp. 107, 111. [4] Pp. 115, 116. [5] P. 118. [6] P. 128.

Haddington,[1] when Angus bore the Crown and his brother made an oration to the assembly.[2] From this date both appear little in public affairs.

Soon after the arrival of Dessé and his army, the siege of Haddington began, before the English had completed their defences.[3] The town was not at first closely invested, thus affording opportunities for relief, some of which were successful; but one, either through rashness or the superior skill of the French commander, was completely defeated, the English horsemen destroyed, and some important leaders taken.[4] The garrison held out stoutly, repulsing various assaults; and though they suffered much from famine and plague, the town was retained, as we see here, till at least 17th September 1549, being then in extremity, for the relieving force was encamped at Innerwick, about 15 miles off, and much inferior to the French, under M. de Termes, Dessé's successor, who, with 2000 Scots allies, blocked their way at Lynton bridge, which he had razed, while the Tyne was in heavy flood.[5]

This relieving force was but a remnant of the army which the Protector had raised for the purpose in August 1548, numbering, when mustered at Berwick, at least 16,000 men, under the Earl of Shrewsbury.[6] But the country was too much wasted to provision them, and on reaching Long Niddry, the Earl reported that he must at once fall back on Berwick, the French and Scots being encamped at Musselburgh, and the success of an attack on them doubtful.[7] There he received orders to disband a large part of his force, and Haddington, which he had apparently relieved in passing, was left to its own resources.[8]

The Protector's persistence in his schemes is shown by his

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[1] P. 139.

[2] On 7th July 1548. This we learn from the *Hamilton Papers* (Vol. II. p. 604). These contain 27 isolated documents (from 30th May 1547 to 28th February 1548–9), relating to this period, strangely separated from the present collection, to which they have clearly once belonged.

[3] 30th June, p. 133.

[4] 15th July, pp. 148, 149.

[5] Pp. 166, 177, 179.

[6] P. 161.

[7] 23rd–29th August, pp. 162, 163.

[8] 8th September, p. 164.

reviving the old claim of homage and superiority, and discussing it keenly with the French ambassador, to persuade Henry II. to withhold assistance from the Scots as rebels:[1] and also sending Luttrell and Fisher to Argyll and others, to urge them to press Henry to return the young Queen to Scotland to complete her marriage with his nephew.[2] This was a forlorn hope, for Argyll had already failed him, after accepting a large bribe through the agency of Gray, whose conduct during those two years is now clearly appreciable by means of several hitherto isolated letters.

When he offered his castle of Broughty to Somerset, he was one of the Solway prisoners on leave, the release of his brother, then his pledge, being one of the favours asked for and granted,[3] besides 1000*l.* for his castle; which he afterwards said was too little, and but for the "godly purpose," would not have taken 5000*l.*[4] From October 1547 till February following, he and Alexander Whitelaw his "man," assisted Sir Andrew Dudley in his operations at Broughty and Dundee against their countrymen —Argyll especially, of whom they professed great fear, though Dudley was often doubtful of their honesty.[5] Suddenly, Gray is found borrowing 1000 crowns from Dudley to give to Argyll, who promised in writing to support the English marriage, which document Gray at once sent to Somerset, writing two days after that he would certainly gain Argyll.[6] So little was he suspected, that the Governor offered him Argyll's command against the English.[7] Somerset forthwith sent a trusty envoy, John Brende, to Gray, to ratify his payment to Argyll, and offer him a pension of 2000 crowns, one-half of it land in England, and 10,000 crowns as a gift. Almost at the same moment, Argyll publicly denied, in the Townhall of Perth, that he had taken the King of England's money.[8] Only a week later, Brende, conducted by Gray, had a long conference with the

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[1] December 1548, p. 170. [2] March 1548-9, pp. 173, 174. [3] P. 26.
[4] P. 100. [5] Pp. 37, 44, 50, 52, 54, 66, 69, etc.
[6] 5th February 1547-8, pp. 71, 72, 74. [7] 27th February, p. 87. [8] P. 92.

Earl at Cupar-Angus, of which he wrote a very minute account to the Protector, showing Argyll's caution, unwillingness at first to sign anything, and his enmity to Huntly; Brende greatly praising Gray's activity and pains in the business.[1] Within ten days after this meeting however, Argyll, from Castle Carrick, wrote to Gray, complaining that he had revealed it, and requiring him to deny it.[2] In another week Gray is writing to the Protector, to deny a cruel report that he was unfaithful to England, desiring the truth to be tried; while his faithful "servant" Whitelaw backed his master, assuring the Protector he would inform on him if there was anything wrong.[3] Sir John Luttrell, newly come to Broughty, also assured Grey of Wilton of his Scottish namesake's "honourable service to the King." But a surprise awaits us in a letter from the Queen Dowager, then at Dunbarton Castle, to Gray, accepting his bond to serve her daughter and herself, promising to pay him 500 marks during service, till a better provision.[4] The Protector, who surely must have been ignorant of these strange proceedings on Gray's part, despatched Fisher his secretary, three months later, to "the King's town of Dundee," or Broughty Castle, directing him, along with Luttrell, to send for Lord Gray, give him the King's and his own thanks, with a gold chain, a pension of 1000 crowns, and 300 crowns from himself: further, to procure a secret meeting with Argyll, give him also a gold chain, and, on his signing certain articles against the Governor, to promise him a royal pension of 2000 crowns as an earnest of future favours. Finally, directing all four to consult on certain operations against Dunkeld, Perth, and several seaport towns.[5] Whether this reached Argyll or not, he was before Haddington a few days after, "to the surprise of all men," it is said;[6] and at the Council held on 7th July, delivered the Sceptre of Scotland to Dessé for Henry II.[7] Seven weeks later, the Queen Dowager

[1] 9th March, pp. 93–6. [2] 15th March, p. 96. [3] 22nd March, p. 100.
[4] 23rd March, p. 102. [5] 27th June 1548, pp. 130, 131.
[6] 2nd July, p. 136. [7] *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. II. p. 604.

and Governor licensed Lord Gray and others to abide at home from the army at Musselburgh, to defend Dundee against assaults from Broughty Castle; and on the very day after, Gray wrote to the Protector that he had spoken with Atholl, Crawford, and several other lords, who would serve the King's godly purpose, if "honestly entertained," referring other matters to Luttrell, the man whom he was to resist![1] Retribution nearly overtook him soon after, for Brende, on 23rd November, wrote to the Protector that the Lord Gray was a prisoner in Edinburgh, and Dessé demanded that he should die, the Scottish Lords resisting it.[2] He escaped his deserts, however, for not long after, the Governor required the Court of Session to proceed in a case sued before them by his cousin, Patrick Lord Gray, against the Laird of Duncrowb.[3] He was a prisoner on leave from Aug. to Dec. 1559,[4] but appears little more till 11th May 1560, when the Queen Regent wrote to him, accepting his offers of service, and desiring him to persevere therein, "as in times past."[5] And on 8th October following, Queen Mary wrote to him, from St Germains, of her pleasure at seeing by his letters, his constant service to her late mother and herself, and to continue it during "these troubles."[6] So his doubtful conduct was either unknown to, or had been forgiven by these two royal ladies. But though perhaps, an extreme case, it shows the want of principle then among Scotsmen in high place.

Gray had been again made prisoner along with the Master of Marischal during the reign of Philip and Mary,[7] which may account for his non-appearance at first during the troubles, but not for his doubtful conduct after the Queen Regent's death.[8] He was released by Aug. 1559, and again about the end of 1560, on a bond for 1000*l.* for his re-entry on 40 days' notice,[9] and was still unransomed in April 1562.[10]

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[1] 27th–28th August, p. 163.
[2] 23rd November, p. 168.
[3] 16th February 1548–9, p. 182.
[4] Pp. 241, 272.
[5] P. 403.
[6] P. 487.
[7] Possibly in October 1557. *See* p. xx.
[8] Pp. 241, 272, 313, 456, 458, 461, 465, 471.
[9] December, p. 502.
[10] P. 617.

Among the Protector's many instruments of inferior rank, was one James Henrison or Herrison, who first appears on 11th July 1547, writing to show him how four fortresses in Fife might be seized, offering his own services elsewhere on the Border, if suitably rewarded, and asking his arrears of pension since February.[1] Some time after, he sent him a memorandum how to keep his hold on Scotland, the reward asked being the deanery of Auckland "in heritage."[2] He next wrote to Sir John Thynne and Cecil, as being in most credit with the Protector, to procure him leave to print a "little book," with such corrections as his Grace pleased, also payment of six months' pension due.[3] This work, styled *The Godly and Golden Book*, is a curious production, showing the author to have been possessed of some historical and classical learning—its object being the union of the realms under Edward VI.[4]

The Protector, like other great men, perhaps neglected his instruments after serving his turn, and must have forgotten Henrison, for he again made an earnest appeal to Thynne and Cecil to do what they could for him, as one "left out of the peace," hinting that God might punish unthankfulness.[5] After inditing another lengthy paper, chiefly directed towards the conquest of Scotland, and disposal of church property, ending with an admonition to the Protector to beware how he neglected a faithful servant, Henryson disappears from view with his patron.[6]

Nothing is said here of the Dowager's return from France by the English Court, and her interview with Edward in 1551. Before the close of Edward's reign, by the intervention of the French ambassador, the long contested Debateable land was divided, as shown on a curious coloured plan of the bounds.[7]

During the reign of Philip and Mary, after the Queen Dowager assumed the regency in April 1554, the relations of

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[1] P. 11. [2] March 1548, p. 106. [3] 9th July, pp. 140, 141.
[4] Pp. 141–3. It is said by Mr Thorpe never to have been printed.
[5] 9th August, p. 177. [6] Pp. 180, 181.
[7] 16th August–24th September 1552, pp. 190, 191.

the two countries were on the whole amicable, religious questions being for the time in abeyance, though, towards its close, there were some troubles on the Marches, and fears on the part of England of a French invasion through Scotland.[1] That there were good grounds for these, appears from *The Talbot Papers* (Lodge's *Illustrations*, Vol. I. pp. 326–60) showing that in Oct. 1557, a strong force under the Duke, Huntly, Morton, Argyll, and others, menaced an invasion on the East Marches, which was frustrated by the weather. D'Oysel with a body of French was with them.

With the accession of Elizabeth, on 17th November 1558, matters altered greatly. Though the documents here show nothing of the communications of the reforming party with their continental friends, we find that she was scarcely seated on her throne before she was stirring up the discontented Chatelherault, by hinting danger to his right of succession through the young Queen's marriage, as Sir Henry Percy reported to an anonymous officer of state, only for the ears of the Queen and Cecil.[2] Before many months elapsed, the religious troubles began by riotous assemblies at Dundee, Perth, and elsewhere, excited by the continual preachings of Knox and others, to the "rascal multitude."[3] Knox had been little more than a fortnight in Scotland, and had been refused leave to pass through England. The author of *The First Blast* was "odious" to Elizabeth,[4] though she was willing enough to use him at a safe distance as an instrument. The "irritable temper" with which his biographer Dr M'Crie credits him, was not likely to be softened by such treatment, while his nineteen months' captivity in France could not but sharpen his desire to upset authority in the Regent's person as a native of the country in whose prisons he had lain. Such considerations must have aided greatly in his vehemence for the new religion—it would have been strange if they had not—human nature being what it is.

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[1] Pp. 205–208.
[2] 22nd January 1558–9, p. 209.
[3] 19th May, p. 212.
[4] Knox to Cecil, 28th June 1559, p. 218.

Elizabeth and her advisers cared little about the "Religion," save as a means to checkmate the French designs, real or supposed, on her crown and realm, and to this end the bait of assistance in establishing his right to the Crown of Scotland was held before the vacillating Chatelherault. If Mary was got out of the way, his friends thought that Elizabeth might accept his son Arran, and thus unite the realms. This explains the urgent desire to get Arran out of France, as one "so well bent in religion," and the only hope of the realm, so as to steady his irresolute father.[1] After some vicissitudes, he eluded the vigilance of the French, and early in September reached Scotland secretly, as Cecil was advised from Berwick.[2] Without loss of time he joined actively in the disturbances of the country, his energy being much commended by Elizabeth's agent, Randolph,[3] though later events caused a wonderful change in his estimate. There can be little doubt Arran's head was turned long before his insanity developed itself.

To enter into details of this period would be to re-write history, already done with more or less impartiality in well-known works. Here the limits of a preface only permit reference to salient points. It is easy for modern writers in the light of events to condemn the Queen Regent as the crafty foe of true religion, while she was but maintaining the undoubted rights of her daughter, menaced both from within and without her realm. The insurgent lords, though they disclaimed any such design, were well aware of the danger of disturbing "established authority," and the difficulty in exciting the multitude to revolt, though prepared for either alternative.[4] Nor would Elizabeth have supported them against a sister sovereign, but for her fears of France, and all Cecil's astuteness was required to keep her aid in the dark, sending messages verbally by a third person,[5] till events made concealment impossible.

Knowing with whom she had to deal, and the treachery of

[1] 14th June 1559, p. 215. [2] 12th September, pp. 250–53. [3] P. 258.
[4] 19th July, 6th August, pp. 226, 227, 240. Both letters are in Knox's writing.
[5] 4th July, pp. 221, 222.

some even in her own service,[1] the Queen Regent had need of all her talent. Before long her suspicions of Elizabeth's underhand aid against her daughter's throne were fully confirmed,[2] in spite of Elizabeth's profession of much regret at the unruliness of her subjects, at the same date as she was sending Sadler with 3000*l.* for secret service among these unruly people.[3] The Regent, ignoring this duplicity, replied, in a dignified style, that she could not believe a princess of honour capable of favouring disorder in a friendly realm.[4] Shortly after, William Maitland, younger of Lethington, till then her secretary, deserted her for the service of the lords of the Congregation (as they now styled themselves), who despatched him to Elizabeth to treat;[5] while they themselves, soon after addressing the Regent, suspended her commission, on the pretext that they did so for weighty reasons, as representatives of their King and Queen, against whose will they alleged she was administering the Government.[6] After this defiance of her authority, it is not surprising that by her orders Cockburn of Ormiston, when bringing 1000*l.* from Berwick to the insurgents, was stopped near Haddington by the Earl of Bothwell, and the money taken.[7] Though cutting off supplies is a usual operation of war, the Protestant leaders treated it as Bothwell's own act, and plundered and spoiled his house, title deeds, &c.; Arran, who had been conspicuous in the damage, receiving a cartel of defiance from Bothwell, and in return giving him the lie, but refusing to fight with him as no better than a thief.[8] These deadly courtesies were strangely and suddenly changed in little more than two years to close friendship for a brief period between the two men.

A further subsidy having reached them from Elizabeth,[9] the Congregation were enabled to carry on operations against the

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[1] Kirkcaldy of Grange for one, the lords' first emissary to Cecil.
[2] Pp. 226, 254.
[3] 7th–8th August, pp. 240, 241.
[4] 16th August, p. 245.
[5] 24th September, p. 252.
[6] 19th–23rd October, p. 255.
[7] 31st October, p. 262.
[8] Pp. 260, 261.
[9] Pp. 265, 272–4.

French in Fife and the West, with varying fortune till the English fleet reached the Forth on 22nd January 1559–60; Wynter, the admiral, as instructed by Norfolk, accounting for his hostile appearance and acts there by a transparent subterfuge, and assuring the Scottish herald sent by the Dowager, that Elizabeth was not privy to what he had done.[1] Before this time the French were in possession of Leith, and finally were obliged to concentrate all their force there, when the English invasion became imminent. An intercepted letter to the Queen Regent about this time, from her brothers the Cardinal and Duke of Guise,[2] shows that they had penetrated Elizabeth's designs, and saw that if she could settle a peace with France and Spain, she would have no scruple in throwing over the Protestant party, who themselves greatly feared it, as the papers show. Before her treaty with them was concluded, Cecil himself had to come to Edinburgh with Dr Wotton, and it was all but frustrated by Elizabeth's obstinacy in demanding the surrender of Calais as a *sine qua non*, though Cecil told her the Guises would never consent.[3]

On the evacuation of Leith (5th July 1560), the successful party convened a Parliament, under the presidency of Chatelherault, and after annulling the Pope's authority, settling the Confession of Faith, and other questions, despatched two embassies, one to their Sovereigns, the other to Elizabeth with a proposal for her marriage to Arran.[4] This was the Duke's real motive for his fervour in the Reformation—though he and his son before long saw their hopes were vain, and that they were but tools in the hands of others.[5] The wary Cecil had been careful not to commit himself while in Scotland.[6] On the departure of the embassies, an expedition was sent to Castle Sempill to punish its owner, one of the few who had been faithful to the late Queen Regent—a rare quality in the supporters of either side. It was taken after ten days' siege,

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[1] Pp. 300, 301.
[2] 12th March, p. 331.
[3] Pp. 445, 446.
[4] Pp. 463, 465–7.
[5] Pp. 470–2.
[6] P. 472.

great praise being given to Arran as leader, doubtless to recommend him to Elizabeth, though wiser heads assisted him.[1] The Ambassador sent to France was dismissed by Francis II. with a rebuke to the Estates, and an intimation that duly accredited envoys would be sent to them;[2] while those to Elizabeth were told, in terms complimentary to Arran, that she was not disposed to marriage for the present, advising him to look elsewhere for a consort.[3] Soon after this, Mary, now a widow, sent four commissioners with instructions as to her interests in Scotland; her brother-in-law Charles IX., and his mother also sending an amicable message to the Estates.[4] The Scottish Council lost no time in sending envoys to Mary to urge her to maintain the English alliance, as well as to counteract any other design, choosing for the purpose her half-brother Lord James as acceptable to herself and in favour with Elizabeth, with others of their party;[5] Maitland in the meantime, doing his utmost to penetrate the errand of Mary's commissioners.[6] Suspicions at the same time arose that the Duke and his son, seeing the hopelessness of the alliance with Elizabeth, were thinking of one with Mary, and directly communicating with her.[7] This idea she from the first absolutely declined to entertain, no doubt well knowing their selfish objects in promoting the opposition to her late mother.

Lord James departed on his embassy on 18th March 1561, escorted by Randolph to Berwick, but there are no details here of him in France, nor any papers in this volume between 29th March and 1st June. He was again in Edinburgh by 5th June,[8] and probably with his knowledge, Maitland wrote to Mary on the 10th, offering his services to her. To this she replied that if he made good his professions he need fear no calumniators; but, knowing he had been the chief instrument in all the practices of her nobles,

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[1] Pp. 488–90.
[2] 16th November, p. 492.
[3] Pp. 495, 496.
[4] 12th–22nd January 1560–1, pp. 506, 507.
[5] Pp. 510–25.
[6] Pp. 517, 518.
[7] Pp. 506, 509, 517, 522.
[8] P. 535.

he must labour to undo the past as he well knew how, and so assure his affection; also that if anything went wrong after she trusted him, he must bear the blame. She concluded with some instructions on her affairs, and that she was on the point of starting for Scotland, as she had already signified by Lord James [1]—altogether a very business-like letter. Lord James a month after, wrote to Elizabeth, in his sister's behalf, much desiring friendship between them, pointing out (as was the fact, apart from the Will of Henry VIII. and the Act of Parliament which gave that Will the force of law), her undoubted right of succession, and the injustice of excluding it.[2] As he inclosed it to Cecil, with power to withdraw it if he thought fit, Elizabeth may never have seen it. Mary was now on her way, yet, if Randolph may be credited, the writer of this appeal, with Maitland and Morton, told him they approved of Cecil's great desire to stay her return, and "cared not though they never saw her face!" This is a very strange account of matters, for besides these two letters just cited, Morton, on 17th March before, had sent a special messenger to Mary, protesting his constant support of her mother and herself, his sufferings therefor, his desire to see her home, solemnly declaring his faithfulness till death.[3]

Though Elizabeth put every hindrance in the way, Mary braved the risk, and with only two galleys and a slender train, unexpectedly arrived at Leith on 19th August 1561, after an absence of 13 years.[4] The sole opposing voice in the general acclamation, appears to have been that of Knox, who, as Randolph said, "so thundereth out of the pulpit" that he feared one day he would "mar all." In his first interview with the Queen, on 4th September, she gave him the sound advice to be more charitable to those who disagreed with his opinions, and to "use more meekness in his sermons." [5]

Henceforth, apart from the internal affairs of the country,

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[1] 29th June, pp. 536, 537.
[2] 6th August, pp. 540, 541.
[3] Pp. 528–31.
[4] P. 547.
[5] P. 551.

much disturbed by the difficulty in reconciling Mary's observance of her own faith, with the aggressive fervour of the professors of the new religion, much correspondence took place on the debated question of the meeting of the Queens, for which Mary and her new secretary showed an earnest desire, not so warmly entertained by Cecil and his mistress.[1]

Early in March 1862, the course of affairs was startled by the unaccountable sudden reconciliation of Bothwell and Arran —the latter's confession of a conspiracy between his father, Bothwell, and himself against the Queen and others—the denial by the Duke and Bothwell—ending in Arran's lunacy and committal to prison after long inquiry, Bothwell and some others being also put in ward.[2] Not long after this affair, the Huguenot troubles in France, in which Elizabeth was minded to interfere, occasioned her sending Sir Henry Sydney to Mary, to postpone their interview (intended to have taken place that autumn) till the following year.[3] Later this year, the sudden expedition of Mary to the north as far as Inverness, against the Earl of Huntly and his rebellious sons, in the early part of which her brother, then Earl of Mar, had been created Earl of Moray, followed by the deaths of Huntly in the field, and his son Sir John Gordon on the scaffold, took place.[4]

The distressing and presumptuous attempted outrage of Chatelar (or, as Randolph calls him, Chartellet) next occurred while Mary was on her way to St Andrews, speedily followed by the culprit's execution there.[5] The private confession he is said to have made is not given here. The year ended sadly for Mary and her Court, with the assassination of her uncle, Francis Duke of Guise, the able chief of the Catholic League.[6]

After this slight outline of the contents of the volume, a few words may be said on some of the personages who have passed in review before the reader. Here the editor, in the execution of his duty, as he is strictly bound to do, will confine his

[1] Pp. 572–610.
[2] Pp. 613–20.
[3] 15th–29th July, pp. 640–2.
[4] August–November, pp. 649–68.
[5] 15th–28th February 1562–3, pp. 684–6.
[6] P. 689.

remarks on them to the information afforded in the papers before him, ignoring the views and assertions of former writers, historical or otherwise, or of partisans on either side, often founded on insufficient or distorted authority, often upon none whatever. A notable error pervading many of these is to disregard the spirit of that age, and represent the actors on one side as saints, and on the other as demons, while all were but ordinary mortals, subject to the usual failings of humanity. Fairness compels the admission that this is quite as noticeable in some writers on the Protestant side as in those on the other, for intolerance was by no means confined to one party. The Reformers were no more angels than the Catholics. When either side got its opponents down, it had no scruple in doing its worst to them—a feature in religious contests of all eras. It pervades the writings of Knox; and that it was not confined to him is well shown by a letter of his colleague Goodman to Cecil, where, after lecturing Elizabeth through him on the abuses of her worship, and offence thereby to godly hearts in England, he demands the slaughter of the "bloody bishops and known murderers of God's people."[1]

First in rank and time is Mary of Lorraine. From the day when she was left a widow till her death in the Castle of Edinburgh, at a comparatively early age, she had been harassed by many anxieties. Called upon at the outset to protect her infant daughter from the designs on one hand of Henry VIII., on the other from those of Arran, whose chief end was ever the preservation of his right of succession and his family interests, the Queen Mother proved herself to be a woman of ability and tact, both then and afterwards, when confronted by the same Arran and his associates, secretly aided by Elizabeth. The charges of dissimulation and the like, often made against her, are not borne out by anything to be found here. The Queen Regent represented established government, the other party sought its subversion for opinions, which might or might not

[1] 26th October 1559, pp. 256, 257.

be justified by results—just as the leaders of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" and the "Rising of the North" in the sister kingdom did—though success attended one, and failure the others. Her dignified despatches to Elizabeth, and the latter's shuffling often lying replies, speak for themselves. One thing is apparent, the maligned Regent (as even Buchanan admits) was a lady of singular merit, and well inclined to justice. She, at least, did not exult in the death of her opponents, as some of the latter and their English allies did in an unseemly manner, at the approach of her own; and her fortitude during her last days is well shown here, with her tolerant spirit in enduring the presence of the ex-Franciscan Willock at her death-bed, whom the average Catholic would have excluded as a heretic.

A different estimate must be formed of the Governor Arran. He was a Protestant and Papist by turns during his first regency, when it was his interest to support the Queen Mother against the designs of Henry VIII. and Hertford on the young Queen; and then closely allied with France, where he received the honour and revenues of a Dukedom.[1] Yet, not long after his voluntary resignation of his office in the Queen Mother's favour,[2] he repented and intrigued against her, of which there are indications here even in the scanty records during Philip and Mary's reign.[3] That this was known in England, appears from Sir Henry Percy's report of his mission to sound the Duke's views shortly after the accession of Elizabeth.[4]

Though at first, on the outbreak of the troubles, he gave a half-hearted support to the Queen Regent, he was soon converted to the views of the Congregation. The inducements held out were evidently the supersession of the Regent, the setting aside of the young Queen in certain events, and the marriage of his son to Elizabeth, thus uniting the realms. The last was undoubtedly held out by the lords of the Congregation, with the two former, but not so warmly received by

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[1] In 1548. [2] April 1554. [3] P. 200.
[4] 22nd January 1558–9, p. 209.

Elizabeth or Cecil, though the latter made a show of displeasure at the Ambassadors' acquiescence in the first rejection of the proposal—prompted by the Queen's vanity, who loved to see suitors dangling about her. This possible alliance (oddly reviving a like proposition of Henry VIII. seventeen years before)[1] greatly possessed the Duke's mind for a time, as the letters of Randolph and Maitland show; but, on finding it unlikely, both father and son, on Mary's widowhood, turned their thoughts in her direction, soon to find them hopeless, as no doubt she knew well how they had behaved to her mother. She treated both of them, however, with great justice, as Randolph attests on several occasions, in spite of the Duke's fears.

It cannot be said that this nobleman figures in our history as his high position demanded. Fickle and irresolute, now without the advice of his former mentor, Sir George Douglas, and evidently much in contact with Randolph, whose chief mission seems to have at first been to watch him and his son, the Duke was at one time in the highest exultation, at another in the lowest spirits—affected even to tears in Mary's presence, when the unhappy condition of his favourite son dashed his cherished hopes to the ground.[2] And when his private interest was threatened by the power he had helped to call into being, namely, that owners of church land, largely held by his family, should contribute to the endowment of "the religion," the Duke is found ready to revert to his old belief, and make common cause with his brother the Archbishop as a fellow-sufferer, whom, in his Protestant days, he had done his best to keep down.[3] Nor was the Duke's status quite secure, for Mathew, 4th Earl of Lennox, as the grandson of the 1st Earl's only sister, Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, was a formidable rival for the position of second person n the realm. Earl Mathew's forfeiture, when he sided with Henry VIII., and married his niece, weighed much against his claim, as did Elizabeth's opposition to it so long as she

[1] *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. I. pp. 501, 502, 619, 620. [2] P. 619. [3] P. 592.

supported the Duke and the Protestant party—but it existed none the less, and constantly appears in these and other papers of the time.

The curious discussion between Lennox and Chatelherault, in which Maitland took part as a supporter of the Hamiltons,[1] without any date, may possibly be referable to the years 1560–61, when Lennox, in the hope of Mary's return, appears to have been bestirring himself (or rather, was stirred up by his friends) for his reinstatement in Scotland.[2] In the discussion, it is remarkable that the ground of divorce between the Duke's father and his first wife Elizabeth Hume, is partly said to be the consanguinity of Arran and Thomas Hay, her first husband. While in a notarial copy of their divorce (indorsed, too, by Cecil),[3] the sole ground alleged is, that Elizabeth Hume, at the date of her contract with the Earl, was the lawful wife of Hay, who had appeared and opposed the contract, though he had died before the date of the divorce—November 1504.

The declaration by Bishop Barlow, of 21st March 1562–3, the memorandum as to the Countess of Lennox, and the attestation, on 2nd April 1528, of the divorce of her parents on 11th March before,[4] relate, no doubt, to the debates in Parliament in the early part of the year 1563, on the succession to the Crown of England and the status of Lady Lennox therein.[5]

Lord James Stewart, better known as the Prior of St Andrews and Earl of Moray, may next be noticed. He first appears here in March 1549,[6] when Somerset wished to gain him. He could not have been more than about 16 years old. Ten years later he was in active opposition to the Queen Regent, and conspicuous among the lords of the Congregation. His suspected views on his sister's crown are plainly hinted at in a paper by Cecil, instructing Sadler, that if the Duke is

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[1] Pp. 691–4. [2] Pp. 497, 502, 528, 545.

[3] *Calendar of Scottish Documents*, IV., No. 1739. [4] Pp. 690, 694.

[5] Her legitimacy was saved by the well-known plea of the Queen her mother's *ignorantia* of any pre-contract by Angus.

[6] P. 174. This may have been his elder brother, also Lord James, Abbot of Kelso and Melrose.

"cold in his own cause" and if Lord James was really aiming at the Crown, "it may not be amiss to let Lord James follow his own device without interference."[1] His private signet favours this, showing no mark of abatement.[2] He was in great favour with Mary when the Hamiltons were out of it, and dissensions between the Duke and him are mentioned.[3] When sent on embassy to Mary, early in 1561, a special instruction was to "grope" her mind on certain matters, and as he passed, both going and returning, by the English Court, accredited to Elizabeth, it is possible that he imparted Mary's views. Having been so useful an instrument in her schemes in Scotland, he had a pension from her, as the English State Papers show. Here, as already pointed out, there is a blank of two months (April–May) during his mission;[4] but, on 1st July after, Elizabeth paid him a high compliment, which she was not given to do, without value received. It may have been the fashion of the day, but beyond any of his colleagues, with the exception of Ruthven and the preachers, his letters abound in scriptural phrases, even to such a man as Lord Robert Dudley, who was no model of Christian graces.

George, Earl of Huntly, Chancellor of Scotland, first appears here as a close ally of the Governor. Being taken at Pinkie, and, too important a prisoner to be left near the Border, he was sent to London on 30th September 1547,[5] and remained in the south till March following, Grey of Wilton strongly urging his detention despite his promises, and the mere hint of his return startling Argyll into a pledge to join the Protector.[6] From this date till the end of the year, he was in England, partly in Sir Ralph Vane's keeping, partly at Newcastle with Grey, who was still doubtful of his professions, and finally at Penshurst in Kent, whence he wrote to the Protector, assuring him that if set free he would "do" as well as promise.[7] On 6th December

[1] 8th August 1559, p. 241.
[2] Pp. 228, 324, 582.
[3] Pp. 643, 649.
[4] P. 537.
[5] P. 22.
[6] Pp. 94, 95.
[7] 6th August 1548, p. 155.

1548, the Council licensed him to go to Scotland for ten weeks, leaving the Countess and others as pledges, and he was certainly in Edinburgh in the following January.[1] It has been said that he escaped, but there is no evidence of it here, the last notice of him during the Protector's time being in March 1548–9, when he appears to have written to his retainers to join the English invasion then preparing, and was evidently in England.[2]

When the troubles broke out, ten years later, he was with the Queen Regent,[3] but after some months' suspense joined the council of the Protestants, and was one of the regents.[4] On 10th December, he was keeping away from the Regent, and apparently from the Congregation also;[5] but, shortly after, sent his cousin Sutherland to the latter, with assurances, and advice that the English should bring 2000 bowmen to oppose the French hacbutters.[6] Still keeping aloof, he made the excuse that he had feared the other lords would make peace with France,[7] and on 7th March wrote to Elizabeth, Cecil, and Maitland, with vague professions and verbal credit, his colleagues of the Congregation earnestly begging Cecil to keep these letters safe.[8] From this time all doubted him, though his brother Alexander assured them of his honesty—till, on being satisfied in some demands, he at last joined the camp before Leith.[9] After secretly signing the "band" to expel the French and support England on 27th April, on 2nd May he devised a new and straiter "band," and ratified the Berwick treaty on 10th.[10] He had kept out of the way while peace negotiations were in progress, for on 30th June, he wrote from his house of Huntly to Cecil, that he had been unaware of his coming to Scotland, or certainly would have spoken with him—asked how he might serve him, and spoke of the evil influence of the late Queen Regent.[11] The postscript only of

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[1] *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. II. pp. 622, 629. [2] P. 174.
[3] 22nd May 1559, p. 213. [4] 22nd October–10th November, pp. 254, 261.
[5] P. 275. [6] 8th January 1559–60, pp. 282, 286.
[7] 4th February, pp. 298, 311. [8] Pp. 329, 330.
[9] Pp. 347–9, 364, 371, 375. [10] Pp. 383, 394, 403. [11] Pp. 437, 438.

Cecil's reply is extant, advising him to beware of the French;[1] and henceforth little is heard of him, except rumours of conspiracies with the French party,[2] till, on Mary's arrival, he hurried post-haste to Edinburgh, bore the Sword of State at her public entry,[3] and attended her person for some time, having a violent dispute in her presence with Lord James on the Mass, which he offered to re-establish in three northern counties.[4] In February 1561–2, he was at Lord James' marriage, but was soon out of favour with Mary, as an opponent of her earnest desire to meet Elizabeth.[5]

The details of the Queen's expedition against the Earl and his rebel sons, from 2nd September till his defeat at Corrichie on 28th October, and his death, "without blow or stroke," in the field, are given by Randolph, who accompanied the Queen.[6]

Various causes have been assigned for the doubtful proceedings of this powerful adherent, as he certainly was, of the old faith.[7] It has been said that Huntly was disappointed at the tolerance shown by Mary to the Protestant party, a feeling, as Randolph's letters show, general among the Catholics. But the Earl had not conducted himself so as to inspire confidence from either party, having by turns promised support to both, which he never fulfilled, as the papers here show. Mary, in her heart, cannot have forgiven his desertion of her mother. As for his alleged designs, confessed by his son and servants, to murder Moray, Morton, and Maitland, while quite in accordance with the methods of the time, we know how confessions were extorted then and long afterwards, and can only say that they may or may not be true.

Allusion has been made to Morton and his attempt to gain credit with Mary for devotion to her mother, not borne out, certainly, by the facts. This remarkable man had been trained under his father Sir George Douglas and his uncle Angus, and

[1] 16th July, p. 450.
[2] Pp. 453, 491, 499.
[3] 26th August–7th September, pp. 548, 551.
[4] 24th September, p. 555.
[5] 15th July, p. 639.
[6] Pp. 650–62.
[7] P. 655.

acted much the same part during Hertford's invasion of 1545.[1] There is no mention of him here, except his capture (while Master of Morton) at Dalkeith,[2] till 21st May 1559, when the Regent commissioned him (now Earl of Morton) and others, to settle with England some points touching the Treaty of Cambray.[3] But by 1st July he had joined the Congregation, and, being suspected, left Court before 1st August.[4] He took no active part with the Congregation, and when they fled to Stirling from Edinburgh, he had already stolen into the Castle.[5] From an allusion in a letter from Robert Melville to Croft, about 15th December, he appears to have deserted the Regent and gone out of her way beyond Forth. Self-interest probably moved him, for Maitland, writing to Cecil on 26th, told him of the Regent's adverse mind to Morton on the Angus earldom, claimed by the Countess of Lennox.[6] He was apparently still undecided, for nothing more is heard of him here till 6th April 1560, when Randolph, writing to Cecil from the camp before Leith, said he had promised to join them next day; though he did not, but appeared as one of the Regent's envoys, having become "cold."[7] Yet, in a week after, he signed the "band" to expel the French, &c., and, trusting to see the assault on them succeed, he promised to be in camp, and ratified the Berwick treaty.[8] By 25th May, Maitland on his behalf, assured Cecil of his affection to Elizabeth's service, no doubt from his conviction that the Regent was on her deathbed, and the surrender of Leith imminent.[9] And, being now fully committed, he superintended the dismantling of Dunbar, and as a lord of the Articles was active in the parliament to settle religious and political affairs.[10] He was on the embassy to Elizabeth to propose his nephew Arran as her husband,[11] and while in London, found time to see to his private interest against the Lennox

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[1] *Hamilton Papers*, Vol. II., *passim*.
[2] 4th June 1548, p. 115.
[3] P. 213.
[4] Pp. 220, 236.
[5] 11th November, p. 267.
[6] Pp. 275, 279.
[7] Pp. 349, 354, 357.
[8] 17th April–10th May, pp. 364, 383, 394, 403.
[9] P. 412.
[10] 2nd to 18th August, pp. 453, 454, 456–62.
[11] October, p. 489.

claims, returning to Scotland soon after,[1] when little more is heard of him, till he sent to gain Mary's favour, as already referred to.[2] He accompanied her on the expedition against Huntly, and was present at his defeat,[3] soon afterwards obtaining his office of chancellor, as Randolph reported to Cecil, observing, "I doubt not now we shall have justice."[4] This hope was not fulfilled by Morton's later career, for even Godscroft, the historian of the Douglases, had to admit his greed of money, nor did his conduct in office or his private life become this promoter of the reformation.

Among others of the nobility, Lord Ruthven[5] and his eldest son were equally ready with Gray to betray their country to Somerset for suitable consideration, offering to deliver the town of Perth under their hereditary government. Though some negotiation took place, and the Master often pressed for the money, nothing came of it.[6] About the end of July the Master wrote mysteriously to Grey of Wilton on the subject, desiring him to tear up the letter, and two months later, Somerset wrote similarly to the Captain of Haddington, inclosing a concerted letter to be sent by him to the Master, as if he had failed to keep promise.[7]

Neither appears again, till the Master, now Lord Ruthven, joined the Congregation, then in arms against the Regent,[8] and sat on Council and as a regent, though suspected by some of them—why, does not appear, unless it was his friendship with Huntly and Hume.[9] He was one of the lords who signed the treaty of Berwick, and gave his son Archibald as one of the pledges,[10] requesting Cecil that the "boy" might be sent to Cambridge, and to assure Elizabeth of his own humble service.[11] He was also among the twelve lords in the camp before Leith, who addressed Elizabeth and Mary on the same day, declaring

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[1] December–January, pp. 497, 498, 503.
[2] 17th March 1560–1, pp. 528–31.
[3] P. 662.
[4] 22nd January 1562–3, p. 680.
[5] A surname of ill omen in our later history.
[6] 20th December 1547–7th March 1547–8, pp. 50, 64, 92.
[7] Pp. 155, 165.
[8] 28th June 1559, p. 207.
[9] Pp. 254, 263, 267, 309.
[10] Pp. 324, 325, 344.
[11] 6th March, 1559–60, p. 328.

their faithful service to both.[1] Not long after, though again not thoroughly trusted, as a lord of the Articles he agreed to the suit for Elizabeth's marriage, and was on their Council till Mary's return.[2] From that time he is not heard of for eighteen months, till Randolph wrote to Cecil that by Maitland's means he was chosen of the Council, a thing much disliked by many, most of all by Moray for his "sorcery"—a charge brought against his unfortunate grandson Gowrie.[3]

We must now speak of the woman on whose name the interest of the period must ever centre—Mary Stewart. "Whatever may be her faults, she will always be *the picture* in the history of Scotland"—so said a great lawyer more than half a century ago,[4] and the lapse of time confirms the remark. Though her career is rather a theme for the poet than for the exponents of theories founded on dry records, there seems to be no limit to the number of writers on the engrossing question of her character. While there is but a small part of her home reign here, it shows her return, a widow under 19, to the land of her birth, torn by differences in religion, to find herself surrounded, as has been said, "by unreasonable divines, and a nobility which had lost its old chivalry, and not acquired moral principles in its stead." Whether her acquiescence in the religion she found established, was due to policy or conviction, she found no toleration for the exercise of her own. The usage of her chaplains, not only by the mob of Edinburgh, but by persons of higher rank, would have irritated a more angelic temper. Randolph, who was far from prejudiced in her favour, admits her justice to the Hamiltons, who had given her little reason to love them; and instances constantly appear of her desire that merchants and traders, both of her own and foreign countries, should receive their due at her own or other princes' hands. Postponing further remarks till a later period, unprejudiced persons must admit that, considering the unruly elements with which she had to deal, this first period of her

[1] 28th April 1560, p. 385.
[2] Pp. 422, 458, 499, 508–48.
[3] 28th February 1562–3, p. 687.
[4] Riddell, *Stewartiana*, 1843, p. 51.

home reign shows, on the whole, a pleasing side of her character.

Maitland of Lethington has been the subject of almost equal controversy with his royal mistress. Regard for his own safety, if not an accusing conscience, prevented his going as envoy from the lords to France with the treaty of Berwick, for its ratification by Francis and Mary, on which the Lord of St John's was despatched;[1] and his fear of poison or assassination in France is unmistakably stated both then and at another time.[2] He had sound reasons, seeing the active part he had taken in forwarding Elizabeth's designs. The terms of his letter offering service to Mary, can only be conjectured from her reply, which is indorsed by Cecil, who possibly hoped by Maitland's means, to learn her views; for he was in receipt of a pension from Elizabeth, after the fashion of the time.[3] However, he seems to have done his duty to his new mistress, as, before long, the English ministers were cautioned by Randolph that he would stick at nothing on her behalf.[4] His correspondence with Cecil, at one time craving help and advice as from a father, at another couched in very different terms, reveals the character of the man—his readiness in emergencies, and his classical learning. He, too, in spite of Knox's value as an instrument, was no admirer of his rude and unconciliatory carriage towards his sovereign.

Of Knox himself it may be said that his letters show his thorough belief in his mission, his impatience of delay,[5] and, on one occasion, his questionable advice to Croft how to give underhand assistance to the Congregation without committing Elizabeth;[6] also his accusation of his own sovereign while on her voyage home, of sinister designs against Elizabeth, on the sole authority of his own assuredness, obviously to deprecate the latter's wrath against his *First Blast of the Trumpet.*[7] This

[1] 15th August 1560, pp. 459, 460. [2] P. 683.
[3] Pp. 515, 566. From Teulet's *Papiers d'Etat, etc.* (iii. p. 526), it appears that in 1586, "Millord Paget baron de Beaudesert," and his brother Charles, had large pensions from Philip II. [4] Pp. 683, 684. [5] Pp. 218, 267.
[6] 25th October 1559, p. 256. [7] 6th August 1561, p. 542.

unlucky revelation of his enmity to female government injured him greatly with Elizabeth, who could not endure him, in spite of his well-known letter to gain her favour, which, if she ever saw, must have defeated its object, by his admonitions to her to be humble, to beware of "ungrateness" to God, to remember how once, for fear of her life, she bowed to idolatry, and that she owed her rank to God, and not to her own deserts, as this was "contrar to nature"—this last clearly allusive to her sex.[1] At the outbreak of the trouble, he was the soul of it, writing not a few of the letters from the lords for English aid. He naturally resented the Bishop of Dunkeld's remark that he was "an old condemned heretic;"[2] though, from the bishop's point of view, it was true, if rudely spoken, and Knox himself used most opprobrious language to opponents.

There is a certain sense of incongruity when we see the grave Reformer, a widower bordering on his sixtieth year, about to take "a young lass not above 16 years of age," as a second wife—a feeling shared by Randolph, who writes of it to Cecil, as a "great wonder" nearly beyond belief.[3]

While Knox's "History" is mainly valued as an authentic record of his own experiences, it appears, from Randolph's letter to Cecil,[4] that by 23rd October 1560, he had then written one book only, and, if Cecil approved of continuing it, he must have more help than he could get in Scotland, "of assured knowledge of things passed, than he had himself, or could come by there." Two instances out of several, where the "History" disagrees with the testimony of an eye-witness, occurred during the expedition against Huntly, viz., the accounts of Maitland's address to the royal force, and fervent prayer on the field of Corrichie, and of Mary's demeanour on learning Huntly's death.[5] Compared with what Randolph writes to Cecil, both receive a

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[1] 20th July 1559, pp. 228–30. It is said that Cecil kept back Knox's letters from the Queen, and it is certain he would not hear of his approaching her presence.

[2] 15th August 1560, p. 461. Randolph says "Knox has been with him [the bishop] for it."

[3] 22nd June 1562–3, p. 680.

[4] P. 482.

[5] Laing's *Knox*, ii. pp. 356, 358.

different complexion, and the second is especially coloured by Knox's determination to see no good in anything Mary said or did.[1]

Thomas Randolph, to whose letters we owe much of our knowledge of what passed in Scotland, first appears on Arran's arrival there, who wrote to Sadler to send him without delay from Berwick.[2] He seems to have been connected with Kent, and his real surname was Randal or Randoll, though he used an *alias* "Barnaby," under which he was also addressed; but after some little time, he signed his name as "Randolphe." Lodge (*Illustrations*, Vol. I. 431) describes him as a man of "a dark intriguing spirit, full of cunning, and void of conscience, and in effect a spy." His mission at first was that of a temporary agent under orders from Sadler and Croft,[3] and in that capacity he attended the leaders of the Congregation to Glasgow in December 1559, remaining there till the following March,[4] and reporting events, till Chatelherault sent him to the Duke of Norfolk at Berwick to deny a rumour that he had submitted to the King of France.[5] On his return he accompanied the lords to the camp of Restalrig, for the first time reporting himself to Cecil direct:[6] was lodged with the Duke at Holyrood, in camp again at the end of April, and remained there till the negotiations for peace, having been allowed to see the Dowager's body lying in State in the Castle.[7] He continued his reports to Cecil, and gave a curious account of the Confession of Faith, how Maitland and the Sub-prior of St Andrews had not only softened it down, but cut out a chapter on the obedience due by subjects, as being "unfit for the times."[8] Soon after, he wrote in melancholy terms to Cecil, possibly referring to the latter's uncomfortable position through the Queen's conduct with Dudley.[9] However, he shortly recovered his spirits, when informing Cecil of the successful expedition to Castle Sempill.[10] In a letter of 6th

[1] Pp. 662–66. [2] 21st September 1559, p. 251. [3] Pp. 254, 266, 274.
[4] Pp. 281–321. [5] 15th March 1559–60, p. 334. [6] 6th April, p. 348.
[7] 22nd June, pp. 421, 429. [8] 29th July–7th September, pp. 452–475, 477, 478.
[9] 23rd September, p. 484. [10] 21st October, p. 489.

February 1560–1, he appears for the first time as commissioned by Elizabeth, and till then to have been an inmate and boarder in the Duke's house, bearing part only of his own expenses.[1] He expressly declares that he had never received any gift from the Duke or Arran, except the chain which Cecil knew of; thus showing clearly he was no ambassador at that time, but merely a spy on the Hamiltons, and also Elizabeth's jealousy lest he had become too friendly with them. The high opinion he at first expressed of the son, in time was greatly altered, and ended in his expressing the utmost contempt for both his father and himself—the former as inconstant, covetous, and greedy, the latter drowned in dreams and fantasies.[2] Though he was now styled the Queen's "agent," and directly instructed by herself,[3] the honour was greater than the pay, and he made many grievous complaints to Cecil of his debts and necessities, desiring to leave his post.[4]

At Mary's arrival he had no formal commission, causing her to inquire what he did there, and when he was to depart? but shortly after, he received Elizabeth's commands to present a demand for surrender of pirates, and remain in Scotland to understand affairs there; and on having presence, found the Queen of Scots content that he should tarry.[5] Under these credentials he sent full reports of herself and her court, varying from day to day, but on the whole favourable, with such foreign news as he could gather. On ecclesiastical matters he took the view acceptable to his correspondents at the English court, giving all the scandal he could gather about the bishops, some of it almost incredible,[6] yet did not fail to report also Knox's daily prayer "that God will turn Mary's obstinate heart"—his utter mistrust in her, "as though he were of God's Privy Counsel," and his conviction that she could never have "one good thought of God or of his true religion." And shortly after the affair of Chatelar he tells Cecil that the preachers' daily

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[1] Pp. 514, 515. [2] P. 609. [3] Pp. 532, 537. [4] Pp. 565–7, 578, 660, 661, 671.
[5] 25th August–6th September, pp. 546, 547, 550. [6] P. 592.

prayers for Mary were "that God will either turn her heart, or send her short life"; expressing disapproval of their want of charity.[1] Mary's handsome gift of a gold cup at the marriage of Lord James, after drinking to Elizabeth's health, impressed him favourably by its value, as he carefully appraises its weight.[2] He attended her on the expedition against Huntly, his account of which is very full and curious, including his own prowess and imminent risk of being burned in Aberdeen, while Maitland's "bed-fellow," and other graphic touches, mentioning the fact that the earldom of Moray had once been "Earl Thomas Randolf's," perhaps a hint of distant kinship to the nephew of Bruce.[3]

It is evident he did a good deal of work for Elizabeth. How much his pay was is unknown, for her warrants here are blank. In matters of fact under his own cognisance, he is probably a trustworthy witness, apparently wishing to tell the truth about the Queen of Scots, though it must be owned that his impressions of one day are sometimes at variance with those of the next.

For information as to other persons and matters of interest, recourse must be had to the Index, which the editor believes will be found a concise epitome of the text.

It is hoped that the new arrangement of many of the documents in the text may contribute in some respects to clearer knowledge of the motives that influenced the actors in the drama of the Scottish Reformation. Some, no doubt, were actuated by higher objects than mere love of change, but not a few had a keen perception of their worldly interests in subverting the old order of things.

J. B.

LONDON, *March* 1898.

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[1] Pp. 564, 672, 686. [2] P. 603. [3] Pp. 652, 653–668.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 171, No. 341. Wyndham to Somerset—Margin. *For* [1548–49] *read* [1547–48].
,, 344, No. 706, line 6. *For* 7th April 1559 *read* 1st April 1560.
,, 482, Note.* *For* "Udallers (?)" *read* "a Danish coin."
,, 500, No. 935. Maitland to Lord Robert Dudley from Edinburgh. The date in text is 26th Dec. 1561, the year rather indistinct. The indorsement "Dec. 1560" is in the handwriting of Walsingham. But in Dec. 1560, Maitland was certainly on embassy in London.
,, 581, No. 1054. Maitland to Cecil. *Transfer* to p. 584.
,, 625, Note.* *For* Wismar *read* Westmanna.
,, 691. Marginal date. *For* Jan. *read* March.
,, 774. Index.—Under Money, *add*, the Swedish new coinage (1562), 622.
,, 799. ,, ,, Swisshes. *Query* Swischers, *i.e.*, drummers; and *for* 429 *read* 430.
,, 802. ,, After Westmonie, *add* (Westmanna).
,, 804. ,, *For* Wismar (Westmore) *read* Westmore (Westmanna).
,, ,, ,, *For* —— Earl of, *read* Wismar, Earl of.

MARGINAL REFERENCES EXPLAINED.

Add. MSS.,	*i.e.*,	Additional MSS., British Museum.
Cott. Calig.,	,,	Cottonian MSS. Caligula, do.
Eg. MSS.,	,,	Egerton MSS., do.
Harl. MSS.,	,,	Harleian MSS., do.
Lansd. MSS.,	,,	Lansdowne MSS., do.
Fœd.,	,,	Rymer's Fœdera.
Sc. Ch. doc.,	,,	Scottish Chancery documents, Public Record Office.
Scot. Doc.	,,	Chapter House Collection, do.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

EDWARD VI.

1546–47. Feb. 1–3. **1.** THE EARL OF ARRAN TO PAUL III.

Praying His Holiness to excuse James Forrester [Frostar] the royal vicetreasurer, summoned to appear within 60 days before the Apostolic *Camera*, to answer a charge brought by one James Cunninghame a gentleman of the Earl of Glencairn, for his having attended the Regent two years before in the battle at Glasgow against the Earl of Lennox and his faction. Edinburgh.

Similar to Rodulph Cardinal Carpi, on same subject.

1½ *pp. Contemporary copy. Latin. Indorsed. Damaged by damp.*

[1546–47.] **2.** ARTICLES TOUCHING THE CASTLE OF ST ANDREWS, &c.

Whereas the late King Henry "of most noble memory . . . whose soule God hath," having fully resolved, on their supplication by sundry messengers, to help "A.B., &c.," who have taken the castle of S[t] Andrews in Scotland and possess the same against the Governor: the King's Majesty that now is "King Edward the VI.," fulfilling his father's intentions, with the advice of the Lord Protector and others of his privy council, agrees thereto on condition (1) that the said A.B., &c., do all they can to promote his marriage with their Queen, (2) that they shall not deliver said castle to the hands of "thold Queen," the Governor, or any others without the King and his council's consent in writing, but hold it till their Queen comes to full age, (3) they shall deliver the Governor's son and heir to the King when required; beseeching his highness to have a care that the gentlemen now in the Governor's hands for "the matier of S[t] Andrewes" be not endangered.

That in return (1) he will give them pay for 100 men, wherof 80 to be in garrison and 30 (*sic*) to watch against surprise—the former at 6*d.* a day, the latter at 8*d.*, (2) will aid them with ordnance munition artillery and powder, (3) will give the said A.B., &c., pensions by his letters patent, and (4) is pleased and binds himself, "if God graunt his Majesties godly purpose to take effecte"—as there is "no doubt but by his grace hit shal," they shall enjoy their lands in Scotland for ever; but if God dispose otherwise, his Majesty will either by

Edw. VI. [1546–47.] force restore them, or else provide them in England with sustentation for themselves and families.

8 *pp. Draft by Secretary Paget in late King's name. Corrected to that of Edward VI. and his tutor, &c. Indorsed.*

[Feb. .] **3.** ARTICLES BY THE MASTER OF ROTHES, &c.

"Certein Articles of speciall trust and confidens to be covenaunted and observed by the Master of Rothes, the Lord of Graunge and Master Henry Banaveis."

These persons in consideration of the preceding Articles, and that the Queen, Governor and parliament of Scotland have neglected and violated covenants, and seeing unless their said Sovereign Lady "be delivered into the handes of the Kinges Majestie that nowe ys, to be brought up and educated to guedres* by his sayd uncle and others of the privey counsayle," their said marriage is never like to take effect, bind themselves to use all means to their uttermost power to that end, and also to deliver to the King's commissioners, the castle of S^{t} Andrews with its stores, &c., and aid any force he may send for the recovery of their said Queen to perfect the marriage.

6 *pp. Draft by Paget. The names have been scored out and replaced by* "A.B.C.D., &c."

1546–47. March 11. **4.** PATRICK LORD GRAY TO EDWARD VI., &c.

I Patrick lord Gray sheriff of Angus desire of the King, the Lord Protector and privy council:—

(1) Delivery of my brother, a pledge in England for my entry. (2) To assist me in recovering the town of S^{t} Johnston and put forth my enemies.

In return I bind myself kin and friends to do our uttermost to accomplish the marriage of his majesty and my sovereign lady, and to deliver her as soon as may be, and also to deliver my castle of Brochty Craig, fishings, &c., to his commissioners, and aid them to recover the town of Saint Johnston,—which when recovered, I shall maintain and keep for him and my sovereign lady, being content that his Majesty's lieutenant take the principal strength of said town in his hands, called "the Spey towr," standing on the water of Tay. Desiring his Majesty to consider my fishing of Brochty Craig "quhilk payis me by year of penny maill tua hundretht merkis Scottis mony, besydes the keiping of the said castell, and mak me recompans tharof other in mony or lands." With my hand "at the castell of Sanctandros the xj day of Merche the year of God j^{m}v^{c}xlvj yeir efter the calculation of the kyrk of Scotland, befor thir wytnes Norman Lesly master of Rothes, James Kyrkcaldy of Grang, Master Henry Balnawes of Hallhyll, Alexander Quhytlaw of Newgrang." *Signed:* Patryk lord Gray.

2 *pp. Indorsed.*

March 20. **5.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS, &c., TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct through England to France for John

* Together.

Edw. VI.
1546–47. bishop of Dunkeld, evil vexed with infirmity and continual sickness; also for her brother Robert commendator of Holyroodhouse, whom she with advice of her cousin and tutor, thinks expedient to send to the schools there, to be virtuously nourished instructed and brought up in good letters—with their retinue of 60 persons. Under her signet and tutor's subscription at Edinburgh 20th March 5th of her reign. *Signed:* "Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G."

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Royal wafer signet.*

March 20. **6.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

A similar request for Archibald Betoun of Capildra, labouring under heavy malady, and desiring help of "medicinaris" in France.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Signed and addressed, &c.*, ut supra.

[1546–47. March .] **7.** SECRETARY PANITER TO SOMERSET, &C.

I trust it will not displease your grace or the Council that, on this change in France through the King's death, to whom I was sent, and could have no audience before it, I send my servant to the Governor with notice, and for a new commission as required. Praying your grace to give the herald of Scotland now in London, leave to pass post to Scotland with my packet, or if absent, this bearer. The "haistier" he returns "the haistelier" shall I be able to come to your grace. *Signed:* "Paniter secretar to the Quenis Grace of Scotland."

½ *p. Addressed:* "To my lorde Duyke of Somersyde Protectour of Inglande." *Indorsed* (by Thynne): "Panter the Scottisshe ambassadour to the L. Protectour."

[March .] **8.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR ADMIRAL ELMES.

Ordering him as admiral to sail with the *Mynyon*, the *Dragon* and the *Great Pinnace*, and convoy from Holy Island certain ships there with victuals and munitions to the castle of St Andrews, which had been driven back by some Scottish ships—and after relieving the castle, to cruise between the Moray frith and Holy Island and protect any English ships returning from Iceland.

2½ *pp. Draft by Paget. Indorsed:* "Instruccions for Andrew Dudley for his voyage into the Northern sees. The same also for Elmes."

[1547.] March 30–31. **9.** "VAIT QUHA" TO LORD WHARTON.

On Monday 28th of this March, proclamation was made at the market cross here, that all men be ready on 6 days' warning with 20 days' victual, to pass where the Governor orders—it is judged on England. The Governor, Argyle, Huntly and other lords, are at Stirling with the Queen since Sunday the 17th instant—the cause I hear is 2 ships are landed beside Dunbarton with much powder and ordnance from the King of France and letters to the Governor, Queen, &c.

There is great "maine" here for a Scots ship of war the *Lyone*

Edw. VI.
[1547.] wrecked near Dover with 11 score men "by marenollis." * It is said the Abbot of Dryburgh is safe, and with part others brought to London.

I hear no more of the Langholm, but it is good to beware. This parliament is thought to be for some greater purpose. The bearer came to Edinburgh this Wednesday morning the penult of March. He brought no ticket of my last advertisement to your lordship, yet I trust him. I marvel of "David the twynne," if your lordship has sent him again. If none comes "or Sonday at nyght," or soon on Monday, I purpose to pass to Cuthely, and there or in Carnwath I shall be found in John Watson the baron officer's house. Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Vait quha."

After writing this the bearer "baid" a day, and meantime there was another strait proclamation at the Cross this last day of March, that every man should be ready on 24 hours' warning.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed* (to Lord Wharton).

April 2. **10.** JAMES STEWART OF CARDONALD TO WHARTON AND BISCHOP.

I received your writings both of the 10th and 16th of March, on the 1st instant. As for the delay of news, I would have sent Paterson, but was informed how the Governor bears grief against my intelligence from Ingland in advertising of my lord of Lenox. "I suspeik forbye † Scottesmen in Carlyle."

For news at this convention. The Governor "wrocht secretly to the consenttis of thame at he mycht susdus thairto, quha hes gottyn Argylles, Huntlye and the Erl of Angus as I ame informet, and becaus the Quenis grace mynd and diverus others her assistars is nocht contentet thairwith, it is divysit that the Abbat of Paslaye sacretly shall ga in Franche for that caus, and for to get the King of Franchis consent, and to get the red hat to hymself to be cardenall, and the bishoprye of Merypois.‡ Indedd he parttes incontinent and passes at Dunbartayn in ane Jone Howmes ship quha is captayn, cum in wyth twa Ingles pryses. He has gart prepare ane oder ship in Lytht sycretly siklyk; bot because of the takine of the *Lyone* be Yngland, I am surlye adverteiset he passes at Dunbartayne; and therefore maye be yselye had with dilygens. . . . It is ordanit that all maner of men salbe radye on iiij days warning and ane monthes vettale. This is done and ye King of Franchis mynd be gotteyn to this porpos. Geyf the Quenis grace will nocht consent to asseyg the castell of Sterlyng, and gyf all things cumis to pass, thay mynd to cum to the Langholm, bot nocht quhil the gars § be, at hors will get meyt. Atour at the said convensyon it is ordaynit the kyrkmen amanges thamselves to gyf the Governor x^m pounds Schotes, for whilk he hes mayd sartayne artikkeles and akkis agayne the New Testament. Cumba the Frenchman brocht in the papes absolessyhoun to thame at sclew the Cardenall. Thai geyf the Governor gud wordes and says an he keyp to thame thai will keyp to him. Bot I am informit thai saye in quyat at thai had lever ‖ hayf ane boll of quhet nor all the papes remessyhones, and swa be na way he can haif Santandros, albeit thai hayf nocht declaryt hyme planely, bot allegis agayn him falt in himself,

i.e., besides seamen. † Besides. ‡ Mirepoix.
§ Grass. ‖ Rather.

Edw. VI.
[1547.] "for not kepin of his promis. The said Cumba vas depechit hastyly again to France with all rasponsis that come fraye ye Schotis inbasatouris lying at Lundoun to inform the King of France thairof. The Erl Bodwell, ye lord Howme, the lard of Bucluch vald nocht cum to the Convenshyon, quhill mye lord Angus and Gorge Douglas vas send of the town. I trest that the Quenis grace and thir men wald geyf mikell to hayf my lord of Lenax in Schotland. In the henderend of the Convenshyon, as tha war skalit, ther cam ane ship from France with monyshion to the Governor and Quenis grace, of poldre and bollatis rycht mekell. Atour ye salbe suer of ane thing, yf Ingland mak not thair armis with all gudly hayst in dew tyme, thai shall never pershance hayf the castell of Edinburgh nor Sterleng, be reason thai ar cuttand ye holl before the castle yait of Edinburgh, and intendis to mak ane blokhous quhar on cofedes (?) all the takin of said castell, and siklyk in the castel of Sterling. Tharfor the time is maist gained als sone as it pleses the King and my lord Protectour and counsell. It war the better to wait weyll apone the Abbot of Paslay at Lambaye, at Saltas, and betwix Schaurllinges and Yrland for the west syes, and at oder his passages for the est sees, and with delygens. I writ to yow the trewith of Bedgar touchand the artikkle of Dakres and nayne of the man Averingtoun, for surly I writ bot first and last lyk to ye mannes saynges at shew me, and geyf ye belief any oder, ye may caus to tak the man. He waes one the bordour, and gar accus hym qhat yrides * he had, for I did all that was possible to wit his procedings, and as I could learn, I writ to you and nocht elles. Peter Tomsone sayd to ye Abbat of Pasley in consell, at the greyt men of Yngland was skant content at suber † men had the realm in gyding. Hayst me answer with diligence." Cardonald. *Signed:* "Your lordshipis wyt his servis and gud frend to ye Master Bessop," James Stewart of Cardonald.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Closely written in a cramped hand.*

April 11. **11. GLENCAIRN TO WHARTON.**

I have received yours this 9th of April. Nothing would have stopped me keeping my "dyet in Glencarne" but the hand of God; for since my last writing, I have been in such sickness that I was not at the Edinburgh convention nor been out, as the bearer can show you. Also my letter to my servant John Edyair to advertise you, was not delivered for his sickness. I have written to my good friends Thomas Bischop and Patrick Colquhoun, and please credit the bearer. Praying you to be good to me as of old, and provide you will have my son with you in Carlisle against the day I have appointed my friends to be in Glencarne. And all I have promised to Patrick Colquhoun shall be kept. Douchale. *Signed:* Erll of Glencarne.

¾ *p. Addressed.*

1547. April 11. **12. GLENCAIRN TO BISCHOP AND COLQUHOUN.**

[*To the same effect as preceding letter. Adding*] "And now wil God," I shall not fail to be in Glencarne on the 27th instant, and cannot well be sooner, for I must first see my friends in the castle of

* Errands. † Sober, *i.e.*, ordinary.

Edw. VI. 1547. S[t] Andrews, to commune of matters touching their and other gentlemens' weal. Till then I keep William Knox to advertise you of our purpose, and after we meet, will send him in haste. Provide that my son be in Carlisle the day I am at Glencarne, and what I have promised shall be done. Douchale. *Signed:* Erll of Glencarne. Commend me to my aunt.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* To Thomas Bischop and Patrick Colquhoun.

[1547.] April 13. **13. "WAIT QUHA" TO WHARTON.**

"My lord Somerwell vas at Paische * wyth the Governor in Lythquho, and come haime to his awin hows off Cuthely one Paische Tysday at ewin." I asked his news, which he told me, viz. the Governor has summoned all the lords to meet him at Peblis on the 27[th] instant with 20 days' victual, it is judged for Langholm, and ordered him personally to come; and others say the Islesmen are coming on foot, both Argyll and Huntly with all their power. He told me that the Governor makes much "dolour" at the Laird of Johnston's taking, and sent on "Pasche ewin" to Arbroath for my lord Angus, and "lyppinyt † efter hym haistely qhen he come fra Lythquho."

It is said in Scotland your lordship has "conquest" all Annandale, and you and your son "Master Harye," are much spoken of, and there has been no such luck to England since Solom moss, as taking Johnston. He also informs me that George Douglas my lord Angus's brother, said to the Governor "Vyll your grace lecent me to wrytt in Yngland and gyff me syk thyng as I sall resonably desyre for the same, I sall dewise the waye to saw ane dewisioune in Yngland quhilk is nocht abyll to be laid for vij yeris." And at this the Governor laughed and drew him to a window and spoke long with him.

There are five Ynglish ships "wyttolares" taken and brought into Leith on Good Friday.

Peter Thomson a herald of arms came from London to "Leithquho" on Good Friday, but I am told he knows of nothing but war. Cuthelye. *Signed:* "Your maist honorable lordshipe, Wait quha."

3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.*

1547. April 18. **14. HENRY BALNAVES TO SOMERSET.**

I arrived here this day at 7 o'clock and shall hasten to you. Since Saturday when I left the castle of S[t] Andrews, the wind has been contrary, and I am evil disposed. So unless I get the better horses, it will hinder my passage. If it please your grace I think best that John Lesly be sent out with some gentleman hawking or hunting, until I have spoken at length with you, and that then he be sent for. Meantime treat him well, but keep my coming secret. Sir John Borthwick came from the castle with me. Berwick. *Signed:* M. H. Balnaves.

¾ *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

* Easter. † Inquired.

Edw. VI.
1547. April 18. **15.** MARY QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND TO SOMERSET.

"Mon cousin," a little time ago a gentleman of my house named "Monsieur de Drebourg" going to Rome on his own affairs, and with a commission from myself to France, was taken on board the *Lyon* a Scots ship, by some English subjects; which I think very strange in time of peace, and pray you to let him pass without hindrance. Stirling. *Signed:* Votre bonne cousine, Marie R.

¾ *p. French. Addressed:* "A mon cousin Monsieur le Duc de Sombressat protecteur du royaume Dangleterre." *Indorsed. Small wafer signet: Scotland impaling a quartered shield.*

May 16 (?). **16.** PASS FOR COKBURN AND HERING.

Pass for John Cokburn captain, and Alexander Hering master, Scottish subjects, about to cruise in an armed ship the *Michael*, against the Portuguese and other enemies. Stirling. *Signed* (at Edinburgh): James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland.*

(1) Another copy in a later hand.

May 28. **17.** FACTORY BY JOHN BARTOUN OF CRAGIS.

Letters patent by him as "nepos" of the late John Bertoun his grandfather, appointing John Cokburne captain, and Alexander Hering master, of the *Michael*, to revenge the injuries done to his said grandfather by the fleets of the Portuguese. Leith. *Signed:* Jhon a Bartoun of Cragis. Witnesses: John M^c^Neill, John Ker, and Archibald Fraser.

1 *p. Latin. Indorsed. Wax seal en placard: A shield charged with three bars wavy in chief; at foot, an anchor in fesse. Leg:* "S. Johannis a Bartoun." *Allusive doubtless to the naval renown of this family.*

June 2. **18.** EDWARD VI. TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Acknowledging her letters and credence by M^r^ Adam Otterbourne; complaining of the terms in which they are couched, not accustomed between one prince and another, especially when undeserved. Having a treaty with his good brother of France, though not bound to suffer the injuries daily committed by the subjects of Scotland on those of England both at sea and on the Borders, wherein the Laird of Johnston and M^r^ John Hay and the Abbot of Dryburgh were lawfully taken, yet at the request of the French ambassador, he intends with advice of his dearest uncle, to take such order with the said M^r^ Hay and the Abbot, as they shall have good cause in reason to be contented, as has been amply declared to M^r^ Otterbourne who will advertise the whole. Palace of Westminster.

3 *pp. Draft by Paget. Indorsed.*

[1547.] June 28. **19.** "WAIT QUHA" TO WHARTON.

The Governor is in "Lythquho," and none with him but George Douglas lord Angus's brother. My lord himself was in Temptallon

Edw. VI.
[1547.] on Sunday "at xij howris," as his servant who came to Nithsdale with me said—and was to be with the Governor at "Lythquho" on Monday night. The army is certainly coming forward "bayth far and neir." My lord Huntly, now chancellor, has written that he will be on this side Forth on July 8th with 8000 men under his standard, and Argyll has promised to be in Glasgow and James Cannocht with him, and all the men of the Isles, without fail on the last day of July. The Governor has never had so great an army. English ships have delivered victuals and powder to the castle of St Andrews, and then passed away. Some think men were received, but none can tell. Others say that Norman Leslie will receive none unless he be master, which I think is true. As for artillery and ordnance, there was never greater provision. Above 20 guns have been carted, as I hear from divers much about the Governor, and all are purposed to come to Carlisle; but I think this gathering can never be only for the Langholm.

You shall hear in due time so as this bearer James Carrudderis comes to me, wherefore it is best to "mak sykar" condition with him. All men are making ready and believe the army will be on the Border without fail on the 10th July. Penpont. *Signed:* Wait quha.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed.*

[1547. July 2.] **20.** ANONYMOUS TO [WHARTON].

The Governor intends with 20,000 men to be "it is said to Langmoune, I beleeff in the Mers," but I cannot tell. I shall do my best to advertise you further. Give the bearer credence as to myself. Your lordship knows whom "fra."

A small slip of paper. Scottish hand. No address or indorsement. Trace of seal.

[1547. July 2.] **21.** "YE WAT QUHA" TO [WHARTON].

I have conveyed my lord of Glencarn for your lordship's sake, within "his aweng stranth, and I hayf tent* the Maister of Maxwell for the dweng of it." It is certain the army of Scotland is coming forward, "the starkest host and the monest, and wyth the best order that was sen Flodwn." I cannot write what day the Governor comes to Pebbles, "for I war rycht wa for till mak ane lee, for thar is no proclamation mad on thair dyat, and the Maister Maxwell kepis it clois fra Anandall and is stentand Gallwa, and I trust that on Monondaye or Tysdaye the Governor sall be in tell Pebbellis," and I will advertise it by this bearer, for he will be less suspected. *Signed:* Ye wat quha.

A small slip of paper. Holograph. No address or indorsement. Trace of seal.

[1547. July 2.] **22.** GLENCAIRN TO WHARTON.

"I caym to my place of Glencarn this Saterday be 6 howris quhar as Drumlanryk caym to me and spak wyth me, and I find

* Lost.

Edw. VI.
[1547. July 2.] hym warray weyll myndyt for to hayf gwd wayis dressyt betwix thir rewmes, and to that affeyk I hayf mayd hym to wryt to the Gowernor that twa or thre nobell men may cum and commown with your lordship." Also I am departing to speak with the Earl of Cassillis and Sheriff of Ayr, to cause one or both to ride with all diligence to the Governor and shall advertise how things proceed.

Praying you to suffer Granton to come home, as I showed you at departing. Glencarne. *Signed:* Glencarne.

On small slip of paper. Holograph. Addressed. Trace of seal.

July 5. **23.** "YE WAIT QUHA" TO WHARTON.

The purpose your lordship knows of is near hand. All manner of men coming forward. Argyll and James Cannocht are landed a little "fra" Glasgow with 4000 men, and are "campand" waiting other 2000. Great is the moan poor men make for "thir Irismen; thay waist and distroyis all menis gudis quharever thay cum." Huntly keeps his day, Friday the 8th July, with 8000 men on Roslin moor. Earl Marschall, Lord Forbes and all the North, both Orkney and the Isles, are marching forward, and all will encamp about Peblis on Sunday the 10th instant. Divers tells me they will pass to Carlisle. The ordnance passes from Edinburgh on the 8th—there is "twa cannonis, ane culvering mazon, ane culvering battard, ane pasvoland, and twa uder pecis of brase quhais namis ar strange, als gret as cannonis, with xxth uder sma brasin pecis, cartyt one lytyll cartis." 500 men are paid for a month to keep them.

An English herald has been with the Governor to stop this gathering, and is dispatched with his answer, men judge a sharp one. I cannot tell the number till all are mustered. This bearer came with me from Nithsdale and when the other returns, I will send him. If I had a horse or nag I would follow the army, drawing near my own country men, and send either James or David "Twyne" with each day's purpose to your lordship. So haste the bearer back, and you shall know all their intents and journeys. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Wait quha.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1547. July 8. **24.** COMMISSION BY EDWARD VI.

Appointing Cuthbert bishop of Durham and Sir Robert Bowes lord warden of the Middle Marches, his ambassadors to meet those of the Queen of Scots, and ratify and confirm the treaty of peace and marriage begun in his father's time, and settle all other differences. Honour of Hampton Court. Under his sign manual and Great Seal. Edwarde.

2 *pp. Latin. Broad sheet. Fair contemporary copy.*

(1) Another copy in a later hand.

July 18. **25.** INSTRUCTIONS TO THE AMBASSADORS.

Though the Scots since the death of the King's father, have behaved unkindly and broken their solemn treaties, yet the King to avoid effusion of Christian blood, desires nothing more than to con-

Edw. VI. 1547. tinue in honourable peace with his neighbours. But as they will likely practise to gain time, the ambassadors must deal so discreetly that unless the Scots roundly promise to keep their treaties and lay in hostages, their refusal may show them in fault.

2½ *pp.* *Fair contemporary copy.*

[1547. July .] **26.** OVERTURES BY GLENCAIRN TO SOMERSET.

[*Under ten heads not numbered.*]

Having spoken with your grace, and declared my desire to serve with my body kin and friends in setting forward the King's marriage, wherein I was an instrument and commissioner, and also sent my letter to this effect by Patrick Colquhoun, yet your grace desires my further advice in writing as follows:—(1) I am ready to join your army if you invade. (2) If not, I advise further treaty to save blood, and Sir Adam Otterburne being "over sober a personage," I would if your grace authorised me, solicit the Earl of Cassillis, George Douglas, the sheriff of Ayr, and Drumlanrig, or any two, to join with him to forward the godly purpose—preparations for war the while going on.

(3) I will go to Scotland, with "apparant traist," and raise 1000 men of my friends and surname, and 1000 more assisters and favourers of the Word of God, and break and divide the country till your army comes, holding Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham and Renfrew—you allowing me 160 horse for our protection.

(4) Besides fortifying S[t] Andrews or Leith for the East seas, your grace may fortify a strength called Ardmore* on the West seas, within 18 miles of Stirling, one of the best havens in Christendom—desiring but 3 of your ships to lie there, and with 400 Scots and but six men of "ingyne" over them, I will fortify it with earth in 8 days, when your men can enter and keep it—building a town, for there is a natural rock round about, "schore deip," where ships may lie at all times. The fort can stop all vessels from Glasgow, Renfrew and Dunbarton, passing without licence, and moreover have all the country to the gates of Stirling.

(5) The Earl of Cassillis being privy to my coming to England, bade me do for him as for myself.

(6) Being bound in 40,000 pounds Scots to deliver S[t] Andrews to the Governor,—which I will rather pay than that the garrison desert the King,—if I incur this loss, your grace will be so good to sustain me and my friends in this realm.

(7) I am not come here for the Earl of Levenax, but only to serve as your grace directs—but if you think our joining may further that godly marriage, I am ready for our old love and kindness, to apply myself with him.

(8) I pray you write to the Deputies of Calais and Boulogne to give my son free passage here, for I intend to withdraw him from France "or † suspitione ryis upoun me in Scotland."

(9) I warn you that one Ninian Cokburne gentleman in the castle of S[t] Andrews, privily sees the Governor and reports their doings. *Signed:* Glencarne.

3 *pp.* *On the margin of each item, Somerset's opinion is noted in another hand.* *Indorsed:* "Glyncairnes overture."

* On the Clyde opposite his own house of Finlayston. † Before.

Edw. VI.
[1547. July .] **27.** JAMES HENRISON TO SOMERSET.

Having had communication with my countrymen to the end some of your sea fortresses may be supplied, our rulers otherwise occupied, "kirkmen and resisters to godlynes suppressyt, Sanct Andrus fortyfyd": there is one, for reward and with small charge, may get by your grace's help "thyr fowre most stronge holdis of the most reche countre of Fyff,—Inchgaw, Louchlevin, Ravinshwch, and Rasyt." Another, not knowing this, says he hopes to keep off intelligence and help of France on the west seas elsewhere than "at Kirkewbarie or Sanct Mary Ile," whereof I made the Warden get your grace the "plattis"—if your grace deal liberally with him. If it please you, I would go to the Borders hereon, having a living to dwell on there to sustain me and others in the King's service, till I may be provided for in my natural country—for not only is "gret numbre of custummers and sersurs,* hwrtfull to strangers, and good name of inhabiturs: bot also the wntollerable pollyng and shaving of innkepers." I would pray God your grace call to mind the great charges of lieutenants, wardens, captains, pensioners, posts, garrisons and intelligence, "with thaire litele ravard onto fryndis," great hurt to subjects, and small to enemies,—and that it pleased you to bestow one year's fruits on such as gave their sons and friends in pledge, and would do more service in one year than others in all these long wars. Praying your grace's pardon, for after a "welthtye lyff, I am nocht cummyt hyre to ane powre to lye." Also exhorting your grace for a precept for payment of my pension, "seing I gat non sence the sext of Februarij that Maister Pikcan payit me of the Kingis Majestyes kofferis,"—for I have served as well at my own charges as others with greater allowance, "if all thingis war knawin." *Signed:* Jamis Henrison.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[Aug. .] **28.** SOMERSET TO WARWICK.

Instructions by the noble prince Edward by the grace of God Duke of Somerset, earl of Hertford, viscount Beauchamp, lord Seymour, High Treasurer and Earl Marshal of England, Captain and Governor of Jersey, Governor of the King's most royal person, protector of his Highness realms, dominions, and subjects, Lieutenant General of all his Majesty's wars both by land, sea, K.G., to his right worshipful cousin John earl of Warwick, viscount Lisle, baron of Malpas and Someray, lord Basset and Tyas, [K.G.], Great Chamberlain of England, his lieutenant general in the north.

Directing him in the King's name to muster the army appointed to invade Scotland, at Newcastle on the 24th August instant, and taking order with Sir Ralph Sadleyr treasurer of the war, for their coats and conduct, and making due provision for carriage of victual and munition, to lead the force to Berwick by the 31st August.

6¼ *pp.* *Draft in two hands.* *Indorsed.*

(1) Corrected draft of same in Petre's hand.

6 *pp.* *Indorsed.*

* Searchers.

Edw. VI.
[1547.] Aug.

29. List of Ships and Crews.

	Tons.	Men.
The Harry grace a Dieu	1000	700
The Aragozia of Hampton	700	450
The Great Venezian	700	450
The *Peter Pomgarnarde*	600	400
The *Jesus* of Lubick	600	300
The *Pauncye*	500	300
The *Aragozia* of London	500	300
The *Greate Gallaye*	500	300
The *Swepestake*	400	240
The *Moryan* of Dansick	400	250
The *Struce* of Dansick	300	250
The *Salviour* of Bristol	340	200
The *Pellycan* of Dansick	300	200
The *Trickill* of Dansick	300	180
The *Spanyard Devara*	300	120
The *Sallamaunder*	300	220
The *Swallowe*	250	160
The *Fawcon Lisle*	200	160
The *Anne Lisle*	200	160
The *Dragon*	160	110
The *Lyon*	160	100
The *Harry* of Bristol	180	120
The *Trinitie* of Carlion	180	120
The *Margarett* of Bristol	180	120
The *Trinitie Renneger*	180	120
The *Marye James*	140	100
The *Evaungelist Norton*	140	120
The *Trinitie Smyth*	150	100
The *Peter* of Lowestof	140	100
The *Pilgrym* of Dertmouth	140	100
The *George Brigges*	140	100
The *Thomas Mawdalene*	140	100
The *Lartigoe*	120	80
The *Trinitie* of Totnes	120	95
The *Julyan* of Dertmouth	120	74
The *Nicholas* of Dertmouth	120	70
The *Marye Marten*	120	80
The *Marye Fortune*	120	90
The *Mawdalene Dryver*	120	80
The *Pynnes* of Bristoll	120	60
The *Galligoe Rennegre*	80	60
The *Marye Katheryne* of London	80	40
The *Marye and John*	100	80
The *Martyn Bullye*	60	40
The *Marye Fortune* of Lowestof	100	80
The *Mary Bullern*	100	80
The *James* of London	80	68
The *Mathewe Wynter*	80	50
The *Mighell* of Newcastle	80	60
The *Trinitie* of Foye	80	60
The *Mary Thomas* of Grenwich	80	70
The *Marlyon Russell*	60	60

Edw. VI. [1547.]

	Tons.	Men.
The *George* of Falmouth	60	56
The *Jesus* of Lowe	40	30
The *Clement* of Pensaunt	60	40

"*Galliasses shalupes and other roweng peces.*"

	Tons.	Men.
The *Anne Gallaunt*	400	200
The *Fawcon*	100	80
The *Sakre*	60	60
The *Phenix*	80	80
The *Hare*	30	30
Rennegers pynnes	...	24

"*Boates of Rye.*"

The *George*, 37 men; The *Mawdalen*, 37; The *Jesus*, 30; The *James*, 30; The *Wearye George*, 30; The *Trinitie*, 30; The *Marye James Fletcher*, 30; *Grey* of Lowestof, 20.

"*Western men with oores.*"

	Tons.	Men.
The *George* of Totnes	40	30
The *George* of Ditsam	40	30
The *Unicorne* of Poole	30	30
The *Gallion* of Lyne	40	40
The *Fawcon* of Plymmouth	20	26
The *Pykepurse*	...	20
The *Hackney* of Plymmouth	30	30
The *Marye Figge* of Plymmouth	30	30
The *Marye Wynter* of Plymmouth	30	30
The *Katheryn* of Lowe	40	36
The *Marye* of Hastinges	40	30
Sum totals "of shippes shalupes and boates of warre"	80	
„ of men	9222	

3½ *pp. Contemporary fair copy. Indorsed:* "The nombre with the names of the shippes appointed for thentreprise."

1547. Aug. 1.

30. INSTRUCTIONS TO LORD CLYNTON.

The Scots having obtained from the French King a great number of galleys to besiege the castle of S[t] Andrews, the King with advice of his uncle and the council, appoints him as vice admiral forthwith to embark at Harwich in the *Pawncey*, and "as fast as wynd and wether wyll sarve," take the fleet to Holy Island and Berwick, leaving the victual and munition on land there—press on to the Tay, do all he can to drive off the French galleys and raise the siege—if the castle not tenable, to take the Governor's son and other gentlemen on board, and return to Holy Island. If he finds the castle rendered and forsaken, then to set all the nearest ports of Fife on fire, and depart, playing up and down about Holy Island till further instructions. Advising in all matters with Sir William Woodhouse, Robert Legge, and William Brooke, &c.

[List of 12 vessels appended.]

3 *pp. Corrected draft by Petre. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Edw. VI.
[1547.] Aug. **31.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR VICTUALLING, &c.

For the army of Scotland—3000 men, whereof 1000 demilances, 400 hackbutters on horseback, 1800 light horse (including the garrison men): foot, 2500, pioneers 500, in all, horse and foot, 6200 men.

For the sea, 8000: whereof 6000 to be set "aland," and 2000 mariners to keep the ships.

[Provision follows for stores of victual at Wark, Ipswich, Berwick, and commissions to the Earl of Cumberland, Sir Francis Leeke, Sir Nicholas Shirley and Sir Ralph Bulmer to muster the northern garrisons.]

2 *pp.* *Corrected draft.* *Indorsed:* "For thentreprise of Scotland."

Aug. 16. **32.** CLYNTON, &c., TO SOMERSET.

This day about 4 p.m. I arrived with the whole fleet at Holy Island, and have caused the victuallers and ships of munition to discharge there and at Berwick, under view of Masters Stonhouse and Horsley. Contrary winds have delayed us, and we will remain if the weather suffers. Your grace's letter of 4th reached me at Orforthe Nesse on the 9th with directions as to winning St Andrews. From the *Pawncy.* *Signed:* E. Clynton, Sir Wyll'm Woodhouse, Robert Legge, Will'm Brooke.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Slightly damaged.*

Aug. 18. **33.** LAIRD OF LANGTOWN TO SOMERSET.

Your grace's goodness and mercy to me and my friends when your last army was in Scotland, has bound us to your service. Yet though then assured by your grace, the warden of the East Marches captain of Norham, has taken from me and my tenants 200 head of cattle—and to prove it, I have ever as I promised your grace, reported my doings to Mr Gower the marshal of Berwick, who can tell right well I never failed my promise when I could. But you know I cannot keep my house against all Scotland, standing so far from help. Of late when in danger for my lord Bothwell's trouble, your grace still protected me, and promised pay of 24 men to garrison my house if needed. Yet my lord Bothwell and many other lords lairds and gentlemen is in as much danger as ever on account of "ane redgistar buke" found in Master Balnaves' chamber in the castle of St Andrews and now in the Governor's custody, with their names and handwriting to support England. If the King's army comes not forward, the Earls Marshal, Cassillis, Kilmaurs, lord Gray will be in jeopardy. George Douglas was more wary, for he ever sent his mind with a secret man "be towng." Yet he is highly suspected. There are 10 score of lairds and landed gentlemen in that register.

Bothwell's indictment is that he went to England and bound himself to the King, if he got the late Duke of Suffolk's wife in marriage—offering the Armitage for same—and that he wonld never serve the Governor.

I trust God will put it in your graces remembrance "that now

Edw. VI.
[1547.] beffor ner in the armye in tyme I may be rasawid and nott to be spylyd by roades." Langtowne. *Signed:* James off Langtowne.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1547. Aug. 24. **34.** LENNOX AND WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

Yester night we received your grace's letters dated at Shene the 19th with ten proclamations. Six as directed, we have sent to the Earl of Glencairn, and the other four with two Scotsmen—one to be set on the castle gate of Stirling, one on St Giles church door, Edinburgh, the third on the church door in Glasgow, and the fourth in the town of Dumfries. Glencarne to show his copies to noblemen he thinks meet, and report the state of the realm.

Two Scotsmen, one from Glasgow the other from Dumfries, came here yesterday and said that in Glasgow on Saturday the 20th, he saw the Governor's letters in the Queen's name, delivered to sundry noble men and gentlemen there, "where was concludid a maryedge to be betwene the Erll of Glencarnes ooe* who was his hostaig, and the Larde of Lokenvers doughter." Commanding them all to be at † Moor on Monday next the 29th, with 20 days' victuals, to resist you.

He heard the Laird of Barre say openly, "Latte theyme taike the bishopis and preistis," for they had brought much sorrow in that realm—and he and others said they had been so lately out, their men would not rise again. The one from Dumfries said on Monday last the 22nd a like proclamation was made in the market there, for all to muster on said moor on pain of death. And the Lairds Drumlanrig, Closeburne and others, said they would keep at home all Galloway, Nithsdale and Annandale, for they believed an army would invade on the West Marches.

The Glasgow man said he saw a news letter, that the Governor had sent men and ordnance to fortify Hume castle against a siege, and was fortifying Leith haven. Assuredly they are in great fear and division. Carlisle. *Signed:* Mathew Lewenax, Thomas Whartton.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[1547.] Aug. **35.** SOMERSET TO SIR ADAM OTTERBURNE.

In reply to your letter brought to us last night by this bearer, repeating what has passed between us since your leave taking at the Court [*inter alia*], our request that your Governor should send Sir George Douglas to Newcastle by the 27th of August to treat with us there in person for the weal of both realms—then your Governor's request that others be joined with him—for whom we sent safe-conducts under our hand and seal—as a person in special credit with the Governor—and had there been another more so, we would have named him. As it seems to us, your Governor and council cavil at the sufficiency of our safe-conduct under our hand and seal, which greater princes than they have never questioned in affairs of much more importance than yours! It is no new thing to be thus affronted by your proud manner of dealing, so we require you to tell your Governor that we are not minded to send any safe-conduct than t h

* Grandson. † Blank.

Edw. VI.
[1547.] already passed from us: protesting that all consequences to your realm and people shall proceed only "of the manifold injuries and pykes on your Governers and rulers partes to us ministred."

2½ *pp.* *Copy in Thynne's hand.* *Indorsed:* "Copie of my lorde protectors lettres to Adam Otterbourne."

Aug. 31. **36.** CLYNTON TO SOMERSET.

This morning a Norway ship came in, laden with "boordes and oken bawkes, sparres and two last of Osmunde yron," all likely for Scotland. He says he was going to Newcastle, which cannot be, for he might with the fair wind, have been there before we saw him—and has offered to sell his cargo. I wait your grace's pleasure what to do with him, and also with a "hoye" from thence "laden with bere, sparres and oyle," which I stayed last week and sent into Holy Island. As yet I hear nothing of Sir Thomas Clere and the rest of the fleet. From the *Pawncey.* *Signed:* E. Clynton.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* (to Somerset) "at Barwick." *Indorsed.*

Aug. 31. **37.** LENNOX AND WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

I the Earl have received your grace's letters by M^r^ Bishope, and heard the credence from you showed to me by Lord Wharton. We have received and enclose to you the Earl of Glencarne's letter to us and memorandum to Thomas Bishop. His credence by the bearer is that the Governor will not have him with their army, but to send his son, "whome the said Erll saithe shall not goo." The bearer also says that all the vessels they can get at Glasgow, Dunbarton, Ayr, Kirkcudbright or their west coast, are to watch for English victualling ships for the army invading there, and "Androo Cambell of Glascoo" as captain, was gone with others for the purpose.

A Scotsman we sent with a "practise" to the Earl of Angus, came over the Forth with him and his household on the 28^th^, when the earl, with many fair words, said he will help me Lennox to my rights, if I come into Scotland as chief leader of an army. And sent his advice to me not to invade on the west, as his and my friends lie there, but elsewhere on his known enemies the Humes and Scotts. Also said in talk with the Scotsman—"Shewe my sone that the mykkill thing of Yngland may not tarie, and the litle thing, we woll dynge it away." The Scotsman said George Douglas had taken all his goods out of Dalkeith castle, and the Governor is preparing furniture to keep Edinburgh and Dunbar castles. The Earl said when he got to Edinburgh he would send a secret servant to me Lennox with all news.

Our spies say the whole realm is "most dradly commanded" to attend the Governor, who threatens those on the west who remain at home, he will hold them as traitors.

If you would send us a cipher or token how we may write to you in Scotland, we shall prove it. Carlisle. *Signed:* Mathew Lewenax, Thomas Whartton.

2¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Inclosed in the same:—

Edw. VI.
[1547.]
Aug. 31.

(1) (Glencairn to Lennox and Wharton.)

I received and shall disperse the proclamations abroad to such as are convenient. I pray you in future "to writ in ane mair mistik maner, for I am at ane hard poynt," as the bearer will show you at length, to whom give credence as to myself. "Writin this last Saterday. Ye wait quhay."

My writing so short and giving the bearer credence, and of the "mistik writing, is for the Maister Maxwellis caus, quhilk is turnit uterlie for my distructioun, and waitis any that gangis betuex your lordships and me."

½ *p.* *In his clerk's hand.* *Addressed:* "To his gud lordes."

(2) (Memorandum for Bishop.)

I believe there shall be "na fek of folkis at this tyme; Angus and Fyf is al under mistraist halelie."

The professors of the Word of God will follow the favourers of the same.

The Earl of Lennox's friends "wilbe as thai se him merk (?) to and beis helpit in thay partes."

The Governor said he dreaded "mair the furth byding" of Glencairne than the incoming of the army; for the Earl had made "sik ane brulzie within the realme, that he vist nocht surelie quhom of to be siker quhen he had ado."

If any come in by your parts, advertise me that I may "do thareftir."

Small slip of paper. *In same hand as last.*

[1547.]
Aug. 31.

38. LENNOX TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

In answer to your lordships' letter received this day on the matter of "oone John Sunptare of Bunnarres*" whose ship was taken with me to Dunbarton: I cannot say what was paid him, as the Lord Deputy of Ireland took the whole charge of these ships. Carlisle. *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax.

½ *p.* *Written by Bischop.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

1547.
Sept. 1.

39. LENNOX AND WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

We send the enclosed letter from the Laird of Closburn to me the Earl. As we wrote before, the men of war prepared to watch for our victuallers, have done notable damage in the Isle of Man. The nobles and gentlemen of the West Marches are under "moost dradfull commaundmentes" to join the Governor, and yet intend leaving the countrymen at home for defence. Huntly can bring no great power, and Argyll though very earnest, can bring no more. Carlisle. *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax, Thomas Whartton.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547.
Sept. 2.]

40. LAIRD OF ORMISTOWN TO SOMERSET.

Albeit I have written divers times in the late King's reign and

* Beaumaris ?

Edw. VI.
[1547.] since, to the Captain of Norham, for your grace's information of our affairs, to forward your godly wish for union of the realms and "puplyk weill": yet though unknown to you, I now write without any "medyator," to show my good mind. The Queen and the Governor have been ten days in Edinburgh setting out proclamations, "bot cumpanyt with few lordis, by * ane certan of schurll preistis, quha hes dewyset the fyer crois to pais throwcht the realme, als sowine as yowr graice army taikis Scottis grownd." They summoned all men to meet on Fallo muir the last day of this past month, but they did not convene. This "Fursday" † the Governor left Edinburgh, and was all night in Newbottle, intending to haste his army to the "Peyhtis" [Peaths] to stand there. Leith is empty, and the people ordered to keep Edinburgh, but "soberly" prepared to resist: the Nether Port is rampired with "faill," and one or two pieces of ordnance. On the Castlehill they have cut a "fowse" ‡ and set "gabyonys" and ordnance. The Governor fears your delay, for he cannot keep our army together if once convened. Huntly and Argyll come "als sterk as thai may." Whatever your grace advertises me, I will ūse it as you direct. *Signed:* Ormystown.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1547. Sept. 6. **41.** LENNOX AND WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

We enclose two letters received this day from the Earl of Glencarne, one to Thomas Bischop. We hear of great division among the noblemen and no great power assembled. Only the gentlemen and 100 men of the West Marches went, and they say will return. John Maxwell is looked for at Dumfries this night. Carlisle. *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax, Thomas Whartton.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in same:—

(Glencairn to Lennox and Wharton.)

I received your writings this 3d of September—that you intend coming in at these west parts, and that I make trial what friends will assist in furth putting the word of God and marriage, and concur with you the Earl: I could not go outside my bounds, for the watch kept on me by the Governor, but have spoken with and sent your proclamations to Kyle and "Lowdeane," who promise to do their "devoir," and my lord of Lennox will be assured of Kyle, Cunninghame, his and my part of the barony of Renfrew, and his own earldom, except the Laird of Buchanan—and Glasgow and Dunbarton are determined to live and die with him. He is not so ignorant but he has other friends in Scotland, and I would he wrote to them to concur and advise with me for his affairs. The Governor summoned all men between 16 and 60 to muster on Fala Moor this Wednesday the last of August with 20 days' victual, but I hear few are come yet. I trust my lord Protector and his army will be in no danger, for the Governor fears his own folk more than yours, and if all keep promise, I believe he shall have cause.

* Besides. † Thursday, 1st September. ‡ Fosse.

Edw. VI.
1547. As you wrote to me that at my parting I should not be suspicious but write plainly: I marvel that your wisdoms should think, that I being but a single baron, with no aid or help but my own poor friends, "may ganestand the haill body of the realme"! Therefore I think best to keep all secret both for my own sake, and to come better at my purpose.

I have written a little "tykat" to my friend Master Bischope to show you. "Ye wait quhay."

1½ *pp.* *Addressed:* "To his good and special lordes." *Indorsed:* (From the Earl of Glencairn.)

Sept. 16. **42.** LENNOX AND WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

As your grace commanded me Lord Wharton at Newcastle, we proclaimed on the West Marches that all men should attend us with 20 days' victuals on the 8th instant to invade Scotland, but divers of the gentlemen and officers not being ready, we on Friday morning the 9th invaded and encamped in Scotland with 2000 foot and 500 horse, 200 of them Scots in the King's service. On Saturday we marched to Castlemilk, 16 miles, and summoned the captain "Jamys Stewerd" to surrender, who answered "that if he might see therll of Lynouxe faice" he would deliver "the hold" to him, and requested he would send him his gloves "in a token that he was there"; on sight whereof he came forth and delivered the "kies" to me the Earl. We encamped there that night and then put in one Fergus Grame with 20 foot (12 of them hagbutters) to keep it. His pay as captain being 2*s.* and the men "sex pens the day," and I Lord Wharton have given them a month "aforhand" and some provisions.

The wall is 9 feet thick, the roofs in decay. It stands in a country fit for fortifying, albeit we had no means therefor—3 miles from Lochmaben, and 8 from Dumfries. Being informed that the Governor had sent one James Lyone with 7 gunners to the "steple of Anande," and charged the town to help him, with promise to relieve them in 4 hours after our army was there, we marched on Sunday to Anande, and encamped so near the steeple as we could, and same night summoned the captain to render it, who refused as his master the Governor had ordered him. "And we having in ordenaunce but a facon, a faconett, and foure quarter facons, for that ther is no baterie peice at Carlisle, divised that night howe we shulde maik warr agaynst the house on the morowe. At viijth of the clok in the mornying, we laid those sex peices to beit the battailling, and appoyntid certane archers and hagbutters to maik warre also untill a paveis of tymbre might be drawn to the sidde of the steplee, under whiche sexe pyoners might work to have undermyened the sam; and in putting these to effectes, they in the house maid sharpe warre, and slewe foure of our men and hurt divers others. And with grett stones from the steple toppe, brooke the paveis after it was sett, and being in that extrymytie, lakking ordenaunce for that purpose, we caused certane pyoners cutt the walle of the east end of the quere, overthuart abone the earthe, and caused the hooll ende to falle, wherwith the rooff and tymbre falling inward, slewe vij Scotesmen. And after that we caused the peices be laid to shoot at the doore of the steplee which was a house hight, and that house hight rampered with earthe, and caused them

Edw. VI. 1547. further to myen." And then the captain about 4 p.m. took down his "pensall of defyaunce" and he and his men "cried for marcie." But we said they should all be hanged. So they surrendered without conditions, and the captain "a tall gentleman," with his 57 men came out and delivered the "kies." We consulted, and resolved "to contynewe thar liefes" and keep them prisoners. On Tuesday morning we "cutt and raiced down the churche wallis and steplee, and brent the towne, not leving any thing therin unbrent; which was the best town in Anerdaill." We also sent to England 7 fisher boats lying on the river. We marched that night to Dronok, encamping 5 nights in Scotland, and harried and burned the country where resistance was made, sparing all others. On Wednesday night the 14th, we came to Carlisle with 80 prisoners, the ordnance and munition in the steeple, and 12 principal hostages for the service of the others to the King. We think the whole of Annandale will shortly serve the King, and that the castles of Lochmaben and Carlaverok shall hardly get victuals. These countrymen will serve under your grace anywhere in Scotland, and assuredly the gentlemen of this West March have honestly served and merit your favour. It is to our singular comfort to hear of the "godlie and honorable victorie" that your grace and the King's army hath in that realm, wherefor we have come to give Almighty God thanks. "And even so they in that realme have no lese cause to gif thankis accordinglie, yf they hadd grace so to receve it." With credence for the bearer John Dudley servant to me Lord Wharton. Carlisle. *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax, Thomas Whartton.

4½ *pp.* *Addressed:* "To . . . my lord of Somersett his grace lord protectour of the Kingis Majesties domynyons and governour of his highnes most royall persone." *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Sept. 16. **43.** WHARTON TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

To similar effect.

4½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Petre).

Sept. 16. **44.** WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

I was sorry at the want of victual, ordnance &c. on our late rode, without which no more could be done. If it please you to have Dumfries, Lochmaben, and others thereabout burned, I am in hope to get the assured countrymen to do it. I wait your grace's instructions on this and the garrison of Castlemylk. Some of the men of my March think they should not invade Scotland but by a "Wardanes roode, which is to goo and cum in a day ande a night," except they get wages "for further invacion." I shall obey your grace's commands herein.

One Davy Irwyn a spy of mine was hanged at Edinburgh by the Governor's order. He also kept the Goodman of Granton there on suspicion. Carlisle. *Signed:* Thomas Whartton.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[1547. Sept. 23.] **45.** ARTICLES FOR DELIVERY OF HUME CASTLE, &c.

Under five heads:—

(1) The gentlemen shall deliver Hume castle to my lord protector, and (except bearing armour against their countrymen) shall do what is in them to deliver the young Queen to his hands.

Edw. VI. [1547. Sept. 23.] (2) They shall bear no armour against Englishmen.
(3) They shall victual his garrisons in Scotland for ready money.
(4) As pledges they shall deliver their sons and heirs, or failing these "their next enheritours," and
(5) They shall enjoy their lands and goods (Hume castle excepted) as before.

1 *p. In Thynne's hand. Indorsed.*

(1) Another copy of same.

[1547.] Sept. 24. **46.** CLYNTON, &c., TO SOMERSET.

On Tuesday last at 4 p.m. we reached Broughty "Crak," and sent Sir Andrew Dudley and D^r^ Derham in the *Galley Suttell*, "something before the navye." They shot off 3 pieces at the Castle, which was at once rendered as your grace told me. Next day I landed early, and as devised by the Italian your grace sent with me, we have near finished a trench "thwart" the land. We have rampired the walls and made a platform of earth, and laid in ordnance and munition yesterday. To-day we shall victual it for 6 weeks, but cannot make it strong in the short time your grace gave us. For lack of victual, chiefly drink, we must leave this day. Instead of it standing on a rock and only one way to it, as your grace was told, three parts are on a low rock, and to the land, where the trench is, is but "pepill" stone and sand, and most men here think will be filled up by the sea, the ground is so loose that the wind blowing "at a spring," east-south-east and south east, will stop up the east part of the trench—and the west-north-west winds the other end. For above the pebble stones cast up by the sea, there is but a thin crust of sandy earth. And from half ebb to half flood, men can come round about, and all times on two parts. The walls on land side not above 14 feet high, and seaward not above 9, and 4 feet thick. We will rampire it higher, and meanwhile for surety, I shall by advice of M^r^ Woodhouse, M^r^ Clere, M^r^ Legge &c. leave 100 men in it, besides the *Mary Hamborough*—the *Bark Eger* and *Phenix*, whose crews shall help in the work. They are victualled for a month and will be a protection. Since my coming, the chief burgesses of Dundee &c. have come in, and but for fear of the great men and priests, would submit. They have supplied us with fresh victuals, and the men of two villages by the river side, fishermen and pilots, are to fish for us. Sir Andrew Dudley begs your grace's further instructions. To-morrow, if wind serve, we depart towards England. Broughty Castle. *Signed:* E. Clynton, Andrew Duddeley, W. Woodhous, Robert Legge.

7½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Sept. 27. **47.** LENNOX TO SOMERSET.

I received by Lord Wharton's servant your grace's letters written at Roxburgh, to my great comfort, in accepting my doings in the King's service, and licensing me to join my wife. I doubt not, since your success over the King's enemies, many shall now treat with you. Praying your remembrance at fit time, of my damages done by my adversaries, "the appoyntment whereof" shall redound more to the King's commodity than to mine. Carlisle. *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax.

Edw. VI. 1547. ¾ *p. Written by Bischop. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Armorial wafer signet* (Lennox).

Sept. 29. **48.** LENNOX AND WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

We ask your grace's favour for the bearer M^r^ Roughe a Scotsman, who was in the castle of S^t^ Andrews, but at the very instant of the siege, chanced to be abroad in the country, and could not return; and by help of friends, fled hither to save his life, where he has since remained. He is well known to many in Scotland for preaching and instruction of the Scriptures according to his learning. It seems he is well given to set forth the word of God. Carlisle. *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax, Thomas Whartton.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[1547.] Sept. 30. **49.** JOHN EARL OF WARWICK TO SOMERSET.

The Laird of Langton has been with me for his master the Earl,* and said if your grace would help him to a wife in England, he would deliver the Armytage. He named the wife of the late Duke of Suffolk for one, but other two he was "lothe to name." I saw he meant my Lady Mary or my Lady Elizabeth. The Duchess I said would take your advice, I made no answer as to the others. He asked your safe conduct to come to see them and return; and if you would allow him 100 "wagers" at the King's cost, he would deliver his house, and become the King's servant. I think he wanted the men more than leave to see the ladies. Huntly would fain stay here till the commissioners arrive, saying he could find out their secrets by the vicechancellor his servant; but I would not seem to understand, and to-day he sends his wife hence, and to-morrow shall depart for London. Berwick. *Signed:* Warwyck.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a gem.*

[1547. Sept. .] **50.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR NORROY.

To declare to the Queen Dowager and Council of Scotland the causes that moved his grace the Protector to enter their country with an army. That God had shown his power in giving his grace the late victory over those "that withstode principally God and this godly purpose." To enjoin the Queen and Council to deliver the young Queen to the Protector to be suitably nourished and brought up with her husband, as a Queen of England—as he promises to do on his honour, failing which, that he will use all means to bring it about by force.

6½ *pp. Indorsed:* "Copie Norreys instruccions to the Quene and Counsaile of Scoteland."

[1547.] Sept. 30. **51.** BISHOP OF DURHAM TO SOMERSET.

Most of my carriage being departed to Durham to provide for your grace's dinner there to-morrow, when ye will be as I understand

* Bothwell.

Edw. VI.
[1547.] with Sir George Conyers—I received your letter from Alnwick, and in answer send you draught of commission to my lord of Warwick, &c., much like the King's late commission to me and the Warden of the Middle Marches to treat with the Scots; leaving your grace to supply the styles of the King and others. I also send your grace copies of the treaties of peace and marriage concluded with the Scots by the late King, and the article comprehending them in the French treaty. And I now follow my carriage to Durham to await your grace. Newcastle. *Signed:* Cuth. Duresme.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

1547. Oct. 1. **52. Lord Grey of Wilton to Somerset.**

I have declared your grace's pleasure to my lord lieutenant, and send Lord Clynton's letter to your grace with 13 Scottish standards, whereof it may please you (in my behalf) to present two, viz., the Queen's and the priests', to the King. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Pardon my boldness in this desire.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Oct. 2. **53. Grey of Wilton to Somerset.**

Immediately on receipt of the enclosed letters this day at 9 o'clock, I have despatched them, unbroken. Praying your grace's instructions if the like case happen. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Oct. 2. **54. Grey of Wilton to Somerset.**

I desire your grace, for the good service of the bearer Francis Aslabye, late lieutenant of the light horsemen at Boulogne, and since in this Scottish war, but now discharged,—to place him where thought meet. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547.] Oct. 7. **55. Lennox to Somerset.**

I hear by a Scotsman my spy, late come from Scotland, "that in youre graces last conflicte upoun the Scottis" there was taken in the chace "one Robert Colquhoun larde of Luis, my nere kinnisman, and that holdis his lande of me within the Levenax"; and being wounded in the face now remains at Berwick. He has a notable house and strength * near the sea "and within thre mylis to Dunbertane castell, where in I was borne," very fit to be in the King's hands. I beg your grace to write to the Earl of Warwick that this "Larde of Luis" be not ransomed till I may speak with you, as I intend to do shortly, and show you the commodity of the said house more at length.

Being also advertised that the late captain of Dunbarton Castle,† who betrayed that hold from the King's purpose, is also taken, it were

* Dunglas castle. † George Stirling of Glorat.

Edw. VI.
[1547.] good he were stayed till your pleasure be known "in recompense of his untrew demenour." Wrissill Castle. *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Oct. 8. **56.** SIR ANDREW DUDDELEY TO SOMERSET.

On the 6th I received a letter from my lord my brother * dated 1st, that thenceforth I should write to my lord Grey for my wants here. I am in great need, in the middle of enemies, in a weak house slenderly left, my men tired with constant watch, many sick of "agew" and more like to be. There is neither wood, coal, nor candle, glass for windows, scant window to shut, nor door, lock, nor bolt, latch nor nail. I have no workmen or artificers, other than Mr John de Rosset the Italian engineer, fallen sick with overwork. The house was more like a "kyepars lodge" than a fort when I came; the ground we should fortify it with, is but "shingill and sande, the torf ys allso sandye and brickill," and we can scarce make it hold, without help of great timber, planks, "maundes" for our ordnance and to hold up the rampires—which we lack. I have sent for a smith's forge, but have not got it, and but 3 carpenters, one aged and sick and another lame. Never man had so weak a company of soldiers "gevyn all to eatinge and drynkynge and slowfullnes"—and I have not 3 gunners that can load or discharge his piece, and I lack 9 of the 20 I should have, and 16 other soldiers besides sick men. I have stayed the ships till we are better fortified, and the river, which is stronge with ships and boats, thoroughly "scowrid"; for I look day and night for the Earl of Angus, who threatens to besiege me, and only tarries to win St Colm's Inch held by Sir John Luttrell, which they have surrounded with ships and boats by advice of "an abbot and Jame Dogge," and as some tell me, Thomas Christell late master of the *Lyon* of Scotland, my prisoner, also a great "doer" in it. Montrose and other vessels cruise on the coast for our victuallers.

The Scots say the French King has promised help "owt of hand," and that, he the Emperor, the Bishop of Rome, the King of Denmark and the Venetians, will attack England. All that love the Word of God here, pray your grace to follow up your victory, and give no credit to Huntly's flattering promises, or he will do more mischief than ever. I keep the 2 ships, for I have work for 400 or 500 men for 5 or 6 weeks (as these mariners work) to put us in good state. The house stands well, and if the King pleased to build a bulwark on the far side of the water, it would protect our ships. I use the country gently as ordered. Divers gentlemen who favour the Word of God would come in if they durst, but wait "till they see how the world goo." The town of Dundee has sought no assurance, and I have sent them word to-day that I will hold them as enemies, but have no answer. Trusting in Christ to do my part to serve the King and your grace "whilst the breth is in my boddye. Scribbled in hast." Fort of Broughty Craig. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

4 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Damaged.*

1547. **57.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.
Oct. 9. Sir George Douglas, the Laird of Ormiston, and two of the

* Warwick,

Edw. VI.
1547. Humes "that came not erst in," have been here. Douglas coming as a borderer to serve the King, asked assurance for them all. I told him to make no promise unless resolved to be true—reminded him of his benefits from the late King, of the evils through the "let" of the marriage, &c., as my simple wit helped me, and threatened him if he revolted again, I should pursue him and his friends to the death—finally gave him hope if he spoke truly now, he should not go unrewarded. He answered he would advance the marriage, and then put a vain doubt—if the Queen died before marriage, or after it without issue, would they be our fellows or slaves? I rebuked him, but after more of this vain talk, too tedious for your grace, he asked assurance for Coldingham, &c., and his friends. I said Coldingham was to be rased at once. He said he had no other place to lie in and offered to fortify it against the Governor. I refused to let it stand to harbour enemies—but if he did us the service we know he can do, Coldingham would be recompensed. He asked to hear the Articles read, and then objected to that one viz. if the Queen married otherwise, he should be bound to serve the King against Scotland or elsewhere for pay, as too strait, offering to sign the rest, and get his brother, Bothwell, Glencairne, &c., to sign also. I refused to take less than the whole; when he asked a copy to show his friends, and answer in 8 days, if I spared Coldingham meanwhile. I agreed to the copy, but said he could answer in less time, when he pressed so earnestly that I at length said, if neither he nor the Humes removed anything, and he brought me his (at least), and the others' signatures in 8 days at farthest, I would give delay. He promised (seemingly) to draw his brother and the rest clean from the Governor, leaving him none but Argyll and the bishop of S^{t} Andrews, and do his utmost to put the Queen in our hands, if requited in England for his lands, which I have guaranteed with my own lands, hoping your grace will discharge me thereof. Ormiston also offers to remain prisoner, and suffer death if this be not done. And though I know him not as your grace doth, it seems he means truly, and I have resolved to prove him—and if he keep not promise, "the very next day Coldingham shall downe," and himself smart for it. Norham Castle.

Postscript: While ending, I have your letter to Lord Warwick, that as the French King minds to send 1000 Almaynes in garrison: to rase Coldingham before they "nestle" there, and take the timber to Aymouth for the works there. As my promise was past before receipt, I beseech your grace, as the man is unknown to me, to suffer me to prove him, and if he deceive me now, he shall never do so more, "nor peradventure many others herafter." And doubt not if the Almaynes come sooner, I shall rase it before they get in. There is little timber, "for the roof is vaultes," and there is no carriage—if need were. As for garrisons, I have forborne, as the lords and gentlemen are unwilling, having no provision but what they buy, to have the same eaten by men in possession of their own houses, and many quarrels might ensue: but they will defend them against the Governor unless he brings an army, when they will ask our aid. Besides our horsemen are very ill mounted and would need more than 8*d.* a day: their horses are not worth 10*s.* a piece at home, and I dare not place them out. I beseech your grace to send a commission to Yorkshire, "nether to busshop nor prest," but such as I shall name, to raise fresh horses and men, and your pleasure as to Colding-

Edw. VI.
1547. ham in case Douglas keep his word. I hear that his coming in has frightened them in Scotland and that the Bishop of Dunkeld is to come to me. If he does, what further points shall I stand on with him, besides the marriage? *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

7 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 15. **58.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have been at Roxburgh, Hume, Aymouth and Ayton. At Roxburgh the works well forward, as a "platt" by the surveyor will show your grace. The chief want is a brewhouse, for this country being "rooten grownde," their daily travel to Hume and other places wears out the poor people's carriages drawn only by oxen. Home is in good case. At Aymouth there is a bulwark and 2 curtains, but some thing more is needed to cover the flank from Coldingham. The labourers having neither victuals nor pay, daily go off, and no marvel! for my own household men and men at arms leave me "for the countreys sake"—praying your grace, if such come to court, without my passport, to correct them and thus deter others. At Ayton I have placed horsemen, with allowance for the roof, to lie dry.

The lords and others are now content to receive our garrisons, if helped with victuals, &c., which are wonderfully dear. Praying your grace for the commission to Yorkshire named in my last. I am told many of the Humes will now come in, and those that hinder others or are slack, I shall give them the "spoore." Sir Andrew Dudley and Sir John Luttrell are in good enough case. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Oct. 17. **59.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO LORD GREY OF WILTON.

Having written to the Archbishop of York to send the Lord Grey of Scotland's brother to you, who has been "now a good space in his custodie," whose delivery is required by his brother, you shall on his arrival take his own bond for 2000 crowns to re-enter on a month's notice, and thereon let him go. Hampton Court.

1 *p. Draft corrected by Petre.*

(1) Another draft in Petre's hand to like effect—Lord Grey to exhort him as to the favour he has received.

1 *p. Indorsed:* "M. to the Lord Gray of Wilton. October 1547."

Oct. 17. **60.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.

The bearer "Sandy Whitlawe" having in your behalf moved us to send home your brother, we are content to license him, hoping he shall be encouraged by you to do good service. As to the other matters proposed by said "Sandy," we could not find the writings that have passed between us, and therefore beg you to consider what you propose in the King's service, and what aid you require, and on advertising us, we shall reply with diligence. Hampton Court.

1 *p. Draft corrected by Petre. Indorsed:* "M. to the Lord Gray of Scotland. October 1547."

Edw. VI.
1547. Oct. 18. **61.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

As when the water rises in winter, no carriages can pass, and there is also such scarcity of horsemeat and victuals, that my men at arms and demi-lances will be unfit for service in spring, I mean (if your grace pleases) to remove to Warkworth Castle till then. As there is great disorder in Berwick for want of a marshal, I beg your grace to name some meet man. Sir George Douglas sent his servant "Sym a Ponanger" for a safe conduct for himself and 200 men. I have given one for him and 30 or 40 persons, promising to do as I see occasion on meeting. He sent me word (as his man says) if I follow his advice, he durst warrant delivery of the Queen. Whether his master "daly," or the servant adds, I cannot tell. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 20. **62.** SOMERSET TO GREY OF WILTON.

In answer to your letters of 13th and 15th (1) we agree for the brewhouse of Roxburgh, that you cause the surveyor, or Revel the master carpenter, to take thither the frame made for Warke, and that you have a couple of the mills at Berwick one for wheat, the other for malt; (2) as your works are well forward, you may "pluck" from Roxburgh 200 labourers, paying 100 off, and sending the rest to Eymouth—also send the horsemen at Hume to Lang Edrame; (3) the piece of ground at Eyemouth (no great thing as we remember), may be scraped down to the rock and thrown into the sea, if Sir Richard Lee's plan is not taken.

On the Laird of Ormeston's report of those Lothian gentlemen who are against us, you shall set our Border friends of Merse and Teviotdale, &c., to seize their cattle, burn their corn, and drive them either to seek favour, or unable to hurt us. Finally we shall keep your "chauntrey" in remembrance, and at our next council meeting "Sonday comming," we shall speak of your 200 fother of lead, and move them likewise to give you 50*l.* of land in token of the King's good will, till a better thing come, and ourselves shall promove it to our best power. Shene.

8 *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "xx° Octobris, M. to my lord Gray de Wilton."

Oct. 20. **63.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

George Douglas with the Lairds of Brumpston and Langton came here to-day. Asking him on the articles, he said he liked them right well, saving the article binding him as the King's subject, if the Queen were otherwise married. He also showed me that he had a "stipend" from the Queen of 1000 crowns, and as much from the French King. And the Governor had lately offered him an abbey of 1000 crowns yearly, but he did not go near him nor would not. After discussion, at last seeing no remedy, he made his oath on the Testament, and signed them as others have, but yet sues your grace by me, to mitigate that article, or his brother, &c., will not come in. I said you would not, for no others had been released, when he begged me

Edw. VI.
1547. to keep it secret; for if his signing be known, he could not work his friends or stay near the Governor. He agrees to my rasing Coldingham if I see any danger, and has put in writing his scheme of invasion and private requests, which I enclose, and intends to go with and guide us, advising dispatch, while the Governor and the lords are at division.

I enclose also schedule of our forces, begging your commission to levy fresh men, and warrant for money to the Treasurer for pay, &c.

The Laird of Langton brought two letters from Earl Bothwell, one to your grace, which as requested in the other, I send herewith. He asked assurance till he came in, which I refused, but offered him a safe conduct to come and see me, when I would do as I found him.

I hear my cousin Sir Andrew Dudley and Sir John Luttrell are as yet not attacked—but shall make 4 ships ready in case they are. Hume of Eyton moves earnestly by Douglas and others for assurance, even offering his body and all he has to your mercy, saving life. But I refuse despite his moan, till I learn your pleasure. As I have few gentlemen here, and these matters import somewhat by credit, I beg your grace to commit the credit and carriage of your letters hither to my friend M^{r} Bannester. Norham. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Note of the forces.)

Sum of the whole garrisons, 1528. Men and horses fit for service, 940. Men unfit, 80. The "evill" horses, 588.
Fair copy.

(2) Device by Sir George Douglas for invading Scotland, within a month or six weeks at furthest.

(1) The force to be 6000,—2500 of them horse, and the rest footmen mounted; (2) artillery not heavier than demi-culverins; (3) victuals for 4 days, harbouring in these towns—

I lord Grey with 4000 men to Jedburgh—12 miles, and remain one night. The lairds of Ferniherst, Cesford and others of East Tyvydale, to be sent for and bind themselves to aid the King's service. The next march to Selkirk and Hawick 2 miles apart, and 10 from Jedworth. Like commands to Buccleugh and the gentlemen of West Tyvydale and Ettrick forest. The third day, march to Peebles, where Lord Hay of Yester, sister's son to Douglas, and now prisoner here, is sheriff of the shire and principal of the town. Who will submit himself, and if let home on pledge, will victual and house us. The 4th day to Lanryke, chief town of Clydesdale, where the Governor is sheriff—the warden of the West Marches to meet me there with the rest of the force. No Hamilton to be received, or any other but on pledges. Here he hopes to bring in Angus, Cassillis, Glencairne, and Lord Boyd, if the strait clause in the articles hinders them not. Here are two castles of the Governor's, Hamilton and Nethen, which last being stronger, stands on a "sand and cole grounde," and may be won he thinks. The fifth journey to Glasgow, 12 miles, the bounds and "rowme" of the Earl of Lennox. The Bishop's castle there must be won and the Earl as most fit, left to keep it. The sixth journey to

Edw. VI. 1547. Stirling, 18 miles, giving the Dowager assurance in the castle (if she asks it) with the Queen. Then to Lythco, win the palace, where he thinks Scottishmen may be found to keep it for the King. Then return homewards by Edinburgh, persuading the lords to go to Stirling and treat with the Dowager for the marriage. If she refuse, to blockade her in the castle, and 10 days will starve her—if fled, it may be won by cannon. She and the Governor can only fly to Dunbarton or Argyll. Or here is another plan—I to go by Jedworth, Melrose, Lauderdale, Dalkeith, Newbottle and Leswade, to Edinburgh. Lennox and the Warden of the West Marches by Lanryk to Glascoo, burn the Governor's country—remain till they hear, or meet at Stirling, and though we miss the Queen, the country from England to Forth will fear us.

He thinks this the best way to get the Queen, for otherwise before spring, the Governor will bring the country to obedience, and put our friends down—the rather as he expects 50,000 crowns (which they "brute" as 100,000) and 10 gentlemen from France, to arrive on the west by S^{t} Martins tide at furthest.

He advises a garrison in the town of Dunbar, and as I have already protected some of them, they may lie well enough there, notwithstanding the castle—and if Bothwell comes in, another at "Herington" and elsewhere in Lothian to the number of 4000 men, which will deter the French King from sending men. For contenting them to aid the King's affairs, Lennox should have 500 men, Angus, Cassillis and Glencairne 100 each, and Boyd and the sheriff of Ayr, 50 each. Then on suppressing bishoprics and abbeys, take back the men, and in lieu give Lennox the bishopric of Glasgow, and each of the others an abbey, and thus save the King's purse.

George Douglas's own requests.

(1) To have 1000*l.* sterling given him in 15 days, to support himself and friends, &c., and 500*l.* sterling yearly paid at Berwick or Norham; (2) his friends protected; (3) the goods, "sylkes," money, &c., he left with his host at Berwick, restored to him; (4) to have the keeping of Eymouth fort, and Coldingham protected; (5) his corn, &c., lately taken by the army, paid for. If he keep not his part, to be held as a rebel.

This man will not be gained without money—but for his 1000*l.*, I will make him take 1000 marks. His host can discharge his goods on your grace's order, being sufficient enough. For Eyemouth, he will take recompense. For my opinion of the man, I judge him by outward appearance to mean faithfully, and my spy reported that he went not to the Governor, in case of capture.

9 *pp. Fair copy. Indorsed* (by Thynne): "From my lord Grey to my lord Protector the xxth of October 1547."

[1547.] Oct. 20. **64.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have licenced the bearer M^{r} Harbarte one of the men at arms of Boulogne, to sue your grace for part of the ransom of Monsieur de Trayes, and pray your favour for him, sending him back within 14 days. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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1547. Oct. 20.

65. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

On receipt this day of a letter from Sir Andrew Dudley, I have "prested" 30 harquebusiers, and will send them to him under command of Pompeo a Spaniard. Artificers, tools, timber, &c., shall be sent him without delay; also powder, munition, and 100*l.* for his men's pay. Basing, the captain of the *Phenix*, reports that on his way hither, he saw the victuallers bound for Broughty pass in a great storm. I hope they are arrived. I await my commission from your grace. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

George Douglas has arrived at the end of this letter—whose proceedings I shall report to-morrow. Your grace's letter of 16th came a little before him.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 23.

66. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

In case your grace mistakes my late schedule showing 100 unfit men, and 588 horses, I thought requisite to say that the owners of these 588 unfit horses, be Yorkshire men, too poor to remount themselves. Wherefore your grace's commission must be to levy 688 horsemen, as I have discharged that number. There are here but 840 able men and horses. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 23.

67. GLENCAIRN TO SOMERSET.

I sent to Lord Wharton to be presented to your grace, a note of commissioners, with ample powers to treat of peace and marriage, and their day appointed: but before the day, a French gentleman with fair words, altered the Queen and Governor's purpose, as their custom has ever been, "to our greit skaith." So Cassillis, George Douglas, and the Sheriff of Ayr, three of the number, came to Edinburgh, expecting to depart "one the morne," and desired their safe conduct. The Governor and Queen said it was forgotten in Stirling, and when sent for, could not be found. So these three departed with displeasure, as your grace will learn from George Douglas who has spoken "or now" with my lord lieutenant on this and other affairs. Your grace has laboured well in the east parts, as the Merse, &c., and in the south, as Annandale, Ewesdale, Liddesdale and great part of Nithsdale, and has some well willers in Over Nithsdale, Clydesdale, Galloway, Kyle, Cuningham, Carrick, Renfrew barony, Stirling shire and the Lennox—all adjacent countries south of Forth water—yet there is a little house Crawford-John, that if won, would help to bring in these last countries. It stands 3 miles from the head of Clyde, the same from the water of Ayr, and 8 from the heads of Irving and Nith waters. Your grace's "cart" will show this calculation true, or near it. "The hous is wele ludgit within, bot it is of na strynth, for the barmekyn beand wyne, the hous is gottin." Angus's folks won it from the Governor two or three years ago.

I and other friends of my lord of Lennox here, are waiting for his coming, and have done nothing because we were "unswre" of it. Seeing the great benefits he has had from the late King "quhom God

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1547. assolyie," which he can never acquit but by his service "rather in thir partes nor any uder" for the godly purpose, it may please your grace to signify your counsel therein; and as Cassillis, the Sheriff of Ayr and I are far from my lord lieutenant, to send one commissioned to speak with us, and make an end of these causes. Dowquhall. *Signed:* Erll of Glencarn.

1¾ *pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Oct. 23. **68.** GLENCAIRN TO LENNOX.

I received your letter by Patersone, and have been as vigilant as possible. "Na thing laikis bot your presens." Cassillis and the sheriff of Ayr "ar to you as I am." The Lennox is your own, and all Renfrew except the "Simples." George Douglas has spoken with the lieutenant, and I with him, "and taikis him one hand to be of your lordschipis partie." As for Angus, I doubt not he will be sure, but have written with your servant to him, who will inform you at length. Remember the noble house ye are come of, and the late King's goodness, and you may now do great service to God. And if you come not now, your friends will never look for you. Ye "myster"* none with you, but the assured men "sik as Closburne, Lag, my baronrie of Glencairne, the captane of Crawfurd, and my lord of Angus folkis, and thir may bring yow saifelie anewche to our bondis"; when we will pass with you to Glasgow or Paisley. Answer me speedily, whether you are coming or not, and speed the bearer back, to whom give credence. Douquhall. *Signed:* "Yowris at powar," Erll of Glencarn.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[1547. Oct. 26.] **69.** SOMERSET TO GREY OF WILTON.

We have received your letters of the 20th, with thanks for the news therein. Beginning with the end, as requiring shorter answer, Hume of Ayton must submit himself and lands, &c., life only reserved, to the King's mercy, make oath and render himself, and you may say it will be better for him in the end. (2) You must see that Borthy Crag and St Combes Inch are duly furnished. (3) In reply to Bothwell's offer to repair to us on safe conduct, we are pleased you give him one, pressing Langton before hand for delivery of Hermitage, which ye may say will induce us to give him assurance and further benefits: but if merely brought to likelihood of success when he repairs to us, ye may send him, accompanied with some fit gentleman, and assure his own lands, and friends, on their coming in.

(4) As to Sir George Douglas—commending your wish to bring the man to truth and honesty: we pray you, and "eftsones" pray you again, to be marvellous wary and circumspect how you trust him, and to think that he means nothing but deceit, except you see manifest tokens to the contrary, and that not by words but plain deeds only. For if you knew him as well as we do, you would be advised ere you thought of him as you write. When you have weighed on one side his plan for invasion and on the other side his demands, you shall find him a good honest body and well meaning for himself, and full

* Need.

Edw. VI.
[1547. Oct. 26.] unhappily for you and the King's affairs! His plan will bring you to "the bouchery" and nothing else. You shall tell him, we marvel at his and his brother's quibbles, who promised to set the Crown of Scotland on the late King's head, and were chief beginners of the treaty. His sayings of the Governor's offer of an abbey, the pensions from France and the Scots Queen, are but for his own ends. We are not so ignorant but we can see the folly of taking 6000 men with but 4 days' provision into the heart of Scotland, trusting to him and his like to help in taking such places of strength as Glasgow, Hamilton, and Nethen, out of hand! and we disbelieve his statements about the Governor. If Sir George will set to work with the Governor and his brother to get possession of the young Queen, meanwhile delivering the castles of Dunbar and Edinburgh, ye may say it may sink into our head that he deserves favour, and it is the only way to maintain the Governor, whom we know he can direct if he likes. And if he cannot bring the Governor to it, then let him and his brother step to it, and aid the King's forces, delivering Temptallon Castle, to prove his honesty, which he can easily do, and let him see he has to do with men of wit and understanding.

As for Banestre—no one man is able to endure the speedy journey, so we forbear to send our letters but by the ordinary post.

Postscript: If George Douglas declines Temptallon as his brother has no other house—tell him Douglas is a good house: and they can be housed elsewhere by the King if need arise.

As it may be needful to advance the King's affairs soon, we pray you to warn Buccleuch, Ferniherst, Cesford and others now come in to you, to prepare their bands for service, and report to us their force of horsemen.

27 *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed* (by Thynne): "M. to my lord Graye the xxvjth of Octobre 1547."

1547. Oct. 27.

70. Grey of Wilton to Somerset.

The device for invasion lately sent to your grace must be given up this winter, for there has since been and still is such abundance of rain, the waters so high, and the ground so rotten, as has not been for many years, that neither horseman nor carriage can pass. And unless your grace give orders for beerhouses at the new erected "peeces," and rëenforce us with horses, we cannot help them, for the country carriages are "so utterly decayed and tyred" that they cannot serve us, or even bring home their corn, which yet lies in great quantity in the field, as they "right pytiously lament and bewayle."

On Saturday 29th our month ends, and having less credit here than whence I came, I pray your grace to remember our pay.

I had thought to proclaim in Teviotdale and the Merse, that none shall do homage or pay rent to the Governor or any Scotsman on pain of forfeiture, &c., and that the King is pleased for the scarcity, to supply them from Berwick with wheat and malt at reasonable price—but considering if they refuse to pay rent, their countrymen may harry them and drive them to revolt, I respite the same for your grace's resolution. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

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1547. Oct. 27.

71. ARTICLES GRANTED BY DUNDEE.

To Sir Andrew Dudley knight captain of the castle of Broughty Craig for King Edward the Sixth.

Binding themselves—to be faithful setters forth of God's word, true and faithful to the King as near as they can—to serve the garrison with necessaries at fair prices—to do reverence to, and anchor off Broughty castle, till searched for contraband—to suffer the English freely to the town, and warn them of danger—not to fortify against them, unless compelled by the Queen—to lock up their artillery—to resist the Governor, as far as they can, unless he comes with an army, when they may do as they are able and think best.

To these, the Provost bailiffs and council have sworn on the Holy Evangelist, till they know further of the King's and Lord Protector's pleasure, and affixed their common signet. Dundee. John Shrimgeur, cunstable and provest of Dundye, Rob^{t}. Andersone baylif of Dundye,* George Lovell baylif in Dundye, George Rollocke, Robart Michell, James Rollocke, Andrew Amand, James Watsone, James Lovell, John Streihmur, John Fothringham, Richard Rollocke, Alex^{r}. Paterson.

2 *pp. Contemporary copy. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[1547.] Oct. 30.

72. SOMERSET TO GREY OF WILTON.

In reply to your letter of 27th, "our lettres next before theis" show our opinion on the invasion. If our order for the brewhouse and mills at Roxburgh is not gone about, advertise us where the fault is. For more horses, you remember we devised to have 3 or 4 boats for water carriage, and require you to see it "put in ure." For pay, you must remember the King's charges elsewhere, and the garrisons are accustomed to forbear for 3 or 4 months—yet if you write to Wedall he can furnish you.

For the proclamation—you may proceed—for in this winter season the Governor or others can do little damage to our friends, and it will prove the latter's hearts towards us betimes.

3 *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

1547. Oct. 31.

73. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Ninian Cockburn was here yesterday, and I send your grace copy of his news. I have put in execution great part of your letters of the 23^{d} instant. The two boats to lie at Roxburgh are ordered. I shall appoint a marshal of Berwick to your grace's mind. I have ordered the Laird of Moontwhanny's taker to stay calling on him; and the taker of George Stirling some time captain of Dunbarton (a servant of Sir Thomas Dacres) to send him here. Within two or three days I hope to find who took the Laird of Luss, and give like order. I have received Lord Gray's brother and "Sandye" Whytlawe from the Archbishop of York, and told him to consider the ground at Broughty. I have given him a gelding, and they wait but a fair wind. Uvedale has not yet sent the 1000*l.* in crowns and "duckettes," but I have written for it, and will send it to Sir Andrew Dudley: desiring him

* "With my hand" *added* after this and the rest of the names.

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1547. and Sir John Luttrell also to report their estates, &c., to your grace. The rest of your instructions I shall perform with all diligence. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: I accept with humble thanks, your grace's remembrance of the "chauntrie," &c., more than if it were "foure doubble" at my own suit. As the stormy weather brings agues, and we may have men hurt in service, we need a good physician and surgeon, having but one who is "base and symple." We also need harness for demilances, and if it please your grace to send 100 or even 50 pair, I will answer their price or return them. Cockburn says, and I hear otherwise, that Huntly will promise you everything, but do nothing. So please keep him. Vouchsafe us one or two good preachers; these parts need them as much as Scotland, for the people know neither God nor the King, nor their laws.

3 *pp. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Cockburn's report.)

I saw Sir Andrew Dudley, then went to Fife and Angus, got the names and hands of many gentlemen there, which I have given him. They think it would be well to send a small force under Lennox to annoy the Governor in Clydesdale and take Glasgow, then you would have both East and West seas. The Governor never left Edinburgh Castle, save once to Leith, and on his return, "the wyffes war lyke to have stoned hym to death, they caused hym to take Saynt Gyles churche with hast, and there he past forth at the backe gate, and went to crysten the Lorde Bo[r]thwekes sonne, and the Earle of Bothwell with hym." They then returned to Stirling and remain there. The Queen asked him to give Dunbar, Dunbarton and Edinburgh Castles to the French King, and to take 12,000 crowns yearly from France. The Bishop of Dunkell is in Clydesdale to ask the gentlemen to await aid from France. They should have met this next Monday the last of October, but Angus and others have refused.

The Bishop of Galloway, Abbot of Dunfermline, and Prior of Pittenweem, with Launs Hamilton a friend of the Governor, heralds and pursuivants, have been all round Fife, and "rested" all the boats to siege S[t] Colmes Inch, on pain of treason. The poor men all refused, except two captains, James Dooge, and Peter Faulconer, saying if they fill their boats with priests and friars, they shall "rowe them in." I have warned Sir John Luttrell, who knows not whence it came. I "sett" not by his thanks, so he fare well.

The great men, &c. of Scotland, as Humes, Scotts and Carrs, press the Queen and Governor to let them assure with England, till they see help from France, when none shall turn sooner than they. The Fife men come not in to Dudley, but I have devised with Andrew Balfour laird of Mountquhanie, to enter with me at Norham, then we go down by sea, stir up the country about Broughty, then back by sea, and come home by land, as if from his entry.

The Governor, Queen and priests devise how to bring home their "poope and God," Huntly, bidding him say yea, and sign everything laid to him. That the French shall come in spring and destroy all favourers of the Word of God and England—"but there be verie fewe

Edw. VI.
1547. of them to dystroye." It makes one sore to see these gentlemen feigning themselves favourers of the Word of God "more for your pleasour, then for Godes sake!" There are ships preparing to wait for yours between S^{t} Colmes Inch, Broughty and Berwick.

There is a plan to steal Huntly to France or Flanders—so watch him, and keep this from him like fire from gun powder—also from the captain of Dunbar or any other.

3¼ *pp.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.*

[1547.] Nov. 1. **74. Sir Andrew Dudley to Somerset.**

The town of Dundee took assurance on the 27th October "with myche adoo." For I sent the *Bark Ager* and *Mary Hambrough* to beat them with ordnance, and made them believe more were coming and I would burn the town, &c. So I send the copy assurance, till the King and your grace take further order. The Controller of Scotland was in the town, and much displeased with it. Most of the honest and substantial men favour the Word of God and would be glad to become English, and being unwalled, to be fortified. Angus and Fife greatly desire a good preacher, bibles and testaments, and other good English books of Tyndale and Frithe's translation, which I pray your grace to send me, as I have promised a great "sorte." And a "bookbynder" might sell many here. Shall I suffer the Dundee men to travel to France, or French to them?

The "lord of Dunbar" was with me at 8 o'clock p.m. on Tuesday 25th October, as to his promise to you to receive the King's ships into Murrey, and for the Isles of Orkney and other enterprises whereon he communed with you; he has advised with George Douglas and other friends, who counsel him to kill the "* and some others, whereby the country should be had "gentlye." He offered to do this himself, and has long looked for our ships. If he does it, he cannot keep his day of entry, and would come to me to be taken to England.

I am in a weak house with a raw company, and have only got three months' victual, but such rotten biscuit and sour beer as was never had! I am in as much danger of my men as of the Scots—they cry out of the bad victuals, and have neither shirt nor hose, and many fall sick daily. There is much to do and few to do it. "Master John" the Italian is very sickly, but does what he can. I have but 2 ship-carpenters—one "stark lame," the other sick of ague. I have not a plank, or place to store victual in but one of the ships. My men lie together like swine as wet as in the field, and I can scant lie dry myself. The river is full of ships and boats of divers countries.

The Governor receives the customs of Dundee, but if your grace pleases, I would make them pay here, also for salmon fishing, &c., to help the King's charges, for there is great profit of such here. There is a pretty walled town above Dundee called S^{t} Johnstons, which might be had with a little help, besides many abbeys and houses of religion along the Tay within 10 miles and less, which might be had, and many gentlemen hereabouts have offered their help. Many fear if Huntly be set at liberty, he would make more mischief. Lord Gray was here late one night, offering to do anything for me. I took the Hamburgh men's ordnance—2 fair fawcons and some iron pieces, and munition,

* "Lord of . . . eys," carefully scored out here.

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[1547.] by indenture, lest the Scots got it. The pieces here are but the refuse of the ships, and useless. We have almost spent our powder and shot on Dundee, the ships trying to steal past, and the horsemen prickers along the hills. I have made the town bring me as much of the shot fired at them, as they can find. I would your grace gave me a fortnight or three weeks' leave to England, for I am out of money and "reyment." Scribbled in haste. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

4 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Damaged by damp.*

Nov. 2. **75.** LADY HOME TO SOMERSET.

"I haf beyn vere sair exseminit for the randering of the plais of Home," and my son and I have been accused of taking money, and other charges, too long to recount to your grace. I answered I marvelled they thought we could keep the "sobour barmking" of Home against your army, when all the nobles of Scotland could not keep the field! and bade them either "debait stoutlyer," or come to terms with your grace. I beseech you show favour as you promised, and let my son return home soon, for I have confidence in your truth. Some that should be friends, reproach my son and me, and said they could have treated better with your grace and kept the house. Whatever happens, your grace shall find more truth in us than them who have promised more. "And woll it lyk your grace to lat my son haf the plas of Hom in kepin, to he ma dantton* part of thes men that has schawin tham unfrendis at this tym"; it shall always be given up to you on your "privat wryting." The Queen and Governor have sent to all countries for support. If your grace do what I ask "ye sall not rew it."

I dare not let my lord my husband see your last writing about the rendering of Home, and the pledges. So if it please you to give me another, specifying that we shall but lose our own—molest neither English nor Scots, and if our army rises, to pass with them; my lord would assent to such reasonable assurance as others have gotten. I beseech your grace not to be "myscontent" at my desire, for my mind is good, as you shall know afterwards. Humbly beseeching your answer. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Mare l[ady] Hom.

2½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne): ". . . Menelson [a] Scott, to my lord Protector." *Sir John seems to have been puzzled by the signature.*

Nov. 2. **76.** SIR JOHN LUTTRELL TO WARWICK.

The Scots had rigged many ships and small boats to attack me this last "sprynge" the last of October; but meanwhile with 2 small boats and a pynnace "lyke the *Shulder of Mutton*," they have kept me in for 14 days, except when I went to seek fuel. Unless your brother good M[r] Dudley, had sent me the *Bark Ager* I could not have sent my letters to my lord Protector and you—for I have not seen the *Sacre* since I sent her to England 5 weeks past, and the *Double Rose* is little and open, and too weak for them—one being a ship of 80 tons, and the other was French John's boat of Rye, both well appointed. If I had a ship like the *Wyllyby*, I would soon employ her well, for there is such

* Overawe.

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[1547.] pestilence and famine here, if their river were strongly kept, they cannot hold out long. They murmur against the Governor, who has imprisoned Davyson of the Queensferry, because he would not man his ship against me without wages, as I hear from a Scot I took in a "colbote." The prizes I have lost would have paid all charges. A Scot is now gone in to Leith with Flanders wares—and I drove aground a ship of two tops, with the Governor's wine, &c., from France; also a Frenchman rescued a Scot with 25 chests of silk. These and more, I have lost for lack of a tall ship. Your brother is merry at Broughty, and has compounded with Dundee, but I am matched with such stubborn neighbours, "that yf I be a-colde, they gyve me leve blowe to my fyngers"—whose gentleness I hope to requite when the council gives me wherewithal. "Saynt Combys Ynche." *Signed:* John Luttrell.

After writing thus far, a Scot I sent by land to M^r^ Dudley brought news from Stirling, where Angus, &c. were at the council, now dispersed, save 700 men of James Doggys' band kept in pay by the charitable spiritualty's alms to cut our throats. He says the Border assured Scots have taken much cattle and burned the Governor's country, and Bothwell is to attack them with speed, whereof I have warned my lord Grey. Also 2 ambassadors will go to France and Denmark, to get 15000 foot and borrow 100,000 "duccatt" for their pay, with help of the noblemen, priests, and merchants, and ally the young Queen with Denmark rather than England. Praying you to declare this to my lord Protector, for his letter was already sealed. Angus passed Broughty castle and would have spoken with M^r^ Dudley, but his train was so great, the alarm was given, and in shooting over the hill a piece had almost slain my lady his wife. The Stirling council was chiefly to annoy M^r^ Dudley and me, so I trust we shall be well manned. If I can provide lime this winter, and finish my works for guns, no enemy shall have an easy landing here.

3½ *pp.* *Holograph.* *Address leaf lost.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Nov. 3. **77.** SIR JOHN LUTTRELL TO SOMERSET.

[*To the same effect.* Describing how the Frenchman of two tops was driven ashore near the chapel at Leith, and his pinnace would have taken her, but for the number of boats full of men that beat her off. Thinks his prizes would have been above 1000*l.*] S^t^ Colms Inch. *Signed:* John Luttrell.

4 *pp.* *Holograph.* *Address leaf gone.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

1547. Nov. 5. **78.** LAIRD OF LONGNIDDRY TO SOMERSET.

There is great peril of the Queen and Governor transporting our sovereign lady to France, and delivering our strengths to the French King; "for perinpleting" whereof, they are sending Sir Walter Ogilbe to ask for speedy help this winter. If I was provided of the rent I lost at your foray, I would attend Court to spy their doings. This I say in mind of what certain of your camp proposed to my wife, then being "in childerbed," and your grace's good wishes to the Laird of Ormistoun and me, and our constant faith in your proceedings.

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1547. We are yet without reward or amendment of our "sustenit skayths, willing your grace to tak this [nocht *] as movit of avarice, bot as trew familiare harty speitche." Waiting answer at your grace's pleasure. "Langnudrye (quhair your graceis camp did ly Wedd[insday afoir *] the battell)."† *Signed:* Langnedry.

Your grace will please give credence to the bearer as to myself.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* "xiiij^to^ Nov. . . . From the larde of Langwedry 1547. Hugh Dowglas."

[1547.] Nov. 6. **79.** SIR RALPH BULLMAR TO SOMERSET.

I beseech your grace to order Rydgewey the surveyor to apply more diligently to the works here. He comes very seldom, tarries but a short while, and we have neither brewhouse, bakehouse, kitchen nor gates, though he promised timber 3 weeks since. Nor have the wheat and malt mills and smith's forge, come yet, as your grace ordered for us, and he has often promised. And I would beseech by the bearer my servant if I shall have the 50 men I spoke for to your grace, as my lord lieutenant knows not of your pleasure. Roxburgh. *Signed:* Rauff Bullmar.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

1547. Nov. 8. **80.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

The Scots are said to be laying in garrison 150 horse at Lawther, and as many at Fawoest,‡ but I disbelieve it. Your grace thinks the 840 able men enough in this dead time of winter—and it is so for this side Tweed—but the 1000 you formerly appointed in Scotland cannot be furnished, nor, it I placed any of the 800 there, is there any "reskewe" at need, but the men at arms, and my band. Wherefore I await your pleasure. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[1547.] Nov. 9. **81.** ORMISTOUN AND LONGNIDDRY TO WARWICK.

As we were greatly "hurt in our cornis," &c., when your army was last here, we beg by you the lord Protector's safe conduct for our faithful friend and like sufferer, Robert Hammylton, to pass in England and France for necessaries, wines, &c., for this realm is empty of such wares. Also your lordship's license for our boats and craers, taking herring, white fish, and salmon, along the coast of Scotland from one port to another. Praying your pardon of our "haymlie request and desir, for war nocht our myndis ar derect to yow beyond ony othirs, we wald nocht request your lordschip sa haymlilie." We offer any service in our power, and ask credence for the bearer. Ormiston. *Signed:* Ormystoun, Langnedry.

1¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: indistinct.*

* MS. torn here. † 7th September.
‡ Fast Castle (?).

Edw. VI.
[1547.] Nov. 13. **82.** GRAY TO SOMERSET.

The places most needful for the King's affairs, are S^{t} Johnston on the Tay and S^{t} Andrews in Fife, and if taken, shall bring Fife, Angus and Stratherne under the King's obedience, and hold the north in check. They may be taken with 5000 men, if it be kept secret, with little loss. I am in great danger, for the Governor with aid of the kirkmen, proposes to attack me and my friends in Angus, so I beg your grace's help. Fowllis. *Signed:* Patryk lord Gray.

¾ *p. Addressed. Much injured by damp.*

Nov. 14. **83.** ORMISTOUN TO SOMERSET.

I came to Berwick "this xiij of November," and showed my lord lieutenant my opinion as he desired. I shall always be ready to do your grace service. The bearer will give the news of the country. Berwick. *Signed:* Ormystoun.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 14. **84.** SIR ANDREW DUDLEY TO SOMERSET.

As commanded by your grace's letter received on 10th, I paid Lord Gray of Scotland the 1000*l.* sterling received from my lord Grey of Wilton, on the 12th. He and the laird of "Monwennye" were with me late at night on 11th, on a plan to get S^{t} Johnstons, S^{t} Andrews, Dundee, &c. They think 1000 men now, would do more than 5000 in spring. They fear the French getting these places, and Stirling. M^{r} John the Italian, has been across the water and seen "a handsome place" to fortify. As commanded, I send your grace his plats of it, Broughty Crag, and Dundee. Lord Gray and Montquhany are in great fear of the Governor attacking them, and not 4 hours before writing this, I was told he was marching on Dundee to put down the favourers of God's word, and do no less to me. We will do our best, though not so strong as I would like. The *Phenix* brought your grace's letter and the 1000*l.* She was "sore spoyled with wether, and lost her bote." Four victuallers from Holy Island parted company in the storm, the wind at west, and west-south-west. It is thought they are in Shetland or Denmark. Broughty Crag. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Nov. 16. **85.** ANGUS TO RICHARD GRAHAM OF BERENTYNE.

"Cousing Richard." I write because I have no word of the errands I sent you on. I am come to my castle of Crawford this Wednesday 15th November to dress matters among my folks, and it is shown me by divers "that wes in Carlill on Satterday" and heard it, as this bearer will tell you, that it was proclaimed free to all men to ride on these my servants, viz. the lairds of Skyrling, Boneintoun, Cowinttoun, Carmychell, Le, Glasben and Jariswode, the town of Lanark, &c., too long to write, and nothing "fre" but my own heritage. Advertise me with diligence if this be true, "for gyf I want

Edw. VI.
[1547.] ane boy of myn on assurit," I will have none for myself, but be "at my awantage. I will tak na schame now in my ald dayis, for I hawe skaithe anewche elles." If Cowinttoun and Carmichel is in Car[l]jill with the Captain of Crawfurd at "makin of this byll," advertise them to come home with diligence as my trust is in you. "At my Castell of Crawfurd." *Signed:* Ar[d] erl of Angus.

1 *p.* *No address.* *Indorsed:* "The Erle of Anguishe to Richard Graham of Berentyne." *Stained by damp.*

Nov. 16. **86.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

The laird of Ayton will gladly be received, but being poor and needy, asks 6 weeks' respite to prepare to come to your grace. His sureties are Cesford, Ferniherst and Sir George Douglas. The last sent me a letter from his son, of the Governor's resolve to appoint garrisons to molest our new assured men, as the Laird of Blacketer.

I have before signified to your grace by letters and my servant Myles, that the West March lairds as Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, lords Boyd and Greme, Sheriff of Ayr, &c. desire to have assurance and will sign the Articles except the point of the Queen's marriage elsewhere. Sir George Douglas laments and with good reason, he is discredited by your grace and the country, except the Governor and he are privately united for deep purposes that no eye may pierce. He desires that Lord Hay of Yester his kinsman, may be "losened" home on sureties. My servant Myles will show your grace his demeanours and doings. The rest will do as he doth.

The East Border lairds are on Saturday to report their numbers for the King's service. The nature of Scots is too hard to understand, and slow to answer. Buccleuch said sickness kept him from coming to me.

The King has few enemies in the Merse except in the castle of Dunbar, as Ormistoun reports.

The French ambassador is repairing home. I hope in 3 days to learn his purpose. I enclose letters just come in from Ormistoun and Brunston. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

3½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Damaged by damp.*

1547. **87.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.
Nov. 16.

I beseech your grace to issue your warrant to the treasurer of Boulogne for the men at arms' wages from 12th August to 1st October last, in recompense of their hurts and loss of horses in the late battle, as my servant Mylles can declare with other things. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547.] **88.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.
Nov. 17.

I have now at 8 p.m. received letters from Ormistoun and Brunstoun, which I send your grace, with a note of intelligence my espial now brought to me. I have therefore returned Rede the lieutenant at Warke, to his own country, with 40 harquebusiers, and furnished

Edw. VI.
[1547.] him with all necessaries for defence. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Ormistoun and Brunston to Grey of Wilton.)

We have this Tuesday at our home coming, got sure knowledge by our servant from Edinburgh, that the bishop of Dunkeld has taken 2 cannons out of the castle to Leith—so secretly that none know where they are going. We think it must be to Broughty Crag or Sanct Colmis. It is great discouragement to your godly affairs to see such daring. Other news is, that the Queen, the Governor and lords of their party, will be in Edinburgh on the 16th instant. Ormistoun, 15th November. *Signed:* Ormystoun, Bronistoun.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Damaged by damp.*

(2) (Nynian Cockburn's report.)

The Council desired their first day, to take all the "juelles" and "challesses" of the church to support the war: the kirkmen fear they will next seek the temporal lands. Next morning the Queen said she with the Governor's advice, had written urgently to France for speedy help, and if not they would do the best for themselves with England. Argyll and other lords advised meantime harrying the assured Scots: but it was resolved to besiege Borthy Crag, the bishops and kirkmen giving 5000*l.* Scots towards it. Argyll promised to join, so soon as he had pacified the Isles, 300 soldiers were "feyd," and 2 cannons and a bastard culverin are landed this day at Arbroath. The Governor is gone this day from Stirling to "Seynt Jones," to raise the Fife and Angus men, and the Bishop of Dunkeld to Fife. I have warned Sir Andrew Dudley, who is glad they are coming. Bothwell is uncertain, though the Queen and Governor have given him good words and promised him "meny wott wattes." I shall know his purpose ere three days pass. "John a Clyddesdale" has gone in anger from the Governor to Carlisle. Sir Walter Oglebye knight is sent by the Queen and Governor to France—stay him if ye can. There are not above two assured Scots who do not depend on the Court or some great man, so that their doings are but "under a couller." If the unassured Scots were troubled speedily, it would waste the kirkmen's 5000*l.*, and they would get no more till it come from France. 17th November. Nynean Cockborne.

Postscript: The only men to be trusted are—the lairds of Montwannie in Fife, and of Ormestone in "Loden."

I know all the other landed men of Scotland, but dare write nothing of their truth.

4 *pp.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.* *Injured by damp.*

Nov. 17. **89.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

My cousin Andrew Dudley writes that he has found great friendship in Mr Andrew Balfour of Montquhany, the bearer's kinsman, and

Edw. VI.
[1547.] begs me to desire your grace's favourable letters to France by him, on behalf of certain gentlemen taken in S[t] Andrew's castle, for whom great lamentation is made in Angus; who, if returned home, might do his Majesty high service. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

¾ *p. No address. Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Injured by damp.*

1547. Nov. 19. **90.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I send your grace intelligence received this day of the French doings: that you may order the apprehending of those accused. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Nov. 21. **91.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Buccleuch and his son have promised to be with me in 10 days: he is not yet recovered to health. He and the other lairds will shortly report what men they "can make" for the King's service. He sends me for certain—that Bothwell by the old Queen's command is lately sworn to the Governor and Council, wherefore if your grace command me, I will "skorge" him through his tenants—and that on the 19[th] hereof, Argyll with 10,000 men from the north came before Broughty.

The Italians I am sending there, were nearly drowned to-day at Berwick, in a small boat going to the ship. They lost an oar, and if they had not been rescued by another boat, would have been driven over the bar and lost. If wind serve, they are dispatched again to-night. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[1547.] Nov. 24. **92.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I hear by my spy, that Bothwell who had of the Scottish Queen an abbey and 2000 marks Scots, talked with the Laird of Lanketon [Langton], who parted from him in anger, seeing the earl was declining from his promise to England.

On 23[rd] instant, Dose the French ambassador, accompanied with one Hamelton a Scot "more owlde than wise," left for France at the west seas, where Sir George Douglas saw him embark. It is thought he goes to ask pay for 3000 horse, and 12,000 foot, which if his King gives, the strengths of Scotland and the princess to be at his pleasure —if not, the Governor and Queen to get what they can of England.

If Scotland again "have to do" with England, the Governor for his greatness must not dismount, but if he should remain mounted, the rest might fly: therefore he must appoint a lieutenant, and himself not come to the field.

The cannon against Broughty left Pittenweem [Pentenwyn] on 22[d] —the Governor was at S[t] Johnstons on 23[d], and is there yet. It is thought he will spoil the assured thereabout, besiege Lord Gray's house in Angus—who himself has gone over the "Mownte"—then besiege Burthe sharply.

Cockburn has asked me for a gelding to replace his own, and I think

Edw. VI.
[1547.] to give him one, for he has been useful. I gave one to Robert Cockburn Lord Gray's servant, as your grace willed me. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

"Postscripta": Mr Thomas Wyndam requires 100 more mariners for his ships, and I must also provide men for your grace's pinnace, within 4 days. I enclose a "billet" of her breadth and length, and beg your commission for the above and cables, anchors, &c., which are not to be had here. Wind for Burthe still contrary.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(The Lord Protector's pinnace.)

From the foreship to the stern, 39 feet "alofte," by the keel, 30 feet. At the mast, beam in breadth, 9 feet. Depth in hold [hole], 3 feet. She draws 3 feet water. The boat-swain will rig her in 4 days. He must have a 4-inch cable, 2 coil small ropes, 4 lb. twine, and "saile nedelles, lantarne and candell." She has 5 bases, but no powder or shot, which I will see furnished.

In same hand.

1547. Nov. 26. **93.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I send your grace the "doble" of letter received this day from Sir John Luttrell by his servant: who begs your grace to remove from St Colm's Inch the *Doble Rose* pinnace, and instead to send one or two ships like the *Bark Anchar.* His messenger reports the munition there—4 sakars, 4 fawcons—a "hole" iron culverin,—broken at the mouth—a demy culverin full of honey combs "and blow," that none dare shoot—14 bases, refuse and nought—6 port pieces and fowlers—3 barrels of powder. A reasonable supply was before sent, and lost as I reported. On Monday last the like was dispatched for Borthe. Pompero the Spaniard and his company was on board, and 2 of the 3 vessels are perished. They escaped from one, and arrived about "Shalles."* I have ordered their speedy dispatch again from Newcastle. Though Sir John complains of victuals, the surveyor says he has 3 months at least. It may please your grace to give orders therein, &c. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Damaged by damp.*

Nov. 29. **94.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

This instant I have a joint letter from the Earl of Lennox and Lord Wharton, that your grace has appointed the Earl to lead the assured Scots on the West March, also signifying, as if your pleasure, that he should have these other Borders and a number of my harquebusiers. It seemed strange to have this from Lord Wharton, and not your grace; but it may please you to consider if it might be convenient to draw hither discharged men from Boulogne, Guines, &c., well trained in war, who would serve the said Earl better than the

* Shields.

Edw. VI.
1547. raw and rude men of the country—rather than withdraw these harquebusiers, and thus weaken my men at arms, with whom they serve. Praying your grace to take in good part my simple opinion. I enclose news from Scotland. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: Sir John Luttrell being in such need, I have sent to him certain pieces in lieu of what is wanted in the bill addressed to your grace, as it may be the Governor after Borthe, may return by S^{t} Colm—and dispatched the same through Anderson by a Newcastle ship.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Cockburn's intelligence.)

On 27th November the Earl Bothwell sent the laird of Elphinston [Alfestoone] and Oliver "Seyntcler" to the Governor at S^{t} Johnston, asking a commission that he may "halde purpoose" to London for weal of the Governor and his friends; but still awaits their return at Edinburgh. He intends to be at Langton on 30th and will ask assurance for Lord "Boythwicke": your lordship may answer him, that Lord Borthwick is "unconstante" and changes as the Governor pleases. It were well you spoke with Lord Bothwell to save the siege at Borthe Crag, but "siste" as yet—the guns being with the bishop of Dunkeld on Fife side. They "rewes" the siege, which began this last Saturday or Sunday, if it holds. The Governor is there with the lords Graym, Revan, Roughthouse,* Marchell, Glamys and Oglebye. Lord Gray is over the "Mount," and will not come to the Governor. The Bishops and their households are with the Governor. My brother, who brought me a good gelding from you, is gone to Fife to spy their preparations, and inform Brunston and Ormistoun, who will advertise you this night or to-morrow.

It were well the ships made as if to land at Lindores [Lounders] to draw the besiegers thither where their guns lie. The Queen, Governor, &c., with Argyll's support, intend to send horse from Edinburgh to ride on the assured Lothian lairds, as Calkar [Calder?], Ormeston, Bruntstone, Bernebowgell, Langnedere, Colston, Trayborne [Trabroun] and Humbie, who have no refuge unless you help Angus at Temptallon. George Douglas has "Cockburnes-pethe," and for a last refuge Coldingham and Berwick. The above lairds consulted quietly on Monday how to resist, and were for giving pledges, except Ormistoun. 'Yf we do that,' said he, 'for safetie of our houses and gooddes, we shall never be sett by, nor estemed with Englande, and also yf we sholde do that, Englande wolde not fayle to dystroye us without favour. And I saye' quod he, 'I will never consent thereto, what harme that ever followe.' The rest agreed, and will abide the Governor's displeasure. I see they all rest on the keeping of Broughty. I wrote before as your lordship "kennys," to Lord Warwick, to know if he has any writing of Sir Andrew Dudley's and mine, taken by Lord Rothes and "redemyd agayne"? I wrote how Sir George Douglas gave the last "Kyrelayson"† of the French, and "caused sperr" at him why he gave not more news and substantial counsel to

* Rothes.

† Kyrie eleison?

Edw. VI.
1547. your lordship? He said you gave him no credit, and I see he must either have credit, or he will "lye loose." The gentlemen of Scotland are backward in advising your lordship, and I know much might be done now to make them do what they have promised, and "I trowe they wante but sharpe puttyng on," and would ye proved them. Nynean Cockborne.

3½ *pp.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.*

Nov. 30. **95.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

A Scotsman Patrick Kynkayde came this day to me, showing great displeasure to the Governor and the captain of Edinburgh, for expelling his master captain of the castle in the late King of Scotland's time, and his own kinsman then constable under him, from their offices—also his present master "expulsed" by the Governor from the bishopric of Dunkeld now held by his brother the Abbot of Paisley. In revenge he offers to deliver the castle, captain, &c. by means of the porter his familiar and fellow under the old captain, who is ready on notice, to open the gates to any band of Englishmen he brings. He asks for reward 1000 crowns. He has dealt with the keeper of the Grey Friars port, a poor man, to let him pass secretly at night to see a woman he loveth without the town—and hopes to get the keys from him the night of the attempt, or else be let in and then kill him. I to send 50 horsemen from Hume Castle, to arrive soon after midnight "at a cawsye on Borowmore," half a mile from Edinburgh, where he will meet and bring them in by the Gray Friars port "a close way lytle inhabyted with peple," to the Castle gates. After getting in by the porter's assent, and making it sure behind them, they shall be let through all other gates by the porter's keys, and find no obstacle but chamber doors, easily broken with pieces of timber, of which there are plenty. The plan is not dangerous—the castle victualled for 100 men for a twelve month—only 8 men there in absence of the Governor, and 20 when he is there. There are but 3 watchmen, who trust the gates wholly to the porter. It seems feasible enough, but I advertise your grace first, and have given him encouragement, promising further reward on success. If your grace approve, there are men enough at Hume and here; the most should be strangers led by these captains, Pellam and Bagshoste my servant. Alexander Pringle Scotsman now with your grace, were a good guide, whom if you approve, send me with all haste, for I hear the Governor and Queen mind to lay a garrison there, who perchance shall keep better watch.

I am often doubtful in my proceedings, for your grace does not answer my letters, for the weightier affairs of parliament, but I beseech you have me in remembrance. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

3½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[1547.] Nov. 30. **96.** SIR ANDREW DUDLEY TO WARWICK.

The Scots came 22d November, 3000 horse and foot. Their ordnance is 2 c[annons], a culvering 2 sakars, a "bysard," and some small pieces out of Dundee. I skirmished with them day and night,

Edw. VI. [1547.] with loss on both sides. Mr Nytigat and Mr Dr[ewry]* captains of the *Mary Hambrough* and the *Phenix* served well, the latter is shot through the leg with a harquebus. My master gunner slain with a piece. I drove them out of their trench, and had won their ordnance, but for want of help and good soldiers. My munition is sore wasted, some of my guns broken, and my victuals and drink consumed with the 100 extra men from the ships. The ships for 7 days have only foul water to drink. They trenched hard to the walls, summoned me thrice, and battered down a piece of the tower. Their guns across the water drive ships from the road. I hear nothing of Lord Gray of Scotland, and trust he means truly. Broughty Crag. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Damaged.*

Nov. 30. **97.** The Council to Grey of Wilton.

Instructing him in reply to his letter of 26th—to do what he can for Sir John Luttrell, cautioning him to save his powder—reinforce him with 20 or 30 Bishopric men—and do the best with the *Double Rose*—that Grey keep down the King's charges for new levies—impede passage of Frenchmen without instructions from London—send the captains who lie at Newcastle back to their duties on the Borders or in Scotland—also to punish Buccleuch for his "wynkering," and Angus and his brother; advertising Wharton to do what he can commodiously therein.

2 *pp.* *Corrected draft.* *Indorsed.*

[1547. Nov. .] **98.** Sir Ralph Bulmer to Somerset.

My spy brings me these evil news—On Saturday last there was "barked" at Leith for Broughty Crag, 2 cannons, a demiculverin and a "bastard norman" with 160 soldiers. Gey Hambleton captain with 600 more men, on Tuesday last began the trench for his ordnance. Since which time our ships have slain 48 of his men, which so grieves the Governor, that he commands on pain of death, the gentlemen thereabout to go to the siege. Only Lord Gray "that aught" Borthy before, is come with 8 small pieces. Angus lies in Douglas dale, the Governor in St Johnstons, and answers the people who complain to him, that he cannot amend it. We do what we can here making rampires and bulwarks, but none of the houses, &c., ordered by your grace, nor the mills or forge to be here within 7 days of your departing, is here. The storehouse is made, but is a "quartar naiked" for lack of slate, whereby also the slaters cannot make up the walls, and the timber rots. I have brought timber from Kelso, "whitche hayth maid a ruffe† at the Freraige, wherby thre fayr vautes ar saved, whitch will serve for xxti horses." And have caused them set up a warding house at the gates, which is better than sitting idle.

I beseech your grace order the timber from Warke for the houses, &c.: I have called so often, I am thought busy and forward, but care not if I do your grace's commands. Bringing victuals from Berwick

* Torn off. † Roof.

Edw. VI.
[1547. Nov. .] will be a sorer charge this winter, than to have brought the timber at first. One horse would carry malt on his back that would make as much beer as 6 oxen and 2 horses can draw in a cart—thus saving the King's money. For a horse only costs 2 groats, while a wain stands in 4*s.* charges—besides breaking the vessels and drinking the beer on the way. So that some lack 8 inches and others 10 inches of their "gaige." Roxburgh. *Signed:* Rauff Bullmar.

3 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[Nov. .] **99.** MUNITION FOR S[T] COLMS INCH.

Note of ordnance, &c. which Lord Grey has commanded the master of ordnance at Newcastle (if he have them) to deliver to Sir John Luttrell's servant.

Extracts.

Portpieces, 3; fowlers, 3; bases, 6; an iron or brass culverin; serpentine powder, 1 last; corn powder, 1 barrel; shot:—for culverins, 100; for demi-culverins, 100; for sacres, 150; for falcons, 150; for portpieces and fowlers, 200 of stone shot. Lead for bullets, 1 "sowe." Harquebuses, 40; pikes, 40; bills, 40; leather powder bags, 6; whipsaws, 2; axes, 6; hatchets, 4; lanterns, 10.

1¼ *pp.* *Written by Grey's clerk.* *Indorsed.*

1547. Dec. 2. **100.** WHARTON TO THE ASSURED SCOTS.

For the gentlemen, officers and heads on the west parts of Scotland, entered to the King's service.

Commanding them to muster their horsemen at Dumfries next Sunday night, where Lennox and his son, Henry Wharton, shall give them orders. Carlisle. T. W.

½ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Damaged.*

[1547.] Dec. 15. **101.** THE ABBOT OF DRYBURGH TO WARWICK.

Notwithstanding I sent David Pringill to your lordship to defer my re-entry till your lordship spoke with the Council—which you granted—my lord Warden of the West Marches has written demanding payment from my sureties of the 500*l.* sterling wherein they are bound. As he wrote to me that if I laboured the relief of the Master of Rothes, Master Henry Balnavis, the Laird of Grange and others he specified, my entry should be respited. I have sued my mistress the Queen's grace, to write to the King of France, and trust to succeed,—I pray your lordship sue the Council to respite my entry till answer from France, and a convenient time to pay the sum to your brother who was my taker, now in Brochte, to whom I shall pay with better will "nor the half to ony odir." Pardon my "sempilnes that faschis" your lordship with my poor business. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Dribrugh.

1 *p.* *Addressed.*

Edw. VI.
[1547.] Dec 18.

102. ANGUS TO SIR ANDREW DUDLEY.

I received your writing the 16th of December here, and thank you for your kind offers. Anent my assurance—I have assured my kin, friends, &c., with the lieutenant, but my bands are so great, I cannot specify names, trusting you to be "fryndfull" to Pettye Lyon, James Andersone and my servants of Arbroath. I shall use them all as ye do. The Queen and Governor warned me to the siege of the King's house of Broughty. I showed them that business kept me; they sent special of the Council offering me great rewards, but I made my servants stop away, all except 60 honest men on this side of "Frithe." While he* was at the siege, I had a post running daily from my lands of Abernethy, to see how you fared, and held my answer, which I shall show you at our meeting. I should have been with you "or now," but for Lennox, who "gard" us believe he was coming forward, but went back. I have appointed friends to convene the 18th instant and set him forward, and "man" advertise him by two of my honest friends, as Glencairn, Cassillis, Boyd or Crechtoun, of all purposes three days afore. This is the principal stop that holds me back, then I shall be with you with diligence. Send anything you would advertise to Arbroath, and they will haste it to me. Douglas. "Your cussyn, lord Erle of Anguish."

1½ *pp.* *Copy by Dudley's clerk.* *Addressed:* "To my right trustie coosyn Schir Andrew Dudley knight." *Indorsed.*

(1) Another copy in same hand.

1547. Dec. 18.

103. LAIRD OF MONTQUHANY TO SOMERSET.

Since my lord Gray wrote to your grace, the Lord of Rothes sheriff of Fife, has taken on hand to keep the coasts of Fife against your army, and is a great enemy to the King's and your godly purpose, and specially to me, "becaus of my freyndis and barnis quhiche ar banest in Frans (as your grace dois know)." If your grace would send 400 or 500 horsemen here, and help these banished gentlemen, I would bring Fife to you, for part must be compelled. I have a sister's son called John Wemys, who married the Governor's half sister, taken prisoner in Newcastle, who favours you, and will do your commands if he return home. I pray your grace that he may have reasonable ransom, and give credit to the bearer. Montquhany. *Signed:* Master Balfowr off Montqwhani.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Address leaf lost.* *Indorsed.*

[1547.] Dec. 18.

104. THOMAS WYNDAM TO SOMERSET.

Seven days after leaving your grace, I came to Norham, and by Lord Grey's order sailed from Holy Island with the victuallers and hacbutters for Burthe Crage, but the contrary wind drove us to Inchkeith [Ynscete] for 3 days. I landed at Colmes Inch, communed with Sir John Luttrell, and if the wind had held but 6 hours, would have burned a great village and much corn in the bay "ryght over agayne

* The Governor.

Edw. VI.
[1547.] ytt." So with the *Sayker, Double Rose* and victuallers, we sailed to Burthe Crage and found the siege raised. Next day the whole fleet came to anchor before Dundee, and after skirmishing and killing two or three Scots, they sent a flag of truce offering two hostages to perform the articles demanded by Sir Andrew Dudley, whom I received on board. If your grace garrisoned the town, we could keep it against all Scotland. If I had the 610 men appointed by your grace for the ships, Lord Grey and I could take and garrison S^{t} Johnston, and with 200 more and 50 gunners will leave neither town, village, nor fisher boat unburned from "Fyfe nase to Comys ynch." The ships are vilely manned, I am 120 men short, besides 80 sick I have sent to Master Woddalle, and 100 more unable to serve, having neither clothes nor money. I trust ere long to suppress an abbey or two on the Tay with the hacbutters, for I cannot go out with the *Bark Ager* nor *Mary Hamborough* till I get cables and anchors, which they lack, as the rest of the fleet does. The *Breste of Mutton* cannot serve before summer, in the foul and boisterous weather here, and the *Harry of Yarmouth* was damaged in a gale at Holy Island, so by Lord Grey's order, I took another the *Galliot of Yarmouth*, transferring to her 6 "basys" and the flag of the *Breste of Mutton*. "Att the ryver of Taye yn the *Barke Ager*." *Signed:* Thomas Wyndam.

4 *pp. Holograph. No address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 18. **105.** THOMAS WYNDAM TO JOHN WODDALL.

Sending him 80 sick men that have served in the King's ships at Burthe Crage, and their captains' bills of the pay due them—also desiring him to take order for 100 more in as bad case in the ships, in a manner naked, having neither shirts nor hose for their backs, nor money. "Yn the ryver of Tee, yn the *Barke Ager*." *Signed:* Thomas Wyndam.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed:* "To the ryghte worshyfull master Jhon Woddall tresurer yn the Northe."

1547. Dec. 20. **106.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have enclosed to your grace the letters and bills of their wants, received from Sir Andrew Dudley and M^{r} Thomas Wyndham, for there is no store here. For anchors, cables and "like ornementes" for ships, your grace knows there is none. Sir Andrew Dudley thought the Scots would have fortified opposite him on the other side the water, so he caused the ships' boats "in the eye of the Governor," to burn the town, corn, ships, &c. there. Your grace will please thank Nytigate, Drewrie, Byston, Basynge, John the Italian, and the men, for their honest service in the siege. I send your grace the proclamation made in Dundee, and have ordered for M^{r} Wyndham 80 mariners at Newcastle and thereabouts, and in Durham 120 serviceable men. I hear that a reasonable force might subdue the whole country about Broughty. Warkeworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: Please to credit Nedegate the bearer, my cousin Dudley's lieutenant at Borthe.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Edw. VI.
[1547.] Dec. 20.

107. SIR ANDREW DUDLEY TO GREY OF WILTON.

My communications with Dundee came to nothing, so on 15th instant, I sent Mr Wyndham and the fleet, to whom they sent a banner of truce and gave 2 pledges for my articles. The Lord of Dun "stacke stiff in their part," and lent them 3 small brass pieces for defence. . . .* Lord Gray and Montquhany were here on the 8th, and promised very earnestly to forward the assurance by Dundee and to bring in the noblemen &c. of the country. I need more provision than for 100 men, having now 170, with the 70 hackbutters you sent me with Captains Tyberyo, Cattlyne and Pompey. The fort requires 200 men till strengthened, and I need a clerk of the works and one for victuals to prevent waste. I have had to use the empty casks you wrote for, to make rampires and platforms for lack of turf and "maundes." I hear of great power of galleys and "carryckes" coming from France to take the government and fortresses, and the young Queen to France by the West seas. Late yesternight the Master of Ruthwin provost and constable of St Johnston, and sheriff of Straderne under his father, was with me, and promised if "well intertained," to do the King high service and "compas" his father and the lord of Drummond, &c. I think he would deliver the town for money, and shall know more at our next meeting. The Governor has sent one Cumba that has been ambassador a good while in France, and since, one John Hamilton, to promise the King for a sum of money to deliver him the young Queen and all the fortresses, and his authority, for a pension. He threatens to be here again by New Year's day to revenge the death of Gawyn Hamilton. I hope your lordship will busy him otherwise, or send me a stronger force here. Though you hastened them, the last succours were slack enough in coming. I was in Dundee on the 20th, and well received by Lord Gray, the lairds of Graynge and Balumbie, and officers, &c. of the town; and made the proclamation his grace did when he came to Scotland, with a little addition, as the copy now sent shows, which please amend before his grace sees it. We have but a month's victual and need a supply shortly. I pray your answer to the Master of Ruthven (whose letter came this night very late and I send copy of it) what should be done; he will take money I perceive. I would your lordship garrisoned Dundee speedily, and cause the Newcastle men to ship coals, wood, timber, wine, &c. to them, as they cannot buy elsewhere under the assurance; also send them a good preacher and good books, which would do more good than fire or sword. And we need a good surgeon here, for lack whereof divers are dead. There is a good one at Newcastle, a Frenchman. Also money for my men's pay—the Italians and Spaniards last come cry out on me for it. Browthe Cragg. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

3½ *pp. Address leaf lost. Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Much damaged.*

Dec. 22.

108. THOMAS WYNDAM TO SOMERSET.

On the 20th Sir Andrew Dudley and I with the fleet, went to Dundee, and your grace's proclamation with additions, was made by trumpet at the Cross, as the copy sent shows. "Lorde Graye with the

* Several lines worn away.

Edw. VI.
[1547.] heds of the towne," made oath to perform the same: "methowte very wekely at the Scottys handys, but puttynge there hole truste to the lorde Graye, I thynke schefely for fere of the Governer and other of hys affynyte, for dysownynge (?) of them when we be absente with the schypys"; for the castle is too far off to help them. That night I went up the river with the masters of the fleet towards S^{t} Johnston and came down next day. We cannot take the ships at most 4 miles above Dundee; there is much corn and cattle in places, that I intend to take as the weather and short days will serve. The shore is so flat we can only land at three quarters flood, and depart in an hour, lest we ground. There are two abbeys six miles asunder—one I hear has taken away his substance, but the further and stronger place all covered with lead is fortified, and we cannot get near it by a saker shot at high water, nor tarry above 2 hours with our boats, it is so flat. If I had my full crews and boats, I would make the venture to fetch the lead, but I have not of the 610 men your grace ordered, above 400, and cannot land out of the 6 ships above 300, and but 150 at once with our few boats. There are none left on the river, for all passed out by Master Dudley's passports. I have sent your grace a note of cables, &c., which the *Ager* and *Mary Hamborough* most need, and we shall annoy the enemy to the best of our power. The Dundee people are in great fear of the Earl of Arran and the spiritualty coming in force, and if helped, would do what they can to fortify the town till your grace's further pleasure. In the river of Tay aboard the *Barke Ager*. *Signed:* Thomas Wyndam.

4 *pp. Holograph. Address leaf lost. Indorsed.*

Dec. 25. **109.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I find the levies both for sea and Borthie, &c., are too poor and naked to come without conduct money, so I pray your grace's direction herein. Warkeworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: As your grace commanded, I have handled Sir George Douglas, and on his promise, have respited him and his friends for a reasonable time, giving notice to Lord Wharton to spare them. He answers me that by several letters from your grace he is commanded to annoy the Douglases and all others unless they profess the King's service, and spare for no assurance. As I thought I had been the King's lieutenant over the North, and thus find my order disregarded, I beg your grace to give me precise command to leave having to do with Sir George Douglas, or whether if he do according to the appointed purpose, I am to receive him or no? And that I may have my "patente" so as to keep within the limit of my power.

Thomas Ramsay whom I commended to your grace at Sir Andrew Dudley's request, wrote to a lord of Scotland, that Lord Bothwell is gone to your grace against his will, which letter I enclose that you may examine how he knew or imagined this.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Ramsay to Montquhany.)

I came to Berwick this "Fursday at evyn" and on Friday rode to Warkworth and was very well received by Lord Grey. He wrote by

Edw. VI.
[1547.] me to my lord protector and bade me ride post as I have done this Saturday. I spoke to him about your entry and how my lord Protector wrote to Sir Andrew Dudley. He says no letter is come, but he will "reul that veil anewcht." This I did because Barnbougal told me your taker "suttit" for you. The Earl of Huntly is stayed; the Earl of Bothwell is gone to London against his will. Credit the bearer who will show you all "novelles." He "vald hef byrgen of the lard of Erlishall, tharfor I pray [yow] be his freynd and dres that purpos." Also befriend my mother, and help her. Warkworth, 24th December. *Signed:* M. Thomas Ramsay.

Show Sir Andrew my lord's grace received his writings.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed:* "To the lard of Monquhany." *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Dec. 26. **110.** ALEXANDER WHYTLAW TO SOMERSET.

My lord * has written to your grace that Argyll is coming in force to destroy his lands, friends and town of Dundee, desiring men, money and munition, most needful in all haste. Meantime I shall cause my lord to furnish men to cast "fowssais" † about the town, and prepare horsemen to ride on them that refuse to take assurance —for I have promised that your grace will bear the charges. The Captain I think has written more fully, and so soon as the country is at some good point, I shall not fail to be with your grace myself. Meanwhile you are sure of a faithful and true servant. Dundee. *Signed:* Alexr. Quhytlaw.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne): "xxvjo Decembris 1547. . . ."

[1547. Dec. 26.] **111.** ALEXANDER WHYTLAW TO . . .

"This schalbe to dyssyr your m[aistreschip] to wryt to my lord Protectoris grace for ane prechour callit Jhon Rocht, and to send this writin to my lord protectoris grace wytht youris." *Signed:* Yowris assuret, Alexr. Quhytlaw.

(On back)—"The nam of the abbay that is brynt is callit Balmuryno, witht certane other welaigis."

Holograph. *Not addressed; doubtless sent with the preceding letter.*

[1547.] Dec. 26. **112.** GRAY TO SOMERSET.

The Earl of Argyll with a great force, is coming against Dundee and us the King's friends. I have begun to cast "fowsseis" about the town with the small power I have, and desire your grace to help us in all haste. Dundee. *Signed:* Patryk lord Gray.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Armorial wafer signet* (Gray).

1547. Dec. 26. **113.** LENNOX TO SOMERSET.

I humbly thank your grace for permission to serve the King in Scotland and your letters to Lord Wharton for that purpose—which

* Gray. † Ditches.

Edw. VI.
1547. service has been advertised. But to inform your grace more at large, I send my friend Thomas Bischope the King's servant, to whom please give credence. There is a little "abesie callyd Halywode" of 100*l.* yearly, now vacant within the precinct of the King's possessions in the west of Scotland, lately given by the Governor to the sheriff of Ayr. I would beg your gift of it to my cousin the Laird of Cloisburne who serves the King well, and is a man of power, and to my friend Thomas Bischop, whom he would were "participante"; and they will defend it against the sheriff or any other enemy. The King's castle of Wrissill. *Signed:* Mathow Lewinax.

1 *p.* *Written by Bischop.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

[1547.] Dec. 27. **114.** SIR ANDREW DUDLEY TO SOMERSET.

I received your grace's letter on the 24th, and Mr Wyndham another of 5th December, which he read to me, ordering him to bring all the ships home, except one to transport my letters, &c. This is no little grief to me, deprived of strength at most need, in a weak house beaten and shaken at the siege, and all our work (no great matter) only rotten sandy turf and shingle, falling down daily! And Lord Gray and the town of Dundee and assured people, like to be overrun to my dishonour. I beseech your grace rather discharge me than let me lose my credit with Scotsmen. We are promised 5 or 6 months' victual by your grace—but have no place to hold 6 weeks' even. All the country is ready to come in—1000*l.* now will do more than 10,000*l.* hereafter. I am offered great and small towns and handsome "pyles," if I had men to put in them—and the Laird of Montquhany offered to deliver me St Andrews without bloodshed. If Dundee was garrisoned, the King's ships might victual there better than any other place in the north I know. It is one of the goodliest rivers I ever saw, the ships may ride as well as in the Thames [Tems] and better, and the plentifullest for salmon, "porpus," seal, herrings, and other fish. Whoever informed your grace that the ships lost their tackle in the Tay, reported untruly. The *Barke Ager* was sent to Sir John Luttrell's help if needed, and I could not get her back for 6 or 7 weeks for all my sending. And it was then she lost her tackle in the Forth, not here. I received a letter from the Earl of Angus on 24th, of which I send your grace a copy. Argyll is come to St Johnston with a great company of Highland men, to destroy Dundee, and Lord Gray and others have come to defend it, and ask my aid. I sent Mr Wyndham up the river to burn an abbey and much corn, which he did on Christmas day at night. Broughty Craig. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

3 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne): "From Sir Andrewe Dudley to my L. P. uppon Cristmas daye at night."

Dec. 27. **115.** THOMAS WYNDAM TO SOMERSET.

This day your grace's letter of the 5th desires me to send away the *Barke Ager* and *Mary Hamborough* for the danger they run by their weak cables both in the Fryth and here, in this dead time of year. If it please you, we have now places here where ships may lie as safe with as little tackle as in any English harbour. Dundee and

Edw. VI.
[1547.] the Lord Gray are much threatened by the enemy, so he, his wife and chief friends have kept their Christmas [here*] trusting to your grace's aid. They have asked Master John [of Burthie*] to devise an entrenchment at the [land*] side, and divers places for forts in the town, if it please your grace, and will put their helping hands to it, offering also the "stepull" for 2 demi-culverins which may "bett" all round about the town. They daily desire it may be fortified, and considering how this nobleman and others trust wholly to your grace, I think it unmeet to minish your strength here, till your further pleasure,—seeing that at the date of your grace's letter, the siege of Broughty and the assurance of Dundee was then unknown to you. And if these two ships suddenly depart, it would encourage the enemy to set upon these men in their weak state. We can land 250 men from the fleet, and 50 hackbutters from the castle, and with the first good weather I mean to annoy the enemy both up and down both sides of the river. On the night of 25th, with 300 men I landed at Balmuryno, an abbey beyond Dundee, skirmished with the Scots in the house, who shot with "hacboyts a croke att me." We killed 4 of their horsemen, burned the abbey and everything in it, some villages adjoining, and a great deal of corn; and I shall lose no time doing the like. In the river of Tay. *Signed:* Thomas Wyndam.

3¼ *pp. Holograph. Address leaf lost. Indorsed* (by Thynne). *Much torn at edges.*

1547. Dec. 30. **116. Grey of Wilton to Somerset.**

"Presentlie" I have received letters from my cousin Sir Andrew Dudley, Lord Gray of Scotland, and Mr Thomas Wyndam with a schedule of his forces—all which I enclose. Lord Gray's message is, and I hear by others, that with 2000 Englishmen, they could get Dundee, St Johnstons and St Andrews, and now the winter rage is so far spent, the fleet may lie as safe in "Tee" as in "Temmes." Even now I hear, that the late French ambassador is returning to Scotland, and has embarked in Brittany with the Scottish ambassador who was in London, secretary to the young Queen, and with them 100 gentlemen captains for the war sent by the King with a great sum of money.

The frost has hindered us attacking Buccleuch, but when the weather opens, I trust your grace shall be contented. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: I beg your instructions if I shall send for Lord Gray to enter with the other King's prisoners—and how to use them all. I respite laying up the two ships named in my cousin Dudley's letter, till I hear further from your grace.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Dudley to Grey of Wilton.)

[*In same terms as his letter to Somerset of 27th Dec.*] Borthe Cragg, 25th Dec. Andrewe Dudley.

3 *pp. Copy by Grey's clerk. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

* Torn.

Edw. VI.
1547.

(2) (Gray to Grey of Wilton.)

[*In similar terms to his letter to Somerset of same date.*] Dundee. 26th December. *Signed:* Patryk lord Gray.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

(3) (Wyndam to Grey of Wilton.)

Replying to his letter of 13th December to Dudley and himself, sends a bill of the requirements of his men, chiefly harquebusses. That Burthie and Colm's Inch cannot be victualled for 4 months as the Lord Protector wishes, as Burthie can hold no more than 6 weeks', and the weather is too dangerous for sending a ship to Colm's inch above once a month—but will do his best. Complains of the long delay of the victualling ships from London, off Humber, and the admiral taking his ship up to Hull, and saying that most of the victuals were "marred." [*The rest of his letter similar to his letter to Somerset of same date*]. In the river of Tay. 27th Dec. Thomas Wyndham.

3½ *pp. Copy by Grey's clerk. Indorsed.*

[1547.] Dec. 30.

117. SIR RALPH BULMER TO SOMERSET.

Cesford made an "erand" to hunt with me, to tell these news:—On Christmas day 2 French ships landed 50 captains at Dunbarton with as much money as will "waige" 10,000 Scots for a year, sent by the Bishop of Rome. The Frenchmen to pay it, each to his company of Scots. On St Stephen's day at night, 3 of the chief captains dressed in white satin, went to Stirling to show the Queen and council that 6000 French are embarked for Scotland, waiting only fair wind. So soon as 10,000 Scots are mustered and join them, the King's army of 10,000 Gascons and 20,000 "strangers" will sail for England. They also expect aid of ships from Denmark.

Concerning this fort, there is no more done than I wrote to your grace last, saving some timber come for the brewhouse. Of the 40 chalders of coal to come from Wark, I have not 30 sacks all this winter, and they are "so evell," I have been driven to buy "petes"—and would be glad if your grace ordered the mayor of Newcastle to freight a ship to Berwick with 60 chalders for us. Without this, I cannot keep your command as to the lime kilns, which were pity, as there is so good stone here. Our drink seldom lasts 4 days together; we lack weapons of all sorts, which my lord lieutenant promised from Newcastle.

Since I sent your grace a rental of Kelsey, I have found out more, which is very hard to do, for much of the land is in gentlemen's hands and few dare inform on them. Some claim by inheritance, some by "fewe, whitche is a maner of a whit rentt." And some that have entered "by stronge hand, and have had it thre yeres, maike it as good as inheritance." So it should be looked into, but not being in my charge, I have not meddled with, save as above; and that some who on gift by 2 monks, felled some pear trees and apple trees, I brought here and set them in the stocks; and if the monks had not stolen away, I would have sent them to your grace, to show that the King may not be dispossessed.

Edw. VI.
[1547.] If it please you to order the Laird of Cesford to gather up the rents and mails of Melrose [Mewrus] for the King, it should be well, (1) for the King's profit, and (2) for it would set strife between Buccleuch and Cesford. Buccleuch though often sent for, keeps out from the lord lieutenant, causing others as good as himself, to grudge their own coming in, while he promised your grace as they did. Cesford told me last Thursday that Buccleuch makes the Queen and Governor answer that he is a true Scotsman, and that his heart dies to see Englishmen bear such rule in Scotland. Therefore these two being men of power, it is good policy to set them at strife, which will scourge Buccleuch and cause Cesford and his friends serve the King always justly. Your grace can consider it a thousand times better than my simple wit. Roxburgh. *Signed:* Rauff Bullmar.

4 *pp.* *Closely written.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

1547–48. Jan. 2. **118. Grey of Wilton to Somerset.**

Giving his reasons against any removal of soldiers from Roxburgh to Wark or elsewhere—explaining the delay in the brewhouse at Roxburgh, &c.

That the sheriff of Durham, instead of the 120 men to be levied for Wyndham, had sent 100 only, not fit to be pioneers, much less soldiers, and his grace will please write to him thereon. Requesting empty casks for their victualling, and a supply of munition, &c., already sued for. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Jan. 3. **119. Sir Andrew Dudley to Somerset.**

We are fortifying Dundee as fast as we can—with but men and money, we might do wonders. Argyll with a great power of Highland men, is come to S^{t} Johnston, and intends to besiege me with help of France, either come or coming. I enclose copy of a letter received by lord Gray, who is taking great pains at Dundee. Montquhany and Sandye Whitlaw, Gray's servant, have done much for the King's godly purpose—the former is like to lose all he hath. Credit their news and send them back speedily, for we need them: 2000 men would do more now than 12,000 hereafter; and 1000*l.* now more than 5000*l.* again. On 29th December I sent M^{r} Wyndham to burn a nunnery within 2 miles of S^{t} Johnston; who brought away all the nuns and many gentlemen's daughters at school with them. As I see time and place, he shall be doing. Roynion Cockburn was here today; Lord Grey the King's lieutenant has kept him long. He has been with the Queen, who wrote and sent often for him, and is much in her favour. He caused me to break open before Montquhany, her letter to him; and thinks she might be won to the King's purpose, and to speak with me—further he should carry a letter from her to the French ambassador in England and thus work greater feats. Broughty Craig. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

Cockburn advises your grace not to let Huntly, Bothwell or any

Edw. VI.
[1547–48.] other Scotsman depart, till he sees you, for they are playing double parts.

2¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Damaged.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Anonymous to Lord Gray of Scotland.)

There are come 50 French gentlemen, some say 100. Among them are Thomas Starton * your lordship's kinsman, Monsieur de Cumbas, and Monsieur de Shamer,† the rest unknown to me. They are in Stirling with the Queen and Governor. The word goes they are captains, and 14,000 foot and 2000 horse are expected. My lord of Lennox is gone back to his place in Yorkshire. Argyll with 3000 men is to "vise" you at Dundee.

½ *p.* *Copy by Dudley's clerk.* *Indorsed.*

1547–48. Jan. 5. **120.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

In answer to your grace's letters of 25th, 27th and 28th December, received together, I shall with speed send a last of serpentine powder to Borthe, and lay 100 horse at Roxburgh. Humbly thanking your grace for advice to temper my style to a "more doulse and gentill maner of wrytinge" to Lord Wharton, the same proceeds of no ill mind, but ignorance and want of experience in myself; but I shall incline and apply to your pleasure. The respite given by your commandment to Sir George Douglas is now near at end, and if his deeds are repugnant to his words, I will show myself a vigilant and cruel enemy, both to him and Buccleuch. My spy tells me he saw 40 French gentlemen in velvet coats, with swords and targets, land at Dunbarton to be captains to the Scots,—the 100,000 crowns reported with them is not come, he says. It is said 7 or 8 galleys shall go against Borthy. I shall lay Sir Oswold Wylstropp with 200 horse about Jedworth or Roxburgh to annoy the Scots. I have withheld writing to or sending for the Laird of Ormistoun, as the time for the exploit of Edinburgh Castle is at hand, but if he spoke truly and acts in order, I trust you shall hear of good success. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

4 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 7. **121.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I hear by Myles my servant that your grace thinks I should pay for the 200 fother of lead I sued for. Now if it please you to remember the great charges I am at here, and that I can have no aid but from the King and your grace, it may stand with your pleasure to raise the 200 to 1000 fother, which augmentation shall set me in better ability for service. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

* Straiton (?) † Chambre (?)

Edw. VI.
1547–48. Jan. 8. **122.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

To show your grace how Sir John Luttrell escheweth idleness, he informs me that (1) before Christmas he sent a little 6 oared boat to the North ferry at night, and brought away the ferry boat hard by the town, which will land "well" 80 men; (2) two days before Christmas, he landed at Aberdour [Aberdoorie] burnt a house at the town's end, but the country rose so fast, they had to retire; (3) on Christmas night he gave them a "camysado" at the North ferry, burned the town and the geldings of the men, who fled in haste; (4) the third day after Christmas, he landed at Burnt Island, burned the boats at the pier, and their new built houses, repulsed three "prowde onsettes" of the Scots, killing 16 of them, then had a castle at the west end of the island, rendered to him by a rich man and his son who dwelt in it; bringing them away prisoners and the spoil of the house—and at embarking repulsed 100 fresh Scots from Kinghorn [Kynghkorne] with loss, only 2 of ours hurt. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: As your grace ordered, I commanded Sir Rauffe Bowmer to send 30 of his superfluous men to Inch Colm, but have not yet heard of their dispatch.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 9. **123.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Sir Andrew Dudley's letter received presently, reports the diligence of Lord Gray, Mountquhany and Sandy Whitelaw, in the King's affairs at Dundee, where they dread that the Highlandmen at S^{t} Johnstons under Argyll, when joined with the French, will again attack Borthie. He thinks 300 horse there would do much good, but complains of the "ilnes" of planks &c. sent him, which I cannot better here, and must sue your grace. For the men he wants, the sheriff of Durham has been charged to have 300 ready, and if it pleased you, they might be made up in Yorkshire to 1000—the rumour even of which would make the enemy stay their purpose. The sudden return of Lennox out of Scotland, has raised their hearts to a "lytle braggerie," which I shall quench if possible. Pray send Ridgway the surveyor hither to forward things. I have set M^{r} Gower to order "roddes for maundes," but his charge at Aymouth hinders him attending thereon.

Cockburn, shortly to be with your grace, will declare more. He desires that Huntly, Bothwell, and others be kept till he sees you, for they are playing double. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 9. **124.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I shall obey your grace's orders in paying the common soldiers, and for them yet "unasseased," I shall wait your further direction. It may please you to dispatch 1000 crowns in gold for the exploit touching Edinburgh. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: Three days past I sent from Berwick to Borthie 100

Edw. VI.
1547–48. harquebusiers, 300 matches, 3 great barrels of corn powder, and 1 last of serpentine powder.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 10. **125.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Ormistoun, who waits in Edinburgh "for the purpose," sent Brymston here to-day accredited for both of them. They fear the Governor with this aid from France, will fall upon them and their friends, and beseech your grace to help them with money, to retain a few men, not only for defence, but if the Governor, Bishop of Dunkeld, &c. came to Edinburgh with small retinue, they might take and present them to your grace. So for the good opinion I have of Ormistoun, I mention their desire. Brymstone tells me that if horse were laid at Bothwell's house of Hales by Haddington [Adyngton], they could do notable service: the country could keep 2000 horse. Your grace knows it better than I, and if you approve, let me be appointed to lie there with a fitting band. I hear the Convention was held on Friday and Saturday last at Stirling, where Sir George Douglas was with 200 horse to further the King's purpose and the marriage. He is to be at his house of Dalkeith this night, minding to be with me in two or three days, when it will please you to direct me how I can work him to address himself to your grace, with all expedition. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: Since (on your grace's pleasure to me) I wrote to Lord Wharton to forbear Angus and Sir George Douglas, till proof of their meanings was declared, now very near—Brymston at Douglas's request, tells me that Wharton has spoiled Angus's lands, driven his cattle, and killed one of his men, and continues to ride on him—wherefore it will be to my discredit if this be not recompensed, and I had rather your grace commanded my life to be taken, than myself so slandered and stained.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Jan. 12. **126.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

While on my way to Roxburgh, I received your grace's letters, and immediately wrote to my lady Wythrington (in her husband's absence with you) to keep a wary eye on his special prisoner, whose name I think is Syncler, the others being of less estimation. I have taken order for new summoning of mariners, and shall answer the needs of Dudley, Luttrell and Wyndham for men, but your grace may please order the munitions, for we can do nothing here. I have given orders to the master of ordnance at Newcastle for the speedy cutting of rods for the maunds needed at Borthie, and have read and dispatched your grace's several letters as directed. Alnwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: The prests to the men summoned to serve, and since discharged by your order, which would have been defalked from their pay, must now be to the King's charge. This I signify, as your grace strictly admonished good husbandry.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Edw. VI.
[1547–48.] Jan. 12.

127. THOMAS WYNDHAM TO SOMERSET.

The *Sayker* which I sent from Borthie to Comys Ynche on the 6th, took a "holke" of 100 tons at Inchkeith [Ynshet] bound from Flanders to Leith; and I have "tylyd" her by confession of the merchants, and keep ship, goods, and all, till your pleasure. Nothing is stirred, save at boarding, the mariners carried off a piece of velvet and some pieces of "Hollonde." Your grace knows their nature, and how impossible it is to keep them from stealing. Sir John Luttrell took 2 pieces of Rhenish wine, 2 of white wine, and 3 barrels of tar, by indent for his fort. Yesterday I sent my boat and 60 men, who brought me 200 sheep, and many cattle to the shore which I could not take away. They saw many men on the hills. I burn no corn till I know about Dundee, for if your grace garrison it, victuals will be needed there. This winter war grieves the hearts of the Scots greatly. Sir Andrew Dudley has taken by indent for the castle, out of the hulk "a pype of seke, a but of mamsy, to hoxedes of whyt wyne." By his and Lord Gray's advice I have planted the steeple of Dundee with a saker a falcon and 4 double bases, hackbuts of croke and 20 tall men victualled for a month, and will keep the town till your further pleasure. In the *Bark Ager*. *Signed:* Thomas Wyndam.

2 *pp.* *Holograph.* *Address leaf gone.* *Indorsed.*

1547–48. Jan. 16.

128. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

The bearer Ninian Cockburne who has been with the Queen of Scots at the Convention, can declare all things to your grace, and deserves favour for his labours and loss in service. I hear Argyll with three Frenchmen is to besiege Borthie anew—wherefore let me have directions for that and Mr Wyndham (whose letters I enclose) speedily. I hear Angus is coming to Dumfries to attack the King's friends, which I believe not till I hear further. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *No address leaf.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 17.

129. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

On Saturday last I viewed Roxburgh and ordered kilns to burn lime—100 of the garrison to Wark, and shall remove 100 more to Berwick, till needed for service. The same day I went to Hume—the new work, and much of the Scots' rampires, is like to fall, and must be looked to. They can only brew 4 barrels of beer at a time. The same night I returned to Wark to meet the lord Warden of the Middle Marches, with whom and his forces joined by Sir Oswold Wolstropp and Mr Banester with 160 harquebusiers of Roxburgh, we went to Buccleuch's house of Newewarke, which he his wife and children left the day before. The foot entered the "barbacanne" burned the stables, &c., but the rest of the house was not "pregnable" without ordnance. We have burned the towns of Buccleuch and got a booty of 3000 sheep and 400 head of beasts. Coldingknowes, Cesforth, and Marke Carr were with the lord Warden helping to burn and destroy, and were threatened and railed at by those in the house. To prevent revenge I shall place Mr Oswold with 200 or 300 horse at

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1547-48. Bonjedworth, where he shall be at hand to correct the enemy and strengthen the King's friends.

Some of Buccleuch's people now offer to occupy lands of his, and will pay the rent to the King. Monday last I went to Aymouth where Gower the captain has made it strong against attack, and merits your grace's thanks for his diligence. Your grace will please give order to supply the enclosed necessities of Borthie. I have dispatched Revell the master carpenter to report on Borthie and Inch Colm, then on Roxburgh, Hume and Aymouth, whereon he shall be dispatched to your grace.

The purpose of Edinburgh is not like to prevail—the first procurer rather slacking,—but Ormistoun will do what is possible.

I have warned Lord Wharton how the Governor and Angus "bend" towards Dumfries that we may consult. Lorde Butterden has not my lord chief justice's man taken prisoner at the late invasion of Scotland —but will have him soon sent to me, when I will do what I can for his delivery. I send copy of my intelligence from Scotland, and pray leave to meet my wife in Yorkshire on her way hither.

Even now I have a letter from Brympston, which I transmit to your grace, and another from George Douglas, desiring credit for Symon Penhango his servant. The articles whereon the latter was so instructed and his declaration, are now sent, and as neither one nor other answer to what I charged him to do with the Governor, the Queen, and his brother, I pray your orders how to act with them. For unless your grace please that he repair to you, I am minded to revenge his trifling, that his brother and he may see the good of these "trynkelinges"; for we shall never have a better opportunity to damage them than now, and I only stay for your grace's resolution. The Lord Yester shall immediately be sent to Sir Roger Lasselles knight in Yorkshire, as your grace directs.

I conferred with the lord warden of the Middle Marches as to placing 50 men in Cesford's house, without horse, as it was wasted in the wars. It is not so necessary, however, with the 300 placed at Bonjedworth under Sir Oswold Wylstropp as captain, whose charge being thus increased it seems to me reason his allowance were according.

I enclose copy of my letter to Sir George Douglas.

It may please your grace to license my cousin Edward Dudley, captain of Hume, to go to London on his affairs. Berwick Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

7 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Sir Andrew Dudley to Grey of Wilton.)

On the 9th I received your letter by Whyting, master of the *Galliot of Yarmouth*, who next day paid me 200*l.* from your lordship in silver, 100*l.* whereof I delivered Mr Wyndham, keeping but 100*l.* for pay of my men, spies, timber, &c. for the fort, which I have had to buy from Scotsmen. Such a house with such soldiers was never left a man to keep against a whole realm. I have had the refuse of the army, and for the hacbutters of Warke sent me from the camp, never was such a company of idle and vicious men! Divers are

Edw. VI.
1547–48. Scots, and most of them were followed by their "Scottes quenes" they kept there, and they are ready to mutiny as I would not "suffer ther harlottes here." They will put hand to nothing, but spoil and destroy everything. What with them and my own men, I cannot eat, drink, nor sleep. Dundee and the assured cry out daily for succours, and I have put 50 hacbutters in the town. Argyll threatens them with fire and sword, but as yet they refuse, though what they may do if not helped, God knows! The Governor, the Queen, Earls of Cassillis and Glencairne [Kilcarne], Sheriff of Ayr, George Douglas, and many more are in Council at Stirling, saying that they intend out of hand to come against Dundee and me. I can get no help to fortify, the mariners keep in the ships, and the soldiers here say they were not sent to be labourers. I had much ado to get the money from Whyting: he said it was for the mariners, and sent it so openly that all, both soldiers and mariners, think their whole pay is come, and murmur at my not paying them. Your lordship writes it would be thought a light part in me to forsake my chargé: I had rather it were so, than not be able to do my duty; and for your message by Whyting that I asked enough munition for Calais: this is another Calais, and should have store enough for itself and the ships and country round. Mr Wyndham took most of what was last sent, and I enclose a bill of what we have now. I am daily "cried" on by Dundee and the lords and gentlemen, for a good preacher, and bibles, testaments and other good books. Broughty Craig, 12th January. Andrew Dudley.

3¼ *pp.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.* *Indorsed.* *Damaged by damp.*

(2) (Grey to Sir George Douglas.)

I received your advertisement this day by Sym Penhangoo, and looked for something better than such triflings from you, to whom I have been friendly. You are your own enemy, with these ever manifest declarations of your untruth and dishonour. If you mean better, repair at once to me at Warkworth and declare yourself, or I will hinder you as much as I have furthered you, and that speedily. You ask back your band for your friends, if they are not themselves bound: I assure you I will not only blot that out of my book, but learn to hate you as much as I have loved you, unless you declare yourself an honest and true gentleman. Berwick, 17th January. Your neybour Will'm Grey.

¾ *p.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 20. **130.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Before your grace's letters with Mr Bulmer's complaint, reached me on the 18th, we had componed the difference, and I hope nothing new may revive it. Though his complaint did not arise on the point advertised, yet your grace does not think I would reduce the needful strength of any garrison, but on occasion, when commanded. For the two bands of foot brought with me from Boulogne, and "esgarred" at Roxburgh by your grace, being my countrymen tenants and household servants trained under me, I would rather undertake any enterprise with them than with untried strangers, and trust your licence therein.

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1547–48. And no private discord with him or any other, whereof at present there is none, shall hinder the King's service, as your grace fears. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 21. **131.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Ridgeway the surveyor tells me of your grace's order to the Archbishop of York for sending horses to these parts, for the King's carriages—a great relief to the inhabitants, who will gladly find meat for them. I have set men to try if it is possible to bring provision from Berwick to Roxburgh by "a grete shalowe and flatt boote up the river" by horse, which would lighten the charges. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: Where your grace has remitted Henry Derham to Borthy with reward and leave to fish, I have not yet heard of him. And for the men "arredyed" by the Archbishop of York: whether I shall send for them and despatch them as your grace orders, or as by your former letter, to Dundee?

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Jan. 22. **132.** SIR ANDREW DUDLEY TO SOMERSET.

I received on the 20th your grace's "most gentle" letter of the 8th January. Dundee having requested Argyll to commune with me, I sent Mr Wyndham and another ship captain to St Johnston on his assurance. The Earl would not let them into the town, but met them at a chapel outside, and demanded the surrender of Dundee as it stood before, under threat of fire and sword, and besieging Broughty Craig. Wyndham answered, as the people had run out of Dundee, it should be made bare enough to him. Wyndham has all the town ordnance, bells, copper and brass that was in the church, and burned the steeple, but not the town, in case we get it again.

Lord Gray was gone before your letters came, but has since got them. I think he has made appointment with Argyll. I look for a siege to-night or to-morrow, for Argyll is at Dundee with 3000 or 4000 men, 4 cannon, 2 culverins and other brass pieces. He and the French brag they will win Broughty Craig in 6 hours, and will place ordnance on Fife side to beat away our ships, intending to fortify there and at Dundee. Broughty Crag. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

1547–48. Jan. 23. **133.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

. . .* arrived with me about 10 o'clock . . .† I intended your grace's pinnace with 16 mariners for him: but she is unable to "byde" the winter storms, so I have offered him a swift Flemish boat, going with oars, and a good sea boat, at his choice. On Saturday next I shall be at Newcastle and dispatch 300 soldiers and mariners for Borthie, and other things as you directed. . . .† *Signed:* . . .†

* Words torn away, probably "Sir Thomas Palmer." † Torn away.

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1547–48. Postscript: Argyll is not yet at Borthie, but purposes to be shortly.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Damaged.*

[1547–48.] Jan. 23. **134.** SIR ANDREW DUDLEY TO SOMERSET.

On the 22d I made Mr Wyndham land some hacbutters and other soldiers to burn on Fife side, to draw out the enemy. They came out 800 or 900 horse and foot to skirmish with us, the Frenchmen in front with . . .* and pikes, fair arrayed in white harness. . . .* In the hot skirmish we killed and hurt many men and horses, and shot one chief French captain, with a tuft of white and black feathers on his "murren."† They were repulsed back to Dundee, and I have heard no more. Next night the Master of Reven sent his man for assurance, and came himself the night after, declaring to me as before, to which your grace gave no answer,—that if he knew what pension he should have, he would further the King's purposes with his father and friends: to which I beg your grace's answer in writing. He said Argyll would besiege me, the priests and French being bent on it. I beg some men may be sent; here is no mason. The house is weak, we have no turf nor black earth nearer than Dundee or Fife side, only sand . . .* and casks. Broughty Craig. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

On the 25th January Mr Wyndham landed 6 or 7 score mariners to burn houses on Fife side. The Scots laid an ambush of 600 or 700 men, who killed 10 or 11 and hurt 20 mariners. We killed and hurt divers Scots.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Much damaged by damp.*

1547–48. Jan. 24. **135.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have your letters of 18th instant ordering me to lie at Haddington in the church or tolbooth, which your grace says is strong enough unless cannon are brought against it, whereof I shall have warning; and with the force appointed, I shall lie as safe as if I were in London. If it please "your prudent and grave hedes" to place me there for the advancement of the King's service, I trust to be strengthened with men, &c., as this bearer my servant will fully open to your grace, whom it may please you to credit. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Jan. 24. **136.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

This night at 8 o'clock I have a letter from Sir Thomas Palmer who waits for good wind at Berwick, that Broughty Cragg is already won. I do not believe it, and lest he has written to your grace, I advertise that the laird of Brimpstone, presently with me, spake with the laird of Basse lately from those parts, who said the enemy never came nearer than St Johnston. The Earl of Argyll is retired, and the Frenchmen gone to Stirling. In 3 days I shall know by one I have sent in post, and meantime have told Mr Palmer not to stay for those

* Words lost. † Morion. * Word lost.

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[1547–48.] "flying false newes," but to set forward as the wind serves. He has the choice of your grace's pinnace, or a small Flemish ship which sails swiftly or rows, and may well brook the boisterous seas. I hear the Governor is not going to Dumfries. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

1547–48. Jan. 24. **137.** LENNOX AND WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

I the earl arrived here on the 23d after the letters and credence sent from your grace by Thomas Bischop, which I shall "ensew" to my best power. Being informed that there are garrisons of Scotsmen at Sancher, Glencarne, Drumlangrig, Dusdere &c., we have consulted with the Laird of Garleis and other gentlemen in Carlisle, and sent for more out of Scotland, to be here on Sunday next the 29th, and shall then do such service against the Earl of Angus and other enemies as shall be then "feciable." Carlisle. *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax, Thomas Whartton.

½ *p.* *Written by Bischop.* *Addressed:* "To the right noble the Duke of Somerset his grace, lorde protectour," &c., &c. *Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Jan. 24. **138.** SIR THOMAS PALMER TO SOMERSET.

On Sunday last I reached Warkworth and delivered your grace's letters to Lord Grey. Yesterday finding no vessel ready at Holy Island, I came on hither, and have put a "hansome ship" ready, but the wind is so "streanable," that no boat can work out of this haven till it falls, when I shall lose no time. It is said the Scots address themselves to besiege Broughtye Crag, with all they can make, but in vain. I trust to take 50 men there to help. Berwick. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Damaged by damp.*

1547–48. Jan. 25. **139.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I sent my servant Wright both to view Jedworth and see how many it would hold, and to learn the good will of "our newe frendes"; who found them not only glad to receive 300 men, but without "grutche," ready to make room for 400. I beseech your grace that money be sent hither, that they may pay for victuals out of hand, which would greatly encourage the Scots, who are too poor after their harryings, to provide otherwise. I have this day with Sir Oswold Wylstrop, mustered his men and shall dispatch them to-morrow to the place. Alnwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: I have placed one of the two bands to be removed from Roxburgh, at Jedworth, where they can victual off the country, and if Buccleuch returns to Newark, beset him till we can join them, and I hope present him and his house to your grace. I must again trouble you for money for the pay, as the treasurer has not "one groote" in his hands.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

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1547–48.
Jan. 27.

140. GREY, WHARTON AND BOWES TO SOMERSET.

In obedience to your grace's letter of the 22d, we met here, and put our heads together to see if anything could be done to your grace's contentment in scourging Angus and Douglas. But it is not possible at this time of year to pass from Hawick with the power of the two Marches, to Douglas or Hamilton with ordnance or carriages through the west country moors, where no victual or "place to herber" can be had. As to your order to meet at Branxham, we are loth to go so far to no purpose, for most thereabouts are come in and coming, and the castle being strong cannot be won without cannon. "Marrie," Newark, one of Buccleuch's houses, "beyng the Quenes," may be easily taken, where we think to place Cesford to hold it. For the deadly feud with Buccleuch, I the lord lieutenant have sent for Cesford and Cowdenknowes [Collynknolles] and shall offer them his offices of the "ballywickes" of Melros [Muers] and Atricke Forest.

Thus we cannot devise as your grace prescribed, how to join the three Marches at this time of year, but as I lord Grey have said, I am ready with the East and Middle March force to lie at Haddington, and send my servant Brampton to declare my needs therefor. Meantime Lord Wharton will be doing on the West Marches, and the unassured on the Borders "shal feele of the whypp." As for the Frenchmens' brags, whom your grace says have so long kept the field, we can hear only they have kept their warm houses, except riding from Stirling to St Johnstons "on cole horses" to see Argyll's muster, which "lyking yll," they remained in consultation. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, Thomas Whartton, Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed:* "The Lord Grey, the lord Wharton, and Sir Robert Bowes to the L. P."

[1547–48.]
Jan. 28.

141. SIR A. DUDLEY AND SIR THOMAS PALMER TO SOMERSET.

I Sir Thomas arrived here last Wednesday, and considering this "peace" is very weak, have devised how to strengthen it. Though the garrison is not above 150, we trust the assailants shall buy their enterprise full dear. Argyll came to Dundee "this day seven nyght," and found Lord Gray and all the townsmen gone, but on proclaiming fire and sword against them next day, Gray and the rest came in. The enemy came down hither 2000 strong, offering to skirmish and discover us, but our shot made them retire with loss, and for 2 or 3 days we have had no alarm. Captain Villayne a notable French gentleman was killed, and we kept his body "mawgre" all succours, armed with a very rich heavy harness, and a notable plume of the French King's colours in his morion. He was their chief engineer they say. They stay but for battery pieces, which are looked for hourly. Lord Gray sent his brother to me Sir Andrew Dudley last night, assuring me he remained "the man he was." Whitlaw went yesternight to him, and we look for news this night or to-morrow. We take them all for Scots, and "mynistre mattre" to them accordingly.

They expect ships and "galeons" from France with the first fair wind. Broughty Crag. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley, Thomas Palmer.

3 *pp. Written by Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed. Greatly damaged by damp.*

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[1547–48.] Jan. 28.

142. THOMAS WYNDHAM TO SOMERSET.

On the 20th I received your grace's letter of date the 7th instant. Notwithstanding the promises of the men of Dundee, when they saw the great power with Argyll, they have wholly left the town, many with sorrowful hearts, except 4 or 5 honest men in great jeopardy still there—and one faithful man, which may spend by yearly rent better than 40*l.* sterling, hath forsaken it all, and with his wife and children come on board our ship for succour. His name is Thomas Steward, and his brother I think is ridden into England. They are true faithful men, and say they will keep their oath to the King till the end of their lives. Lord Gray thought himself assured for 800 men, but for fear of the enemy they have forsaken him wholly, so that he is in ill case without succour. Whereas your pleasure was he should retain 500 Scots in pay: they are not to be trusted, for my lord Grey Wylton sent hither 4 Scots from your grace, and 2 have since run away. They get much knowledge of England by spies, and knowing our small strength here, caused their "swarvyng." Some honest men sent by Lord Gray to Argyll at Saint Johnstons, brought his request to speak with one of us, and with his safe conduct, I rode to the bridge end without the town, where I met 100 hackbutters, the simplest men that ever I saw, followed by the Earl, the abbot of Cupar ["Sent Cowpers"], 4 Scottish lords, after them 50 Frenchmen on horseback, in complete harness with white baudricks, and morions on their heads, and hackbuts in their hands, "bragyng to and fro as they had ben conquerers of all the world"! The Earl embraced me and said we were come as conquerors. I said not so, but to get their promises fulfilled, &c. He desired to have the steeple and ordnance delivered, and the town made neuter between us, but declined to withdraw his force which I asked, as not reasonable. He said our pretence of godliness was but to get our neighbours' goods perforce. I refused to give up the steeple, &c., and said if the townsmen instead of deserting it, had kept promises to us, he should have known Dundee well before he entered it: and so departed. When I returned to Dundee, Lord Gray, Sir Andrew and I thought it best to send all the town ordnance to the ships—so I fired the steeple, burned all the "ydolls" in the church, but spared the town at Lord Gray's request, in case we get victory again. With 500 men I would have held it against all Scotland, or died in it. I wrote my Lord Grey Wylton of this assembly at Stirling, and marvel he sent no aid. The enemy is come to Dundee, and I am satisfied 12 pieces of ordnance left St Johnston, 4 of them cannons, and "this nyght" the 20th, they are here, their whole number being about 6000 "tag and rage." On the 22nd I went "aland" on Fife side with 200 men and burned "Skotysh crage [Scotscraig], and ij myll in the land, and more then iij myll compase." The value burned was much more than the 2500 crowns received by Argyll from the French King. The country gathered 500 horse and skirmished with us, dismounting and trying to get between our boats and us,—but their hearts failed them. Thereon Argyll marched out of Dundee towards Borthe Crag, hen we landed all we could "make" of the ships, and with the castle men skirmished with the French, who came on very "braffly," their chiefest captain being slain and one shot through the arm, others hurt, the skirmish being very vehement for the time, and 3 of ours

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[1547–48.] hurt. On the 24th I landed 100 of my men, and 30 of the *Mary Hambro's*, with my captain and 3 gentlemen who joined me, to burn a mill, houses and "rekes" of wheat on the south side. The 100 stood in battle array a quarter of a mile from the boats, and before the 30 burners could return to them, 1000 Scots horse with hagbuts and bases marched hastily on them, killing 8 of our men at the boats, with loss of 20 of their own, including 4 gentlemen of reputation, as my spy tells me. They told Argyll they had killed 44 of ours with 15 hurt. All our surgeons are without "salls" [salves?] which is a great discomfort. I have written to my lord Grey for redress. *Signed:* Thomas Wyndam.

4 *pp. Closely written. Address leaf lost. Indorsed.*

1547–48. Jan. 29. **143.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Before your grace's letters reached me and Lord Wharton, we had met at Warkworth, and having consulted, have answered your letters as we think good.

For the placing of Sir Oswold Wolstropp at Jedworth and Kelsey with 400 light horse and 100 foot: it is not as your grace thinks, as a general, but only as an expert officer, leaving his reasonable pay to your grace's pleasure. And though, when your grace was warden, there was a greater force in Scotland, at less cost, you will consider the country was then hostile, and the men lived at free quarters: while now being won, we get nothing without ready money, or the assured would soon revolt. On coming hither last night, I spoke with the Mayor, who can get but 4 cables and 6 small anchors for Wyndham, so it may please your grace to send some with speed.

I have to-day mustered 200 Durham men brought by Sir George Conyers, very able and "tall personages," and have raised 100 here by "sounde of a dromme," all which with 80 mariners, I shall dispatch to Borthie, and victuals from Holy Island with next fair wind.

Sande Pringle came here to-day, before which I had ordered one Thomas Carlysle with 50 horse to lie in Byllye tower 9 miles from Berwick, on the edge of Lammermore, between Angus's barony of Boncle, and Coldingham. The owner is fled and the house of so good strength, that Carlysle will hold it against all Scotland, "without the cannon"; and if any gentleman betwixt that and Edinburgh, as the Laird of Blacketer, Patrick Hume, or Hume of Wetherbie, &c., refuse to do service, he shall whip him to your grace's contentment.

I have sent pikes and harquebusses with the men for Borthe to be distributed at their captains' discretion, and ordered rods and stakes to make maunds. I hope your grace will take in good part what I have done, considering the barrenness of the country, for which purpose I came hither. Newcastle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 30. **144.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I did not credit my spies' report that Dundee was abandoned to Argyll, till this night at 1 o'clock "after mydnight" I have my cousin

Edw. VI.
1547–48. Dudley's letter that it is true, which I inclose to your grace, who will perceive that they left the town without approach of the enemy.

For the discord between my cousin Dudley and Wyndham, your grace will please direct to both their duties, and that one (according to reason) may be chief. Though I wrote to them before, it still continues.

My cousin writes of "one M^r Ryven," who with his father, if assured of some pension, offers to deliver S^t Johnston's to the King—I wrote hereof before, but your grace never yet answered, and it may please you now to instruct him. Argyll now besieging Borthie, and they calling for aid, I have "arredyed" here 2 ships of war, the *George* of London, and the *George* of Newcastle, with 300 men and 80 mariners besides their own crews: sending also 100 pikes, 100 bows, 100 sheaf of arrows and 100 arquebusses, with the cables and anchors before named, and a Flemish "platt" with rods and stakes for maunds. And to hasten them, I go this day to Tynmouth, and shall see them set forward before I depart thence.

Having had to borrow money for these purposes, it may please your grace to send hither such money as you think convenient: for if these men had been sent when I first levied them, there had been no excuse for those in charge of Dundee. "Newcastle, the xxx^th of Januarie at ij of the clocke after mydnyght." *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: Till I hear your grace's pleasure, I stay the 30 soldiers which I had ready to send, under your determination with my cousin Dudley and Sir John Luttrell. Two days past I sent a post to Horsley that all the victuallers at Holy Island should be ready with first fair wind.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(Dudley to Grey of Wilton.)

[*Reporting the conference between Argyll and Wyndham as on p.* 67.] M^r Wyndham has informed me of nothing more, and uses me more as I were underneath, than fellow with him. I can get none of the ships, or their men to help in fortifying, "but as the admyrall wyll, nor have nothing to do within the ryver, but as shall please hym." Argyll sets forward this day from S^t Johnston with a great force of Highlandmen, Frenchmen, and artillery, and they think to win this fort in 12 hours. Dundee is "fowlie" lost for lack of help, and I pray God I be not served here as S^t Andrews was. Lord Gray and all the gentlemen of the country are clean gone from us, and we must trust to ourselves. Borthe Cragg, 20^th January. Andrewe Dudley.

Postscript: [*Offer of the Master of Ruthven as in Dudley's letter to Somerset of* 23^d.]

3 *pp.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.*

Feb. 1. **145.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Sir Thomas Palmer arrived here to-night, and informed me that finding Borthie impossible to strengthen with the spade, for the rocks and pebble there, he on "perusing" the ground, has found a hill

Edw. VI.
1547–48. within 2000 feet of the castle, so mastering the country, that no siege of Borthie is possible while it is kept. He has left a plott with Master John the Italian, to be set forth when these 400 men arrive: and thinking that M^r^ Dudley may stick executing it on his bare word, asks me to give him discharge. So finding this device so exceeding good, I have not only written to Dudley and the Italian, but ordered all manner of necessaries here to further the fort, and shall not depart till all is shipped. I have ordered Ridgeway to send 2 or 3 frames for houses and 100 pioneers from Berwick. The soldiers that go now, shall be so "captayned," that with some little addition to their pay, they shall work every mother's son of them, that your grace shall have no care for Borthie with but this tower. While not a little sad for Dundee, this good journey of Sir Thomas has gladdened me, who by his own sight and diligence, has found such a meet place to annoy the enemy. I have sent with these men the munition in the schedule inclosed. Newcastle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Munition for Borthe Crag.)

[Falcons, demiculverins, shot, bows, bills, &c., 3 "cressyttes" and 100 pieces of cresset lights, 4 cables, 6 anchors, &c.]

1 *p. Written by Grey's clerk.*

Feb. 4. **146.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Referring to my letter of 29^th^ January, I sent Thomas Carlysle and Sir Hugh Willoughbie with 50 horsemen of Berwick to Byllye tower on Candlemas day. When they got near, they left their "stale," and with 10 only without staves, and in their cloaks, "in maner of Skottes," finding the guard outside the barbycan, and only 3 or 4 within, broke the doors and won the house. I have received from Scotland, and send your grace, a copy of the French King's letter to his ambassador there—and hear also that Argyll "bending" to Borthie, is retired to S^t^ Johnston's and has sent to the Governor for 2 cannons and more powder. My spy says the Governor has put the Laird of "Dowesse"* in ward. Tynmouth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 5. **147.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Before I depart hence this day, I shipped off 160 of the soldiers for Borthe in the *George* of Berwick with the Flemish "platt," the rest of them left behind in the *George* of London, which by misadventure hasting down the river, ran on the sands, and it will be Tuesday next or it come off at a spring tide. I am so tormented with such evil proceedings, that I could wish myself anywhere else, but

* Dalhousie?

Edw. VI. 1547–48. beseech you "in your noble brayne," not to impute the evil success to want of my good will, but to some evil fortune. I send your grace copy of a letter from the Laird of Brympston. Tynmouth Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: My cousin Edward Dudley now arrived here, reports part of the new work at Hume fallen, as I advertised before. And I am so bold as to send him to declare the remedy to your grace, leaving a fit man in his absence, for he can never be so well spared as at this dead time of year.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Much torn at foot.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Brunston to Grey.)

As commanded, I have declared all things at length to Sir George Douglas, who I find not far disagreeing with your desires—which if he mean the contrary, will shortly be known. He is now gone to the Queen at Stirling, where I think he shall be at a point of such things now, as your lordship willed him to do at his last being there; and then with speed will repair to your presence—which he reckons himself to be 3 or 4 days after the day appointed—believing ye will take it in no evil part, his longer tarry in hope of the good success to follow, by my opinion, hereafter. For news—there is a French gentleman come from Borthie Cragg to Edinburgh for 2 more cannons, to be conveyed with haste to them. Argyll's men are weary of "seagyng," and are daily "scalyng" from him. The Governor has a letter from his ambassador in France, dated last of December, that on 5th January the money and munition was to depart for Scotland and the great ships ordered to carry the men of war, &c. Dunbarton Castle is to be at the Queen's disposal, Dunbar promised to the French, and is now "graything" and victualling. The Governor keeps Edinburgh Castle and is fast fortifying it. He is not to hazard his person again in battle. Ormistoun and I have sent a man to Borthy as you desire, who will certify us of all things. One or both of ourselves shall come with Mr Douglas to you and give you our "apparanses" in all matters shown to me when last with you. The greater haste in succouring Borthy will better further your affairs. The first of February.

2 *pp.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.* *Much damaged and name torn off.*

[1547–48.] Feb. 5. **148.** Sir A. Dudley to Somerset.

On the great suit of Lord Gray and other gentlemen of Angus, I have made a general assurance with the Earl of Argyll for Angus for 21 days, as the copy here inclosed will show, or else the French and Highlandmen would have burned and spoiled everywhere. This agreement is open to the Bishops and Council, but there is another, secret between Argyll, Gray and me. I also send a "bill" by the Earl to Lord Gray that he will take the King's part in his godly purpose, whereon Gray borrowed 1000 crowns of me to give Argyll and make him more earnest, which he is to repay me as appears therein. Gray doubts not but for a pension Argyll will be secured, and desires

Edw. VI.
[1547–48.] your grace speedily to send a commission to commune with him thereon. Gray says that Argyll intends to take all the ordnance and munition to his own house, and get as much more as he can out of the Governor. He begs your grace to keep this matter from all but 3 or 4 of the Council, and not let Huntly know of it. I had to agree to the above, as there was no time to get authority from your grace, praying your instructions how to act hereafter. Browthe Crag. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

2 *pp.* *No address.* *Indorsed.* *Much damaged and worn away.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Argyll's assurance.)

Archibald earl of Argyll, lord Campbell, lord lieutenant in the sheriffdoms of Angus, Perth and Meryns, justice general of Scotland and great master of household, at the request of our cousin Lord Gray, grant to Sir Andrew Dudley and his company assurance for 21 days, that with a "sober" number they may repair to Dundee to buy necessaries—he making no hership or fortifications within the said lieutenancy, except at Broughty Crag and 1½ mile thereof. I the said lieutenant to remove all ordnance, munitions and forces out of my rule, during said assurance. Given at Dundee 5th February in the year of our lord God 1548.

1 *p.* *Copy by Dudley's clerk.* *Much damaged by damp.*

(2) A similar assurance, omitting any mention of ordnance, &c. 5th Feb. in the Queens sixth year.

1 *p.* *In same hand.* *Damaged by damp.*

(3) (Obligation by Dudley.)

Binding himself his company, &c., faithfully to observe Argyll's assurance in all points and articles. Browthe Crag, 5 February 1.* Edw. 6.

1 *p.* *Copy in same hand.* *Damaged by damp.*

(4) (Bond by Gray to Dudley.)

Patrick lord Gray of Fowllz in the sheriffdom of Perth, acknowledges receipt of 1000 crowns English money from Sir Andrew Dudley knight, to give to the Earl of Argyll in part reward for agreeing to the King's godly purpose of marriage, &c., which sum he binds himself his heirs, &c. to repay to the said Sir Andrew his heirs, &c. at the Feast of Our Lady next ensuing, if the Lord Protector and Council do not allow the same to him Lord Gray. Signed and sealed 5th February 1548 before witnesses. Patrick lord Graye. Will. . . . lord of . . ., . . . † Lovell lerd of Ballumbye.

1 *p.* *Copy in same hand.* *Damaged by damp.*

* Should be 2d year. † Torn away.

Edw. VI.
1547–48.
Feb. 7.

149. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

On my return hither from Newcastle, my servant Brampton overtook me at Sir John Dallaway's* house with your grace and the Council's letter of credit in answer of the points of my demands presented by him to your grace in my name. For your grace's mislike that the King's charges are so great as 16,000*l.* for these 8 or 9 months, and little to show save the journey against Buccleuch, compared with what was done at little cost when your grace and lord Warwick lay here, without seeking continual direction from the Council, and that I might if I had been diligent, have burned beyond Edinburgh with 100 or 200 horse, which now were a business for 2000: and if I had not spared George Douglas and his brother, but done as Lord Wharton on the West March, who has scoured and brought in to the compass of 40 miles; the Governor would have been forced by the people to come in in spite of his teeth, and submit himself, and your grace is sorry I have not been more stirring: and thinks by ordering them, the Scottish surnames would for robbery sake, destroy those unassured to the King; wherefore you send a convenient sum to the treasurer, for retaining a certain number of the best credited Scots as I think fit:—

I am ready to prosecute the journey to Haddington as your grace resolves, and to show your grace the state of this frontier, I send a book showing what towns places and men are assured, to show that none have been spared except George Douglas, his friends and the Earl Bothwell, whom I mind no longer to forbear if your grace commands. For my lord Wharton, I am glad his doings please your grace, but your grace will see I have under assurance the greater part to Edinburgh and some beyond, and I dare say lord Wharton has not surmounted me in desire for the King's service, while you would not note "the betternes of his successe withoute good cause" I am sure. Yet he suffers 150 Scots to lie in garrison at "Lameryke† vj myles from Dunfreese"! And at my next journey I trust your grace shall see that my lord Wharton shall not far outgo me upon the enemy, and I may recover your former good opinion of me: and then shall humbly pray you to deliver me from the perils of the weary business (I trust I may not say unthankful) of this country, to that little I have of my own, and appoint a more able successor, of whom there is great choice. Your grace must remember that the enemy is further off than when you, and after, my lord Warwick, lay here, and not so readily to be "fetched.' It will be Monday come seven night ere I can set forth, when the moon will be "well to doo servis." Sym Penango has presently come with credence from Sir George Douglas, who he reports has wrought the Queen towards the godly purpose, whereto she is minded to give him and others commission with a herald to repair to your grace in embassy within these 8 days to treat of peace: wherein she promises herself and divers noblemen will abide and prevail, though the Governor would draw back the other way. For all this, being well warned of him by your grace's "outcallinges," except your grace countermand me, I shall not spare him nor his, more than the King's most rank enemy.

The Laird of Ferneherst's son is entered: which was bound for one

* Delaval ? † Longridge ?

Edw. VI.
1547–48. Dand Carre of Ferneherst now dead, to be a true prisoner and surrender at call. From this he thinks he is discharged by law; but if not, he will by band undertake for his son coming in if licenced home for a time, and desires a further day for him: as he desires to serve himself, and meantime his son may overlook and see to what his father hath. Warkworth Castle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: When I had finished this, your grace's letters to Sir Andrew Dudley, M^r^ Wyndham, M^r^ Uvedall, &c., arrived, and were sent off. For your letter to myself, ordering 200 English hackbutters to Sir Andrew, it may please you,—as my servant declared when with you, how much I desired their services, knowing them well, and this journey your grace knows of being at hand—to let them remain with me till that journey is over. It may please you to return Sir Thomas Hilton to Tynemouth, to further dispatch of things to Borthie.

5 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 7. **150.** PATRICK LORD GRAY TO SOMERSET.

I have spoken at length with my lord of Argyll touching the godly purpose of marriage and peace, and assure your grace his mind is "aufullie" given to it. He has promised to use my counsel therein, as you may perceive by his hand writing. Therefore it will please your grace to send a secret commission to Browchty Craig to commune with the Earl for the purpose, and I will promise your grace great honour and pleasure on my life and honour, your grace giving him such profit and pension as it pleases you. I have borrowed 500 "ryallis" and given them to him for good causes, and bound myself to repay them to the captain of Brouchty at the Feast of Our Lady in Lent, if your commissioners "dowis nocht allow it": and shall be faithful and diligent toward your godly purpose to my uttermost power. Dundee. *Signed:* Patryk lord Gray.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 8. **151.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I cannot but advertise your grace of a "jorney" by Sir Ralph Bulmer, Sir Oswold Wolstropp, and my servant Bagshott, with mounted hackbutters, and foot from Jedworth and Roxburgh. On Sunday last at midnight they marched to within a mile of Hawick, and burned these towns up Slettricke water, viz. Homble knowes, Hallasland, Clement Croser's, Whitelawe and Little Whitelawe, the laird of Buccleuch's, Thorne bogg, Marten Croser's, Akar knowe, "Cockes" John Croser's, Torne Wenerton and Fowlerawe, the laird of Gledstones: towns, houses and corn, burned to the "harde grownde." The foot also burned Hawick town, all except the stone towers, and burned the tower of Sir James Yonge a priest, who shot two hackbuts at them, and with 10 others was burned therein. Two men were slain in Hawick, where they burned a house of Buccleuch's, with a fine bed of "Flaunders making," whereon one William Scott yielded himself and his house. They burned in Hawick 3 stone towers. John Croser and 30 of the best sort "thereawayes" are prisoners, and they got 23 score sheep, 4 score goats, 6 score neat, "which they imparted more largely to that countreyth men," to increase their

Edw. VI.
1547–48. desire to serve, and returned safe. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: While finishing this, I heard by my spy, that Sir Andrew Dudley by consent of Lord Gray, had made agreement with Argyll for 20 days, and some think the Earl will become the King's friend. If true, I pray your grace for speedy instruction.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 9. **152.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Sir Andrew Dudley has advertised me of the assurance "taken" by Argyll with him for 21 days. Also that the Queen has bought the Spaniards at Hume to sell the castle and kill the captain, as a Frenchman declared to Captain Tyberio whom I sent to Borthie. For the safety of Hume, I have warned George Woodewarde the lieutenant, and Pellam the captain, to keep an eye on the Spaniards, till I take other means to "boulte out" their purposes.

As Sir Andrew and Wyndham are still discontented, I beseech your grace "to reforme them" speedily.

I enclose a schedule of the men in the ships, and beg your grace to "rate" them and the garrison at Borthie, that I may estimate their pay, for which they call continually, and I hear not without need. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: I have sent there 130 tuns beer, 36,000 "byskett," and some out of the Flemish ship: 14 pieces sack, 1 piece "mawlmesey," also the vice-admiral has sufficient beef, butter, and cheese. The *George* of London is still on the sands, but I have sent in "hoyes" the men that should have gone in her.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Men in the ships.)

The *Bark Ancher*, 200; *Mary Hambrough*, 130; the *Phenix*, 60; the *Sacre*, 50; the *Double Rose*, 26; the *Gallyott of Yarmouth*, 37; and the 80 I sent of late.

It may please your grace to order the wages of the hackbutters sent by you from London to Wyndham; also how 3 gentlemen shall be "consydered" that he brought from London; and the mariners who were promised something over their wages, for labouring at Borthie?

1 *p. Copy by Grey's clerk.*

Feb. 11. **153.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

On consulting with Sir Robert Bowes and others we find 16 carters insufficient for the 80 horses sent with them by the Archbishop of York, and must augment them to 24 with 2 overseers, the pay of the additional 8 being 6*d.*, and the overseers 12*d.*, to be borne by the country people, and 1*d.* a day for each horse, in all 12*s.* 8*d. per diem.* Till spring time, when grass may be had—half of the horses to

Edw. VI.
1547–48. carry victual, the other half about the works. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Feb. 11. **154.** SIR THOMAS PALMER TO SOMERSET.

Since my arrival this morning, I hear from sundry that came from Broughty on Wednesday last, that Argyll "on compossycyon" with M^r^ Dudley, has left Dundee, "which I gather was rather for fear then love." I would gladly know your pleasure on fortifying some citadel there against cannon, the time of year approaching nigh.

The ships with 400 soldiers, &c., left this on Wednesday, and it is thought were at Broughty yester night. I daresay Argyll was loath to tarry their coming with the succours bruited.

I find the *Phenix* and *Saker* here for a new rig, and little help for them. A store of the King's is very necessary here. Their captains tell me they will be ready in 5 or 6 days. Newcastle, Saturday morning at 7 o'clock. *Signed:* Thomas Palmer.

4 *pp.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Damaged by damp.*

1547–48. Feb. 12. **155.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Sir Thomas Palmer who arrived here yesterday, is this instant despatched to Holy Island or Berwick, for passage to Borthie. I gave secret orders to our garrisons to watch Hume, and if a fire were put up there, to ride on the spur. I hear that on Pellam the captain coming hither for pay, and going on to Newcastle, 3 or 4 of the Spaniards meant to have slain and robbed him, and with the rest at Hume to have fled to Scotland. "Marie! it chaunced he had none," and they arranged to go off, the light was shown on the castle, and out of hand, Sir John Ellerkar's horse rode thither from Kelsey, took the Spanish lieutenant and 12 men, brought them hither, while the rest fled to Scotland, followed in haste by John Carre of Warke. I purpose to hang the lieutenant, unless your grace directs me otherwise. I hear their reason was they were not paid sooner, yet they were but a month behind or little more. For all this, and Argyll's retiring, I purpose to go on with my journey as determined: praying your grace's remembrance of us with some money, for some of us are unpaid for 4 months, the rest for 3, and call out on me for it. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Feb. 12. **156.** SIR THOMAS PALMER TO SOMERSET.

On coming hither yesterday, I delivered your grace's letters to my lord Grey—who showed me Argyll's departure from Dundee, and the assurance taken with him, a thing not a little strange to be required without shame, being masters of the field, "but it semeth it was thier shutangere." * It shall serve them little, if I find anything left behind on that assurance! I hope to embark to-night or

* Chicanery?

Edw. VI.
1547–48.] to-morrow morning, and "God lendyng us this mery wynd," shall soon be there.

I have delivered to my lord Grey part of the books that I carried, and if their hearts be not hardened, they must needs be received. He tells me he is about to invade Scotland almost to Edinburgh gates—and God send him good speed there and back. He will from thence send your grace the plot of "Dawssey,"* and others that seem for service. Warkworth, this Sunday 12th February at 5 o'clock a.m. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Much damaged by damp.*

1547–48. Feb. 14. **157.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

The lairds of Ormistoun and Brympstone are with me, and declare that Angus and Sir George Douglas are well minded to serve the King "in all to them possyble, as to ryde upon thennemye or what else," and offer to lay in sufficient pledges, except the house of Tantallon. They desire to know what pension they shall have, for the losses they may thus sustain? Ormistoun "openeth" to me they may do such service as all Scotland cannot, and I beg your grace's pleasure. On Sunday next one of them, in behalf of both, is to be with me, and on Tuesday following I enter Scotland; praying therefore your grace's resolution with speed, for at invasion I shall spare none but the assured.

Of the Spaniards at Hume, John Carre who chased those flying, took 2 and killed one, 12 miles beyond the castle. I find the lieutenant and 5 others guilty, and beg your direction. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Feb. 16. **158.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Being here seeing the despatch of ships, &c., I find a great want of casks, which the surveyors tell me they have for 2 months' past advertised to Mr Rider and Mr Southewell, without remedy yet. Without your grace orders remedy, we shall not be able to make "victualment" to Burthe and the seas. Tinmouth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1547–48. Feb. 17. **159.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

On receipt of your grace's instructions by Mr Crowche lieutenant of Roxburgh, Mr Pettytt surveyor of Calais has viewed all the forts here. As Mr Bulmer and Mr Wolstrop, whom I ordered to conduct him from Jedworth to Sowtre and Lawther, had notice that Buccleuch would burn the town, if they removed their men, Pettyt by another device, viewed these places quietly. He finds Sowtre such a ground as not to be speedily fortified, and houses, &c. must be first provided, and hard to victual. Lawther seems easier to be done, yet

* Dalhousie?

Edw. VI.
1547–48. not without some business; in all which please to credit this bearer, who can satisfy your grace. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Feb. 18. **160.** SIR T. PALMER AND SIR A. DUDLEY TO SOMERSET.

I Sir Thomas arrived here last Wednesday the 15th, "and rather by myracle then otherwise, so litle was lefte to save." I found the men late sent hither, placed on the hill, and the fort set forth there according to the "plote." It is trenched about, 10 foot broad and 5 or 6 foot deep to the rock, which though tedious to pass, will serve well for building. Many Scots are ready to work for 5*d.* a day, finding their own victuals. We retain such as are good labourers: mary! they stick at our coin, and so do the Dundee people, which we hope to redress ere long "eather by fayer meanes or fowle"; for it is an article I Sir Andrew bound them to in the assurance. Stowage houses and timber is one of our chief wants, and has been remembered to Lord Grey, but things come so slow that we fear "out of syght out of mynd," unless your grace give remedy. We have viewed Dundee this day, and see to make a citadel, the church and steeple, town house and many fair buildings, must be cleansed away—no small labour besides defacing the town; and besides if made, would be subject to 3 hills within the town of such massive rock as are not easy to be "abandoned." And to take in these hills as mounts or bulwarks, would make the piece very great and the work costly, requiring long and quiet time to finish: and we think the enemy will not meddle with it. This in hand perfected, and some little "tryffle" made on the other side the water, whither we are going to-morrow to see some apt place, to be done at small cost. Broughty Craig. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer.*

Sir John Luttrell's letters have not yet come to his hands, but will go when wind serves. News here is none, these parts are quiet. When we hear my lord Grey enters Scotland we shall not be idle on Fife side against the unassured. The Governor and other great men are at council in Stirling.

3 *pp.* *Holograph of Palmer.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Greatly damaged by damp.* *Armorial wafer signet.*

1547–48. Feb. 19. **161.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

In answer to your grace's letter of 12th and your special desire for keeping "Daussy" and taking pledges of assured men: the latter I have not done, it being beyond what was agreed at your grace's departure, and I fear they would grudge: but yet shall endeavour to fulfil your commands, both with them and any who enter hereafter. For the other points, so soon as this journey is finished, in a week or two after, if your grace licence me I shall repair to you in post, and learn your full commands. The forces are already appointed to muster, and delay would but increase charges. I shall give orders

* Dudley's signature torn off.

Edw. VI.
1547-48. that news from Borthie is sent twice a week by land. Alnwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 20. **162.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

A Frenchman, calling himself servant to "my lady Flemmyn," arrived to-day, but Sir George Douglas and Brympstone say he is the Queen's butler. With a letter to your grace, he brought another to me "from the same ladie," for commission for horse to your grace. But minding your commands as to Frenchmen passing, and suspecting his meaning, and that the Queen perchance hearing of my journey, "colered a matter to your grace by the Ladie Flemmyn," and that he had no credit to you, but admits it to the French ambassador, but what it is "I cannot wryste forth of hym,"—also having an "enkelinge" by Ninian Cockburn since his being with your grace, of like matter as in your letters, I was bold to open them, I hope without offence, and enclose them to your grace, meantime staying the bearer. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 21. **163.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Ninian Cockburn has sent "this indyfferent wrytinge" here inclosed, which seems to me of effect, as your grace may please "tadmyt thexposition and understondinge." Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

The Frenchman has two ciphered letters which I do not "unseale," but inclose copies of their superscriptions. I stay them and the man, till your grace's resolution, as he came without safe conduct or licence, &c., and other reasons named before. This day I enter Scotland.

He has another letter from Monsieur Doisell to the French ambassador, left with the man in Sir Thomas Grey's keeping. But for my departure, I think I might have got something more out of him.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 21. **164.** LENNOX AND WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

On Monday 20th we left Carlisle and lodged that night on the river of Esk. This night we are come to Lochmaben town, "a barren contre," and learn that the Earls of Angus, Cassillis, Glencarn, lord Creighton, sheriff of Ayr, Drumlanrig and others of the West, are assembling—Angus at Douglas, and the others in their countries, to resist our entry. "The wather serveth not well, nor the passaiges into this far wasted countre." Lochmaben. *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax, Thomas Whartton.

¾ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 21. **165.** WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

Acknowledging his grace's letter of 16th just received, with three

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1547–48. others inclosed, for the Archbishop of York, Lord Scrope and the captain of Nottingham Castle—all put in order—and that M^r^ Uvedaill is appointed to pay him 2000*l.* when required. Town of Lochmaben. *Signed:* Thomas Whartton.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 22. **166.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

While here, I received from M^r^ Brende at Berwick, your grace's letter of credit for him to me, "and shall prosecute the same." Of Scots, I have about 44 gentlemen with me, whose names I shall send in my next. They have 252 attendants, and offer greater number, but I will take no more. The Queen of Scots is removed from Stirling to Dunbarton, for fear of invasion and her "conveye into Fraunce is dowpted." The country is dismayed at my entry: how I shall prevail I refer to God—but if I had the force they think, I should see Stirling before my return! Cowperspeth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547–48. Feb. 22.] **167.** WILLIAM DOUGLAS OF BONJEDWORTH TO WHARTON.

"I have ben in hand with my lorde of Angus twyching the performance of this purpois quhairintill I commonit with your lordschipis: quhair he hes vritin ane answere rafarring sum part of credeit to Thomas Carlton, quhilk I can no vayis dryf hym to no uther purpois that he hes vritin. Thairfor pleis it your lordschipis to accept the sam for ane sufficient answere. I wald knaw your mynd in that mater, owther be vriting or uthervayis as ye think expedient, that I may schaw the sam to my lorde lewtennande; and forder, gyf it pleis yowr lordschipis command me with ony uther service, I am on purpois to rapair to my lord lewetennand the morne, and shall ramane heir quhill xij howris apon yowr besines gyf it lykis yow to send ony with me; for I knaw he is desyrus to knaw of your weill fair and gud jurnay. And also your lordschipis shall rasawe two copeis direct to my lord of Angus, one frome the Governour, ane uthir frome the Quene, quhairintill your lordschipis may be advysit with the contentes thairof. Praying your lordschipis eftir the sycht of the sam, that it be onknawn to ony man frome quhome thai come: for it is nocht my lordis knaulege that I have suche copeis." Praying to know your further pleasure "the morne." "Drumlangrik, this Weddinsday at nycht." *Signed:* "William Douglas off Bunjeduard."

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed* (to Wharton). *Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] Feb. 23. **168.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

On Tuesday night, I with Sir Robert Bowes, the Northumberland gentlemen, and retinues, encamped at Coperspethe, and next day I viewed the "Peese," and find only one site for a fort, viz. "on the hether syde the straytt towarde Skotlande, c skoore from the straytt,' so open that it may beat and flank the side next Berwick. A creek of the sea comes within 200 "scoore," which I hear will bear a vessel of 80 [tons?], and thereto a few men may issue at all times for

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[1547–48.] victuals, &c. despite the enemy. Thence I marched to Haddington, and by the way had Hales and the Earl Bothwell's "standerde" delivered to myself. "The house is for the bignes, of suche excellent bewtie within, as I have seldom sene any in Englande except the Kinges Majesties, and of verie good strengthe." The Nunnery here was rendered that night. I hear by espials that Argyll is mustering his force at S^{t} Johnstons, and with the Governor, intends to bend their whole might against me, leaving Dundee alone. Bothwell's retainers offer pledges and desire assurance of me; and I have now frankly come in, Scottish gentlemen far above the number I reported, "in all fast upon" 1000 horse. If the Scots are credible, though I doubt them much, we shall have prosperous success. This Thursday I got into my hands these strengths, viz. Waughton the laird Waughton's, Salton, Earl Bothwell's, Harmyston* castle, which the Governor, has afore time besieged with great ordnance, and not won —and is so strong that my servant Captain Bagshott, will take in hand to hold it against all Scotland—also the "Nunne rowe," all which are placed in good keeping.

I sent the Governor one of your grace's books, and mind this morrow to send him 12 more, for it seems he receives them so well, and offers to communicate with me, which if meant of good purpose, I shall not refuse. Haddington. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: I hear Bothwell is condemned in Scotland for repairing to your grace without licence. So he has done ill for himself. The gentlemen here all offer themselves to advance the godly purpose, and would ride on the enemy, but I dare not receive all, or I should be outnumbered.

2¼ *pp.* . *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 24. **169.** PROCLAMATION BY WHARTON.

Giving thanks for Lennox and himself to all English and Scots who have served in the King's godly purpose: and for the sundry persons who broke their faith in "the lait serves yesterday," they shall be indifferently tried as to the truth, on their making suit to the Warden, "not myndyng* the deathe of the pledges, yf they who maid faithe for the same, be not the verey occaseoners themselfes." All Scots who served the King shall be rewarded according to their bills of numbers.

1 *p.* *Broad sheet. Copy by his clerk. Indorsed:* "A proclamacion made at Dunfres by my lord Wharton the xxiiijth of February 1547." *Memoranda by Somerset.*

1547–48. Feb. 25. **170.** LENNOX AND WHARTON TO SOMERSET.

These are our proceedings since the 21st. That night we heard that Angus had come to Drumlanrig, and warned his friends and power thither. Instead of lodging at Closburn within 4 miles of him, the evil weather and waters made us lodge at Dumfries on the 22^{d} to refresh our men. On the way we received letters from Angus, which

* Hermandston? † Intending.

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1547–48. we enclose with copy of our answer. We determined that before day-break, our light horse should march for Drumlanrig, ourselves following with the foot in order of battle, appointing my son Henry Wharton with the horse to burn the town of Durisdeer [Dusdere] where a garrison lay, 16 miles from Dumfries and 3 beyond Drumlanrig. Their passage being near that house, they "thought that they wold shewe all thar powre to defende the same, or to be in thar way in thar retorne; and as our men shuld see occaseone of that to gif thar further entreprise, which was, that yf the Erll of Aunguishe shuld be seyne in the feld, that they shuld persew his persone preservyng thare savetie to the uttermost. And if he kept the house of Dumlangrik, and thennemyes force not able to resist theme, then it was appoyntid that they shuld burne the barnes about the house ande giff scrymishe therunto, to his dishonour; and so to burn in Glencarne and others parties upon the Kingis Majesties ennemyes as was devised"; esteeming our horse if this order kept, able to overthrow the enemy's. So they burned the town of Durisdeer, and on sight or hearing of this, Angus, with "the Larde a Bonjedworthe that craftie Scot" and 5 more, fled from the house, and upon a great treason "wrought" between the Master of Maxwell, Drumlanrig and others, they joined their forces to Angus, and with their horse and foot compelled our horse to take to the mountains, and find some other passage to rejoin us. Seeing this, they marched to us, their light horse coming "in forrey." News came that our horse were all taken and slain, and the enemy upon us, taking our scouts; whereon we put our foot in array and for 2 hours rested "scrymyshing and showting about us." Receiving no news of my son and his horsemen, it being after noon, and "evill wather," and 8 miles from Dumfries, we "easelie" returned in order, the enemy within 1000 feet of us, yet causing us no disorder, though news came they had taken Dumfries, and all the foot thereabouts marching against us. Thus marching 2 hours, my son and his horsemen joined us over the hills, "in most gret comfort to see us so arayed. And furthwith brooke a chaice, in whiche thennemyes were overthrown"; and above 500 of them taken slain and drowned in the Nythe. There were taken a son of Glencarne's, a son of Lord Somerville's, 3 brothers of the Lord Creighttons, 2 "mulier (?)," and 1 base, 2 sons of Drumlanrig's, an uncle of Lord Maxwell's, the abbot of New Abbey, and many gentlemen and good prisoners, Angus's master of the horse, &c. Drumlanrig was chased in at his house by one man, and "as it is informed shuld pase with sum undewtifull favour of ane Inglishman." The Master of Maxwell "chaiced alone over the tope of a mountane with spede of a gelding." So we retired toward Dumfries, hearing on the way that our carriage horses, men, and victual left there was spoiled and taken. We sent to rescue what we could, but instead of stopping there, our men being beaten with evil weather and dangerous passage of waters, we were compelled to rest here on the 24th at night. And to-morrow intend to Carlisle. The countries under the Master of Maxwell's trust, are so scourged, that the people cry out upon his "falsheide." I have his priests, friars, and others, who deserve for breaking their faith and oath to have sharp punishment; and had once thought to have hanged some of them, but considering them Scotsmen born and taken alive, and the King's commission for my office, have stayed myself from execution of death, till I know your grace's pleasure. "I brought out of the said town the same prestes, freers, and others,

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1547–48. "ledd in halters like fals prelettes." The Scots took 40 of our carriage men, and except 4 or 5 of ours drowned and 2 slain, we are safe, thanks be to God.

We cannot in writing tell your grace the worthiness of the service done by the gentlemen and others of these marches, and beseech your noble favour for them. And "albeit the Maxwelles and certane of thar bande, tratrouslie shewid this thar falshede to thar dishonour worldly for ever," yet there was Scotsmen on horse and foot, as the Armstronges, Batisons, Yrwins, Johnstons, Bells, Moffettes, &c., of Lidisdaill, Eskdaill, Ewsdaill, Wacopdaill, and Anerdaill, that served as stoutly as any, and deserve your grace's favour. Praying you to give credence to my son Henry Wharton and Thomas Bishope these bearers, who can declare to your grace the whole service and state of these parts. Anane in Scotland. *Signed:* Mathew Lewenax, Thomas Whartton.

5½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Angus to Lennox.)

I hear that you and my lord Warden are coming on the Laird of Drumlanrig and my friends. Wherefore I have written to my lord Warden "to be gud in that mater," at more length, to which I believe your lordship will be privy: praying that I may know your good mind to me and my friends, not doubting but ye will—as this bearer will show, to whom give credence. "Vritin with haist at Drumlangrik this Weddinsday the xxij of Februar 1547." Your father. *Signed:* Ar[d] erl of Angus.

½ *p. Addressed:* "To my lord and sonne the Erle of Lennox." *Indorsed. Wafer signet, indistinct.*

(2) (Angus to Lennox and Wharton.)

"My lordis," I have received your letter, desiring me to "performe in deid and set fordwart" the godly purpose which you have written to me "oft and dywers tymis of befor; quhairintill your letter mensoonis that we ar aggreit in our writingis, and als credence of youris schawin to me be your lordschipis servande Thomas Carltoun, that ye desyre to speik with me to the performance of the samin." As to the godly purpose, I trust the King's noble council, my lord protector's grace and your lordships will not put such "mistraist" to me, but think it sufficient performance that I send my seal and "hand wryt" thereto, "quhilk I nevir brak nor never intendis to breik." Touching our meeting, I have shown my mind to your servant Thomas Carltoun who will declare it at length. I desire your lordships to certify me by this bearer my servant "in writing" if my friends shall be "ontrublit" by you and yours, till such time as we may have leisure to commune, with "adwysment" of my friends, which shall be in all goodly haste if it be your pleasure. "Vritin at Drumlangrik this Weddinsday at nycht 1547." *Signed:* Ar[d] erl of Angus.

1 *p. This and preceding in Bonjedworth's hand. Addressed* (to Wharton only). *Indorsed.*

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(3) (Lennox and Wharton to Angus.)

We have received your two letters of this 22d, and also heard the credence of the Laird of Bonjedworth and James Lyndsay, to like effect; and for answer we advertise, that your lordship performing the same, we shall join therein as appertains, and give no occasion but friendship to all favourers, aiders and assisters of the godly marriage and peace, and oppose all that resist the same. Now agreeing so near in letters, we believe you will put the same in good execution to your honourable fame and God's pleasure. "Att Lougher bryges this Wedynsday the xxij of January." Mathow erle of Lynox. T. W.

1 *p.* *Copy by Wharton's clerk.* *Indorsed:* 22 February 1547.

[1547–48.] Feb. 25. **171.** THOMAS WYNDAM TO SOMERSET.

Our ships as I wrote to your grace before, are very weakly manned, many sick, and I lack 100 of my number, besides cables and anchors for this ship and the *Mary Hamborough*, and a boat for the former must be sent from London, or she can do nothing. I humbly beg your grace for the poor mariners and soldiers, who have been these 7 months unpaid, and worn out their clothing, and if it would please you, to send 3 great ships, with 2 great boats at the stern of each, to land 100 or 120 men at once—for we can land but 20 or 30 at a time, with the *Phœnix* and *Sakar's* boats. And these 3 great ships would do more service than 20 such as these other two, and could ride out a storm better, as I know. If I had them, I could lie in the Frith instead of the Tay, for now is the Scots chief fishing time, and I can do them no hurt here, for there is nothing to do, except burning on one side or other. In the *Bark Ager* in the river Tay. *Signed:* Thomas Wyndam.

Sir John Luttrell has paid the merchants for the "fryseado," "Flanders" cloth, and velvet, &c., and indented for the other things for the fort.

3½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1547–48. Feb. .] **172.** ORDER BY MR WYNDHAM.

For landing from the ships:—

Skirmishers—20 harquebusiers and 20 "bowes."

For the battle—4 ranks of harquebusiers, 7 ranks of pikes, 4 ranks of bills.

For the wings of the battle—40 archers, 20 swords and targets for "wyfflers."

The whole number of Tiberio's company is 308.

To keep the ships—*Bark Ager*, of all sorts, 51; *Mary Hamborough*, 51; *Phœnix*, men and boys, 17; the *Saker*, 17; *Doble Rose*, men and boys, 12; the *Gallyott*, 12. Total, 160.

Sick men and boys 120—retinue of the fleet "good and bad" on board, 468. We should have 610, so lack 142, and should have, to supply sick, &c., 262.

I need 60 good long pikes, and also more corn powder and "lynthes," for what I have is very bad.

1¼ *pp.* *Contemporary copy.* *Indorsed.*

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173. REMEMBRANCES FOR THE SHIPS AT BROUGHTY CRAG.

For the whole fleet:—Cables, anchors, "pyche, tare, ocumme, marlyne, lachet lyne, led lyne, ratlyne," ropes, &c., &c.

Powder and shot for the *Ager* and *Mary Hamborough* and the others —also the soldiers and mariners' pay to get clothing, as they die every day for lack in the extreme cold—and my lord "Clyntum" and the "ameralte" promised a groat a day above their wages to the men that laboured night and day at the fort, which unless paid will cause a mutiny.

1¼ *pp. Official copy. Indorsed.*

1547–48. Feb. 27.

174. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

After I wrote on Thursday, next day I got Yester and Waughton, both of good strength. As I could not put in Englishmen for want of victual, &c., I gave the lairds of Waughton and "Hardmeston" the keeping of their own houses, on sufficient pledges. Sir George Douglas to have the guarding of the Lord of Yester's house, the Laird Ormistoun of Saltoun, the Laird Brympstone, of Nunrowe, and Hugh Douglas, of Hales, giving pledges in like manner as the others—allowing each of them pay for 50 men, and George Douglas for 100, to man Dalkeith as well. Himself remains with me till the entry of his eldest son as pledge for himself, and the Laird of Bass's son or some other as good, for his friends, "and hath fully professed our purpose." The earl his brother was also minded to commune with me, and I think would "sattle" himself thereto.

The Governor appointed on the Sunday to send two of his chief councillors "to debate with me for the peax, and I beleve it wolde have bene to good purpose," so I had no leisure myself to receive Lord Borthwick's house and Laird "Douysse," * which I hear are of very good strength. So I have bound for the delivery of Borthwick, Gawyn Borthwick, and for the other, "Dawosse * his sonne."

I had letters from M^r^ Thomas Wharton at 7 o'clock on Saturday morning, that his father with his forces had been overthrown by the Scots and none escaped—whereof he had advertised your grace—and asking my directions. Thinking it at first "a counterfett matter," as it was brought by a Scotsman as from M^r^ Gray, I stayed my journey, but as the Berwick post brought the like news at night, I was in great dismay, but consulting with Sir Robert Bowes, we thought it best to retire in good order to Berwick, whither we marched from Haddington early on Sunday morning, bearing "good countenance apparante, yet with doble greife inwarde," giving directions to the keepers of the above strengths, as if I had received special orders from your grace for some urgent business in England.

A great part of Dunbar town is beyond danger of shot, and if fortified, may "inrynge the castle, and some parte mate it," so if well garrisoned and attended, it would I think win it—but on this and others I could only "open the full," if I had licence to attend your grace in post.

I have however given licence for the Governor's Council to repair

* Dalhousie.

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1547–48. to me within 8 days, and in regard to (I might say the surety) of the prosperous success of this journey, and "the overthwarte and synyster eventes in the same," I pray your grace to credit Mr Bannester, who "can also declare what pledges, howe many, and for what men of degrees, I have this jorney receyved. Mary! but yf I wolde have taken somme of no valour, I colde not choose but receyve somme (yet beyng there own childerne) under thage your grace prescrybed."

The gentlemen of this country were all most ready to serve as well as the assured Scottish gentlemen, and refused to receive money as they fought not, thus deserving your grace's thanks. I hear the French king, to aid Scotland colourably, minds an apparent banishment of Monsieur de Guise's son, whose aunt the Scottish Queen is, who will as of himself, bring 10,000 men to Scotland, about the midst of March. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Thomas Wharton and Thomas Gray to Gray of Wilton.)

Being just arrived in post from my Lord Protector's grace, word is come to me at 10 o'clock this night by a servant of my lord my father brought here as a prisoner, that my father's company with whom he was, are overthrown by the Scots, and few or none got away. The assured Scots did most harm and betrayed them. I shall do what I can, but the country is destitute both of men and horses. I have warned my lord protector for relief, as I humbly require from your lordship. "Att Carlislye this Thrusday the xxiij day of Februarij att xj of the clok att nyght." *Signed:* Thomas Wherton, Thomas Gray.

1 *p. Written by Wharton. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 27. **175.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have conferred with the friendly lords of Lothian, who think it would much establish the country to lay some English garrisons. We have no place so commodious as Dunbar, and it is thought might be won with a strong force; whereon the castle and town might be held in despite of all illwillers—better this than fortifying any place anew, which seems reason.

The Queen of Scotland is at Dunbarton, and it were well in case the French mind that way, if your grace laid some ships at "Lammelashe," a very good haven and near, to watch them. I could show my opinion hereon, under correction, if your grace licence my repair, and would bring with me Sir George Douglas now the King's friend, to declare his opinion for advancing his Highness's affairs. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: The contrary weather has kept Mr Brande here, but when the wind serves, he shall set forward to Borthie as ordered by your grace.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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176. PALMER AND DUDLEY TO SOMERSET.

Argyll being unable to raise the towns and country against us, or get any money from them to pay soldiers, and determined to return to the Governor, offered his whole charge to the lord of G[ray], who answered, as he says, that if he left him "power to serve withall, he should shew himself a trew Skot," though he had been otherwise charged; but without men, he utterly refused it. Whereon Argyll in great "malingcolley," left "Coopers"* yesterday "all indesperacion." Lord Gray now sends word that he and the lord of D[un] and . . . † will ask assurance, Gray requiring that those he is bound for shall have favour for his sake.

This evening the Abbot of "Coopers" sent 150 horse and foot to Dundee under Sir John "Camewell's" son and heir a near kinsman to the Governor, and other gentlemen: but being late and snowing and raining fast, and none to join them but the townsmen, they left with speed, fearing a trap, as the country was reported up in arms. Such voyages would "ovrehag" good soldiers well paid; how much more these "that been distroyed and worken agenst thier consyence, &c.!"

The Earl of Rothas lieutenant of Fife, has likewise sought by all means to have "amassed" men; but finding that it would not be, protested with great rage that he would forsake them all and flee to Denmark, and they might get another head.

The lord of Fyvie [Fyvesee] sent to me Sir A. Dudley that he would come and speak with me in a day or two. The Dundee people desire safe guard from us, fearing much the threats of Argyll; we comfort them as we can.

The fort advanceth apace, but the labour is great, for we hew through hard rock, yet need no other quarry and have earth enough also. It is ready to be "crystened" when the King pleases. "The Skottes calles it Bragyng trowble (?), and indyed it looketh somewhat peartely ovre them, and lendes a shote now and then to such as approcheth ovre nyer"—as some horsemen did the other day to view it. Broghty Crag. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Andrew Duddely.

4½ *pp. Holograph of Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed. Much damaged by damp.*

[1547–48 Feb. .]

177. INSTRUCTIONS FOR JOHN BRENDE.

On receipt of these, he is to repair by post to Lord Grey lieutenant in the north, and devise with him how to pass with speed by sea to Borthie, declaring to Sir Andrew Dudley the Lord Protector's approval of the late payments to Argyll, and procuring by his means access to the said Earl's presence under safe conduct. At his access, to declare the Protector's good opinion of Argyll as well affected both in the late King's time and now, to peace and alliance by marriage between the realms, urging him by various inducements to procure the Queen's delivery into England for education, &c., till marriageable, and to hinder her removal to France by all possible means. On the Earl doing his utmost before Midsummer next, to persuade the Governor and Council to agree to the Lord Protector's wishes, and certifying

* Cupar?

† Worn away.

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[1547–48. Feb. .] accordingly, the latter shall take the Earl, his friends, servants, &c., their lands and goods, under the King's safe guard and assurance, and the Earl shall receive a yearly pension of 2000 crowns, whereof 1000 crowns land by inheritance in England, and further 10,000 crowns "in rewarde,"—the money lately delivered to him being also vouchsafed to him by his grace. [*The authority and powers of the two Sovereigns, and the relations of the two countries and people to each other, are given much as in the demand made by Henry VIII. One proposition seems novel—the Protector agrees* "that for avoydeng confusion of names, both the realmes thus united, shal bere the name of Grete Britayn which is no newe name but thold name to them booth." *There is a secret article in case of the Earl not agreeing to any of three propositions, to induce him to sit still in his country and in no way countenance the Queen Regent or Governor's party against England.*]

23½ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "Instruccions for John Brende employed into Scotland."

1547–48. March 1. **178.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Where your grace is of opinion that I cannot be spared from service, but may send one fully instructed to you: I have none such, but if it please you to give me but 10 days' leave, I could take your full instructions for future proceedings in the King's service, leaving Sir Robert Bowes in charge here. I humbly beg your pleasure as to the Scottish Queen's servant stayed here, for whom great suit is made, and what I shall do with his letters? I shall observe your instructions for the surety of Berwick, "the Ilande and Hartylpoole," in case the French navy come.

For recompensing the late service on the Borders, the "booke" herewith sent will show it is done, "and I thinke your grace have seldom had a jorney of lesse chardge." Your grace thinks sending news from Borthie twice a week costs little, and besides has been "all upon brutes and rumers": I trust you may remember they were true, and nothing can be done in this country without great charge! If I could do it without costing the King "one peny," I should rejoice. But I feel the country so chargeable and cannot "husbande" for his highness, that I and mine are like to be undone, unless his majesty and your grace please to consider it. The necessity and sharpness of the case only force me to utter this. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 1. **179.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

After my return home, the Governor attacked and won by undermining, the house of Saltoun held by the laird of Ormistoun for me, killed 5 of the garrison and hanged other 5 out of hand— one only spared. They were of Ormistoun's best men. He also burned and spoiled Ormistoun's house and all he had, "and within it the cheife substance of the lorde Brympstone." Till your grace's resolution is known, I stay placing any men in the different strengths as proposed, and they lie at Dalkeith with Sir George Douglas, ready to annoy the enemy. But as the country will "bende allwayes to the master of the felde," this rather hinders service. Sir Robert Bowes, myself, and

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1547–48. others have pondered the matter, and think no course so good as your grace sending in a great power to fortify Dunbar or Haddington, wherein "I cannot but wyshe agayne and agayne" that it might please your grace I come up in post. Hearing this instant the Governor is bent to lodge this night at Haddington, I have assembled 1000 men including some assured Scots, to attempt his damage, knowing he is not in great force. If I do less than your grace looks for from me, think it is by want of knowledge not of good desire. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 6. **180.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I hear that the Governor "(who hath sent me expresse worde he wold make a waye for hymselfe, wiche with his honour he may well do, for that the Frenche King fayled to gyve hym the supporte he promysed at Candelmasse last)," minds to send Argyll and Rothes commissioned to commune with me for peace, which if he continues in, though I hear he is "very fykle," I desire your grace's pleasure whether to debate with them or refer to yourself? He fears our re-entry with a greater force. It may please you to cause the Archbishop of York to levy men to suppy the light horse bands who have been "cashed" as your grace knows; and more demilances among them would much avail, for I see with these horsemen, "wich soever gyve the greter showte, the other flee." The pensioners and men at arms might well lie here also.

Saltoun was lost, as Ormistoun was surprised, his men not complete, and those there without weapons. The strength of this house and others, with Dunbar, will appear when I send "plattes" of them. At the Governor's attack on the assured men, I placed 700 horse under Bulmer and Wolstropp to annoy him: whereon without more doing, he retired to Edinburgh. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed:* "vj° Marcii, the Lord Gray 1547."

[1547–48.] March 6. **181.** LENNOX TO SOMERSET.

But for the occasions which this bearer can declare, I intended shortly after arrival here to have repaired to your grace, to thank you for my employment in the King's service, wherein I shall be always ready to bestow my body and goods when it pleases you. I hear that one Patrick Colquhoun a Scotsman, has desired "of your grace won Penysse (?) to go and vewe an ilelande nere to Donbarton" for fortifying the same. As I know this Patrick to be a very untrue and crafty fellow, and have proved him so in time past, as Thomas Busshopp can best declare to your grace, I do no less than my duty in warning you to put no trust in him. Wreyssell Castle. *Signed:* Mathew Lewenax.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wax signet, indistinct.*

1547–48. March 6. **182.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have read "over and over" your book of rates, and answered

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1547–48. thereon as your grace commands. Touching myself: where at "Bullen" the King allowed me 60 household servants and 16 halberdiers, now these are "abated," my secretary &c. taken away, while I am so charged with demi lances, that I would gladly give 100*l.* a year to be rid of them. Thus I am at the point of being utterly undone, "wich though with mutch greaf I conceayve, yet with mutch more I complaine," and if I were able to bear it, would not thus have resisted.

I herewith send your grace the Spaniards' muster books—finding many absent, some with Gamboa, some in Flanders—both officers and men. They fill up at muster days with boys and Englishmen. Kent tells me there is no fit captain here, but only seekers of their own gain, and "Vila serga" whom they esteem little. So please your grace appoint Gamboa or an other "creadyble" man. I send your grace the letters brought by the Scottish Queen's servant, and must remind your grace there is not here above 6000*l.* for us, the seamen and the Spaniards—the greater part unpaid for 5 months, and the least for 4; the foot of Roxburgh for 7 months, and for want of pay in great misery. Let me understand what pay Kent is to have, whom your grace has ordered I see to remain here. Newcastle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a classical head.*

[1547–48.] March 6. **183.** PALMER AND DUDLEY TO SOMERSET.

The ditch of the fort is before the bulwarks 20 foot broad, and before the curtains 54 foot, and 8 foot deep round about. We mind to "truff" it in 4 or 5 days, and place ordnance on every bulwark, and put in hand some house for stowage of victual. We have neither frames nor timber, but shall make shift with some houses from Dundee, whither I Sir Thomas intend going this day to see if I can put "some corner" in strength. Sir John Luttrell came here on the 2d and I mind to put him there, till your grace's further pleasure.

Argyll is at "Coopre" and Mr Breane is ridden this morning with "my lord Grey" * to communicate with him there. God send agreement: wherein we see by lord Gray there is likelihood at least of fair promises, "and it may chaunce one Skote to be trewe." There are 20 sail or more here with the victuallers. The countries on both sides are in great fear, the Earl of Rothes and others of the chief asking assurance—but we say generally, without they bring pledges, they labour in vain. Broughty. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Andrew Duddeley.

I Sir Thomas intend God willing to repair towards your grace in 6 or 7 days "at the ferdyst."

3 *pp. Written by Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 6. **184.** SIR JOHN LUTTRELL TO SOMERSET.

As your grace ordered, I have "ruynatyd" the fortifications of Combys Ynche and the house, and arrived here on the 1st March, with such munition, &c., as I could remove, for one of the hoys sent me

* *i.e.*, Patrick lord Gray.

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[1547–48.] took her course elsewhere, and I had to burn the timber, &c., that I left behind. I humbly thank your grace for giving me charge of Dundee, if fortified. I have been there with Sir Thomas Palmer, and as we take it, there can be no perfect citadel cut out, and it will need 600 men at least to keep it, by reason of 3 mounts within the town, of equal distance asunder, and nearly equal height, which command every part of the town and water, "and ar of suyche braverye thatt yff the thinge were raysyd by the hand of manne, as hytt aperyth to be naturall, I juge colde nether be of more force ner raysyd yn more convenyent placys." We are going this day again, as Sir Thomas intends to see whether these mounts only may not be fortified to keep the town, with less charge to the King, and as effectually. Meantime I shall aid M[r] Dudley the best I may. Brothe Cragg. *Signed:* John Luttrell.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 6. **185.** THOMAS WYNDHAM TO SOMERSET.

The *Marlen* one of the King's small ships is come hither with provision both for ships and forts. The *Mary Hambrowe* brought Sir John Luttrell and his company from "Coymesyenche." One of the hoys I sent him to bring away his stores, stole away in the night, and he was forced to burn what he left. While the *Mary Hambrowe* rode at Inchkeith, the weather was so foul and boisterous, that she broke her "bowlspret" and her "bekehed," with the principal "kney" which runs down upon the stem; and the solle(?)is reson from the stem, and her ovarlope ys so sanke, scaysse abull to bere her ordynans, and her quartar beym afore is rent frome the one yend to the other, and with a shot in the starne at the seyge off Burthy, hathe rent the roder and the post, and rent a beyme and brake a kney with the same shott: so she cannot serve without repairs, which cannot be done nearer than Hull or London. If it be your grace's pleasure, I will take most of her crew to man the other ships, which are short. If it pleased you to take all the small save one, and send instead great ships with two long boats each, we could land 600 or 700 men at once and do service. If your grace let me take the fleet to the Frith, as we are "well cabled and ankard," we could ride on one side or other: for lying here in harbour does your grace no service. "Onles that your grace will have them handelyd with fyar and sword, they will nevar be good, but geve yowr grace fayre wordes and will parforme notheing." In the *Barke Ager* in the river of "Taey." *Signed:* Thomas Wyndam.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Thynne): "Sir Thomas Windham vj° Marcij 1547."

March 7. **186.** PALMER TO SOMERSET.

Yesterday I viewed Dundee, but find no meet place without taking . . .* and intended to depart, but for the news brought me this day, viz. that on Saturday last proclamation was made at S[t] Johnstons that all men from 16 to 60 should muster at Dundee next

* Worn away.

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[1547–48.] Friday on pain of death, with 15 days' victual: also this day sevennight, Argyll called before him in the Tolbooth at S^{t} Johnstons . . .* and said . . .* 'that I have taken the King of Englandes money, but I shall prove my self trewer then a great many of ye that say so. Helpe ye to furnyshe me with a thowsaund men, or money to pay so many, and I shall gete ye . . .* yf I wyne not Broghtty . . .* Now it shalbe seen who is a trew man.' Then he departed, ordering his Highlandmen and others should be at Dundee next Thursday. Also on Saturday last, the Governor's and Rothes' pursuivants were with him at S^{t} Johnstons, whence he dispatched them with one of his own, to the Governor next day. With the report of an overthrow in the west, the Scots have taken heart. I think they mean to keep this town till foreign succour; but in my conceit, if we fortify it, we stay all Angus and Fife. Meantime I will make things as sure as we can about Broughty. Dundee. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer.

3¼ *pp. Holograph. Address leaf lost. Indorsed.*

1547–48. March 7. **187.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

This instant I hear from M^{r} Harrie Ewre that my lord his father is dead, as to whose offices of the East March and Berwick your grace may please to resolve. As "the same Harrie" was joint patentee with his father in some things, he will be undone without your grace's favour and remembrance. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] March 7. **188.** SIR A. DUDLEY TO SOMERSET.

M^{r} Brend has spoken with Argyll at Cowper Abbey in Fife on 6th March, trusting your grace shall have him, "if a Scotesman may be trustid"—as M^{r} Brend can declare more at length. Lord Gray of Scotland has taken great pains in these matters, and has been "in hand" with me divers times for the 20*s.* a day your grace promised him, and the 300 horse. The fort on the hill "goeth forth a pas"—but there is no lime come yet, nor timber nor lead for the platform of Broughty Craig tower: the top whereof is not yet taken down as your grace commanded, for want of the timber and lead. The Master of Ryvan has sent divers times to ask if I had answer from your grace, what his father Lord Ryvan and he shall have for joining you and delivering S^{t} Johnstons? Broughty Craig. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1547–48. March 8. **189.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Asking his favour for Unfrye Tompson post of Berwick, who has served very honestly in his charge. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

* Worn away.

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[1547–48. March 9.]

190. ROBERT MOFFET TO WHARTON.

"Our Quene and . . . * past to Dunbarton castell and enterit thairin on Frydaye last bipast . . . * ane greit peill of artailriery schoit at the west sey." There are 8 or 9 ships lying beside Bute, and it is believed are Frenchmen to take her away. The Lord Lieutenant left Haddington on Saturday for Berwick, leaving the Laird of Brunston in the Nunrawe, the laird of Langnwdry in Halis, George Dowglas in Yester castle, Hirdmaston in the laird's own hand, Salton in the laird of Ormiston's, and Wauchton to the laird's self. My lord lieutenant desired George Dowglas "to conwaye hym agaytwart, and the word is he hes tane hym awaye with hym in Yngland." The lord Governor with his friends and 3 pieces of "artaillierye" is passed to win these houses back. "For uther novellis thair is nayn." . . . "Writing at Moffet the first Frydaye of Merche be your lordschipis servand." *Signed:* "Robein Moffet of the Grantoun."

1 *p. Holograph. Indorsed:* "The lorde Muffet to the Lorde Wharton."

1547–48. March 8.

191. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Recommending William Farewell as a man of honesty and ability, for the office of surveyor of the King's . . . † in Northumberland, which the Captain of Aymouth desires to surrender. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Damaged.*

[1547–48.] March 9.

192. JOHN BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

On the 6th instant by the Earl of Argyll's appointment, I repaired to him in Lord Gray's company at Cowper Abbey near St Johnstons, and before many present, I presented to him your grace's commendations, as in my instructions, and showed my commission. He said the war had brought great damage, and desiring to know what your grace required, on my offering to declare, "he badde staye. 'I am had,' quod he, 'in a mervelous jelousye, and here be' (he said) 'certeyn of the Counsell mortall enemyes to your parte; I wold therfor' (quod he) 'to coloure the matter, ye shuld devise to speake somwhat openly to me before them of suche matter as ye thinke good, whiche shalbe a meane that without suspecte ye may treate secreatly with me of suche thinges as be of moment.'" Then he called the Abbot of Cowper, the lord of Masen‡ called Stuarde, Sir John Camell and others, to hear what I said. Then I declared how strange it was after so many writings, books, and offers of peace, and this godly marriage agreed to by the country and parliament, the malice of a few should hinder it, bringing about invasions, the capture of Broughty, and further force to be sent against such resisters only, and I am sent to declare again to you the lord lieutenant of this country the above purposes, before any more damage shall be done, and if you for the good of your country, stay the wilfulness of the other party, it might bring about peace. Then I "plucked out" and

* Worn away. † Words torn away. ‡ Methven?

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[1547–48.] presented to him part of my instructions, touching a present contract of marriage, delivery of Edinburgh and Dunbar as pledge for the Queen's entry to England, and the conditions of peace. Then he said how fair means might prevail, and how violence kept things back, which words were confirmed with "a churme"* of the bystanders. Then I excused cases for violence, and when princes might use the sword. Here he drew me aside, and said 'we shall colour our treatie and blynde thiese wolves eyes' and told me to go on with my secret commission. I again showed your grace's good hope of his good offices "howe divers had shott at that prycke, but none yet had hytt yt"—and how good will joined to his power, would effect it beyond doubt —what increase of honour it would bring his house—and showed the advantages of the Queen's delivery for peace, intercourse, &c. He stayed long space after I spoke, and then not seeming to mislike it, said 'If all things had chaunsed well, she had been in my handes or this, for if after the battale, persute had been made, she had come into my countrey; and she did write to me,' quod he, 'for the same purpose at the laste entre of the Lorde Grey. But nowe,' quod he, 'she is in Dunbryton.' 'And yowe may easely come by her,' quod I, 'or ells devise howe she may be had.' 'No,' quod he, 'it is impossible, the castell is stark, and if force could prevaile, it were unfytting for me to enforce my naturall ladie: but therin,' quod he, 'ther is presently no good to be done'; but hereafter as occasion served, he would devise therein. After great dispute on the point, he agreed, as the paper of articles signed by him and sealed, sent herewith, will show your grace. Though not quite to the full effect of my instructions, I took his promise and "descendyd to the seconde degree, whiche he lyked mervellously well, . . . saving he thought the preistes not provyded for in the articles." Then he said on going to Court he would persuade the Queen and Governor at once to send ambassadors to Englande. 'And if,' quod I 'thei will not agree to your request, what will ye do then?' 'What wolde yowe I shuld do?' quod he. Then I plucked out "a paper of the thirde degre (as I had them all foure severally written)" as to taking open part with the King. He required it to read by himself and put it in his bosom. Then knowing the envy between Huntly and him, I spoke of that Earl; "when he harde hym named, he sterted, and beating his fyste upon the borde, said, 'If ye lett hym home, ye marre all.'" Then I said it behoves you to take this in hand, for if not, he may be persuaded himself to enterprise it. These words methought moved him "mervelous moche," and he said 'Marie! I will do yt in deade.' Then said I, if the Governor still looks on at the ruin of his country and stands out, what shall become of him? 'No Governor,' quod he. 'Who is then,' quod I, 'so mete as your lordship'? 'I thinke,' quod he, 'I have moste frindes and power.' 'If then,' quod I, 'ye have the favour and power of Englande joyned therunto, who shall withstande yowe?' 'It is trewe,' quod he. Finally he agreed to the third article thus—If the Queen and Governor would not agree to these, then he would go straight to Argyll, call his friends together, declare his mind for their assistance, then send one to your grace to conclude on certain points, and in the mean season confer by Lord Gray of Scotland with the captain of Broughty. And said also he should require nothing

* *i.e.*, murmur of approval.

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[1547–48.] but as he deserved. On causing my lord Gray to feel him thereon, I see he would require aid against his enemies in the north, by sea, and also that the Earl of Lenox [Lynes] should have no power over his lands in the west. Seeing this, "I did not touche the iiijth degre otherwise then that he shuld lett* the conveyans awaie of the Quene." He asked an assurance for his lieutenancy till Easter, but I said I had no power to grant it, and if I asked the King's captains, they would think it but to win time. But on his showing the unfitness of his country being destroyed, while he was "perswading" the peace, I promised him 15 days' assurance if the Captain agreed, till answer came from your grace: the "effectuall" words whereof I enclose. When I had drawn and subscribed the covenants granted by virtue of my commission, the copy whereof I enclose, "he wold in no wyse subscrybe nor setto his seale; many thinges he shewed of the inconvenyence might come therof, and perill unto hymself, howe the worde of a nobleman was of more force then writing, that he had never made yet promyse to Fraunce nor Englande, and that he had never vyolated his worde." I reasoned to the contrary, that writing put things in certainty against "promyse breakers," and without it I neither would nor could conclude; "and so goode disposicion I felte in hym that I durst boldly breake of, and so did." But late at night, when all were in bed, and the contrary faction removed from him, I sent Lord Gray to persuade and prick the Earl "furthe in thoise pointes I had felte his humour bent in before," and finally Lord Gray, after four or five times going and coming "in the dedd tyme of the night," brought him to condescend next morning to the effect your grace may perceive. Therefore I have written "the thing" more largely that you may see his meaning. I hear him reported to be "moche constant"; and found him "humayne, wise, and grave, in whom I coulde have beleved all thinges that he said, if I had not determyned in them to trust nothing at all. I judge hym gredy of gere, desyrous of auctorytie, and impacient of perteners† and therfore moved unto this by the envie he beareth to the Governour, and the emulacion he haith with therle of Huntley, whiche wilbe ever of the contrary parte to hym." So the matter in my opinion stands thus—whether your grace will effect your purpose better by letting Huntly home, to raise factions between them, or by detaining him, have Argyll wholly yours, "if so be he will stande unto his promysse." When taking my leave, I asked the Earl if he had any "advise" for your grace? He said 'Commende me to his good grace, lett this be kept secret, lett hym take my advise and he shall come to his purpose, and when he shall here of the Frenchmens commyng, lett me have knowledge.' He showed me a letter he had from the Queen to this effect—"On the west borders thei have done metely well, on thest borders my lord Governour haith amendyd that was amys, and therefore we trust ye will see that your charge take no scathe." I then departed to Broughty with my lord Gray, "of whom I cannot omytt to declare unto your grace the fydelytie, the diligens, the paynes, and the good wille that I have seen hym shewe in this busynes," and I doubt not his unfeigned furtherance of the King's affairs, and it should much encourage him and give hope to others, that he and his assisters might receive both thanks and "benyvolens,"

* *i.e.*, hinder. † Partners?

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[1547–48.] among whom he says the lord of Tyllybarne is chief. I have reported all my proceedings to my lord lieutenant, and although your grace's orders were that I should abide here with him till further instructions, as his lordship is preparing to come to your grace, I thought good to accompany him thither for your commands. Warkworth. *Signed:* John Brende.

9 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1547–48. c. March 15.] **193.** ORDERS BY GREY OF WILTON.

Orders by Lord Grey at his repair to Court out of the north.

[*Extracts.*]

Sir Robert Bowes with the force of the two marches, to muster at Warke, on Sunday 18th March, and next day to take certain ordnance and munition to Lawther.

350 labourers to be employed in the new works at Berwick and Roxburgh: the township of Berwick to help there.

Sir Hugh Willoughby captain of Lawther, Tuttie and Garton, with their bands, 200 Spaniards, 300 pioneers. To stent the villages round to victual him as they can for ready money.

At Yester Captain Bagshot and band, with 50 pioneers.

All the horse to stay at Lawther till the fortification "well raysed."

Mr Bulmers, Mr Crowches and Colbies men to keep Roxburgh.

How the pay stands and how much will make a thorough pay?

2¼ *pp. Written by his clerk. Indorsed.*

[1547–48.] March 15. **194.** EARL OF ARGYLL TO LORD GRAY.

After my last writing sent to you, and the departing of the Laird of Tullebarne from me, Master Alexander Gordon brother to my lord of Huntly came to the Queen's grace at Dunbarton, I being ready to pass to Argyll. She sent for me, and at the castle in her grace's presence, Master Alexander showed that ye told the Laird of Fyvie to break the northland, and commit slaughter there, for Huntly would not come home while the war lasted. Also that I favoured England whatever they did here, and "that I swld ly abak," for which I had got instantly a great sum of "angell nobillis." And that Fyvie showed the same to a great man in the north that ye said this to him. Which great man I believe is the Earl Marschal. And on the Queen writing for them, these gentlemen will come and prove ye said these things, and one will offer to fight you in the quarrel, which ye cannot refuse for your honour. "We belief ye ar nocht the man that will alleig syk taillis upon ws, nor will never trew the samyn, quhill we se the contrarie, considering the grett familiarite kyndnes and kynred betwix ws." Praying you to deal honestly and wisely herein, and put the same off you, for when Fyvie and the man he said your tale to, come before the Queen, I will be sent for to hear them. So I advertise you beforehand that ye may be readier to defend this honestly. Advertise me with diligence what ye think of this tale, and answer the writings sent to you before, and Tulybardan's credence. And be secret till I advertise you of the gentlemen's sayings before the Queen's grace, which I shall do with diligence. "I pray yow to

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[1547–48.] tak the pyne to commend me to my cumer* and barnis." The Master of Maxwell and Laird of Drumlanryk came to Dunbarton this last Wednesday. "At Castell Cariik." *Signed:* Yowris Erl of Ergyll.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* "To my lord Gray, &c." *Indorsed.*

March 16. **195.** NINIAN COCKBURN TO SOMERSET.

On the 20th February I wrote to your grace that the Queen desired me to return to you with an answer of the writing that I brought from your grace. "My anesor wos, I wald nocht go with ane trefell to your grace, nor to non that bair reuell onder your grace, bot with ane mater of fek† I wald nocht lat to go: bot gef scho vor myndit hoderwayis, sand ane Franche man—as scho did. Had I gotten ane ansor from your grace, I culd haf had ane hesay acke of her mynd, bot I wrat scho vald nocht nor dorst nocht do by‡ Frans, lyk as it is prowen lat be expereans. Scho hes wylled the Franche men to be masteris in Dounbertan. The Govorner com thair the viij, and taret all the ix and x of Marche in the toun of Dounbertan, and is lyk to rag for desplesor that scho hes sufferit . . .§ Ane Sande Doram is kypar of the yet,‖ as quho say ane Scottes man wor kypar of it, bot quhen ever he gois to the yet thair gois x or xij Franche gonares with him becaus of the stratt kyping of [it?]. The word gois the Prenses is ded quhilk as I trast is nocht ane varete. The Quhen is marwalous glad that scho is in yon hous and out of Scottes menis handis. Scho hes playet me ane plesor becaus I wald nocht cum with the anesor of her bell, scho hes mad the Govorner to be my wter eneme, and Gorge Douglas and the Abot of Drybroucht in lyk vys. Scho hes sad to the bessopes, gef I prosper I will nocht fall to travell so with your grace to gat haim the men of Scanct Andros quhilk wor ane he desplesor to our Antecrestes, and thaer ar so mere of the vrak of the lard of Ormestoun, that thair may no man lef be syd thaim; and so fors it is to me to raman oder with my lord louftenand or with Schir Andro Doudle in Brouchte Crag, to I her sum better fortoun of the lard of Ormestoun, as I trast your graice vell ramember him. [I] thenk the lard of Ormestounis part onestar nor the Master of Maxvelles or the lard of Closbournis; lat evere man jug as he lest! The Govorner porposses to caus cut doun the lard of Ormestounis vod evere stek, and bare to Edenburghe, lay the rest to geder and burn et. Thay are ledand the stanes of the lard of Brounstounis plas to Edengbourghe to yon ¶ neu blak hous quhilk well nocht cum abof the erd. Affor Pas** it is trouet her that the Quhen prenses and Govorner sall go in Frans, and bydis bot on schepis, and Franche men salbe layet her in strenttis to kyp to efter quhull frendis (?) may be her with ane gert soupport. I haf causet Schir Andro Dudle wret ane he voll to me, makand menseon, hou the Scottes pouttes thair trust in Franche men galayis, bot hes so well provydet if so be thay cum, that thay shall mak no rous at thair ratourning, with hoder he wordis aneu: the quhilk bell I causet ane gentell man delyvar to the Quhen. He and I devyset et to that afek that scho and her Franche-men sould se et; bot I haf gotten na a(n)sor as yet hou scho hes tan vitht it.

* *i.e.* gossip—Lady Gray no doubt. † Fact. ‡ Without.
§ Worn away. ‖ Gate. ¶ One. ** Easter day, 1st April 1548.

Edw. VI.
[1547–48.] "As my lord louftenand thoucht that I gaf hem nocht ane forder wort at his rad in Lodeane at thes tym, I consedert thenges that he consedert nocht for troble, as it aperet to me gef hes compane had ben als well wellet as he wos hem self, he wald haf and dorst adoun that one man dorst haf doun; bot your grace mesteris * no mor pruf bot he is noder in Ingland nor Scotland that well nocht, and haldis it abomenabell to et flesche in Lent, trast well your grace wanttes hes hart. Thairfor I hald that thair is in the northt partes of Ingland alswell as in Scotland that wanttes 'scant cum scant cam' in thair cred no mor. Bot that lord wos nocht so well acompanet as I wald he had ben at thes tym. I sad ever thair wos our mone Scottes men in his compane and feu vorde of trast. Put tham to ane pruf and than shall ye haf expereans . . . Be your graces hommell servand at all pouar. Of Colston." *Signed:* Nyniane Cokbourn.

I have closed here a letter come from Sir Andrew Dudley to me.

2 *pp. Holograph. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 19. **196.** Sir John Luttrell to Somerset.

The fortification of Dundee not having proceeded, as Sir Thomas Palmer shall better declare to your grace, I remain unplaced, awaiting your pleasure. Having been required both by Sir Andrew Dudley and Sir Thomas, I have taken charge of the new fort lately raised near Borthy, and thus obeyed your grace's pleasure in your letter of 4th February, to repair hither on Argyll's being at Dundee, and receive your further orders by Mr Dudley. I am right well content, having no respect to places, so long as I serve the King and content your grace, doubting not to give a good account of my charge, if death do not prevent me. Mr Dudley's spies say the Governor will be here shortly "upon Ester," and the young Queen is dead. But on 18th March came a Scot who did me much pleasure at Colm's Inch, and was at Stirling, who declared on his life, she was alive, and had lately recovered of "a dyseas that they call here the mawlys or messellys"; and many think she is taken to Dunbarton, to attend the arrivals of the galleys, come rather for her transport to France than to annoy us. The Laird of Barnbowgell likewise told him to advertise your grace and my lord lieutenant, that the Laird of Resythe now prisoner in England, has sent letters by a poor old woman to the Governor, telling him what he heard there of Barnbowgell's and other gentlemen's good will to the King: and makes humble suit that said Rossyth [Resyethe] may be so looked to that his malice may be prevented. I humbly sue your grace for my commission, if you continue me here. The new fort beside Broughty. *Signed:* John Luttrell.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed:* "To the ryght hyghe and myghty prince, my lorde Protectors grace." *Indorsed.*

March 20. **197.** Earl of Huntly to Somerset.

We arrived here on the 18th and have heard no word of Scotland "excep" by a man of mine who came with my lord lieutenant, and

* Needs.

Edw. VI.
[1547–48.] met me on the way. I hear the Governor repents "our Mastres" going to Dunbarton, and is labouring to bring her grace back to Stirling, which is promised "how sone hyr grace beis hoyll in person. Sche hes bene veray seik in the small pokis and nocht yit hoyll." I hear he may be brought to good appointment, and I "lyppyne" to get hasty word that commissioners shall come to the Border to end these affairs. What service I can do in furthering the King's purpose your grace may be assured of, as you shall shortly know in deed, and I pray God send peace to the weal of both realms so long at discord. I give your grace most humble thanks for your great goodness and humanity shown to me, "quhilk hes evyr yit desserwit the contrare: albeit gyff it be in me possibyll I sall mak syk ane amendis as my wyt or power may serwe." Newcastle. *Signed:* "Your grace humyll serwitour att pouer" [*name effaced by damp*].

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* "xx Martii 1547. Therle of Huntley to my lord Protector."

March 20. **198.** HUNTLY TO SIR RALPH FAYNE.

This shall be to advertise you of "owr arivell" at Newcastle on the 18th. I have had no word of Scotland, except by a servant from my country, that all friends are well. The Governor is at a good point to agree and end all matters, wherein I hope my part shall be found also. "Now guyd maister, I am nevyr abyll to quyt yow and gyf yow thankis, and my gud ladie your bedfallow, off the gryit kyndness schawyne me, nocht allanerlie off gryt cheir, guyd intertenement, bot als in setting fordwart of my estimacioune and effaris, quhilk I haiwe and beir guyd wyll to acquyit quhill God provyid I may do the samen." I hold Gold your man here till your hawks and "grew hundis" come here which I have sent for, and other things the bearer will show you. Please take the labour to have me most heartily recommended to my lady, her daughter and Sir Rolland with the rest of our good company. Newcastle. *Signed:* Your most luffing frend and prisoner Huntly.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* "To the rycht wirschipfull and my luffing frend Schir Ralf Fayne knycht." *Indorsed:* ". . . Therle of Huntley to Sir Rafe Vane."

March 21. **199.** SIR JOHN LUTTRELL TO SOMERSET.

On the 19th I wrote declaring to your grace I had taken charge of the new fort, and now at Sir Thomas Palmer's departing, have entered on the same, and I trust to give a good account of the charge, if famine do not hurt us more than fear of other attempts. The King's new fort beside Broughty. *Signed:* John Luttrell.

½ *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 21. **200.** SIR ANDREW DUDLEY TO SOMERSET.

The new fort on the hill against Broughty groweth in good strength, as Sir Thomas Palmer the bearer will inform your grace.

Edw. VI.
[1547–48.] trusting in God that Sir John Luttrell and I shall give the King a good account of both forts. I humbly desire your favour for M^r^ John Rosset the Italian; by Sir Thomas Palmer's and my advice he has taken charge of the ordnance, bearing the name of Master of Ordnance —desiring your grace to continue the same to him, "the which he rejoyceth not lytle in." Broughty Crag. *Signed:* Andrew Duddeley.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 22. **201.** PATRICK LORD GRAY TO SOMERSET.

I hear there is a cruel report made to your grace, that I have not furthered the King's affairs and your service, nor aided the King's servants here. I pray it may be tried both by Sir Andrew Dudley and Master Wyndam, and if any fault be found in me, I am content of your grace's correction. "Suthly," I have served the King and your grace with "als fervent luif as it were to my awyn hort." If I had not stood their friend "that is heir," there had been little known —but I desire no praise, and would every man did the like.

After the departing of my friend and servant Alexander Whytlaw, Argyll came with 7000 men to S^t^ Johnston, to destroy me and my friends; I consulted with Dudley and Wyndam, who both thought we could not resist with our small force and open town, and it was thought needfull to save the country "be sum way"; which I could only do by appointing with the Earl, as the captain advised. When Whytlaw came home, often in danger of his life for advertising the castle, I laboured under your grace's directions by him, to draw the Earl "to your graces effect which is procedyt, as your graces knawis, which lay in no other manis power." Whytlaw told me your grace had ordained 20*s.* sterling to me in the day, and 300 horsemen in wages, but I have got nothing but 1000*l.* for my house, by Sir Andrew Dudley, and I would not have taken 5000*l.*, unless it had been to further the King's godly purpose. I would your grace knew that I have been the instrument of all that has been done in this country: and if I had been the King's enemy, none durst have shown him friendship. "I suspect that I do the servyce and otheris gettis the thankis." I refer all the premisses to your grace's consideration, and desire your pleasure. Dundee. *Signed:* Patryk lord Gray.

Please your grace remember my friends in France, "at ane pour poynt."

1½ *pp.* *Written by Whytlaw.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 22. **202.** ALEXANDER WHYTLAW TO SOMERSET.

My lord has written to your grace of the evil report against him, and desires to have it tried. I know he did nothing but by the captain's advice, and had it been done otherwise, the country would have been destroyed, and the King's service more hindered than furthered. If I knew my lord otherwise than minded to serve the King, I should advertise your grace. For news, I refer to Sir Andrew Dudley, whom I advertise of all things. Dundee "the xxij of Merche instant." *Signed:* Alex^r^ Whytlaw.

The Earl of Argyll "is heichly suspectit wytht the Quene and

Edw. VI.
[1547–48.] Governour." I shall advertise your grace what proceeds from time to time.

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed:* "xxiij° Marcii 1548. . . ."

[1547–48. March 22.] **203. Sir John Luttrell to Grey of Wilton.**

Since coming here, I well know Lord Gray's honourable doings in the King's service—so apparent, that his life and inheritance is in danger of the Governor, and he has spent so much of his own, that if not recompensed, it will discourage all others. If he had 300 light horse in pay, I believe Angus must become the King's, as they might be daily burned by lord Gray, me, and M^r^ Dudley—and if they joined us, they could defend the passage of S^t^ Johnstons, whose bridge we might break and burn the town. And Fife must be half rendered, having frontier wars on both sides, Angus on one, Lothian on the other: and if Argyle be entertained, how could the Governor abide? I hope this be revealed to the Council with good success. The new fort beside Borthy. *Signed:* John Luttrell.

If Lord Gray's service has been hidden, some are much to blame.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed* (To Grey of Wilton as lord lieutenant of "Bullyn and Bullynoys" and all the King's frontiers and garrisons in the north). *Indorsed.*

1547–48. March 22. **204. Sir Robert Bowes to Grey of Wilton.**

I am already here, and find it very hard to get any number of carriage horses among the Scots, and very small and weak beasts. I have appointed the carriages, &c. to lie at Kelso to-night, and to-morrow 23^d^ at break of day to set forward to Lauder, for the way is so "deip and dangerous" that the guides dare not undertake it by night. I hear the Governor with 300 or 400 men is at Edinburgh, and "brwted to come to Peibles." Angus and George Douglas with like force are at Dalkeith. "Some say they be at discorde, outher say that they intend to joyne against us." The Master of Maxwell, Drumlanrig and Buccleuch with others of the west are assembled in force, but their object is unknown. Lord Wharton at my request, "pretendeth a contenance" to invade, to keep them from drawing towards us. I wrote to-day to George Douglas to meet me at Lauder on Saturday morning next and shall deal gently with him for intelligence, and advancing the King's service at Yester, &c.

M^r^ Dudley captain of Hume and M^r^ Pellame were here yesterday and reported that the late lieutenant of the Spaniards and the "Ytalione" that your lordship appointed to be sent to Hume, while conveyed thither by the constables between the towns of Fenton and Foorde, escaped how I know not, and are fled into Scotland. At my request they are to write and send their report this morning which I shall forward to you. I have also written to Sir Thomas Gray and Henry Eure, to make all inquiry before my return, and keep those culpable in safeguard to answer. Roxburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowis.

Postscript: I enclose herein a letter of Ninian Cockburn to my lord Protector, and as no captain is yet appointed for the new fort to be

Edw. VI.
1547–48. made at Lauder, I think your servant Mr Twtie would diligently serve the same.

2¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 23. Eg. MSS. 1818, fol. 2. **205.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.

Acknowledging to have received him into her service, as he has given his band and letter of manrent to serve the Queen her daughter, and herself, "leillyle" and truly against all enemies, and binding herself in return to pay him from her "coffres" 500 marks Scots yearly during his good service, or till she provides any friend he pleases in "ane benefice or pention of ane thousand mark." Dunbarton. *Signed:* Marie R.

Broad sheet. *Indorsed.* *Wafer signet: Scotland impaling Lorraine.*

[1547–48. March .] **206.** PETITION OF JAMES SKEA TO SOMERSET.

James Skea born in Orkney, who about Christmas last came from Edinburgh to England and has since remained "for feare of burnyng for the word of God," being thus cut off from his living, prays for charity, either to be admitted to the lord Protector's service, or for some living; being ready and willing to show all the use, fashion and order of his country as may be most profitable to England, now in the time of these wars. *No signature.*

½ *p.* *Broad sheet.* *In a fair official hand.* *Addressed at head* (to Somerset). *Indorsed.*

March . **207.** PETITION OF HENRY DURHAM TO SOMERSET.

Your grace's servant and orator, Master Henry Durham Scottishman, for the favour I bare to the true setting forth and knowledge of the Gospel, and to the King of England, am exiled not only from my native country, wife, children, friends, inheritance, &c., but of late days, being captain of Broughty Castle, and lessee for life from Lord Gray of the fort and fishings, worth yearly to me 100 marks sterling, over and above the rent of 50 marks sterling paid to his lordship: also lessee of Mr John Leslye brother to the Earl of Rothes, yearly worth 50*l.* sterling to me, beside 25*l.* yearly paid to said John Leslye: also a "ferm" of the Laird of Basse worth yearly to me above the rent, 20*l.* sterling, also the office of the great custom of Dundee, with not a little profit: have surrendered said castle to the King and lost the above revenues, &c. as my lord Clynton and Sir Andrew Dudley will testify, hoping to receive recompence of the King. I earnestly beseech your grace to accept me as the King's and your servant with some competent living for my encouragement, which if not obtained, will not only discourage others from serving the King, and occasion the enemy to rejoice "at my evyll furtheraunce and decaye." Desiring your grace to remember that ye sent me word by Lord Clynton, Sir Andrew Dudley, "and my brother Doctour Durhame" that if I surrendered the castle of Broughty, I should be no loser. Besides I delivered to Lord Clynton 8 last of salmon, and to Sir Andrew Dudley for the King's house 1 last. *Not signed.*

2 *pp.* *Holograph* (?) *No address.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

Edw. VI.
[1547–48. March .]

208. WHYTLAW TO SOMERSET.

These are to certify your grace that I have advertised Sir Andrew Dudley at length of all purposes, "so far as God has gyffin me grace to knawleg," and shall not fail in the like at all times, "that he may advertys your grace in wryt, becaus I knaw nocht the rycht fascheon to wryt en to your grace." My lord has written a short letter to your grace, referring the rest to Sir Andrew: "for suirly, my lord standis in gret danger and his frendis at this tym." It may please your grace to advertise me what you would I did—which I shall do diligently and truly "so far as God shall gyff me grace" for I think my lord and his friends "wyll do sum part of my consall."

I think to get Robert Gray my lord's brother, to do your grace some good service; for he is well minded to it. In next writing your grace shall hear who are your friends, and what each man's part is, after I have spoken with them. *Signed:* Alex[r] Whytlaw.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. No date.*

1548. March 26. Add. MSS. 33, 531, fol. 17.

209. CARDINAL ALESSANDRO FARNESE TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

That on learning the pleasure of her most Serene Majesty, as to the churches of Dunkeld and Glasgow, from her letters and those of the Protector of her realm, he applied himself with all authority and favour he had with his Holiness, to obtain the appointment of those named by them: but though his Holiness was greatly inclined thereto, yet, from the keen controversies and disputes between the parties, and for other reasons not to be despised, as her Majesty shall clearly perceive by his Holiness's copious letters and the speech of his nuncio, he cannot grant her prayer, seeing if these sees were granted to others than he has designed, there would be no end of strife, to the great disturbance of her realm, whose tranquillity and safety is the chief care of the Holy See. He begs of her Majesty and the prince that the Pope's decision be taken in good part, and approved by them, which will be most pleasing to his Holiness,—Rome, 26[th] March 1548. *Signed:* Humilis servitor A. Cardinal de Farnesio.

1¼ *pp. Latin. Addressed:* "Serenissimæ Scotorum Reginæ ac" [blank]. *Indorsed* (by Hay). *Trace of seal.*

March 27.

210. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Your grace may please remember the return of the letters in cipher brought from Scotland by the Frenchman. As for M[r] Gamboa's complaint of my evil welcoming the Spaniards in the North, I would have called him to make the same when with your grace, "had not my contynuall busines with your grace lettid it." I believe the men themselves will not say more than that I restrained their accustomed robbing the King, which I shall permit to none. Gamboa may act like a Spaniard, but I having an English heart, "not dredfull of Spanysh, Italion, nor other bragges," will not take revenge after his country's manner. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Pardon my writing thus, but I am "kindeled" to see men making

Edw. VI.
1548. false reports. If Gamboa come down to see their usage he will find reason to recant.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548.] March 27. **211. JAMES COCKBURN TO SOMERSET.**

The Earl Bothwell lately sent a servant to the Governor, that he "wes haldyn agane his wyll," and that I and Dawyd Fowrus persuaded him to go, and lays the whole burden on us, praying the Governor not to be extreme to him, but receive him to favour. "Giff he change purpois, mak fast. It is no merwell, quhowbeit your grace giff nocht moiche traist be daylye experiens we suld be detestyt throw the hayll warld for faythles creatures, and wers nor beistis. The moir gentylle we be handyllyt, the moir wyld be we. Quhen your grace sendis oni power in Scotland, haiff the heifft* and blaid in your awyn handis quhil forder occasione be seyn." Angus and George his brother are come to Temtallan for fear of the Governor, with whom George "sall" not agree: but it is said he will suffer the Earl to agree. *Signed:* James Cokburn off Langtown.

1 *p. Holograph. Address lost. Indorsed* (by Thynne).

1548. March 29. **212. HUNTLY TO SOMERSET.**

Robert Carnegy brought me this day from Scotland a letter from the Governor, which I inclose to your grace. The meeting for 10th April is to treat of the things which by your grace's advice I commanded Robert to propone to the Council. The Bishop of Dunkeld is content to come and speak with me here, which may further the King's affairs—therefore I pray your grace send a safe conduct for him and 40 horse to pass and repass for a month. The Queen's grace our mistress has been lately sick, now "weill convalescit," and in the castle of Dunbarton with her mother. The Governor has agreed to exchange the men in the castle of St Andrews, with Scots prisoners conform to your desire, and has sent me commission therein as I shall show you at my coming to London: or if you send your mind to my lord Warden, I shall appoint with him. The Governor has written to the King of France to send the men taken in St Andrews to Rouen, to be ready for the exchange. Newcastle. *Signed:* Your grace humyll serwytor Huntly.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet, indistinct:* 4th *quarter* 3 *fraises.* "G.H. G.H." *on either side of shield, a coronet above.*

Inclosed in same:—

(The Governor to Huntly.)

We received your letters "fra Robert Carnegy of Kynnard and hes hard his credit." For answer we have ordained certain of the Secret Council to convene with us on the 10th of April, and these shall advertise you of our mind—whereof the said Robert will show you, to

* Handle.

Edw. VI.
1548. whom give credit. Edinburgh, 26th March 1548. *Signed:* Yowr gwd frind James G.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 31. **213.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I presently received a letter from Sir Robert Bowes, saying that Sir George Douglas had written to him of his readiness to have met him at Lauther as he was required, if the journey had taken effect as he looked for. Though he committed no credence therein to Sym Penhango his man the bearer, yet the said Sym "as by comaundement," said to Sir Robert, that the Scots were assembling fast, as the Governor had told them our power was very small, and they may get good advantage of us. That his master bade him tell the Lord Warden, not to enter far into Scotland without a strong force, nor past Tyvidaile or Marshe under 3000 or 4000; for if we did, he would neither come to us nor "mell" with us, for if we were overthrown he should bear the blame. Your grace may prudently consider, "whether he is to be suspected herby, thrugh his fynenes to seke our abuse, by offeringe dowptes without cawse, or else as he wolde be taken hymself like a burnte childe to dred the fier!" For my part I expect nothing of Scotsmen except as their sincere works give occasion, and being more doubtful of Douglas, not for any frauds I have discovered in him, but from your grace's often expressed experience of his past misdoings, I note with a vigilant eye every step he takes, resolving to stay no proceedings on his "scruphelles," and trust your grace will put us in good strength by sending the demilances and the strangers especially Captain Andrea, whose worthiness in service causes me to remind your grace that I repose in him more confidence than others, and believe, except your grace, he will rather serve under me than other. On Tuesday next my lord warden is to proceed to the appointed fortifications and other things prescribed to me. Ferebrigges. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548. March .] **214.** INSTRUCTIONS BY SOMERSET TO GREY.

As to discharging the ships; meantime to fortify Lauder [Lodar] Hume, &c.—while fortifying Haddington, to furnish it with 2 months' victuals out of the country, and as much straw as will feed 500 horses for a month. To burn as much corn and houses beyond Muskulborow water "as ye cane," during the fortification.

1 *p. Holograph of Somerset.*

March . **215.** INSTRUCTIONS BY SOMERSET TO GREY.

As to Broughty Craig—their pay, provision, &c.
The garrison for the castle and the new fort on the hill to be 300.
As to the levies on the frontiers to be ready on an hour's warning from the lord lieutenant.

Edw. VI.
[1548. March .] [*Otherwise similar to the preceding number.*]

2¼ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "The lorde Grayes remembrances."

March . **216.** ESTIMATE FOR LAUDER.

"Anne estymate what workmen and laborers with the provycyone and caryages must be hadde for Lawdar."

Carpenters, 6, "wallars," 20; labourers, 350.

For carriage of timber, tools, &c., 12 carts.

Wages for the 26 workmen at 7*d. per diem* for a month of 28 days, 21*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* The same for 350 labourers at 6*d.*, 245*l.* The carriages, 30*l.* Sum total 296*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* It may please your lordship to remember the carpenter that came from Calais [Callys].

2 *pp. Contemporary copy. Indorsed:* "Labourers for Lauder."

March . **217.** MEMORANDA BY JAMES HENRISON FOR SOMERSET.

"Certane adverteismentis whairof I wold my lordis grace schuld be informyt."

That I, his humble servant being of counsel to the service that every Scotsman pretends, and knowing their "habillyteis," I cannot think that any one will attempt service at their suits, unless garrisons were laid in Lothian. *Item*—as to my lord of Huntly, though he might in Scotland do more than any other, yet here least of any great man, and his "convoy" who hath been ever contrary, if it is known, shall make of friends enemies. The "sure service" he may do is to write and "ger" his friends, &c. assist Lord Gray and Sir Andrew Dudley. *Item:* As no Scotsman will do anything for borderers, it were best that my lord by his own accredited servant, comfort every man of ability by reward. The Queen and Governor think only to deal with France for our princess and strengths. *Item*—If Dundee is fortified and then lost, it shall be "ane ꝑusum nychtbour" to Broughty crag. *Item:* As to Lord Bothwell, he may be got to serve for a reward after. Also the Master of Hume, and all his surname—"geif to begin, one William Wodmansye one Inglisman that is grit with my lord Hume, had his perdoun." And the surnames of Mers and Tividale for small reward would do no less than the West borderers.

Item—I would my lord's grace grant passports to 4 or 5 of my friends in Edinburgh to come by land from France, as they are against the Governor—also that he would ransom reasonably some poor merchants of same town, prisoners in Colchester now for a year, or let them go abroad there on surety not to "inchew." Though I have been wrongously reported of and prevented doing good service to the profit of this realm, yet I will serve at the borders, if I may have the deanery of Auckland [Oikland] in the bishopric of Durham to live on in heritage, till otherwise provided in Scotland, as promised for my damage and losses: whereon I will renounce it to whom my lord shall please. *Signed:* Jamis Henrison.

1¼ *pp. No address or indorsement.*

Edw. VI.
[1548.] April 3.

218. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have at "lenkethe" spoken with the earl of Huntly, who tells me he learned from his brother that the Scottish Queen addressed him a letter—now he thinks in your grace's hands—requesting his help to convey the young Queen to France—which he says she cannot do, the Governor's men holding Dunbarton,—also promising earldoms of Scotland and other fair gifts. The abbot of Paisley is coming to Berwick, commissioned to treat of peace, and the Governor standing stiffly against us, chiefly in hope to marry his son with the young Queen, Huntly thinks would be removed from that hope, and inclined more to us, if at meeting the abbot, he had the Queen's letter under her own hand, to show him how she abuses the Governor with "daliaunce," not minding to do what he expects. "I cannot saie but the man speketh well and as it war of ernest harte:" but I know not his disposition, for they often differ from their professions. I pray your grace's instructions how to receive and deal with the abbot. Huntly told me that Bothwell said to him at London, he was under restraint and forced to agree to your pleasure, and thinks it were well that your grace remitted him to his own country on a reasonable time for re-entry to me, and of himself to confirm his former promises openly. Tynemouth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1548. April 3.

219. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I arrived at Tynemouth on the 1st, and finding no biscuit nor beer ready for Broughty, have ordered the surveyors to bake and brew at Newcastle "out of hande all they may."

I paid off this day the 6 ships that arrived here from Broughty on the 24th March. I have reserved the *Sakar* and taken another very handsome ship the *Watt*—manning each with 60 soldiers and mariners for continual "wifeling" our victuals to Broughty. The rest lie here with but 2 or 3 men each, till your further pleasure. The *Marie Hambro* cannot go to sea till she hath a knee under her "bekehede" and a new "bowsprite," and the *Feneux* must be docked to have "tymbars and fotwaylys" put in her. Their repairs sometime past cost 40*l.*

It will please your grace to direct as to the 4*d.* a day promised to the men that laboured at Broughty, whether it shall be paid, or given as "rewarde," and how much?

I have taken 200 soldiers out of the ships, and your grace will please say if you allow them "cote mone"? And I stayed Mr Windam in charge of them and the ships. We have little to meet our pay, with increased number of strangers and labourers when Mr Holcroft come, who I hear is sore sick. So I pray your grace to send some money.

I have ordered my cousin Dudley or Mr Luttrell to join me with all the men above the 300 for the two forts, and look for one daily. Sir Robert Bowes is this day on the way to execute your grace's orders to fortify. There has been such hail and snow, I doubt they cannot pass but by Berwick. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Edw. VI.
1548.
April 6.

220. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Sir Robert Bowes arrived at Lawther on the 4th, and very early next morning "commensed" fortifying, as he writes. The place is so strong "of nature," it will be soon tenable by a small garrison. I had my foot in the stirrup this morning to see it, when on arrival of your very earnest letter to make all things ready against Mr Palmer and Mr Brende's coming, I stopped that journey, charging Mr Bowes to use all diligence. Not having above 300 labourers for that and Yester, he causes the soldiers to work, except the Spaniards, who refuse and boast themselves to be men of war and not artificers. They can make no "cabons" nor will lie in one, except for a night in "feld watching." But if the King will make the place tenable, which they doubt will take long, build them houses, or buy them tents, they will serve him to the death. And thus plainly show they have no will to tarry there: wherefore your grace may please send down Gamboa or other fit officer, for me seems they have none such. The other exploits ordered by your grace cannot be done so speedily, for besides the above, the horses are so "travayled," through the extremity of cold, frost, hail, rain, and snow, that they can bear no journey. For supply, I have written to my lord President of York not doubting things shall soon be to your content. Ready money is greatly needed, as I have moved your grace before, and hearing nothing of Mr Holcrofte I have written to him. It may please your grace to despatch Mr Harleston with the demylances and Captain Andrea, and that we may speedily have "barbes and shafrons," and the men at arms be ordered to join. I see your grace has mistaken a letter from Mr Grymston to be one from the lard Ormestoun, answering it as to a passport for the Bishop of Dunkeld, and for reward of Mr Robert Carnighan,* which was delivered and brought to me by Ormestoun. I have returned it to Mr Grimston. It is true, as your grace was told, that the larde Brymston's house was unburnt. "Mary! the topp is pulled downe, so much of the stone as was lyked which laye in redynes to bylde, caryed to Edynbrough, his yong trees cut up, and all worse handled then if it had ben with fyer." I hear the Governor expecting my invasion, has sent for the Laird Ormestoun's wife, to persuade her husband to tolerate his cruel doings against him, which now he wishes had not been so sharp. Your grace commanded my allowing only 100 men to Ormistoun and Brimston, who now say your grace agreed to give them more, and I was instructed by you, which I remember not. Yet it is bruited in Scotland they are to have 500, which amazes the Governor, and I have agreed to 150, till I hear further from your grace. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: It may please you to instruct Mr Palmer as to stowage houses at Broughty—for there are none yet and the victuallers must lie there at great charge to the King, and risk if the galleys chance to arrive.

5¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 8.

221. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Sir Robert Bowes is this instant arrived from Lawther, leaving it in his opinion, and of Mr Willoughby, Mr Wilforth, Tuttie and

* Carnegy?

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1548. Garton, captains there, and as Mr Pettit's letter and "platt" will show your grace, of such strength that all Scotland with aid of any foreign prince is not able to recover it. The Borthwicks and Pringles are to furnish beefs and muttons weekly, and 3 months aforehand if they list. There is nigh no wheat there and they doubt bringing it from Berwick with their weak cattle, but if they can, they will serve them in bread from Lothian. Wherein I shall see to devise at my going to Haddington.

The assured men have proved themselves of so good disposition herein, that it seems they have of late received English hearts! My lord warden and the gentlemen have so wrought that they deserve your grace's thanks. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 11. **222.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have declared to Sir Robert Bowes your grace's pleasure for his execution of the office of both wardenries, without enlargement of pay, or consideration for his necessary expenses—wherein he takes in joyful part your grace's retaining him in memory, and no man can seem more glad to obey your pleasure, than he. Yet he reminds me (though not for refusal) that the cost of his old wardenry has not only "succed upp" his allowance, but also spent more than less of his own patrimony—and now this advancement by your gracious favour, must "rayse his cowntenaunce": as he showed me in more humble words. And his service has been so ready and forward in my time, as I have both in writing and speech showed your grace, that "I canne no lesse do than remembre it to the same, rather after my knowlege of the man, than after his owne desier." Praying your grace that his man now dispatched to you for your resolution on his appointment, may have favour. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. On margin at beginning:* "Response —that Sir R. B. take pacyence for a tyme, &c."

April 11. **223.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

That your grace may understand our need here, I have caused the master of ordnance of Newcastle to frame a book of the store in his charge, and enclose the same, that your grace may send us a convenient supply for the new fortresses. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548.] April 11. **224.** SIR JOHN LUTTRELL TO HOLCROFT AND LEAKE.

We lack biscuit, beer, and butter for the forts here. The fish is very rotten, and we must have fresh with all speed. We cannot convey from the "watersyde" quickly, having no help but the soldiers' hands, which are never idle working on the forts. I have written to the Council to send 10 or 12 able horses and 2 carts, which would be a great help in drawing lime stone, &c. There is feeding for them here, if some oats were sent for "provender." Desiring you to put

Edw. VI.
[1548.] your helping hand thereto, and also for "good plentyffe" of lime stone, coal and men to burn it, with the 30 masons I wrote last to you for. My servant the bearer shall advertise you of other necessary wants.* I most heartily desire you, if my servant cannot receive the whole pay, it may please you "to comande hyme a good prest," for things I have got for my soldiers, and others as he shall declare. At the King's fort of Broughty. *Signed:* Yowr lovinge frinde, John Luttrell.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* "To the ryght worsshypfull and my verye fryndes Sir Thomas Holcroft and Sir Francis Leyke ether of them gyve this." *Wafer signet: A swan with wings extended.*

1548. April 12. **225.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I received this day your grace's answer to my letter of the 4th, wherein it seems your grace has misunderstood my meaning, for I required money only at my return from this journey, to pay the garrisons, who are 5 months unpaid. There is 5000*l.* remaining, and I have made a rate for a prest to all, leaving somewhat for chances. The want of money shall not stay us "one hower," for we only delayed to refresh the horses "forehayed" of late, and I beseech your grace not to think I shall slip one moment, or after entry, slack anything to accomplish this business. Newcastle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

April 20. **226.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

When I left Boulogne, your grace licenced me to bring warlike and handsome men for the King's service here: and I took one Pistour a servant of Mr Ponnynges and then lieutenant under Captain Broughton, promising to restore him to his place after the war. But when after the army against Scotland returned, I remitted him, especially desiring fulfilment of my promise, as he lost a horse in the battle, Sir John Bridges being his "hevy master," refused my request. It may please your grace either to direct your letters to him on behalf of "poore" Pistour, or otherwise appoint him. Warkworth. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

April 23. **227.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I arrived here on Friday, before which time we could not proceed for want of carriage. Having appointed divers of the assured to meet us in the way to Cockburnspath [Cowperspeth], to make sure of the passage at the Pease, on Saturday last I set forth my lord warden in force to lie that night at Cowperspeth, and "this instant" I follow myself with the rest of our force, so as to be at Haddington on Tuesday, and doubt not to recover the time past. Mr Palmer tells me he has certified your grace of the Earl Huntly, in what sort he works; and on Wymes the Scottish prisoner, I have laid such watch

* The remainder holograph.

Edw. VI.
1548. as he can neither escape nor confer with any man on the affairs of England or Scotland. I herewith send intelligence given me from Scotland, and a schedule of the munition at Newcastle. That of Berwick is so small, it cannot furnish itself, as the master of ordnance there will report to your grace, as I willed him to do. Our labours shall make good any impediment by the "barronnes" of this country. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: "My larde" of Ormistoun affirms the same as to the conveyance and behaviour of Huntly.

Captain Gambo arrived yesterday and goes with us.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 28. **228.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Parting from Berwick on Monday 23d, I arrived here on Tuesday night. Next day I viewed the ground, and with Sir Thomas Palmer's advice appointed out the fortification, wherein the substance of all the town and fair houses is contained, sufficient for any garrison. Though the great work, the evil site overlooked by higher ground, the infidelity of some expected friends, scarcity of victuals, and nearness of the enemy, might have "feared" us, yet I doubt not with constant labour to overcome these difficulties. While "rydding" the ground was some hindrance, we are so intrenched, I doubt not the enemy's coming, but will adventure our lives in such a service.

The Governor was joined at Edinburgh yesternight by 300 French harquebusiers and it is reported they will be here this night or to-morrow. I have noted the small victuals in the town, and required the dwellers here about to bring in all they can, and find them "so well willing or so well afraied," that I doubt no want of grain. Some say the French urge the Governor to dislodge us, others that they advise him not to fight; but he intends marching at least as far as Musselburgh water, and we look for him every hour. He is somewhat out of hope of further aid from France, as the King demands his son, and the castles of Edinburgh, Dunbarton and Dunbar, or he will give none at all. He has required some gentleman to speak with the Bishop of Dunkeld, and I purpose sending Mr Palmer or Mr Brende to know what he requires. I humbly beg your grace for a supply of money, intending by your direction to give the soldiers 4*d.* for every 6 honrs—also to determine who shall command here, what officers and number of men left, as victuals must be provided accordingly. There is no man among us "so apte for that chardge as Master Wilforde" who has used great diligence, as also my lord warden, Mr Holcroft, and the rest. It will be the fairest town ever fortified in these parts, and the "daunter" of Scotland, and has already subdued all the country except the house of Yester [Ester] kept by the Spaniards, which I have not yet seen, but mean to before I depart. Haddington. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548.] April 29. **229.** JOHN BRENDE TO SIR WILLIAM PAGET.

Our enemies are set forward in great number with the Frenchmen and plenty of artillery, thinking "to eate us up," either this night

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[1548.] or to-morrow morning. There were never men less dismayed nor more desirous to see their enemies, and by next news ye shall hear either we are past peril, or else accomplish our enterprise in quiet. Haddington. *Signed:* John Brende.

⅓ *p. Holograph. Addressed:* " . . . right honorable Sir William [Paget] knyght of thorder comptroller of the Kinges Majesties houshold."

April 29. **230.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I hear the Governor having mustered 5000 men, lies to-night at Muskulborough, and intends to attack us to-morrow, and burn our mills outside the town, also with their 10 pieces of ordnance, to beat us from our trenches and give the assault. But we are none of us dismayed, and I assure your grace I shall yield you a defensible fortress, or leave my bones in defence of it. Haddington. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 30. **231.** SIR JOHN LUTTRELL TO SOMERSET.

Your grace was pleased to write to me on 22d February by my brother, that artificers were commanded hither: there is not one arrived as yet, and besides there is the greatest lack of victuals—specially biscuits and drink. I cannot but judge great fault in your grace's ministers and commissioners in the north parts. What commodity is found in our raising and turfing bulwarks here, when for lack of masons, they daily fall down and fill the "dykes" again—as even now the easter part of the north-east bulwark is fallen with so much earth as 100 cannon could not make a more perilous breach—"Yea or rather aperythe a thynge utterlye rasyd!" Your grace knows the place is in the front of danger, and the poor men are forced to watch as in time of siege, and fall sick daily. So at present there is "welner" 100 sick in the fort and castle. A fresh man never comes, and your grace can judge as we have nothing but salt meat, how needful relief is, now the time of service in summer draws nigh. Unless it is the neglect of the officers in the north, I must think I have so little credit at your grace's hands and the Council's, that my demands are thought superfluous, and rather proceed of "an unsasyatt yngnorance" than necessity or importance: and if so, nothing but destruction to the "pecys" here can follow. If it please your grace to appoint a man here you could better trust, I would rather "trayle the pyke" again as a soldier under him, as keep such a charge as this without credit. I also want powder, lead, &c., and there is not 3 "herkebusys" fit to serve. The men have been forced to make match of their shirts for near 3 months. I can get no munition for fire work nor cresset light. If your grace knew how the soldiers are discouraged, you would of your princely goodness pity them; they have served 18 months and never had thorough pay—a great time. I am but one man among them, but keep them in such obedience that they dare not openly mutter, and I seem not to hear; and as they see me partaker of their watch and travail, they do less complain. But I trust as your grace shall so provide that this extremity shall not always

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[1548.] endure, and I refer the "surplusage" to be declared by this bearer my brother, for whom I cannot omit to thank your grace for favour. He declared on his arrival your grace's desire to remedy the annoyance of the ground east of the fort, and wish for a platt. I have with him sent my poor opinion thereon to your grace, as may appear by the platt sent. I am assured by Hutchins who has been with the Queen twice and heard all their devices, that the Scots and French are determined to take it out of hand. I have sent him up with my brother, because he saw the whole force at Leith "and can platt the same" to your grace. His practise is finished, and the Queen and Frenchmen so "mocckyd," that they are much offended. The abbot of Paisley brought hither 2 "anseynes" of Frenchmen from Jedworth to scale the fort, and all his Fife adherents—in all, French and Scots, as I esteemed, 2000 feet and 500 horse,—the last to keep the passage between the fort and castle and prevent us sending powder "from benethe." I fired 2 demi-barrels of powder in the dykes, when the Scots gave a "sodenne showte," but on giving "the sawt," they strove who should come first, and not being agreed, thought better to "retyre agayne with wett cotes thenn to clemme wallys." So "my lorde of Dunkelles lordeshypp" was much ashamed at the failure, and I sent him such a "moccke" the same morning by my drum to Dundee, that his "sprytuall patyence" was much offended. They think I have sent "Hucchinges" to your grace to be hanged, and "I have borne them yn hand" that Lovell who kept the powder had accused him, and I suffered him to the last till I seized him. Since then I have declared that all the powder in the fort was spent and I could have got no more, which makes them half offended that they did not tarry the day to see the end. If your grace mind to fortify the east hill, I pray the men may be taken up by my brother in London, and their captains appointed from the gentlemen serving here. Also in Fife your grace might note the commodity of S^{t} Andrews, so apt for a strength. Finally in my own affairs, I am constrained to be a humble suitor to your grace for my ward the son of my late friend M^{r} Myhell Mallett, whom Sir Gawyne Carew keeps from me against all equity and reason: for his mother and friends knew right well that his late father "beynge lernyd in the lawe," declared sundry times that if he died, his son was my ward; and besides "I have good matter of recorde to sho for hyme." And hearing that Sir John Thynne is now sheriff of Somerset, I humbly sue your grace to command me an "indyfferent" trial, that I be not defrauded while here in service by your grace's commandment, far from my own affairs. The King's fort of Broughty upon Tay. *Signed:* John Luttrell.

8 *pp. Holograph. Fly leaf and address lost.*

[1548. April .] **232.** PROVISIONS, &c., FOR HADDINGTON.

[*Extracts.*]

Wheat flour, &c., 538 qrs. 2 bz.; malt, barley, &c., 489 qrs. 3 bz. "Bevereg":—beer, 130 tuns; "seckes and malmesyes," 14 butts, when mixed with water, 32 tuns; "Gaskin" wine, 33 tuns, when mixed with water, 66 tuns: "vineger," 15 barrels, mixed with water will make 4 tuns.

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[1548.] [*Beef, butter, cheese, salt, &c.*]

2 *pp. Fair contemporary copy. Indorsed:* "Proporcions of vitailes from Barwick sent to Hadington."

[1548. May 21.] **233.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR JOHN BRENDE.

[*Extracts.*]

Lord Grey to tarry at Haddington so long as he can. The horsemen also so long as they can get forage. The house of Yester [Ester] to be razed if not soon fortified.

The work before the castle gate of Berwick to be finished. If the Scots invade the East March, Lord Wharton to send aid as Lord Grey writes for—if on the West March, the latter shall send aid, and go in person if the case require. Lawson to have 100 soldiers to train, and leave his lieutenant and 10 men in Warke.

Lord Grey's request as to charges will not be made a precedent, but considered as cause appears.

Lord Nevill on the galleys' coming, to go with men to Hartelpole. Gamboa to have prests to a mark a day. Captains 5*s.*, some notable personages 20*d.*, the rest ordinary.

No Scot to serve in a fortress without special council letters.

Each captain in turn to watch in person—and all officers to be present "and not to ronne in ded paies."

The assured Scots to wear red crosses fast sewed [on their jacks or coats] and if taken without, to be held as [enemies or] unassured.

No assured Scot to commune with an unassured without license; and the lands of the latter to be let to such assured Scots as will defend them.

On news of the galleys, lord Grey to send a boat to warn the Captain of Broughty—and meanwhile to send timber there for the platform, and order another well to be sunk. The Master of Ruthen to be sent hither immediately. John Russe* to be sent to Carlisle to do as Lord Wharton appoints him.

The Captain of Haddington to train as many hackbutters as he can; do all he can to get George Douglas in his hands, and having him, keep him: and notwithstanding any treaty, destroy the country as he may. The church of Haddington to be taken down.

3 *pp. Draft corrected by Paget. Indorsed:* "Jo. Brendes instruccions xxi Maij 1548."

[1548. May 21.] **234.** ORDINANCES FOR HADDINGTON.

[*Another copy of part of the preceding paper.*]

Memorandum:—Letter to the Treasurer as to 800*l.* come to Berwick from the Earl of Shrewsbury, to be paid for coats and conduct money.

1 *p. In Paget's writing. Indorsed.*

* Rough (?)

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1548.
June 3.

235. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Through a quarrel at dice between two gentlemen, Captain Cholmeley of the light horse, and Lambert a man at arms: whereon the latter on long and great provocation by Cholmeley, at last agreed to fight outside the town, bringing only one man each—but a number of Cholmeley's men followed, and he with 2 or 3 attacked Lambert, driving him to a wall. Lambert then saying, 'What meane you sirs, will you murder me? Cholmeley, thou hast not kept promys with me!' and seeing himself hard set, "threwe a foyne" at the right side of Cholmeley, who is dead, though surgery might have helped him; which we lack much. I have taken Lambert and after inquest by a jury, shall report. Haddington. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548.]
June 4.

236. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

We have been chiefly employed fortifying, victualling, &c. As George Douglas all the time "foded me forthe" with fair words and delays, I took a like course, showing no enmity, but hoping his conversion, to breed trust in him till I got hold of him. So spying my time, I resolved both to burn the country 3 miles round Edinburgh, and entrap him at Dalkeith: and on Sunday night the 3d, I sent out the Lord Warden with the light horse, Gamboa with 70 of his mounted hackbutters, the men at arms, &c. to burn—and to Dalkeith, Mr Wilford and Mr Windham with 600 foot, 100 horse, and some pioneers: so secretly that the lord warden was at Leith water before "escryed," and Wilford at Dalkeith "before George had knowledge." The horse passing to enclose the house, was his first alarm, whereon he and his force attacked us before the castle, but were driven back "at the pointe of the pyke," some slain, and the rest flying in by a postern, shut some out, whom we killed in the dikes. George meanwhile conveyed himself away, how I know not. Our men beat the loops with their hacbuts, won the base court and began to undermine. The garrison's offer to give up, and depart with bag and baggage, being refused, they seeing the wall undermined, surrendered the house. And we have taken the Master of Morton, George's son, the Abbot of Arbroath, Angus's bastard son, the laird of Wetherburne, Alexander Hume, divers Douglases, 2 Carrs, in all 40, with George Douglas's wife, all here. About 40 were slain in the town, and such a quantity of stuff taken there and in the castle, as has not been seen in one place, all the country having brought their goods for safety, and all has been given to the soldiers who manfully won it. The Lord Warden did his work nobly, burning 15 mills, and all the country from 3 miles west of Edinburgh to Muskilborough water, took many beasts and prisoners, and in spite of the Scots and Frenchmen, got to Dalkeith without loss before the house was given up, and is here again safe. I wholly give myself to the fortifying, much hindered by other business and the weariness of the soldiers, but now with these fresh men we shall get on, employing the rest to fetch faggots and rods from the wood, and I hope soon to leave it in good estate. Before the enterprise, Angus being at Temtallon, made signification as though he would agree with England, without his

Edw. VI.
[1548.] brother, if the latter held out. And I showed him much affection, yet not letting my purpose, and to try him, wrote the letter the copy whereof I send.

The French are looked for at Leith about the 20th instant, and intend also to make some show in the west seas to draw us that way. Their letters speak of 20 ensigns of foot. Their purpose is to attack Broughty, which they think clean shut out from succour, and intend some treason against Mr Luttrell, whereof I have warned him. I have while writing, received yours of 30th May and shall perform all points. Haddington. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

The only man killed at Dalkeith was Forman appointed surveyor of works here.

Tiberio, as he doth always, showed himself a valiant soldier in the enterprise.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Grey to Angus.)

Considering your lordship as a friend of the King, minding this night to destroy some places which might serve the Frenchmen on their coming, I thought good to advertise you not to be moved therewith, but to consider that in annoying the enemy, men must sometimes touch their friends and waste their possessions. So if any of yours are touched in these affairs, ye must take it done of necessity, but you and yours shall be spared as much as I can, and if damaged, I promise sufficient recompense if ye stand friendly to the godly purpose, as I trust ye will.

½ *p. Copy by Grey's clerk.*

1548. June 4. **237.** NEWS OUT OF SCOTLAND.

Harl. MSS., 289, fol. 33.

Lord Graye has taken the castle of Balcote [Dalkeith?] within 4 miles of Edinburgh and burned the town: also burned Newbolton [Newbottel] and spoiled the abbey: also burned and spoiled 2 miles about Edinburgh, and destroyed 37 mills in 3 miles compass.

He took 4000 head of cattle, "thErle of Balcote his wyffe, his mother, and the sonne and heyre of George Doglas." Also "thErle of Meffon."

"The lord Arloff, the lord Waterborogh and ij gentylmen and 3000*l.* money in the same castell, and every sodyer had 40*s.* in reward."

The Scots taken by Mr Wylford, &c. in the "castell of Aborogh—the lord of Wethingborogh and his wyffe: the Abbote of Alborogh, thErle of Angwishe sonne and heyre, Mr Mortons sonne, Sir George Duglas wyffe, Alexaunder Hume, James Doglas of Angwishe, 2000 hed of nete, and 3000 shepe."

½ *p. Contemporary hand. Indorsed:* "Newes out of Skotlande the 4 of June."

June 7. **238.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I hear from Edinburgh that the Governor is so grieved at the spoil and devasting of Dalkeith, "passyoned" by his unadvised render-

Edw. VI.
1548. ing of Dunbarton to the Queen, "tormented" at his son's delivery to France, his estimation abated, his vain expectation at an end, the French aid so slow, some say gone back, that he has thrown himself into a sharp sickness and lies at the point of death. The Queen likewise is ill content with the French delay. As I looked this day at the men in the town ditch, they threw up with their spades the enclosed pieces of coin, one whereof I pray your grace to present unto the King as from his poorest soldier, most wanting in what he presents—the other it may please your grace to receive as from a man who has no plenty nor store, but for the strangeness of the coin.

Among the prisoners at Dalkeith I hear there is one Archibald Douglas of Glambarvy of the west parts of Scotland, therefore here not so well known, and one of the chiefest of that surname, except the Earl of Angus. Our scarcity of horse meat is so great that the horses die, and I fear we shall have to return to recover the feeble. Haddington. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: On the 4th arrived here Sir John Doone with 200 men, Sir Robert Worsely with 100, and Mr Thornebrough sent 100.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 8. **239.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

As commanded, I have sent up the Master of Ruthven with the bearer my man, whom I have instructed "to serche his devocion" by the way, and report to your grace. His towardness I assure your grace hath not been in "franke wordes" only, but is "so addict" to the King, that to appearance the better has not been hitherto known here. He specially requested if any service were to be done, he might be called upon: and was at Yester with his servants "in there jackes and red skarffes," and also ready here (if I had ordered) to have gone to Dalkeith. He has told me that by his father's means St Johnstons shall be delivered to your grace, wherein if you dealt with him, it may take better effect. Finding Angus willing to come "to some poynt and have an ende," if we could win him assuredly we might do what we would with the Scots, I beg your grace's directions as to dealing with him. I will as soon as I can conveniently, send the French and Scots taken at Yester to York, but as they are mine, I thought to have placed them among my friends, except such as your grace would have with you. Your grace last winter had resolved to send 2 or 3 preachers of this country "borne," but they were then unwilling to risk their bodies: they need fear nothing now, and if sent to this town, would be well received, and win many to your purpose.

We have also great need of a "phisition" to cure the body, some of us being touched with sickness, and I earnestly sue for such, the rather as I am not able of my own means to entertain one for my self and family, as I would indeed do.

I have staid here as long as I can, and must "of force" depart on Monday next. Our horse meat is so scarce and bad, that the horses die daily, but I trust before going, to leave the town strong and well furnished.

Having forgotten in advertising of Dalkeith, to commend the service of Newton "the Skott that wan the combatt"; as the same was notable, I should do him much wrong to leave it unknown. "He

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1548. showed himselfe both on horseback and foote a very ennemye to his countrey, as busye to there dystruccion and as forwarde to serve on our parte, as any man myght be." Haddington. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: I trust your grace will consider the bearer's charges, or refer it to my discretion.

4½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548.] June 9. **240.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

As we left Muskulborough unburnt when Dalkeith was taken, I sent thither Francis Aslaby on the 7th, who burned the town and mills, and all the fisher villages near the sea, leaving untouched only the church upon the hill, driving also many beasts, to the utter ruin of that country. It chanced the [laird of Ormi*]ston suffered heavily, which the more patiently he takes, the more worthy he is of recompense. I must sue your grace for him, also for Hugh Douglas's great loss in corn, and for the laird of Colston, whose wood we daily spoil. That same night I laid ambush for Angus, who had been taken but for his going by sea from Temtallon to Edinburgh; but some of his servants and horse fell into our hands. His purpose as he sent me word, is to consult his friends as to leaving the Queen and the French: and as he sent for it, I have given him safe conduct to commune, so I see he is no further off for anything we have done. I have dismissed George Douglas's wife, who has promised to bring over her husband. He is now the most desperate man in the world, and laments his mischance. I have sent the chief prisoners to England except the Master of Morton, who was hurt. One of these Douglases called the Lord of Glynbarvey, is counted chief of that name, and most esteemed by the Earl, as being ruler of a whole country, he brings him always many men. I have forced myself to stay still here, seeing how our enterprises "abashe" Scotland, and the goodwill in all the gentlemen to serve; for twice a day we go to the wood with horse, foot, and carriage, bringing in daily 4000 or 5000 faggots, a marvellous help to raising the mounts in the bulwarkes, and a precedent for the Captain after our departure, as well for fortification as "for his fewell." I purpose in these 4 days to leave for England. I find much service and fidelity in Brymston and Ormistoun, for being made privy to George Douglas's matter, they kept it secret and wrought so, that but for mischance he had undoubtedly been taken. He escaped with one man by a secret way. Haddington. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: The garrison men when they get a cow, horse, or the like, depart without regard of service, and played this part at Musselborough, leaving their captains to abide the enemy, who pursued them with 150 horse—while their men drove the beasts by strange ways to Berwick, &c. They have neither honesty nor fear of punishment, although 2 or 3 have already suffered. So I beseech your grace to remove them and suffer me to levy Yorkshire men in their place; for pillage is their only service, and if we trust them, we shall one day rue it.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

* Worn away.

Edw. VI.
1548. June 11.

241. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

As promised I report our state to your grace—the garrison as in the enclosed schedule—victuals for 6 months as in another, artillery and munition to . . . * great store of coal, "hather and roddes for maundes." The forces are paid to the 12th instant. After disbursing 600*l.* for corn, &c. I have left here 2500*l.*

I have placed the officers and given them charge as your grace appointed. The fortifications I refer wholly to Sir Thomas Palmer, who will satisfy your grace better than I can in writing, and has laboured so therein, that without him it could not have been in such forwardness.

I have devised with the gentlemen of Lothian thus—to the 150 horse that Ormestoun, Brunston and Hugh Douglas have, I have added 12 to lie at the lord of Spot's house to scour and keep Dunbar occupied—that 16 horse watch nightly near Musselburgh, to give alarm of attack from Edinburgh—if the French come in strength, then they to take their goods, cattle, &c. into Tevydale and the Merse, and if still pressed by the Governor's force, then to retire to England. I have written to the lairds of Cesford, Ferniherst, Cowdenknowes, Houndilie and Mark Carre, to meet me at Berwick on Wednesday to confer with Ormestoun, Brunston, Treyborne, Ledington and Whitingeam, summoned there for the purpose. The King's town of Haddington. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 12. **242.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Departing from Haddington early this morning, I saw Dunbar town "burne hansomly" as I had ordered, and coming nearer, I descried the French fleet, near hand 120 sail, whereof 16 galleys, a brigantine, a "foyste" and three great ships of 300 and 240 [tons ?] the rest but small. They cast anchor off Dunbar, tarrying for the tide. While there, I received your grace's letters of the 7th touching Earl Bothwell with a postscript of the readiness of the said navy at "Newhavon" and how they passed the narrow seas. Mr Hilton tells me they took 3 ships laden with coal and "grynstones," and burned 2 others that ran ashore between Sunderland and Tynemouth.

I intend to follow your commands for this town, "the Iland" &c., and send Sir Thomas Palmer with speed to your grace: and lacking assistance "in this busy world" I would it might please you to appoint some discreet persons to advise with and ease me of travail. For your grace's orders as to the bishopric and other horsemen mustering here for service, they have been so spent that it is impossible before a month's rest at least. I shall return Sir Thomas Holcroft's whole band to Haddington, for they are not only good soldiers, but painful workmen—though this varies somewhat from your order—and I beseech you allow it for the necessity, and credit Mr Palmer therein. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

The French navy seem to be bending towards Leith.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

* Worn away.

Edw. VI.
1548. June 12. **243.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Having this instant despatched Sir Thomas Palmer to his grace, beseeches his full resolution on all points with speed. Holy Island. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 14. **244.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have sent with the bearer Stephen Plasted my servant, the French captain that was in Yester, also Newton the Scotsman that slew Hamilton. The rest of the gentlemen I have sent to the Archbishop to be kept at York, saving the Master of Morton, who is sore hurt on his thigh, and remains with his other brother in the castle here. Beseeching your grace that as my prisoners, they be not released without contentation of their ransoms to me. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 15. **245.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

The French fleet still lying off Dunbar, one gentleman with 60 men landed at North Berwick, whereon Knyfton, Francis Aslaby and Pellam, entered the town on them. With all speed, they made for their boats, but the gentleman and 10 others were slain or drowned. M^r^ Wilford reports that many light horsemen have run away from Haddington. I search for, and mind some shall suffer, but beseech your grace as before, to appoint us others, for these men only look for pillage. I have 100 more men from Lord Shrewsbury and will send them to Haddington. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 16. **246.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Sending him Lewes and Chapman 2 of the new men at arms, who from their small pay can in no wise furnish themselves, as a deputation on behalf of the whole body, for his help. *Signed:* Wyllyam Gray.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 16. **247.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I hear by my spy in Edinburgh, that since the French fleet came into the "Frythe, lytle above Dunbar," where they lie still, Monsieur Dessee their chief captain, landed at Leith, had a long communing at Edinburgh with the Queen accompanied by the Bishops of Paisley [Paselo] and Dunkeld, and returned on board. After a day and night, he again consulted at Edinburgh with the Queen and Governor very secretly, yet most say they mind rather to invade us, than to attempt getting again what they have lost. I can hear of no Scots rising to help them, or any stir, except the Scots garrison removed to Muskelborough to make room for the French in Edinburgh. Their

Edw. VI.
1548. whole force is not past 10,000, of whom 2000 are French, the rest Almaynes and Swyses, 400 great horse and 200 light horse. They are victualled for little more than a month, and already fear want. They have advanced 400 crowns to a Fife man to victual them.

The Earl of Angus and his brother sued the Larde of Elvestone, accusing him as the cause of the loss and destroying George's goods, but on trial, the judgment being given in Elvestone's favour, they live "clene discomforted," doubting which way to take, but seeming "more to bende to our parte, then to thother." But being fully warned of their falseness, I count little of their promises, and think them but dissimulation for some advantage. I shall write as oft as I can of their proceedings.

I beseech your grace's resolution on the articles Sir Thomas Palmer is instructed with, and that we be not "letted" for want of men or money. I sent this day to Haddington the 200 men that came from my lord of Shrewsbury, who merits great thanks for such a band of "tall personages," not one unable man among them; and with them I sent 3 mills, 1 last more of serpentine powder, 60 hackbuts, ½ a ton of iron, 200 lb. of matches, 4 dozen "sycles," 1 dozen "sythes," and all the "pyke axes and fylling* axes" we had, and have none left. As by your grace's order I left only 10 men at Warke, I thought good to remember you of the ordnance there, and in case of invasion, it were better to appoint more men there. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: I hear the galleys are presently departed to besiege Borthie.

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

June 17. **248.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I hear that 8 of the galleys went on Thursday to Borthe Crag, hoping Fife and Angus would have risen to help them—but are returned to Leith. It is rather thought they intend attacking this town than any in Scotland. The General and many of their captains were in Edinburgh and returned to their ships. He is not yet certainly bent to discharge at Leith or elsewhere. This news is from the Lady of Fast [Faulst] castle, one of the 4 appointed to attend upon the young Queen. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: By your grace's letters of 13th instant, I find you think I should have done my last exploits somewhat longer before the French came. If Fortune had favoured, it might have been so, but "Fortune so hateth me after his accustumed maner, that as he trayneth me oon foote forward, he draweth me back twayne." Knowing that one day's labour in such exploit, hinders three on the fortification, I forbore the one to advance the other, and did the best I could, as I thought.

Having conferred with Mr John the engineer we think it meet to finish some things heretofore begun, as your grace will see by a plat to be sent: but if you approve not, shall conform myself.

1¾ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

* Felling.

Edw. VI.
1548. June 18.

249. GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Gamboa having mustered 100 mounted hackbutters, will not be content with less pay for them than 8 "dukates" a month, and claims your grace's promise of an "overplus" for 22 gentlemen. Being very importunate and troublesome therein, I granted for the past 100 crowns a month, if your grace please. Besides he claims your promise for his old pay while master of the camp, declaring his now heavy charges; and to satisfy him, I gave him 100*l.* in prest, considering our want of men and his good service. Awaiting your grace's further pleasure. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 18. **250.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I hear this morning that on Saturday last the 16th the greatest part of the French navy landed at Leith. By their own report they are 23 "enseignes" or 10,000 men. Their horsemen if any, I do not yet know. The Governor will deliver up Edinburgh and Dunbar, and has sent orders to the Captain of the latter to make ready, but he demands first the arrears long due to him and his men. The Scots muster on the 25th instant at Edinburgh to attack Haddington, and have sent to Fife and Angus for carriage horses and oxen, scantly to be had there. I have written to Lord Wharton for aid, who replies he will make ready 700 foot, "very symple" soldiers, I hear, but says nothing of horse. As ours are sore travelled, and his are fresh, I beseech your grace to send your pleasure to him, and name the captains, viz., young Wharton his son, and Thomas Dacres with their bands. I shall make ready the Bishopric horsemen, according to your grace's last letter, and do the best I can with the garrison men and country men, though their service is only to rob and spoil. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 19. **251.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have received your grace's letters of the 15th instant, answering mine of the 11th and 12th, wherein you marvel not a little at my report of our horse, who except for 2 rodes to Yester and Dalkeith, have had a long rest. Your grace may please consider they were never at rest, but ever travelling—what with convoys from here to Haddington twice or thrice weekly—nightly scouting—sending to the country for carriages—bringing victuals from Aberlady, biscuits and faggots on horseback—and many other occasions that you know happen in war—besides their evil fare for long. So that there be as many dead as 1000*l.* will not supply!

I thank your grace for Sir Thomas Palmer's return and Lord Dacres' coming, whose advice as my near kinsman I shall have. But would have been much bounden for "some lusty" young gentleman, as my lord of Huntington, my lord John Grey, or the like, who might gain experience here, and ease me of continual "drawing in the plough." Lord Dacres' men being marchmen, are no better than these others—"so as nether barrell better herring." I beseech your

Edw. VI.
1548. grace he may bring his number from other countries—for with my experience I cannot trust this countrymen. And your grace only replies to my divers letters, by advice for extreme and sharper punishment, "which doth nothing at all help amendment"; and therefore must pardon my often repeating it, and relieve it, or we shall one day smart for it.

Not being skilful in converting Scottish bolls to London measure, I ordered Donne to reckon the victuals at Haddington, and find he has erred in the book I sent to your grace. For the Scots tell me their boll of malt contains 5 London bushels, and the boll of wheat 4½ London bushels. So I have sent an amended book of these in quarters, and another of what passed by sea under M^r^ Stonehouse's hand, and would have sent more that way, but for your grace's "discommending" it—though with so few men the work could not have been otherwise done so soon. A great deal of corn was to be received from the Lairds of Bass, Waughton, &c., and the markets have so served, that they need not touch their store. They have since "set in" 800 head of nolt, 1000 sheep, and bought 38 bullocks; so that in my own and associates' opinion, for the number, 2500 appointed by your grace, it is one of the King's best victualled "peces."

This instant I have received the following as to the captains and numbers of the "nacions" of the enemy. They are not all landed, but have promised the Queen to set overland 12,000 men, leaving as many more to keep the ships. Also 1200 men at arms barbed, and 800 light horse. Nothing will be determined till the Council meet, which was to be on Sunday last. Monsieur Dessé [Dasey] lieutenant general, Peter Strozzi [Strose] captain of the galleys, and his brother, and 4 of the order of "S^t^. Johns cote"—the Landgrave captain of the "lancequenettes"—the Great master of France's nephew—3000 French men hacbutters, 1500 "lancequenettes," 3000 Italians and Spaniards. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 19. **252.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

At his own request I commend the bearer Mathew Kempe to your grace, who has been ever forward in service, and of such sobriety and tractableness for the conservation of the Spaniards in good order, that I cannot refuse him. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548.] **253.** BRENDE TO PALMER.
June 20.

What should I write to you but of Haddington, knowing it is "contynually in your hedde." Since your departure, the church is "in maner" down, and the houses, the walls and trees. They have made "vamures" round about, cleared their dikes, closed in the Friars—are raising Windam's bulwark, with platforms like the other, and planted 5 pieces. They are now "rydding" the houses to clear the curtain by the waterside, have mured up the great gate and closed the entry to the Friars. The captain cannot make the soldiers work harder. The enemy cannot annoy them these 8 days wherein they

Edw. VI.
[1548.] shall do wonders. We are also fortifying here, which I think you will not mislike at coming. Your man is come from Edinburgh, and mine is gone thither. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

¾ *p.* *Addressed:* "To . . . Sir Thomas Palmer knight at the Court." *Indorsed.*

1548. June 20. **254.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Hearing that the enemy though they bruit to assail Haddington, will attack our weakest place, I have sent to Lord Wharton for Baker and his bands, meaning to lay them at Hume, to succour Lawther or Roxburgh as needed.

Instead of 8 galleys going to Borthe cragg, and their short return, as I wrote, I now hear by one that came thence, that there were 18, and that they and the old "peece" shot at each other, and could not reach by a great distance; but the new fort shot so near them, and they "worse able to reche it then tholde forte," that they gave up and departed. I think for want of better, to lay the Bishopric horse with some of ours, to keep Tevydale and the Merse from joining the Governor's power, as long as may be, or at least intercept their victuals. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

June 20. **255.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Sending the bearer James Ramsay "a nigh kynnesman" to Hugh Douglas of Longniddry, sore diseased with the stone, for remedy thereof at London, he being indifferent whether to go to France or London, and Grey thinking the latter best. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

⅓ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1548.] June 20. **256.** LUTTRELL TO SOMERSET.

On Thursday last 16 galleys and a brigantine, guided by a little Scottish boat, cast anchor as near the Fife side as they might ride. As our shot, both castle and fort, could reach the "patronnes" galley and I thought they were enemies, I gave them the first "salve" which they liked so ill that they loosed . . .* not one that came half [way*] to us. The current is so swift here, that galleys can only lie near "thayedes" on each side, and then not bend their "prowe" to this castle, without being flanked by the fort. They can only close the river to victuallers, but we are well provided, yet must husband our drink, having good water.

I humbly desire your grace for one of the Frenchmen taken in Yester castle, to recover an honest man under me, . . .* to Dundee the day before the [galleys came*], forgot the lieutenant's assurance and hurt one of my men. And the laird of Kinfauns [Kynfans] being there with 16 horse, took 3 of my men, one called "Huccyns" of the ordinary "tamboryns," and right good service, whom the Queen has

* Torn off.

Edw. VI. [1548.] sent for to put him in the galleys, minding to do the like to all prisoners here. My neighbours and I are fallen out, and no day passes without 5 or 600 horse and the country foot about, attend on me—but I have offered them such play, they keep a mile off, for in one day's skirmish 15 of them were slain. We have turfed the east curtain and front of the northeast bulwark so high, that they must bring ladders, for it passes climbing. I have platformed the castle, fair towards the water, and vamured it with fair loops 6 foot thick. I took 2 ploughs of oxen and 18 horses in the country, with which we carry turf, &c. I dare not plainly advertise your grace of the good will hereabouts, for the messenger is a "Flemyng" . . .* I have found another Scotsman here, the King's servant, who has 50*l.* pension, a very honest man. He has lent me in cloth for the men, and money for the works, above 70*l.* The new fort at Borthe. *Signed:* John Luttrell.

The galleys' sudden going has left a sorrowful country, for they hoped I should be removed—but I trust to be your grace's instrument to revenge their hidden malice.

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Damaged.*

1548. June 23. **257.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Sir Oswald Wylstropp and Christofer Ellerkar who left this on Thursday afternoon with a convoy for Haddington, were espied at the "Nonry" at 4 or 5 o'clock yesterday morning, by the Bishop of Dunkeld and Monsieur Chapell with a good number of French riding to Dunbar to deliver the house. Chapell made forward to cut them off from the town, but retired on some foot issuing to their assistance, and our men put them to flight. Little damage was done except Chapelle's horse slain, the Lord of Blakader's sore hurt and one of their men slain. The same day the Bishop discharged the old captain and put in the Frenchmen, no Scotsman being left in the castle. This morning on their return with not less than 400 or 500 horse, our horse issued not above 80, and put them to flight again, keeping the field. A brave Frenchman shot Christofer Ellerkar in the throat with a "dag,"† mortally, it is thought—who thus wounded, ran at him and thrust him under the harness with his staff and slew him. The French took him away on a horse, I hear that he is one of the chiefest. There is missing on their part, John Hambleton who had a great blow on his head, and Rynyon Crynston, whether taken or slain I know not, for a Scotsman reported it, confirmed by one of Ellerkar's men, come to declare that 40 of his convoy have deserted, being countrymen, whose shameful service your grace now seeing, may provide remedy; for though I have heretofore done execution terrible enough to honest hearts, and such as I have been sorry to do, and mean to do sharper as your grace calls for—yet I doubt amendment, their "natures is so evell." The French I hear "are just" 145 sail, 20 galleys and a foyst, and were not all landed last Wednesday. After their musters, I shall learn the number both horse and foot, as yet unknown.

The Scots think to muster at Edinburgh on Monday, and on Thursday or Friday to come to Haddington. I enclose a letter

* Torn away. † Pistol.

Edw. VI.
1548. from Sir John Luttrell showing the good state of Borthy Crag. The *Barque Ancher* is arrived at Newcastle, and your grace will please signify whether M[r] Wyndham shall go to sea, or serve on land, and what the other ships shall do? The church of Haddington is overthrown, and everything in good forwardness for the enemy, on whom they hope to win much honour. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 25. **258.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

In answer to your grace's resolution of 20[th] instant on certain articles:—

(1) The *Barke Anchier* arrived at Newcastle on the 18[th] without the pickaxes signified by your grace—and to prepare them there (as on our last journey) will take long time.

(2) Though your grace will send money without fail by the last of this month, I must remember the same that we are 8 months unpaid, greatly hindering service, especially the horsemen.

(3) I have punished the borderers sharply, yet no amendment follows.

(4) I have already sent for Baker, as the enemy make such countenance hither—but shall support the West if they are attacked.

(5) Berwick is in so good form as the platt herewith will show, that I stay not Sir Thomas Palmer's coming, for the French bruit they will assail it, and have "aforehand" disposed the keeping of Norham, which I trust they shall not have reason to presume winning so easily. "The Ilande" shall be fortified and Master John has been there.

(6) Wheels and stocks for cannons cannot be so quickly made here, and time is like to overtake us ere half wrought.

I have spread in "grete wordes a noyse of" our ships coming, and trust your grace will advance it no less "in deedes"; and beg your orders for M[r] Windham and the ships here, rigged and ready, wanting only victuals and mariners.

I know the "straytes" beside Norham where the French were repulsed, and will take advantage as shall seem expedient: but till we have more force we can do nothing. I would you sent us "barbes," they make double strength, give hardiness, and dread to the enemy.

Sandy Pringle and Giralde Selbye desire two chantries which your grace's general licence to reward them, does not warrant my giving.

I thank your grace for Andrea and Phillip Pyni, handsome men of service, and pray their dispatch. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: Though I have often required Sir John Luttrell either to pay his discharged soldiers and labourers, or send me what is due them; yet here are 30 or 40 poor sick labourers come, who say they have not had one penny since I sent them there, but bring no passports &c. of their due, and I have had to give them some relief. Beseeching your grace to write to him, not as though I complained, but wish things done in order for the King's service.

4¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 26. **259.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I hear the French have this day set forward with their ordnance

Edw. VI.
1548. 3 miles towards Haddington, the Scots not yet assembled in any number. I have devised a letter to the Captain of Haddington (a copy whereof is herewith sent to your grace) telling him of a great support by land and sea, the messenger, unawares to himself, to be intercepted by the way, which may stay them and win time for us. But I trust with the horsemen to annoy their camp, and while loath to find more fault with this countrymen, with whom I must serve, I daily find such diligence and courage in my lord Warden and M^r^ Holcroft, that while I mislike the men, I rejoice in their leaders, and trust we shall all do what is possible to dismay the enemy.

On the 22^d^ your grace wrote, Lord Shrewsbury was to send 200 demilances and 300 light horse, and on 23^d^ that 1000 horse were to arrive from him, to be trained by some expert soldier. I shall do what I can, and for more aid beseech your grace to send me your servant John Appowell, and their certain number. Baker is come from the West March, and I have also sent for the substance of the horsemen, under the leading of my lord Wharton's son, and Sir Thomas Dacres; as well as the bishopric horsemen. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Grey to Wilford.)

Warning him that the French intend to beseige him: that a great English navy is preparing, and the enemy once encamped, will burn their fleet and stores at their backs—Courtpenny and a great band of Almaines are ready in Calais, also the pensioners, King's men at arms and 4000 other horse, drawing this way. Andreas an "Albenoyes," and Philipp Pini an Italian, are on this side London with their bands, and will not be long absent. Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Dacres, &c. are marching hither 16,000 strong. Trusting the French will get what they seek.

2 *pp.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.*

[1548.] June 26. **260.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I am assured the French march for Haddington, the Scots in rear and intend to make "severall" camps and batteries. If I had horsemen I could disturb them, but Lord Wharton has sent none. The Bishop of Durham and Earl of Westmerland promise some, but not so many as they could wish: and the Earl requests his tenants may be spared. Many of the garrison horses are dead, and for want of pay, the men cannot furnish themselves. The rest of the country keep no geldings, and have been so long defended by the garrison, that they think of no wars.

This I say, not refusing to serve, but that your grace may see in what case I stand. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

June 27. **261.** LENNOX TO SOMERSET.

This Wednesday 27^th^, my wife received by a gentleman of the

Edw. VI.
[1548.] Earl of Angus's, David Stewart, 2 letters, one from the Earl, the other from his brother George, which I send herewith. Stewart, in the Earl and his brother's behalf, has desired my wife and me to sue your grace for our having the custody of the gentlemen named in their letters, and if not all of them, at least of the Master of Morton and the laird of Glenbervy, which last the Earl esteems more than his own bastard son George, and all the rest. And I see George his brother is more "carefull" for his own younger son the Master of Morton, than for his elder son, delivered as hostage—for he desires the Master shall not be prisoner for ransom nor yet for exchange of any prisoner that is in Scotland. The Earl and his brother might better have addressed others "then other my wyffe or I," for we have had no benefit at either of their hands: so I rather desire your grace to "kepe faste when you have them" as always my poor opinion has been. But if it please you I have in keeping the Master and the laird, I shall answer to your grace for their surety. For I would be very glad to prove what fruit might follow on the fair words of the Earl and his brother, which are these, as the bringer declared by word of mouth—"That if I myght obteyne leyve of your grace to have the kepyng of the pryncypall of these gentellmen wiche they be suters for, that at suche tyme as I wolde repayre towardes Carleisley, I shuld then well perceyve the frendshipps and goode wyll of the said Erle and hys brother towardes the Kynges Majestie his affayers, in suche sorte as they dowte nott butt shulde be to your graces contentacion, and allso to my advancement and recovery of that wiche I have loste in Scotlande."

Whatever your grace commands me herein, and all other things, I shall be ready to accomplish to my power: and as I am shortly to repair to Carlisle, I shall be glad to know your pleasure in the premisses. Templehurst. *Signed:* Mathew Lewenax.

My wife desires her humble recommendations, and saith that she will make answer "nether to father nor uncle" till she know your grace's pleasure.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Angus to his daughter.)

"Derrest dochter" . . . through mischance and "under traist, as I beleve, the house of Dalkeith was destroyed, and taken out of it our cousin the laird of Glenbervy, the Master of Mortoun, George my son, David Home of Wedderburn, and Alexander Home his 'eme.'" * Praying you with your husband's advice, to see if ye can get them or part of them put in friends' hands and gently treated; specially Glenbervy "that is ane seikly tender man and has ix motherles bairnis." Let George lie in pledge for him as your wisdom thinks best. Make my hearty commendation to my lord your husband, and give credence to the bearer my servitor David Stewart as to myself. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Ar^d^. Erl of Angus.

½ *p.* *Addressed:* "To my derrest douchter the Countes of Levenax."

* Uncle.

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[1548. June 27.]

262. MEMORIAL FOR THOMAS FISHER.

"A memoriall for Thomas Fisher appointed to repare with all diligens into the northe to my lord of Shrowesburye and my lord Graye &c.; who takeng with him lettres of credence for that purpose, shall for his credit declare as ensuethe":—

[*Extracts.*]

First—the 3000 foot from Lord Shrewsbury's rule, to be stayed if possible before they reach Newcastle.

Considerations:—Saving coats and conduct money and victuals—the "Almaynes" coming—and horse chiefly required for this service. But if too far forward, then to join the forces.

To forbear the "proclamacion," lest the French and the Governor give strait order to "take none at all": yet let it be secretly known to Ormistoun and Brunston, that their doings are well taken.

To cause the Mayor of Newcastle to make provision &c., for "my lordes grace," who you think will soon be there; and tell Ormeston, Bromston, and Forest, that his grace minds to be there about 10th or 12th August—declaring it also to Lords Shrewsbury and Grey, and Brend, that they may say at table or other fit place, they are glad of it, as he brings 4000 horse with him.

Sir Richard Manners to be warden of the East and Middle Marches in Sir Robert Bowes' absence.

To see as to victualling Haddington with cattle &c. from Berwick.

To declare to the posts their neglect, and to Lords Shrewsbury and Grey not to write "For lief," except on occasion—in other cases "With diligence" only—for the former causes them to make "nothing the more haist."

That they set forth the ships well manned with all haste, with the surveyor of Calais and Master John the engineer to consider "the Brent Ilaunde," and Sir Richard Lee to see all things, tools &c., ready to fortify on arrival.

That Lord Clynton "distres" if he can, all vessels at the entry of "the Frithe" or Aberlady; and if the French retire "within Inchegarven," leave some of his ships to intercept victuals to Aberlady or Dunbar.

To warn Mr Luttrell by a small vessel of their arrival, and cause Stonehouse to furnish him, while the navy is there.

If the French still hold siege to Haddington and send their ships above Inchgarven, Lord Clynton shall burn and "divast" the country as he can, to raise the siege, and send news by his "pynnas."

That Stonehouse see with care to the victualling of the navy; and in delivering victuals by land, always take the captains' receipt, for settlement at the soldiers' pay, and send the treasurer his book monthly.

To declare approval of their encamping at the "Peese," for the reasons written formerly by Lord Grey, for their entrenching there as if to pass in force, may draw the enemy thither to attack them—while Carr of Warke or some other, with 100 or 200 light horse marching secretly by Lauder, may take powder into Haddington and make good their return as they best can—each of his men so engaged to receive a crown. "Mary! this devise must be kept very secrete," and

Edw. VI. [1548. June 27.] imparted to none but Carr, and the powder only delivered at the point of departing, that the men know nothing.

If the French pay no attention to "your encamping at the Peese," then when the horse and Almaynes come, they and the foot may encamp in some strong place, 4 or 5 miles nearer Haddington, thus ready to succour it, and also besiege Dunbar—but do this only if they can be victualled.

To write in cipher to the Captain of Haddington that we "the Lord Protector" thank him for his wise and manlike doings, and while commending him for not hasarding battle, pray him "to draw out" the victuals the most he can to weary the enemy.

To give no credit to the French or Scottish "brutes" of their number, for we know surely the Scots pass not 3000: but you must have good espial not sparing charges, and make Ormistoun and Brunston practise therein by Scots; "and yf he shall give credit to Sym Pennango toching their nombres, they shall finde him a verie Scot!"

To declare the horse appointed to come: which we "esteme" at 600 demilances, whereof 40 or 50 "bardes," and 700 light horse.

To declare that there is a passage by a place called "Steinston," which you may learn by men of the country, and consider what may be done that way.

"The premisses hath been thought good here," and must be considered according to the country, and done as thought best.

Fisher from time to time to solicit doing what is thought meet, and advertise as he see occasion.

If Brend has concluded with the Lord Reven for delivery of S^{t} Johnston, as commissioned, Lord Clynton to receive Lord Reven to take the navy to said town, or defer it, as Reven thinks good; and if Brend has concluded with the "Master of Melphyn the lorde of Rethes [Raith's] sonne," on the practise with his friends in "the Fife," that Lord Clynton may be informed, and send us continual news by some small bark.

Also to declare to Lord Grey that there is a way between Linton bridge and the sea whereby the army may pass to Aberlady within 4 miles of Preston haven and 6 of Musselbrough, easy for victualling by sea.

In case my Lords Shrewsbury and Grey think fit, then to forbear entry of the foot, till the horse arrive.

9 *pp. In Paget's writing. Indorsed:* "Instructions given to M^{r} Fisher, xxvij June 1548."

[June 27.] **263.** INSTRUCTIONS TO THOMAS FISHER.

Directing him to repair with diligence to the King's town of Dundee, or his fort of Bourthy, in Scotland, and declare to Sir John Luttrell the good acceptation of his service "by us the Lord Protector," also communicating to him "this memorial" and other matter on the affairs of these parts, "as we have at more length opened to the said Fisher." Then both of them are to send for Lord Gray of Scotland, and after giving him the King's and the lord protector's thanks for his services, to present to him as a token from the King "a chayne of

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[1548.] gold," and a pension of 1000 crowns, and from the Protector a gift of 300 crowns with his most hearty thanks.

The said Luttrell and Fisher, after these gifts, shall say, that they have a token from the King and letters from the lord Protector to the Earl of Argyll, and therefore desire Lord Gray to procure that both or at least one of them shall meet in secret with the Earl and himself, at which meeting they shall "delyvre the chayne" to the Earl from the King, and then propound such matters as were communed of before, and enter more fully into the same, and in consideration of his and lord Gray signing the articles contained in the Memorial, binding themselves to support his godly purpose against the Governor, the French, &c., to their uttermost power, to promise the Earl a pension from the King of 2000 crowns, as a beginning of his bounty.

As Huntly has offered himself plainly to the King's service against the Frenchmen, the Governor, and all other opposers, and will lay in hostages for performance of his promises, the Protector before sending him home to Scotland, thinks good to make Argyll and Gray privy thereto, empowering Luttrell and Fisher to demand their opinions, and whether they will join in service with Huntly, and how his service may be best employed?

And the country being better known to them than to Luttrell and Fisher, the latter on the lord Protector's behalf shall pray Argyll and Gray to advise what should be first attempted and by what means? Also what they think as to fortifying Dunkell, taking S^{t} Johnston, Arbroth or Mountrose, or fortifying the hill by S^{t} Johnston or breaking the bridge there?

18½ *pp.* *Corrected draft.* *Indorsed:* "Instruccions, M^{r} Fisher."

1548. June 28. **264.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Being forced by poverty to seek some means to feed my household, I am a petitioner to your grace to move the King for the reversion of the manor and lordship of Stocketon in the county of Durham, after the decease of the Bishop, whereby I shall be better able to live and serve the King. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

June 28. **265.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

By my last spy I hear the French are still at Edinburgh. It is a marvel they enterprise with so small a number, for but few Scots are yet assembled. Four galleys have gone "aboutes" Scotland to Dunbarton to meet a French fleet to take away the Queen; and the Governor is determined to depart Scotland. I think this not unlikely, but shall advertise further. Dunbar is the only castle yet in French possession.

We think the keeping of Haddington to be the winning of Scotland: and to encourage the garrison, I have this night sent thither by Gamboa's consent, 100 Spaniards, "electe" soldiers, under command of Pero Negro. The town is fully victualled for the garrison. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: Here are come 150 light horse from the Bishopric, all except the captains "simple husbandmen," never horsemen before—

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1548. riding on small mares only fit to bring them hither, which many will scarcely do. As they are not worth pay, I have made them lie at Norham as the custom is, 8 days without wages, and written to Lord Westmerland and the Bishop to send some gentlemen, younger brethren, and serving men, and will send the insufficient home. I am forced to remind your grace of our want of money, there has been no thorough pay for 8 months. If we had a "greater masse then thus from hand to mowth," we could husband it better to the King's profit.

I have wrought with the Master of Morton to practise with his father; as the copy of his letter enclosed will show your grace. When his father answers, I shall advertise.

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

[1548. June 29.] **266.** PALMER TO SOMERSET.

I arrived here this morning at 6 o'clock, and have ordered 200 loads of stakes and rods to make maunds, also tools for the quarry. There are some hoys here that would serve well for stowage, and M^r^ Mayor has stayed them till he hears from your grace. I trust this night to be with my lord lieutenant and hear the state of affairs. I met many horse coming hither, and saw at the entry 20 demilances of Lord Shrewsbury's each able to have carried "a barbbe" in the field, and the men likely. The enemy has few horsemen, an advantage to us. Haddington I hear is not yet approached—they tarry their ordnance, which should disembark at Aberlady [Habbarlady]. It may turn to a view of the town and nothing else! I am sure I know the town as well as they shall do this 14 days, let them do their best, and if I can tell how to take any advantage of it, if I were the enemy, God never be good unto me! I mean by battery, and to win it by annoyance, it is more than I think hath been yet seen. I have undoubted hope your grace shall hear good account of it. Newcastle, this Friday at 9 a.m. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer.

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

1548. June 30. **267.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

While 10 of the horsemen of Haddington lay in wait for the captain of Dunbar, they descried the young laird of Waughton with his band and standard, and charged them so "franckely" that they overthrew the standard, took the standard bearer, and put them to run away. I hear the Scots are resolved to contract the young Queen and the French King's son, and writings thereof are subscribed by Angus, George Douglas and divers noblemen. Hearing the captain had taken in at Haddington beyond what I left, 2000 sheep and 100 head of great cattle, I sent thither to increase his garrison, Petro Negroo with 100 Spaniards, but at 7 o'clock yesterday morning, seeing the town beset by the enemy, they thought it best to retire, and are again at Berwick. How to help them I see but small "redynes." Lord Dacre nor horse or foot yet arrived here, nor any from Lord Wharton, save Baker as already advertised, though I hasten them all.

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1548. The treasurer has been at York these 10 days to receive, and not yet returned.

The enemy planted 3 pieces of artillery on the cragg towards Aberlady, and firing on the town were driven off by the shot of Bowes' bulwark. There are not past 120 left of the 400 light horse I placed there—some fled to the west border, for whom I wrote to the warden—others keep among the assured Scots "as they war wilde or outlawes." John Carr drove some back, the laird of Langton took two, and Colbie a captain at Roxburgh, one, who shall suffer to-day or to-morrow, in example, but this will not recover them to better stay. Sir Thomas Palmer arrived here yesternight. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 30. **268.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Albeit I told your grace that Haddington was besieged, and the Spaniards could not enter, I hear certainly that the French camp is no nearer than Tranent [Trenent]. About 1 o'clock yesterday morning, the whole of the French horse, with some foot, alarmed them, coming so near the ditch, that many of their horses carried away arrows in them. And at break of day, both horse and foot came again very near the walls, the rest somewhat above on a hill, who were so welcomed with shot, that divers were left on the field, and many carried off "crosse their horsses," among them a French gentleman of estimation slain. About 7 o'clock they retired to their said camp, where they were still at 6 p.m. yesterday. So the Spaniards might well enough have got into the town. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548.] June 30. **269.** PALMER TO SOMERSET.

I arrived here yesternight, and to-day my lord lieutenant heard that Pedro Negro and his Spaniards, finding Haddington besieged yesterday, durst not enter, but returned. They planted 3 pieces at the cragg under the high hill where I showed your grace there was some little covert, but our bulwark on that side with the 7 brass pieces, beat them so hotly into covert, that I think they will not show thence again till they get maunds made.

"The Haddyngtons hathe doon ondres in thier fortefycacions," nothing left unperfected. So as on Thursday last, they made "holeday," and 2000 of them with their ensigns marched to the top of the hills in great triumph, hoping to have seen the enemy as they desired. They have done so well, the rest must follow—"and God putteth to his hand where men helppen themselves; who I doubt not wyll reward thier travaile with immortall fame!" We shall now have hourly news, I trust to rejoice your grace. Most men think, "kepyng Haddyngton, ye wyne Skotland." Berwick. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Edw. VI.
[1548.] July 1.

270. PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

We hear this morning that yesterday at 2 p.m. the French came to view Haddington "on the syde wher I Sir T. P. showyd your grace ther best approche was," most part barbed horse; our foot issued and with help of the great ordnance, put them back and slew many, one much lamented by Monsieur Dessé and others: but when Dessé saw that one, called "the Frenshe quens kynsman, which was sor hurt with an arcabus shotte upon the pappe, should lyve, he held up his hands and gave thankes, makyng small mone for the rest." Some take him to be Pedro Strozzi [Strose]. Another great man is struck through the shoulder and in great danger. All the wounded were carried to Clarkington, where the town, as the spy says, shoots in at every shot. Their ordnance is 6 cannons, 4 "moyanne," and 8 fawcons, and they mind to beat the face of the great bulwark on that side, and some pieces to beat the flank of the half bulwark "that answhereth it." The Governor is lodged at Lethington [Lyddyngton] ½ a mile from Haddington on that side; Monsieur Dessé lies 3 miles from thence. Last night the spy reckons they intrenched, and to-night will plant their ordnance. That they have appointed some pieces on the cragg, and to-morrow shall be again their battle. We hope for some pleasant news shortly, I have taken order for hourly intelligence. We hear 4 galleys and 6 ships (2 of them Scots) sailed 3 days ago for Dunbarton, to take the young Queen to France. Berwick this Sunday 1st July. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

The spy that brought this word, is one that of all others we most trust.

3 *pp. Holograph of Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 1.

271. PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

Since our dispatch at 3 a.m. this morning, we look hourly for more news from Haddington.

We are informed as follows:—

First—Monsieur Dessé is lieutenant; Pedro Strozzi admiral; "Nawnt Willyat," coronell of the French; the Ringrave chief of the Almaynes; Count Vertue; La Shappelle, treasurer.

Galleys, 18 and 1 brigantine; ships of war, 26; one of 400 [tons?], 3 of 300 each, 4 of 200, and the rest of 100.

Victuallers:—80 Flanders "pynckes," of 40, 50, and 60 tons a piece.

My lord of Angus, lieutenant for the Scots; George his brother, "in great creadyt"—both have got their pensions from France.

The Governor goes with the Queen to France to receive a dukedom. Angus has received the "bulles of Arbrothe."

"Beyton" that should have had Arbroth, to be rewarded with a bishopric in France. The abbot of Paisley to be made cardinal, and great livings given him. All their proclamations are in the French King's name. We are promised the covenants of the contract in 3 days. The Legate is at the point of death, and there is a "stryveffe" for money he brought with him. Berwick. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

2½ *pp. Holograph of Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Edw. VI.
[1548.] July 2.

272. PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

This morning at 8 o'clock, one that left Haddington at midnight, tell us that the captain and his garrison are most "gladyst" men now they shall be assailed, and doubt not giving good account of the town, fearing no ordnance, as they can place themselves in "cabonettes" on the ramparts, lodging in the town only at need. The captain and Mr Woolstrop told him at parting, that we need not care for them, as they were strong enough for all the world.

The Almaynes are beyond the bridge, and trenching along the water-side to the mill that was fortified, but abandoned by our men as untenable.

The French and Italians "dou ly" towards Clarkington between Haddington and the water where their best approach is. The rest of the camp on the other side of the hill towards Lethington, where the Governor lies. The ordnance remains at Clarkington where they are making maunds. Much of it was in 3 great ships that "drave" to sea this last great storm, and they have no news of them yet. No men are on the other side of the hill nor at the "Justyce," but they mind to intrench and plant ordnance there to-night. The rest of our news, which came while this was "awryghtyng," we send by the letter come from thence, to be sooner in your grace's hands. Berwick, this Monday 11 o'clock a.m. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

2¼ *pp. Holograph of Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 2. **273.** PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

At 8 o'clock this night one that was in the camp at 10 before noon, brought word that the French encamped towards Lethington have passed the water on that side with 7 battery pieces, and 9 others, and have intrenched on the "hayth of the hyll" where the bulwark out of the town was meant, and mean to-night to plant their ordnance there. They have brought 10,000 faggots, some say to fill the ditch, others to make a mount: but we think to "ramforce" their battery trench, being so near the town. The Scots in no great strength, lie at the "Nunre" a mile from the town towards us,—the northland men to encamp on the Cragge. The report in camp is the Scots will be in the field by the 8th; the Governor and Angus to have the "vanward," the Almaynes the first assault.

One who was in Edinburgh at 8 a.m. yesterday, says he saw a close cart brought to the Black Friars by the chief of the camp, and at 9, the Queen and her ladies with the bishops and other religious, "accompaned the corsse which was taken out unto the Gray Fryars. He hadd about his neck a great chayne many fold, and about eather arme oone; his hose and doublate of crymesen satten, embrotheryd with gold very rychely. After Mass was doon he was interred with no small seremoney, the Quene wepyng many teares." No King of Scots he said had been more solemnly buried. He knew not who it was, but we judge either "Count de Vertue or Dandelot Shattyllyons brother." He says there is more moan for one hurt, than for this and all the rest. They call him "Perys,"—we think it is Pedro Strozzi, for they say the King would think a less loss of his whole army, than this one man.

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[1548.] The walls of the church yet stand, and the enemy has shot with "cutthrottes" into Haddington from the top of the steeple, but the town ordnance made him leave it. The "vawltes" of the steeple and church were broken, the church uncovered, the pillars cut and under propped, "thynking they might have turnd it over when they hadd lyst"; but they have failed, and we think it shall do no hurt, for our ordnance beats through the steeple at every shot, and yesterday slew 6 men at two shots, on the far side of the church "rosting ther meat," also many pioneers working in the trench of the approach, so that the French scant find men willing to work. For all their cunning "they shall fynde enowgh to truble ther heddes withall." Berwick, this Monday at 9 o'clock at night. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

4½ *pp. Holograph of Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 2. **274.** BRENDE TO PAGET.

Haddington is now besieged and enclosed round about—they are making trenches, and to-morrow I judge will plant their artillery. The French viewing the town have lost divers men, and on Saturday 3 captains whom they greatly lament. The Scots are not yet come, but the nobility are, and the Earl of Argyll "moche contrary to all mens expectacion."

There has been so great wind for 3 or 4 days, that the French ships slipped anchor and took the sea, being wonderfully "disparkled," 2 aground at North Berwick, one in pieces at "Habarlady." They think surely to win the town, ours to keep it. The Captain has pretermitted nothing, and is wonderfully esteemed and beloved of all. He must trust to himself, for he is unlike to get relief from us. I marvel money is "stykd at at this tyme." All things in Scotland pass in the French King's name, and the lords are all agreed to the new marriage. The old and young Queens and the Governor, all go to France. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

I have abstained writing to my lord protector's grace for not meddling in other men's offices—but if I thought he looked for it I would do it. I pray you make my excuse if you think it needed.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed:* "To . . . Sir William Pagett knyght of thOrder, comptroller," &c. *Indorsed.*

July 3. **275.** PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

We are informed that this day the French have battered the side towards Lethington with 4 or 5 pieces, but not done much hurt, for they within make it up faster than they without beat it. They expect more ordnance in 4 days to be planted round the town, and to assault after one day's battery. But we have good hope in our willing men, which be all of one nation, to repulse a greater number by God's help. Berwick, this Tuesday 3d July at 11 o'clock at night. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

2 *pp. Holograph of Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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[1548.]
July 3.

276. BRENDE TO PAGET.

I cannot write more than is contained in the enclosed, brought hither this evening by a spy sent to Haddington. Berwick, 3d July 8 o'clock in the night. *Signed:* John Brende.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed* (to Paget). *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(T. Gower to Brende.)

The French camp lyes in the valley beside the mills of Haddington next Clarkington, their battery is placed in the little cornfield betwixt it and Wyndam's bulwark, with but 2 cannons as yet, which began to shoot at 10 o'clock this day, not at the houses, but at the "vaumure" of the "rampare," and very often shoot over. The cannon of Dunbar is come to the "Nonre," and shall be placed to-night at the mill "off the backesyd the Fryars to shote into the towne alangst." They are not laying any ordnance at the rock against Bowys' bulwark. Argyll is come with not past 60 men, "but it is sayd they do come." He is lodged in Ledyngton, the Governor at the "Nonry," Angus at a little house beside it. The Scots are now 4000 men "off evyll naghyt (?) and lytell harnes and worse wepen for the most parte." But they have great plenty of victual from "Lethcow" and Stirlingshire, which countries are all come forth. There came 8 galleys to-day to Aberlady with ordnance to be landed. Some say the galley slaves shall be taken to give the assault. Haddington church is "upp styll," and a great band of foot lies behind it; their hacbutters go to the top and shoot into the town at random, but our men lie close, and shoot to some purpose, for Frenchmen go daily away in carts to be buried at Edinburgh and I take them to be gentlemen. Aymouth. *Signed:* T. Gower.

I have laboured in vain and put this town to charge preparing for 50 horse who do not come. So I am not worthy the company of a captain of horse!

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed* (to Brende as master of the musters of the army and garrisons in the north).

July 4.

277. PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

At 3 o'clock this morning the enclosed letter came, and lest your grace think it is one of our cannons that is broken, it is one of theirs —for they write "the *y* and the *r* above, for *thier* and not for *your*." The cannon that was brought last is so "rent and crased," that they dare not shoot "hir," as the bringer of the letter told us, and our men slay the French so fast one way or other, that they carry them off hourly in carts, dead and wounded. He that was hurt on the "pappe" is dead, he could not tell whether it be "Pedro Strose" or no, but we think it is. Berwick, this Wednesday morning at 3 o'clock. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

"Otterborne is sore hurt on the head, and his servant slayne at his helys, some thynk by the Governors commandement." This is his tidings that brought the letter. Your grace must understand that the

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[1548.] master gunner and 8 more are slain, for so it is written "though not well to rede." The mount is the great bulwark on that side.

1 *p.* *Holograph of Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[July 4.] **278.** PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

This evening one that left the siege at 8 o'clock this morning, says that last night Monsieur Dessé and the Governor, hearing that the flanks were taken away and the breach "resonable to sawlt," came with divers "gallanttes" to view it—and while they stood debating, 9 or 10 shot came out of the upper flanks of Wyndam's and Tayler's bulwark, among the thickest of them, and killed 4 or 5 out of hand, "and bare away the leages of a dooson at the lest" of the bravest. For they say our guns have that property to pick out "the best of the hearde"! The Governor and Dessé retired, somewhat out of order, glad they escaped so, "not contentyd of the ontrew report, wherof they were lik to have borne wytness." They have begun the battery this morning with one piece more from Dunbar, "but all for nawght" he says, they within are so diligent. The Scots say they will be hanged when the French win it. The spy says they have promised to deliver it to the French king by Tuesday next: and are now trenching towards Holcroft's curtain to plant ordnance there. It is the strongest side, but they tarry for more aid from Edinburgh, where they say 4000 men have arrived, and will be forward as to-morrow night. Our men have so beaten the church that no man dare show in it. Lord Grey intends to put in men and powder between this and Monday. Pedro Strose was hurt, "but alas! not enowght;" he is well again. He says the French are not past 5000 foot and 500 horse, and the Scots about 4000; but increase daily. "But within thes v dais they wyll we thynk dyscrease mooch fastre." Berwick, this Wednesday at 10 o'clock at night. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

3½ *pp.* *Holograph of Palmer. No address leaf.*

July 4. **279.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

I send your grace a book containing the state of Haddington, according to the musters taken 6 days before the siege; and in a few days shall send a note of the monthly charges in these north parts. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

½ *p.* *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 4. **280.** BRENDE TO PAGET.

I would write to you of Haddington, if I could add to M^r^ Palmer's, "whiche so exactly doith examyn our spyes." The enemy have battered these two days, but ours repair in the night more than is done in the day. We expect to hear of the assault, and ye must await the repulse. We intend to succour them with men and powder in 4 days. Till matters of moment, I will not write, being so careful of my charge, but I scarcely breathe from business. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

1 *p.* *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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[1548.] July 5.

281. PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

This night at 9 o'clock, one of our most assured spies is come from Haddington—where he was at 11 o'clock. He says it is true they made as if they would assault last night, "that Pedro Strose ys shote through the [t]hygh with an arcabuse of crok, and was carryed away in a cart [by] hys men in crymosen and whight velveit," and that he said he knew himself a dead man, but his last service to the King his master was to advise them to cease battering, and make a small trench to the brink of the ditch, cast in earth and faggots to hinder the flank, and then assault round about, for he saw there were not sufficient men to keep the walls. On this counsel they have trenched to the ditch at Wyndam's, and gone towards Bowes' bulwark, bringing many faggots and boards, meaning to-morrow or next day to assault. They have moved the Scots to assault one part, but they refuse. They have intrenched some Almaynes at the Justyce with 2 pieces, which batter the town, but our men are all lodged under the ramparts. "The Quene" came to Hermandston [Hermestone] 2 miles from Haddington, to hold, it is said, a general council for the marriage, for the French say they will assault when it is concluded, and not before. We are determined to-morrow or next day, to aid Haddington with men and powder. Berwick, Thursday 10 o'clock at night. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

4 *pp.* *Holograph of Palmer.* *Addressed.*

July 6.

282. PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

Last night the enemy finding at the outer corner of Wyndam's bulwark, a little wall of a house left, battered it down, whereon they gave a shout and assaulted both sides, but our men valiantly repulsed them, slaying a great many and one principal captain. This morning it was so made up, "that it was not seen wher any goon hadd light." I inlarge no further hereon, not to keep it long from your grace. Berwick, this Thursday* 6th July. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

1 *p.* *Holograph of Palmer.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

July 6.

283. BRENDE TO PAGET.

The French have not yet assaulted, "nor I thinke will not, I care not though thei do not, and if thei do, I doubte not." They tell the Scots they may win it when they will, but will not till the lords have assented to the marriage. Therefore the Queen is this night come to the camp, and the sceptre, crown and sword sent for to be delivered to the Lieutenant of France. They shoot no great ordnance, but prepare ladders, faggots, and boards. The town is stronger than ever, even of itself, but to-morrow its succour shall be attempted. Berwick, this Friday night 6th July. *Signed:* John Brende.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

* Friday rather.

Edw. VI. [1548.] July 7.

284. HOLCROFT AND BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

Though M^r^ Wilforde's letter, sent your grace this day by Lord Grey, might cause you to doubt the safety of the town, yet seeing who the men are sent in succour, there is as good cause to hope. There are 110 of Wyndam's band, under his own guiding, 150 of Gamboa's under Petro Negro, of Bagshotte's band and volunteers of all sorts, 100, including your grace's servant Chetwoode only of those from the Court. They are all mounted hackbutters each with a bag of gunpowder and a roll of match before him. They are ordered to start from Lynton bridge "upon the spurres," and enter between Bowes bulwark and the water side, where the town lies open unbesieged. On arrival they shall cry "Socours" and 200 light horse are appointed to bring their horses back; if not, to kill them and do their best to return to the "battaile" at Lynton bridge with the lord warden and M^r^ Palmer. Lord Grey remains with the foot on this side the "Peace," to await the return of the horse, being 2000 men, 400 of them demilances. I pray God it prosper, for it is of much moment. The French cut off and undermine the point of Wyndam's bulwark, and he having "dampned" both flanks, they purpose to fill the ditches and assault there. They have silenced our ordnance, and so the matter remains "to be tryed at the pointe of the wepon"; battery there is none made. Many of our men are slain, and among others, Hennege, Tiberio, and Pelham hurt. It is "happie" they have not made the assault to-day, for they keep parliament to conclude the marriage. To-morrow they purpose to attempt it, if not "lettyd" by this enterprise. It is said they can[not] long endure there, and if their purpose takes not soon effect, will depart. M^r^ Palmer begs excuse for not writing, being so busied. The plain on this side the Pease, Saturday, 7^th^ July at 9 o'clock at night. *Signed:* Th. Holcroft, John Brende.

2¼ *pp. Holograph of Brende. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548. July 9.]

285. JAMES HENRISON TO SIR JOHN THYNNE AND WILLIAM CECILL.

"Calling to mynd as I do ofte, moist speciall freindis, the e*[vill ?] discentioun betwene thir two realmes, I wounder that amangis [sik ?] polutict rewlarris, the mischeif being so weill espyit, the [rameid ?] is not bettir found: for be ocht that I can persave, thay . . . lay on the brandis to feid the flam, whiche innemeis to . . . * and concord wold fanest have, hes innutrament† thairof the moste part of all our dissavouris and frounteiris reso . . . * hidder by thair personis or counsellis. By occatioun [of] the whiche, and persavyng the mischeif so grit, the awtor . . . * so mony and menteinarris so stronge, hes of tyme spen . . . * hartis that be loste, and of the grit suspetioun that ru . . .,* I am in dispair of ony amyte or freindschip, thocht the mater [be ?] nevir so pythely perswadit, or so lyvely opynnit. Whair-[for] at I it may serf outher for ane testimony of the honest . . . * of your humyll fallow and servand, or minister occatioun to bet[ter] leirnit men to delait the mater better heireftir toward the rameid, at tyme quhen God schall appoynt, whairby we are amb . . . * hostillite

* Torn off. † Thus in nutriment.

Edw. VI.
[1548. July 9.] "may ceis, and concord tak place: I wold of your accustomeit goodnes ye schuld procure me leif to put in p[rent? *] the littill booke with suche tittill as my lordis grace schall think good; the faultis whairof being correctit by his godly prud[ence] yf it schall pleis him, hes in ane recompence of my good . . . * service loiss and daingerris sence I come to his service [als?] weill by wrang raportis as be battellis, I may have the [rest?] of my pure pentioun sence Januarij, and ane yeiris frutt . . . * thairof to pay my dettis, hes leif to go to the Empriouris cunt[rey for] one yeir (whair I have bene sclanderrit with moste offence) to . . . * sum thing of it suld be awing me (loste as I think by lo[ng] tary). Whairby heireftir I may the bettir serf the Kingis m[ajestie] and my lordis grace, hes not to be ane evill exampill by p . . . * who schuld by promis have bettir reward, or by dissartis yf thay mycht be exemminit. This have I written unto you becaus honest hartis can not be inopertune suyttoris, and that God is . . . * so favorable to me as Fortune to my lord Whartoun. The grace [of] God be with you, Amen."

Also inform my lord's grace, that my lord of Huntly shows himself not only in words, "wilfull" to do service, but also has such "naturall men and freindis, as contrary no King will demand his quarrell." And as his grace has been "abusit" with him and his vice-chancellor, now the Abbot of Paisley's man, I wish if invasion be made, that Huntly cause his servants "brek the cuntre, or ly abak," and that he should write tenderly to his neighbours, to concur with them, in fortifying the conclusion of parliament and a commonwealth. Which letters, if other prisoners do likewise, shall make more men stay at home, than is come from France, if the bearers be put in full credit. If not, I wish him and the rest kept away from the French ambassador. A spy is gone to France that I caused Edward Welche give notice of a year ago. If there was any intelligence between the Bishop of Winchester and our ambassadors, the parson of Stoke who "delaytit his fallow" to the bishop "for preching of the gospell" can best tell. A servant of mine who went to France, and on his way back to Scotland, was taken, and is now in Colchester, I would wish him "exemint." The ring his grace made "the grit inquisitioun for, at on Edmistoun," he said he gave it to the Laird of Langton; which if true, his grace may get it by a letter. *Signed:* Jamis Henrison.

2 *pp. Holograph, closely written. Addressed:* "The humill sute of Jamis Hendersoun to Schir John Thyn, knycht, and M^r^ Cecill, servandis of moste creddeit with my lord protectouris grace." *Indorsed:* "9. July. From James Henrison to M^r^ Thynne and my master."

Inclosed in the same:—

(The Godly and Golden Book, &c.)

[*Extracts.*]

Preface:—Laments the depopulation, murders, calamities "in famous regions by domesticall discord and unnaturall contraversie," as "Rome haith felte, Italy can testifie, Fraunce can beeyr witnesse,

* Torn away.

Edw. VI.
[1548. July 9.] "Beam [Bohemia] can tell, Denmark can shew, and inespeciall thes two noble realmes of Englond and Scotland, beyinge but one countre, can apperentlie declare and make demonstracion. For who abhorreth not to expresse the heynous factes commytted in Rome by civil warr, betwen Julius Cesar and hardy Pompey, by whos discord the birth glory of the tryhumphant Rome was eclipsed and shadowed! Who can reherse what myschefe and what plages the pleasand countre of Italy and Holland haith taisted and suffred by the sedicyouse faccions of the Guyelphes and Gebellynes, as of Howkes and Cabellyres! Who can reporte the mysery that dailie haith ensewed in Fraunce by the discorde of the howses of Burgon and Orliantes! Who can curiouslie endite the monyfold battels that wer fowght in the realme of Beame betwen the Catholikes and the pestiferous sectes of the Adamytes and others! What dammage discencyon haith donne in Germany and Denmarke, all Cristians at this day can well declare, and the Turke can bere goode testymonye, wich by the discorde of Cristen prynces, haith amplified greatlie his seignory and domynyon! But what mysery, what morther, what execrable plages, haith this famous regyon of Great Bryttaine suffred by devision of our most renowmed howses of two kinges, indwellers of the same, intitled the Rose and Thirstle otherwyse the Liberd and Lyon, as by the intestyn battelles that haith been in ether of them betwen brother and brother sonne, and father uncle and nevewe in the north, as betwen the famous howses of Lancaster and Yorke named the Rede Rose and White, in the sowth, wich owr wytte can not comprehend nor our tonge declare, nor our penne fully set forth! For what noble man livith at this day or what gentleman of any auncyent stokke, blood, or progeny, is there whose lynage haith not felte the plages wich this unnaturall devysion haith brought forth"! So men may see clearer than the sun, that as Discord causes decay, so Concord brings renewal and relief!

"By unyon of the Godheid and manhead, man was joned to God, wich befor by the temptacion of the subtell serpente, was from hym segregate and devided. By the union of the Catholike churche and owtworne Synagoge, not onely the hard ceremonyes and dedely payns of the Moesycall law was abolesshed and maid frustrat, but also Cristian libertie is infarred and Cristes religion stablished and erected! By the unyon of man and woman in the holy sacramente of matrymony, the generacyon is blessed and the synne of the body clerlie extincte and put away! By the union of marrage, peace betwen realme and realme is exalted and love betwen countre and countre is norished! By conjunctyon of matrymony, malice is extyncte, amyte is embraced, and indisolvable aliance and consanguinite is procured! Which unyon matrymony and amyte to address amonges us of this Ile of Great Bryttane, we pray God the worker of all goodnes, to steir up the hartes of our nobilles to sek that thing that may be moste to his glory, ther honour and wealth of both the realmes, wherby this longe warr pestilence famen and infamyne may take an ende."

"The godly thinges that James Herrison did wishe the Kinges Majestie of Englond to sett forth in his highenes name for the welth of both the realmes, and by lake that our lordes of Scotland sent no commyssion to sewe, ther for all perryshed."

1. To begin by stopping all evil mouths and declaring God to be

Edw. VI.
[1548. July 9.] honoured throughout this island, as was ordered by the primitive church of Christ, and his apostles—and this by advice of the most godly and prudent men of both realms, since the general council is stopped by the bishop of Rome, to take effect till one be freely held.

2. That there be no other arms among us but the "Crosse of Criste," as our first Christened king gained at expulsion of the Romans; and that our laws and customs shall be over seen by the said "prudentes," as the civil law was by Justinian, the worst repelled, and the best observed, and printed in the mother tongue, that none perish through ignorance.

3. That two sessions of these "prudentes" shall sit, one at Aberdeen [Haberdyne] for justice to dwellers north the water of Forth, the other at Edinburgh for justice to dwellers betwixt the bishopric of York, and "the Scottes sees of Ireland," and to prevent future "ranker and ire, other by fayned prophecies, bookes, battelles, and cronicles againste the verite, composed by sedicious persons," all such to be burned.

4. That to remove the mischievous suspicions craftily sown by Satan's ministers among the people "through dyversite of names, crosses, poses and orders, they being descended of other, as of one nature tonge and bredd in one ile compased with the see," henceforth they shall marry together, from high to low, greatest peers' sons and heirs to have the King's near kinswomen, to be on his Council, and have the order of the Garter, on discharging their bloody league with France.

5. That seeing the danger of any foreign prince reigning in Scotland, if the nobility assist the King's "godly pretence," he will not only remit their offences, but give them better pensions than they have had for maintaining mischief, and without hurt to the Governor, part the realm among them for better rule.

6. Mean barons and younger brothers who get nothing from France, if they take the King's part, shall have some augmentation, those "broken" in France for light occasions, shall be placed about the King's person and provided for—and if it offend not "your" Three Estates, young children, orphans, shall have part of their parents' lands for life, "to keep them from vyce," to return again to their house as in other countries.

7. That to prevent quarrels among the borderers, assythments shall be provided for losses, murders under assurance, &c., if they will agree to serve for the King's purpose.

8. To help the poor labourers of the ground, "whos common welth is mischeffe, and libertie mor servitude than was the children of Israell in Egipte," their land shall be set to them in feu or long tacks [taxes] for the present rent, and they shall have their own tithes so far as not set to the lords—and their bishops and parsons so doing their duty, that they may live as substantial commons, not miserable cottars, charged daily to war and to slay their neighbour at their own expenses, or also with "codixe, blakk malles, herials, corspresentes, and uppermoste clothes," and the like extortions.

9. For relief of popish errors, petty treasons, thieves and oppressors, and "the endlesse abhominable coni[s]tory lawes," wherein the churchmen are judges, their causes shall be pleaded at home before their barons and parsons, saving great matters, as errors, treasons, dissolving marriage, &c., which shall be pleaded before the Sessions, wherein "dyvyns" shall sit as others. "And we for our parte shall maike the

Edw. VI. [1548. July 9.] "reshebush to kepe the poor wifes husbonde from deadlie food, and cow from theves, or racompense forth of our coffers."

10. To prevent partly the oppression of labourers by ingrossers of corn and cattle, who make dearth by bringing same out of the hands of a multitude to that of a few, and bestial only on land that once fed both man and beast,—no churchmen shall occupy merchandise, nor plenish steadings, nor buy green corn, nor store corn in houses after Candlemas, except what may reasonably sustain themselves, and if they sell any, to have no more than the Candlemas price.

11. Also to relieve old failed lame persons and bringing up youth, and that they may pray for our union: We will that alms houses and hospitals be built up again, which evil churchmen, contrary the founders' mind, have pulled down for their lucre and profit, and that every parish shall uphold their own sick and impotent, after God's law, and every bishop shall keep a free school in the head town of his diocese—that universities be kept with the divine and moral doctrine of the founders, and that parsons dwell at their parish churches.

12. And being informed that many parish churches are rent or falling down, and the fruits spent "in whordom," and the most ignorant that can be got for least hire, put to serving the cure, We will that the superfluous rents, beyond an honest maintenance for the minister, shall be employed to repair said churches, and that all "your connynge men, as well religious as others, wherof some be banyshed for light offence, shalbe put with honest hyers to the sarving of their cures, and that all bisshopps shall kepe suffragans unto suche tyme they be better devyns, for suplie of others ther cures, that by lakk wherof mony sowles perished in your Iles and Highlandes."

13. And for "florishemente" of your burghs, seeing God has sufficiently punished them, being informed of the great number of idle men, "We will give them a hundrethe fisher shipps with all there apparell for wynnyng of your ryche fishenges, that straungers gettes the holl profittes of, and pay the wages of a hundreth fishers to lerne them to take them and make them, and beyld certan havens where shalbe nedefull, for savegard of there shipps and lives"—and besides, free them of all custom &c. for 5 years, and to pay less customs in other countries, and be "forborne" of all nations who now make prize of them.

14. Likewise hearing that the substance won by lawyers and merchants in burghs is "wared" on sold lands, and that some craftsmen "for gude cheipe of livinge, passes to the countre to dwell, and that other dispise there craftes," so that they bear no office nor sit on council to distribute the common goods, as in other civil realms: in remedy, We will that for a term of years none of these "bye or bygge other landes then burrow lands," and all craftsmen, saving smiths, shall dwell in burghs, and bear office in council &c., making accounts of their common goods in presence of the masters of craft: and to prevent debates, that no merchant shall bring out of other countries "maid workes" in prejudice of the crafts, and no craftsman shall "occupie" merchandise to the hurt of merchants and poor craftsmen.

15. And to help them to riches, We shall cause come home and dwell in your burghs at our charges, 100 craftsmen of all sorts, and pay their wages for 3 years, to "lerne" your idle people to perfect your commodities of "myndes, wull, skynne and hide," before sending these out of the country, "as myners, cutters of mosses for makinge

Edw. VI.
[1548. July 9.] "of mean landes of thos that be but marresse, makers of iron mylls, saw mylls and others, collyerdes, dighters of wull, websters, wallers, tappishers, makers of wursates and serges, workers in the scole, diers of skynnes and hides, as bowers, fletchers and such other." And to encourage merchants and craftsmen dwelling abroad by reason of the little justice in your country, to return, we shall do no less "then Romulus did for the first inhabitinge of Rome."

16. And to save more effusion of Christian blood, and that the idle may get labour, "We shall garr wynne your myndes of gold, copper, iron, lead, and other, and garr draw the weste and easte sees togither," that vessels may go between at our charges and hasten the union of the whole isle.

17. Willing you not to think we say this for fear, for God has provided us more remedies against your princes &c. than to all our predecessors who "conqueste" your country with less title: certifying that whoever takes any landed or other substantial man contrary to us, shall have half of his inheritance and goods, our churchmen a years fruits of their benefice &c., and such as bring victual to the camp, shall have reasonable prices, and those dwelling within 10 miles, who bring none, shall be burned.

"Fair well. God save the Protectour, by whom this was corrected, and the speker defended."

9½ *pp. Small quarto. Contemporary hand. Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk): "James Henryson." *Titled:* The Godly and Golden Booke for concorde of England and Scotland."

July 11. **286.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

My lord Grey wrote to your grace of one Richard Suffolke in the French camp, practising for his pardon. In case your grace does not know him, I judge him to be one some time as I have heard "a barbour in London," then in France called himself "Delapole the sonne of Edmonde Delapole." He was imprisoned at the suit of M^r^ Bryan then ambassador, and then sent into "Piemount," where I saw him. He was there "rather symply mayntayned then estemed, and served for xx crownes the moneth. He is a proper man, more hardy then wise, a fantasticall hed, as it aperith by his counterfett profession." Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 11. **287.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

I send your grace a book of the monthly charge, and the certain number of all the garrisons &c. here—except Haddington, sent before, and Broughty, which I do not know—as mustered on the 1^st^ instant. From this book my lord great Master may rule the money to be sent the treasurer, who also sends your grace the estimate for a full pay till the last of this month. The money due and spent for victualling Roxburgh, Hume, Lauder, and Eyemouth, amounts to 1000*l.*, which has been spent in extraordinary charges, which chance in the wars. But this full pay made, I trust things "shall appere unto your grace as in a glasse before your eyes." Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Edw. VI.
[1548. July 11.]

288. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SHREWSBURY.

Since our despatch to your lordship yesternight, we have letters from Lord Grey, that for relief of Haddington, he has put in 400 harquebusiers with powder and match. Yet, as we hear that 1000 men must be put in for perfect succour, we pray you, notwithstanding our said despatch for preparation only, to give order that 3000 or 4000 of your best men at hand, "which you must brute to be ten or xij^{m}"—shall follow you immediately to Newcastle, advertising Lord Grey to meet you at Alnwick, and there determine with him whether to march forward or return. If forward to Haddington, your lordship to remain on the Border as our lieutenant till Lord Grey return. There are coming to you by sea from the East, 2000 Almaynes "exceedingly well in ordre," who have been this fortnight on shipboard tarrying only the wind, and on Friday or Saturday next Lord Clynton departs from Harwich with a strong force of ships and men. Having thus discoursed what is to be done, we pray you to use such celerity and diligence as the great importance of the matter requires. Your own charges herein shall be duly considered, and the rest must also be content, "good my lord we pray you," with as little charge as may. And we trust to your good handling the matter, whether the men march forward or return.

2½ *pp. Draft by Paget. Indorsed:* "xj° Julij 1548. M. to th- Erle of Shrewesbury."

[1548.] July 12.

289. BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

Hearing of the Almaynes coming, I require to know if I shall meddle with them? and if I had the copy of their covenant, could do good service. The works and pay of labourers have been done confusedly, without controlment, and I have taken on me to act therein. Wherefore I pray your grace to allow me pay for 2 more clerks or I cannot dispatch the business passing my hands. For myself, I ask no more but your grace's remembrance "for some certeintie of lyving," for which necessity, much against my nature, moves me to be a humble suitor unto you. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 13.

290. PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

We hear this morning by "sondre wayes" that the French will assault Haddington to-morrow morning at 8, and have placed their ordnance, ladders and faggots for the ditches. The Scots will not promise to assault. There is no breach, nor flank taken away. Their platform in the church is useless, the town has so beaten the stones about their "years." Two pieces on the mount dismounted, their mine countermined, and a great mount raised that masters their bulwark, as they outside may see. Yesterday our men, 60 hackbutters, 20 pikes and 20 "ryepars," went out to cut green corn for their horses, on the north side. "Jayme Dogg" with 100 horse, some foot and Almaynes, attacked them, but with help of the great ordnance, they killed 2 in the field, one being Captain Mare lieutenant or chief

Edw. VI.
[1548.] July 13. officer under the Rhinegrave, hurting above 60, most to the death, and brought in their burdens of green corn in despite of him. The French demand Edinburgh, saying they have no place for their treasure, munition, &c., but the Governor sticks till the assault at least be given, saying then all promised shall be performed, and "peradventure more." The Queen is this day gone to Dunbarton to deliver the young Queen.

The Scots "skale apace." Argyll is gone, but promises to return with northland men. In a few days your grace shall see what comes "of all this gere." Berwick, Friday at midnight. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

4 *pp. Holograph of Palmer. Fly leaf with address gone.*

July 14. **291.** PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

One in camp at 9 a.m. brought word that the French have driven off the assault till to-morrow, and this day only shouted to annoy the town. They have now tried battery, mine and annoyance, and for famine they can have no hope, the Scots know the provision so well. Lord Grey will send all his horsemen to the Pease to-morrow, and will follow next day with the foot to encamp there, better to annoy the enemy. But it is not this force that can dislodge them, if they tarry. Yet we cannot see what hope they have "to stryve agenst the streame." They hope farther power will land in the west. Berwick, Saturday 12 o'clock at night. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

2 *pp. Holograph of Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 15. **292.** PALMER AND HOLCROFT TO SOMERSET.

We hear by one that was at the camp at 4 o'clock this morning, that yesternight the French and Scots were ready for the assault, "and all the conttre, man, woman and chyld, came to see it," but at discovering themselves, so much shot flew out of the town, "that well was he that myght fyrst turne bak and hydd his headd!" But they lost a captain and 3 or 4 score with him with many hurt. Monsieur Dessé told the Governor that to-day he would assault, and if not, in 15 days he knew how to have it, if they assisted him. The Governor said they did nothing but destroy the country, which he lamented much, and gave fair words, but saw no hope of getting the town. Then Dessé "in collor," said the fault was in him to suffer us to dig when he might have helped it, and all was lost that was done for such ungrateful people. Thus the two contended, and the Scots so wearied of it, that 1000 stale from the field this morning. The French say they will await Argyll's, and the Northland men coming next Wednesday, before assault. The lord Lieutenant has appointed the lord Warden and "me Sir T. Palmer," to set out this night with the horse, and lie at Coldingham, and to-morrow to encamp at the Pease, whither he will send "me Sir T. Holcroft" with the foot; from whence we shall put in more men to the town. He himself remains to meet my lord of Shrewsbury at Alnwick on Wednesday next, to take order for bringing in or stay of my lord's men, as cause shall offer from our camp. "I Sir T. Palmer am now redy to lepe on horsbak, and therfor

Edw. VI.
[1548.] shalle truble your grace no ferder." Berwick, Sunday 3 o'clock afternoon. *Signed:* Thom's Palmer, Th. Holcroft.

We hear yet nothing of our ships.

3½ *pp. Holograph of Palmer. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 17. **293.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

Though lord Grey has signified to your grace these unhappy news, yet cannot I but write also that I know. Lord Grey hearing of the Scots' departure, and likelihood of the French retiring, sent all his horse and foot to encamp at the Pease, and molest the enemy—my lord Warden, Sir Thomas Palmer and I, with the horse, on Sunday, and Sir Thomas Holcroft with the foot on Monday. That night some light horse sent to Haddington, reported in the morning they were all right and fearless, that the French were on the point of departing. My lord Grey sent for me to go with him to my lord of Shrewsbury; Sir Thomas Palmer said he would go to Haddington: it was said "to what purpose"? To see the state of the town. 'Content,' quoth my lord Warden, 'adventure nothing,' quoth other. He left at 7 this Monday morning, passed Lynton bridge, and warned the captain of his coming, to meet him with his horsemen. The captain (I heard) wished him to retire, telling the enemy's force. Their horsemen showed on the hill, when ours repulsing them, marched towards the town. Sir John Ellerkar, who led 400 light horse new come, passed "in the tayle" of the demilances, holding their staves to be like them. The enemy suddenly descending the hill, attacked the "tayle," so Sir John was forced to charge, and the demilances and men at arms also charged, overthrew the French, killing many, and taking their ensigns. Meanwhile the "battaile" of the French foot approached, and ours cried "to the retyre," but none of the unexpert turned again saving the old soldiers and gentlemen, "whiche remayne in maner taken or slayne." Sir Thomas Palmer and my lord Warden taken, Sir Thomas Holcroft escaped to Haddington, as I did here. Gamboa served nobly and escaped, so did Sir John Ellerkar, Francis Aselaby and others. The chace endured 8 miles and as I conjecture there are 700 or 800 taken and slain. The foot on these news, retired back with the rest that escaped. The most of the Northumberland men got away, for they did not much enter the fight. Thus with victory in our hand, this mischance has altered things, discouraged and weakened the town by the number that issued on horseback. Some foot came also, but I trust these got back safe. It is thought many of the "overthrowen" recovered the town again—if so it is in better estate. The town besides wasted much powder, which might have "stande them in stedd." Our principal horsemen are "consumed," and the chief footmen are in the town—therefore I think it not good to adventure anything by land except with a "royall force." The hope remains by sea if it come in time with sufficient power. Berwick, Tuesday at midnight 17th July. *Signed:* John Brende.

4¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1548. July 19. **294.** SHREWSBURY AND GREY TO SOMERSET.

On arrival of me the Earl of Shrewsbury here at 9 a.m. this day, we

Edw. VI.
1548. consulted with advice of Lord Dacres and M^r^ Brende as your grace appointed—and as not above 5000 foot can be here on Tuesday night, the rest to follow as I have signified: second, the loss of our men at arms and demilances last journey, who even though they were redeemed, are "ruyned of horse and arms": thirdly, the flight of our light horse to their houses; and lastly, waiting the arrival of Lord Clynton, daily looked for: we resolved to place these foot in the eye of the enemy, and if we conclude with his lordship, then he to pass by sea, and we by land not beyond the Pethes, till we shall hear "resolutelie" from your grace, whether if the siege be not levied, we shall give the battle for that purpose? Berwick. *Signed:* F. Shrewsbury, Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: As these 8000 men increase our number, your grace may please send money speedily for pay: and signify also how they shall be satisfied if they return?

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548.] July 22. **295.** WILFORD TO GREY OF WILTON.

On Friday last I wrote to your lordship, that I "dowbted litle" the Frenchmen's power, and still do so. Desiring your lordship not to adventure battle, unless very strong, for the town is five times stronger than when they came. We want nothing but powder, shot, and working tools. Haddington, 22^d^ July, by the Captain of the same.

⅓ *p. Copy by Grey's clerk. Indorsed.*

July 23. **296.** WILFORD TO GREY OF WILTON.

Yesterday and on Friday I sent your lordship two letters advertising the strength of the town. All that the enemy had digged down is made up better than at first, and all their work overthrown. What I need might be brought hither by night on horseback, but do not adventure battle, wherein success is doubtful. Since their camp came, I have had neither letter nor message, so beseech you as soon as possible, for the state of things, and what you mind to do. Haddington, 23^d^ July, by the Captain of same.

¾ *p. Copy in same handwriting.*

July 24. **297.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

I have this day a letter from M^r^ Holcroft in Haddington, whereby your grace may see their state, that of the enemy, and the last enterprise, better than before. This coming army of 9000 foot is like to put the King to great charge. Our horse are sore diminished by this overthrow. Of 300 demilances, but 36 fit for service; of 450 new light horse, not 100—one half of the Northumberland men wanting,—not 6 of the men at arms remaining. The West March horsemen spoiled both assured Scots and Englishmen, and left with a full booty for their houses. Many come from Court with letters to have pay at Lord Grey's discretion: having neither horse nor harness, get captain's pay and do no service: 40 of them consume the pay of 300. They

Edw. VI.
[1548.] are under no control, for they were sent in post and cannot provide themselves. It may please your grace henceforth to appoint pay to such.

I desire your pleasure whether the prisoners shall have pay or no? And for the great business I have, am again a humble suitor for more clerks. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1548. July 26. **298.** SHREWSBURY AND GREY TO SOMERSET.

Yesternight I the Earl received your grace's letters of 22d, and as directed shall take order for the soldiers and sparing victuals, and with Lord Clynton on his arrival, which we daily look for. For light horse, I the Earl have already issued letters to all places in my commission—among others to my Lord of Derby, as by the enclosed copy, and if your grace think his coming not convenient, to stay him by your letter, so that his horsemen come. We think the bruit of his preparing in person, shall much advance the service there, otherwise we shall have few or none from thence. Berwick. *Signed:* F. Shrewesbury, Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Shrewsbury to Derby.)

Begging him, for advancement of the King's service, much stayed for lack of light horse, knowing his good will, and that the county of Lancaster is well furnished of men and horses, who would serve better under him than otherwise—to raise as many light horse as he can, and either march to Berwick with them, which would much discourage the enemy, or send them before to bruit his coming, so as to arrive by the 7th of August; and follow himself. Beseeching his reply with the names of the men and time of their arrival. Berwick, in haste. 26th July 1548.

1¾ *pp. Copy by Grey's clerk.*

299. BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

[1548.] July 26 Both in prosperous and "unfortune" enterprises, the matter seems most grievous at the beginning, as your grace prudently considers, and takes the mischance graciously, to our comfort serving here. I cannot hear by the Scots' own account of 100 slain, and not 6 known persons. Petit was one, and Baptista Crean the Irishman, as good a soldier as ever that region brought forth. The loss gave the enemy no hope of the town, or boldness to stay, for sending away their great artillery, they next day removed to the Nunnery a mile on this side the town, leaving our men free scope abroad and for their work, and victual in plenty. Their scaling ladders are burned, and I think they will lie but for a space, to save their reputation; some think in hope to give battle, others to fortify Dunbar, Aberlady, or Leith, the last "most lykest." The longer we delay the better, for the Scots cannot tarry long, and pass not 2000 or 3000 coming quarterly.

Edw. VI.
[1548.] The most of their fleet lie under Blackness, and will remain there unless reinforced. Their encamping is no prejudice to the town, for they weary and waste, get the hatred of the people, and cause the Scots to revolt. So if the matter "be tempered without stroke," we shall in the end drive them out of the field, and do as we list in the enterprises mentioned by your grace. Pardon the boldness of my rude discourse, for with the charge of my office, I have no leisure to do your commands for news. In this doubtful time only Ormiston, Brynston and Langton have remained—the first two showing more good will than service, Langton marvellous earnest in all service, not only taking our men that fled from Haddington, but rescuing such of ours as "have [been] taken." Cesford, Ferniherst and Hundelee constant in proffers of service—the rest either enemies or doubtful friends, for neither Leveston, Colston, Hugh Douglas of Longniddry, Wytingham nor any other of Lothian, have showed either good will or service. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 27. **300.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

The intelligence of our fleet arriving yesterday at the "Ilande" has altered the French purposes. For yesterday and the night before, they drew their navy out of the Frith, so that at 5 o'clock last night their last ship was seen beyond the Basse, and at 8 same night they were seen north of the "Maye." Either they fear to be shut in the river and prefer to be at sea, or intend to enter the Tay—but having embarked no number of men, who are still encamped at Hales, I think they mean for the West seas, to embark the Queen and depart; the land power remaining to fortify divers places against us. As they have landed much victual at Dunbar, this I take to be most likely, but the space of a few hours shall declare. They cannot remain in camp, for I hear the Scots are all gone. My lord Clynton victuals to-day at Holy Island, taking on board 1000 of our men, and will proceed as instructed.

I shall as your grace commanded, practise with the "lorde of Rithen and Melven," and advertise our device therein. We have small hope of the Almayns, for they are not yet heard of, though the wind has been marvellous good. Berwick, Friday 27th July. *Signed:* John Brende.

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 29. **301.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

The French fleet I last reported beyond the "Maie" to the North east, is now at anchor betwixt Leith and North Berwick. It is said they will fight, but this is not likely, as the siege continues, and they have drawn no men to the ships. They will now continue the siege till a land force raise it. Argyll is coming, and all the countries on this side Tay are warned to set forwards. Lord Clinton, having victualled this day, will set forward to-morrow if wind serve, without the Almayns if they stick serving at sea, before refreshed of their sea travel and hard diet. They reached Tynmouth on the 27th, but are

Edw. VI.
[1548.] still on board, and would hardly go to the Island "by sea." In the French fleet there are not, with the galleys, above 26 men of war, but we have no certainty but "by gesse of the eye," for the Scots are not suffered among them. A relief for Haddington is proposed, of which I trust your grace shall soon hear. When Lord Clynton sails, orders will be needful for this land power lying here idle. I have done nothing yet with the Master of Rythen and Melven, for they were in Lamer More on their affairs. Petit, whom I reported slain, is alive and prisoner. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1548. July 29. **302.** THOMAS FISHER TO SOMERSET.

This day about 1 o'clock p.m. I overtook Sir Richard Lee at Belforth and we came on hither, arriving about 6 o'clock, not sooner, for lack of horses. Going to sup to my lord Grey's house, I met the post with a despatch from him to your grace—whom I stayed that I might write this. This morning I reported to M^r^ Cecill what of my commission I had executed, to declare to your grace, adding that M^r^ Uvedale at Newcastle told me a French galley had been taken, which I now hear is "contrarye," and humbly beseech pardon; wishing nevertheless "both one and all were in your graces devocion betwene Shene and London bridge." Berwick, "hastelly this Sonday" 29^th^ July. *Signed:* Thom's Fisher.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 30. **303.** FISHER TO SOMERSET.

Having last night and this morning "participated" my instructions to the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Grey and M^r^ Brend, they are most desirous to follow the same, and my lord Grey humbly thanks your grace for the comfortable message by me, saying, the loss at the late conflict is no loss at all to him (though he has neither horse nor harness left him), if it had been for the King's service, "as (saithe he) yt was not, but all for glorie, whiche he confesseth God woll not alwayes suffree." The substance of the men at arms is taken by the assured Scots, which with their horses he hopes ere long to get back and be revenged of the enemy. [*The number of men at arms, &c., given as in Brend's letter, No.* 297.] To-day lord Grey has given your grace's pleasure to my lord Clynton, and the rest shall be done with diligence. Order is also given for reinforcing Haddington with powder, &c. (sent to Warke this morning) under charge of John Carr, whose service (as the best here report) is most worthy remembrance. The manner how the same shall ("by the suffrance of God") be conveyed, Lord Grey has signified to your grace, and in cipher to the Captain with your grace's thanks, and wish to know its state.

This morning the wind "being very large" at south west and by south, the King's navy 38 sail, passed by this town, "plyeng at this present thwart S^t^. Abbes hed, northwardes, so as contynewing the wynde as yet yt doth at southwest and by west, they woll (as it is thought) be with the next fludde in the mouthe of the Frithe, yf by the waye, they fynde not elles to do with the galleis, whiche to the

Edw. VI.
1548. "nombre of xiiij[ten] saile, ryde presently at an angree thwarte the Peese, betwene Donglasse and a place called Colbornspethe." The rest of their fleet, I hear, yesterday plyed northward from the Frith. M[r] John the engineer whom your grace meant to employ with Pettit surveyor of Calais, at Brent Island, is yet at Newcastle, but M[r] Lee saith will be here to-night or to-morrow. Pettit is a prisoner in Edinburgh, and was only heard of to-day when he sent to M[r] Gower, that Sir John Dalavelle's son has a Scottish prisoner "brother to the lady of Buclughe," who "(saith he)" would ransom both Pettit and M[r] Wood a man at arms, as good as any in the band. Wherefore your grace may consider as to their delivery.

This town is wonderfully "pestred" with soldiers, and little order yet taken for their dispatch.

M[r] Stonehouse has but 40*l.* in hand received for victuals, and more than that to pay; and can do nothing till a general pay is made, nor has he cattle to supply Haddington, as your grace instructed, nor knows where to get them (even if he had money) on this side Trent, for Boulogne is provided thence; and beseeches that M[r] Southwell and M[r] Ryder may help him there. Though he has 400 oxen in store at Holy Island, presently come from Yorkshire, these are for the ships only. He is so busy both here and Holy Island, I assure your grace it is impossible for him to do without assistance, which it may like you to consider. M[r] Lee after putting in order what he was sent for, minds to view all the "pieces" on the frontiers, some of which we hear are out of order, and reform them. Nothing shall be wanting on my part, though of all your servants most unworthy, to advertise of all things here. Berwick, 4 p.m. *Signed:* Thom's Fisher.

Postscript: Baynbrig a garrison man here, who led the last convoy of powder and men to Haddington, and returned at the conflict, has undertaken this second "adventer" thither. I rendered him your grace's thanks. He says he "cannot be quiet" till there again. This night he goes with Carr. "God be theire guyde."

3 *pp. Holograph. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 30. **304.** FISHER TO WILLIAM CECIL.

I had no time since my coming, to copy my instructions, meaning to send them by next latter. I have written to my lord's grace of some things they occasioned me to touch, and as I know "you shall be made privie," beseech you at convenience, to "wryte me two wordes, in what parte his grace taketh the same? for because I have very bluntely both wrytten and termed my lettre, I doubt his graces contentacion therin." But I hope he will bear with me, and as I shall hear from you in answer hereof, by that time "I doubt to espie and smell out thinges here aboutes so farr out of ordre and lack &c., as I feare me wold not a lytell troble my lordes grace tunderstand." Peter Strose is alive and in the galleys again. One Knyfton his grace's servant who led some horsemen at Haddington, was taken at the conflict, by whom I cannot yet learn. Sir John Ellerker is here with "woundes and blowes ynowe," but well amended and walking abroad. I pray you tell M[r] Stanhope who thinks he was slain. "There is mo men and horses wantyng here then you told me at Sheene." Praying

Edw. VI.
1548. to be remembered to your "bedfellowe," M^r^ Steward, M^r^ Chamberlain and M^r^ Comptroller, "to John Seymour also, with the rest of my fellowes in the chambre," I take leave. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Fisher.

I doubt not with my lord Grey's letter, ye shall receive good news from Sir John Luttrell at Burthe Cragg.

1 *p. Holograph. Closely written. Addressed:* "To the right worshipfull Master William Cecill attendyng my lorde Protectors grace." *Indorsed.*

[1548.] July 30. **305.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

My lord Clinton, having victualled for 20 days, left the Island this morning, the wind south west, "blowing good cole"—but at S^t^ "Hebles" head for want of "apt winde," cast anchor, the galleys lying in sight off Dunbar, and the rest of the French ships on the far side of the Frith towards "Kynkerne." My lord embarked 1200 foot, leaving the Almayns, who landed at Tynmouth and are marching hither. The French Almayns have left the camp at the Nunnery, and are encamped where the French lay before, to intercept our victuals &c. I should write oftener, but my time scarce suffices for my daily work at musters, warrants for pay &c. and your grace may please to pardon me. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1548. Aug. 2. **306.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I have received your grace's letter touching the Earl Bothwell. Your grace wills me to do what to him and the world shall seem repugnant to your direction, and thereby I shall assuredly purchase his hatred, "whiche as I do not esteme, so I covet yt not, and also as I take it, strayne myne honestie, whereuppon I cheiflie stande." But it being your pleasure to stay him, I have sent him to Alnwick, and ordered the posts to delay his servant's coming from your grace. And meantime till I hear from your grace, "I will dyfferre" to answer him, trusting your grace so tenders my honesty, that you will not wish me to spot the same. And I beseech you to devise other means to stay, or call him back again. Courtpennig and the Almayns, arrived here this afternoon. Rynian Cokborne tells me the princess has left Scotland, and the northland lords are at Stirling, till they hear of our army coming. I enclose a copy of the Master of Reven's letter to me.

The herald I sent to Monsieur Dessé to finish the compact for the prisoners' ransom, is now returned. I find him so unable to "compas" the Governor and the rest, that I suspect they seek advantage to colour things as they list: and I will "medell" no further with him. The French camp is still at the Nunnery. I have heard nothing these 3 or 4 days from the Captain of Haddington.

The wind has been so "overthwarte," that Lord Clynton is stayed; but once it changes, your grace shall hear of a fray and good success. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Edw. VI. 1548. Inclosed in the same:—

(Master of Ruthven to Grey.)

"I have wyn by the Frenchmen and Scottes, to the place whiche your lordship kennes," but cannot come by the purpose instantly. "Or my departing, I hope in the Lorde, to bring it well to passe"; be not angry at my tarrying, for there is a good cause, as I shall "garre" you understand at meeting. The Queen's grace takes shipboard this Saturday, and the Queen her mother conveys her daughter by the "Muyll of Galloway," and lands there to pass in pilgrimage to S[t] Ninian [Tringence]. I have spoken with sundry noblemen, touching the prisoners: who tell me the French will take to France all the English gentlemen they can get, to make it a mortal war between Englishmen and Scots: and if either country has the better by chance of battle, prisoners shall remain with their takers till the end of the war, to engender greater hatred between the realms, "by cause ye * have suspicion of Scottes men." The Earls of Errol and Marshall and Lord Forbes deprived me of my "mayrshippe" of S[t] Johnstons in my father's absence, and left a strong company to keep him out. But he has won the "strengthes" again and put them all out, and now these lords intend when the Governor leaves Haddington, to pursue S[t] Johnstons. Therefore I keep secret till I see what they do, and then will show myself openly, and "with the grace of the lyving God," your lordship shall hear that they shall be quickly handled. I beseech you be not "mallancoleous" at your folks' late mischance, "but to give thanckes to the Lorde, and He will bring all your affayres well to passe, as He did to the barnes of Israell, when theie kepyt His commaundementes."

As for me, I can do the King better service here, than if I were with you, but refer all things till we meet. Patrycke M. Ruthwen.

After writing this, I hear from S[t] Johnstons that the Queen's letters are proclaimed there 26[th] July charging all men from 60 to 16 to be ready on six hours' warning with 8 days' victuals. Let no man "ken" my coming, lest it hinder the purpose. "Rede this wryting and ryve† it." No one kens "but myself and the tother that ye ken." Speak nothing of it to the bearer.

2¼ *pp. Copy by Grey's clerk.*

Aug. 3. **307.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

I enclose a letter from Lord Clynton, to whom I have advertised that the French fleet are not past 22 sail, and but 4 or 6 men of war, lying in Leith Road. The rest gone westward to meet "our Island" fleet, or fetch more men. The young Queen is embarked. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Damaged by damp.*

[1548.] Aug. 6. **308.** HUNTLY TO SOMERSET.

I have written a letter to my servant White in Scotland, which

* "They"—the French (?) † Tear.

Edw. VI.
[1548.] your grace after reading, will please send by the King's post, till I may send a man of my own with the rest of your grace's mind, and my own small affairs. I forgot when last with you, to speak "ane mater" to your grace, wherein it will please you declare your mind to this bearer. I will not only offer, but do the things if I were in Scotland. I trust you will not forget to write of new to my lord Clynton to forbear troubling any of my friends from Montrose north; they shall be more "exceptabill" hereafter to your grace "nor to harie thame." Penshurst [Pensaris] in Kent. *Signed:* "Your grace with all humyll serwyce redy at command Huntly."

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 6. **309.** SHREWSBURY AND GREY TO CLYNTON.

We have instructions from my lord Protector to march such Almaynes as be here to the Pethes, and fortify, to relieve Haddington when the French leave—for which his grace wills the victuals to go by sea. We also hear the French camp fears much your taking the Frith from them. Again if you go to the Tay and leave the Frith, they will brag they put you from it, and be encouraged to lie longer. As occasion serves, we mind to fortify elsewhere, so must command the sea and Frith—wanting these, the army cannot advance, and the enemy shall not retire. Considering this, and that Haddington is the chiefest mark "we shote at, and that ther levyeng or not levyeng standith upon your present proceding," and the other enterprises committed to you may be as feasible a month hence as now: our opinion is, that setting these apart, your lordship do enter the Frith and put their navy up higher, so as for the foresaid purposes we may be masters of the sea—thus doing the King more service than the other way. Besides there are 20 victuallers daily looked for from France, which you would miss if you go into Tay. Keep good watch, for 2 or 3 have passed by you already. When in the Frith, employ yourself landing on Fife side, and make as if to land at Leith, also fortifying at Burnt Island, if you and the engineer think it requisite; if so, say how soon it may be done—to what purpose, and of what strength—and if the ships may lie there at low water? Sir John Luttrell having required it, may it please you to send him 40 or 50 soldiers. All things considered, we doubt not but your lordship shall think our opinion good, notwithstanding your late directions—for the effect of service depends on occasion, and the enemy's proceedings.

2 *pp.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.* *Indorsed.*

1548. Aug. 7. **310.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

This instant I have received the letter from the captain of Haddington, which I enclose "disciphred." In answer to his request for powder, match, lead and harquebusses, 10 days past a proportion of all except the last, was sent, but being discovered by the way, it was left at Lauder till a fitter time was "espyed." To-morrow Lord Shrewsbury and I with the council are determined to consult thereon, and advertise your grace, but this letter was so welcome, it was my part to signify it beforehand. Monsieur Dandelot I hear is smitten

Edw. VI.
1548. to pieces with a gun, "or elles oon as good as he." There is also "a fat oon" taken, as the captain's letter says. I hear our ships have sunk a French galley and the rest are gone up to Leith road; that the young Queen lies in a galley, with 3 other galleys and 4 or 5 ships, a little off Dunbarton on the river Clyde, and was undoubtedly there yesterday at 12 o'clock noon. The Lady Flemyng her "mastres" requested Captain Villegaignio to have her on land to repose, as she has been long on the sea; but he answered, she should not come on land, but either go to France "or elles drowne by the waye." If your grace sent ships that way, she might be met with. Berwick. *Signed*: Wyllyam Grey.

Thomas Bryreton *alias* Bryanton is gone to Borthy Crag, but on his return, I shall apprehend him, his bark and men, as your grace ordered.

2 *pp.* *Address leaf gone.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Wilford to Grey of Wilton.)

In answer to your lordship's letter of 20th July as to putting in 300 horsemen with powder bags, I sent the same night, but doubting if it has reached you, I repeat what I wrote, viz. that we cannot sustain so many, the enemy being so near, for want of forage, for which I have to skirmish, wherein hitherto fortune has favoured us. Within these 5 days, we have slain many and notable men, and took prisoner on Sunday last, one whose estate I do not yet know. For munition, I thought then to await the army coming on, but being now unprovided, I must require your lordship for powder, match, lead, harquebusses, &c., which might be sent under pretence of a convoy to Lawther, the French all lying at the Abbey and few Scots with them. Yet "rather put me to defende this towne with the pyke and bill onelie," than come till you are strong. Haddington 3d of August, the Captain of same.

1¼ *pp.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.*

Aug. 7. **311.** BOTHWELL TO SOMERSET.

Lord Grey desired me to remove hither and conveyed me by one gentleman, before your grace's letter came, directing him to give me sure passage to Scotland. I sent it to him, but nothing succeeded, and he opposes my passage, which contrary to my trust and hope in your grace, "wilbe my heirschip and rwyne extreme" if kept here. I pray your grace that I may have "hastilly" by the bearer, your sure passport for myself and baggage, whereof I was assured before I left London. It will please your grace give credence to him in my affairs "be toung." Alnwick. *Signed:* Erle Bothvile, Amiral.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 9. **312.** SHREWSBURY AND GREY TO SOMERSET.

We have received your grace's letter of 5th with your pleasure

Edw. VI.
1548. that to save expence, we should discharge out of hand 2000 or 3000 men. Give us leave to answer, that our present service is to raise the siege of Haddington and victual the town, and that "either by force or by fame." If you think the bruit of a power, better than to hazard the force, then nothing is better than number, or worse than reducing it—for thereby the enemy will conjecture our determination. If by force, the abatement is not needed, for we must keep our strength; and though the enemy's force is partly on board, yet they can at any time "joyne with ther land force, and ever joyne and sever, skale away and retourne, in foure dayes," and the power of Scotland is at hand, determined to make a last attempt. But partly to execute your grace's order, and partly what we judge best for the King's service, we will at the present muster, discharge all unfit men, yet not so many as to come to the enemy's ears; but to do this without paying them, would but make the country murmur, the men unwilling to serve again, and utterly discredit us at her time of need. To discharge more than expedient now, would save the King little, for in these 14 days we shall see the enemy's purpose. Thus we think meet, without your grace's express commandment to the contrary. For victuals, Fyssher can show your grace what we have. How the country can serve us, the Bishop of Durham's letter will declare, to whom we wrote for oxen, and Scotland hereabout is clear exhausted. Berwick. *Signed:* F. Shrewesbury, Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: A French ship ran in between our fleet and the shore, bringing money (as bruited) which greatly increases their courage and numbers. We have sent to sea 1100 of the 8000 men that came with me the Earl. We intend forthwith to attempt relief of powder, &c. for Haddington.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548.] Aug. 10. **313.** CLYNTON TO SHREWSBURY AND GREY.

Yesterday morning I came into Leith road, when 40 ships and galleys seeing us departed, some to S^{t} Colms Inch, and some to Burnt Island. Seeing 12 there, I landed 500 men in boats and burned them, all full "fraughte" with victuals, viz. wine and "pypes" of bread and biscuit, fish and butter, and one with "syder." Four were for the galleys, the rest for the camp. Being night and calm, I doubted their getting out of the haven by help of the country, so burned them all. There were 6 well appointed with ordnance, the least of 140 tons, one of Rochell of 300 tons. There were 300 French to hold the haven, and had set up their flags, but seeing us, they departed, leaving a few mariners on board, 5 of whom I have prisoners. They tell me, that they fortify Leith and cast a dike about it. "Peter Strozzi [Strors] is the devisor therof, who is daylie borne aboute in a chaire with iiij men." Three hundred Scots pioneers are at work, plenty of victuals, and some great artillery (part broken) is laid in the great church there. They fear our landing, so proclamation is made in Fife, all men to come to camp, and on Wednesday Lord Lyndesaye and others of Fife sent their provision from "Kynkhorne" to Leith intending to follow—but on our coming, they stay to defend their

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[1548.] country. The old Queen came to Leith on Wednesday night to Peter Strozzi, to know the state of the galleys. He had fought with us on Fife side that morning, and been "desevered per force"—part driven to sea and part into the Frith. Their legs are better than ours, one has caught a blow and I hear will serve no more. M^r^ Luttrell sent me word that Peter Strozzi was slain when we met the galleys at Tomtalon, and buried at Abordon [Aberdour], but it was one of the captains, as I heard since I came hither, and divers of their "slayves" and soldiers, and their courage is now gone, they meddle no more with us, but lie at S^t^ Colms Inch, their victuals taken from them. It shall be sore against my will, but I will make them keep "our Ladyes fast" or they come out. The French fleet was all departed Thursday before my coming from Holy Island, as you, my lord Grey declared, but turned not again, and as the Scots and French here say, they are gone for the aid promised by the King of Denmark, which I believe not, but would like to know what is become of them. I pray you send the engineer here, there is great lack of him. I must now declare "with myne owne hand" that some wrong has been done me; for by your letters, and my lord Grey's, you either thought, or had heard, that my long stay at the mouth of the Firth was for fear of the galleys. But whoever has served at sea, knows we are subject to wind, which your lordships know has been so contrary to us; and as for the galleys, 6 sail of mine is too strong for them all. Though his grace commanded me to repair to Borthy Crag, yet on your lordships' order, I will stay here, having written for his further pleasure. I have sent the victuallers to Borthy with his grace's and your lordships' letters. Leith road in the *Great Barke*. E. Clynton.

I will as advised, put Leith in doubt of my landing, and keep Peter Strozzi waking at night, and occupied in the day. I am not to burn on Fife side by his grace's command. I can say nothing on Burntisland till the engineer comes. The haven is dry at low water, but ships may lie in the "woos." * A bulwark must be made each side the pier, beside the "hye forte," or the enemy may come at low water and burn the ships at night.

3½ *pp. Copy by Grey's clerk. Indorsed.*

1548. Aug. 10. **314.** GREY OF WILTON TO WILFORD.

Your not receiving the powder, &c., as you did the letters, was a mischance. Our purpose being known, the enemy laid greater watch, and we durst not adventure, for if it should "quayle," the enemy would have assailed you or tarried longer, though otherwise minded to depart. But we purpose relief with all haste in these few days. Meantime spare your victuals, &c., specially powder, and avoid the skirmish as much as ye can. Advertise us oft of your estate, and how long the victual may last. The cause we are not already in the field, is the waiting for our horsemen. Berwick.

1 *p. Copy by Grey's clerk. Indorsed.*

Aug. 10. **315.** SHREWSBURY AND GREY TO SOMERSET.

We have this day received letters from the Captain of Hadding-

* Ooze.

Edw. VI. 1548. ton, the copy whereof we send to your grace. We had determined again to attempt his relief of powder, &c., but the enemy is so laid in the villages about, and keeps such nightly watch, that it could not escape them. To adventure a small portion if effected, would not serve them, and a great quantity if intercepted, would encourage the enemy to assault again or lie longer. We thought on our taking the field, it might be done, if the enemy went back, or came against us, for part of it is ready at Lawder: but not having past 20 days' victual for 10,000 men, as Stonhouse reports, except "corne unground," we must tarry for our horsemen, that with our whole power we may attempt to victual and relieve Haddington, for which our store will hardly serve, except speedy supplement come from the south. Thus we see not how to attempt fortifying the Pethes, or elsewhere, till Haddington is out of peril. Berwick. *Signed:* F. Shrewesbury, Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: We caused Gerard Selby to search the ways from hence to Haddington, to see how the ordnance, &c. could pass, and enclose his report.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

1548. Aug. 11. **316.** SHREWSBURY AND GREY TO WILFORD.

We have received your letter by this bearer and see your doubts on putting in the powder: but I think or this, you have our letters that we had the like intelligence of their watch—the cause why you have not been relieved. Touching the bearer's credit, he says that to-night the chief force of Scotland will be in the camp with 8 days' victuals; and therefore thinks we should defer taking the field till then, for the French would be alone. But I have told him we intend to march forward to-morrow, though indeed we are forced to tarry till Wednesday or Thursday at nearest for our horsemen. "Therefore whate so ever he saie, credyt but this lettre."

If for need you cannot wait 7 or 8 days till the Scots are withdrawn, write by him how long you can endure, and we shall make more speed though the whole "rowte" of French and Scots are in the field, rather than you should be in any hazard. Berwick.

1 *p.* *Copy by Grey's clerk.* *Indorsed:* "My lord Gray aunswering a lettre of the Capten of Haddington ix° Aug."

[1548]. Aug. . **317.** [GREY OF WILTON] TO [SOMERSET.]

I have this instant, the letter being sealed, received news that the French intend to famish the town or have battle. The town sallied and took 30 or 40 horses and carriage of the north land men's, and Captain Dog is sent back to keep them in. They shot a piece yesterday from the northeast bulwark into the Abbey, killing 4 men. Pursuivants are sent out to get workmen for Aberlady. The ships laid up at Blackness are again at the "Roode," setting out all that were in Leith haven, and amending those hurt, with the greatest haste. There are 500 or 600 men coming to fortify Dunbar.

¾ *p.* *Written by Grey's clerk.* *A postscript to a letter.*

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1548. Aug. 13. **318.** MUSTER OF THE ENGLISH ARMY.

"For the battaile":—

Thomas Sutton*; Sir Thomas Cokaine; Robert Blont; William Nedeham; Humfrey Stafford; John Persall; John Dodde; Rychard Morto; Robert Savell; Sir Frauncis Hastinges, 200; Sir Robert Counstable; Rychard Tempest; Sir Thomas Malyverie; Sir William Vavasour; Sir William Calverley; Sir John Nevell; Sir Marmaduke Counstable; Frauncis Norton; Edmond Norton; Thomas Beaumount; John Lassey; Hugh Lassey; Marmaduk Thawites; Sir William Seint Quintyn; John Gascoign; Robert Counstable; Sir Jarvaux Clifton; Sir Anthonie Nevell; Sir James Fuliambe; Marten Aune; Sir Andrew Corbet; Sir Anthonie Manering; Thomas Leigh; Thomas Newporte.

Summa, 3500.

"The vowarde*":—

The Lord Latymer, 200; Sir Thomas Holcroft, 350; Sir Richard Townley; Sir Robert Langley; Sir Laurence Smyth; John Bothe; Thomas Barton; Sir Thomas Holt; Edward Holt; William Myles; Edward Sutton; Sir Raphe Coppinger, 200; Henry Gerarde; John Collins; Henry Wilcokes; Sir William Davenporte; Randall Manering; Sir John Leigh; John Bavington; John Baker, 200; Edmond Twedie; Colbie; Sir Rychard Sherborne; Thomas Catherall; Thomas Churnoke.

Summa, 3050.

"The rereward*":—

The Lord Scrupe, 200; Edward Horsley; Lord Coniers, 200; Percyvall Selbie; Launcelot Alford; Sir Thomas Danbie; John Vavasour; Sir William Fairefaxe; the Lord Nevell; Christofer Metcalf; William Wicliff; Christofer Wyvell; Robert Coniers; Rychard Stranguishe; Thomas Watterton; Rychard Wentwourth; John Vincent; John Browne; Thomas Crathorne; George Soulbie; Thomas Holford; Humfrey Nevell; Edmond Leigh; Edward Blount; "Spanierdes", 242. "Of these hacbutters vj^{c}. *Summa*, 2842.

The Almaynes' "battaille," 2020, of these 600 hacbutters.

"Somme" of all the footmen, 11,412. Besides 1300 sent to the sea, &c.

I shall send your grace the number of horsemen as soon as I have mustered them. Besides this new supply from Northumberland, they amount to 1800 horse the 12th August. *Signed:* John Brende.

2½ *pp. Indorsed:* "The nombres of men tentre Scotlande with their leaders, 1548."

Aug. 18. **319.** SHREWSBURY AND GREY TO SOMERSET.

Yesterday afternoon, Master Sadler reached Berwick, not only weary of travel, and somewhat "diseased," but also unfurnished of necessaries for the field. He remains there to dispatch the horsemen not yet come, and other things for relief of Haddington. A spy who came this night, reports that Lord Clynton, after making countenance

* Each leader has 100 men. Those with more are specified.

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1548. to land at Leith, and exchanging shots with the enemy, crossed over the water and burned Kynkhorne, Kirkaudy and other towns. The bruit is that the French intend the assault of Haddington to-morrow or Monday night, and have their ladders ready: which we think not true, for there are few Scots there; who are in readiness however, for sparing victuals.

We hear from the captain of Lauder that yesterday the Scots and French light horse made a foray near him, where Sir John Elerker lay with 200 of ours, who sent some out whom the enemy "trayned" to their ambush of 600, who broke and drove ours back to Sir John, who retired to Lauder with loss of 5 or 6 men slain. But relieved by the foot of the fort he returned and put them to flight, taking 10 or 12 prisoners and slaying 6. The camp at Prendergast. *Signed:* F. Shrewesbury, Wyllyam Grey.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 23. **320.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Considering I am now under a Lieutenant, and it is not my part to send news, but refer them to my chief, yet as by not writing, your grace may think it proceeds from negligence or "stubbernes," I send these few lines. We are encamped nearer the enemy, who are at Musselburgh, and we a mile on this side Long Niddry. I hear from my servant that the sums in the enclosed schedule are demanded from me as subsidy. I trust your grace thinks that he who serves the King in his wars, should be quit of such like, specially he who has so consumed himself therein, that he cannot pay without great hindrance. So I beseech you give order to free me, so as though I leave them nothing, my wife and children be not "entangled" in the King's debt. The camp beside Long Niddry. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript: I humbly thank your grace for your horses and armour.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a gem*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Note of subsidies.)

[*For the 32d, 34th and 37th years of the late King, 80l. in all.*]

½ *p. Official hand.*

Aug. 23. **321.** SHREWSBURY, GREY, DACRE, &C. TO SOMERSET.

Being encamped here between Aberlady and Seton, on Spyttell hill near Long Niddry, considering your grace's letters, and instructions by Mr Fisher, and our want of victuals, we fear we shall be obliged to return to Berwick and leave your grace's wishes undone; and yet if the victuals come, for which we have sent back carriages which discharged at Haddington, or those from Berwick by sea, as expected, for which Lord Clynton has sent "wayfters," we mind then after full relief of Haddington, to fortify at Musselburgh, as your grace expects, if we win the ground from the enemy, who are encamped there, and gathering more force, and we cannot attempt

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1548. them till assured of victuals. How it would touch the King and your grace in honour, if we fail, the same may judge. We beg your pleasure as to the dissolution of the army and disposal of the Almayns and Spaniards if we return. The camp at Spyttell hill. *Signed:* F. Shrewesbury, Wyllyam Grey, Will'm Dacre, Th. Holcroft, Thomas Audeley, Frauncis Flemyng, John Brende.

1 *p.* *In Fisher's writing.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 27. **322.** LICENCE TO LORD GRAY AND OTHERS.
Eg. MSS. 1818, fol. 4.

The Queen with advice of the Governor, licences Patrick lord Gray, with his household men, John Skrymgeour constable of Dundee, Sir David Grahame of Fyntre knight, [ ] Maxwell of Teyling, and John Baldovye of that Ilk, each with theirs, for defence of Dundee and the country about, against Broughty fort, to abide at home from her army now lying at Musselburgh, "first devisit to haif convenit on Gladismure the xx day of August instant," to resist the English army now within her realm. Under her signet. Musselburgh. *Signed:* James G. *And at foot:* Dunkeldythen.

Broad sheet. *Indorsed:* "Ane leciens," to Lord Gray, &c. *Wax signet:* (Scotland).

[1548.] Aug. 28. **323.** PATRICK LORD GRAY TO SOMERSET.

I have spoken with the Earls of Athol [Awthall], Crawfurd, Marschal, Sutherland, Rothes and Errol [Awrall] and other gentlemen who are of good mind to the King's godly purpose, "thai beande honestly entyrtaynit." I would your grace send some wise man to get their full minds, and to give them some money after their deserts. I refer other matters to the captain Sir John Luttrell's writings. Leyis. *Signed:* Patryk lord Gray.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Thynne).

1548. Aug. 29. **324.** GREY OF WILTON TO SOMERSET.

Now we have put Haddington out of peril, and field service need not long endure, as I am quit of my last commission of lieutenantship, I trust your grace will licence me to come home and live on my small portion, while seeking to win back what is wrongfully kept from me. I have often showed your grace that the great charges above my "dyettes" have brought me in debt, and now by my late great loss, I can endure it no longer. For my reputation is decayed, or through credit I might have borne it till your grace relieved my poverty. But if at home, I may "awhiles spare," and so be better able to serve again when your grace commands me. If you could see the bottom of my poverty, and in how poor sort I shall be forced to live, and in what miserable estate I shall leave my wife and children, over that I might have done in the beginning of the war, ye would not suffer me to run to further ruin, as I shall open and declare at my repair to your grace. And as you promised I should be here but a year, which now is "full complete," I beseech your grace's leave home to avoid the utter destruction of me and my posterity. The Camp. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1$\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.* *In Brende's writing.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

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1548. Sept. 8.

325. SOMERSET TO SHREWSBURY.

We cannot a little marvel that ye will keep the army together for the only service of fortifying the Pethes—thus spending the King's money on wages and victuals, which might have furnished the army at sea, so that Lord Clynton need not have stayed one hour for the enterprise in the Tay. We see no reason to keep more than the men appointed for the Pethes. The enemy will not be so mad as to put himself between that and Haddington. One day now at sea is worth ten after, and the matter must be "redobbed" that the King may have some service for his money. On receipt, send Sandy Pringle up to us by post. Sion. *Initialled:* E.P.

1 *p.* *Draft corrected by Paget.* *Indorsed.*

[1548.] Sept. 17.

326. HOLCROFT TO CECIL.

As these "artycles" seem to you, make my lord's grace privy to them.

First—I hear the King disbursed last year 14,000*l.* for victuals, but of no money received, though the captains who got it, keep it in their hands.

Also I know divers captains dead not worth 5*d.* this twelvemonth, had 300*l.* and 400*l.* and more in their purse, taken for victuals, and many more also—which if not called for in time, the King shall be a great loser.

Also the King has laid out this year above 14,000*l.*, and I think it were good that all things due till last Michaelmas should be paid for; and if my lord's grace think good, the next Michaelmas might be brought in withal, for payment of what the captains have received; and what remains in the King's fort.

And I would my lord's grace commissioned M^r^ Brende, Thomas "Goore," and Stonehouse, &c. to look into these things, and no captain henceforth to get victuals but these to be defalked on his next pay.

Also besides the daily ward at the gates of Haddington, his grace should have 3 warders on each curtain, 2 on each bulwark, and 1 on each flanker, to stay any one stealing in or out, or approaching the ditches. "I am tender" over that town, for the honour the King, my lord's grace and England have gained by it.

I must desire you to move his grace to licence the Bishop of Chester, who is blind and old, to stay at home from Parliament this winter, if it holds; also that his grace thank M^r^ Controller for me —for when his grace granted me the College of Ripon, saying, 'I would it weare a gud one,' there is no less thanks due than if it had been so. "The ferme of the holle will not ryse unto me above xxv*li.*, bot I have had M^r^ Controllers favor and quycke spede in the same as mych as I cold well desyre." And being a suitor for my servant for a little chantry in Lancashire of 3*l.* 10*s.* yearly, if M^r^ Controller had been "weyed" by his friends or money, there was such labour in my absence, that he had not got it; but M^r^ Controller has been good therein. I would rather have lost Ripon than have had my servant

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[1548.] prevented in my absence. The King's fort of Dunglas. *Signed:* Th. Holcroft.

2½ *pp. Holograph (?). Addressed:* "To . . . M^r^ William Cycell esquyer, M^r^ of the Requestes unto my lorde Protectours grace." *Indorsed.*

Sept. 26. **327.** THE COUNCIL TO GREY OF WILTON.

In my lord Protector's absence for a day or two, we have opened certain letters from the North, as it was his pleasure we should—and have made provision for certain lacks at the Peathes and Haddington, &c. As the Captain of Haddington, Sir Richard Lee, and Sir Thomas Holcroft, complain of the soldiers—some sick, others stealing away—your lordship must take strait order therein, as well as you can, removing the sick and punishing deserters, that the King's service be not hindered. The Court at Windsor.

½ *p. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "xxvj° Septembris; M. of a lettre to my lord Grey from the Counsell."

Sept. 27. **328.** SOMERSET TO WYLFORD.

We looked that the Master of Ryven should have been here about "Holyrode day," the time prefixed for him. Seeing no word of him from our lieutenant in the North, "nor any other the ministers in Skotlande," we find fault at his failure, and seeing there is no trust in men, who promise, not caring to perform, devise to get him into your hands, and address him hither, that he may know what it is to falsify faith.

We have written this by instructions from the Master, which ye must touch to him in a letter of your own, saying, unless he enter at once, you must be forced to take him; and you give him warning, because ye detest "in a man of good to be noted to falsefy his fayth"; hoping he will fulfil his promise, when you will accept him and write his excuse if reasonable. Thus ye are more open and frank to tell your instructions. When he is come, use him well, hear his advices, and we think ye shall find him dedicate to service.

We have taken order for your wants. Touching your advice to lay wait for the French money: we are assured that the contentions between Brittany and Gascony are so great that the French will have enough to do with their money at home. "And so hath God provyded bettre for us then we could wishe, to kepe them from to be hable to spare money to their neghbours."

1 *p. Draft by Paget. Indorsed:* "27 September. A minute from my lord Protector to M^r^ Wilford." *On the flyleaf of a letter.*

Nov. 1. **329.** WYLFORD TO SOMERSET.

The Laird of Ferniherst, who has been taken and held by the Governor, as he says, against his will and contrary to promise, has besought me by his friends, to move your grace either to release his son now in pledge for him, to go home to his house and lands to serve the King—or if this is not thought meet, then to license Robert Carre his brother thereto, who both before and since the laird his

Edw. VI.
[1548.] brother's taking, has often by me asked assurance from your grace, and has ever been desirous to release English prisoners, besides is a man both wise and well friended, and knows well the state of Scotland.

The state of this town pities me both to see and to write it; but writing to your grace, I hope for relief. Many are sick and a great number dead, most of the plague. On my faith, there are not here this day of horse, foot, and "Yttalians," 1000 able to go to the walls, and more like to be sick, than the sick to mend, for they watch every 5th night, yet the walls are not manned, they lie in litter without beds, go in their single white coats, for there is small provision of clothing—the houses are so beaten, they lie in "cabens"—the corn in store like to be spoilt in foul weather—great lack of labourers and want of all things. I fear the enemy more now than when they were before the town in their pride; our few horsemen are wearied with convoys of 5 or 6 "lode" at a time—the Almains promised by your grace are not yet come. I doubt getting relief till I speak with your grace myself, for which I beg licence when the time is meet, the Almayns well settled, and some wet weather to fill the ditches and make foul ways to hinder the enemy, for whom, as the weather is, I look daily.

I forgot in former letters to commend two Scotsmen burgesses of this town, who have served very honestly during the siege, and have suffered great losses, whereof if it pleased your grace to consider, and give them some entertainment in this town, it should be charitable. One of them George Forresse, is brother to Davy Forresse, the other John Rickenton is his cousin german. I also beg your grace's pleasure for the many assured men who paid their fermes to these lords now the King's enemies, and are now ordered by me to pay them to the King at "Martelmasse": whether you will send an officer to receive, or I shall appoint one? also what point Lord Bothwell [Bowdwell] stands in with your grace, for without your pleasure he shall receive no profit of his lands here. Haddington. *Signed:* James Wylford.

Postscript: Much money is reported come from France.

2¾ *pp. Holograph. Addressed.*

Nov. 8. **330.** SOMERSET TO GREY OF WILTON.

We have received your letters of the 3d respecting the horsemen at Hume; and to spare the victuals there till the beginning of the year for a larger force, we will that they be removed to some part nigh Berwick. For the poor men who dwell under the Laird of Mellerstane [Millerstoon] you may assure them, and spare burning their goods. But in case the laird of Mellerstane sues again to be received, you must only admit him on simple submission. When any letters from Borthy Crag or St Colm's Inch, or elsewhere, come to your hands, re-sign and read them before sending them here, so that if they require speedy looking to, you may remedy it sooner than if delayed till order be given here.

1½ *pp. Draft.*

Minute as to the horsemen only.

1 *p. Draft in Paget's hand. Indorsed:* "M. to the Lord Grey. Novembris."

Edw. VI.
[1548.] Nov. 9.

331. BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

The bearer Mr Worlington a man at arms taken prisoner in the last defeat at Haddington, was a suitor to my lord of Dunkeld to come home on "bande," who allowed him only on promising to deliver your grace a letter for exchange of certain prisoners. He now repairs to present it to your grace, and meantime to be free of their cruel imprisonment, and most humbly requires your grace to be his good lord. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1548. Nov. 11.

332. WYLFORD TO SOMERSET.

In answer to your grace's letter of 27th October, there is no man more meet to supply my place if your grace licence my repair to Court, than Mr Asheton late marshal here, with whom I would join the marshal in equal commission and 3 or 4 of the captains to be assistant and of counsel with them. Mr Asheton has with him at Dunglasse one Colbye, a man very sufficient to supply his charge if your grace approve. I shall get as much corn as I can, and put it in meal as I have casks for. For the enterprise of the church, whereon you require my opinion: I think the year now too far past, but at the beginning of March, 3000 foot by * the whole bands of the Almayns, with such horse as your grace pleases, will suffice to attack it. The place once taken, is of great force, and for victuals, if the country remain unspoiled, it can well furnish them, as I can show your grace at meeting. I have got 18,000 fish for this town, and I think can get more. Two "enseygnes" of Almayns have come here, who are hard to please, for they will only lie in houses, and "howsrome" is very scant here—yet seeing the small number of English, I must have another "enseygne" of them. On Wednesday last the ships lying in Tay landed some men, and with aid from Sir John Luttrell entered Dundee, expulsing the townsmen. The soldiers fell to spoil, and Jame Dog with his band and some countrymen, fell on them scattered, drove them out, and slew 30, one Sir John Luttrell's brother. Yesterday morning more ships arrived, landed men and retook the town, and keep it with the fort on the hill above, where Jame Dog and his men lay, and some say he and most of them are slain or taken. "These are Scottishe news, but I trust very trew for the last part." I must declare a mishap to your grace: yesterday I sent 40 light horse to convoy some carts that came hither with the Almayns, which with the scouts, I thought too strong for the garrison of Dunbar—but were all the "hole menne" I could make. Near Dunbar, the laird of Newton who had come from Edinburgh the night before, lay in wait with 60 horse; some of our men alighted, some kept their horses, finally all fled but a few, and were taken except 10. This comes of these daily convoys for 2 or 3 carts, but as they are alive the loss is less. Haddington. *Signed:* James Wylford.

Postscript: If your grace like to appoint Mr Ashton in my place, but not Colbye in his, George Lawson is a very meet man. I hear divers of my horse more have escaped, and miss not above 20.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

* Besides.

Edw. VI.
[1548.] Nov. 18. **333.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

I hear that "ours" have burned Dundee and shipped the spoil: the occasion I know not, but they say the Rhinegrave purposed to defend S[t] Johnston, and he lies sick of the plague there and like to die. The ensign of Almayns to have been shipped to Broughty, shall remain here till further orders. The Frenchmen who can be spared from Leith "shall lie" at Stirling, for the corn is clean gone about Edinburgh, and there is nothing to burn but houses. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 22. **334.** BRENDE TO PAGET.

If you did not know how much I acknowledge your goodness, I would with many more words thank you for many things, "ye for all thinges, and alwaies for me and for my frindes"—lastly, for my suit obtained for Roger of Wytherington for the occupying of Lamerton, and for my own coming up. I can say little of Scotland—things are in suspense, upon this Convention, and the time of year makes enterprises "colde." The enemy has done nothing against Dundee, except than that they are at Saint Johns town. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed.*

Nov. 23. **335.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

Monsieur Dessé and the French are all returned back, so it is certain they will not attempt Dundee at present. Yesternight a prisoner that came from Edinburgh, told me that the Lord Gray of Scotland was taken, but where and how he could not tell. There was great contention between Monsieur Dessé and the Governor about him—the Frenchmen would have him die, but the Scottish lords would not assent. I dare not affirm this for verity, but as your grace desires to hear, and I fain to write, I must sometimes advertise rumours as well as certainties. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 26. **336.** BRENDE TO SOMERSET.

The laird of Ormiston tells me, that not only Monsieur Dessé, but the Rhinegrave and most of his band, are again at Edinburgh on Friday last, fearing invasion on this side; also Lord Gray of Scotland is there a prisoner. Since our men abandoned Dundee, the enemy saw they could attempt no more. He also says, since the return of Gawen Hamylton, "which is noted to be clene converted," the Governor utterly repents him of his covenant with France, "and fareth as one that is in doubte to hold, and in daunger to lett goo." He says the treasure from France is very small, the Scots have received none, and the French King is not pleased with the "presydent" of giving Scotsmen wages, which is to same effect as in Northumberland, where the garrisons lie idle, and make the rest

Edw. VI.
[1548.] unwilling to serve. The Governor will not go to France, leaving the Queen to bear all rule, and now she will go herself. Bothwell has had many communications with the Bishop of Dunkeld, &c., but nothing is yet offered him.

Gamboa is going to Court to repose, and confer with your grace for his band here and more men. My opinion is by experience, that Spanish horsemen are "chardgeable" and ill furnished, and I think one captain should not have both horse and foot; the horse take the best of the foot, and there is deceit at the musters. So I wish he should have all foot, or none at all, and no Englishmen in their band. Foot are more apt and ready for service, and the charge less. Berwick. *Signed:* John Brende.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Nov. 29. **337.** BRENDE TO SIR JOHN MASON.

Your friendly letter and good news hath rid me of my old disease—slackness in writing—not bred by forgetfulness of your friendship, but the greatness of my business forces me to leave off before I had well begun. Forth comes your letter, and allures me to write, but what? Even that I count you in the "kalender" of my chiefest friends, and owe to you all I may do. There is little doing here, or likely to be this winter, since we abandoned Dundee. The country is so wasted there is nothing to destroy. The bareness, want of lodging, scarcity, wet, and cold, makes war here more painful than elsewhere, wastes men and horses, brings men out of heart, causing even them to forswear war, that cannot live without it. Yet you above, that judge our doings, weigh our pain, and not always our success. You think we have done little, yet we know we have travailed much. The enemy, though full of variance and suspicion among themselves, always agree against us. The Governor is "as one that holdeth the wolf by the eares, in doubt to holde, and in daunger to let goo." I desire to see my friends, and pray you remember Mr Comptroller for my coming up, and "the suenge forth of my bill signed." Berwick. *Signed:* your owen John Brende.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* "To the right worshipfull Sir John Mason knight, master of the Kinges Majesties postes." *Indorsed.*

Dec. 11. **338.** SOMERSET TO WYLFORD.

We have received your letters of the 4th of this present, and seen those written to Brende; and first, we take in good part your doings at the last encounter with the Rhinegrave and its success. Marry! the risk of a small force of foot encountering a far stronger number of horse, must not hazard the forts, our keys and entry to further purposes—therefore you must keep well at home, seeing we cannot find you horse, as we would do if wishing could serve. You say the Rhinegrave has burnt the villages and corn about, and you lack forage: though we opened the King's purse ever so wide, and prepared victual to send you, yet we cannot always be sure "that God woll gyve us the winde in sleve" to supply you at need. So in the mean season ye must "kepe fast the key in hande," and give your whole eye to the

Edw. VI.
[1548.] strength and custody of your "peeces," so that the enemy get no advantage of you, wherein he may be more emboldened, knowing that so much work is in ruin as ye write, and as a man of wars, will think ye embraced too great a circuit as appears by these breaches. To the amendment of these, ye must bend yourselves wholly, and albeit we see by your letters to Brende, ye have a sufficient number of masons and artificers, if your book is correct, yet have we ordered Rydgeway to send all things needful as fast as he may, and likewise have written to my lord Grey to help you with some money. We marvel that ye demand so much as ye do, seeing you turn your dismissed men over for payment on this side, also that ye have so many officers of bands, and 300 Englishmen in camp, when lately in time of need there were not 12 score. We have already revoked the strangers' bands, and such of the fleet as we have written to Windham of, leaving you with your ordinary number, enough to victual in winter. So keep well at home though your courage would draw you abroad.

3½ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "11 December. A mynute to M^r^ Wilforde from my lord Protector."

[1548. Dec. .] **339.** SOMERSET TO DOCTOR WOTTON.

We, the Lord Protector, in a former conference with the French ambassador, whereof we advertised you, opened to him the King's just title to the sovereignty of Scotland, telling him we should have his Majesty's ancient records "visited" and advertise him more fully, and yesterday, "having a great number of very antient and authentique writinges in a readinesse for that purpose," we entered again with him thereon, saying we had had them searched, and would advertise his master by you, and had sent for him, "to shew him the very originalls," so as his master might learn the truth. He answered, being a servant, and unable to exceed his commission, he would neither view or report on these "originalls." 'If you will not see the originallis' quoth we, 'you may doe as you will, we have them here, by the which it may well appear that above 600 years past, and even from the beginning, the Scottish kinges have done and sworne homage and fealty to the kinges of England, and soe continued untill the reign of King Henry 7^th^ who also because the Scottish King then refused to doe the like, prepared to have made warres against him; but in the end, marrying one of his daughters, prevented the warres for certayne yeares.' "And these homages and other services done by sundry kinges of Scotland to the kinges of England from tyme to tyme, we have many antient writinges under the seales of the kinges of Scotland; under the seales of the cities, noblemen, byshops, abbots, and the seales of sundry byshops of Rome, and divers other wayes; which as we would have been contented to shew unto him, if he would have seene the same, so having thus much offered, we mynded to cause the King his master to be informed of the effect of the sayd writinges; for that we minded hereby to make him, or any other man, judge of his majesties right. But for the good will we have to the continuance of the amity, we thought expedient to give knowledge unto him as unto the Kinges majesties good brother, of the very truth of this matter, to the intent that he might thereby, both informe him-

Edw. VI.
[1548. Dec. .] "selfe of the just quarrell of his majesty to the sayd sovereignty, as also being informed, may (as in reason, and honour we thinke he ought to doe) forbear from henceforth to ayde his majesties rebelles in their unjust quarrell. His answere was—that his master had likewise willed the Scottish ambassador to write, for a like search of the recordes of that realme, both for such matter as they have to answere our clayme, and for such also, whereby they might prove their challenge to England. He travelled also the wordes to diminish the credit of our records; and after said, his master had just cause in honour, to ayde them, because they were his antient friendes, and likewise of his progenitors; and besides this, because the young Queen was his masters kinswoman. We told him agayne that we thought his master might not with his honour, ayde the Kinges Majesties rebelles, contrary to his antient treaty."

4½ *pp. Copy in a hand late in the 17th century. Indorsed:* "1548, M. to Dr Wotton embassador in Fraunce, touching a conference had here in England with the French ambassador about the Kinges title to the sovereignty of Scotland."

[1548.] **340.** ALEXANDER STORYE TO SOMERSET.

Your oratour Alexander Storye Scotsman, humbly shows your grace, that he was lately taken by the French in the Castle of St Andrews, and imprisoned in their galleys, and all he had taken from him, "as Maister Leslye and uthir Scottesmen in your gracis servyce can testifye.' By the "provitioun" of God he escaped the galleys, but for great necessity and lack, he borrowed of Englishmen in France, but has not means to repay his debt, and beseeches your grace for the love of God, to have compassion, and help him with some money thereto; also to accept him in your grace's service either here or in Scotland, where he shall be as faithful as any of his Majesties lieges.

1 *p. Scottish hand. Addressed* (at head). *Indorsed.*

341. RULES FOR MILITARY DISCIPLINE, &c.

Extracts.

[*Various heads—five only numbered.*]

(1) A company of soldiers containing 158 to be divided alike into muskets, pikes, and callivers.

(2) Directions for marching in two sorts—"troup" and "ordur." The former is, when charged on a sudden, doubling the ranks to receive the enemy.

(3) Directions as to the pikes and "schottis" marching on the wings.

(5) The words of command, when in rank—'To right'—'to left'—'right about,' &c.

Directions to break 10,000 pikes with 5000 foot—to be early in the field of battle—making pits of powder to annoy the enemy, &c.

2¼ *pp. Contemporary hand. No date or title.*

[1548–49.] March 11. **342.** WYNDHAM TO SOMERSET.

As ordered by your grace's letter of the 4th, I shall repair to

Edw. VI.
[1548–49.] Tynmouth with my ships the last day of this month: but I intend to leave the *Phenex* and the *Sackar*, for they are "nemble ships and dothe rowe," to waft victuallers to Borthy, and bring letters to and fro with knowledge how things pass. I have written to the surveyors to prepare victuals at Tynmouth, for we shall bring no more than will carry us hither, for the sake of the forts here. I understand by "the Lord Grey," that the Governor is coming with all his power, and as the "forte of the hill" is not so strong as I could wish, I will labour with all my men there till within 4 days of the last of this month, and do as much as I can. I have fetched to the forts from Dundee, some rods and "staykes" that the Earl of Argyll brought to make baskets, and also "a gret sort of peces of tember, that I am at a pres with the merchauntes for yt." I intend "to ploke downe the tell [tile?] and tembar of a fery" near Dundee, to make a house in the fort for victuals, which shall not be above 8 days "adoing." I have trimmed and caulked the *Barke Ager* and the *Doble Roysse;* the *Phenext* and the *Sackar* were repaired at Newcastle, so that the ships are all able to "byde owt" the summer, lacking nothing, except the *Mary Hamborough*, as I have written before. If it were your pleasure, the ships were better to remain here; for if the Governor laid siege, I should be up and down the river, stopping his victuals out of Fife, and driving him to bring them by S^t^ Johnston, also keeping the Fife men occupied, and not doubting with help of the forts, to keep the river in spite of all France and Scotland.

These assurances do us much hurt—if they had been put to "swerd and feyar" since I came, they would have been in more fear. We trust too much to their fair words—they only seek assurance to serve their turn, as your grace shall find. If your grace gave us men and 3 more great ships, I doubt not to give them "an heyt" this summer. *The Bark Ager. Signed:* Thomas Wyndam.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 15. **343.** THE COUNTESS OF LENNOX TO THE EARL OF ANGUS.

"My lorde . . . desiring of your blessing, this shalbe to singneffye unto you the gret unnaturallnes wiche ye showe me daylye, being to longe to reherse in all poyntes, butt in some I wyll declare." Now last, my lord being near you, so desirous to speak, ye refused it, "wherein ye showed your selfe not to be so loving as ye ought to be, or elles so unstable that every body maye turne you! For dyverse tymes ye have seid you wolde be glad to speyke with your sonne my lorde. Remember he hathe maryd your owne doughter and the best chylde to you that ever ye had." If ye remember being in England, though your deeds show you forget it, being so contrary to the King's affairs, whose father was so good and liberal to you—"butt nowe my lorde, I here saye that ye have profest neyver to agre with Englande, for so myche as the mooste parte of your frendes are slayne"! Who can you blame but your own self wills? for if ye agreed to this godly marriage, no Christian blood would be shed. "For Godes sake remember your selfe nowe in your olde age," and seek an honourable peace through this marriage; what a memorial it should be to you! If I wrote such a letter as I could, "with the wronge of your parte and the right of myne," it would be too tedious

Edw. VI.
[1548–49.] for you to read. But "as I purpose God wylling, to come to Carlyll shortly after Ester, I wyll kepe it in store to tell you my selfe—for I am sure ye wyll nott refuse commyng to me, allthow my uncle George and the larde of Dromlaneryk speyke agaynst it; whome I knowe wolde be glad to se you in your grave, allthowe they flatter you to your face. My uncle George hathe seid, as dyverse Skottesmen have tolde me, that thowe you had sones, he wold be eyre, and make them all bastardes. Butt my lorde, if God sende you no moo sons, and I lyffe after you, he shall have leste parte thereof, or elles many a man shall smarte for it." Leaving to declare further till I speak myself. The King's castle of Wreyssell. By your humble doughter Margrett Lennox.

2 *pp. All in one hand, perhaps that of a secretary. No address. Indorsed:* ". . . from Marget Lennox to her father in Scotland."

March 21. **344.** HEW LORD SOMERVILLE TO LORD WHARTON.

I am advertised your lordship is [not ?] content with me, "quhilk sall be wythout ane resnobill caus"—or I promised to you that I might not keep, or was not minded to keep, as others has done to your lordship, I had rather leave Scotland and England both. It is well known that none of us lords taken at "Solom mos," but did our best to perform our promise to the late King, whose soul God pardon, to perform the marriage, as well known to my lord protector, the Council and yourself. When I was to go to England myself to the late King, with the others' minds, and to give our counsel for the marriage, the Governor made his brother take me in Edinburgh, and I was warded in Blackness castle for half a year, and had lost my head for writings found on me, but for my lord of Argyll "that is cumit of my hous." Meantime the Governor took "ane stane hous" and 40*l.* land from me and withholds them yet; also "gert sla the person of Lebartoun quhilk was the best of my name nyxt myself, herfor." There has been "ay" such discord between the Governor's name and my name, that I had rather any other Christian man had the government of Scotland; for I believe surely he intends to destroy myself and my heritage. Your lordship sees I may not make "ane plane pountment" with England, for if I brought my self, wife and bairns to England, the Governor would be glad to have that "quarell" upon me, and would destroy myself and my heritage: "for his frendis legis so ner me, that thai mycht desstroy my boundis in half ane day." All things considered, you will not find I have failed, but shall always be of true mind to perform the promise I made to set forward the marriage. I would you let my son come home for 20 days upon sureties, that he might "ger me ken" your mind herein. Cowthally [Cothele]. *Signed:* Hew lord Somerwell.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1548–49. March .] **345.** INSTRUCTIONS TO LUTTRELL AND FISHER.

"Instruccions gyven to Sir John Luttrell knight capten of Broghty Crag, and Thomas Fisher esquier."

Where by the letters of "ye" Sir John, it has been signified that

Edw. VI.
[1548–49. March .] sundry noblemen and gentlemen of the north of Scotland, as the Earls of Argile, Athel, Arrel and others, seeing that the Governor seeks to ruin his country by bringing in the French, and also with some others, for private commodity, procured the delivery of the young Queen to France, have offered to treat on those matters with commissioners from hence—the King with our advice, has appointed you the said Luttrell and Fisher to commune with them.

First: to the end they may compel the French King to return the young Queen to Scotland, to complete the intended marriage with the King, they shall with all their friends &c. take open part with the King's officers, both to expel the French, and oppose all Scotsmen who take their part.

Item: to give the King's forces free entrance to all their houses and holds, and victual them at reasonable prices.

Item: So to combine themselves, that if put at by the authority of Scotland with aid of France, they shall be able for defence—and if any one fail his oath, he shall be treated as an open enemy.

If their demands are reasonable ye may assure them of good entertainment by his highness—if unreasonable, ye must travail to qualify them.

You may add that we have not only sent a good power thither, but have also induced the Earl of Huntly to write to his friends there to join with them.

* As a letter is addressed to "the Lord James" to induce him to service, you Sir John taking a copy, shall send it to him with a message that you shall be ready to confer thereon if he wishes it.

6½ *pp.* *Corrected draft.* *Indorsed:* "Instruccions for M^r^ Fisher."

March . **346.** ARTICLES BY LUTTRELL AND FISHER.

"Articles gathered and devised by Sir John Luttrell knight and Thomas Fisher esquier, commissioners at this present, to be conferred and remembred unto the right honorable thErll of Argile and sondry others the nobles of Scotland on the Kinges majesties behalf, for the redresse and accomplishement of the godly purpose of marriage and the quyetnes and commenweale of bothe the realmes of England and Scotlande."

[*A fair copy of the preceding—with an additional clause—that if the Queen had perished on her voyage, the Governor might have aspired to the Crown of Scotland. The mention of Lord James is omitted.*]

2¼ *pp.* *Written by Fisher.* *Indorsed:* "The copie of thArticles exhibited uppon the treatie, to thErll of Argile, and Lord Grey of Scotland."

1549. May 19. **347.** INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR THOMAS HOLCROFT, &c.

"A memoriall for Sir Thomas Hollcroft, Sir John Harington and Sir Fraunces Leke knightes,† Cotton and John Brend esquiers appoynted commissionaris for the purposes following."

First:—They are to signify their commission to the Governor of

* This clause added by Paget. † Blank.

Edw. VI.
1549. Scotland with a safe conduct for the Scots commissioners and 100 with them—requiring the like for themselves. Hermeston, Clerkington and Salmeston being the places appointed for meeting.

Lord Grey and Wharton shall inform them of the names, states and conditions of all the Scots prisoners and hostages, likewise of all Englishmen prisoners in Scotland. At meeting, they shall say that we the Lord Protector having received letters from Sir James Wylford of the Queen and Governor's desire to exchange prisoners, have with advice of the Council, appointed them for the purpose. They shall take note what prisoners the Scots are most desirous of.

They shall agree at their discretion for the exchange of common soldiers, inferior and mean gentlemen, captains, peti-captains or men at arms—giving preference to those that have done good service or are meetest to serve.

"For the personages of more estimation, as Monsieur de Toige (?), de Kaises, the lord Maxwell, lord Flemyng, George Douglasse soone, and such others prisonaris as be notable"—they shall only see what the Scottish commissioners offer, and advertise us, without making full agreement till instructed.

They must have consideration in any case of "Henry Balnefes, the laird of Graing,* , Henry Moneypenny," and the rest of the King's servants taken in the castle of S^{t} Andrews, for their exchange for other Scottish prisoners, and do as much therein as they may.

Touching Scots hostages here, it must be considered for whom, and for how many they lie, and a like number of our prisoners released as they are bound for. As many nobles and gentlemen taken at "Solom Mosse," &c., were let home on their own promise or band, to re-enter, who yet defer though required, the commissioners must speak of them, and signify hither what answer they get.

If any one of the Scots commissioners shall seek to talk apart with any of ours, on any other matter than the exchange of prisoners, he to whom such offer is made shall give good ear, and in general terms show good affection to an honourable agreement, and advertise hither.

3½ *pp. Draft corrected by Paget. Indorsed:* "M. of thinstructions for the commissioners for exchainge of prisoners betwene us and Scotland xix^{o} Maij 1549."

[1549. May 19.] **348.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR BLUEMANTLE.

"A memoriall for Edmund Atkynson *alias* 'Bluemantell,' officer at armes, sent presently to thErle of Arrayn Governor of Scotland, for the purposes ensuing."

Directing him to repair in post to Berwick, communicate his instructions to the Earl of Rutland warden of the East and Middle Marches and his council, thereafter to send a trumpet to the said Governor for a safe conduct—which being granted, he shall repair to the place, and "putting on his cote of armes, and making reverence unto him, without any other salutacion, shall boldly say as ensueth."

'Sir—the high and mighty prince Edward Duke of Somerset, Governor,' &c., &c., understandeth that sundry of the King's subjects, Scotsmen born, have served and yet serve in his wars according to

* Blank left for a name.

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[1549. May 19.] their duties, yet you, contrary to justice and usage of Christian realms, have proclaimed that any such Scotsman taken in the field with arms against you, shall be instantly put to death as a rebel—and his grace requires by me that the same be at once revoked—to which if the Governor agree, the said officer satisfying himself that it is done out of hand, shall return.

But if he refuses, the said Bluemantell shall then declare that the Lord Protector, though very sorry to take such a course, must use more sharpness and cruelty, and assure the Governor that henceforth no Scotsman taken in arms against England, shall be used as a prisoner, but immediately slain—and any Englishman or stranger in the Kings' service, who presumes to receive any Scot to mercy, shall suffer death "by way of hangyng," which course is forced on him by the Governor's cruelty.

If the Governor seeks delay, to consult his council, the officer shall say that unless his proclamation be "released" within 6 days that of the Lord Protector shall be immediately set forth.

6½ *pp. Draft corrected by Paget. Indorsed:* "Minute of Bluemantelles Memoriall xix° Maij 1549."

[1549. May 22.] **349.** PROCLAMATION BY SOMERSET.

Begins*.—"Edward by the grace of God, Duke of Somerset, Erle of Hertford, Viscount Beauchamp, lord Seymor, uncle to the most noble prince Edward by the grace of God of Englond, Fraunce, and Ireland King, defendor of the Fayth, and in yerth under God, the supreme hedd of the church of Englond and Ireland, governor of his highnes person," &c. &c. Declares that no quarter be allowed to any Scotsman taken in arms against his "superior and sovereign lord the Kinges majestie of England," until the Earl of Arran "pretending himself to be Governor of Scotland," shall have "manifestly and openly revoked and disanulled his most cruell proclamacion."

5 *pp. Draft corrected by Paget. Indorsed:* "Minute of the proclamacion for not taking of Scottishemen xxij° Maij 1549."

May 22. **350.** SAFE CONDUCT BY EDWARD VI.

The King with advice of the Lord Protector and the rest of his Privy Council, at the desire of the Queen Dowager of Scotland and the Governor, grants safe conduct for 3 months for Thomas Master of Erskyn, Robert Master of Symple, Veale Ganzeoun knight of S[t] Johns, lieutenant general of the French King's galleys, Hugh Campbell of Lowdown and James Douglas of Drumlanrig knight, Scottish commissioners for exchange of prisoners, with 100 horse or foot, to meet those of England at the towns, villages or hamlets of Clerkington, &c.

3 *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "Minute of the Scottishe commissioners salveconduct xxij° Maij 1549."

* This clause with the Duke's titles added on margin.

Edw. VI.
1549. Aug. 2.

351. SIR THOMAS HOLCROFT TO CECIL.

Though I press you with letters, my meaning is not to force you to write again "aftre your long sicknes," but rather that ye may speak and remind my lord's grace of things. I have written to his grace a long letter, that he may write his pleasure to the Captain of Haddington, and if he agree to the Captain's letters, then I tell you he shall be much troubled daily for relief of the many that have served there. Yet I have "a toy in my heade" to content them all, and no great charge to the King. When his "conquest" lands are surveyed, his grace granting none till he know what they are, we shall satisfy all, and it will strengthen our frontiers, as is meet. "So doth Monsieur de Termes intend to make strong their frountiers." I intend to make you a book of devices for the King's service here—there must be an alteration of officers, and to avoid such "as be great graters on the King, and unsatiat," those at Berwick must be changed, and some worthy man, placed at Roxburgh. I will "abill" none but such as are good and meet yet my lord's grace must not forget Frauncis Asillaby marshal of Haddington, also M^r^ Wilton the gentleman porter, though I cannot help the last with his desire, viz. the keeping the fort of Holy Island, for the captain there has served long. Commend me to M^r^ Stannope, I have written to him several times without answer.

I can claim no promise of you for calling me home, only your good will, which I doubt not unless sickness has altered you. But if I get no help from my lord great Master, M^r^ Secretary Smith and you, I will not write to M^r^ Stannope, but to my lord's grace himself, by whom I know I shall speed. The camp at Stichell by Hume Castle. *Signed:* Th. Holcroft.

3 *pp.* *Addressed* (To Cecil as Master of requests). *Indorsed*

[1549.] Aug. 10.

352. JAMES HENRISON TO THYNNE, CECIL, &C.

"Forsomoche as your maisterschip is one of my lordes graces counsaill and princypal servauntes, and seing in tyme of peace I can nocht cum to his speyche," I thought good before lamenting my misfortune "by prent," to let you know my griefs. It was my lord's pleasure that I left my natural country, friends, &c. to serve the King, as also that I should not speak with the King nor Council; and now it seems his grace would I should seek my wages and reward from the Council, that neither know me nor my service, without his declaration of the truth of my suit: though they for lack of knowledge of us, often reward enemies better than faithful friends! Now I would your "prudencie" move his grace in safeguard of his conscience and honour to his humble servant, that his promise may be kept, "les God pwnysche unthankfulnes," and by my evil example (who was a principal persuader of my countrymen), other noblemen shall lack service, when they pretend like purposes. I would he had seen some my service, but will not "oppen" it at present. And if the matter be such that his grace cannot, for the evil end of the wars, "wherof God is blamed innocentlye," move him to bring me in presence of the Council, peradventure the King shall not be so much "bowrdynnit" as is thought, with me and others "whiche be left out of the peace,"

Edw. VI.
[1549. Aug. 10.] to whom the King's honour is indebted. For our treatment raises slander and calls for vengeance. Windshorne. *Signed:* Jamis Henrison.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed:* "To the ryght wurschipful Schir Johnne Thynn, Mayster Cecyle, or Mayster Evan (?) my syngular and trayste freindis, &c. &c. Ryding." *Indorsed. Wafer signet with 3 or 4 letters—illegible.*

1549. Aug. . **353.** FEALTY BY THE EARL OF BOTHWELL.

Declaring of his own free will for himself and his heirs, his fealty and homage to "the superior and naturall lord of Scotland" Edward the Sixth, renouncing all other power "contrariaunt" thereto. Under his hand and seal. Westminster.

2 *pp. Official fair copy. Indorsed:* "My lord Bothwelles fealtie don to King Edwarde the Sixt and the covenauntes between the King and him."

[Aug. .] **354.** BOTHWELL'S COVENANTS.

(1) To renounce Scotland and promote its union with England. (2) To aid an English invasion with 200 horse. (3) To deliver his house of the Hermytage to the King by the [*]. (4) That the King shall defend said house against Scotland—if taken, recover it —and whether or not, after [*] years restore it or give the Earl equal land in England; (5) and pay the Earl a pension of [*] crowns yearly.

1 *p. Contemporary copy. Indorsed:* "Couvenantes of therle Bothewelles."

[1549.] Sept. 5. **355.** BOTHWELL TO SIR THOMAS SMITH.

Since my departure from London, it is shown me that my lord of Lennox is "miscontentit" that M^r^ Steward desires to serve the King in my company. "But I wold be glaider to se my lord of Lenox cum and be desyrus to serffe him sellff, nor to se him angry with suche as ar willying to serffe," and so we might all serve together.

Howbeit, till my lord is ready to come and serve, I trust ye will remember his grace that I may have M^r^ Steward and the rest of the gentlemen desiring to serve, as his grace thinks meet. Ware. *Signed:* Erle Bothvile.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed:* "To the rycht werschipfull Schir Thomas Smytht knycht one of the Kynges majesties two prensipall secretares." *Indorsed.*

Sept. 17. **356.** THOMAS FISHER TO WILLIAM CECIL.

Here is no news other than such as I doubt not you are privy

* Blank.

Edw. VI.
[1549.] to by letters from hence to my lord Protector, wherein is to be specially noted the abandoning of the "evell taken towne" of Haddington, hitherto stoutly defended with consumption of treasure and worthy men in plenty. I assure you, as I trust to be saved, it is as great a hasard to abandon it and save our men and munition, and to tell you plainly, I fear we shall not do both, though all that is possible shall be done: "for by the faith I owe to God," every man in the army is determined to die rather than lose either of them. Though his grace's instructions to me run not to abandon it, without some service before, and the commissioners here have no such direction—they stood in such doubt (to be plain with you) that it was in question whether to abandon it, and save what might be, or else to leave it to the enemy, and the men to save themselves. For they hourly send word that unless we come the sooner, they will no longer abide their misery, whatever becomes of them. So after much ado, it was resolved to adventure this night "by Godes suffrance," and either relieve them with the victual we have—scant three days'—or else taking all the able carriages, to bring off the ordnance, men, and necessaries—scarcely to be done without a battle. For the French are as strong and stronger in the field than we, and lie encamped near the passage, have been reinforced by 2000 Scots in these two days, and the whole power of Scotland summoned to join them with 30 days' victual by Saturday or Sunday next. So we daily minish by death or sickness (the weather being extreme, both wind and rain too much to write of) and our whole power of horse and foot "and tag and rag of all sortes," are not much above 3500, though my lord's grace supposed they were 6000 or 7000—which if we were, we could burn Edinburgh, Leith, and all the country about, despite the enemy. "God be our gydes, as I have no mystrust but he woll." If we delay beyond this instant, we should be unable to relieve Haddington, and trust my lord's grace will accept our doings in good part. If I could get away in safety from this "toward banket, I pray Crist I never enyoie any part of his passion for my counfort," if I would not give three parts of all my living. But here I am, and neither can nor will with honesty start, till the end of the journey, whatever happens: "trusting the Lorde will defend and preserve me from the furye of thenemye, even as my very hope and only affyance is in him." If you knew all, I am not fit to be in the field, for with hasty riding, "yll wayes," and worse weather on my journey hither, before I got to Newcastle I was "eftsones encombered with the rewme with such a vehement swelling in myn eys, as I suppose no man hath felt the like payne; my legges also arr wonderfully s[w]ollen, and my body not so temperat as yt might be." But what of that! here I am in such misery and shortness of life as I never was before. Yet I will not depart "so long as I can shake my hand"; but once returned, I trust my lord's grace will spare me the like again.

"Now good M[r] Cecill," I beseech you for God's sake keep this from my wife, for if she knew (as I hope not) she would be in much inquietness and "displeasur."

Again, if God dispose his will on me, I pray you be witness that I give to her all the living and goods I have in this world; "which nevertheles I trust my silf full well to possesse." I feared at first I had been infected with the plague, which reigneth extremely from

Edw. VI.
[1549.] Northallerton northwards in every village, and not one house clear of it in all this part of Scotland and Berwick—"God hold his holy hand over us."

I beseech some speedy answer to other things I have written to my lord's grace—for if the plague continues, I should be loath to remain here. "Now Sir, ons agayn to Haddington, and so to end." I assure you it had been French or this, but for M^r^ Holcroft, who has served as few men living would, and with such liberality as is wonderful, "and without him, as I be saved, all thinges here wold ronne backwards to fast." He is worthy to be considered above all others. Commend me to "your good bedfellowe M^rs^ Cecill, M^r^ Honing, M^r^ Walpole and M^r^ Seymour. The Camp at Innerwick [Enderwik] leyserles this Twisday." I may not be forgotten I pray you by M^r^ Steward. *Signed:* Thom's Fysher.

Postscript: As I was closing this, our spies report that the French hearing our intention have overthrown Lynton bridge, and are rasing it, and entrenching that passage to stop us. We cannot otherwise pass for the abundance of waters "as the like hath byn syldom sen," whereof I pray you advertise my lord's grace, for his letter was sealed before the news came. I fear this will stay our purpose in part. I have not yet "spoken," that in case we lose the field, as I trust not, the rest of the King's "pieces" will be in danger.

3 *pp. Holograph, closely written. Address lost. Indorsed:* "xvij September. From M^r^ Fissher to my master." *Fisher has written on the back the first three verses of the Litany. Damaged.*

[1549.] **357.** JAMES HENRISON TO SOMERSET.

"Questions worthy to be consulted on for the common wealth and union of the two realms."

[*Under* 26 *heads.*]

Extracts.

1. Whether it were better to conquer hearts without charges, or burn and build forts at great charges, which will never conquer Scotland?

2. Whether it were better that secret reward were given by the King to friends setting forth his title, &c., thus inducing conformity, or commit his rights to chance of battle?

3. Whether the King shall write to the earls and lords, all in the 5^th^ degree of kin to him by the house of Somerset,* except a few, showing their evil course.

4. Whether pledges and prisoners should not be kept together in hold at their own charges, if they will not do service?

5. Whether Scots or others who have got livings for service, should not serve on the borders, instead of London?

6. Whether Tompson and other sea rovers should not be banished to the isles of Scotland, and annoy them perpetually?

7. Whether prisoners for debt, as for felony, should not be released on their oaths, to do desperate service, assaults, &c.?

* *i.e.*, Beaufort.

Edw. VI.
[1549.] 9. Whether strangers should not be pressed to serve the King for double wages and reward in church lands they win, as the King's double pay is no better than the French King's single?

10. Whether the King should not write to the King of Denmark to keep back his men, whom the Scots only seek of him and the Bishop of Brynie, to set up Popery, which he has put down.

11. Whether churchmen should not send to war all their household servants, save one, thus shortening the wars?

12. Whether prudent noble and hardy men should be sent to the Border, or deceitful, proud, and covetous, "whose extremities, contrary to the King's Majestys epistle," have made many honest hearts run from his service?

16. Whether such should not be rewarded that would destroy the bridges and boats on the Forth and Tay, rather than those who carry "plattes" to foreign princes in the King's prejudice.

17. Whether a hold could not be got near my lord of Huntly's house, victualled by sea, and made strong with less charge than Burthy Craig, whereof the fishing will uphold it, and 100 light horse?

18. Whether, of the 10 abbeys, 5 "infeste Fryars," 4 colleges, 100 parish churches and of other rebels' lands lying within the English Pale of Scotland on this side "the strayte water of Muscellburughe," but half of their old rents to their old masters be taken "in fine money," to maintain the King's forts, and the other half given to gentlemen of the Court to win their hearts?

19. Whether victuallers of the army at 6*d.* a day, "as the sort of Muscellburughe," may be had, with 1 *lb.* bread, 1 *lb.* "sod flesh," or cheese, 2 qts. ale, and tents to lie in?

21. Whether if Scotland be worth the charge of the wars, the crown revenues of 20,000*l.* sterling yearly, besides treble as much by the salt mines, and fishings, their 51 abbeys, 13 bishoprics, lordship of "Saint Jhone," 40 colleges, 38 "infeste Fryars" (the 11 Observants not reckoned), 2000 parish churches, and 2000 chantries, worth as declared, 140,000*l.* sterling a year, but by others reckoned double.

22. Whether in Scottish affairs, the advice of those who by experience know their nature, should be used rather than of Englishmen who only know them by tales, &c.

24. Whether it be better to take time, while the Scots know not their strength, have an imprudent governor, a "lady ungodly," a divided council, covetous rulers, and barons who care nothing for the commons, or pretermit till they have got between your forts and England?

26. Whether my lord's grace had one among his faithful servants that would tell him truth and the peoples' murmur, and how the King might get "gere" without murmur?

"And for that I your humble servant hath served your grace more faithfully than is known, and told divers verities if they might be remembred, exhorteth your grace so to proceede that God may be pleased, unless all your pretences turne to nought, and favourers to confusion." James Henrison.

6 *pp. Contemporary fair copy. Covering leaf lost.*

358. List of Treaties, &c.

1327. League [*Confœderacio*] between Charles king of France and Navarre and Robert Bruce king of Scotland.

Edw. VI.
[1549.]

1371. League between the kingdoms of France and Scotland. Treaty [*Fœdus*] between the King of France and Robert 2[d] king of Scotland.

1389. League *ad longum* between said Robert and Charles king of France. Grant of the county of Saintonge [*Xanctoniensis*], castle and castellany of Rochfort [*Rupe forti*] by the King of France to the King of Scotland and his heirs.

1428. Marriage contract between Louis king of France and Margaret daughter of the King of Scotland.

1448. Renewal of the treaty between Scotland and France.

1483. League between the King of Scotland and the commissaries of the King of France. League between the said Kings.

1484. Treaty between the King of France and James king of Scotland.

1512. League between James 4[th] * king of Scots and Louis king of France. Treaty between Louis 12[th] king of France and James 4[th] king of Scotland.

1543. The confirmation made betwixt the King of France and the last confederation and league betwixt France and Scotland.

1549. Copy of a league betwixt the Kings of France and England.

1 *p. Latin. Official hand. Indorsed:* "A breviate of leagues and fœderances twixte the Kinges of France and Scotland."

1549–50. Feb. 16.
Eg. MSS. 1818, fol. 3.

359. THE GOVERNOR TO THE COUNCIL.

To the President, clerk of Register, and lords of the Queen's Council and Session—As we wrote to you to continue a summons by our cousin Patrick lord Gray against the Laird of "Duncrowb" and his spouse touching the redemption of certain lands, to the end "of this last sege of Bruchty," we require you to proceed therein and do justice to our said cousin with expedition, notwithstanding any writings "purchest" by said laird to make further delay in the same "nor the end of the said sege." S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* James G.

½ *p. Indorsed:* "Lord Gray."

1550. April 18.

360. ACCEPTATION BY MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

"The acceptacion of the comprehension by the Scottish Queene, according to a treatie betweene King Edward the Sixt and the French King":—

The Queen of Scots with consent of her dearest mother the Queen Dowager and James earl of Arran Governor of Scotland, &c., ratifies, &c., the heads of the treaty of perpetual peace between the Kings of France and England collected by Bochetell notary and secretary of France and sent to Scotland by the most Christian King her dearest father, on 28th March 1550, and sends as ambassador to England her chief privy councillor Thomas Erskyn to conclude the same. Given under her great seal at Edinburgh 14 *Kal. Maij* 1550.

1½ *pp. Latin. Copy in official hand. No flyleaf.*

* Interlined by Cecil *occisus in bello.*

Edw. VI.
1550. Aug. 8. **361.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting letters of safe conduct for a year, for David Meynzeis merchant of Aberdeen, his 2 factors, &c. to trade with England in a ship of 100 tons. Under her signet and subscription of her cousin tutor and governor. Edinburgh, 8th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland, collar of the Thistle round shield—close crown above.*

Aug. 11. **362.** PASSPORT BY EDWARD VI.

For Mary Queen Dowager of Scotland and her train passing to France before the feast of All Saints next. Under his sign-manual and great seal. Leygher, 11 August 4 of his reign.

2 *pp. Contemporary copy. Indorsed.*

Another for 200 of the Queen's horses to pass through England to France with 140 grooms, &c. No men of estate, or captains of war, to be among them.

2 *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

Sept. 18. **363.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting letters of safe conduct for a year for Andro Mylne and Adam Fullertoun merchants of Edinburgh, their 2 factors, &c. to trade with England with a ship of 100 tons. Under her signet and subscribed by her tutor, &c. Edinburgh, 8th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cwsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 19. **364.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting letters of safe conduct for a year for James Hammiltoun son and apparent heir to James Hammiltoun of Kincavill, with one servant, to pass and repass between Scotland and France. Subscribed by her cousin and tutor James Duke of Chattellarault, &c. protector and governor of her realm. Edinburgh, 19 September 1550, 8th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

Sept. 20. **365.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting letters of safe conduct for a year to John Udwart and Henry Ramsay merchants of Edinburgh, 2 factors, &c. to trade with England in a ship of 100 tons. Under her signet and subscribed by her cousin and tutor. Edinburgh, 8th year of her reign. *Signed:* Your graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

Similar of same date for George Todrik and Alexander Ramsay merchants and burgesses of Edinburgh, 2 factors, &c.

Edw. VI.
1550. Sept. 23.

366. THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting letters of safe conduct for James Symm merchant of Edinburgh, and Gilbert Weddirburne merchant of Leith, 2 factors, &c. to trade in England for a year with their ship of 100 tons. Under her signet and signed by her cousin, tutor, &c. Edinburgh, 8th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed:* ". . . The Queene of Scotlande . . . for a sauf conducte for oon Symme." *Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

Sept. .

367. MARY QUEEN DOWAGER TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting a safe conduct and passport to France for the bearer, sent by her on the affairs of the two realms, as he is charged to explain more fully to the King. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Votre bonne seur cousinne et alie, Marie R.

1 *p. French. Addressed:* "Au Roy Dangleterre." *Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland impaling a quartered shield [Lorraine?].*

Oct. 25.

368. THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting letters of safe conduct for David Tod merchant of Edinburgh, 2 factors, &c. to trade in England for a year. Under her signet and subscribed by her tutor, &c. Edinburgh, 8th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowysng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

1551. March 26.

369. BOND BY CERTAIN NOBLES, &C. OF SCOTLAND.

Binding themselves in consideration of remission of many crimes to their household men, tenants, and servants, thenceforth to keep good rule within their bounds, and bring offenders to justice: failing which to underly the law in their own persons. Jedburgh.

2¼ *pp. Fair copy in a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "The coppie of the olde band renewed by my lord of Arran."

April 1.

370. CHARLES V. AND THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Ratification by the Emperor, of the treaty of peace concluded with Mary Queen of Scots, by his commissioners Louis of Flanders, lord of Praet, &c., and Sir Thomas Erskine knight, for the Queen, at Binche in Hainault [*Hannonie*] on 15 December 1550. Augsburg,* 32d and 37th of his reigns.

10 *pp. Latin. Copy attested by Master John Skene of Curriehill clerk register, &c. of Scotland (postea* 1603). *Indorsed.*

* *Augusta Vindelicorum.*

Edw. VI.
1551. April 1. Preamble of the same treaty, and the Queen's commission to Sir Thomas Erskine, 8 September 1550.

3 *pp.* *Fair copy in another contemporary hand.*

[1551. April .] **371.** INSTRUCTIONS TO THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS.

Memorial by the King's highness to the Bishop of [ ] Sir Robert Bowes, Sir Leonard Beckwith, and Sir Thomas Chaloner knights his commissioners, &c.

Taking with them copies of (1) the last treaty with France, (2) the treaty between the late Kings of England and Scotland of 11 May 1534, and (3) between Edward IV. and James III. of 1 June 1467, also of Sir John Masone's letters to the French King touching Edrington *alias* Cawmills, the Debateable ground, and the Tweed fishings, and informing themselves by good evidence of the true ancient bounds of the three marches, they shall meet the Scottish commissioners at some neutral place near the frontiers:—saying generally,

First: that though England by conquest, &c. might justly claim enlargement of its old limits, yet the King agrees to a friendly and indifferent view of the old true bounds, and that the same shall be as before the late wars, and plainly set out. Is also content to give up Roxburgh and Eyemouth, Edrington *alias* Cawmills, and the fishings known to be within Scotland—that the Debateable land in the West Marches shall remain neutral as before. These matters being so compounded, the King agrees that the hostages yet lying for the prisoners taken at "Solom mosse," shall be enlarged free of ransom or any other demand.

8 *pp.* *Draft corrected by Paget.* *Indorsed:* "M. of the instructions for the commissioners for the North, April 1551, viz. the bishop of N.," &c.

(1) Fair copy of the same.

2 *pp.* *Contemporary hand.*

[1551.] May 14. **372.** SIR THOMAS CHALONER TO CECIL.

My long letter to my lords suffers no longer letter to you than may contain salutations, wishing our matters here were done, and we on return. "I litle like this cuntrie, and me thinkes Octobre is fayrer here then Maye!" I dare not ask letters of you, knowing how "smally" ye can spare time, yet if you said how my lords take our doings, it would much satisfy me. We marvel that in 11 days we have no answer from Court to our letters—we need have speedier word, or it will hinder us. "Their Governor lieth harde at their noses, and so may they nightly send unto him."

I chiefly desire we may hear well of all things there, and, "trusting our affaire shall goo on a good fote, *Vale Norhamie xiiij° Maij, vel potius Novembris* 1550" [*sic*]. *Signed:* Thomas Chaloner.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed:* "To the right honorable M^r William Cecill esquyre oon of the Kinges Majesties two principal secretaries." *Indorsed.*

Edw. VI. 1551. June 6.

373. THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct for Alexander Guthrie and David Forster burgesses of Edinburgh with 2 companions, to pass between the realms for a year. Subscribed by her cousin and tutor, &c. James duke of Chattelrault, &c. Peebles, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

(1) Similar of same date for Maister Richart Strang burgess of Edinburgh, with 4 companions.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

June 10. Fœdera xv. p. 265.

374. TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN EDWARD VI. AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Concluded by Thomas Bishop of Norwich, &c., commissioners of Edward VI. and Robert bishop of Orkney, Robert lord Maxwell, Thomas master of Erskine, and Sir Louis de St Gelasius lord of Laussac, knight, commissioners of the Queen of Scots. Norham Church.

28 *pp. Latin. In Chaloner's writing.*

(1) Scottish counterpart of the same, under 19 heads.

11 *pp. Latin. Marginal notes by Cecil.*

(2) The same translated into English.

17 *pp. Contemporary hand. Indorsed.*

(3) Partial copy of conclusion of same.

2½ *pp. Latin.*

(4) Another copy of same treaty.

15 *pp. Latin.*

(5) Another copy. *Signed:* "per me Franciscum Yaxlee." *Indorsed.*

12½ *pp. Latin. Indorsed.*

May 8–10.

375. TREATY OF NORHAM.

Commissions by the Queen of Scots and Edward VI. to their respective ambassadors. Edinburgh, 8th May, and Greenwich, 10th May, 1551.

2½ *pp. Latin. Official contemporary copies.*

(1) Confirmation of the same treaty. Edinburgh, 14th Aug. 1551, 9th of her reign.

11 *pp. Latin. Same hand as preceding.*

June 27.

376. THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct and passport to France and back, for

Edw. VI.
1551. June 27. her "traist counsaloure" Robert Carnegy of Kynnarde sent on public business to the King of France, with six attendants, for a year. Subscribed by her cousin and tutor and under her signet. Edinburgh, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

June 28. **377.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting credence and "haisty expeditioun and depesche" for Robert Carnegy of Kynnarde, directed towards him for the confirmation under his great seal of the late treaty. Subscribed by her tutor, &c., and given under her signet. Edinburgh, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed: "The Scottishe Quenes lettres of credence to Carnegye touching the lymyttes uppon the fronters in Scotlande." *Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

June 29. **378.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct for William Quhite in Dysart, his factors, &c., to trade with England for a year with a ship of 100 tons. Subscribed by her cousin and tutor James Duke of Chattellarault, &c. Edinburgh, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 30. **379.** COMMISSION BY THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Empowering Robert Carnegy of Kynnard to receive the ratification by Edward VI. of the treaty executed at Norham church on 10th instant. Signed by her tutor &c., and given under her great seal. Edinburgh.

1 *p. Copy in contemporary Scottish hand. Indorsed.*

Aug. 29. **380.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct for the bearer to pass to Scotland "en diligence," to announce her arrival and return if need be. Amiens. *Signed:* Votre bonne seur et cousinne, Marie R.

Broad sheet. French. Addressed. Indorsed. Small wafer signet: Scotland impaling Lorraine (as before).

Oct. 10. **381.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct for Robert Craig burgess of Edinburgh, with 4 persons in company, to trade for a year in England with a ship of 100 tons. Subscribed by her tutor, &c. Edinburgh, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed:* ". . . for a conducte for Cragge."

Edw. VI.
1551. Oct. 14. **382.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct for John Johnstoun, Nicolas Wilkin, William Mairjoribankis, and James Johnstoun, merchants of her realm and 4 factors to trade with England for a year with a ship of 100 tons. Subscribed by her tutor, &c. Linlithgow, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyse leffwly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 14. **383.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct to John Cunynghame of Drumquhassill and six companions to pass to England on his lawful affairs, and thence to France, to endure for a year. Subscribed by her tutor James Duke of Chattellarault, &c. Edinburgh, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 17. **384.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct for a venerable father in God, Gawine commendator of Kilwynnyng with 8 companions to pass between France and Scotland for a year. Subscribed by her tutor, &c. Linlithgow, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 17. **385.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct for "ane maist reverend fader in God Johnne archibischop of Sanct Andrews, quha presentlie addressis him unto the partis of France throw youre realme of Ingland, for recovering of his heill and remeid of the seikness quharewith he is now hevelie vexit," with 60 persons in company, and to return at pleasure; to endure for a year. Subscribed by her tutor, &c., and given under her signet. Palace of Linlithgow, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Your graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

Oct. 17. **386.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct, and commission for post horses, to the most reverend father in God James archbishop of Glasgow, with 8 persons in company, returning from France to Scotland through his realm; for a year. Subscribed by her tutor, &c., and given under her signet. Palace of Linlithgow, 9th of her reign. *Signed:* Your graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Edw. VI.
1551. Nov. **387.** EDWARD VI. TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.

Representing that since the late treaty, in order to good government, he lately appointed the Duke of Northumberland warden general of all his marches, but the like order is not observed for Scotland, as the Lord Ogle deputy warden of the Middle Marches has complained in writing to the Governor, that march meetings are not kept by his opposite, while Lord Conyers deputy warden on the West Marches, has reported the heinous murder by Scotsmen of 4 English subjects, three surnamed Storye the other Dewell.

He therefore trusts they will speedily consider those disorders, and provide a remedy that there may be no interruption of the amity between the realms. Given under his signet. Palace of Westminster, 5th of his reign.

5¼ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsement mutilated.*

Dec. 21. **388.** EDWARD VI. TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS.

In reply to her two letters from Edinburgh of [ ] and 9th instant, the latter with Lord Maxwell's complaint against Lord Conyers for refusing "to ryde upon the Debatable on theleventh of this moneth," justifying Conyers and blaming Maxwell. Approving of her Majesty's speech with the Council of Scotland for redress of other things amiss on the Borders.

2½ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed.*

(1) Similar to the Governor on same matters.

1 *p. Corrected draft. Indorsed.*

1551–52. Feb. 14. **389.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Accrediting to him "le Sieur" Doysel lieutenant of the King of France "en ce pays," whom she cannot allow to depart without recommending to his favour, who will signify her news if he please to hear him, without the trouble of a long letter. Erlislebourg. *Signed:* Votre bonne seur consinne et allee, Marie.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland, impaling a shield of* 8 *quarters surmounted by an escutheon charged with a bend dexter—close crown above, shield surrounded by cordelier knots.*

Feb. 24. **390.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct for William Knox in Prestoun and 3 factors, &c. to trade, buy and sell in England with a ship of 100 tons, for a year. Subscribed by her tutor, &c. Edinburgh, the 10th of her reign. *Signed:* Your graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly. James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1552. April 28. **391.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO EDWARD VI.

Requesting safe conduct for Duncane Levingstoun and Williame Ker burgesses of Edinburgh, 4 factors, &c., to buy and sell in England, with a ship of 100 tons for a year. Subscribed by her tutor, &c.

Edw. VI. 1552. April 28. Linlithgow, 10th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

Aug. 16. **392.** CERTIFICATE AS TO THE DEBATEABLE LAND.

Claude de Laval lord of Boysdaulphin, French ambassador to England, attests that on 16th August 1552, in the King's House at Southampton, after frequent sittings, with William marquess of Winchester, lord Treasurer of England and others of the Privy Council, it was concluded that the litigious territory commonly called "the Debatable land, la terre Debatable," on the West Border of England, should be divided as the Queen Dowager and Governor of Scotland have marked it by a line drawn from the water of Sark to the Esk on a chart. Which line leaves the stone house of Thomas Grem on its west side, and leaves the stone house of Alexander Armstrong on the east. And so the land is divided in two parts, by boundary stones, and the west part adjudged to England, and the east part to Scotland. To mark this line distinctly from the others in the chart, the figure of a cross is placed at each end of it, as more plainly appears in the same, whereon this our decision [*sententia*] is written in English and French. To this our common decision we have appended our hands the day and place aforesaid. *Signed:* Claude de Laval.*

1 *p. Latin. Indorsed* (by Cecil): "Concordia inter D. consiliarios et Oratorem Gallum pro dividundo agro litigioso."

[1552. Sept. 24.] **393.** DIVISION OF THE DEBATEABLE LAND.

[A coloured plan showing the extent of the ground, contour and names of the hills, mosses, and the various rivers and waters on both sides of the march, running into the Esk.] The churches and houses around are also named, with the occupiers or owners of the latter. Four straight lines are drawn from Sark water or near it to the Esk: (1) the most northerly is drawn from Pingleknowe or Pingleburn, through the "Theefe slacke" to the bend of a water called "Wodes borne," a little above its junction with Esk, and styled "the English commissioners' offer"; (2) a line drawn from "Howe burne" where it falls into Sark, to the point where Wodesburne falls into Esk: marked with a star at each end, and styled "the accord with the French embassador, *linea stellata*"; (3) a line drawn from same point as No. 2, to the mouth of a stream falling into Esk, south of Tom Greme's house, marked "the Scottes offerr"; and (4) a line drawn from Sark, south east of Sandy Armstrong's tower, crossing No. 3 diagonally, to "Dyndsdayle" on Esk, opposite the house of Fergus Greme: a cross pattée at each end, and styled "this is the last and fynal lyne of the particion concluded xxiiij° Septembris 1552." Lochmaben stone is shown on the Sark a little north of Redkirk on the Annan, and at the north end of the map, a "Standyng stane" is shown between Toplyff hill and Tennys hill. *Signed:* Henry Bullock.

A sheet 22 inches by 17. Indorsed: "The platt of the Debatable."

* Another name seems as if cut off below.

Edw. VI. 1552. Sept. 24.

394. INDENTURE AS TO THE DEBATEABLE LAND.

Sir Thomas Wharton lord Wharton, and Sir Thomas Chaloner, as commissioners for Edward VI., agree and conclude with those of the Queen of Scots on the bounds and limits of the Debateable land, assigning the Western part to England, and the Eastern to Scotland. Signed and sealed on the ground.

7 *pp. Latin. Official contemporary copy. Indorsed.*

(1) Counterpart of same by Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig knight and Richard Maitland of Lethington, commissioners of the Queen of Scots.

6 *pp. Official contemporary copy, in another hand.*

[1552. Nov. .]

395. EDWARD VI. TO SIR THOMAS DACRE AND SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE.

Empowering Sir Thomas Dacre of Lenardcoste knight deputy warden of the West Marches, and Sir Richard Musgrave knight captain of Carlisle Castle, or either of them, to deliver his ratification of the treaty dividing the Debateable land to the Queen of Scots, receiving hers in return. Palace of Westminster, 6th of his reign.

2½ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "M. of the proxie for receyving and delivering of the treatie touching the Debatable. Novembris 1552."

[1552–53. Jan. .]

396. SCOTTISH BORDERERS SWORN TO THE KING.

"An Abstracte of the Scotesmen bounde and sworne to serve the Kynges majeste, as apperethe by their boundes remaynyng in recorde."

The Armstrongs of Liddesdale and others under them, 619; the Batysons, Thomsons, Glendonyngs and Lytles of Eskdaill, Ewsdaill and Wacopdaill, and surnames under them, 304; the Elwoddes and Sympsons of Liddesdale, and surnames under them, 80; the Nexsons of Liddesdale, with Thomsons, Glendonyngs and Hunters under them, 60; the "Trombles," 12; "under Willye Carlisle," 25; Grames under Sandye Armstrange and Adye of the Sheill, 11; Johnstones of Gretnowe, 6; Belles of Mydlebye, 104; Gardyns and Moffetes, 55; the Laird of Gyllysbye and those under him, 72. *Summa*, 1348.

Many of these have served more than three years, the others more than one.

Laid hostages since my lord Protector's last being in Scotland:—

Cristie Irwen of Boneshawe and those under him, 103; Rychye Irwen called 'Dukes Rychye' and those under him, 127; Cristie Irwen called 'Mathos Cristie' and those under him, 74; Wat Yrwen and those under him, 22; George Johnston laird of Newby and those under him, 37; the Romes of Tordof, &c., 26; Johnstones of Cragooburne, Cootes, Malynshaw, Drisdaill and their bandes, 306; the Laird of Holmehedes, &c., 126; William Johnston brother to the Laird of Johnston, his 3 brethern, &c., 235; Johnstons of the Fouldores, Lokertby, &c., 243; Johnstones of the Bankes, &c., 37; the Bells of

Edw. VI.
[1552–53. Jan. .] Tofteyeates, Kyrkconwell land, Mydlebye and the Kyrk, 312; the Laird of Closburne, &c., 378; the Laird of Laig, &c., 370; the Laird of Kirkmychell, &c., 123; the Laird Rosse, &c., 86. *Summa*, 2625.

The Laird Cansaloo,* &c., 39; Edward Maxwell of Tynnell, &c., 81; the Laird of Aplegarth, &c., 233; William Jarden of Bagrawod "and their bandes," 109; the Laird of Gretno, &c., 82; the Captain of Crawford, &c. [ ]; the Laird Dunwedye, &c., 56; Patrick Murrey, &c., [ ]; "Blawet wod and thos in that bande," 43; the town of Dunfrees, [ ]; "Landes in Dawswynton," 51; the Laird of Henisfelde, &c., 111; Paule Redyk laird of Dawbatye, &c., 38; Gawen Johnston, &c., 38; the Abbot of "Swethart called New Abbay," &c., 210; Gefferey Irwen, &c., 81; Sir John Lawson chaplain to the Laird Johnston "and thos in his band," 32; John Maxwell of Brakensyd and Edward his brother, and their tenants, &c., 189; John Maxwell of Cowhill, the vicar of Carlaverock, the Laird of Hawlaithes and John Slowen, [ ]. *Summa*, 1422.

"*Summa totalis*, besides Dunfres, the Capitayne of Crawford, Patryk Murreye, John Maxwell of Cowhill and the vicar of Carlaveroke," 5395.

3 *pp. Contemporary hand. Indorsed:* "Scottes nombers sworne to serve." *Marginal note by Cecil at beginning.*

This list differs much in names and numbers from that given in Nicolson's History of Cumberland p. 65, *from Bell's MSS.*

MARY.

1542–43–1553. Dec. 4. **397.** TREATIES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Various treaties, &c., during these periods, described at their respective dates.

50 *pp. Chiefly Latin. Contemporary copies in an English hand.*

1553. Sept. 25. **398.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO MARY QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Understanding by the Sieur de Noailles, the most Christian King's ambassador to England, the Queen's good will and disposition to peace with the Queen of Scots her daughter, which greatly contents her, the ambassador is instructed to declare the same on her behalf, as also some disorders on the frontiers requiring remedy, as her cousin the Governor has also requested him to represent. Lislebourg. *Signed*: Votre bonne seur cousinne et alie, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

(1) The Queen of Scots to like effect—that the English wardens refuse redress for slaughters, &c. Edinburgh, 25th September 11th of her reign. *Signed:* Your graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

* Carnsalloch ?

Mary.
1553. Sept. 30.

399. THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Requesting safe conduct for "Maister Guilliame Cassynnet doctour in medicyne," with 6 companions to pass through England to France and return; to endure for a year. Under her signet and subscribed by her tutor, &c. Edinburgh, 11th of her reign. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng with serwyce leffwlly, James G.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).*

[1553. Oct. .]

400. THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

We have received your letters dated at Edinburgh 25th of September, with complaints of slaughters, &c., on our frontiers, unredressed by our wardens, as declared further by Monsieur de Novailles the French King's ambassador here, and your servant this bearer: but which our wardens had before receipt of yours, declared to be otherwise. But to show our plain affection to amity, we have appointed two knights of our Council to meet two of yours on the frontiers to determine all past quarrels, and give order to avoid the like in future—also to consider certain injuries of late attempted by your subjects, in our realm of Ireland, as we have caused to be declared partly to your said servant. Palace at Westminster, 1st of our reign.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Contemporary hand. Indorsed:* "M. of a lettre from the Queen's Majestie to the Quene of Scotland, Octobris 1553."

1553. Dec. 4.

401. INDENTURE BETWEEN THE COMMISSIONERS.

Sir Thomas Cornewallis and Sir Robert Bowes, knights, commissioners for England, and Sir Robert Carnegie and Sir John Bellenden, knights, commissioners for Scotland, for the peace and quietness of both realms have agreed to these Indentures—

[*Extracts.*]

In a controversy between the inhabitants of Yettoun, &c., for sheep and cattle taken on 23d June last by Cuthbert Musgrave, John Hall, &c., and also on [ ] of same month, by Thomas Clavering, &c., servants of Mr Rauf Grey warden of the East Marches—the commissioners amicably compounding the same, order the Lord Eure warden of the Middle Marches, to cause redelivery and recompence for the goods taken by Musgrave and Hall, to be made to George Carre of Gatschawe, Richard Daveson, &c., the owners, before the feast of the Purification next; and the said Mr Rauf Grey to do the like for the sheep taken by Clavering, &c., before Candlemas next, allowing himself a rebate of 20*s.* sterling for "parcage" of the same on his ground at Mindrome.

That Lord Hume shall enjoy his fishing in Tweed called "Hallewell" near Norham Castle, without impediment by the Captain, provided they fish lawfully—and Richard Bowes captain of Norham, shall within 40 days pay said lord or his assigns, 24*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling for the profits of same taken by him since the last peace.

That Alexander Hume of Manderston as farmer under the Prioress of Caldstreme, shall peaceably enjoy the fishing of Tilmouth near Twisell, as patrimony of the said house, unmolested by John Selby

Mary.
1553. of Twisell, who shall only have right to use a ring net standing in the place called " Fillspotte " on the south side of Tweed.

[*Other provisions follow as to baughling, perjury &c.*] Signed and sealed. Berwick, 4th December 1553.

8 *pp. Official contemporary hand. Headed:* " Coppie of the Indenture," &c. *Another copy among the treaties, &c., end of the reign of Edward VI.*

[1553.] Dec. **402.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

I have begged the Sieur d'Oysel the King's lieutenant in Scotland, on his return through your realm, to thank you on my behalf, " comme je fais tresaffectueusement," for the affectionate amity whereof you assure me in your last letter, and to declare my sincere correspondence, which if God please, shall be a perpetual memory of two Queens in this isle joined in inviolable friendship, " aussi bien qu'elles le sont de sang et si prochain lignage." Praying you to believe this. *Signed:* Votre bonne seur et cousine, Marie.

½ *p. French. Holograph, also address. Very clearly written. Indorsed:* " The yong Scottisshe Quene to the Quenes majestie." *Lines have been drawn to guide the young Queen's hand. She was then just* 11 *years of age.*

1553–54. Jan. 12. **403.** THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND TO THE SCOTTISH QUEEN DOWAGER.

Understanding by this bearer Monsieur Doysell passing to Scotland, and visiting us by the way on his master's behalf, the good mind of our said good brother of France to the peace, we thought good to signify the same to you by the said Monsieur Doysell, and seeing by the last meeting of commissioners, that " occasions of pike and conteniion " have been well removed, we will for our part omit no good mean to continue the peace.

1½ *pp. Broad sheet. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* " A minute to the Scottishe Quene Dowagier xij° Januarij 1553."

Feb. 15. **404.** SAFE CONDUCT BY THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Sign manual: Marye the Quene.

Granting at the Queen of Scotland's request, licence to Andrew Camb merchant of Leith, his factors, &c., to trade from England to France or Scotland, in unprohibited wares, &c., in a ship of 100 tons —for a year. [Westminster.]

1 *p. Broad sheet. Parchment. Indorsed.*

1554. June 28. **405.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Requesting safe conduct for Thomas Udwart and Lowke Wilsoun burgesses of Edinburgh, with 6 others, &c., to trade between England,

Philip and Mary. 1554. Scotland and France, in a ship of 100 tons—for a year. Under her signet. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 28. **406.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Requesting a passport for her servitor Maister Nicholl Elphingtoun with 2 companions, between Scotland and England or France on his lawful affairs—to endure for a year. Under her signet. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 2–9. **407.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Requesting passports for Arthur Erskin and John Fleming with 6 companions, through England to France and back—to endure for a year. Under her signet. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

(1) Similar of latter date for Michael Nasmyth, and two in company.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Address, indorsation, and signature, perished from damp.*

Oct. . **408.** LETTERS PATENT BY HENRY II.

Exempting the Scottish merchants from the new imposition of 12^{d} "pour livre" on all goods exported from Normandy and the towns therein. Paris, 18th of his reign. Henry. "Par le Roy estant en son Conseil. Bourdin."

2 *pp. French. Indorsed:* "The copy of the patent granted unto the Scottes by Henry the Second then the Frenshe Kynge, in October *Anno* 1554."

Dec. 10. **409.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Requesting safe conduct for "ane maist reverend fader in God Alexander be the mercy of God archibischop of Athenis, postulat of the Ylis, and coumendatare of our abbayis of Inchaffray and Ycomkill," with 30 companions, to France, and back at pleasure till 1st October next. Subscribed by her dearest mother Marie Queen Dowager of her realm and Regent thereof. Edinburgh, 12th of her reign. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Philip and Mary. 1555–56. Feb. .

410. INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR THOMAS CHALLONER.

"Instructions for Sir Thomas Challoner sent to the Dowager of Scotland in Februarie 1555":—

First.—To declare the Queen's forbearance of the disorders committed by Scots in her realm of Ireland, as she considered they were done without her good sister's knowledge, and her hope that she will redress them in time.

Item.—That of late Calloughe Odonell a subject of England, has rebelled, and meaning unnaturally to depose his father Odonell from his estate, and usurp it, has married the Earl of Argyll's daughter, which earl has sent his own son with many of his men, and money to help him, while James MacConnel and his brethren with a strong force of men, vessels, and brass ordnance, are in the north of Ireland. These rebels and Scots have not only sieged and taken our castles of "Lough Foile, Lyffer, Fynne Doungall," &c., but have burned and spoiled 60 miles compass, and slain many loving subjects, taking besides others the said Calloughe's father, whose unnatural son keeps him prisoner, the Scots keeping the others and the castles.

The said Sir Thomas, on receiving answer, shall return to Lord Wharton, advertise him thereof, and report to us his whole proceedings. While in Scotland, he shall make diligent inquiry in all ways at his discretion, as to their feelings towards peace, practices with France, and especially in Ireland, what their meaning is, who are the principal doers, &c., and advising thereon with Lord Wharton, whose experience, we know, shall much further his charge, report to us.

2 *pp. Closely written. Contemporary copy.*

[1556.] **411.** NOTES OF SCOTTISH PARLIAMENTS.

Anno 1010.—At a parliament at Scone, Malcolm king of Scotland partitioned the realm into baronies, the wardship till 21 being confirmed to him and his successors.

Anno 1320.—At a parliament at Perth, Robert Bruce king of Scotland, required the lords to show by what charters they held their lands? Who pulling out their swords, said, they held by no other evidence. Whereon a conspiracy ensued against him by indenture, which was sent by a counterfeit pilgrim to the King of England, but being intercepted, a parliament was called to cut off this conspiracy —called the 'Black Parliament.'

Anno 1398.—At a parliament at Perth, Robert the 2^{d} created David his eldest son Duke of Rothsay, then 18 years of age (the first duke in Scotland). "This Rothsay being parcell of the Western Isles, was inhabited by one Rothsay, who governed the Scots in Ireland, and so he named it after his own name."

Anno 1424.—At a parliament at Edinburgh, a general tax was granted to James 1st; viz., 12*d.* the pound for land, and 4*d.* for every cow, ox and horse,—for 2 years. It was levied the first year without trouble, but the second year from some tumult among the commons, the residue was remitted. The King demanded no more taxes till he married his daughter with the Dolphin of France.

Anno 1556.—At a parliament at Edinburgh, Mary the Queen Dowager demanded a perpetual yearly tax, requiring every man's

Philip and Mary. 1556. "estate and substance" to be inventoried, but the Lords of Scotland withstood this, "affirming that they meant not to putt their goodes in inventory, as if they were to make their last willes and testamentes. This was called the 'Running Parliament.' *Hec verò Comitia nomen a vulgo acceperunt vt currentia dicerentur.*"

1½ *pp. Official contemporary hand. Indorsed.*

1557. March 27. Sc. Ch. Docs., Parcel 2. P. R. O. **412. THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO LORD GLAMMIS.**

Signet letters—on the petition of James Scrimgeour now in France serving the most Christian King, that though infeft in the lands of Littiltoun Forfarshire since 26th Feb. 1539, drawing the mails, &c. till Feb. 1542, they were then forcibly occupied without any title by John lord Glammis—summoning Glammis to appear before herself and Council at Edinburgh on the last day of April next, "if a lauchfull day"—if not, next lawful day, to answer the petitioner, and failing appearance, she will proceed to justice; also summoning David Lindsay of Pittarrye, Jerome Lindsay and others to compear and give evidence. *Ex deliberacione Dominorum Consilii. Signed:* J. Young, *clericus curie.*

1 *p.*

May 10. **413. THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.**

Requesting safe conduct, with commission for post horses, to her well beloved John Mowbraye of Barnbugall and 2 companions, through England on his lawful business to Scotland—to endure for 3 months. Under her hand and signet. Villierez Cotterez, 15th of her reign. *Signed:* Your gud sister and cusinne, Marie.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 17 **414. THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.**

Requesting safe conduct for Alexander Forrester of Carden, "intending to vesey the partis in France and utherris be yound sey, for his lefull erandis and besinessis thair to be done," with 12 other Scotsmen in company, to pass to and fro through her realm, for a year. Under her signet and subscribed by her dearest mother the Queen "Dowriare" and Regent. Edinburgh, 15th of her reign. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 24. **415. THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.**

It having pleased you to send us commendatory letters by Doctor Hussey your servitor, soliciting the cause of Lady Margaret Douglas concerning the inheritance of the earldom of Angus,—"Surelie in respect of these writinges we have nocht onlie gevin the said Doctour Hussey favorable audience in that mater, bot have alsua in contemplatioun of youre requeist, oppynnit justice unto him, and

Philip and Mary. 1557. "gevin expres command that the chancellarie salbe patent unto the said Lady Margarete, albeit scho stand in sum caissis far different fra the privelegis that ar common to the subjectis of this realme. Bot quhare as the said Doctour Hussey have upoun the xviij of this instant, brocht ane writing to ws, quhairof the desire is that we suld dispence with the rebellioun of the said Lady Margaretis husband, sumtyme erll of Levenax, to the effect that he may gif consent to the persute of the said actioun: we culd not mell * thairwith, alsweill for that it is ane mater of speciall grace, quhilk we ar alwayis accustumat to refer to oure darrest dochter hirself, as alsua in respect of ye interes that scho pretendis in the samyn actioun, quhais richt we may on na wis prejudge—like as we have causit declare to the said Doctour Hussey at gretar lenth." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p.* *Broad sheet.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

[1557.] June 11. **416.** THOMAS MARTYN TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Please your highness to hear some private matters not contained in our general letters. After we and the Scottish commissioners had communed a good space at Sark water, and agreed on days of meeting, &c., we talked apart one with another of them. Seeing they were "apalled" with this our new breach with France, we gave occasion of talk thus—my lord of Westmerland said to the Earl of Cassillis—'my lord I thinke hit but foly for us to treate now togyther, we havinge broken with France, and ye beinge Frenche for youre lyves.' 'By the misse,' quoth the Earl of Cassillis, 'I am no more Frenche then ye ar a Spanyard.' 'Mary,' quoth my lord of Westmerland, 'as longe as God shall preserve my master and mystrys togyther, I am and shallbe a Spanyard to the uttermost of my powre.' 'By God,' quoth the Earl of Cassillis, 'so shall not I be Frenche, and I tolde ye ons yn my lord your fathers howse, yn Kynge Henry the viijth hys tyme, that we would dye every mothers sonne of us, reither than be subjectes untill England. Even the lyke shall ye fynd us to kepe with Fraunce: and I may tell yowe there ar vij^{c} Gascons arryved at Dunbryton mere then we wyll be knoen to yow of, wyche were sent to serve yn the borders heare, but we would not lette them passe the ryver, and they being alowyd but iij*d.* a daye, have so scatered abrode, that iij^{c} of them be lycked up by the waye. Syk ys the favour that owre men berythe unto the Frenche men heare'!

My lord of Durham tells me the Bishop of Orkney spoke to like effect, wishing in any wise, equal restitution on both parts to preserve amity, notwithstanding the French. M^{r} Makehil told M^{r} Henmar there was no cause to break with us on account of the French, 'For' quoth he, 'thEmperours warres with the French empeacheth not owre league and amytie with thEmperour.'

Likewise M^{r} Carnegy, hearing me avow with an express oath, your grace's sincere meaning for continuance of the league with Scotland, gave me his faith of a Christian, and honour of a Scottish knight, that his mistress meant the like. Mary to save his oath, he added 'As

* Meddle.

Philip and Mary. [1557.] 'farre as we yet ken.' And the Earl of Cassillis lastly said—'Doe yowe my lordes, what yowre commissions directe ye to, and so wyll we.' Now I find in their commission these words—"Damus potestatem nostris commissariis audiendi, tractandi, concordandi, concludendi, et finaliter dissidendi." Now if this is their meaning, and not the fault of the clerk penning, they may fall out with us notwithstanding the premisses, by virtue of their commission which is not "finaliter decidere, but finaliter dissidere."

On the Earl of Cassillis pressing us to go to Dumfries, my lord of Westmerland told him plainly, they could not assure us, for they had 300 Frenchmen there. They promised to remove them before our coming. 'If hit laye yn yowr powre' quoth my lord of Westmerland, 'and how can ye assure us, seing ye can not assure yowr selfes of yowre owtlawes'? Even then we might see the Scottish outlaws bragg nigh the Scots with their "baufles" on their spears, and "Mathewe Plumpe an owtlawe, tooke Cragyparill a Scote, yn all our sights, and woonded another very sore, and kylled a Frenchman."

My lord of Durham, the first day he set forth, "fell for werynes downe yn the moores twyse emonges his men, who hadd mouche a doe to recover hym to lyffe." But now, God be thanked, he is cheerful and busy, and my lord of Westmerland, though so pained with his old disease, that his men had to help him on horseback, would not tarry at home, but said he would serve your grace while life lasted: and continues yet in pain. Carlisle. *Signed:* Tho. Martyn.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 2. **417.** PHILIP AND MARY TO WESTMERLAND, &c.

Thanking them for their diligence as reported in their letter of 26th ultimo to the Privy Council, and in reply, as the Scots seem only to mind delay, reminding them of the late mission of Sir Robert Carnegy from the Queen Dowager, whereon the commission was issued for the special end of peace, &c., not for such matters as were incident to the wardens' offices—that the "attemptate of 7th July" so much stuck at by the Scots, was committed by a number of broken men of both sides, Gremes and others, and will be redressed in due time on the like being done to England. Among the which the case of Pelham more than six times worse than the Greames' matter, grounded on so evil a cause, committed in such a time and place, and against the Queen's own person, must first be redressed; the case of the Lord of the "Owt Iles," which the Scots would compare to Pelham's, being nothing like, nor do they know if he is a Scottish subject or not, and so no comparison between them. Therefore directing their commissioners, if the Scots show by deeds their wish to act fairly, so to deal with them, and firmly, yet avoiding falling out as far as possible. That they have directed Lord Shrewsbury to levy 600 horse to strengthen the West Marches by the 1st of August next.

10 *pp. Corrected draft. Headed:* "By the King and the Quene." *Indorsed.*

1557. July 2. **418.** PHILIP AND MARY TO [LORD DACRE].

Directing him in case the Scottish commissioners agree to

Philip and Mary. 1557. the reasonable conditions to be offered by those of England, to arrange for exchange of pledges on either side. Under their signet. Palace of Westminster, 3d and 4th years of their reigns.

1½ *pp. Corrected draft. No address.* (*William lord Dacre was then warden of the West March.*)

July 13. **419.** THOMAS MARTYN TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Early yesterday morning the 12th, the Bishop of Orkney sent one of his gentlemen to me to ask a meeting: when he repeated what he has often said here, "howe he loved and honored youre highnes above all pryncesses yn the wordle, nexte unto hys Mistrys, and he never made prayer for his oune mother, but he dyd the lyke for youre majestie," trusting the peace with Scotland should never be broken in your days. I "southed" him in all he said, especially as to peace, which your highness would keep inviolate, unless broken by your good sister of Scotland. 'God forfend that plague,' quoth he again to me, 'for except youre good Quene and owres shall take up this different betwixt these twoo greate and mightie pryncess, I see' quoth he, 'no lykehoode of peax nor ende of warre in Christendome.' To which I answered that your highness showed the world your desire for peace, in sending your ambassadors to Calais at great charge for pacification of the Emperor and the French King, which "neither dyd he then regarde at all, nor afterwardes beinge a truce made for v yeares, he would scase kepe it v moonths." 'It is trewe,' quoth the bishop, 'but yet I despere not but all shall be well, yf oure Quene' (meaning the Dowager), 'mought speke with the French Kinge, as she entendeth either at Michelmas nexte, or at Candellmas, and would be gladd to see her good syster of England yn the waye; wyche yf hit come to passe, maye be a greate meane to the quyete of all Christendome.' 'That metinge' quoth I, 'woulde I wyshe with all my hart: but it requyreth a good amytee and parfett peax yn the meane tyme—and how ye can parfourme that of your partes, I can not tell, ye being by expresse league bounde to invade England yf we shall ynvade Fraunce, and youre Quene beyng yn owre enemies handes and alltogither at hys commaundment. And what yf she shoulde commaunde Scotland to proclayme warre agaynst England, how dare ye doe the contrary?' 'Upon my soule,' quoth the bishop, 'thair ys no souche thinge ment,' and here he noted two or three cases to prove that we being at war with France, yet Scotland remained true to us. And he wished, to assure peace, that now, and on departing, we should straitly charge the wardens, and proclaim peace on pain of death for a month or two, till the princes' pleasure. 'And yn that tyme' quoth he, 'I trust the tyme wyll be well spent to make any warres'! Though this overture liked me well, the rather as your highness's Privy Council required us thereto, yet I thought best to say we would confer and answer his lordship at the council board. When we all assembled in the afternoon, "they moved us no souche question, but upon the cominge of a post yesternight from Newebottell (belyke the Regent and the Duke agreyth not) Syr Robert Carnegye came unto me this mornyng early with the lyke message," desiring me to move my lords to meet them to-day, and if we did not agree to redress, yet to depart in peace as we came. Which we have done and certified your

Philip and Mary. 1557. highness's Council. The copy of our proclamation and manner of agreement, we shall send your grace at our departing, "wyche we recken shall be on Sondaye or Mundaye next." Carlisle. *Signed:* Thomas Martyn.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 17. **420. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO THE QUEEN.**

In our common letter to your Majesty, we have asked full credence for "our fellowe M^r^ Doctour Martyn," who can inform your grace of all particulars since our conference began: humbly beseeching your favour for him, whom we could not have wanted, for his learning, diligence, and labours have been such, that I think it shall be hard to find in your realm one more meet to treat secret, high, and weighty affairs, "when eny rowme meet for suche a man shall fall." Carlisle. *Signed:* Your majeste most humble servaunt subgiet and chapleyn Cuth. Duresme.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 18 **421. THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.**

Having done our utmost for your Majesty's honour, preservation of the peace, and quiet of our country, as far as our instructions warrant us, they being repugnant in some points to those of the Scots, we have prorogued further meeting till 15^th^ September, till your Majesty's further pleasure, and "your good sister of Scotlandes meaninge, maye be fully knowen: and (which we specially considered) the tyme maye be past over for the Scottes to make warre uppon us." And to prevent any breach of peace, both we and the Commissioners for Scotland, "standing to gether yesterdaie at the highe crosse at Carlisle, being the xvij^th^ of Julie, and the market daie," made open proclamation for peace, the copy whereof is herewith sent to your majesty: and the like was sent on Wednesday last to the wardens of both realms, that proclamation throughout should be made in one day before our departure, God willing, to-morrow. Meantime to prevent all rodes or incursions, we have straitly charged both the Scottish and English wardens, to take in their hands the principal "owtrydars" of both realms—trusting those orders shall be to your highnesses contentation. I Thomas Martyn shall inform your majesty of all our proceedings, to whom we the rest ask your majesty to give credence. Carlisle. *Signed:* H. Westmerland, Cuth. Duresme, Robert Hyndmer, Tho. Martyn.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Damaged.*

(1) Contemporary copy of same.

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) Joint proclamation of the peace, and adjournment of the next meeting of the Commission till 15^th^ September next at Rydingburne —17th July 1557.

1 *p. Contemporary copy. Indorsed.*

Philip and Mary. 1557.

(2) Joint orders by the said Commissioners to the wardens of both realms, as to release of prisoners, taking sureties, &c. H. Westmerland, Cuth. Duresme, Robert Hyndmer, Tho. Martyn. Ro. bisshop of Orknay, Cassillis, Robert Carnegy.

1 *p.* *Contemporary copy.*

[1557. Sept. 18.]

422. PHILIP II. TO MESSIRE DASSONLEVILLE.

"Linstruction de Roy, donnee a Messire Christophle Dassonleville son ambassadeur pour le present vers Escosse, reduicte et alteree par la deliberacion du conseil Dengleterre en la forme qui sensuit."

Directing him to deliver the King's letters to Messire Jehan de Figueroa his ambassador in London, to arrange for audience with Madame the Queen his consort, to deliver his credence—thereafter proceed to Scotland to persuade the Queen Dowager and the Governor to keep the peace with England—and when there, make secret inquiry into all things necessary for the King to know. Camp of Han.

4 *pp.* *French.* *Indorsed.*

Another copy is calendared fully in Foreign Series (Mary), p. 335.

[1557. Sept. .]

423. DECLARATION BY DASSONLEVILLE TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

"Rationes ex parte Regis pro negocio Scotico."

Declaring that the day before, he had received instructions from his King similar to those given to the regent Figueroa—and that before proceeding to Scotland, he thought fit to communicate their substance to her Majesty and her council—then [*under five heads*], giving the substance of the King's views on the inexpediency of war with the Scots—the approach of winter preventing invasion—his inability to send aid for that reason—the retirement of the enemy from Berwick, &c.

6 *pp.* *Latin.* *Same hand as preceding instructions.* *Indorsed:* "Pour delivrer au conseil de la Royne."

1557. Oct. 8. Add. MSS. 33 531, fol. 19.

424. THE CITY OF LUBEK TO THE QUEEN REGENT.

Complaining that their fellow citizens Gerhard vam Broke, John Sachtlevendt, Anthony Holtscho, John Hennings, Henry Tatendorp, Zookinius Schopman, Ranold Hogreue, Albert Luninckło, and Anthony van der Hoye, have assured them by letter that a ship of Hamburgh, Henry Schomaker, master, laden with their goods and those of other Hanseatic citizens of Revel, bound last summer for Amsterdam, was stopped at sea by some French "classionarii" and taken into her port of Montrose [Manrosse], claiming the ship and cargo as prize of war and refusing the petitioners' suit. They pray her, as they and others of those eastern cities of the German "Anza" are no enemies of the most Christian King, that she would graciously intercede for the release of the ship, goods and master, and obtain protection against the like "classionarios sive piratos" in future. Under their city seal

Philip and Mary. 1557. 8th of the Ides of October 1557. "*Deditissimi consules ac senatores Imperialis civitatis Lubece.*"

4 *pp. Latin. Contemporary copy. Indorsed* (by Hay): "The copy of the first letter send to the Quenis grace Regent of Scotland."

Oct. 23. Add. MSS. 33 531, fol. 23. **425.** THE CITY OF LUBEK TO THE QUEEN REGENT.

Referring her grace to their former letter—that their fellow citizens have again urged them to intercede with her, for though the captors' claim has been rejected, yet the master [navarchus] is not yet freed, and it is ordered that the ship and cargo is to be transferred to a neighbouring safer port than Montrose, till further deliberation be made and justice done on both sides. Though grateful for this, these merchants suffer great loss by the detention of their goods, which are unquestionably their own, designed for Amsterdam and not French. Therefore they again humbly beseech the Queen that without further delays of justice, she would command not only, the ship and cargo to be delivered free to the said master and the procurator of the owners, Ioachim Haleptragen, but also restitution made or the just value, of any goods taken by the captors, for an example to such depredators in future. Under their city seal 10 Cal. Novembris, A.D. 1557. *Deditissimi consules ac senatores Civitatis Lubece.*

3 *pp. Latin. Indorsed* (by Hay): "The copy of the secund letter send to the Quenis grace Regent of Scotland."

[1557–58. Jan. 21.] **426.** SAFE CONDUCT BY PHILIP AND MARY.

For Sir Ives du Rubarye master of requests and keeper of the seals of the Queen Dowager of Scots, and Sir William Maitland of Lythington younger, ambassadors of the Queen of Scots to the English Court, with 12 persons in company—to endure for 80 days. Under their great seal. Palace of Westminster.

2½ *pp. Latin. Corrected draft. Indorsed.*

Jan. 21. **427.** COMMISSION BY PHILIP AND MARY.

Philip and Mary, D. G. King and Queen of England, the Spains, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem and Ireland, F. D., Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy Milan and Brabant, Counts of Flanders and Tyrol, to Thomas earl of Northumberland warden of their Middle and East Marches, and Robert Heynmer, LL.D., chancellor of Durham, empowering them to conclude a truce with the commissioners of the Queen of Scots. Palace of Westminster, 4th and 5th of their reigns.

3 *pp. Latin. Corrected draft. Indorsed.*

1557–58. Jan. 23. **428.** THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND TO HER COMMISSIONERS.

Instructing the Earl of Northumberland and Dr Henmer to conclude a truce with Scotland for 2 months—consulting her before

Philip and Mary. 1557–58. agreeing to more—to advise with the Bishop of Durham in all their proceedings from time to time—and to make Lord Dacres and Lord Eure privy thereto.

4 *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "Instructions," &c.

[1557–58. Jan. 23.] **429.** THE QUEEN TO THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Having seen his letter to her Council of the 16th, as to his meeting with Lord Hume at Caldestreme on 14th, disapproves of the 12 days' abstinence then agreed on, as the Scots merely wish to gain time for some secret purpose. Is sending Dr Henmer as joint commissioner with him, and also safe conduct for 2 ambassadors sent by the Queen Dowager to her Court. Having caused her Council to hear the Earl's credence to Thomas Carre, at good length, has appointed the Earl of Westmerland her lieutenant general in the north, for the better defence of Berwick and the Marches, &c.

3 *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed.*

Jan. 23. **430.** THE QUEEN TO Dr HINDMER.

Signifying that she has appointed the Earl of Northumberland and himself her commissioners to treat with the Scots, and commanding him to repair to the Earl for instructions.

1½ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed.*

1557–58. Jan. 23. **431.** THE QUEEN TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Having appointed the Earl of Northumberland and Dr Hynmer to treat with Scotland for a time, requires him to give his advice and counsel as often as they apply for it.

2¼ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed.*

[1557–58 Jan. 23.] **432.** THE QUEEN TO THE MAYOR OF HARWICH.

Commanding him, as the King her lord and husband is sending shortly to her his councillor the Conte of Feria, if the Conte shall land at Harwich, to see him and his train suitably entreated, as befits a personage of such honour, and furnished with post horses.

1 *p. Corrected draft. Indorsed.*

1557–58. Feb. 10. **433.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO PHILIP II.

On 23d January your ambassador delivered the letters you gave him for us on 17th September, and also diligently declared your credence, whereto we replied. We doubt not it will be plain to your Serenity, when you understand it from him, that it is little to our pleasure that the peace desired by this country has been broken by England, in defence of which we have unwillingly taken up arms. Yet willingly we would see matters arranged and the peace estab-

Philip and Mary. 1557–58. lished, as we have declared openly to your ambassador to report to your Serenity. Edinburgh, 4 *Id. Feb.*

¾ *p. Latin. Contemporary copy. Indorsed:* "Copie des lettres de la Royne descosse au Roy."

Feb. 11. **434.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Hearing from her officers on the Borders of the Queen's desire for peace between Christian princes, she has directed her well beloved familiar servitor and councillor William Maitland of Lethingtoun younger, charged on certain matters touching the weal of both realms, and consequently of Christendom. Desiring audience and firm credence for him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allaya, Marie R.

½ *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland impaling Lorraine (as before).*

[March .] **435.** THE QUEEN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS.

We have received your letter of 11th February delivered by your councillor William Maitland of Lethington, and also heard his credence. While most desirous of a good and honorable peace, which you and your ministers first brake, yet, things standing as they are, we cannot treat with your allies, nor make ourself a mean thereof. We asked your councillor if he had commission to treat or conclude peace between our realms, whereto we would have given ear, but as he had none such, but seemed to be sent "otherwher," we could not permit that, and therefore send him back to you.

1 *p. Corrected draft. Indorsed. Date covered up.*

[1558.] **436.** MEMORANDUM ON THE STATE, &c., OF SCOTLAND.

"Estat et puissance du royaulme d'Escosse."

[*Extracts.*]

Scotland contains all the north of the isle of Britain to the rivers Solway and Tweed and mountains of Cheviot—saving the town of Berwick taken "par armes" about 100 years ago.

It has on the West sea, 43 isles, called in Latin *Ebonie* or *Hebrides*, the largest inhabited. The principal is *Mona*, a bishop's see, long time part of England. In the north are the *Orcades*, 33 in number, abounding in barley, fish, and rabbits. "Pommonie" is the nearest and greatest, a bishop's see and royal castle. The farthest of all is "Thule."

The principal rivers, *Taus* in the north, *Clusda* in the west, and Forte in the middle, the best land in the realm is around them. Beyond is "Escosse sauvaige," the living, the tongue, and all about the people, very barbarous and rude, and thinly inhabited. The most part is the Earl of Argyll's, held of the crown.

The extent in circuit is hardly less than England, but it is far less fertile, through the vehement cold and winds, and the many rough [aspres] mountains; and the land is badly cultivated and planted, so that there is no wood, and they use coal, dug out of the ground.

Philip and Mary. [1558.] Labour is little done, and they have no "prare" * as in England, so they often leave their ground "pour paisson," instead of labouring it. They have good plenty of beeves, wethers and ewes, and at low prices. Their riches are small and there is little money. Their gold and silver is like that of France. Their manner of living is rustic, except the courtiers brought up in France. They are "assez fins, astutes et inconstans daffection."

They are ill disposed to strangers, save the noblesse, at present strongly favouring the French party. "Le poeuple y est a demy!" Those of the same family favour and honour it greatly. There is little justice done, specially on any of a noble house; for he who was offended will hardly resort to justice, for if the delinquent is made to suffer it, all those of his name will be his perpetual enemies, and by all means open or secret, have revenge on him or his family, caring little which, not stopping till they come to the chief, when the King, to attach a family to his service, often remits the penalty of death. Otherwise they feel aggrieved if justice is done on one of their blood.

They have few good towns, the principal Edinburgh, was ruined by the English about 1546, with the environs, specially the churches. With French aid, the Scots recovered their country, except Berwick, and the French hold the chief strengths—as Dunbar, and "l'isle des chevaulx † audevant du Petit Lith," near Edinburgh. The promontory of Broughty [d'Ambroch] on the Tay—the fort "de" ‡ on the Forth near Lisco, and Aymouth newly fortified, 4 miles from Berwick. By these they command all the country, not openly, but as protectors of the realm, and the future marriage of their Queen to the Daulphin. None of those could resist a strong attack.

The Scots hold only the castle of Edinburgh on the rock near the town, with some 18 soldiers as guard, and the Bass rock, owned by a private gentleman; and in the rest of the country no strong towns, but a few little forts.

S^{t} Andrew is their patron saint, and their kings are wont on their money to have a thistle flory crowned, and a S^{t} Andrews cross, which they use in war. They are changing this cross on their money, to a "croix droicte potentee" sometimes "sans potence." Their kings have no order of knighthood,§ but bear the orders of the Golden Fleece, S^{t} Michael, and the Garter, "selon le jour et comme leur vient a plaisir." At present there are three chevaliers of S^{t} Michael there, viz. "les Contes de Hameleton, D'Argueil, et de Cassel."

The King has no great domain. Most of the lands lordships towns and castles, belongs to the prelates and nobles, many of them richer and more powerful than the King—specially the churchmen. There are 2 archbishops, 12 bishops, and 60 abbeys good and rich, and many priories, but all these abbeys and priories are given "en commande" to protonotaries as in France, to the great ruin of the monasteries and churches of Scotland. The Archbishops are (1) S^{t} Andrews primate of Scotland; and (2) "Celluy de Glasco."

The bishops, are of Galloua, grand almoner of the kingdom, and administrator of all the royal chapels; of Wigton, of Dumblain, president, of Ross grand secretary to the Queen, d'Elgein, Dunkel, Brechin, d'Aberdonne, d'Orcane, Saunt Jan, Canonnrie, and d'Orne.

* Meadow. † Inchkeith? ‡ Name omitted; "Blackness" (?.)
§ The Thistle surely existed *temp.* James V.

Philip and Mary. [1558.] There are 60 abbeys as before said, among them some priories of great revenue provided to "les Bastards descosse."

Among the earls, are (1) the "Conte de Hameleton duc de Chastelherault en France plus proche a la couronne, estant de surnom Stuart quy est le nom de la Royne moderne": (2) of Argyle, (3) of Cassillis, treasurer general—all three chevaliers of the French order, (4) Huntly, chancellor (5), Rotosse "puissant seigneur pour le pays, (6) Bauduart [Bothwell], Admiral; (7) Craffort, Marshal; (8) Mortham [Morton]; (9) D'Attelle, (10) Glencarne [Bellencarne]. These are the most puissant, "mair tous iceulx ne sont puissantz d'argent senon de vassaulx." After these come "vicontes, barons et millors" and then the "lardz," same as "messires" in England, and last the "populaire."

The King can make no "imposts, tailles ne gavelles sur le plat pays," nor demand money of his people, and has no men in pay; but at his command, every man must muster armed under his chief at the place and day prefixed, on pain of losing his fief—and the order is this—the King commands the earls, they command the barons and castellans—the baron his "lardz," the lairds "a leurs metterridos," those taxed to them, "proprietairen quilz appellent mictins a ceulx tenantz deulx et ceulx vivans soubz"—and thus each man according to his degree, rises on horse or foot with his servants, carrying his victuals and money to the camp for 6 weeks—the entire length of their service in the field. The prelates and churchmen must do the same each under his superior prelate—and their vassals save churchmen, serve in person.

The towns and villages send also their proportion of men for their commune "selon leur cottes et assiettes." In the state there are sometimes 4000 or 5000 horse and 20,000 or 25,000 foot [piedtons] more or less, under lieutenants, captains, marshals, &c. appointed by the King. They are but light horsemen, fighting more "par forme descarmouche que en chocque ou ordre de bataille."

The French King holds these forts with one or two companies "de fanterie Franchoise," chiefly arquebusiers, under captains paid by himself, also has Scottish light horse in his pay, and his lieutenant takes cognisance of all. Every gentleman and borderer serves to his own profit or peril to keep his own, without pay. Each country robs and pillages the other, and the English and Scots so hate each other, that they hold no intercourse save by leave of their princes or wardens on the borders.

7½ *pp. French. Contemporary hand.* Indorsed (in another): "Estat, ordre et puissance d'Escosse." *Marginal notes in this latter hand.*

[1558.] **437. Memorial as to the North.**

"Advertissement pour la Royne touchant les affaires du Noort."—

[*Extracts.*]

As the next and chief attack by the French King on England will be from Scotland, to which end his fortifications are directed, and cause of quarrel must arise by the marriage of the Daulphin of

Philip and Mary. [1558.] France and the Queen of Scots, it is most needful now to fortify Berwick the chief " bouluaire " of England.

And this to be most speedily and cheaply done—by widening and deepening the ditches, " thirer les terres " in the town to strengthen the rampart, and heighten the platforms—fill the fosses with water and thus prevent escalade, &c.

Then to make bulwarks and traverses, &c. at sight of engineers, the most costly part of the work.

Munitions both of war and " vivres " to be provided for at least 3 months for 5000 or 6000 soldiers, seeing the great circuit of the town, and the need of the poor townsmen. All the Scots' desire, and the French design, is on Berwick being formerly Scottish, and they think they can get it now, being weak, as I warned the Earl of Westmerland and my lord Everes the governor to look to it, at the last attempt " a la Sainct Remy de lan 1557"—when they intended it, if they could have passed the water in flood from the rain and winds, as I heard tell. Norham, Warke, or other places around, must also be fortified against a joint atttack; for the French have brought a great number of cannons powder and ladders to Aymouth which they have fortified contrary to the last treaty between England and Scotland, and should be dismantled.

The Scots being now strengthened with the French, trained arquebusiers and with modern weapons of war—England must do the like, and retain some good soldiers, Spaniards or Germans, to harden in war the new " enseignes " of England, by frequent exercise.

The officers and men of the garrisons should be often changed from one place to another, to prevent fraud in the captains, and accustom the men to labour, &c.

There being many native Scots in the north having intelligence with the enemy, an edict should be made, commanding all such whatever their quality, within 15 days to appear before the chief officer of the nearest town, give their names, birth, age, means of living, &c. that they may be dealt with as circumstances require.

If the war continue against Scotland, it were good with aid of some foreign foot and horse, to attack and ruin Aymouth, " tant prejudiciable " to Berwick, before the French get more strength.

As for Dunbar, a village and castle on the sea—it is weak, the castle is old, full of old buildings, and whoever is stronger on land could batter it with 10 or 12 pieces, and gain it.

For this year the Scots (" quelque bonne mine quilz facent "), have no hope of fresh succour from France—as that King needs all his men and money to defend his realm.

And (as I have often heard from our people there) there are not in all Scotland 1800 " testes Francoises," though they wish to be thought more than 4000. The chief French captains are La Bourse, Maillot, Ladre and others.

The Scots have not more than about 200 horse on the Borders. There is great scarcity of corn, and bread is double what it is in England, " aussy foing et ane [avoine ?]." *

Horses are also very dear—double English prices—" Encoires tous pelis."

A great and feasible exploit with Flemish aid, would be to take the

* Also hay and oats.

Philip and Mary. [1558.] isle of Pommoona principal of the *Orcades*, whereby the fishing would be secured for England and Flanders.

7 *pp. French. In same hand as last. Indorsed* (in another): "Advertissement pour le coste du Nort." *Marginal notes in this latter hand.*

ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth. [1558.] **438.** COMPLAINTS OF SCOTLAND AGAINST ENGLAND.

Occasions of the last war between the realms :—

The Queen Regent, after repeated complaints by the Scots, that in 1550 many unredressed pillages had taken place, and 7 men been killed by Englishmen in the village of Annand, sent an officer of arms to the late Queen, whereon a commission was appointed and sat in June 1556. The English however refused redress on the West March, where the Scots rebels against their warden were driven across the frontier to the number of 700, but joined by English, and 1500 strong, attacked their warden's people, slew 16 and took 30 prisoners, holding them to ransom, as if in war. Nor did they for the murder by the servants of the Lord Dacre [Sieur Dakarria] the English warden, of a Scot, named James Litil, whose head they placed on the wall of Carlisle, as if an English subject duly condemned. Nor for the pillage of divers Scots ships by the Queen's officers and merchants, under safe conducts—one a rich vessel of Dundee wherein the lord Wharton found 3700 "escus sol" besides merchandise, &c., &c.

3 *pp. French. In same hand as the immediately preceding two papers, to which it evidently belongs, on the* State &c. of Scotland. *Indorsed* (by the second hand): "Complaintes l'Escosse contre Angleterre."

1558. Nov. 21. **439.** THE QUEEN TO HER COMMISSIONERS FOR PEACE.

Impowering William lord Howard of Effyngham, K.G., first chamberlain of the household, Thomas bishop of Ely, and D^{r} Nicholas Wotton Dean of Canterbury and York, to treat with the Commissioners of the King and Queen of Scotland. Hatfield, 1st of reign.

2 *pp. Latin. Broad sheet. Draft corrected by Cecill.* [*Originally in name of Philip and Mary on 27th September, to Henry Earl of Arundel, the bishop, and Wotton. St James.*] *Indorsed.*

[1558?] **440.** ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY OVER SCOTLAND.

[Narrative beginning with "Brute first King of Brittayn" who "lived in the year 4027" and his 3 sons—his fabulous successors Arthur, Cadwalider, &c. Gives a false account of the captivity of James I., asserting he was delivered a pledge by his father—and at the death of Henry 5th [in 1422] was under age, and therefore did no homage till the next reign, [while he was in reality 27 or 28]. The asserted form of homage and oath is given at the end].

7 *pp. In a late hand. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1558–59. Jan. 22. Cott. Calig. B. x. fol. 5.

441. REPORT BY SIR HENRY PERCY TO . . . .

Of his conference with the Duke of Chatelherault, and showing him the danger to his succession by the French marriage, of which he thought lightly, the title not yet being "present in his hand"—his assurance to keep peace with England, however much the French King desired the contrary—and his urgent request that his views might not be known to more than one person, besides the Queen. The Duke has written to "yow and Sir William Cecill." Norham Castle.

2½ *pp. Contemporary copy. No indorsement.*

Feb. 26. **442.** MAITLAND TO PERCY AND CROFT.

That the Queen his mistress is so pleased with his report, she is resolved to send him to their Court again, to assay what God will work by her means. Will be with them in 8 days, and requests safe conduct from the Earl of Northumberland, when he reaches the Bound road. Edinburgh. *Signed:* William Maitland.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* "William Maitland to Sir Henry Percy and Sir James Croftes."

March 4. **443.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND TO THE QUEEN.

Credence for William Maitland of Lethington younger, first secretary in this realm to her son and daughter the King and Queen "Daulphynnis," sent to dress affairs for the quietness wealth and commodity of both realms. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sestar and allaya, Marie R.

½ *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "4 Martij 1559."

[1558–59. March]. **444.** MINUTE OF A PROPOSED TREATY.

"A forme or mynute of a treatie to be made withe Scotland."

[*Under* 27 *heads or clauses. Differing considerably from the Treaty of Cambray.*]

8½ *pp. Latin. Official draft. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

1559. April 2. Fæd. xv. p. 513. **445.** TREATY OF CAMBRAY.

Treaty of peace between Scotland and England Cambray.

6 *pp. Latin. Contemporary official hand.*

(2) Another copy.

4¼ *pp. Contemporary hand.*

(2) Another copy in latter hand. *Notes at end in another.*

4½ *pp. Indorsed.*

April 16. **446.** M. D'OYSEL TO SIR JAMES CROFT.

As to publication of the late peace on the Borders and freedom of passage for French subjects. Stirling. *Signed:* Cleutin.

1 *p. Addressed* (to Croft as Captain of Berwick). *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1559. April 21.
Cott. Calig. B. x. fol. 12.

447. FRANCIS AND MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Signifying their pleasure at the peace concluded by the deputies of the King their father, their own, and hers, which they hope will be perpetual. Sending her by the "Sieur de Ledinthon, present porteur," their ratification, who is charged to receive hers, which she will please deliver to him with his passport to Scotland, to take it to the Queen Regent for execution. Have commanded him to assure her of their desire for perpetual friendship. Fontainebleau. *Signed:* Francoys, Marie. *At foot:* Aubelin.

Broad sheet. French. Addressed.

[1559. May .]
Fæd. xv. 526.

448. COMMISSION FOR TREATY OF UPSETTLINGTON.

The Queen appoints Thomas Earl of Northumberland, Cuthbert bishop of Durham, William lord Dacre and Graystok, and Sir James Croftes, to settle with the Scots certain matters undecided by the Treaty of Cambray.

1½ *pp. Latin. Contemporary copy.*

1559. May 12.

449. THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO THE QUEEN.

Having this day "seen" her commission to the Earl of Northumberland, himself, &c., and sent it to the earl, observes the date is lacking, and requests this to be corrected before they meet the Scots. As they must conclude within 2 months of 2d April, has requested the Earl to hurry on the meeting.

They will have much to do, as the Scots are very punctilious and their last meeting at Carlisle was in the "myddyst" of the river. God granting him health, he shall not fail to attend. Auckland. *Signed:* Cuth. Duresme.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 13.

450. NORTHUMBERLAND TO CROFT.

I have presently received the Queen's commission and instructions, and send you copy of her letter. As we are removing to Alnwick, and I lack paper and time, I stay sending you the commission, &c. till to-morrow, hoping you can come, that we may confer thereon. Warkworth. *Signed:* Northumberland.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

Instructions by the Queen to the commissioners to meet with the Scots before the 28th instant, &c. Westminster, 8th May, 1st of her reign.

2 *pp. Copy by the Earl's secretary.*

May 15.

451. THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN.

Requesting passport for George Hopper merchant "induellar"

Elizabeth.
1559. in Edinburgh, &c. to trade with England by sea or land for a year. Under her signet and signed by her mother, queen "Dowriar and Regent." Stirling. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p.* *Broad sheet.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May 15. **452. NORTHUMBERLAND TO CROFT.**

For the shortness of time I send the enclosed letters to the Dowager of Scotland; stay them if you think anything should be added, and signify it to me—if not, send them away by Berwick the herald, as I have none so fit here. Alnwick. *Signed:* Northumberland.

Specially see that we meet where we can lodge at night. I doubt the Dowager will appoint the Ryding burn, "a great unquyetnes to us": so move her that it be at the Lady kirk, or Norham kirk, or Foulden, or at the Bound road if we can treat in the fields. Ryding burn is "most for their ease" but will overthrow my lord of Durham.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May 16. **453. THE QUEEN TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.**

In reply to his letter of 12th for which she commends him, sends a new commission dated "certenly," under her great seal. If the commissioners cannot conclude within the 2 months, they may prorogue, and observe the treaty well enough. She will not alter the ancient order of treaties as to limits. Urges dispatch, with which the Scots will be content, the treaty being most to their commodity.

2 *pp.* *Corrected draft.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

May 18. **454. FRANCIS AND MARY TO THE QUEEN.**

Requesting safe conduct for James Loch "induellar" in Leith, &c., to trade with England by sea or land, for a year. Subscribed by Mary the Queen "Dowriar" and Regent of their realm. Stirling, 1st and 17th of their reigns. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allye, Marie R.

¾ *p.* *Broad sheet.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May 19. **455. CROFT TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.**

Reports great dissension in Scotland, resort of the nobility, &c., to Knox and others continually preaching at Dundee. On the Regent's summons, these preachers with a train of 5000 or 6000, repaired to Stirling, but were put to the horn, and the nobles commanded to appear before her at Edinburgh. Part of the train expelled the friars, &c., of 2 religious houses at St Johnston, and Argyll's brother the Abbot of Cowper has put on secular weed. Argyll, Marshal, Errol, Glencairn, &c., take part, and Huntly late with the Dowager, has joined them. They sent the laird of Dun to ask her leave for the preachers to dispute with the clergy on religion, but she ordered him away and has put him to the horn. The French at

Elizabeth.
1559. Kinghorn being unpaid, have fallen out with the country, and 7 or 8 score of them are slain: 200 of those at Aymouth are sent, possibly to aid them, but till Northumberland's messenger returns, he does not know for certain. Yet the variances continue. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet, quartered: a lion passant in 1st quarter.*

May 21. **456.** COMMISSION BY FRANCIS AND MARY.

Empowering James earl of Morton, Alexander lord Hume, Henry Sinclair dean of Glasgow, and James Makgill of Rankeillor Nether, clerk of Register, &c., to treat with the English commissioners, on certain matters not settled at the treaty of Cambray. Under their great seal, and signed by the Queen Dowager. Stirling, 1st and 17th of their reigns.

1 *p. Latin. Copy in a Scottish hand. Marginal notes by Cecill.*

(1) Another copy of same.

1½ *pp. Another contemporary hand. Indorsed.*

(2) Another copy.

1½ *pp. Another contemporary hand. Indorsed.*

May 22. **457.** CROFT TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Since my late advertisement, my lord of Northumberland's messenger is returned, and reports the variance between the Scots and French is not true. But Knox and the preachers are supported by sundry gentlemen and the countenance of the nobility. The Regent to put them down, has appointed a great muster at Stirling to-night, to march on Perth; and the others also assemble. The Duke is with the Regent, and also Huntly, who was lately thought otherwise. The messenger heard this proclamation at Lithco and Stirling, and met 800 or 900 French near Stirling. There is great appearance of battle, but many of those with the Queen being of like religion and kindred with the other faction, it will likely end without battle. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

c. May [25.] **458.** THE QUEEN TO WILLIAM LORD HOWARD, &C.

Empowering William lord Howard of Effingham K.G., Dr Nicolas Wotton dean of Canterbury and York, and Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, to take the oath of the King and Queen of Scots, to observe the treaty of Cambray. Westminster, 1st of her reign.

1 *p. Latin. Contemporary copy.*

May [25.] **459.** FRANCIS AND MARY TO THE QUEEN.

We understand with great pleasure by your ambassadors the "Sieur de Hauuard vostre grand chambellan," and the "Sieur

Elizabeth.
1559. Votton," the good news of your friendship and amity, with which you have charged them. Praying you to be assured of the like on our part. Paris. *Signed:* Vos bons frere sœur et cousins, Francoys, Marie.

1 *p. French. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 26. **460.** NORTHUMBERLAND TO SIR WILLIAM CECILL.

I think the business about religion lately advertised by Sir James Croft, is like enough to be settled, as the Duke and Huntly have promised to assist the "Dougier," and are now with her thereon. I lately moved that Lord Keith now prisoner might go home to recover his health, when her highness agreed, if his friends gave bond for his ransom, on his nonentry from death or otherwise; to which they object as unusual. I beg the Queen's pleasure whether to qualify the bond in that point, or no? as he has no perfect recovery of health yet. I must still trouble you with my suits of the Holme and Tynmouth, as necessity provokes me thereto. Alnwick. *Signed:* Northumberland.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 30. **461.** THE QUEEN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS.

Signifying to her the ratifications by the French King, and her son and daughter, of the late treaty, and her "acceptable receiving" of the treaty between herself and Scotland, delivered by the bearer the "Seigner de Ledington," the "reciproque" whereof is now returned by his hands, to whom she has also declared her mind to perform the same, and as to the appointment of 2 or 3 Scottish commissioners to meet her own on some matters not yet concluded.

2 *pp. Broad sheet. Corrected draft. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 31. **462.** TREATY OF UPSETTLINGTON.
Fæd. xv. 520.

Treaty concluded between the English and Scottish commissioners upon certain articles undecided by the treaty of Cambray. Done at the church of the most blessed virgin Mary of Upsettlington, and afterwards exchanged in the parish church of Norham.

11½ *pp. and slip. Latin. Copy in two contemporary hands, with corrections, and also a marginal note by Cecil. With the commissions on both sides* 10th *and* 21st *May.*

(1) Another copy in a Scottish hand, of the same. *Signed:* Degrantrye.

12 *pp. Latin. Indorsed* (in a French hand): "Double du traicte faict entre les depputez d'Escosse et Dangleterre le dernier jour du moys de May lan 1559."

(2) Preamble of the same by the Scottish commissioners.

1 *p. Latin. In a Scottish hand. Marginal note by Cecill.*

(3) Another copy thereof.

2 *pp. In an English hand.*

Elizabeth.
1559. June 5.

463. NORTHUMBERLAND TO CECILL.

The business between the Dowager and her commons is now pacified; the latter have gone home, and she enters S[t] Johnston in 2 or 3 days. They rest quiet till Parliament determines the establishment of religion.

We met the Scots at Ladykirk on 31 May, perused each other's commissions, and met next day. They stick much for Scotsmen passing through England without safe conducts, which we will nowise yield; and to have a cattle dyke in the Bounds pulled down, which any one may ride over. The first day we would have met in mid stream, but they made so much ado about customs &c., that unless we had gone over the water, they would not have met us; which my lord of Durham and other old borderers think wrong; but we will treat of it before we "sundre," which it is thought will not be for 14 days yet. Berwick. *Signed:* Northumberland.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

June 5. **464.** CROFT TO CECILL.

The Regent sent the Duke to S[t] Johnston, where Knox, &c. preached, and Glencairn and others had manned it for defence. On coming near, Argyle the Duke's nephew, came out to commune with him, and I hear they ended thus:—The assembly there, as also the preachers, are licensed to go home without any charge against them, and all things to be determined at a parliament shortly to be called. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

June 14. **465.** CROFT TO SIR THOMAS PARRY.

I have written twice to the Council and once to M[r] Secretary, of the "sture" in Scotland, which seems to me to import much, as well for setting forth God's word, as "for pollycy." When our next neighbours are in such case, our home matters must be "temporysyd" accordingly; and yet having no instructions from the Council I write again. The nobility (few excepted) are all joined, and are now in council at S[t] Andrews how to proceed to set forth God's word, wherein if "lettyd," they intend to resist, and from what I hear, they will likely seek her Majesty's assistance. It is not doubted but the Duke will join them, and they are devising how to get his son home from France. Some think he is already at Geneva. "He is verey well bent in relygyon," and next his father, the only hope of the realm. They are like to motion a marriage "you knowe where." These matters seem worthy of deep consideration among you, and if hearkened to, some man able to handle them is necessary here. Meantime I desire instruction, if any thing is moved to me, or secret assistance asked. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

June 14. Cott. Calig. B. x. 15. **466.** CROFT TO SIR THOMAS PARRY.

The nobility join in the cause of religion; many are at S[t]

Elizabeth.
1559. Andrews holding council how to proceed, intending to resist if "letted," looking for the Queen of England's aid. They doubt not the Duke will be of their faction, and to make it stronger, are devising how to get his son home—"the only hop in the realme." They intend to "motion" a marriage with our Queen.

$\frac{1}{8}$ *p. Contemporary note of a letter.*

June 16. **467.** PROCLAMATION OF PEACE.

The English commissioners command all the Queen's lieges to observe and keep the treaties of Cambray and Upsettlington. Norham church.

1 *p. Contemporary copy. Indorsed.*

June 18. **468.** NORTHUMBERLAND, &C. TO THE QUEEN.

Reporting their proceedings under her commission, and sending the treaty concluded with the Scots,—to see the beginning whereof, they remain till Thursday next,* meeting on Monday† to see the wardens put it in execution. Norham. *Signed:* Northumberland, Cuth. Duresme, Will'm Dacre, Jamys Croft.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 18. **469.** NORTHUMBERLAND TO CECILL.

I send by my servant the treaty of peace, which you will deliver to the Queen. I hear the business between the Dowager of Scotland and the subjects, is not pacified; for Argyll and the Prior of S^{t} Andrews have plucked down the images in divers churches, changed the monks' coats to other apparel, and are presently going to spoil one of the richest churches. She is greatly offended with them, but they say she broke promise in putting men of war into S^{t} Johnston, whence they went out quietly. My servant will declare the occasion for my desire to come up. Alnwick. *Signed:* Northumberland.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 18. **470.** FRANCIS AND MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for John Hart "induellar in the Cannogait besyde Edinburgh," his 2 factors, &c. to trade by sea or land in England and foreign parts, for a year. Subscribed by the Queen "Dowriar" Regent, and under their signet. Edinburgh, 1st and 17th of their reigns. *Signed:* Your gud sestar and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: France in chief, Scotland in base, impaling Scotland: a close crown above.*

June 23. **471.** KIRKCALDY OF GRANGE TO CECILL.

Love of my native realm compels me to write. Open defiance

* 22^{d}. † 19th.

Elizabeth.
1559. is now given to all who maintain idolatry. Twice the professors of God's word have shown face in defence of their brethren's blood, sought for the cause of religion, and they are now in the field to deliver S[t] Johnston, illegally garrisoned by the Queen, whose craft is to bring in the French. If you suffer this, you will prepare a way for your own destruction. It will be well that your Queen's marriage be not hasty. I beg speedy answer, for if this occasion is lost, ye may thirst for, yet not find another. The Grange. *Signed:* W. Kyrkcaldy.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecil).

June 24. **472.** THE QUEEN TO HER COMMISSIONERS.

That she looks daily for advertisement of their conclusion with the Scots. That the rasing of Aymouth must be a clean overthrow of the building, and the wall levelled with the ground; using her express commandment if they see cause.

1 *p. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed:* "M. to therle of Northumberland," &c.

June 28. **473.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for Andro Lambe "induellar" in Leith, his 2 factors, &c., to trade in England or beyond seas, for a year. Subscribed by her mother the Queen Dowager and Regent, and under her signet. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 28. **474.** SIR HENRY PERCY TO PARRY AND CECILL.

To-day I met the Scots for truce, and received these letters enclosed for your consideration. The messenger had great credit from Lethington his master; and Argyll, Ryven and others now in camp against the Dowager, consented to the letter, and he demands instant answer. This Kirkcaldy spoke last Thursday in secret with Argyll, &c., and they mind to come on to Edinburgh, which is "suspectious" to us borderers, though I think there is no cause. Have a good eye to France, and if they provide shipping; for he is a mighty prince, though I hear credibly he and his country are much impoverished. I am so toiled with the affairs of the wardenry, that I cannot advertise from hence, having no place to see espials or receive others. Another thing lets me much, as my servant Ralph Lorraunce will declare to you. Norham. *Signed:* Henry Percy.

1 *p. Addressed:* "To the right honorables Sir Thomas Parry knight threasourer of the Quene's majesties houshold, and to Syr William Cicell knight secreatory to her highnes." *Indorsed* (by Cecil): ". . . Sir Henry Percy with other lettres."

Inclosed in the same:—

(Kirkcaldy to Percy.)

I cannot wonder enough I have never received answer from you,

Elizabeth.
1559. therefore let me know your mind and also look upon this other letter, then close and send it to Mr Cecil, "whome of ye shall requyre answer with all dilligens." There is gone to take St Johnston, the earls of Argyll, Glencairne, Rothes, "Monteytht," and the prior of St Andrews, lords "Reven," "Owchghiltre," "Boyed," "Drommond," and "Ogylvie, &c., and will be 10,000 on the field. Many who stir not at present, "bot how sounne they sall have neid," they wilbe all at them." The bearer has my mind. The Queen will not resist, but her purpose is to keep Edinburgh with the French; which I trust she shall not do. She is like to grant the other party all their desire, and has offered partly already. The Grange, 25th June. *Signed:* Youris to the deathe, W. Kyrkcaldy.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed.*

June 28. **475. JOHN KNOX TO CECILL.**

"The perpetuall encreasce of the Holie Ghost."—
This is the 4th letter I have written to you since I left Geneva; two direct from Dieppe, one for licence to pass through England to my native country, another from St Andrews for licence to Newcastle or Durham—not for my own profit, but I think to tell some secret man of solid judgment, things I would not commit to paper and ink. I hear from many I am so odious to the Queen and Council, that my name is unpleasing in their ears: but I will not cease offering my self, requiring you in God's name to present to her grace this my letter, "smelling nothing of flattery" and therefore more acceptable. Why her grace or the faithful in her realm should repute me as enemy, I know no just cause. One thing I know, that England to this day hath received no hurt by me: "yea it hath receaved by the power of God wirking in me, that benefitt which yit to non in England is knowen, neyther yit list I to boast of the sam—onlie this will I saye, that when England and the usurped authoritie therof was enemye to me, yit was I freind to it, and the fruit of my freindschip sauvd the bordouris in thare greatest necessitie." I have long looked for concord between these realms, and the occasion is now most present, if God move your hearts to seek it. "For humilitie of Christ Jesus crucified now begun heir to be preached," may join the hearts of those whom "Sathan" by pride has dissevered: wherefore I would have licence to come to you. God move your heart to consider the state of both realms, in more danger than many do espy. Common bruit has doubtless carried to you our troubles in religion. Many of the nobility, most of the barons and gentlemen, many towns and "on cietie," have put to their hands to remove idolatry, &c. "The reformation is somwhat violent, becaus the adversaries be stubburn." No one who professes Christ Jesus usurps authority, nor intends to do, unless strangers are brought in to subdue our liberties. If such be espied, "I am uncertane what shall follow" —advertise me of the Queen's pleasure for my repairing to you. St Johnston. *Signed:* John Knox.

I had no time to write the Queen's letter for continual travail, and the sudden departure of the messenger. "On thing yit in Goddes name I will requyr of you, in my name to say to the Quens grace,

Elizabeth.
1559. "that willinglie I never offended hir grace, and therfor sche owght not reput me an ennemye."

2 *pp. Holograph. Indorsed:* "To . . . Schyr William Cycill knycht secretary to the Quens majesteis most honorable prevy counsell," &c. *Indorsed. The date, signature and postscript are hurriedly written in fainter ink than the body of the letter.*

June 28. **476.** THE QUEEN TO HER COMMISSIONERS.

Has received the treaty lately passed between them and the Scots, and thanks them for their labours. Begs them to see that the wardens put it in execution. Considering the discord of that country, requires Northumberland to defer his coming up till her farther pleasure.

1½ *pp. Draft corrected by Cecill. Indorsed.*

June 29. **477.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN.

Requesting her to appoint commissioners to meet others of Scotland, at a short day, to treat for ransom of prisoners in the late wars. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 30. **478.** THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO THE QUEEN.

After concluding the late treaty, whereof my lord of Northumberland and we the others, certified your grace on the 18th—we exchanged finally at Norham, yet were compelled to stay 8 days longer to reform attempts during our meetings; for men brought up in "raven" loath to live in peace. As there is much not in writing, that it were meet your highness should know, I humbly beseech your licence for me to declare in presence, the state of these two realms, and likewise do my duty to see your majesty "ones in my dayes, this somer season," the best time for me to travel, for I look not to live long, and shall repair with such speed "as myne old carcas will suffer me, unto your grace." Auckland. *Signed:* Cuth. Duresme.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 30. **479.** THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO CECILL.

Having written to the Queen for leave to come to her presence, desires him to forward his suit, as the summer season is best for his "olde carcas."

½ p. *Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: oval (indistinct).*

July 1. **480.** KIRKCALDY TO PERCY.

I received your letter this last of June, and assure you ye need not doubt the Congregation, who mean nothing but reformation of religion, which they will shortly bring to pass: for the Queen, Monsieur Doisel, and all the French, have taken refuge in Dunbar.

Elizabeth.
1559. The Congregation reached Edinburgh by 3 a.m. this last of June, and will take order for defence of the true religion against the King of France. The Duke and most of the nobility have told the Queen they are of the same religion, and will take part with the congregation. The professors of God's word bear unfeigned love to your mistress, which they will prove or long; if otherwise, esteem me no honest man. Repose yourself on my word, wherein you have never found deceit; and assure yourself there shall be no hurt done to England, while it maintains the gospel of Christ. So as I have written twice, I wish no time "pretermitted" to bind these two countries in perpetual friendship.

The manner of reformation is this—they pull down all manner of "freires," and some abbeys which will not receive it—cleanse parish churches of images and monuments of idolatry—and prohibit all masses. In place whereof, the book set forth by godly King Edward is read in them. They have not as yet "mellit" with a pennyworth of kirk property, but presently will take order that the fruits of abbeys, &c., shall be bestowed on faithful ministers till further order. Some think the Queen will yield, seeing no other remedy, and have a general reformation conform to the pure word of God, and send the French away. If so, they will annex the abbey revenues to the crown: but if she refuses, they will hear of no agreement. See that the fort* be rased or the French will keep it, having few other strengths. Command the man ye send me to be very secret. *Signed:* "In haist redy to tak the fivre. Youris as ye knaw to the deathe."

(*A postscript in cipher thus*):—The letter that Knox writeth to you is by means of the whole Congregation whose names I inclose. *Signed:* Henry Percy (*who deciphers it*).

2 *pp. Holograph Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Names of the Congregation.)

Earl of Argyll; Prior of S^{t} Andrews; Earls of Rothes and Montetht; Lords Reven, Ogilvy and Drummond; the Master of Lindsay; Lairds of Lochleven, Dun, Pittarrow, Tillibarne, Glennourchwart. These were the principal that set S^{t} Johnston at liberty again.

Earls of Glencairn and Morton, the lords Erskin, Boyd and Owchquhiltre, with the sheriff of Ayr and Laird of Calder, met them at Edinburgh. Their number, if the Queen had remained, had been 12,000; but seeing the French are gone, only 6000 are come. The number of lairds and gentlemen I cannot reckon; there are in band with them, but not yet declared, the Earls Marischal, Athol, lord Forbes, and the lairds of Drumlanrick, Lochinvar and Garlyce. Many of the rest will subscribe to keep out the French.

1 *p Holograph of Kirkcaldy. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 1. **481.** KNOX TO PERCY.

"The myghty confort of the Holie Ghost for salutation."—

* Aymouth.

Elizabeth.
1559. This bearer being unsuspected, I require of you such friendship as from time to time conference may be had betwixt us. "I mean not myself and you," but the faithful of both realms, that "inconvenientes" against both may by God's grace and mighty power be avoided. Your faithful friend M^r^ Kyrkcaldye has reported to me your gentle behaviour and fidelity in all things "lawchtfull honest and godlie. Continew Schir, and God by you shall wyrk mor then now appearetht." You hear our troubles, but few know the cause. Persuade yourself and assure others, we mean neither sedition nor rebellion against lawful authority, but only to advance Christ's religion and the liberty of this poor realm. If we have the one with the other, it will be better for England, which if we lack "althought we murn and smart first," ye will not escape worse trouble in the end. But this I would rather communicate face to face than with pen and ink. If you deliver this other letter to M^r^ Secretary Cecill, "I suppose ye shall not offend him?" Other things I cannot write now "for continuall truble hinging upon my wicked carcass by reason of this tumult rased against Christ Jesus in his infancye." I pray to know the minds of the Queen and Council touching our support if we be pursued by a French army. "I most hartle desyr you to apardon my bold interprise—interprised not altogether withoutt deliberation, as the trubles of these tymes doo suffer." Edinburgh. *Signed:* John Knox.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed:* "To the right worshipfull Schir Hary Percye knycht, warden deputye," &c. *Indorsed.*

July 3. **482.** CROFT TO [CECILL].

A herald from the Queen of Scotland to the Queen of England departed hence this day. The Protestants are at Edinburgh in great number—whence they intend for Kelso and the abbeys westward. The Queen is at Dunbar in great fear.

¼ *p. Holograph, in cipher, apparently deciphered by Cecil. No signature or address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 4. **483.** PARRY AND CECILL TO PERCY.

We received yours of 28^th^ and other two letters inclosed, one to yourself the other to me the secretary. The matter is worth entertaining, for the sequel may tend to this realm, if not well foreseen. We wish you had also written the credit by Ledyngton's man to you. Forbear not to write all your intelligence, though you may think it already known to us. The matter in Kyrkcaldy's letter "is imparted where it ought to be," and I the Secretary presently write to you, which is meant to be shown to him, but not delivered out of your hands, and returned hither immediately after he has seen it. You must speak with him, or we see not how he can plainly understand our meaning; you best know how to compass this. Percase ye might look for larger offer of succour, than in my the Secretary's letter, but considering Kyrkcaldy is but a private man, hitherto in good grace with the Dowager, and not seeing from his letter that the matter moved comes from those of whom you inform us, we could

Elizabeth.
1559. not descend to further particulars. When further matter shall appear bringing credit with it, then further understanding of our meaning may follow. In any wise use all expedition herein.

We hear not of your servant Raff Lawrence, whom we desire to see touching your incommodity of coming to intelligence.

1 *p.* *Holograph draft by Cecill.* *Indorsed* (by him).

July 4. **484.** SECRETARY CECILL TO PERCY.

I have received your letter of 28th June and two others from "your frende and myne, the one to you, the other to me," with matter of no small moment, noting therein "greate wisdom in the writer." All must be circumspectly considered and prudently foreseen. Ye must speak with Kyrkcaldy, and say I privately thank him for so friendly a participation with me of such a matter, and I have secretly imparted it to those who have had very good liking thereof, as it behoved; and find it is much desired, to understand the purposes of the earls and protestants therein named, the end they aim at, how they propose to accomplish it, what adverse power they doubt of, and what support they look for hence, in case a French army is brought against them? Also if such support were sent, what sort of amity might ensue, if to be perpetual, and not so slender as heretofore, depending on the pleasure of France? Yet not altogether to waste time (hoping for early answer to our motion) ye may assure him, that rather than see an ancient nation oppressed by foreign power, when her nobles seek to maintain the Christian religion, England would adventure aid against such invasion, and I dare affirm, would be as sorry as if against ourselves. Meantime require him to consider that since this matter is written by him alone, a private gentleman, yet one I well esteem for his wisdom and religion, he will not mislike my not this first time writing to him a direct letter, considering my place and office, but rather committing the trust to be delivered by you. Yet assure him what I write to you is as good as if confirmed by my hand and seal. And though I would credit him in any private matter, yet in these great causes, for respect of such personages as I confer with, what he shall impart must be as clear, probable, and perfect, as when discoursed on, it may not be found lacking or doubtful. Greenwich. *Signed:* Your assured frend W. Cecill.

1 *p.* *Addressed* (by Cecill). *Indorsed* (by him): "My lettre to Sir H. Percy retorned ageyn to me the 23 of July."

(1) Draft of same letter in Cecill's hand.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed* (by him): "W. C. to Sir H. Percy."

July 8. **485.** CROFT TO CECILL.

The Protestants still remain at Edinburgh and the Queen at Dunbar. The Duke departed from her the last of June to go to his house. On the 6th the Protestants sent requiring her to maintain religion and confirm what they have begun, and to put all Frenchmen out, except of her houshold, and bring in no more. The messengers

Elizabeth.
1559. refusing her demand to put this in writing, as they had no commission, she refused to answer them. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1 *p.* *Cipher, deciphered by Cecill. Addressed. Indorsed. Armorial wafer signet.*

July 8. **486.** CECILL TO CROFT.

I have received this 6th your letter of 1st and cedule contained, of the Scottish Queen coming to Dunbar, the particulars whereof I would have liked. As to the discharge of the 2*d.* a day to soldiers wearing corselets, it is already answered, and other matters, wherein much is referred to your wisdom. I would to God your neighbours looked to ends, and that they might be advertised that the Earl of Arran has left France, and that King is sending speedily hither 200 men at arms, and 30 ensigns of footmen. The Protestants there* shall be assayed with fair promises, then with money, and last with arms. Wisdom looks for and provides against the worst. Assure them this realm will not see them ruined, if requested by friendship. Any wise kindle the fire, for if quenched, the opportunity will not come in our lives. What the Protestants intend, let them do with speed before the French come. "To a wise man few wordes serve." Commend me and impart this to Sir Henry Percy.

1¼ *pp.* *Draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by him): "W. C. to Mr Croftes."

July 11. **487.** CROFT TO CECILL.

I send you inclosed news from Scotland. On Sunday last I sent Masters Somerset, Vaughan, Drury, and the surveyor of works, to Aymouth: who report that the houses, flankers, vamures and outer brinks of the ditches, were pulled down, and nothing left standing but the "very rampier." I would be glad to know the Queen's pleasure, if this agrees with the words of the treaty, to make it plain with the ground, or if I shall require full performance? Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1 *p.* *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(News from Scotland.)

The Queen Dowager is now contented that the Duke, &c. shall meet at Haddington to-morrow with some of the Protestants to treat of the matters proposed to her. All believe the Duke will side with the Protestants if the Earl of Arran were come, who he thinks has left France, while the Queen and the French think not. If he were here, it would soon be seen which way the Dowager would "sway."

1¼ *pp.* *Cipher, deciphered. Noted* (by Cecill): "xj Julij."

July 12. **488.** KNOX TO CECILL.

"The spreit of wisdom reull your hart to the glorie of God, and

* Scotland.

Elizabeth.
1559. "to the confort of his afflicted flock." I humbly require you to deliver the enclosed letter to the Queen "quhilk conteaneht in few and sempill wourdes my confession what I think of her authoritie, how far it is just, and what may mak it odius in Goddes presence. I hear thare is a confutation sett furht in prent against the 'First Blast.' God grant that the writar have no mor sought the favoures of the world, no les the glory of God, and the stable commoditie of his countrey, then did hie who interprised in that blast to uter his conscience. When I shall have tym (which now is dear and straitt unto me) to peruse that wark, I will communicat my judgement with you concernyng the sam. The tym is now, Schir, that all that eyther thrust * Christ Jesus to ring in this yle, the libertie of the sam to be keapt to the inhabitantis therof, and thare hartes to be joyned togetther in love unfeaned, ought rather to study how the sam may be brought to pas, then vainly to travael for the manteanaunce of that wherof allreaddy we have sein the daunger, and felt the smart. Yf the most part of wemen be such, as willingly we wold not they should reing over us, and yf the most godlie (and such as have rare giftes and graces) be yit mortall, we ought to tack head, least that we in establissing one (judged godlie and proffitable to hir countrey), mack enteress and titill to many, by whom not only shall the treuht be impugned, but also shall the countrey be brought to bondaige and slavery." God give you and others to see this, and avoid the danger.

I have yet no answer to my divers letters for leave to visit these north parts of England. The longer it is delayed, the less comfort the faithful there shall receive—yea the weaker the Queen's grace shall be; for if I were not to her so unfeigned and assured a friend, I would not so instantly beg such a liberty, "in seaking wherof I suppose ye be persuaded that I greatlie seak not my self." Ye know the common state of things here—some things as I have oft written, I would gladly communicate with you, but am not minded to write. "Fynd therfor the meanes that I may speak such a on as ye will creditt in all thinges. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with you." I beseech you have my service most humbly commended to the Queen's grace, "and in my name say to hir grace, that whosoever mackeht me odius for any work yit written by me, seakeht somwhat besides the glory of God, and hir graces prosperitie, and therfor can not the sam man be to hir grace so unfeaned freind as I have bein and yit remain." Edinburgh, in great haist. *Signed:* John Knox.

"After the scribling of those formar lynes, cam M^r^ Whitlaw," from whom I hear the matters in which I have "laubored" ever since King Edward's death, are now to be opened to you. "God grant you and otheris wisdom with humilitie, &c." Then came Sir Hary Percy's servant to M^r^ Kirkcaldy, who leaving us here to "speak" Sir Hary, brought news joyful to the hearts of all when they shall be divulged. "It was thought expedient to communicat the mater onlie with those that ar stroungest, till farther knowledge of the Quens majesties good mynd towardes this action.† We dowbt not the good myndes of the holl congregation which is great, as I doubt [not] but by otheris ye will understaund—but it is not thought expedient that so weghty a mater be untymmouslie disclosed. Trew and faythfull preacheris in the norht partes of England can not but greatlie ad-

* Trust.

† The preceding 3 words added on margin.

Elizabeth.
1559. "vaunce this cause—yf a learned and godlie man mycht be appointed to Baruik, with licence also to preache within Scotland, I dowbt not to obtean unto him the favouris of the most part of the gentelmen of the East and Myddle* bordouris. Admeit on thing Schir, that yf the hartes of the bordoraris of both partes c[an be†] united together in Goddes fear, our victorie . . .† shalbe easy. The fear of no man I truist . . .† this day till cause any of those that have professed them selves ennemies to superstition within Scotland, till lift thare hand against England, so long as it will abyd in the puritie of Christes doctryn. Continual lauboris oppressing me (most unable for the sam) I am compelled to end with imperfection. The spreit of all wisdom reull your hart to the end, Amen!"

I reverence your judgement so much, I will ye first see my letter or ye deliver it, and I send it open. "Read and present it yf ye think meatt."

3 *pp. Holograph, closely written. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 12. **489.** CROFT TO CECILL.

This day only, by fault of the posts, I received your letter dated Greenwich the 6th, and instructed Whytlowe, who came last night, in good time to be at Haddington to-night where the Protestants meet the Queen's commissioners. I hope the French will be dismissed—it is most necessary. Though I lately told the Council, that the men they ordered to be "cassed" were gone, I find some of Captain Read's band dismissed from Wark are still drawing pay, but no bruit of it has gone forth. If things pass quietly this summer, abating the armour may be considered: for if the French are put out, those that come will find no friends at landing, if the Protestants keep together. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1½ *pp. Partly in cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 13. **490.** THE QUEEN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

Having in the evening of the 11th received by Ross herald her letter of penult June, as to ransom of prisoners on both sides, signifies her intention of naming as commissioners her cousin of Northumberland, and his brother Sir Henry Percy, or Sir James Croft, or any two, to meet those of Scotland. Wishing good tidings of the recovery of "our most deare good brother the French King to helth, wherof we be very sorry to heare so great difficultee." Greenwich.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Draft in Cecil's hand. Indorsed* (by him): "12 Julij 1559."

July 14. **491.** CROFT TO CECILL.

Yesterday I received yours dated 9th, of the despatch of the French ambassador to the Protestants, and of ships preparing there, whereof they shall be shortly advertised. This day Master Percy

* The preceding 2 words added on margin. † Decayed.

Elizabeth.
1559. and I spóke with Kyrkcaldy, who has promised in a few days to tell us on what foundation the Protestants will work, and what amity they offer, confirmed under the hands of some of the nobility. We urged them to put out the French, for once out, they cannot return without friends to receive them: giving as examples, our first journey to Leith and Edinburgh, when in spite of our strong navy with victuals, we could tarry but few days; also when the battle of Musselburgh was won, and more to like effect. I look for little result till Arran be in Scotland, nor any preparation till we know where he is, which I trust you will soon learn and advertise hither. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1½ *pp. Mostly in cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 17. **492.** KYRKCALDY TO CECILL.

Upon the sight of your letter to Sir Hary Percy and consideration of your questions, &c., I repaired with speed from Norham to Edinburgh, and declared the contents to my privy friends who took them in very good part, as their letters will show. If it be God's pleasure that ye join with this common cause of Christ and liberty, "all Europe shall knowe that an league made in the name of God hathe an other fundation and assuraunce then pactions made be man for warldly commoditie." They dare not make it known to many at first, for fear of disclosing the secret. The Queen Regent already suspects some intelligence with England; having said that Northumberland has sent a servant to Argyll and the Prior. Some of us are poor, and we fear corruption by money, yet if these were removed, we would not be much the weaker: for all hearts both barons and commonalty, are so bent and "inflambed" against France, that if any of the nobility would decline (though we see no appearance) neither their friends nor servants would withdraw from professing Christ and liberty. After the minds of some most principal and secret in council be known, the matter will be proponed to the rest, and I think your assistance shall be sought, which I would wish you answered friendly to make no doubt. This time offered must not be neglected by you nor us. This gentleman the bearer is directed to the Queen with the minds of such as I trust ye shall be contented with. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W^m^. Kyrkcaldy.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 19. **493.** ARGYLL, GLENCAIRN, &C., TO CECILL.

The contents of your letter to Sir Henry Percy were notified to us by M^r^ Kyrkcaldy of Grange, this Sunday 15^th^ July, who has travailed with faithful heart to learn your mind towards us. We have considered to our joy and comfort, your comfortable answer to his question, and also your motion and demands. "To which we brevely answer, that our hole and only purpos (as knoweht God) is to advaunce the glory of Christ Jesus, the trew preaching of his evangill within this realme, to remove superstition and all sortes of externall idolatrie, to bridill to our poweris the fury of those that heirtofor have cruellie sched the blood of our brethren, and to our utermost to mantean the libertie of this our countrey from the tyranny and

Elizabeth.
1559. "thraldome of straungearis as God shall assist us. How we be able to accomplish these premisses is to us unknowen, only our hope is good that hie that hath begun this good work by us, and hath by his power to this hour confounded the faces of our adversaries, will perform the sam to his glory, which cheafly we seak in this our interprise." Supposing that our danger and the preparation of France are not hid from you and the Council, we omit that. As for a perpetual amity, we desire nothing more than such a joyful conjunction, and crave of God we may be the instruments whereby the unnatural debate long continued betwixt us, may be for ever composed. If ye can devise the means how to compass this, persuade yourselves not only of our assistance, "but also of our constancye (as men may promes), till our lyves end; yea farther, we will diwlgat and set abrode a charge and commandement till our posteritie, that the amytie and league betuix you and us contracted and begun in Christ Jesus, may by thame be keapt inviolated for ever. As for the revolting to Fraunce (which ye seam to suspect and fear), we uterly abhorr that infidelitie, for now doht that voce of God continuallie sound in our eares 'Whosoever blasphemeht or tackeht in vane the name of the Eternall, shall not eschape vengeaunce.'" As our amity has another foundation than "pactions maid by worldlie men for worldlie proffett," so we doubt not it shall continue, "for now we seak rather the heavn, then the earht, but yit and yf we should look anything to temporall commoditie," we should never return to France, for we now begin to see their yoke shall become intolerable. And by God's grace we intend "to cutt avay such instrumentis the papisticall clergye* as by whom this realme hath bein befor abused." We have yet made no mention of change in authority, nor has it even entered our hearts, but seeing that France and the Queen Regent here, her priests, &c., intend nothing but suppressing Christ's evangel, maintaining prelacy and our ruin, we are fully purposed to seek the next remedy and withstand their tyranny, whereto we heartily require your counsel, and furtherance at the Queen and Council's hands, for our aid. Thus far we have hasarded to show our purpose, estate, and request, as you required of M^r^ Kyrkcaldy some further assurance than his own, seeing the place ye hold and the personages concerned: doubting not your prudent handling so closely that the adversary discover nothing before the "just ripnes of the action" require. We refer to the instructions and credit of the messenger, and beg answer with expedition. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Arcbald Ergyll, Alex^r^. Glencarne, James Sanctanctandr.,† Patrik Ruthwen, Robert Boyd, Andro Wcheoltre.

2½ *pp. Written by Knox. Addressed* (by him). *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 19. **494.** ARGYLL, GLENCAIRN, &C., TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Though no good success has yet ensued of divers attempts for perpetual amity between the realms, yet they as professors of Christ Jesus in Scotland, having entered in battle against the Devil, idolatry, and "that sort of men" who have abused them and their princes, and

* The preceding 3 words added on margin. † Sic.

Elizabeth.
1559. made them enemies to their friends, humbly beseech her grace, her council, subjects, and realm, to aid them in their present danger from the designs of France, and in the reformation of religion, as she has enterprised in her own realm. They have declared their purposes at more length to her Secretary Mr Cecill. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Arcbald Ergyll, Alex[r]. Glencarne, James Sanctandr., Patrik Ruthwen, Robert Boyd, Andro Wcheoltrie.

2 *pp. Broad sheet. Written by Knox. Addressed* (by him): "To the right myghty, ryght high, and right excellent princess the Quens majestie of England." *Indorsed* (by Cecill). *Wafer signet. Shield with a lion rampant, indications of the tressure round it.*

July 19. **495.** HENRY BALNAVES TO CECILL.

Knowing your earnest love and constancy to the furthsetting and true maintaining of Christ's holy religion, and remembrance of your humanity shown to me at all times, moves me to this short letter. I will open nothing at length contained in the other letter of "my lordes of the Congregation and counsale of this realme, wharof I am prevye" —but these two heads—viz. (1) furthsetting God's glory according to His word, as in your realm begun, and (2) preserving ours from the tyranny of strangers Frenchmen. "Howbeit the first brag we must suffer." We must both join to resist our common enemy who by the Bishop of Rome's authority pretends no less title to your realm than to this. So labour with your sovereign, as I shall do here, that my lords' message to her grace may take good success. This matter here begun is of God and no private commodity of man, yea I dare affirm, beside all judgment and expectation of man. I refer our proceedings to the bearer Mr Whitlaw. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Henry Balnaves of Halhill.

1 *p. First part holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 20. **496.** KNOX TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

"To the verteuus and godlie Elizabeht by the grace of God Quen of England, &c., John Knox desireht the perpetuall encrease of the holie spiritt."—

"As your gracis displeasure against me most injustlie conceaved, hath bene and is to my wreched hart a burthen grevous and almost intollerabill: so is the testimonye of a clean conscience to me a stay and uphold that in disperation I sink not." Maliciously or of purpose, I never offended your grace nor your realm. I cannot deny writing a book against the usurped authority and injust "regiment" of women, nor am minded to retract any principal point thereof, till truth and verity further appear. But why your grace, or these that favour the liberty of England, should be offended with the author, I can perceive no just occasion, for my book touches not your grace's person in especial, nor is it prejudicial to the liberty of the realm, if the time and my writing be "indifferentlie" considered. How could I be enemy to your grace's person? "For deliverance quhairof, I did mor study, and interpri[sed] farther, than any of those that now accus me. And as concerning your regiment, how could, or can, I envy

Elizabeth.
1559. "that whiche most I have thrusted * and for the which (as oblivion will suffer) I render thankis unfeanedlie unto God? [which] is that it hath pleased Him of His eternall goodnes, to exalt your head (which . . . tymes wes in daunger to the manifestation of His glorie and extirpation of [ido]latrie." For any other offence against England, I will let moderate and indifferent men judge between me and my accusers. "To witt, wither of the partiis do most hurt the libertie of England, I that afferme that no woman may be exalted above any realme to mak the liberties of the sam thrall to a straunge, proud and cruell nation? Or thai that approve whatsoevir pleaseth princes for the tyme? Yf I wer as weall disposed till accus, as som of tham (till thair owne schame) have declared thame self, I nothing dowbt but that in few wordis I should lett ressonabill men undirsta[nd] that som that this day lowlie crouche to your grace, and lauboure to mak me odious in your eyis, did in your adversitie neyther schew thame selvis faithfull freindis to your grace, neyther yit so loving and cairfull over thair native cuntrey, as now thai wold be esteamed." Nothing in my book is or can be prejudicial to your grace's just regiment, provided ye be not found "ungrate" to God. "Ungrate ye shalbe pro[ved] in presence of His throne (howsoevir that flatteraris justifye your fact), yf ye transfer the glory of that honour in which ye now stand, to any other thing, then to the dispensation of His mercy, which only mackeht that lauchfull to your grace, which nature and law denyeth to a[ny] woman. Neyther wold I that your grace should fear that this your humiliation befoir God should in any case infirm or weaken your just and lauchfull authorite befoir men. Nay Madam, such unfeaned confession of Goddis benefittis receaved, shalbe the establisment of the sam not onelye to your self but also to your sead and posteritie. Whare contrariwies, a prowd conceat and elevation of your self shalbe the occasion that your reing shalbe unstabill, trublesom and schort. God is witnes that unfeanedlie I both love and reverence your grace, yea I pray that your reing may be long, prosperous, and quyet, and that for the quyetnes which Christis membris befoir persecuted have receaved under yow. But yit yf I should flatter your grace, I wer no freind, but a deceavabill trater. And therfor of conscience I am compelled to say, that neyther the consent of peopill, the proces of tyme, nor multitude of men, can establish a law which God shall approve, but whatsoever He approveht (by His eternall word) that shalbe approved; and whatsoever he dampneth shalbe condampneth, thoughe all men in earth wold hasard the justification of the sam. And therfoir Madam, the onelie way to retean and to keap those benefittis of God haboundandlie powred now of laitt dayis upon yow, and upon your realme, is, unfeanedlie to rendir unto God, to His mercy and undeserved grace, the holl glory of this your exaltatioun. Foryet your byrth and all tytill which therupon doth hing, and considder deaplie how for feir of your lyfe ye did decline from God and bow till idolatrie. Lett it not appear a small offence in your eyis, that ye have declyned from Christ Jesus in the day of his battale, neyther yit wold I that ye should esteam that mercy to be wlgar and commone which ye have receaved: to witt, that God hath covered your formar offence, hath preserved yow when ye wer most unthankfull, and in the end hath exalted and raised yow

* Trusted.

Elizabeth.
1559. "up not onlie from the dust, but also from the portes of death, to reull above His people, for the confort of His kirk. It aperteaneth to yow thairfor to ground the justice of your aucthoritie, not upon that law which from year to year doth change, but upon the eternall providence of Hym, who contrar to nature, and without your deserving, hath thus exalted your head. Yf thus in Goddis presence ye humill your self, as in my hart I glorifie God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England undir yow a weak instrument, so will I with toung and pen justifie your aucthorite and regiment, as the Holie Ghost hath justified the sam in Debora that blessed mother in Israell; but yf these premissis (as God forbid) neglected, ye shall begyn to brag of your birth, and to build youre aucthorite upon your owne law, flatter yow who so list, youre felicitie shalbe schort. Interpret my rud wordis in the best part, as writtin by him who is no ennemye to your grace. By divers lettres I have required licence to vesitt your realme, not to seik my self neyther yit my owen ease or commodite, whiche yf yow now refuse and deny, I must remit my [cause unto *] God, adding this for conclusioun, that commonlie it is sein that such [as refus] the counsall of the faithfull (appear it never so scharp) ar compelled to follow the deceat of flatteraris to thair owen perdition. The mighty spreit of the Lord Jesus move your hart to undirstand what is said, geve unto yow the discretion of spirittes, and so reull yow in all your actionis and interprises, that in yow God may be glorified, His church edified, and ye your self as a livelie member of the sam, may be an exempill and mirroure of vertew and of godlie lief till otheris. So be it." Edinburgh. *Signed:* John Knox.

2¼ *pp. Closely written by another hand. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): M^r^ Knox to the Q. majesty by Al. Wh[ytlaw]. *Much worn at the edges.*

July 20. **497.** CROFT TO CECILL.

Last night I received your letters of the 15^th^, confirming mine of the 11^th^ and 12^th^ instant, and shall use them as you advise. The Protestants after communing with the Duke, &c., daily since Friday, have concluded nothing. Kyrkcaldy, looked for yesterday and to-day, is not come. They know of the French King's death, and shall know the rest as to Arran. Kyrkcaldy has not yet declared himself protestant, nor comes to the Dowager but "fayneth hym syck." † Pay is due him for the late wars, and in hope he drives time. He is poor, as are all the principal "dooers," and they cannot travail without charges, which must be relieved by the Queen if things go forward, or they will leave off. You know in all practices, money must be one part! I enclose answer of a letter I sent to the Regent of Scotland. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

I pray your warrant for the allowance of horsemen you mention in your letter, to begin 1^st^ instant. My last ended the last of June.

1½ *pp. Mostly in cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (as before).*

* Blotted over.

† This word deciphered "self."

Elizabeth.
1559. Inclosed in the same:—

(The Dowager to Croft.)

In reply to his letter of 15th, supposes he understands by report of his messengers sent to Captain Galliart, how diligently the workmen demolish Aymouth fort. So soon as completed, she will warn him either to come or send to view it, and then advertise his Queen. Dunbar, 17 July. La bien votre, Marie R.

¾ *p. Copy by his clerk. Indorsed.*

July 22. **498.** PERCY TO CECILL.

Touching your letter of 4th, I sent for Kyrkcaldy, when Sir James Croft and I spoke with him at large, understanding from Sir James and also the "lard of Whietlawe," this was your pleasure—showing him also your letter to me, which he perused asking a copy, which I gave him. Since then, Whitlaw is come from the congregation, with letters to the Queen and yourself, whom we send as secretly as we can. Your letter of 11th reached me on the 17th, whereon I wrote to Knox * and expect his answer this day. I return to you the letter "ye willed me to do." As Sir James Croft is by his wisdom and apt place, better able to work in these affairs than myself, from my other business in the wardenry, I have appointed Kyrkcaldy to deal with him as with myself, making also all such "moyaunce" as I had, known to him. Norham. *Signed:* Henry Percy.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 22. **499.** CROFT TO CECILL.

Reporting his conversation with Whytlaw, now gone towards court, and his surprise that the Protestants had not put out the French—that he told him the Queen would not deal with a confused multitude, even though they were noblemen who had written to her, for she must have some appearance of established authority to join with, and nothing more could be offered, but as already by some of her ministers, an inclination of willingness on good ground, to aid them in setting forward religion, and keeping out a foreign power. Cecill may now see Croft's view confirmed, that without Arran, they can lay no foundation; but these are too great matters to advise in. Unless the French King's death delay preparations, the Protestants are in great peril by tracting time, as he warned them before. Begs the greater care for Berwick. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1½ *pp. Mostly in cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 23. **500.** ARTICLES AGREED WITH THE PROTESTANTS.

"Articles accordez avec les Protestans descosse le xxiijme Juillet 1559."

1. They shall (except the inhabitants of Lislebourg †) depart as early to-morrow morning as the Queen Regent pleases.

* A symbol. † Edinburgh.

Elizabeth.
1559.

2. They shall deliver all the "coings" for money to those in charge for the said lady; also the palace at Holyrood Abbey to the "concierge," or other having her authority, in the same state as received; and before leaving the town, entering as hostages for these 2 articles the lords of Rufven and Petalro.

3. They shall obey their King and Queen, and Queen Regent, and the laws, as before this trouble, &c., except as to religion as after specified.

4. They shall not molest churchmen in their persons, or benefices, which these shall enjoy and freely dispose of till 10 January next.

5. They shall use no force or violence to churches and monasteries, which shall remain as at present till said 10th January.

6. Edinburgh shall choose and use its own form of religion; the inhabitants enjoying liberty of conscience till the said day.

7. The Queen Regent shall not molest the Protestant preachers in their bodies, lands, &c., nor suffer the clergy having spiritual or temporal jurisdiction, to trouble them, till said day. Each one may live in private according to his conscience.

1½ *pp. French. Contemporary copy. Indorsed.*

July 23. **501.** PERCY TO CECILL.

I have received answer from Mr Knox by word of mouth, and as it appears Whytlaw is instructed in all things that he purposed to come up for, I think this his journey is at an end. I conveyed a letter to the Lord Prior, &c., by your order (as Sir James Croft told us) and inclose their answer. As my letter in my own hand was unsigned, so is the answer written by the Lord Prior. There should have been a day of meeting at Lady Kirk last Monday for border redress, but Lord Hume writes to defer it, and my neighbours tell me all Merse and Tevedale go to the Dowager [Dyogre] to-morrow, and the Congregation towards Haddington, with speed. I have not yet received Tynemouth Castle as the Queen's letters ordered, by reason of these affairs, the treasurer's and your letters, which kept me here. But make my excuse if needed, and to-morrow I shall set forward and obey her majesty. Norham Castle. *Signed:* Henry Percy.

1 *p. A few words in cipher, deciphered by Cecill. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 24. **502.** CROFT TO CECILL.

Of the sentence which you wrote in Master Lee's letter, I find no suspicion: but all my letters from Court on great matters, remain in my own hand, and my secretary writes mine in cipher, as I name the letters, without knowing what he writes. I doubt the Bishop of Durham will resign his office on coming to Court. It were good to advise on disposing Norham for service of these Borders. I have used the contents of your letter received yesterday as ordered. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

½ *p. Mostly in cipher, deciphered by Cecill. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1559.
July 25.

503. PROCLAMATION BY THE PROTESTANT LORDS.

At Edinburgh 25th July 1559.

The lords of Congregation and Secret Council, being about to leave the town "upon conpromitt" betwixt them and the lords sent from the Queen under these heads, viz., (1) That no idolatry be erected where already suppressed, (2) that no members of congregation shall be troubled for religion or other cause depending therein, in body, lands, or goods, (3) that their ministers shall preach, minister sacraments publicly and privately, without hindrance, and (4) that no bands of soldiers, French or Scots, shall remain in Edinburgh—hereby notify to their brethren there, that if any of the said points are broken, they will aid and assist the sufferers on their honours as they shall answer to the Eternal God.

Proclaimed by voice of trumpet at the Market Cross.

¾ *p. Contemporary copy in Scottish hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

[1559.]
July 26.

504. CROFT TO CECILL.

The Regent hearing that the Congregation lying at Edinburgh had begun to "scale," sent with great diligence the Duke and Monsieur Dosel, with as I think about 1200 Frenchmen, the Duke and his friends being "toward" 500 men. A very few of the lords and gentlemen of the Merse and Tevedale were with them. On coming near Edinburgh on Monday, the Protestants put themselves "in battaylle" without the town above Holyroodhouse, and so did the French. But both sides on communicating, took a respite for 3 days—each side meantime strengthening itself. The Congregation stand firmly that "religion goo forwarde" and the French be expulsed. The latter are in Leith, and on the 28th the Regent marches from Dunbar, guarded by one "ensigne" of Frenchmen lying there, and another ensign which lay at Aymouth, and is marching this day to Dunbar. They have asked me to send and view Aymouth before they leave. I knew of the French going to Edinburgh, but delayed advertising till I understood their object. Till the 3 days are past, there is little to say. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1559.
July 26.

505. CROFT TO CECILL.

I have presently received the inclosed from Kyrkcaldy, who has now declared himself plainly, and is with the Protestants. The Regent suspected him for speaking with Master Percy and me. You may consider his letter, with the opinion in mine of the 22d instant. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

½ *p. Partly cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "With the newes of the Composition."

Inclosed in the same:—

(Kyrkcaldy to Croft.)

On Monday 23d of July the Queen and lords of Congregation are

Elizabeth.
1559. agreed thus. The armies being in sight between Edinburgh and Leith, our adversaries sent mediators, desiring us to agree and cease blood shedding, if we would fulfil what we professed. "Me lordes" moved by these offers, were content to commune, and after long talk, it is appointed thus. [*Here follow the conditions of the articles No.* 500] We have delivered the printing "yrnnes" of the coin, which we took, as the money was corrupted against law. We believe never a word of these promises will be kept on her side, and have taken the Duke, Huntly and the rest of her nobility, bound to performance, with condition if she breaks any point, they shall renounce her "obeysance" and join with us. Meantime we keep our forces together in Fife, Angus, Strathern and the "Westland," and doubt not to become stronger, for the hearts of the whole "communalties" are with us. To conclude, if it had not been for some noble men who had promised to join us, "we hade not appoontted with the Quene at this tym." Henceforward send to the laird of Ormyston who will see all safely conveyed to me. Edinburgh, 24th July. *Signed:* "Youris at power." ["W. Kyrkcaldy" *has been written, but obliterated by the receiver in darker ink.*]

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 28. **506.** CECILL TO ARGYLL, GLENCAIRN, &c.

Acknowledging their letters of 19th to the Queen and to himself "a parte," brought by the bearer on the 26th. While sympathising with their objects (1) against idolatry (2) for liberty—doubts whether all sorts of men may so do, or some only? in the latter case who may? Will not determine this, but moves it for their consideration. Doubts if they are taking the right way against the papist kirkmen, who are wise in their generation, bold and rich, but if touched with fear, are the greatest cowards. He likes no spoil, but to see good things put to good uses, as enriching the Crown, help of the young nobility, maintenance of ministry, learning in schools, &c.; knows no better example hereof than Denmark. Thinks them negligent against their enemy—not expelling the French—who burn their own daily, and will not spare Scotland. What may the Duke expect, whose eldest son was forced to flee for his life to Geneva? and his second, lord David, cruelly imprisoned by Monsieur Chevigny one chosen to oppress the Scots; also his duchy of Chastelherault seized by the Crown? While the young Queen swears to destroy all the house of Hamilton, yet the "old Regent" can enchant the Duke's ears to hear nothing. God open his heart and prevent his being the "slawghter man" of his own family! England is not so void of wit and zeal to God as not to favour the lords' purposes, but war is a matter of weight, not to be entered on unforeseen or unprovided for. Has committed much credit to the bearer, whose fidelity he likes well.

4½ *pp. Holograph draft by Cecill, carefully corrected. Indorsed* (by him): "28 Julij" 1559. "Cop. of my lettre to the Erles of Argile, Glencarne, Lord Prior St. Andr., lordes Boyde, Ucheltrey."

July 28. **507.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.

Having seen their letters "by this bringer," and heard from Sir

Elizabeth. 1559. William Cecill his further advertisement, express good will and devotion towards their maintenance of God's glory, and liberty from captivity of strangers, and will them not to think such godly and honorable enterprises shall be neglected, but their hope that "this famous Ile" may be conjoined in hearts as it is in continent with one sea, uniformity of language, manners and conditions. Refer them to letters written by Cecill, and wish them all such comfort as they themselves would have in like case. Otford. *Signed:* Penbroke, F. Bedford, Wm. Northt' (Northampton), W. Howard.

½ *p.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "28 Julij 1559 lettre of the Counsell to the lordes of Scotland. Not sent."

(1) Draft of the same.

1 *p.* *Holograph of Cecill.* *Indorsed:* "27 Julij 1559. The lordis lettres to the lordes of Scotland."

July 29. **508.** CECILL TO CROFT.

Yesterday I dispatched Whytlaw lacking the best of our answer, by reason of their cold proceedings against the French, and also I looked daily for Knox's coming hither—which I now hear is delayed till Whytlaw's return. Ye shall give good ear to the Queen's dealing with Lord Hume, and likewise keep the Protestants, neither by her persuasion, or lack of comfort here, from any accord with the French, which would be to their own ruin and our peril. As ye see cause, assure them of our help before the time of their danger, and they shall shortly hear of some money for a beginning, but in this is meant such proceeding as the Queen shall not be therewith in honour committed.

This day I hear of 22 sail provided at Newhaven in France, 4 only men of war, for 2000 men. Their captains are gone post to Court, to return the last of this month, but their men will scarce be ready. Two ships are ready to sail in advance to warn the Regent of the rest. I look hourly to hear from France, since the King of Navarre's coming, how the house of Guise and he will part the government. I think it necessary my lord of Northumberland have his wardenry in some readiness to aid that piece.* Though he is not uncareful, I must also show my care. Let the treasurer certify the state of his office and debts there, very uncertain to me for the extraordinary expense of these works.

2 *pp.* *Fair copy, underlined in parts as if indicating cipher.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "29 Julij" 1559. Cop. of my lettre to Sir James Croftes."

1559. July. Cott. Calig. B. x. fol. 17. **509.** ARMS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, &c.

A shield in colours, 4 grand quarters: I. 1st and 4th France, 2 and 3 a dolphin; II. Scotland impaling France and England quarterly; III. Scotland; IV. France and England quarterly impaling

Elizabeth.
1559. Scotland. In pretence, France in chief, England in base dimidiated (?) An imperial crown over shield.

In compartment at foot.—"The armes of Marie Quene Dolphines of France, the nobillest ladie in earth, for till advance off Scotland quene, and of Ingland, also off Ireland, als God haith providit so."

Broad sheet. Initialed: "Armes of Scotland and England, July 1559, sent out of Franc." *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "the fals armes of Scotland, France, England, Julij 1559."

Aug. 1. **510.** CROFT TO CECILL.

The Laird of Ormiston sent word last night that the Duke will side with the Protestants, and leave the Regent in two [days]. If he keep appointment, things will go well. On the 28th July, the townsmen were called into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and asked who would hear mass? and who not? With one voice they answered they would not leave their profession, and departed. Morton was suspected by the Regent and has left the Court. On the last of July the Master of Maxwell escaped out of Edinburgh castle, greatly increasing the Protestants' strength. A messenger is come requesting me to send to see how Aymouth is rased. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Aug. 3. **511.** CROFT TO CECILL.

As I could not conveniently put the inclosed articles from the protestants of Scotland, into cipher, I have sent them by a "thorow post" for safe delivery.

Mr Knox's coming on 1st instant to Holy Island by sea to meet Sir Henry Percy and me secretly, was so well known and published that it will breed great suspicion. But he is so secretly brought to this castle, that my speaking with him may be suspected but not known. He delivered these articles, &c. To declare all their meaning as he showed it to me, would make "a lardge paraphrasis" not easy to understand, so as to resolve an answer, unless some men were there to answer objections. But he says they will clearly leave France, and make amity with England as strait and firm as the Queen will devise, looking in return for aid of men and money—the Queen to consent to their proceedings, and send some men to advise and counsel their doings. Now you see the enterprise in hand is to set forth God's word, and therewith subvert one estate for another form, which will not be without charges, and peradventure *cum sudore et sanguine:* thus requires good deliberation on the aid, the charges, and when to spend and when to spare. I would I were with you for 3 hours, "though my body bare paye to post so far." I said to Knox I saw not how the Queen could league with them till an authority were established. He said they would elect among themselves whom she thought meetest; and desired that Arran might be sent for and secretly kept in England, till wise men considered what was in him; if misliked, he put the Prior of St Andrews second.

Elizabeth.
1559. Last night I received your letter dated after you dispatched Whytlaw, who is not yet come. I declared the contents to Knox who returns to Scotland to-night. He excuses the Protestants, for the French coming on them at Edinburgh when their people had gone for victuals, forced them to make composition with the Queen; wherein (he says) the French are to leave Scotland by the 15th instant, and the Duke on breach of this by the Queen will join the Protestants.

I have sent Mr Treasurer's brother to instruct you what money is owing, whereof I trust you will take order. Mr Knox desires answer of the articles. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

I thank you for obtaining the tithes I sued for, and pray you give the Queen's majesty my humble thanks.

3½ *pp.* *Holograph.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same :—

(Knox's Instructions.)

Given "the penult of Julij 1559"—

[*Under 11 heads numbered.*]

He shall declare, (1) to those to whom he is directed, this is different from all previous leagues; (2), the number of nobility, towns, &c., desiring it; (3), that the barons accuse the lords of privy council of delay in seeking aid; (4), that the Duke and Huntly will join them on their honours if the Regent breaks appointment, the heads of which he can declare; (5), the amount of aid required; (6), that the Queen and Council dress the Scottish borderers "to our effect" specially the Homes and Kerrs; (7), that the English occupy Aymouth, lest the enemy again take it; (8), that if furnished with money, the lords will enterprise taking Stirling as the key between North and South; (9), that Broughty and the fort be taken for the safety of Dundee and St Johnston; (10), that the Scots will be enemies to the enemies and friends to the friends of the English if this league be concluded, and will never contract with France without their consent; (11), that this league is first for the glory of God, the true preaching of Christ Jesus, and right administration of his sacraments within this isle, and suppression of the tyranny and superstition of "that Romane Antechrist" in the same, and second, that the liberties, laws, &c., of both these realms may remain inviolate by any foreign power, and they will never invade England, though provoked thereto by France, or suffer others to molest it.

These articles were given to me with power to explain any obscurity. As under the 5th article, that garrisons must be laid among them, and men and ships held in readiness to assist, and respect had to some of the nobility, who cannot sustain such households as are requisite in these troubles; for the Regent's practice is to stir up enemies in the parts where each nobleman dwells. Further I was to "speak" Sir Henry Percy, touching Lord Marchel, that his entry might be prolonged if the Earl his father agreed to assist the lordes. Lastly that horses might be sold them at reasonable prices. There are the chief heads I was commanded to communicate with you and Sir Henry Percy; desiring you to signify them to the Queen or such of her Council as you think fit, and also to Percy, "and be

Elizabeth.
1559. "diligent for Christis saik. The Spreit of wisdom rest with yow now and ever."

I thought superfluous to write to M^r Secretary Cecill as ye know the whole case. The heads noted thus (†)* are to be specially answered with diligence. Send this "ticket" to Sir Henry Percy for my discharge, and these letters addressed to "Maistres Bowes," deliver to M^r George her son, for she longs to know my estate. They are dated at S^t Andrews "from whence ye may alledge ye have receaved them." . . . "Thus yet I desier your felicitie in Christ Jesus."

4 *pp. Holograph of Knox. Evidently to Croft. No fly leaf.*

Aug. 4. **512.** PERCY TO CECILL.

Since I left Norham, M^r Knox arrived at Holy Island, so unsecretly, that it is openly known both in England and Scotland. He has not been discreet, for the Dowager has "sore burthened me," both by writing to lord Northumberland, and messages yesterday by lord Bothwell and Sir James Magill, that I had conferred with the Prior of S^t Andrews and the Congregation, whereby I shall be mistrusted, but I am assured she cannot prove it. Sir James Croft has told me his communing with Knox, and certified you, and I enclose M^r Knox and the Lord Prior's letters to me that you may see their doings in this weighty matter.

I have been at Tynemouth, and finding no man save one priest in the house, have left Raulph Lowraunce and 12 of my men to keep it. I demanded of my lady Hilton the delivery of the house and all things of the Queen's by right, whereon she sent a servant with me and took a note of the munition and artillery, but would not deliver as by indenture she received it—saying the indenture was not there—so I took the house only. On Thursday next she has promised her indenture shall be ready. If I took the house as the lady would deliver it, there would be neither door, lock, key, forms or boards, mill, brewhouse or anything except munition and ordnance, for as she says Sir Thomas Hilton bought it all. So I shall not receive thus till I hear your pleasure. Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Percy.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Knox to Percy.)

Though very desirous to see him (his commission being to him as well as Croft) from the short time and uncertainty where he was, he was compelled to return—but has left the whole matter in Sir James' hands, beseeching early answer. M^r Kyrkcaldy salutes him. Holy Island, 2^d August 1559, "att nyght in great haist." *Signed:* John Knox.

Postcript.—The Protestant lords commanded him to desire the favour of prolongation of the entry of Lord Marischal Sir Henry's prisoner, in case they wrote therefor; for if his father the Earl could

* These are 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11.

Elizabeth.
1559. be assured of their part, the presence of the young man would comfort them. They believe their appointment will not stand, for the Regent has already broken it, and they will be no longer bound than they are able to make their party good on the field. He will please signify to Knox or Kyrkcaldy his pleasure in this case—for the lords will not write, except assured of his good will.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(2) (The Prior to Percy.)

"Traist freind we resavit your wrytting with maist harty thankis, and sal do heirfrom conform to the samyn, God willing." The man you desired to come, shall (if it please God grant opportunity) come in by the West Border and meet you in Alnwick or Newcastle within 8 or 10 days—referring till then all other things. We also received your cipher and shall use it accordingly.

¼ *p.* *No address or signature.* *The* "ticket" *referred to in Knox's instructions.*

Aug. 4. **513.** CROFT TO CECILL.

Whytlaw came hither yesterday, and same night departed with M[r] Knox to Scotland. It seems you looked to speak with Knox, who says he cannot be long from his flock, and is also unmeet to treat of so great matters; thinking rather that M[r] Henry "Berneves" or some other wise man may be sent to you. It is more than time to determine, for I see great peril to both realms by "tracting" time. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

¾ *p.* *In cipher, deciphered.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Aug 5. **514.** CROFT TO CECILL.

I received this day your letter dated at Otford 1[st] August, and have sent the letter out of France to the Protestants, of whom I am in good hope, knowing they intend to assemble against the French. Last night I spoke with Master James Mahil secretly, who says the most of the Regent's council are bent with the Protestants, and I hope things will go forward. I shall need the advice of Sir John Forster for practise with the borderers. He is a very wise man, but as my lord of Northumberland is not his friend, he will not act for fear of his displeasure, unless it pleased you to let me warrant his using cipher with me without danger of law. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

The protestants want not persuasions sufficient for the purpose.

1 *p.* *Cipher, deciphered.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Aug. 6. **515.** KNOX TO CROFT.

We arrived safely (not without danger, for our brother A[lex[r]] W[hytlaw] was chased 3 miles) with the lords, to wit two; and for the absence of the rest, a convention is appointed at "Glaskeu" this 10[th] August, when all things shall be proponed, and the certainty signified

Elizabeth.
1559. to you with expedition. I must tell you unless the Council are forward in this common action, you will utterly discourage the hearts of all here, for they cannot "abyd the crym of suspition." They will not trifle, but if unsupported will seek the next remedy (I mean not returning to France) to preserve their own bodies, whatever become of the country, which our enemies can easily occupy. Whereon make your account what may ensue to yourself. Thank the gentleman for his horses, whereof deliver him one, and the other I shall send by next messenger. Stirling, "in great hast." *Signed:* John Knox.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Aug. 6. **516.** ARGYLL AND THE PRIOR TO CROFT.

We understand by our last messenger as well our friends' good minds as the things that offend them, and magnify God for bowing the hearts of men to favour truth, equity and justice, which God is witness we only mean: but we are sorry to be judged slow negligent and cold in our proceedings by those whom we most especially favour. You know sir, how difficult it is to persuade a multitude to "revolt of" established authority. Last time we were pursued, our enemies were thrice our number, and the castle of Edinburgh declared against us, which was one cause of our appointment. God grant our friends no less fervency than has appeared amongst us, our strength, substance and number considered! We mean nothing but simplicity and brotherly conjunction without delay (for we hate all doubleness), and have appointed a convention at Glaskew, where all shall be resolved, and yourself certified. We received your commendations by the messenger, and your good and fervent mind, wherein we heartily desire you to continue. Stirling. *Signed:* Ar[d] Ergyll, James Sanctandr.

1 *p. Written by Knox. Addressed* (by him). *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Aug. 6. **517.** THE QUEEN TO NORTHUMBERLAND.

Signifying that she has sent Sir Ralph Sadleyr to join in commission with him and Sir James Croft, and meet like commissioners for Scotland to reform unredressed border offences—willing the Earl to certify the Queen Dowager of Scotland thereof, and to give full credit to Sadleyr who has received her instructions.

1½ *pp. Draft corrected by Cecill. Indorsed.*

Aug. 7. **518.** THE QUEEN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

Signifying that since the late treaty of Upsetlington many disorders have occurred, the want of redress thereof she cannot ascribe to one thing more than to the travail the Dowager has lately sustained by the unrulyness and dissension "of dyvers there, wherof we have bene for your parte very sorry."* But these being now well appeased by the Dowager's good wisdom, and Ross herald being lately sent by her to require English commissioners therein, she has sent an expert man in frontier affairs, Sir Ralph Sadler knight, to join with her

* These words in quotation added by Cecill.

Elizabeth.
1559. cousin of Northumberland and Sir James Croft in reforming these disorders with speed.

4 *pp. Draft, corrected by Cecill. Indorsed* (partly by him).

Aug. 8. **519.** INSTRUCTIONS TO NORTHUMBERLAND, SADLEIR AND CROFT.

They are to send one with the Queen's letter to the Queen Regent to move her to expedition, and employ themselves in mutual redress with the Scots, &c., and do their endeavour for ransoming prisoners; but without the Queen's advice, neither Lord Gray nor the Earl Marshal's son both prisoners of great value, "be not acquite nor prised," but if necessary revoked within her realm.

1¼ *pp. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by him).

[1559. Aug. 8.] **520.** THE QUEEN TO SADLEIR.

Authorizing him to treat with any person of Scotland, there or in England for her service, and reward them out of 3000*l.* in gold delivered to him for the purpose, all so secretly as to impair no part of the late treaties between her self and the "King and Quene of Scotland." Referring him to a memorial by her Secretary. [Nonsuch.]

1 *p. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by him). *See Add. MSS.* 4754, 51. *and Sadler Papers* I. 391.

1559. Aug. 8. **521.** MEMORIAL FOR THE QUEEN.

In the matter of M^r^ Sadler.—[*Under 7 heads not numbered.*]

First, that he understand how proceedings there differ from our intelligences, and act accordingly, quicklier or slower.

Item. To nourish the faction against the French, and thus render the latter less busy here. This by provoking those who lately stirred the Regent to perform her promises, and showing them the French will never trust them again.

Item. To procure the Duke to oppose any governance there except by the blood of Scotland, to preserve his expectant interest in the Crown, wherein he ought to be earnest, for if the French subdue religion, they will subdue the realm and "extirpe" his house.

Item. If this be compassed, then the nobility may require their Queen to make perpetual peace with us: and to any objection that she falsely pretends title to our Crown: this is only as descended of Henry 7^th^, whereto none [other?] of Scotland pretend.

Item. The Duke may as well arrest Monsieur D'Oysel and other Frenchmen to answer for his 2 sons the Earl and Lord David, as the French have done in driving away the one and imprisoning the other, though no subjects there.

Item. To explore the very truth, whether Lord James enterprises towards the Crown for himself or no? And if he do, and the Duke be cold in his own cause, it may not be amisse to let Lord James follow his own device, without interference.

Item. Let him accelerate any disposition to rid away the French,

Elizabeth.
1559. thus—that if they tarry till French aid comes, they shall find them abide longer than they would.

1½ *pp. Official copy. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "8 Aug. 1559. For the Q. majesty. Sir Raff Sadler."

Aug. 9. **522.** THE DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT TO CECILL.

I understand by this bearer, the great kindness ye have shown him coming to me for the "veill" of my son the Earl of Arran, for which I thank you heartily, "and thinkis me gretumlie addettit to you thairfor." Praying you for help to my son for his passport hither from the Queen, as in a writing I have directed to herself, "quhilk I beleif ye vilbe participant of." Hamilton. *Signed:* Yowr lowffing and asswret gud frend leffwllye, James.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Aug. 10. **523.** THE QUEEN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

We perceive by letters from our cousin of Northumberland, written 6th and brought to us this day, that he has received your letters dated Edinburgh 1st hereof, by the hands of James Macgill, signifying that you had appointed Earl Bothwell, Lord Hume and the Laird of Cessford, to meet our commissioners. We have "prevented" you therein, and 2 days past dispatched Sir Raff Sadler knight, with commission under our great seal to our said cousin, himself, and Sir James Croft, to meet with yours, not doubting much good shall ensue. Our other letters shall be delivered by Sir Raff.

1 *p. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed.*

Aug. 10. **524.** THE KING AND QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN.

Requesting safe conduct for Master Patrick Waus and 8 companions to pass between Scotland and France, through England, for a year. Under their signet, and subscribed by their mother Queen "Dowriar" and Regent. Edinburgh, 1st and 17th of their reigns. *Signed:* Your gud sester ant alya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed:* ". . . Q. of Scotland to the Q. majestie."

Aug. 13. **525.** ARGYLL AND THE PRIOR TO CECILL.

We received your letters and credit by our messenger Mr Whitlaw on the 6th at Stirling, not so full and plain as we expected; for in our simplicity, referring to your "wisdomes" the means whereby these two realms might be joined in perpetual amity, we looked for some special heads, which should either have been granted and a man sent to you with full credit, or answered with like simplicity as before. But the chief part of your letter consisting in advice "(good and fruictfull we grant, bot impossible unto ws nou to be performed)," and showing us dangers already foreseen, we were in doubt how to say more, but will briefly touch these points:—(1) Touching your doubts who should make this reformation: our consciences are

Elizabeth.
1559. fully persuaded it not only appertains to us as part of the nobles and council, to provide that the ancient liberties of the realm be freed from tyranny of strangers, but also to abolish (God assisting us) all manifest idolatry and maintainers, wherein though power hath failed us, good will has not lacked, howsoever we be judged by those who have not seen our danger. Your comfort and joy under your natural rulers, no less rejoices us, than our grief under strangers' rule displeases ourselves, who hoped for your aid in setting us at like liberty; (2) we know well the popish kirkmen are crafty, rich, malicious and blood thirsty, and gladly would have their riches otherwise bestowed: but consider, sir, we have against us the established authority, which ever favoured you and Denmark in all your reformations: and that without support we cannot bring them to such obedience as we desire. Our danger by the army prepared in France, first moved us to seek your support, and then to send our other messenger Master Knox to Sir James Croft, with full instructions, whereof we desire your plain mind and full answer, that we may either join you for defence, or provide otherwise. We judge you not void of zeal to God or good will to us, and look for support whatever the danger of re-entering war with France; (3) though we have tempted the Duke by all possible means, he will only give a general promise not to be our enemy. We cease not provoking men to favour our cause and have formed a council of the nobles, but suddenly to discharge "this authorite" till you and we are accorded, is not expedient. We heartily desire the Council use plainness and simplicity with us, and promise the same as far as flesh may, for our enterprises we think should free us of suspicion of doubleness, without further pledge. We trouble the Queen with no letter, having yet no answer of our former. Glasgow. "Your loofing and assurit freindis in name of the rest." *Signed:* Ar^d^. Ergyll, James Sanctandr.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Aug. 15. **526.** KNOX TO CECILL.

I had double impediment for not visiting you as expected. "Formar," I had no signification of your pleasure, for only Sir Hary Percy willed me to "speak him," which I could not, for the Frenchmen (the second and chief cause) then most furiously pursued us, whill * our company was dispersed (the lords and their quiet households only excepted), and I durst not be absent. Nor was my presence necessary, considering the matter "wich long I had thrusted," was opened by those after whom it becomes me not to speak. Would that ye had sent them a more plain and especial answer. For albeit that M^r^ Whytlaw in his credit, M^r^ Kyrkcaldy by his letter, and I both by your letter and what Sir James Croft declared, did affirm your good minds to them, yet some of the council (those of greatest experience) were persuaded that this alteration in France had changed your former purpose. As the favour we three bear to England is not unknown to our countrymen, we beg that your favour and good minds may rather appear to the council by your own writings than

* Until.

Elizabeth.
1559. by any credit committed "till" any of us. The case stands thus—unless without delay money be furnished to pay these gentlemen's soldiers (now but 500) and retain another 1000 foot and 300 horse, every man will be compelled to seek his own safety. I am assured (as flesh may be of flesh) that some will take a very hard life before they compone either with the Regent or France—but dare not promise this for all, unless they see in you greater forwardness for their support. To aid us so liberally as we require, will appear excessive to some of you: to displease France, to many dangerous: but Sir, I hope ye will consider that our destruction were your greatest loss, and when France is our full master (which God avert) they will be but slender friends to you. I heard Bouttencourt brag in his credit, after delivering his "manassing" letters to the Prior, that the King and Council would spend the crown of France unless they had our full obedience. Unless they had a farther respect,* they would not buy our poverty at that price! They labour to corrupt some of our great men with money (and some as I said before, are so poor they cannot serve without support). Some they threaten, and against others have raised up a party in their own country. If ye lie neutrals, ye may easily conjecture the end. Some of the Council after sight of your letters, immediately departed not well appeased. Argyll is gone to put his country in order, and will shortly return with his force if your support is assured. So will the gentlemen in these low parts also do their uttermost if ye assist them. "Therefor in the bowelles of Christ Jesus I requyr you Schir to mak plane answer what thei may lippen to,"† and when it will be ready? (How dangerous is the drift of time in such matters, ye are not ignorant). It was much marvelled the Queen wrote no manner of answer, considering that her father "(the most noble and most redowbeted of his tym)" disdained not to write lovingly to men fewer in number and far inferior in authority and power than these that wrote to her grace. It was answered, that her father being established of long time in authority, also feared loved and fully obeyed of his subjects and Council, might suddenly do many things dangerous to her grace to enterprise. This satisfied some, but not all. It is thought very necessary you comfort the Master of Maxwell by letters, for his assistance may greatly promote this cause. S^{t} Andrews. *Signed:* John Knox.

Haste answer of the "formar Articles," for we have great need of comfort at present. If ye lose the hearts of those here, ye may hereafter feel what now ye fear not. Labour (if ye think expedient) my licence to preach from Durham north, whereby ye shall know more of my mind. This other letter is to be sent to the gentleman from whom we get news out of France. The ambassador knows him.

3 *pp. Holograph, closely written. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Aug. 16. **527.** W. (?) FORBOYS TO CECILL.

"Thes salby to pray your goudnes be so goud as for to gar send thes letill wryting wytht yowris to my lord Duk, for I thocht to a spokin wytht your honour or ye went avay: bot I am so sur of your goudnes that ye woull wryt your self to my lord Duk of soum of your

* Object. † *i.e.*, look for.

Elizabeth.
1559. "novellis, for he woulby waray glaid to onderstand soum of thaym." London, "thes Fursday." *Signed:* W. Forboys.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "16 Augusti 1559, M^r^ Forbosh."

Aug. 16. **528.** JEAN DE FAUBUSSON TO . . . LOUVEL.

Is very sorry [fort maorn] that he has not sooner sent the promised "pillulles," but sends a little "masse" of 2 drachms weight to be taken at two times, making 5 pills of each half, swallowed without chewing ["avalleres sans masche"] at 2 or 3 a.m., keeping his bed till 9 hours. Has not sent them strong for fear of his "estomach." If he finds them good, to let him know, as also if his deafness is better or worse, for in the latter case, he will send all things necessary. Prays to be humbly remembered to "monseigneur le General et a madame la Generalle."* Edinburgh. "Votre bien affectionne et meilleur amy."

1 *p. French. Holograph* (?) *Addressed:* "A monsieur Louvel secretaire de monseigneur le general et gouverneur du chasteau et ville de Barvuic." *Indorsed:* "Le 16 de Aoust 1559, monsieur Jehan de Faubusson hipoticarye a la Raine Decosse."

Aug. 16. **529.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

We have received your letter, "of Nonesuche" the 7^th^ instant, bearing that the "Kingis ambassadour thare resident" gave you to understand that lately some of your ministers on the Borders, should have "sum intelligence in this lait tyme of oure disquiet, with certane of the disordourit parte here, quhilk albeit ye can nocht bot fynd verray strange, yit becaus ye haif nocht understand the particulariteis thairof, ye desire ws to declare the verray treuth sa fer as thairin is to be knawin, to thend ye may gif dew ordour for ponisment of that quhilk salbe fund amys. As we wer ever fullie persuadit in our hart thut thir disordouris culd na way be plesant unto you, being ane princes of sic honour, quhilk for thexemplis saik we evir belevit ye wald myslik, and nowther allow the autouris thairof, nor yit suffir your subjectis of youre knawlege, to favour thame, sa being mare amplie assurit of youre gude will heirin be youre said lettre, we ar glaid of the samyn, and doutis nocht bot theffect sall follow, and that according thairto, ye will, be outwart deid, declare how far ye ar grevit that ony youre officiaris suld intermedle with sic sort of peple. As to the particulariteis, we gaif the said ambassatour tunderstand sa fer as wes reportit unto us; quha, gif he hes nocht done it alreddy, will declare the samyn sufficientlie unto you. Praying you to gif him ferme credence tharin as to oure self." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 20. **530.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

Since my (Sir Ralph's) arrival, we have conferred on "this secret

* Sir James and Lady Croft.

Elizabeth.
1559. affayree" which the Queen has committed to us; and though unable to judge "what is to be hoped for certenly at their handes whom we have to do withall," we think it good policy to encourage them. And thinking it not amiss they should hear of my arrival, as a secret messenger from Knox was then here, I Sir James have written to the "saide Knox," and desired M[r] Henry Balnaves or some such discreet man, might come to confer with us secretly.

Nothing could more advance affairs than to hasten Arran to Scotland, who would be more esteemed than his father; for though the Duke has left the Regent's party, he is not so inclined to the other as they like, albeit they are in good hope of him. They make little account of the French power looked for,—as if it came, it would but stir and irritate the Scots to join together and expel them. I Sir James understand from Knox they would require the Queen's aid for pay of 1500 arquebusiers and 300 horse, then (as he says) France would see their minds. If this be asked (and we intend not to answer "so as they shalbe without hope thereof") we would wish the Queen's pleasure, and that the opportunity be not lost, even for spending a great deal more than their demand amounts to. In our poor minds, her highness must be at some charge,—"for of bare woordes onely, can they receyve no comforte"—and bestowing 2000 or 3000 crowns in relief of those who have spent their all, may do good. If no effect follow, her highness must account she has thrown it into the sea. She must either adventure loss of some money, or else leave them to them selves; "for we see not that the meane can serve the turne in this parte."

We are thus bold to express our poor minds, as men desirous to do our duty, beseeching your often instructions of the Queen's pleasure, and advertisements out of France, whereby to direct our doings. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

3 *pp. Written by Sadleir. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Aug. 24. **531.** THE KING AND QUEEN OF SCOTS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for Robert Boig and 6 other lieges, between Scotland, France, &c., through her realm, for a year. Under their signet and subscribed by the Queen Mother and Regent. Edinburgh, 1[st] and 17[th] of their reigns. *Signed:* Your gud se(s)ter and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 28. **532.** COMMISSION TO THE EARL OF BOTHWELL, &C.

Francis and Mary by the grace of God King and Queen of the French and Scots, &c., appoint James Earl of Bothwell lord Haillis and Creichton, Admiral, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington knight, and Sir Walter Ker of Cesford knight, warden of the middle marches, their commissioners to treat with those of England for ransom of prisoners made in the late war. Under their great seal and subscribed by the Queen Dowager Regent. Edinburgh, 1[st] and 17[th] of their reigns.

1½ *pp. Latin. Copy in somewhat later hand.*

Elizabeth.
1559. Aug. 28. **533. . . .** MENVILLE TO CECILL.

Understanding that the Master of "Mawkeswell" has escaped out of prison without licence of the Regent, I thought good to advertise you of the Master's conditions and friends. He has the order of the young lord Maxwell his brother's son and all his lands. His own wife is one of the daughters and heirs of my lord Harrys, and he has by her lands near Dumfries, and many gentlemen of his own blood and name, as the Kirkmichaels, Kirkpatricks and Johnsons inhabiting Nithsdale, Galloway and Annandale. He has an abbey in Galloway called Dondrannan. After this escape he cannot refuge in Scotland, or in France, Spain or Savoy, being allies, and if he has been twice imprisoned by the Regent, as I have heard say, for requiring entertainment to maintain his office as she promised, thus incurring her high displeasure, he never can trust her. And I conclude he and his friends have no sure way to work on but the assistance of England; but for the conduct of his father prisoner at "Salamose" * breaking promise to the late King, it may be he fears to have no help or credit here. But if the Queen pleases to make proof of the Master, or have him spoken with secretly, I shall do my diligence either to bring him in "most queyt maner" to her presence, or bring his offers so to her grace. I shall also if it is her pleasure, do my diligence to set forth a plott of the towns and castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, or any other service in my power.

Postscript: I think it requisite the letters be in "scyfors," the counter ciphers to remain with your honours, and also sent to the Master in a letter closed and "sceallyd with the Quenes singnet," and so the conveyance "to and froo" only depend on me, who could lie in Northumberland and work your business in the West March. This might be easily done, for the Laird of Buccleuch named Scott, is near akin to "Mawkeswell," and the Scotts depending on him are many gentlemen of worshipful living; among whom the Master might easily appoint one in the Merse, Tevydale or Jedworth forest, for his business. The hardest point is how to break the matter to him, and if your honours charge me to pass quietly in Scotland, the danger is not great, for his many friends there, Scotts, Humes and Rudderfords, "ys iij great landes" of gentlemen, and after passing them, I enter on West March neighbours.

If your honours have any business in Angus, 20 miles north of Edinburgh beyond Tay, I am well acquainted with the lord of Bonyngton named Wodd who was my prisoner at "Penkay fild," his uncle Davy Wodd that was "controwler" of Scotland, and the lord of Balbigno [Bowlebiggeno] named Wodd, all near kinsmen to my lord Ogilbe a great lord there: also with Master Patrick Buchanan [Bowgheannon] an earnest protestant, servant to "my lord Dewke," which also teaches my lord's children in "Straverin"; † and also with Master Alexander and Moungo Greame sons to my lord Greame. In Fife, "Mountythe, and Lennockes," I am acquainted with many lords and gentlemen, and can use my acquaintance there in the Queen's service.

3 *pp. Holograph. Not signed or addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "28 Aug. 1559. Menvilles report, M^r^ Maxwell."

* Solway Moss. † Strathaven (?)

Elizabeth.
1559. Aug. 29.

534. SADLEIR TO CECILL.

Though the Queen's pleasure was I should advise with Croft or Sir H. Percy, &c., I think the fewer are privy the better. I have only hitherto joined with Sir J. Croft, praying you that all letters from the Queen, the Council or yourself, be to us jointly. Surely he is best acquainted with the matter, wise and diligent. Sir H. Percy I have not seen, he has not been on the frontier for a good while before I came,—nor is he comparable to Croft. The Earl his brother is very unmeet for his charge here: I cannot be "close mouthed" when it concerns the Queen's service, and pray you take it in good part what I say about officers here.

Your pacquet "was methought fondely" directed by the clerk as to "the Quenes ambassadour resident uppon the frontiers of Scotlande": whereof I tell you for correction. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Your man promised to tell you I was at your house as I posted by. I like what is done, and the order of the rest as your man showed it, cannot but be fair. God send you money enough to end it with: other lack I see none. I have been a builder in my day, and never lacked money, so I think builders should not. I wish you go on with speed, for the sooner it is finished, the more pleasure and commodity you shall have.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 29.

535. SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

We have your letters of 24th, and shall do our diligence. Since my "Sir R. S." arrival, we have heard nothing from the Protestants —either because they are far off, or else waxen very cold in their business. Yet they have had sundry conventions, &c., at "Glascough" and Stirling, to what end we know not. The French, said to be 4 or 5 ensigns, are newly arrived in the Frith. We think they will stir up the Protestants: but if these "forslow" time, they will repent it. I Sir James will send the letters to the Duke of Chastellherault as soon as I can. On my Sir Rafe's arrival, we sent the Queen's letters to the Regent by the pursuivant of this town, and also of the Earl of Northumberland, to know her pleasure for our meeting her commissioners, and copy of her answer is inclosed. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

Postscript: I Sir James received the inclosed letter from Knox, answering somewhat to mine of Sir Rafe's arrival, and for desire to speak with Balnaves, &c. Note that he calls himself now "John Sinclear" in all the letters passing, by agreement of us both.

2 *pp. Holograph of Sadleir. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (The Queen Dowager to Northumberland, &c.)

Having received their letters, "of Warkworth" 19th instant, replies, that her intended commissioners being absent, some on the borders,—she has sent for them to receive her instructions, whereon they will certify those of England. Edinburgh, 23rd August 1559. La toute votre, Marie R.

½ *p. Copy by Sadleir's clerk.*

Elizabeth.
1559.

(2) (Knox to Croft.)

I despatched your letters to the lords, and doubt not ye shall receive answer with expedition. The Queen Regent, as I wrote before, is marvellous busy assembling all she can; has addressed ordnance, &c., to Stirling. She has corrupted (as is suspected) Lord Erskyn captain of Edinburgh Castle, hoping to receive it; but this will not hurt us so much as our enemies think, if other things are prudently foreseen. "Sche bruteht nothing but treasson and revolt from hir dowghteris authoritie, but men begyn to forsee somewhat mor then thei did not long ago." I wrote to you before, beseeching free and ready passage for my wife, as my "wicked carcas, now presentlie lauboring in the feveris, neadeht her service." I beseech you grant to the other man that comes for her, passport towards her for her better conducting. Londye in Fife, 23d of August 1559. *Signed:* Johne Sinclear, "in the myddes of the excess.*

"Read right, and interprett all to the best."

1 *p. Holograph, hurriedly written. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Mr Knox."

Aug. 30. **536. Treaty of Upsetlington.**

Ratification by the Queen, of the treaty with Scotland on 31st May last. Honour of Hampton Court.

1 *p. Copy in somewhat later hand.*

Aug. 31. **537. Memoranda as to Scotland.**
Lansd., iv. 26.

"A memoriall of certain pointes meete for restoring the realme of Scotland to the auncient weale."

[*Under 14 articles, not consecutively numbered.*]

[*Extracts.*]

The best "worldly felicitie" for Scotland, is either perpetual peace, or to be made one monarchy with England; for France must not be allowed to make it a "footestoole" to look over England. Unless a Scotsman "in blud" be ruler, no accord can be hoped for. While the Queen is in France with her husband, till she have children, the "House of Hameltons" as next heirs, must have regard hereto. "Idolatry" must be put down, as in England. No foreign officers to be employed—or native noblemen to receive a French pension. A council to govern in the Queen's absence without French direction, and to settle the crown revenues, between the Queen, home government and defence, and treasure chest. If the French King and the Queen agree not to these provisions, the Estates shall commit the governance to the next heir. "Fynally" if the Queen be unwilling to this, as is likely, for the "greedy and tyranneuse affection of Fraunce, then is it apparent that Almightie God is pleased to transferr from her the rule of that kingdom for the weale of it," and great care must be taken to avoid the "deceits and tromperies" of the French. The

* "Exies," *i.e.*, paroxysms.

Elizabeth.
1559. realm being thus free, may consider "what meanes may be devised through Godds goodnes, to accord the two realmes to endure for ever at the pleasure of the Almighty, in whose handes the hartes of all princes be."

2½ *pp. Fair copy by Randolph. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Art. pro consideratione. Angl. Scotie. Ultimo Augusti 1559."

(1) Another copy in *Cott. MSS. Calig. B.* x. 21.

Sept. 12. **538.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

On Sunday last about 2 a.m. the Earl of Arran was safely delivered to a friend in Teviotdale to conduct him secretly to his father. The Queen Regent, we hear, has refused to ask the Queen's safe conduct for divers Scots to traffic in England, wishing no resort by them there at present. Wherefore Balnaves and Whitlaw have required us to sue the Queen for such, and also licence to buy 10 geldings for the lords, as the enclosed memorial delivered by said Whitlaw shows. Yesterday the Earl of Northumberland and we met the Scottish commissioners, perusing commissions as accustomed. They found fault with our want of special powers, but in the end "refused not." We found fault with theirs, giving power only for attempts since last peace, and none to make ordinances for quiet, as we have. But we agreed to meet to-day on those two points till their commission is enlarged.* If it pleased you to enlarge ours, it will better content them. We offered to treat of the West March disorders—far larger than on these East and Middle—but they refused, as they have no warden there, as the case stands with the Master of Maxwell, and also special commissioners were always appointed there. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

2 *pp. A few words in cipher. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 14. **539.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Asking passport for her servitor John Levingston with 6 in company, sent to France on certain her affairs requiring expedition; also commission for post horses from London to the sea coast to further his journey. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

½ *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

(1) Similar of same date by the King and Queen, for James Melvill, James and John Levingstoun with a servant each, to pass through her realm to France, buy goods in England, and return, to endure for one year. Under their signet and subscribed by the Queen Dowager Regent. Edinburgh, 1st and 17th of their reigns. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: France quartered, impaling Scotland.*

* What follows written by Sadleir.

Elizabeth.
1559. Sept. 19.

540. SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

We have heard nothing of the Protestants since Balnavis left, but the bearer being desirous to return, we advertise by common bruit that the Scots rejoice greatly at Arran's return, devising much if he came through England: and the Regent in great "melancholie" and displeasure therewith. The congregation are assembling, the French devising for defence, and looking daily for the Marquis Del' Beuf and with him more aid. The English Graymes and others increase their incursions, and we learn that Lord Dacres lies at Carlisle, and winks at it, saying he has no command from the Queen neither to stay them nor to bid them ride, and they may do as they list. We say not it is true, but must think it by his will or negligence. We hear two of his servants returned last Thursday from the Regent, they say sent by him to ask her to appoint a warden there, to meet him for redress, &c. We do not see why he should send to her! for the English have done so much hurt they cannot redress it, and the Scots have been quiet and done nothing to England. You know what he is, and we think he would be very loath that the Protestants in Scotland, yea in England, should prosper if he might "lett" it. Of same sort is your warden of the East and Middle Marches. Judge how meet they are for a charge requiring men of wisdom, trust and good government! We refer this to the high powers, but meantime (under your reformation) think Lord Dacre should be straitly ordered to keep better rule. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

We suspect the Earl of Northumberland is advertised from time to time by Alen clerk of Council, of all secret matters concerning him or others.

2 *pp. Postscript in cipher. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

[1559.] Sept. 21.

541. ARRAN TO SADLEIR.

I have "derekit" the bearer with charge to show you "sic news as hes occurit in thir partes sens my awin hir coummin, quhilk I haive wrettin at linth to the Quenis secretari, praiand yow that ye will gar had thir letters to him in the surest maner and gretest diligens may be." I have written to Randell to come here, for he will do me "meikil steid," and pray you send him "of the sonest." Hamilton. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

Postscript: I have greatly to thank you for the trouble taken for me "desirand at God at sum day he grant me the moiens to recognost in your acht."

¾ *p. Holograph, also address:* "To the richt wirchifull and lufing freind Sir Raf Sadlar." *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Erl Arran."

Sept. 21.

542. CHATELHERAULT TO SADLEIR.

It has pleased God to conduct "oure" son safely unto "us," by whom "we" understand the friendship he has received at your hands, whereof "I" give you most hearty thanks, assuring you of the friendship "I" am able to do whenever ye shall require the same. "For his presence and saivty" is "my" greatest worldly rejoicing. Our

Elizabeth.
[1559.] proceedings since his coming "we" refer to the sufficiency of the bearer, whom please credit. From our place of Hammyltoun. *Signed:* Your lowffing frend, James.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

1559. Sept. 24. Eg. MSS. 1818, fol. 6.

543. COMMISSION TO MAITLAND.

The Duke of Chatelherault "and remanent of the nobilitie and counsale of Scotland," grant full power to William Maitland young laird of Lethington secretary of the realm, to treat and conclude with the Queen of England and Council, under his instructions. Stirling. *Signed:* James, Ar[d]. Ergyll, Alex[r]. Glencarn, Alex[r]. Arch. Commendator of Incheffray, James Stewart, Rothes, Patrick Ruthwen, R. Boyd, James Halyburtoun, Johnne of Menteht, William Murray of Tolibern, Wchiltre.

2 *pp. Broad sheet. Indorsed.*

Sept. 27. **544. SADLEIR TO CECILL.**

I have nothing to add to our common letter, but that the Regent has proclaimed in Merse and Lothian that no Scots bring victuals or traffic here on pain of death. This is to provide the French garrisons, and keep us from news, but in vain, for the Scots come as usual on market day. I hear she greatly suspects me, as I told you she would, before I came. But they can prove little, though they suspect much. I trust you will not forget me when my service can be spared, for this is an "ill place" to winter in.

You wrote that my lord Admiral and you would visit my poor house. If ye did, I am much bound, but having had no "salutacions" from thence as you promised, I pray you put me out of doubt by your next. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

[1559.] Sept. 27. **545. WHITLAW TO CECILL.**

By direction of the Duke, Arran, Argyll and the Prior, I declared by mouth to Master Sadler and the Captain, all things since Arran's homecoming, as in his letter delivered to be sent. It was no small comfort and well received of all men, and so well covered that the Regent can get no knowledge. People's hearts thirst for this unnatural war to be cut away.

Our defection from France is great, through the fortifying of Leith, slaughter and daily oppressions, as I refer to other writings. Berwick. *Signed.* Alex[r]. Whitlaw.

I have got no answer to my last letter.

Communicate some part of your mind to your poor friends. Poor men's counsel furthers this matter not a little; worldly men seek their own profit, not the common weal.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Elizabeth.
1559. Sept. 30. **546.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

We have received your letters of 22d and 23d which were 6 days coming, not so speedily as Bynkes posted to you with ours. We have told Whitlaw to say to the Master of Maxwell it is not the Queen's will he is cruelly used by the Grames, and to complain to us if again molested. We think it not meet to succour him secretly here, for he is well able to abide in his own country, and join the Protestants with his power when required. We think Lord Dacre should be called to Court, taking strait order for peace before departing. He may be well charged with negligence; were there no other cause his sickness last summer when he was in ill case, should unfit him for such a charge. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

1½ *pp. Cipher, deciphered by Cecill. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 4. **547.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Requesting audience and firm credence for M. le Croc the bearer, despatched to France on her affairs, and commanded to visit the Queen in passing on her behalf. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

½ *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 5 **548.** THE QUEEN TO SADLEIR.

Sending him 3000*l.* in gold by the bearer, for the purposes heretofore committed to him, and to advertise his proceedings. Westminster.

1 *p. Draft corrected by Cecill. Indorsed* (by him): ". . . to Mr Sadler with 3000li. by Overton."

Oct. 12. **549.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

By yours of the 5th we are glad to see Overton is sent with 3000*l.* We hear the Regent wrote reproving the Duke for joining the congregation, and their practises with the Queen. Yet her messenger talked of agreement, offering stay of the fortification of Leith, liberty of conscience, and the French to depart by a day—but the Duke answered he could do nothing without the lords, and dismissed him without hope of new agreement. The Duke refused to obey a gentle letter from Le Brosse and the Bishop of Amiens, requiring him in their sovereigns' names, to be at Edinburgh on 6th instant; and the rest of the lords answered to the Regent's summons for same day, that so long as a French soldier remained, or the fortification of Leith continued, they would not take her for a mother of their "commen wealthe." Lord Erskine has promised to keep the castle, and it is thought will be neuter for a time. For all our persuasions, the Protestants will not come forward sooner than appointed. They have lost much time which the French have gained. But the extreme and foul weather in the west and north, keeping their harvest far behind, may be the cause. The bruit of their musters is great, and also the courage and forwardness of Arran, who rides "to and fro" Hamilton, Stirling and St Andrews with 700 or 800 horse, 300 of them Hamiltons.

Elizabeth.
1559. The Regent said lately to a gentleman who told us, that the congregation first rose for religion, but now she sees "they shoute at another marke,"—the Duke and his son meaning to usurp the crown—but in defence of her daughter's right, and being unable to take the field, she fortifies Leith for the sake of the poor Frenchmen, and will hold it till further aid from France: saying it is well victualled and strong—which is strange if so soon done! but has removed all she has out of Holyrood house thither, and when the Protestants come, will go there, and to Inchkeith if necessary. She is in great perplexity, very weak and sickly, and some think "cannot long continewe." Randall is arrived at Hamilton, and we look hourly for some news. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

2 *pp. Partly cipher, deciphered by Cecill. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Oct. 14. **550.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

We have received from "Randall alias Barnabe" a letter in cipher, and send copy of the decipher; whereby you will see that in 10 days Lethington and he will repair hither in post, for what purpose we know not. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

¾ *p. Written by Sadleir. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Randall to Sadleir and Croft.)

He has received their letters and done their commands. Is uncertain as to coming, for Lethington has gone with the Regent to Leith. It is still purposed he shall go to her majesty with message from the nobles for amity, &c. Has seen the platt of Leith, and viewed it as near as he durst, finding it strong, but under manned. The Regent, and the Duke with the lords, have made contrary proclamations. They have chosen a council for policy—the Duke, Arran, Argyll, the Prior, Glencairn, Ruthven, Boyd, Maxwell, Dun, Patarrowe, Balnaves, Kirkcaldy and the Provost of Dundee. For religion, the bishop of Galloway, Knox, Goodman of England, and Willock. These last 3 preach daily. Balnaves came this day 21st, after sermon, requiring him to write of their proceedings since 18th [*detailed* No. 552] that the Regent be deposed by proclamation to-morrow, and 3000 more men be levied, all hope of concord being gone, as blood is drawn, &c. Kyrkcaldy has hastily requested the loan of some powder out of hand. "22 *hora tercia.*"

2½ *pp. Deciphered by Railton. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "22 Octobr. Randall to Sir R. Sadler." *Printed Sadler State Papers*, i. 509. [*This cannot be the letter referred to in the covering one, from its reference to Lethington's mission postponed.*]

Oct. 22. **551.** THE PROTESTANTS' COUNCIL.

"The Councell with thauutorite unto the nexte Parlement, erected by commen election [of] Erles lordes and barons presently convened at Edenbourge."

EARLS: "My lorde Dukes grace, and with hyme,* the Erle of Arrayne"; Argyll, Glencarne.

* Originally, "in hys absens."

Elizabeth.
1559.

LORDS: James of St Andrews, Ruthven, "the Maister Maxvell."
BARONS: Tulibarne, Dun, Pattarrow.
The provost of Dundee for boroughs.

Names of the 29 earls lords and barons from whom the forenamed 10 councillors were chosen.

EARLS: the Duke, Arran, Huntly, Eglinton; Argyll, Rothes, Morton; Glencarne, Marishall, Sutherland.
LORDS: Erskine, Ruthven, Hume; "of Athenes,"* the Prior, Livinston; Master Maxvell, Boyd, Ocheltre.
BARONS: Tulibarne, Glannourghay, Lundy.
LAIRDS: Dunne, Laureston, Conynghamhede, Cawder, Pattarrow.
PROVOSTS: Edinburgh, St Andrews, Dundee.

2½ *pp. In Randolph's hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "22 Octobr. 1559. The Protestantes of Scotland with the counsell established."

Oct. 19–23. **552.** THE LORDS TO THE QUEEN REGENT.

Having your anwser, and heard the credit of Lyon king of arms, and gathering your perseverance in evil mind to us, the glory of God, common weal and liberty of our country: We in name of our sovereign lord and lady, have suspended your commission and pretended administration, as directly contrary to their wills. And as your grace will not acknowledge us, their true lieges, for your subjects and council, no more will we "knowledge" you for regent; for if any authority ye have by our said sovereigns' commission, it is for most weighty reasons suspended by us in their names, whose council we are "of native byrthe," and being determined at the hazard of our lives to free that town wherein you have most wrongfully planted your foreign soldiers, for reverence we owe to your person as our sovereign lady's mother, we require your grace to transport your person therefrom, seeing we are constrained by necessity of the common weal, to besiege it. Your grace will cause depart with you, any ambassador if such be, or lieutenant of our sovereigns, and all French soldiers, whose blood we thirst not, for the old amity between the two realms, which should rather increase than decrease from the marriage of our sovereign lady to the king of that realm. Praying you and the foresaid to remove within 24 hours. Edinburgh. By your grace's humble servitours.

1 *p. Copy in Randolph's hand. Indorsed* (by Sadleir and Cecill): ". . . xix^th^, xxi^st^, xxiii Octobr."

Oct. 25.
Cott. Calig. B. x. 48.

553. KNOX TO CROFT.

Such is our estate, that without present support, you and we will both lament—we first, I suppose, but of what ensues, experience may teach you! It was once determined to assault Leith, yet is still in debate. Some fear the enterprise, if we be once repulsed, "otheris persuand to putt all in the handis of God." Our soldiers are few, and it were no small discomfort to hasard our nobility, barons, &c. on their walls and "wyle" soldiers. Proclamation was made by drum

* Alexander Gordon titular Archbishop of Athens.

Elizabeth.
1559. for more men, but partly for lack of money, partly as men have no will "to hasard," we can make no number—so as you tender the cause, provide us both men and money with all expedition. My demand may appear unreasonable, but rightly examined, our overthrow shall "suallo and devoure" all objections "in contrar." The French are already at defiance with you and abide only opportunity; "yf you list to craft with thame, the sending of a thousand or mo men to us can break no league nor point of peace contracted betuix you and Fraunce, for it is frie for your subjectis to serve in warr any prence or nation for thare wages, and yf ye fear that such excusses shall not prevaile, ye may declayr thame rebelles to your realme when ye shalbe assured that thei be in our cumpanye. Ye pay thame vages whare thei ly presentlie, and yet thei be ydill, but heir thei wold mor proffett us, yf we mycht have thame within 6 daies, then five thousand will do within 40 daies heirafter. My reasson is that our nomber shall daily diminysh, so that in process [of time?] we shalbe compelled to dissever and skaile, and then never look I (onles that now we obtean our purposs) to se so many nobill men of this realme assemble together for that purpos. I speake my judgement frielie, judge you as God shall move your hart." I wrote before on behalf of such as cannot serve without relief, but got no answer. "The lard of Ormeston assisteht us not in this our daunger—the cause I leave to your judgement." I fear more shall follow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* John Sinclear.

Postscript: It is bruited (whether by craft, or if such thing be "in dead" I know not) that France labours with the "highest" to "refus" us, and the "Quen Dowager hath plainlie spoken that she knoweht the meanes how to frustrate our expectation of your support, 'by promes' said she, 'to deliver Calice.' Schir, our simplicite shall appear befor God and man! This I advertis you, for such rumoris discorage many: answer thame. I opened the letter my self for scribling these few lynes. I am charged to tack the paimes by the lordis, to visitt you and farther above. Lett me have your judgement in that case."

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address:* To Croft as captain of the town and castle of Berwick. *Indorsed* (by Cecill): *who has made some marks on margin.*

Oct. 26. **554.** CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN TO CECILL.

Constrained by sundry injuries done me in my native country, where I had hoped (especially in these days) to serve in my vocation, I have been 6 weeks and more in these parts, where my labours are thankfully received. I can conceive no reason, but that among these wise men, ear is not so readily given to malicious information against any person of good conversation, whose weak labours may profit the church of God. Or else the like thirst and zeal for the Word and Christ's kingdom, is not so strong among you, as in this people of later calling! Otherwise you would have encouraged such as desire God's glory and weal of their country, rather than "used so meny fetches" to deface and discredit their doings and persons, and deprive them of that liberty which God has granted to professors of his holy name. These things have not hindered me and others so much as

Elizabeth.
1559. the poor and hungry members of Christ, who might have had comfort of our travells. But as Providence has armed me with patience to pass through the persecutions of "wicked Marie" and her soldiers, so I doubt not to obtain like strength against the malice of false brethren; desiring God not to impute their doings to them, nor suffer his work to be hindered thereby. Meantime I thought it my duty to advertise you (who are in place to do me and others much good) hereof, and of things which offended me and wounded godly hearts, while I was in England; that respect may be had to them when time offers, and by you the slander may be removed, which was justly given in the slack and imperfect proceedings in religion: as retaining divers monuments of superstition, some abolished in the days of godly King Edward, *e.g.*, crosses and candles, which (as I hear) are placed on the Lord's table in the Queen's chapel; the binding of ministers to papists' apparel—plurality of benefices—non residences —making lordly bishops before the realm is provided of necessary ministers: observing saints' days: changing common bread in the Lord's Supper to a plain wafer cake: taking forth of your litany the necessary prayer against the "Romeishe" Antichrist: putting unto [it] a new kind of procession for the rogation week: commanding this order to be used everywhere. Last (which sticketh much in the hearts of many), suffering those bloody bishops and known murderers of God's people and your dear brethren, to live; upon whom God hath expressly pronounced the sentence of death, for the execution whereof he hath committed the sword in your hands, who are now placed in authority. These abuses have not only offended the godly, but will be occasion to sundry (loth to clog their consciences with such superstitious vanities) to withdraw from the ministry. Besides it discourages the godly to see you more ready to please Papists, God's open enemies, than loth to offend your own brethren. Is this not to encourage the enemy in evil, and make them more stubborn in their wicked enterprises? I know what is alleged in excuse: but let your wisdom consider, whether the fear of Papists should be preferred to the fear of the Almighty? the hearts of the godly wounded, or the rage of the adversaries bridled? I am sure God (who hath straitly charged you with his cause and the cause of his people) is highly displeased therewith, and threateneth some sore plague to come: whereof you and all others (in whose hands the redress consisteth) shall be accused, except God of his mercies give you grace to foresee the dangers, and provide remedy. Be not offended with my plainness, but consider the danger to us all if we proceed not with more ferventness. I hope your honour will take it in good part, that I may be encouraged hereafter to advertise as occasion offers. I did so before while in my country, offering myself in letters both to your honour and the Queen; but could find none to deliver them, for the danger to any enterprise on my behalf —no small cause of my departure. Amen! Edinburgh. *Signed:* Christophar Goodman.

1½ *pp. Holograph, very closely written. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Oct. 28. **555.** BALNAVES TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

I wrote to you with Alexander Whitlaw, of our enterprise, con-

Elizabeth.
1559. vening of the army and deposing the Queen Regent, also for money to pay the soldiers—but as yet have neither word nor "write" thereof. Whereon I gave a memorial to M^r^ Randolphe to write to you in "zepher" of our urgent necessity of pay for 3000 foot and 300 horse, for 2 months at the least—but no answer of that as yet. We think you "to sleuthfull" in our danger—ye might have written or sent word with captain "Drowrie. I will assure you of this—if ye send not as much money as ye can with all haste, it shall repent you and us both, and cause such time to be lost, that it cannot be recovered again. I was hindered writing to you, for the great impediment by sea and land, and no sure passage, and besides waited to hear about the said money—which I pray you speed with the man appointed, that is the Laird of Ormistoun who shall be shortly "at you"; to whom give credence in all our proceedings. Edinburgh, "in heast." *Signed:* Henry Balnaves.

1 *p. Holograph, also address* (to Sadleir and Croft). *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Oct. 28. **556.** THE PRIOR OF ST ANDREWS TO CROFT.

I received your letter, and heard the credit of the gentleman you sent: the answer I refer to his returning, and this gentleman "our guyd freind" who shall accompany him "gif it pleis God"; and credit him as to our proceedings. Our necessities I refer to "maister Hary Balnawois bill." Have me heartly recommended to "my guid freind Shir Rauf." Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Sanctandr.

¼ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Oct. 29. **557.** RANDOLPH TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

For lack of time, I must write to your honors otherwise than I would. I have done the commands in your letters, "to suche as the matters chefly concernethe." I know nothing more than this bearer can tell you, and think I myself shall shortly be with you. I see in them all great goodwill to further their cause, but they lack both knowledge and ability. Their hatred to the French is great, the means to expel them less than ever I could have thought among so many "handsumme" men. Their desire to join England will be commodious, if not "to dere bowte"! I have as I durst, admonished some, of their too great openness, trusting experience will teach them wisdom; but some say the fault is not all in them, but in some you thought very trusty, "and are nothynge les." I find the Earl* so disposed to the utter overthrow of the French, that he will be too forward rather than too slow. He desires neither life nor to show his face among men, unless he brings this enterprise to effect. "Wrytten in haste." *Signed:* Thomas Barnaby.

1 *p. Holograph. No address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 4. **558.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO RANDOLPH.

On Tuesday last we sent by the laird of Ormiston 1000*l.* for relief

*Arran.

Elizabeth.
1559 of the lords, and told you we looked daily for authority to send more. We have this now, and you being with them, advertise us speedily of their likelihood of success, that the Queen's treasure be not spent in vain—and do this at more length than you have done. Declare secretly to some, that you have more money for them, and to take order for conveyance, making as few privy as may be, and that more Frenchmen are coming to Leith. Their leader, whom we named "Dampmartin," is Monsieur Martigues one of the heirs of the Duke d'Estampes, and if they do not take Leith before his arrival, God knows what the end may be. We send you some devises for better ordering their affairs if they think good.

Postscript.—We heard ill news of Ormiston, and that the money with him has been "surprised" by Bothwell.—advertise the truth.

2¼ *pp. Copy in Sadleir's hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "4 Novemb. 1559. Scotland."

[1559. Nov. 4.] **559.** ORDERS FOR THE GARRISONS IN SCOTLAND.

(1) A general contribution of all nobles, gentlemen and burghs, and taxation on kirk lands, and the whole profits of kirkmen opposing the congregation.

(2) A book hereof to be made, and collectors appointed in each county, with money allotted for their charges.

(3) Treasurers to be appointed to pay garrisons, &c., on warrants by at least 3 lords, whereof the Duke, Arran or Lord James to be one.

(4) That Knox be "a counsale" with the receipts and payments, to see the same duly employed, not to any private use.

(5) The treasure to be kept secret, and all money paid in the common, to appear to grow and be levied by the means aforesaid.

(6) A commander-in-chief of horse, and one of foot, appointed.

(7) A marshall also for watch and "scourage," to give the nightly watchword to the lords governors, (8) with an under-marshal, (9) to settle all disputes, &c., among the soldiers.

(10) Proclamation to be made against military offences.

1 *p. Written by Railton.*

1559. Nov. 5. **560.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO RANDOLPH.

We are most sorry to hear of Ormiston's mishap, whereof make the best, and if any bruit rise of the money coming from hence, the lords must say it was Ormiston's, or theirs, or colour the matter otherwise. They must find out how Bothwell came to lay in wait for him, as it looks a set device. We have advertised the Queen in as good sort as we can, hoping she will still aid them, as she may "with honor" do, in their necessity, wherein we will help as we can. As we see Balnaves excuses himself of supposed charges, which we take it he gathers from our talk with Ormiston: declare to him, we only spoke our minds frankly, in care of the common action, and meant not to offend him, but take his doings in good part, and are his assured friends.

¾ *p. Copy by Railton. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "5 Nov. 1559 . . . to Randall."

Elizabeth. 1559. Nov. 6.

561. BALNAVES TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

Though I wrote to you last Friday at length how it chanced to Ormiston, and our damage through loss of that money, yet by urgent necessity, and command of my lords of Council, I am compelled to remind you to "mak deligence" to furnish them with 1000*l.* sterling at least, by the messenger named in their letter to you. I assure your masterships, if it come not hastily, it shall frustrate all the former "interprysal." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Henry Balnaves of Halhill.

⅓ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

[1559.] Nov. 7. Cotton. Calig. B. viii. fol. 329.

562. DEFIANCE BY BOTHWELL TO ARRAN.

Being advertised of your continual outrageous "menassing" me and my assisters, true subjects, saying that "ye sall expell and constrayn ws to depart and laif" this our native realm of Scotland, "but* ony sufficient cause quhy, gif it mycht ly in your handis"; and farther perceiving your open malice "in terseing (?) my body to the disponing thairof, and spulzeing my hous of guddis and evidentis†" to my great damage, and "persaveris" in your evil mind. Having respect to my honour, I am compelled to seek "remeid" in defence of the same, and as it becomes no "saikles‡ man may incur skayth" for the injuries and demerits of others, "bot rather be decydit with singulayr combat according unto the law of armis," that the offender be known and suffer as appertains. Therefore knowing you Earl of Arran to be the principal "injurar and menassar bayth be word and deid, desyris to wyt § gif ye haif ony particulair quarrell towart me or ony of myn" whereof ye would be revenged? that ye will declare it. And on a convenient day appointed in a competent place, "I am content to defend the said quarrell to my honour befoir Franche and Scottishe, boding‖ as ye pleis on horse or fuitt, thair to be tryit betwix our bodeis, unto the deyth." When, God willing, I shall offer to prove that ye have not done your duty to authority, as a noble man ought—"nor yit to me in the causes abone wryttin." Your answer hereupon that we may proceed after the form and order observed in like cases. Creychtoun. *Signed:* Boithuell.

¾ *p. No address or flyleaf.*

Nov. Cotton. Calig. B. viii. fol. 330.

563. ARRAN TO BOTHWELL.

"For ansueyr of your cartell": I have never "menassit" any true subjects, but if any would chase them out of their native country, I would maintain them at my power—"bot of that number I neyther esteym you erle Bothwell nor your assistairis," nor am accustomed to use "menassing," but shall God willing, be able to execute the thing I speak. "As for that thing I haif doyn unto your self or house, it is mekle les nor the injury done be you to my freynd deservit. As to the quarrell: it is notour and sik ane deid, as efter the sam ye haif na place to seik the combat of ony man of honour undefamyt, for it is in the self rathar the deid of ane voleur¶ to

* Without. † Title deeds, &c. ‡ Innocent.
§ Know. ‖ Armed. ¶ Thief.

Elizabeth.
[1559.] Nov. . "ombesett ane gentlemannis gayt, and rub him of his guddis, than of ane man of honour as ye call your self, quhilk ye haif lasthely desteynit* in that behalf." As to revenge: if ye think it not sufficiently revenged already, "be ye assuryt the nixt tym I cum that way, the thing is left undoyne now, salbe achevit. And quhen soevir ye may recover the name of ane honest man, quhilk be your lasche† deid ye haif lost, I sall ansueir you as I awcht, bot nocht befoir Franche, quhom ye propon in rank to Scottis, for thair is na Franche man in this realme, with quhais judgement I will haif to do." When ye say I have not done my duty to authority as a noble man ought: "albeit I am nocht bund to gif you accompt, yit will I meynteyn that thair in ye haif falslie leyt.‡" *Signed:* James Erle of Arran.

¾ *p. No address or flyleaf. Indorsed:* "Cartel sent to the Er[le] of Arr[an] by the Erle Bothewell with answer."

1559. Nov. 9. Add. MSS., 33,592, fol. 75.

564. LORD JAMES TO CROFT.

I am advertised that there "brak" a French ship at Berwick within "this xx dayis"; wherein was "ane coffer full of clothis of ane gentillman that maryit my sister quha decessit in Franche: and the said coffer wes ballit and markid upon the ane end; quhilk mark, with the nammis of the principall clothis that wes within the said coffer, ar contenit in this memorand. Quhilk memorand I causit ane gentill man that is servand to me and broder to the said gentill man that is decessit, put in wrett, becaus the coffer and the clothis thairin pertenis to my said servand broder to him that is decessit. Quhairfor I desyr you that ye vald mak diligence and get the said coffer, and geif it beis gottin or this berar depart, to deliver it to him; felzeing that it be nocht gottin or he depart, to adverteis me quhen it is gottin, how sowne ye may." My trust is in you. Stirling. *Signed:* Ja. Commen. of Sanctandr.

½ *p. Addressed:* "To Schir Jamis Croftes capitane of Bervik." *Indorsed* (by Railton): "The L. James to the Cap[t] of Barwick of the ix[th] of November 1559." *Wafer signet: shield with the Scottish lion (somewhat indistinct).*

Nov. 10. **565.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

We hear the Protestants remain still at Lithquo in consultation, and keep their men in wages, intending to levy more for revenge on the French. It is not certain, but in case it is true, it is like they will send here for money, whereon (if it please you with speed) answer us with the Queen's pleasure. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

½ *p. Written by Sadleir. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 10. **566.** INTELLIGENCE FROM SCOTLAND.

The Earl Bothwell, Lords Borthwick and Seton are with the

* Stained. † Cowardly. ‡ Lied.

Elizabeth.
1559. Queen Dowager, and no other nobles of Scotland. The rest are with the Governor.

He, his eldest son, Argyll, Huntly, Glencairn, lord Ruthven [Revill], the Prior, Master Maxwell, lord Levingeton are made regents by the congregation, to govern the realm till they have a "rightuous" prince. These regents with their trains, and 12,000 men, came to Edinburgh on 23d October, sat in council and deprived the Queen Dowager of rule, for not keeping promise or counsel with them. Whereon with 3000 French and 400 Scots, she removed to Leith.

On last day of October, Bothwell with 24 men, met Ormiston with 7, near Haddington, took 6000 crowns he was bringing to the Governor and hurt him in the face with a sword, whereof he lies at Ormiston.

The Governor hearing, sent his eldest son, Mr Maxwell and the Prior with 700 men to Crichton Castle, Bothwell's chief house 8 miles from Edinburgh, put 50 gunners into it on "Alhallen daye," lay there that night, returning to Edinburgh the morrow.

On All Hallow day, learning this by the Bishop of Dunblane's servant, the Dowager sent out 1500 men from Leith to skirmish with 200 Scots who had laid 2 pieces great ordnance on a little hill beside Holyroodhouse, to shoot at Leith—the French got one, and the other was "brusten." The French then spoiled the Canongate to the town port, killing 21 Scots and 3 women, with a loss of 6; and 40 of their men at arms rode through the port almost to the "Trone," where the Governor's men put them back, the Castle firing 2 cannons at them. For this the Queen reproved Lord Erskine [Askyn] the keeper, as an unjust man to the Crown, who said he would shoot at any one annoying the town.

On 3d November, the Governor sent his son and Master Maxwell with 300 horse, to Crichton Castle, whence they sent to Bothwell at Borthwick Castle to join the lords: which he refusing, they spoiled Crichton and brought the spoil and his "evidence"* to the Governor.

On 4th November the Lords refused the Queen's message for quiet, and to keep promise with them—saying she was so false they would never trust her, or deal with her or France but with sword. On 6th, both sides skirmished, when Alexander Halyburton brother to the Tutor of Peticur, one of the best captains in Scotland, was slain with 30 foot and divers taken; of the French 6 or 7 slain and 6 taken.

The lords seeing these mischances and their unreadiness for war, put their ordnance in the Castle on Lord Erskine's band to redeliver it, and at midnight on 6th removed to Lightko, where they are consulting, "and will sett upp a coyne," saying they will coin their plate to maintain the Word of God and the weal of Scotland.

Next morning the 7th at 10 a.m. the Queen returned to Edinburgh, but most of the inhabitants fled with bag and baggage, and put their best stuff in the Castle for safety.

The Bishops of St Andrews and Glasko are with the Queen, and the bishops of the "Oute Isles" and Galloway with the lords and congregation.

2¾ *pp.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

* *i.e.*, title deeds, &c.

Elizabeth.
1559. Nov. 10. **567.** CHATELHERAULT, &c. TO CECILL.

Having sent to the Queen your sovereign the young laird of Lethingtoun secretary of the realm, to treat of its affairs, and knowing how far everyone of us is bound to you for great favour shown in furtherance of our common cause, and some of us for benefits received at your hands, we recommend to you as well himself as the cause he travells in, praying full credence for him, and your best advice when he requires it. Stirling. *Signed:* James, Ar[d]. Ergyll, Alex[r]. Glencarn, James Sanctandr.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 10. **568.** LORD JAMES TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

Seeing it has been your good will to further our common cause at the hands of the Queen and Council, partly (so far as I can see) for its own justice, partly even for my sake (though undeserving), that to my power opposed the adversary: I cannot see why you should not continue your support to the same cause and me "all on," seeing neither it nor I am altered, and therefore am bold to crave your assistance as heretofore, desiring you to concur with this gentleman our friend, and further his affairs to the same effect. Stirling. *Signed:* James Sanctandr.

½ *p. Addressed.*

Nov. 10. **569.** CHATELHERAULT TO CECILL.

I received your letter from Hampton Court the 24[th] of August "consarneing" most friendly advice that I should not neglect the present opportunity to do good to my country: whereof and all your gentleness shown to my son in his passage, I give you most hearty thanks; and as I shall not fail to follow your good advice, so whenever occasion serves I will endeavour to show you that the benefit I have received is not evil bestowed. Praying you to give the Queen most humble thanks in my name for the good service this gentleman did to my son, for which and many other benefits "I fend my self far obleist to do hir henes serwyce." Stirling. *Signed:* James.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 13. **570.** PROCLAMATION BY THE KING AND QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Francis and Mary, D. G. King and Queen of France, Scotland, England and Ireland, to their most beloved lady and mother the Queen Dowager. Narrating the late disturbances in Scotland raised by certain factious men under pretence of religion—their despatch of James de la Brosse knight of S[t] Michael, and Nicolas Pelevé bishop of Amiens, as envoys to compone these in the national assembly, without success, the later violent proceedings of the insurgents, &c., they request her to make public proclamation of pardon to all who submit within *, and condign punishment to all (ecclesiastics included)

* Blank.

Elizabeth.
1559. who continue obstinate. Blois, the Ides of November 1559. Franciscus, Maria.

3 *pp. Latin. Contemporary copy.*

(1) Copy of same with some differences and marginal corrections and interlineations.

3 *pp. Same hand.* (*Conway papers. Treaty Book II. p.* 162.)

Nov. 13. **571.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN.

We suppose ye remember our former letter to know your mind as to supporting our rebels here, and your answer, which we accepted in good part—yet "nochtheles, sensyne" they "avantis thame" of receipt of aid and hope of more from you "in oure contrair." Wherefore we accredit the bearer Monsieur du Rubay, councillor and master of requests "ordinar" to the "maist Cristin king," and keeper of the great seal of Scotland, to declare the same, praying your answer "in writte" with Ros herald, sent with him therefor. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and alya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 13. **572.** FRANCIS AND MARY TO THE QUEEN.

Requesting safe conduct for Thomas Stewart of Gastoun and 3 servants to pass through England to France and back, for a year. Under their signet and subscribed by the Queen Dowager and Regent of their realm. Edinburgh, 1st and 17th years. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 13. **573.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN.

Complaining that upon the "ferd" instant, the *Marie* of Leith, John Henderson master, Thomas Lindsay owner, bound from Dieppe [Deip] with goods of Edinburgh and Glasgow merchants, was run on shore for safety at Ros in Bamburghschire, belonging to Sir Rauf Gray, remaining "tycht and unbrokin" till ebb tide, the master hoping to leave next full tide. The "watter baillie" of Ros came on board; took the "skippars" hand and warranted him safe as Sir Rauff's officer: but has seized the ship and goods against the peace. As part of the lading "in cofferis and barrellis" pertains to Monsieur Doysell the French king's lieutenant there, as the bearer Ross herald will declare, prays restitution to him and the other owners. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p. Broad side. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 14. **574.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

After daily consultations, though not perfectly resolved, they on his letters of 8th of the Protestants' retire to "Leethkoo," send the bearer Mr Randall "a gentleman of trust and knowledge," with a sum of money from the Queen to be used as occasion requires. He must

Elizabeth.
1559. be secretly sent to comfort them and advise their proceedings, assuring them the Queen will not fail them—that she is preparing a navy, and more men for Berwick and the frontier, under the Duke of Norfolk as lieutenant general there. He must find out the strength and lacks of both Scots and French, that they may resolve further. They think Abbington should be ordered to provide victuals, "and to omit no houre therein."* Wynchester, Northampton, Arundell, Penbrooke, Clynton, Hawarld. Parry, Rogers, Knolles, Cecill, Cave, Petre, Sackvile, Mason, Wotton. Westminster.

1½ *pp. Draft. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 15. **575.** THE PRIOR OF ST ANDREWS TO CECILL.

Though in the general letter with my brethren, and by the bearer, you may learn all things, yet I thought it necessary to "gratifie" your good mind to the common cause, and myself in particular, though undeserved on my side. I am "the mair astrictit" to you therefor, which ye shall perceive in deed, if ever the goodness of God shall grant the good opinion that "causeles" ye have conceived of me, come to maturity and fruit: I am bold to desire you to continue the same both to the cause and me, and to that effect recommend my friend the young laird of Lethingtoun the bearer to your wisdom and counsel. S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* James Sanctandr.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . L. Ja. S[t] Androos."

Nov. 15. **576.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

Since the Protestants left Edinburgh we hear no certainty—some say they are at Stirling, others, departed to their houses.

Yesterday M. Rubaye arrived, sent by the Dowager to the Queen, as her letter enclosed to me Sir James shows—with him Ross herald, who says young Lethington and Balnaves are come to England. David Forrest came here 3 days past, who left England in Queen Mary's reign for religion, and returns for these troubles. Rubaye left towards you yesterday, making no great journeys. The Dowager pursues no man, but has proclaimed pardon to all who return to Edinburgh and dwell quietly; and the said herald said she would receive the Duke and the lords, if they would put away Balnaves, young Lethington, Ormiston, &c., by whom they are abused. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a demi-lion rampant.*

Nov. 17. **577.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

Detailing his proceedings since he came to Scotland—resolution of his friends to levy men, delay in mustering them on account of harvest, their failure with untried men against the veteran forces of France—desertion of most of their men, and change of their plans, as the bearer the young laird of Lethingtoun will inform him, who is fully instructed by the lords—and also in all matters concerning himself

* What follows written by Cecill.

Elizabeth.
1559. privately. Asking firm credence for him, and advice in these affairs both public and "particular." S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* Your maist hartly and assurit freind, James Hammyltone.

2 *pp.* *Closely written.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 17. **578.** ARRAN TO CROFT.

Thanking him for his good will to further the common cause, and gentle entertainment of himself in passing Berwick: and for a new obligation in sending him "your morion and tergat," for all which he can do no more than but heartily thank him. S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* James Hammyltone.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 17. **579.** ARRAN TO SADLEIR.

Though he has not since his "haym cummyng," either by letter or otherwise, thanked him for his "humanite" during his passage, or his favour to the common cause, it is not due to ingratitude, as he has purposely delayed till the departing of the laird of Lethington, who will rehearse all their proceedings. S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* James Hammyltone.

⅓ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 17. **580.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

Enclosing a deciphered letter received last night from "Randall," and copies of 2 letters they formerly sent to him. Having "discovered himself," they wrote to him to remain there till the Queen licenced his return, but their messenger not daring to pass Edinburgh, has brought the letter back. As he and Lethington are coming, they will devise for their secret journey to Cecill as best they can. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

P.S.—They wish the resolution in his letter of 12[th] had been taken a month before. He must now wait Lethington's arrival. They will comfort them as ordered, but the passages are so stopped, that their messengers, when 40 miles on the way, have had to turn back with letters.

2 *pp.* *Written by Sadleir.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Randolph to Sadleir and Croft.)

Within the last 5 days I have found the worst success I shall ever see. Since the taking of the money, and the French coming to the gates of Edinburgh, I find the most of "our nobles," &c., such as I know not "whome woorthelie to commend." The men have so decayed since, that the rest left the town. In a very hot skirmish on Monday last, 30 or 40 of both sides were slain hurt and taken, one captain of ours killed, none else of name; but the multitude were so discouraged, and showed such open tokens, that at 4 o'clock that day

Elizabeth.
1559. it was concluded to leave at midnight for Stirling, where we all are. Only Arran, Lord James, and Maxwell opposed this, offering to hold the town with but 1000 men, if assured of the castle, which is doubtful, as Morton and Erskine consulted as to a "composition": but the lords thought better to depart than trust to their "gentlenes," being now both together in the castle, specially Morton who being of the Congregation, and promising daily to join, stole secretly into the castle the day before we left. One Blaketer your neighbour, is suspected of betraying Ormistoun: he has been the Dowager's friend, and persuades Lord Erskine against the Congregation. Some suspect Lord Ruthven one of the congregation and council, a great friend of Huntly and Morton. The lords have consulted here 2 days, resolving to die rather than leave their enterprise. They chiefly fear that the Queen will think ill of their doings, but hope she will accept the offers to be presented by the laird of Lydington who is despatched, and I trust we shall be with you in 8 days, though the ways are uncertain. On Monday last, within an hour I received both your letters and instructions, and told as many as it concerned. They promised greater silence and circumspection hereafter, and I intend to bring certain knowledge of their determinations. I could not write at large for want of messengers, but you will find I have not been idle in service. On Thursday last Arran received a "cartell of defyaunce" from Bothwell, copy whereof and answer I will bring. That day the lords sent to take their open adversary the rich Bishop of Dunblane, intending to make him pay well. To-day we leave this for St Andrews, there to take ship for Berwick or Holy Island. The Dowager comes not to Edinburgh before to-morrow. Morton is back at his house, and has not spoken with her. Erskine is determined to keep the castle from her. The Lord Robert commendator of Holyroodhouse, has shamefully submitted to her; I hear of none else. Stirling, 11th November 1559.

2 *pp. Closely written by Railton. Indorsed.*

Nov. 17. Cott. MSS. Calig. B. x. fol. 195. **581.** THE PRIOR TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

Though I lately wrote to you, yet as it has come to my knowledge that Monsieur Ruby is directed by the Queen Dowager to the Queen's majesty, to impeach her from showing aid to our common cause, I advertise you, not doubting by your letters to her majesty you will meet the malice and craft of our common enemies, as I justly call them, and believe so you esteem them. Referring our proceedings to "this gentil man" the bearer. St Andrews. *Signed:* James Sanctand.

½ *p. Addressed:* "To the rycht wirshipfull and my traist freindis Schirs Rauff Saidlayr and James Croftis knychtis."

Nov. 18. **582.** KNOX TO CECILL.

Knowing the sufficiency of the bearer to show our dangerous estate, and believing your heart not so hard, but that the troubles of your brethren pierce and wound you, I renew my old petition in a few words, that your support be not long delayed; for friends faint

Elizabeth.
1559. and fall back while the enemy has time to practise and establish himself.

If the relief of men that I formerly asked of Sir James Croft, though then it seemed unreasonable, had been granted, none of the nobles would have favoured the French, and the castle would have been in safe hands, which now I fear the French will keep from victuals. I have formerly written to men for support, that are now unable to keep promise; but as God has now provided men of greater knowledge in public affairs, I remit these to your wisdom—desiring God to move your hearts towards our support. Amen! S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* John Knox.

2 *pp. Holograph, closely written. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 19. **583.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

Judging himself happy to have found so dear a friend, to whom he may boldly disclose his thoughts and receive counsel, besides what he has written by Lethington, he desires to testify by this bearer his readiness in the Queen's service.

Though their success has not been as he thought, yet his hope is not diminished, that God in the end will thoroughly prosper so honest a cause. Fears he shall never be able to show himself worthy of the honour he has received—greater than he could hope for—but rejoices God has placed him where he may behold so worthy a work of his providence. Desires full credit for the bearer. S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* James Hammyltone.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address:* "To my veray traist and assurit freind Maistir Cicill." *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 19. **584.** BALNAVES TO CECILL.

Relating what has happened since his return from communing with Sadleir—the lords' convention at Stirling—meeting the Duke at Hamilton—assembly of their forces not sooner than 15 October, for the harvest—the Regent's fortifying Leith against them—dwindling of their force, &c.—their subsequent retirement to Stirling, dispatch of "M[r] secretarie young lord of Ledington," to the Queen, till whose return, the Duke, Argyle, Glencarne, &c., to reside in "Glesquow" and keep council there, while Arran, Rothes, Lord Prior of S[t] Andrews, Lord Ruthven, Dun, Pittarro, &c. do the like at S[t] Andrews—each council advertising the other, for unity.

Doubting not for his tender love to true religion and common weal of both realms, he will forward with the Queen the lords' reasonable desires by Lethington. S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* Henry Balnavis of Halhill.

1½ *pp. Holograph, closely written. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 21. **585.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

We send you these letters from Lord James and "Randall *alias* Barnabie," shewing that Lethington and said "Barnaby" will soon be here. The messenger, a servant of Arran's, came by land, to wait for and attend them to Court. He shows us the Duke is at Hamilton,

Elizabeth.
1559. and he thinks, Argyll and Maxwell. Arran and the Prior at S^{t} Andrews, Ruthven at S^{t} Johnstons. Their determination you shall know by Lethington. The bruit goes the Dowager is dead, but we think this too good to be true, yet she is in great extremity of sickness. It would make great alteration. Captain Randall arrived this morning with the Queen's, &c. letters and 3000*l.*, but we determine nothing herein till Lethington's arrival, hourly looked for, when we intend to send Randall to the Protestants in the same boat with letters of comfort, and some money to pay their garrisons, as we know they need. Abyngton is on his way to you, whom it may like you to order to provide victuals hither. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

1 *p. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill). *Wafer signet: demi-lion rampant.*

Nov. 23. **586.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

Seeing by your letters the preparations intended by sea and land, our poor opinion is, you should stay till you hear more of the Protestants' intents by Lethington, whom we hourly look for. The bruit of the Dowager's death still continues—the certainty we know not—but judge it to be the cause of his long tarry, for the wind has served so well that he might have been here or this, if some cause had not stayed him. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

1 *p. Holograph of Sadleir. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Nov. 25. **587.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECIL.

Cott. MSS. Calig. B. x. fol. 196.

On Thursday last Lethington and Thomas Barnabie arrived at Holy Island; and at night I Sir James received them secretly into the castle here. They brought letters from Arran, Lord James, and Balnavis, sent you herewith: and after long conference yesterday, we see that the lords are more fully than ever determined to follow their enterprise and seek revenge on the French, and have specially despatched Lethington to sue the Queen for aid, without which, as we have always said, they cannot achieve their desire. Besides instructions, he has special credence to frame their suit according to the form and "articles, as you sent unto us," which we have written out for him "as thoughe the same had been devised by us, to shewe our goodwill and greate desier to further their cause." He liked them well, and wished he had been so well instructed by the lords before coming, but he has written to obtain them under their hands, also reporting "suche other comfortable matier as he hathe received here at our handes, according to your late advertisementes." This morning "before daye," he and Barnabie are gone with all speed towards you, "and if you thinke it mete to have them bestowed anywhere aboute the Courte secretlie," it were not amiss to send a man to meet them at Ware or Waltham. We have forborne sending "M^{r} capten Randall" to the Lords, for they can do nothing in this dead time of winter: but we learn from Lethington and Barnabie they are divided, lying at Glasco and S^{t}. Andrews, to keep those countries, make more friends, and await Lethington's return; but not to "pretermytt" any advantage they may see. We refer the rest to Lethington and Barnabie; as the

Elizabeth.
1559. number of French in Scotland exceeds not 2500, the matter will be easier; but you must keep watch at sea and spy their doings in France, to prevent aid being sent. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

1½ *pp.* *Written by Railton. Address leaf lost.*

Nov. 28. **588.** THE QUEEN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

We have received your three letters of 13th instant, gave Monsieur du Rubay good audience, and "thought dyvers thynges very straunge which he mentioned to us in your name, and wer it not for your request, and for some apparance of lyke matter mentioned in your own lettre, we wold not have thought he had had in commission to make mention of such kynd of matteres." But touching his communication with us, we doubt not but he now better understandeth how small occasion there hath been given on our part to minister such doubts, and so we think he will advertise you. For the matter in your letter, where you remind us of our reasonable answer to you, of our good mind to conservation of the amity between these our two realms, since which time ye write certain rebellars there do "avant" themselves to have received, and that they hope to receive, support against you: we think it much that ye make no surer accompt of our honor in this case, but to respect the vain report of such as ye call rebells, and thereupon to make an appearance of doubt! "Wherfore we wish that before ye shall conceave any doubt of us in this poynt, ye will more certenly understand, not what they report, but how truely! For we can best make accompt of our owne doinges to be such, as allweise shall be constant and agreable with honor; and for our mynd to peace, we doo eftsones assure you that we be aswell inclyned to kepe it as ever we wer, and shalbe most sorry to perceve any occasion gyven to us on your part, or our good brothers by his ministers there, to the contrary. Wherunto although we shall seme to gyve good and ernest regard what so ever may insue, as the tyme there serveth, and as good reason requireth,* we praye you to interprete our meaning therin no otherwise but to the mayntenance of peace and conservation of our estate in savetye from all such perills as may be more apparant at this tyme as thynges there do procede, than in good quyet tymes before, the lyke wherof with all our very hart we desyre and wish." As for the 2 ships driven on our coast of Northumberland, we have directed our Admiral of England to do with speed what reason and equity require. Palace of Westminster.

2 *pp.* *Draft by Cecill, carefully adjusted. Indorsed:* "Copie of a lettre to the Queen Dowager of Scotland."

Nov. . **589.** INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH NOBLES, &C.
Add. MSS., 23,108.

"Instructiones for the L[arde] of L[ethington] how to consave and direct the sute and complaints of ws the nobles gentlemen and burgessis of Scotland in this our distres, to the Quenes Majeste off England."

First: — To declare to his best remembrance the cruelty

* The last 5 words interlined.

Elizabeth.
1559. and tyranny of the French captains and soldiers in Scotland.

Secondly:—The Dowager's indifference to their frequent complaints, and evident intention to conquer it for France.

Thirdly:—To show the necessity of delivering their nation, and preserving the families of such noblemen as by blood are next inheritors after the French queen their sovereign, now to the great misfortune of the realm, married to the French king.

Fourthly:—To show the Queen that not only Scotland, but her own kingdoms of England and Ireland are in danger, as they know most certainly that the French have devised to spread abroad (though most falsely) that the Queen of Scots is right heir to these two realms, and have this year caused the arms of England to be quartered with those of Scotland, not in augmentation, but to annex them both perpetually to France—and in seals and writings used the stile of France, Scotland, England, and Ireland, sending secretly here a seal in the same style to be used by the Queen in despite of England, sending also to the Dowager of Scotland, "a staffe for hir to rest upon, having graven in the toppe the said usurped armes"; whereto the said laird of Lethington may add other French devices to the prejudice of England, showing plainly their designs.

Fifthly:—Seeing their sovereign lady is married to the French King, and is further led and persuaded "by the new autorite of the hows of Guise," and they fear may be content (though not of her own proper nature) that Scotland be perpetually knit to her husband's crown, and its native blood royal "be extincted," they think in the "regiment" of her own kingdom she should be advised by her native born subjects, not by Frenchmen, whereto she should be persuaded, and trust the Queen's Majesty will approve and persuade other princes.

Finally:—They beseech her Majesty as a prince planted by God next to them within one land and sea, to afford them her gracious protection against the French intended conquest, allowing them their natural duty and obedience to their own sovereign in all things tending to the honour of God, whereby her Majesty shall please the Almighty, not "offend" their own sovereign's right, and procure perpetual "lofe" betwixt the people of the two realms, a thing much desired of all Christians, saving the French only, and thus acquire immortal fame.

4 *pp. Holograph of Lethington. Indorsed:* "Instructions at B. November 1559."

Dec. 4. **590.** COMMISSION TO THE MARQUIS D'ELBEUF.

Francis and Mary D. G. King and Queen of France, Scotland, England, &c., appoint their uncle Réne of Lorraine Marquis d'Elbeuf, as their lieutenant general in Scotland, during the absence of the Queen Dowager about to return to France for recovery of her health. Blois, 2^{d} Nones of December 1559, 1st year of their reign of France, 2^{d} and 17th of Scotland.

3¼ *pp. Latin. Contemporary copy. Indorsed:* "Thre copyes . . . The same tooke no place, by the Marquis stay in France for want of meanes to passe by the Q. majesties navy."

Elizabeth.
1559. (1) Another copy, the day of the month blank.

4 *pp.* *Latin.* Injured by damp. (Treaty Book II. 165.)

Dec. 5. **591.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

Whitlaw arrived here yesterday by sea from S[t] Andrews, with letters for you, Lethington and us—some being in an unknown cipher, we send them on. They write for 2000*l.*, the cause why we think will appear in the ciphers. Erskine we hear, though pressed with offers and threats by the Dowager, utterly refuses to yield the Castle without consent of Parliament. The French, not pleased, have made show of siege, and one was slain and some hurt; and Erskine, as Whitlaw tells us, requires aid from the lords at Stirling, which they have promised. Therefore we think good to send them this 2000*l.* by Whitlaw, who has a boat well appointed here.

The keeping of this castle is of great importance, for if the French got it, they would be masters of Edinburgh and Leith and this side Forth. We have advised the lords by Whitlaw, to look well to it, and not only aid Erskine, but promise him largely to render it, or at least to keep out the French; and what they shall promise him within the limits of reason, we shall see performed. The Queen Dowager still languishes in great sickness, and her physicians have no hope of her recovery. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

Postscript.—We hear Northumberland has let the Earl Marischal's son home on band, which should be in our hands, that we may call him to enter, if cause seen: also Lord Gray's, which we think is with the Earl. As the French must have supplies from France, you might devise to hinder it by sea and advance this affair.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Arran and Lord James to Sadleir and Croft.)

We received your letters the 28 November "lait," and see your good mind. We have written at more length to the Court, as the bearer will declare, who will receive such things as we have written for, and we send our acquittance subscribed with our hands. S[t] Andrews, 29 November. *Signed:* James Hammyltone.

½ *p.* *Written by Whitlaw.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Erl of Arran, L. James."

(2) (The same to the same.)

Thanking them for sending powder, and, being compelled by the danger of Edinburgh Castle, earnestly desiring 2000*l.* by Whitlaw. As Lethington desired, they have not opened this to the lords at Glasgow, for experience has "lerned" them that "passing iij or iiij persons it is no secrecie." S[t] Andrews, last of November. The Erl of Arrayn, the L. James.

1 *p.* *Copy by Sadleir from the original, deciphered.*

Elizabeth.
[1559.] Dec. 7.
Add. 33,531, fol. 28, &c.

592. M. D'OYSEL TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTS.

(1) Refers to his messenger—says that "estant sur le poinct il y a environ dix jours daller a Fontainebleau" [*ciphers*] "ceci propos Madame, feurent si bien receuz de ce bon et honneste gentilhomme que" [*ciphers*]. "Voilla Madame, comment le faict est passe entre nous deux. Reste a vous dire que" [*ciphers*].

4 *pp. French. Cipher with a few exceptions.*

(2) 1 *p. Cipher except some unimportant expressions.*

(3) "Madame" I have written to the comptroller Astier, to collect the . . . from the Sieur Timothee and place it in your hands, being marvellously . . . that I cannot send what I have here for you so surely as I wish, for the constant changes in England; and seeing it is so little, I have been so bold as keep it, trusting to send you as much again.

It has pleased the King to give the Sieur de Courtery the foot company of Captain Lamotte Rouge, praying you Madame to approve it, assuring myself you cannot employ a gentleman who will do better service, whom my lords your brothers find most prudent. I believe Captain Lamotte's lieutenant is pleased to remain in his post—if not M. de Courtery will provide a good man. Paris, 7 Decembr.

Monseigneur and Madame de Guise left Fontainbleau on the 5th of this month for Geynville, and have just received a letter from Monseigneur the Cardinal who is very well.

Also the Queen your daughter is so gentle and beautiful that on my honour the King esteems her incomparable.

I have sent your man express to Geynville to [*illegible*] from Madame your mother [*illegible*] where he delays. *Signed:* H. Cleutin.

2½ *pp. French. The postscript holograph. Addressed:* "A la Royne Descosse."

1559. Dec. 9.

593. SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

We hear even now that this night past, 300 Frenchmen came to Aymouth, and 500 more will be there to-day to fortify it, which if true, we beg to know the Queen's pleasure. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

¾ *p. Holograph of Sadleir. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 10.

594. SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

The bruit about Aymouth was not true, and arose thus. On Thursday and Friday last 15 or 16 sail, French and Scots, with but 300 soldiers (the rest victuallers) passed here, and off Coldingham, the captains with 40 or 50 men, landed to Lord John commendator of Coldingham, a base son of the late King of Scots, refreshed there, and went on board again for Leith. We beg to know what we may do in a like case? Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

Postscript.—Hearing that the site of Brinkburn monastery is sold to one Warcop, if the woods there, worth we are told, 1000 marks, pass in the bargain, the Queen shall have no other timber for repair

Elizabeth.
1559. of her castle of Harbottel near them, or any other places in these parts: wherefore the purchase may be stayed, or at least these woods reserved to the Queen.

At closing we hear that 6 more ensigns of French are at sea bound for Scotland.

2 *pp.* *Holograph of Sadleir.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Dec. 12. **595.** MEMORIAL BY RANDOLPH.

Of things to be answered by M[r] Secretary touching Scotland, if it please the Queen that Thomas Randolf return there.

[*Under 17 heads.*—As to hostages, before the Queen assists openly —offer of towns, declined—inducement to Lord Erskine—dealing with Bothwell—retaining Scots in pay, &c. Replies on margin by Cecill to the first 7 or 8. Opposite the enquiry, if Knox to preach on Border? and what to be said to Goodman? a cross is marked.]

Lethington's despatch is ready and waits only the passport. When may I wait upon you? "From your howse in Canon rowe." *Not signed.*

1½ *pp.* *Holograph.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Dec. 15. **596.** SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

We send letters from Arran, the Lord James, and from Whitlaw, who arrived safe with the 2000*l.* he got here, and copy of our letter to said lords with the money, by him. Robert Mailville, despatched from Lethington, arrived here on Wednesday night, and after 3 hours' stay, was sent on to "Whittengeam" as he wished, whence he writes to me Sir James of his arrival, as his enclosed letter shows. We hear that the gentlemen coming with the 2000 men are on their way—but for lack of victuals, they must lodge abroad and pay ready money. Wherefore the Treasurer should be furnished for their wages, lest for lack they complain or return. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill). *Armorial wafer signet: demi-lion.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Arran and Lord James to Sadleir and Croft.)

We thank you most heartily for your answer and credit by Maister Whytlaw, and have taken order therein. The barons are ready to give their substance and lives to expel "thir straingers," and are ready "to lift" on 48 hours' warning. We have ordered the captains "to lyst" 1000 foot and 200 horse and promised them musters on 10[th] January. When all is ready, we shall "mak you knaw," you doing the same. We have informed the Council in Glasgow, and look for answer. Edinburgh Castle is "at guid poinct" we hear. It is said 800 "Frainches" are ready: if they were "cutt aff" it would greatly further us. We are travailling to have some ships to sea. S[t] Andrews, 11[th] Dec. *Signed:* James Hamiltone, James Stewart.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Elizabeth 1559.

(2) (Whitlaw to Sadleir and Croft.)

I arrived safe the night after departing, and finding the lords in convention at Cowpere with the barons and gentlemen of Fife, imparted your declarations; whereon they wrote willing the Council at Glasgow to convene and take order with the gentlemen of the west for assembling. Ours are very willing to be in the field, but wait your further advertisement. "The suspended Regent is nothing amended of hir diseas." We look for friendship at the Castle. The Duke, &c. have gone to take Lord Semple's house. The Court sent to stay our ships at Bordeaux and Rochell for wine, and took the masters while on shore, but the mariners and ships got away. We took the Dowager's ship "foull of wyn." The lords go to convene the Angus gentlemen. Castle of S^{t} Andrews, 10th December. *Signed:* Alex^{r}. Whitlaw.

After they got to Dundee, Lord Erskine's answer came here, that he shall do what becomes an honest man, for his country's weal, and not part with the Castle, but by order of parliament who committed it to him; further as desired, he will send a secret man in 4 days, to commune on the directions I received from you, &c. This much on my departure to Dundee after the lords.

2 *pp. Holograph. Postscript in fainter ink. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(3) (Sadleir and Croft to Arran and Lord James.)

In reply to their letter of 30th November, sending 2000*l.* by Whitlaw to further the common cause. To keep Edinburgh Castle by all means from the Dowager and the French—to gain Huntly, Marshall and Morton and others not open enemies. Understanding Ruthven's sincerity is suspected, urge them, while not trusting him over much, yet rather to bear with and endeavour to recover him again. 6th December 1559.

2 *pp. Copy by Railton, closely written. Headed:* "Copy," &c. *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(4) (R. Melvyn to Croft.)

Since I came to Scotland, the French in Leith and Edinburgh, use such cruelties, that all Scots absent themselves: and they are like to drive their friends away, for Lord Setowne, seeing his little credit, has withdrawn from Court, and will be content to live "at hame." Lord Bothwell is favourable to the laird of Haltowne whom he "comprehendit," and will not deliver him to the French, who seek him earnestly. Huntly and the northern lords refuse to come to the Queen who sent for them. "Mi lord quham I spak to yow of," has not been with the Queen since she left Leith "bot one tyme." He is presently beyond Forth, and I believe "that fra tyme this gentillman that I am vith have spokin with him, he sall not cum quhair the Quen may be his maister."

I have been so well treated by you and convoyed on my journey by your servants, that I am bound to do you all pleasure, and "man request yow to thank thir gud fallowis for the pains they have tane with me at this tyme."

This gentleman I am with recommends him to you. I assure you

Elizabeth 1559. ye may credit him "als meikill quhan ye have ado, as ony man in al Scotland: and he is in credit with mony that are newtrall, and may do mekill gud at thair handis." *Not signed.*

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "x Decemb. 1559. Melvyns lettre to M^r Croftes."

Dec. 20. **597.** ARRAN AND LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

When Robert Malvile came to S^t Andrews on the 15^th, and we had seen his writings and heard his credit, we sent one to the Duke and Council for a meeting at Stirling on 21^st, when we doubt not to satisfy all things required by Lethington in his articles. What moves our writing now, is the daily incoming of the "Frenches," putting the Fife coast towns in great fear, and we hear they await some further force "to cum in on the taill" of their victuallers; and think the Queen's ships to keep the Firth, should be hastened hither. None of the neutral lords now come near the Dowager, but will join us when they see you assist us. The Council at S^t Andrews has been and taken order with the Fife barons, &c. at Cowper, and Angus Mearns and Stratherne also. Our letters through the country are duly obeyed, and we have put union between gentlemen at variance. We arrested 5 ships with wine, which are at Dundee for the army, and sent north for victuals, also in Fife to furnish the ships lying "foranentis" Leith to resist the French. And as Robert Malvile or other messenger is to come by Carlisle to you, we would you wrote to Lord Dacres to forward them. Kinghorn. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Stewart.

Since writing we hear surely from the Council "west" that the Dowager has "dressit" the Earl of Lennox to come home in this country, promising him both his own lands and the Earldom of Angus, to which he has agreed. Desiring you to stop his coming.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Dec. 20. **598.** ARRAN AND LORD JAMES TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

[*In precisely similar terms to preceding.*] Kinghorn. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Stewart.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

[1559.] Dec. 20. Cott. Calig. B. x. fol. 187. **599.** ARRAN TO [CECILL].

This is to let your honour understand how business has passed since my arrival in this country, and to save long discourse to the Queen, I pray you give her Majesty the news. Finding my father here "in his hus of Hammilton," I remained but one day, tarrying for my cousin Argyll and the Prior that were in Dunbar. When they came, we three went to Stirling, where we found "the rest of the Congregation," the principals being the Earl of Monteith, Huntly's brother, the Earl of "Kinkern," * Lords "Riwwen," Ochiltre, Boid, and other lairds and barons, whose names I have not well "in memore."

* Glencairn (?)

Elizabeth.
[1559.] Many matters were proponed, but as none would take on him to be "hedisman," little was done. Seeing this, I called them together, showing them that where the matter touched my father before "for religious caws," now it touched him far nearer, since the proceedings of the French show clearly their design tended "bot to the defrading of us that ar the richt eris to the Crown, and to impayr them of the rewme," praying them all to come to my father's house, when I judged he would join them. They all came, and have been these two days past with him, and he has subscribed all "the bandes," and moreover has written to the Regent that he and all the noblemen find her proceedings were "marvowlus ewill," and if she did not put out the French men, as she promised, and stop fortifying Leith, he is determined with the others to remedy it as far as they can. He has "gart writ" certain articles in his name and the "leiwe"* of the noblemen of the Congregation, of her extortions, "sik as cewngining [coining] of unlafull mwni, and sclachters," &c., to be shown both to her self, and also openly to the people, and that on 15th of next month the whole force of Scotland shall be mustered and "cri down hir autorite." We purpose to take Edinburgh town if possible, for she would be forced to go to Dunbar, as she dare not tarry in Leith. And we hope to gain Lord Erskine captain of Edinburgh, to which effect the Prior "quhilk is his sisters sone" and I, shall meet him on Saturday next in Lochlewin, and my father has written to him of his danger to him and his house if "he neclek himself." He and I have also written to Huntly, and "his grace" says he is as assured of him as any man in Scotland. Now I have told your honour all I know at this time, and pray you to make the Queen's highness "partissipent." Hamilton, this xx day of December. *Signed:* James Hammyltone.

2 *pp. Holograph. Address leaf lost.*

Dec. . Eg. 1818, fol. . . . **600.** QUESTIONS TO THE LORDS OF SCOTLAND.

As to the French purposes—how many of the nobles openly against them? with them? neutrals? next heirs to crown of Scotland? what objection to Lennox's claim? the Duke's power and force? what victuals? ships? cattle, &c. 12 hostages for English aid—the Dowager's power and resources?

1½ *pp. Written by Randolph. Indorsed:* "Questions serving to the fortherance of the . . . interest aganis Leithe. Decembre 1559."

Dec. . **601.** INTERROGATORIES TO LENNOX'S SERVANT.

(1) What was the substance of the Earl his master's message? (2) If in writing or not? (3) To how many did he communicate the cause of his coming hither? (4 and 5) How often and with whom went he to the French ambassador? (6) To whom did he declare it? (7) What letters has he sent to France since coming hither? and (8) What did he and Leche commune on?

1 *p. Holograph of Cecill.*

† Lave, *i.e.*, rest.

Elizabeth.
[1559.] Dec. .

602. DEPOSITIONS BY LENNOX'S SERVANT.

These be the message and words my lord commanded me and I delivered to the ambassador, 21st of December. [12 *paragraphs not numbered.*]

(1) My master the Earl of Lennox recommends him to your lordship, and as captain "Bortyk" who came to him 15 days ago recommended by your lordship, showed him you desired my lords "petegry," * he sends it drawn out of Scots into French, lest you do not understand it. He said the Captain and he had talked of it before the latter left London.

(2) I said my lord intends suing his living in Scotland, the time serving well as his brother the Bishop of Caithness says, from the dissension between the Dowager and the Duke, who formerly opposed his suit to the Queen in France and to her mother. Praying you in your next letter to ask the Dowager's favour for my lord's suit which is godly and righteous, and I am sent here for a licence by the Queen to him for suing his own, viz., 2 earldoms, not to be lost—one of them Angus, coming by "my lady's grace" his wife.

(3) He said this was well done, besides the earl's title to the crown of Scotland, failing the Queen and issue of her body, as we were all "mortallis," and he would do him any pleasure he could, 'for we ar of som allyans, for my lord Aubigny† his brother has maryed a nere kynswomen of myne, callyd Madamoisselle de la Quewtle.'

(4) He then asked me if my lord and Aubigny loved as brethren ought to do? I said yes; but my lord had taken a little offence at his brother's while a prisoner in Flanders, bruiting that he had been unkind to him in his need—whereas my lord did what he could, and sent 2 of his servants to him, one after another, and also caused the Count of Feria [Ferrys] to write to an Antwerp [Handworpe] banker, to give "my lord Obygny" 200 crowns, which he refused to take, as too little. Hereon the ambassador said my lord must bear with his brother," he was a good stowt gentillmen, and not very wys, wyche was great pitie."

(5) He asked my name, how long I had served my lord, and if I knew captain "Bortyk"? Who he said "was lyke to be a good gentilmen, all geven of talking of the Scriptures."

(6) He asked the number and ages of my lord and my lady's "grace" children? I told him; then he said 'I perceve ye wold be gone . . . ye wil tary soupar with me.' 'No! I thank your lordship': I promised to see him before going, to bear his commendations to my lord.

(7) I was never with him before or since, or any other French ambassador, or carried or sent any letters to them or other Frenchman here or in France. And my lord and my lady's grace both expressly commanded me to see him "but ones in all," and I went alone.

(8) I told the occasion of my coming, first to your mastership, "my lord Robert," my lady Clynton, and one day, waiting in your chamber, my lord Paget took my hand, asked how my lord and lady's grace did? and I told him.

(9) Captain Leche came and asked for them and their children, and said he prepared to join my lord if he and my lady's grace approved,

* *i.e.*, pedigree. † John Stewart.

Elizabeth.
[1559]. having no other refuge, for his wife was dead and he had brought a young child from Germany and sold all his things. He came again to have me to the "Prynce of Swaden"* to dine with a Scotsman the "Dwkis" servant.

(10) "Sir, my lord my master and my lady's grace" know my truth and honesty, and God above knows I have been as true in my doings as any man in the "wordle" to this realm and them.

3¼ *pp. Contemporary hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Nesbitt x^bre 1559."

1559. Dec. 26. **603.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I have your letters and thank you heartily "off your gentilnes." I consider by inspection of the writings, that this matter is "a crafty fetche" of the Queen Dowager to stir up division, seeing the French are become so odious to the people. I think it has been "in working lang" before he† advertised you, and it will prove that divers messages have already passed between him † and Scotland: as I conjecture by the date of the Bishop of Caithness' "bill," 23^d October, received (as the Earl's letter bears) 10^th December. I doubt not you can meet their policy. He writes to you he can do the Queen better service "nor ony man els in Scotland": whereof I see no appearance, for if he had been an equal "mache" to the Duke, why did he give his enemy "sik" place, and let himself be driven out of his native country? I know few will favour his cause, and fewer still, for he and my lady are known enemies to "the Religion." The danger (though I fear it not much) may be, that the facility of some of his friends now favourers of the Congregation, may be abused by hope of his preferment—and this cause only moves the Queen Dowager in the matter. I saw her very busy with Gaston‡ (who is messenger herein) just before she entered Leith. Your honour sees more deeply than I, but I think I would "drive tyme" and give him no direct answer, lest on a plain refusal of his demand, he take another resolution. Upon colour to confer with him as to service, he might be sent for; and order given that he leave not the realm, thus avoiding all dangers.

As to the "Information" of his right and title to be second personage, I see in it many "bare allegeances, and cannot be verifyit, and the haill is sufficiently to be answerit by the sentence of divorce and actes off parliament, quharoff I deliverit yow the copyes." If it please you, I would gladly advertise the Duke and the Prior of S^t Andrews of this "propos," that they may retain the friendship of such as will favour Lennox, and let Morton understand the Queen Dowager's mind to him and his house anent the earldom of Angus; but this only if you give me leave. And "siclyke" I will write to send some to Berwick to confer with my lord Gray and others there, as also to the princes of Germany, and will send you the pacquet when ready to be sent to Sir James Croft. "Frome M^r Wadis house on S^t Stephenis day." *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "1559, 26 December. M^r Matland. Erl Lennox."

* John, Duke of Finland. † Lennox. ‡ Stewart of Galston.

Elizabeth.
1559. Dec. 28.

604. THE FRENCH DESIGNS ON SCOTLAND.

Argument at a conference in M^r^ Treasurer's chamber before him, the Secretary, M^r^ Cave and M^r^ Sackvile.

I cannot think otherwise than that the Queen must prevent the French conquest of Scotland. If with a force of Almayns they should gain a battle in the north, we must prepare and offer another; for the realm having no fortresses there, must be in danger to be lost. And considering the loss of captains and good men of war in the first, the lack of people by "the late deth these iij or iiij yeares," the discomfiture of "your" common people at a battle won by such an enemy, and the hollow and discontented hearts in sundry parts of this realm, and divers other reasons, lead me to think it is the truest counsel for the Queen to prevent the danger and impeach their conquest of Scotland.

1 *p.* *Holograph of Cecill.* *Indorsed.* (Damaged by damp)

Dec. 31. **605. SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.**

We send you letters received from Arran and Lord James to us, with one from Knox, and others to you and the Laird of Lethington. In our last of 28^th^ we said the French had gone towards Sterling, and now hear, though not certainly, they are past Lithquo, the Protestants mustering to resist them, and they have left not more than 3 or 4 "enseignes" in Leith and Edinburgh.

We have written to Arran and Lord James, that Norfolk and Gray are on the way hither, our ships are at sea these 8 or 10 days bound for the Frith, as wind, &c., will serve and the Marquis d'Elbeuf [du Boeuf] is yet in France as you told us. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

Postscript.—Our spy reports that Captain Sarre le bois lies in Stirling with 1200 French, and D'Oysell with 1400 in Lythquo, and the Protestants are assembled against them.

1 *p.* *Holograph of Sadleir, also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Arran and Lord James to Sadleir and Croft.)

Received their letter of 21^st^ on the 26^th^. Wrote their opinions on Robert Melwin's desires, or ever the Council assembled, "and prays to God" they are not deceived therein, for it has taken effect as they wrote, albeit the storm of weather has stopped it. When they left Stirling, the French came with their whole force, they think "to cutt the brige" and stop their meeting; but the English fleet once in the Frith, this shall little advantage them. The French propose "langis this cost syd of Fyiff," to stop which, "we ar presently lying heyr" to cut their way. Urge the coming of the fleet which shall "want na furniteur of viveris." Send the double of the Council's commission, which after reading send to Lethingtoun. Melwin is gone straight to Court with the principal. They hear that Randel is safe

Elizabeth.
1559. arrived with the Duke in Glasgow. Kynghorn, 28th "of this instant." *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Stewart.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(2) (Knox to Croft.)

The bruit is the French are on some great enterprise, they have shipped much ordnance, and are not very "sollist" to reinforce the daily decays of Leith. If they take as is feared, Stirling or St Andrews, it will be hard to remove them. The Lords sent me from Stirling to urge the English ships to show on these coasts. Time was never more fit, for the weather has driven the most part of the French northwards, and Marquis d'Elbeuf is in their company. If waited for in the Frith, they could not escape. There last arrived 900 men, the rest bruited at 15 ensigns, are looked for. The messenger last from above who comes by the West border will instruct you in all things. St Andrews, 26 December. *Signed:* John Knox.

1¼. *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . Knox." *Begins abruptly, perhaps part lost.*

Dec. 31. **606.** RANDOLPH TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

Since arriving here, my "greeffes" have been such I could do no service. On the 24th, 13 ensigns of French left Leith for Stirling: their true intentions, whether on the lords, the castle and town, or to spoil Fife and return, cannot be known either by spial or prisoners taken "schatteringe" by the way betwixt "Lethcowe" and Stirling. Some think they purpose Glasgow, where the Duke is. Monsieur Doysell himself, when as far as Lithquho, was suddenly recalled to Edinburgh, the cause unknown, whether the arrival of more French at Leith, sight of our fleet, or his little hope of taking Stirling Castle; for Lord Erskyn has said whenever they attack it he will shoot [sute] at the Queen in Holyrood house. At Stirling there are 5 ensigns under Sharlebois, 8 in Lithcowe, 4000 at Leith and Edinburgh, unless more have arrived. Arran and Lord James are at Dunfermline, Burnt island, and thereabouts in Fife, to resist the French. The Lords "here" will be ready with their force against 10th January, to meet our force on 8 days' warning from you, at Colbornespathe or elsewhere more convenient. They think best you land cannon and artillery at Aberladie, rather than draw them by land from Berwick. They mistrust no lack of cattle and provision for the army. Twelve hostages are at last granted, 6 to be brought into Berwick before the English enter, and 6 after. They have 30 days' provision, after which expired, the Lords, with their own friends servants &c., will remain, 1000 foot and 200 "intertayned" soldiers, so long as the English camp is here. This bearer, the Duke's kinsman, is sent by him to know your advice on the Humes, Fernehirst, Cesford, &c., and to travail accordingly. Lord Maxwell can best report his readiness. I can testify his favour to this cause, for he convoyed me half way from his house to this town. Credit the bearer in these matters, who also desires to buy a handsome gelding to serve upon, wherein I am a suitor for him. Glasgow. *Signed:* Tho. Barnabye.

2¼ *pp.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . Mr Randall."

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Jan. 8. **607.** ARRAN AND LORD JAMES TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

"This haill ten or tuelf days we haif bene continually impeschit and trawaillit with the Franchis, the haill cuntre faschit and superexpendit," and ourselves put to exceeding cost, as we wrote to you of late; and have had to retire to S[t] Andrews "to tak and grant sum refresching to the commounte." They have followed us, and come to Kinghorn and Kirkaldy, causing us to assemble and "muif" towards them to Cupar, where we remaining with the foot, sent our horse to Kinghorn. The inhabitants provoked by "sum lycht scarmysche," rashly "mellit" with the enemy before full arrival of our horse, with whom was my lord Sutherland (sent to us by Lord Huntly, with assurance of his good mind), who was in the skirmish shot in the left arm. Our people being of no power, were repulsed with "equal" slaughter, which is very small. The enemy has occupied Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy and Dysart, wherethrough we must either "jeopard" battle (very hazardous) or abandon Fife to them. The desired arrival of your ships would have "rayd" * this whole business, and granted us opportunity of provision. You can consider the necessity, and do what is best to relieve us your friends with diligence. We have advertised you, lest "wers nor the treutht suld haif bene reportit unto you." Cupar in Fife. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Stewart.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Jan. 10. **608.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

You may see by your letters, what service the "shewe" of your ships on our coast could do, and the danger of long drift of time: and I pray to know the Queen's mind, that the ships be hastened. My expectation is she will not alter her former resolution, whereof I was put in hope. *Mature opus est facto quia nocuit differre paratis.* As I gave the noblemen such comfort of aid, if it is delayed, my credit is like to be in hazard, and they will be driven to despair. The French proceedings are as of desperate men, tempting Fortune: wisdom requires of our men, not to commit the whole to Fortune while hoping for aid, and if well advised, they will conserve their force till your final resolution. Where destitute of help, the last refuge is to essay Fortune, and either get victory in battle, or die in the field, which would have been essayed or now, had they not looked for your help. Wherefore I would be glad to know hereon before the French grow too strong. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "L. Ledyngton."

Jan. 12. **609.** RANDOLPH TO CROFT.

I have your letter of 5[th], and would write more at large, but for the danger to those carrying the same. Late at night on the 9[th] M. la Marque, sent by the French king at Blois to the Dowager of Scotland, with many letters and great credit, was brought to this

* Redd, *i.e.*, cleared up.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. town, by some gentlemen from the Borders. He was charged to return with all speed through England. At his arrival, and urgent desire, the Duke heard what he had to say: which was that he was a simple messenger sent to learn the estate of the Queen Dowager, reported in France as either dead or near the end of her life. He utterly denied having credit, and could only say that the King was sorry so to deal with this realm as he intended: that the Marquis d'Elbeuf left Calais 14 days before his arrival here. But the Duke and lords of Council credited him so little, that he is in strait custody, and unless he will shortly "largelyer departe with his secretes," he is not like to see many of his countrymen, nor discharge his credit where sent, till too late. I was present, the favour shown him was great, as his demeanour deserved. Though I knew him in time past, I thought this no time to renew it. I have more experience of his doings and traffics through his oft passage through England, than any man here, and judge that his takers have done no small service. The resolution of the other affairs depends on Robert Melvin's return,* daily looked for and much longed after, but all shall be ready by the day, as also the like is desired where you are. It is reported here that Martigues is arrived with 300 "brave souldiars," that M. D'Oysel and la Brosse have crossed to Fife with more, and that "John a Doddes" and his company are beaten out of Burntisland, some slain on both parts. The French have hanged 7 or 8, but for 10 days we have heard nothing. I fear "those two gentlemen" may venture their persons too far in some notable enterprise, but I leave you to judge on reports till I hear from them. I inclose copies of the letters La Marque brought, the contents of which worth sending, speedily send away. Glasgow. *Signed:* T. B.

Favour the bearer's humble suit in his causes. The Duke desired also to have him in remembrance.

2½ *pp. Holograph, 6 words in cipher. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "12 Januar. 1559. M^r^ Randall to M^r^ Croftes."

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Noailles to the Queen Regent.)

The "suffisance du Sieur de la Marque," present bearer, keeps me from relating news. The Queen here charges me to tell you her desire to preserve peace between the three realms. The King has recalled me, and I expect my successor daily. Pardon my inability in endeavour to serve your majesty. London, 2^d^ Jany. 1559. G. de Noailles.

¾ *p. French. Copy by Randolph.*

(2) (Francis II. to the Queen Regent.)

Being desirous to have news of her health, he has despatched the Sieur de la Marque the bearer, commanded simply to go and return. Asks credence for him. Blois, 23 December 1559.

(In "his owne hand"†).—He will not be at ease till better news of

* These words deciphered by Mr Thorpe. † Written by Randolph.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. her health. Desires much to see her soon, she will have no better "medicines" than her daughter and himself. Vostre bon filz, Francois.

1 *p. French. Copy by Randolph.*

(3) The Duke of Guise to La Brosse and Bishop of Amiens.)

After well considering the causes for which the bearer is sent by the King, they shall hasten his return with good news to the King and Queen. Asks credence for him. Your very affectionate friend, Fransois de Lor[raine].

¼ *p. French. In Randolph's hand.*

(4) (Francis II. to M. D'Oysel.)

The bearer La Marque is despatched solely to get news of the Queen Regent's health. Asks credence for him. Bloys, 25 December, Fransois.

¼ *p. French. Copy by Randolph.*

(5) (Francis II. to M. de la Brosse.)

Has sent La Marque the bearer on business which he will himself communicate privately. 23 December, Fransois.

¼ *p. French. Copy by Randolph.*

(6) (Guise to D'Oysel.)

La Marque the bearer will tell all I would have written. He is dispatched in haste, only to bring back news of the health of the Queen Regent, "Madame ma seur." 25 December. Vostre bien bon amy le Duc de Guise.

¼ *p. French. In Randolph's hand.*

Jan. 13. **610.** LENNOX TO CECILL.

On the 13th instant I heard by my servant, dispatched to my servant Laurence Nesbet on 2d,—with a note of information for you as to the "bastardrye" of Hamilton, how that no parliament did legitimate said Hamilton—that said Laurence is committed to the Tower. Whereat I marvel not a little, for his only charge was to travail for my right in Scotland—wherein I trust the Queen will not be offended, but rather strengthen and further my wife and me to recover our own, as much for her Majesty's commodity as ours—and consider how gracious her progenitors have always been to my wife and me, and how upright we have kept ourselves to this hour. Praying to know the offence of my servant, till when I shall be "muche unquieted." "My house of Sutringhton, Saterday xiijᵉ of January *anno* 1560." *Signed:* Mathow Lewenax.

The note of foresaid information is here inclosed.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . Erl Lennox to Mr Sec. con. Nesbitt." *Round wafer signet: shield,* 3 *mullets in chief and a heart in base* (Douglas).

Elizabeth.
1559-60. Jan. 13. **611.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO NORFOLK.

Signifying the late arrival of Lennox's servant Nesbitt with his master's "olde right and clayme in Scotland"—his request for the Queen's licence—the Secretary's deliberation thereon, communication with his fellow councillors, and Nesbitt's committal to the Tower till further enquiry. The Duke is not to appear to have any knowledge of this dangerous matter, but to allow no Scotsman to pass the Border without licence. As the French mean much in setting up this matter, the Earl's son and heir is better in England than elsewhere.

1½ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "M. to my l. of Norf. touching the Erle of Lennox xiij° Januarij 1559."*

Jan. 15. **612.** THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO LENNOX.

Referring to his servant Nesbitt, sent with his pedigree of consanguinity to the Queen of Scots &c., that the holidays had "letted" their decision, and the servant's strange conduct had caused them in discharge of their duty to the Queen, by her authority to commit him to the Tower. They are sorry that his lewd handling has hindered his master's causes, but assure the Earl they could do no otherwise.

Postscript†.—Since writing, they perceive the Earl had asked M^r^ Secretary about his servant, and they meant to send a reply 4 or 5 days past.

1¼ *pp. Draft corrected by Paget. Indorsed* (by Cecil): ". . . Copy of a lettre to the Erle Lennox."

Jan. 20. **613.** ARRAN TO MAITLAND.

Though this long time desirous, I could not sooner advertise you of our state, being impeached by troubles, chiefly here, where the French have been these 16 days "bigain"; whose pretence is we suppose to pass to S^t^ Andrews. But with our small power we have till now stopped their enterprise, and taken "twa chippis" wherein "Monsiewr de Martigwes" came, and next day took and slew 40 or 60 of their men. But their long stay has so wearied and discouraged the country, that we are destitute of their help, for they despair of the English ships and army: and we lie nightly in our arms, most part on horseback, "nocht only to scrimische them, bot also to cwt thair wiwirs."‡ This constant travail has decreased our horsemen from 800 to scarcely 200 now serving. We are within 3 miles of the enemy, and will abide so long as we can hold 20 horse together. "The Lord faworis so this lytill trowp," that the enemy having twice marched forward, once for 2 miles, the other for 4, has been constrained to return "to the plaice thay comme fra."

I send 2 letters to the Queen, brought to me from France expressly, with credit by Walter Melwin, viz., "that the faithfull pepill of France, seiing the crwawlte and tirani of the reawlers of thair Frenche King, slaiing and mwrdring dayly the sanctes of God, hes chosen them selwis ane of the gretest prinsis of France,§ protestant, to be thair

* The year added by Cecill.
† By Cecill.
‡ *i.e.*, provisions.
§ Condé.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. "chiftain and condewctewr, and be this menis powrposis God willing, to recwwir the Crestian liberte." Hereof the ministers assure me, as they are faithf:l men, and to begin in three weeks. The "tare" of the English ships has hindered many, chiefly Huntly, who sent Sutherland with commission to me to sign in his name "the band," assuring me of his support "as ony freind I haiwe, ye! as my awin fader": and desiring to know when England would come in? when he would join them with "the heill north of Scotland." Sutherland has shewn his part by "chedding of his blwd," when shot through the arm at the skirmish the second day he came, and in great danger to lose it; whereof we trust God shall deliver him. Dysart. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

As I have written more at length to you, than to others, in case ye show it, as I wish ye did, write it over again in your own hand, and show ye have "dessiferit" it. This is because I have written my other letters in "sifir," but had no leisure to write yours, being so long. I wish to heir "ofter" from you, but believe ye "pretermit no occasion."

Send "surly thir two letters" to James Ormiston, with haste. "The ministres wrytis to me for [to] send the tain * befor the wder; thair both a afek." †

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed:* "To our traist freind the young lard off Lethingtoun." *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Jan. 20. **614.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

[*To same effect as preceding, without the postscript. The letters from France were brought by a brother of the laird of Rethe's.*] *Signed: by a heart pierced by an arrow, point downward.*

2 *pp. In cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed (?) in the same:—

(Huntly to Sutherland.)

Cousin, I pray you show my friend that he cause the English above all things "fra" they come in Scotland, to have 2000 or at least 1000 bowmen, which will be the first thing to defeat the French hagbutters: and forbid Arran to venture himself in skirmishes, for the whole weight of this matter stands on him. I shall leave nothing undone. "At Cairntully xiij of Januer."

¼ *p. In a Scottish contemporary hand. Indorsed:* This ticket is the copy of my lord of Huntly's letter to my lord of Sutherland "sen he was hurt." I send it to show you his good mind to us.

Jan. 20. **615.** NORFOLK, SADLEIR AND CROFT TO CECILL.

Last Thursday night, Brunston arrived with the Queen's letters, yours of 13th, and Lethington's answers to the Council's questions. As

* *i.e.*, one. † To same effect.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. our doings must rest on the Protestants' readiness to join us in the field, I shall meanwhile omit nothing, at the Queen's least charge. Yesterday I despatched Brunston, by way of Carlisle (as Lothian is very difficult), whence Lord Dacre shall convey him to the Master of Maxwell out of danger. I requested him to hasten the Scottish nobility to confer with us here—though as the French occupy them much in Fife, we doubt if they can—or send their hostages. I have also requested Lord Dacre to confer with Maxwell and stay the Borders as you advertised.

Yesterday a herald arrived with a signed instruction from the Queen Dowager, complaining of La Marque's taking in Berwick bounds: to which I answered, that he was truly taken in Scotland. She also complained of a French ship stayed in Newcastle—a feigned matter, and no such thing indeed, as I told the herald. He also brought the enclosed letter from La Brosse, and shewed me the Queen's safe conduct through England. I answered I could not hinder vain bruits, but thought La Brosse was too wise to believe them, and might safely use his passport, though I think not yet ready to depart; and so dismissed the herald, who I think rather came to spy than otherwise.

Neither Wynter nor the navy is yet heard of: nor any grain, whereof is great lack.

Postscript.—One Robert Rosse is come with the enclosed letter in cipher from Arran and Lord James. He says they are at Dysart with 500 horse within 3 miles of the enemy, and have with much travail held the French so straitly, that they dare not wander far from the water side. But their hope is in our fleet, the sight whereof in the Frith would double their courage, and cause many to rise to them, who now sit still. They expect some horse from the Duke of Chatelherault, and hope to defend themselves till our ships come. Sadleir and Croft have written to encourage them, copy of whose letter is enclosed.

I lately wrote to you to move her Majesty to appoint a sheriff of the county palatine of Durham, naming Mr Tempest as a meet man—but doubt my letter came not to your hands: praying he or another be placed with speed, for the room should not remain long unfurnished. Berwick.

(Postscript).—*Make my excuse if need be, for not writing to the Queen's highness "all this whyle," for indeed since coming I have found nothing worth. I am loth to trouble you, only to declare that the money now coming will not last if all the garrisons, old and new, be paid—so lend your helping hand that her highness for a little sparing, be not hindered, for "our credyt strechyth no farder than our mony," and the men must be paid "ever aforhand." *Signed:* Tho. Norff, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

3 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) La Brosse to Norfolk.)

I send by the bearer a passport which the Queen your "maistresse"

* Holograph of Norfolk.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. did me the grace to give. As the "bruict" here is that she has sent you her "lieuten general" to attack the French and favour the rebels here—(which I cannot believe), for we shall do nothing against the treaty of peace except on these rebels—I wish to know if I may pass with safety? Palace of Lislebourg, 9th January 1559. *Signed:* De la Brosse.

1 *p. French. Addressed:* "A. Monsieur Monsr le Duc de Northfolk."

(2) (Arran and Lord James to Sadleir and Croft.)

The French are still in Bruntisland. On 12th our horse took and slew 50 or 60 French, and a ship of war took 2 newly arrived ships and 50 French, the "coronell" and 30 escaping by boat. Our commons have wearied and left us, and we are in no small stress, till your ships arrive, and need be hasted. These troubles "lett" our writing to Court. Credit the bearer. The Wymes, 15th January 1559.

½ *p. Copy by Railton. Deciphered letter from Arran and Lord James to Sadleir, &c.*

(3) (Sadleir and Croft to Arran and Lord James.)

We received your letter in cipher by this bearer on the 15th instant. We are glad of the "distresse" by your horse on the French and the taking of the ships, trusting that God will assist your godly and just cause. Our ships are daily looked for, and shall be hasted to the Frith with speed as weather serves.

The Laird Brunston sent by Lethington, this day entered Scotland by Carlisle, and will be with you as soon or before this letter, and declare fully the Queen's mind; therefore we will not trouble you longer. Berwick. As in our last, we pray you to hazard no battle, unless you find yourselves "an overpertie."

1 *p. Copy by Railton. Letter in cipher from Sadleir and Croft to Arran and Lord James.*

Jan. 21. **616.** RANDOLPH TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

If my letters of 13th, and copies of what came from France, reached you by the laird of Wetherborne's servant, you know of La Marque's taking, &c. On the 14th he was brought to Dumbriton out of the way of "recource." Before departing thence, he asked leave to write to the Dowager, M. Doysel, M. Nouales the ambassador in England, &c., but was allowed only to the Dowager. The other letters were stayed, as "Barnabie" pretends to know more of him than any here. His letter to the Dowager related his despatch, with credit from the King and Queen to her immediately after M. Rubie's arrival, his capture on leaving Berwick, and urging her grace to procure his speedy delivery. It was sent by "a boye of this howse" to the Bishop of St Andrew's servant, for the Dowager. Next day the Bishop's servant brought to the Abbot of Kilwinning her answer to La Marque (a copy whereof is enclosed), with a letter to himself, complaining rather of the disobedience in taking him, than that his coming "imported" her much, she having heard from Martigues (who left

Elizabeth.
1559–60. France after him) all he had to say. Howbeit, on La Marque's own confession Martigues was at sea, before he left Blois. The Bishop wrote also his mistrust of the English, the little chance of any aid from them, and that they had retired from Berwick, &c. Before this however the Queen had sent to know who was taken? And been answered, that on 3d or 4th instant La Marque was taken 4 miles on this side Berwick and was now in Dunbarton, where he would be treated as Scottish gentleman prisoners in the "Inche," Dunbar, &c. are. For so young a personage, he is very religious, and laments sore not hearing "Masse," or having wherewith to say his ordinary devotions. "He made request at his beinge in this towne to see the ordre of the commen prayers, which are the verie same or dyffer verie lyttle, from those of England. His divotion to them was so lyttle, or his dyscretion so symple, that he stoode whyleste other men kneled upon their knees, with his cappe upon his hedde, lokynge upon the walles, wich so myche dys contented the congregation, that one came unto hym and willed hym to dyscover his hedde, or retorne to his lodginge." He reports the French King's severity and constancy in punishing "Lutherians," and the King of Spain's favour to France. He muses why the Congregation expect succour from England, saying the Queen promised the contrary "by her owne mouthe" to Nouvales and himself when at Court for his passport. Nouvales in his letter to the Dowager, whereof I sent you a copy, writes the same. La Marque marvels that in these churches he finds neither altar nor image, candle nor surplice, as he said he saw in the Queen of England's chapel. He brought 3 books with him—one as papistical as ever was written, the other of love, to recreate his troubled spirits: the third was "the pronostication of the venerable personage Nostredamus, of this yere." I would have sent it to you, but there are too many here that give credit to such follies. This day the Queen Dowager's letter is sent to La Marque, and you shall hear his answer.

Martigue's arrival was as follows. The Duke heard on 13th of his landing at Leith with 15 or 18 gentlemen, having presence of the Queen Dowager at Edinburgh same night, with the 2 archbishops, &c. The news next morning was that Andrew Sandes late of Leith, had taken the 2 ships he came in, with great store of armour, money and apparel, and 8 "genette" horses worth more than 30,000 crowns, which greatly grieved Martigues. Yet I cannot believe he was so "woode" as reported here, "that he rent his heare from his bearde so cleane, as thoughe he had byne newe shaven!" The Queen is reported to have wept very sore. Men think the more sorrow she hath, the fatter she waxeth, which makes us believe that shortly, if she wept not oft, she would die for fat, seeing no other disease is able to take her out of this world. Martigues is still with her, the rest in Fife. She if able, and Doysell, will return to France, Marquis D'Elbeuf shall be lieutenant, Martigues "coulonel de linfantirie," the rest as they are, and more Scotsmen to be entertained—to make a party against the others.

For the Borders, Lord Hume told the Duke he would answer him by the 20th "present," whereon this bearer is sent to him. Of Fernehirst and Cesford there is good hope. Of the others, nothing more assured than the Master of Maxwell, whose doings with Lord Dacre you know better than I. Few lords repair to the Queen. Lately

Elizabeth.
1559–60. we hear that the Earl of "Mongummerie"* for private displeasure against the Duke, is gone to her with his household servants—his brother and friends came next day to the Duke. Cassillis is also with her—your honours know his power. Morton, Seton, and Bothwell, lie still—the last said to be weary of his part. "Of his syster, yf I myght as well wryte yt as speake yt in your heares, I had somewhat to say. Bycawse you wyll judge yt to be but a merrie matter, I will leave yt untyll a fytter tyme; thoughe judge what yt shall please your honours, yt is worthe the reportinge." The clergy stick stiff to their tackling, more able to relieve the Queen with grave counsel, than help with money or men; they are readier to borrow than lend. Martigues it is said, makes means for money, it was all lost in the ship. For anything I can hear or guess, the French are not to be feared, having neither money nor assured place of retreat. Leith is daily repaired, which looks like one; there are not above 500 there, and at Edinburgh very few. For the castle, it is thought one of the greatest stays why he shows not himself a friend, "is a neighbour of yours." We are uncertain of him; he is now a friend that will not be an enemy. The French have had little success in Fife; have been driven to such need that Leith and other places on this side chiefly supply them. You have heard of Burntisland taking, I am sure. They lie chiefly at Kingorne, Kirkcawldie, &c. For offence at the Laird of Graynge, they lately burned a fair house of his and spoiled it. Next day as reported, he slew an ensign of theirs and 15 or 18 men, the rest taken prisoners to Dundee. Since then 300 French intending an enterprise, had scarcely time to retire. The two lords lie within 3 miles of them with 2000 foot and horse. The French artillery is reported back at Leith, arguing their return. There are 300 at Stirling, thus in all about 3000. I hear not of many Scots joining, except the Lord Robert and Abbot of Dunfermline. Expedition is very needful that so good an opportunity be not lost. I travail with my pen, "and daylie labor here with my tonge, untill my braynes do ake." Your honours have heard of Huntly's promise, which has greatly comforted many here. A good wise gentleman of these parts lately told me he thought the French would fortify Burntisland—the haven being convenient against Leith. In my simple judgment I see no fit place there, for it is "subjecte" to cannon, and the "moulde unfeet to fortifie with." There is no other place till S^{t} Andrews, and there no work to any effect could be done in short time. I fear most their gaining Lord Erskine.† He also said that 3 years since the Queen Dowager was in communication with him, "beinge of that countrie, of a place not farre from Are, cawled the Truyne,‡ lienge harde upon the sea, so commodius as the lyke was not to be founde upon the weste seas." I advertise your honours hereof in case any French force were to land there: I hope ere long to see the place. Dunbarton is defended by nature, and stored for 6 months at least. I am promised very shortly to see it, and commune with La Marque, who is like to keep his Easter there, unless he discloses his secrets. I enclose copy of a proclamation at Edinburgh on the 14th instant: it was said before it came, that "the stile therof was kinge and quene of France Scotlande Englande and Erelande." It is said a herald is sent to the Duke of

* Eglinton. † In cipher. ‡ Troon.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. "Northefolde" complaining of La Marque's taking on English ground. His own letter to the Dowager says the contrary; for he first wrote "a l'issue de Barwick," and then changed it to "trois ou quatre milles de câ Barwick." It is said Lord Dacres has proclaimed that Scotsmen may come to Carlisle without safe conduct, and the Master of Maxwell the same at Dumfries, and they are reforming these Borders—much to be desired. Alexander Armstrong with his friends, has promised service to the "Dukes grace" in any way he lists. All men here are very ready, they wait and muse on the long stay of their last messenger. They chiefly desire that at least 3 or 4 of our ships were in the Frith to join with the Dowager's. Andrew Sandes took another ship between Leith and Dundee. La Marque said that Martigues left France with 2000 soldiers and 18 ships; the greatest "accompte" of them is 6 ships and 300 soldiers. He said that Delbeuf had left Calais before he came there, with 6 sail—thought to be the whole that can be spared till next summer. So there is nothing like speed, giving me leave to end with the old saying *Semper nocet differre paratis.* I would be glad to have written something "in other sorte," but I left my "artographie with 8," who sent me, another than I looked for: but the bearer has deserved well of me and others, and is the surest by whom I may understand your pleasures. May it please you to send these and the enclosure as you know. Glasgow. *Signed:* T. R.

The Lords desire to know who is warden of the East Marches.

8 *pp. Holograph, closely written. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(The Queen Dowager to La Marque.)

I am greatly displeased to hear by your letter, of your arrest while on your way from the King to enquire for my health; and still more that those of this nation have meddled so boldly with his servants, having too many faults already without adding this. I tell you that if within 5 days the Duke does not send you to me with your despatches as when taken, he shall find effectually there are means both here and in France, to make him feel and remember it all his days. Edinburgh, 17 January, Marie R.

½ *p. French. Copy by Randolph.*

(2) (La Marque to the Queen Dowager.)

This day your majesty's reply to my letter from Glasgow, has been brought to me. In place of those in whose hands I am being disposed to redress the past, the morning after I wrote to you I was brought to this castle, where I look for a long stay, if God who is a just judge permits not obedience to those entitled to it. My chief consolation is your majesty knows where I am; I will bear it patiently as for the king's and your service, and it shall not avail the designs of my keepers. Dunbarton Castle, 20th January. La Marque.

½ *p. French. Copy by Randolph. Indorsed.*

Jan. 21. **617.** CROFT TO ARRAN AND LORD JAMES.

Part of the Queen's ships have arrived, but from weather,

Elizabeth.
1559–60. they lack boats, mariners and victual. Thinks it better to send them on for supply in Scotland, than back to Newcastle. Has 500 men who could not be shipped for want of boats, whom he will stay till he hears. Berwick. James Croft.

¼ *p. Copy by Railton. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Jan. 21. **618.** GUI OPEYCET TO THE QUEEN REGENT.

Captain Robin Ladre is come here and told me to advertise you that he embarked in "ung naviri de selle," in the rode of Eymouth [Ahmues]; the English asked him how many people there were in Inchkeith [Lile de Schivaus]? He thought they would harbour there. One ship carries 13 cannon, in another 500 soldiers. To-day 8 very great have passed the Isle of May towards Inchkeith. Dunbar. *Signed:* Gui Opeycet (?)

There are 13 in company, and 14 coming after. The Duke of Norfolk (?) [Noterberlan] is come to Berwick and Lord Dacres returned to Newcastle [Nescasal] and thinks to be marshal of the foot.

1 p. *French. Holograph* (?) *Addressed:* "A la Reyne a Lilebort."

[1559–60. Jan. .] **619.** [MAITLAND] TO . . .

I omitted the taking of La Marque with the king and queen's packet. It contained nothing but credence, so large as if the King, Queen, Cardinal, and Duke of Guise had been all here in proper person! He is presently in Dunbarton, kept straitly, for all the Dowager's "bost."

This day I got word that Grange's house was not "cassyn" down, but the corns burned and the houses before the yett,* and spoiled. His French prisoners were sent to Dundee. Andrew Sandes asked the lords to send and see the coffers and "balhuffis" that he took in the ships opened, but they would not, and sent him word it was all his own "and it war" 100,000*l.*! Yet I trust the man shall spend it all in the common action, for he and the rest of Dundee are sending out 6 or 7 ships to keep the "Fyrth." Our friends may think it "strenge and uncoutht" that the French are "sa lang onfouchin" with, but the matter understood, it is better undone. For they are soldiers in one king's pay always together, and when our people gather in force, retire to their strength, till ours are "scalit," who you know cannot long "byde" together. If we chance a battle on uncertainty, we risk the "tynsell" of our nobles, who must be the first in danger, as appeared in the last skirmish, when the Master of Lyndsay and the laird of Grange were first to alight and risk their lives—though God gave them victory without any loss except Thomas Kirkcaldy shot through the body with a hacbut, yet not thought in danger of life or limb—and a gentleman of my lord Duke's, slain at the burning of a house where some Frenchmen had taken refuge. Now if we had lost Lyndsay and Grange, it would have been more hurt to us than

* *i.e.*, gate.

Elizabeth.
[1559–60.] 1000 to the French—yea I would have thought more of losing them, than slaying all the French in Scotland.

We are in mind shortly to invade Stirling if we can. Argyll went to his country 8 days "syne," and this day we got word from him that he is evil disposed but will be here with diligence if either "he may gang or ryde." All preparations are going on, only waiting our friends' advertisement "quhilk yit agane we pray to be heastit."

1 *p. Closely written in a Scottish hand. Indorsed* (in same): "Lidingtoun." *Evidently a postscript to a letter.*

1559–60. Jan. 22. **620.** NORFOLK AND SADLEIR TO CECILL.

On arrival here yesternight from Berwick, I found Holstok captain of the *Swallow*, and understand from him that on Sunday night 14th instant Mr Wynter left Leestoffe rood with 12 men of war, leaving 2 to "wafte" 7 others with munition, armour, &c.,—was driven back off Flamborough head by weather into Humber mouth on Monday, put out again and reached Flamborough on Tuesday night, and parted there by violence of weather. On Friday morning Holtok in the *Swallow*, with the *Falcon* and *Jerfalcon* came into Tynemouth, after riding off it all night, he says in great peril. Wynter and 7 ships on Thursday night last were "thwarte uppon" Bamburgh Castle, and on Saturday morning last, I saw them "in the sees afore" Berwick. Though not sure they were the Queen's ships, I ordered Sir James Croft before leaving, to reinforce them with 500 or 600 "harkebutiers" to aid the Protestants, and to instruct Wynter for his conduct in the Frith—which I have now sent him in writing by Holstok, as the copy herewith will show my lords and you.

Postscript.—I also send letters from Croft and Winter. I hear nothing of the grain ships, nor of my promised commission of "Oyer terminer" which pray hasten.

As I was about to "signet" this, Sir James Croft wrote with a packet from Thomas Randall *alias* Barnaby with his letters to Sir James and Sir R. Sadleir, and copies of the letters brought by La Marque—all which I enclose. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir.

1½ *pp. Written by Sadleir. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same :—

(1) (Norfolk's instructions to Wynter.)

[*Under six heads.*]

To embark the harquebusiers—hasten to the Frith—with advice of Arran and Lord James, annoy the French—hinder Delbeuf's landing—keep good watch on the French in Inchkeith and both sides the Frith, and (6th) to give no desperate adventure—but all as of his own head and of himself, "as though he had no commission therfore" of the Queen, or of me her lieutenant. And I think he and part of the fleet should forthwith show themselves in the Frith, leaving the rest to follow. Tho. Norff.

1 *p. Copy by Railton. Indorsed:* "The copie of my lord of Norffolks grace instructions to Mr Wynter."

Elizabeth.
1559–60.

(2) (Wynter to Norfolk, Sadleir and Croft.)

At leaving the Court, I received instructions from the Queen, which I enclose to your grace. And to inform you of our proceedings since leaving Gillingham, I send M^r^ Gorges and M^r^ Mallyn, two of the Queen's captains, desiring credence for them, and to learn from your grace what shall be "nydfull" for me to know, and with speed, "bycawse our roode" here is uncertain. Aboard her majesty's ship, riding in Coldingham bay, 20th January 1559. *Signed:* W. Wynter.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "20 January 1559. M^r^ Wynter, from Cold: baye."

(3) (Wynter's journal.)

Wednesday 27^th^ December about 9 a.m. the admiral weighed anchor, riding before Queenborough in Jellingham water, for the north. Same day, wind S.S.E., between 3 and 4 o'clock, we came to anchor against Goldmore gate beside "the Nase of Harwiche, tharte of Walton hyll." Thursday 28^th^, about 10 o'clock, we weighed, and went over the Nase, the wind at S.S.W., and same day, wind W.S.W., at 4 o'clock p.m., we anchored in Yarmouth road. On Thursday 4^th^ January, we were forced to slip our anchors and cables with very much wind at N. and by E., and go back again "with Orwell waunes (?) afore Harwyche," some of the ships spoiling their mast and remaining to repair them. Thursday the 11^th^ January, at 12, we weighed with the wind at S. and by E., and same day at 4 o'clock we struck sail "a tharte" Dunwich, and "layed it a hullynge ii owers," and so went to sea all night, wind at S. On Friday 12^th^ we anchored athwart Laystoke, wind at [S. ?], W. and by S., and rode there till Saturday 13^th^ at 8 o'clock a.m., wind at W.S.W., and at 12 o'clock we anchored in Yarmouth road, wind at W. On Sunday 14^th^ we weighed at 9 a.m., wind at S.E., and came to Flamborough head, where we met the wind that night at 4 o'clock a.m. at N.N.W., by force whereof we returned to the Humber and there anchored at 4 p.m., wind at N., being Monday the 15^th^. Tuesday 16^th^ we weighed at 11 o'clock, wind at S.E. and by S., and went north to Flamborough head, and there the "terroure" of the weather was such that we lost all our boats, and 12 ships were dispersed, viz., the *Lyon*, M^r^ Wynter admiral; the *Phillip and Mary*, M^r^ Robert Constable vice-admiral; the *Harte*, M^r^ William Gorge captain; the *Antelope*, M^r^ Southewike; the *Jennet*, M^r^ Malyne; the *New Bark*, M^r^ Byston; the *Grayhound*, M^r^ Locke; the *Swallow* and others following dispersed, M^r^ Holstocke captain; the *Teger*, Croker; the *Willoughbie*, M^r^ Spencer; the *Jarfawcon*, M^r^ Stoneher; in the *Falcon*, Hare. Left in Yarmouth road, by my order to conduct the victuallers and munition to the appointed place, the *Bull*, Wynchestre captain, the *Saker*, Gyles Graye.

Thursday 18^th^ January, we anchored against Bamborowe Castle "atharte" Ferne island, wind at N.W., at 4 o'clock p.m.; and same night by force of weather, the wind "vyringe out" at N. and by E., we were constrained to go to sea with loss of divers anchors and cables. Saturday 20^th^ January at 11 a.m., we came to anchor at Ayemouth, wind at S.W. and by W.

2½ *pp. Indorsed* (by Railton).

Elizabeth.
1559–60.

(4) (Croft to Wynter.)

I have received your letters to the Duke (or in absence to Sadleir and me), and sent them to his grace with a double of the Queen's instructions. By his authority I signify my opinion, viz., that wind and weather serving, you sail to the Frith, and annoy the French, after conference with Arran and Lord James. For this purpose I send by the bearers a letter to them to be delivered by you to John Forett Scotsman whom I have detained here to serve your turn in all things relating to the service. You shall do all as of yourself, till the Duke's further instructions. Give credit to M^r^ Gorge and M^r^ Malling. Berwick, 21^st^ January 1559. James Croft.

½ *p.* *Copy by Railton.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Jan. 22. **621.** JEAN DU FAULTREY TO HIS BROTHER.

He was so tardily advertised of the incommodities suffered in his march "en campaigne" that he cannot send anything in safety, but will do what he can, if instructed how. Has come to be near the Queen and the Bishop of Amiens, but thinks it will not be for long. This day 8 vessels are reported in sight, whether French or English uncertain. God grant they may be the Marquis's. Edinburgh.

Has not written to M. D'Oysel having nothing to say, but recommends himself humbly to him, and the "Seigneur dy Suriennaulx. M. Hamelyn is here, and they are helping him to pass "le mauvays temps." Prays him to say what is become of the "bandes" of M. de Thouars. *Signed:* Jean du Faultrey.

1 *p.* *French.* *Holograph.* *Addressed:* "A Monsieur du Faultrey mon frere."

Jan. 22. **622.** JEAN DU FAULTREY TO D'OYSEL.

Divers news have come to the Queen to-day that 8 ships have been seen off Dunbar steering for the Isle of May, some think French others English—and Monsieur de Coldyngham having sent a boat to view them, it was not suffered to come near. By command of the Bishop of Amiens, I enclose the Queen's advices received, and I hope for more ample news to-morrow, as her majesty has sent an express to North Berwick. Dagnolle thinks (if English) they are come to thwart your plans, but her majesty is assured that yourself and Monseigneur de la Brosse will know what to do with their warships and the victuallers. My lord has showed me a letter from Captain Maurigean at Dunbar, who is in want of "vivres," &c., wherein I will speak to-morrow morning with Captain Seriac, also to assist those of Brochhemouth, who have this day offered to assist the Queen to their utmost. Edinburgh.

I have opened this to tell you that the Queen having to-night the news that M. d'Amiens sends you, has sent 12 or 15 soldiers to the isle [en lisle] with provisions, and written to the Captain warning him to be on his guard. *Signed:* Du Faultrey.

1 *p.* *French.* *Holograph.* *Addressed:* "A monseigneur monseigneur de Villeparisis, gentilhome en. . . le chambre du Roy et son lieutenant general en Escosse."

Elizabeth.
1559-60. Jan. 23.

623. THE BISHOP OF AMIENS TO D'OYSEL AND DE LA BROSSE.

Last evening the news reached the Queen which she has commanded me to send you—which is but to divert your forces, for the bruit has been here for 3 or 4 days. Two soldiers arrived at midnight from Dunbar with the enclosed letter, complaining that since yesterday they had been without meat [chair] or "mat," and I fear little else. They have some flour and wine, how much I know not. There is no cause for fear, as those of Broxmouth [Brossemont] offer to supply flesh, &c., as ordered. The number of the ships is uncertain or if English or not—their object I think is only to keep the people on the rebels' side and give them no active help. Yesterday the Queen sent 12 or 15 soldiers to the Isle "au chevaulx" with provisions. The herald tells us there are no armed preparations. We hear so many reports no one knows what to believe. Some say 8 ships, others 14. I thought at first it was the Marquis, but Robin Lader was aboard of them and they are English. Therefore the Queen should send a despatch to her ambassadors to learn if the Queen of England is assisting her rebels, and if so, to inform the king that he may enquire why the peace is broken.

The Queen omits nothing for your help and the safety of Leith. You will consider if it would not be advisable for the safety of passage of M. le Marquis, to warn Calais, and also if you think good for his safe conduct, to send to the ambassador, (you having written to the Duke of Norfolk and received no answer in writing, but he merely said to the herald, that he thought the Queen his mistress would not break her word), to learn her intentions more definitely. Edinburgh. *Signed:* N. de P. Amyens.

This letter has been already once at sea, but could not pass the enemy's vessels, and has remained with me, till this morning 24th, I delivered it to the bearer a servant of M. de Villemor's. Some of their vessels having chased ours on the coast I have sent 25 hackbutters to their aid. To-day the Queen is to speak with the sergeants here as to what force they can muster against the enemy.

2½ *pp. French. Addressed:* "A messieurs monsieur de la Brosse chivaler de lordre du Roy, et monsieur de Villeparisis lieut^t general pour le Roy en ce Royme." *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xxiiij of January," &c.

Jan. 23. **624.** LENNOX TO THE COUNCIL.

I am sorry to see by your letter of 21st that my servant Nesbet's lewd handling, is occasion of his punishment and hindering my suit. He had in charge nothing but suing the Queen's licence in my private affairs in Scotland—and considering that the bruit may run there and comfort my enemies, also the poor man's ignorance, who hath overshot himself in words, more than his knowledge is,—I humbly pray you to set him at liberty, and that it may please her Majesty to licence me to "travais" in my affairs there, considering my great loss, as her progenitors have done before. With my wife's hearty commendations to your lordships for your gentle remembrance of her. My house at Setrington. *Signed:* Mathew Levenax.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a heart (indistinct).*

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Jan. 24.

625. M. DE VILLEMOR TO M. LISSIET.

Cousin, I thought to cross, but my sickness preventing me, I send John a Fenton, and pray you to lodge him and my "hacquenei." When better, I will see you. The bearer will give all news. Edinburgh. *Signed:* De Villemor.

½ *p. French. Holograph. Addressed:* "A Monsieur Lissiet."

Jan. 24. **626.** NORFOLK AND SADLEIR TO CECIL.

In reply to your letter of 20th and others with the same from my lords, doubting the arrival of the horsemen here by 1st February—how glad the Queen would be if the Scots would expel the French without her open aid—and that some fear this controversy between the French and Scots "be a trayne to betrappe us": (1) to give time for carriages, draught horses, &c., conferring with the Scots nobility at Berwick, and how to aid them, I judge the horse shall be in good time if here by 10th February: (2) you know, if the Scots could have done it alone they would not have asked our help against the French: and seeing the Queen has promised it and their hope thereof, I cannot see how it could be stayed without dishonour and great danger to these realms: (3) whatever others may think, I see the daily enmity and bloodshed between the French and Protestants is so manifest, that there can be no such scheme to entrap us. We are uncertain whether the French purpose St Andrews, or will return to Leith, but it is thought impossible thay can keep both. Some think they will return to Leith, as by the copy enclosed of Sir James Croft's letter to me of 22d. When our ships reach the Frith, the French determinations will appear, and then you can resolve as to aid by land or sea; for if they remain in Fife, they can only be annoyed by sea, and I know not what to do to Leith. For though easily surprised, I hear it is not to be fortified without long time and great charge—some think it can not. Besides I think we should not occupy any part of Scotland, lest the Scots mislike and fear our conquest, as they do the French, and from friends become enemies.

I shall have regard to the matter signified for Lennox. While writing, I received a packet from Croft, with letters from Arran and Lord James, one to Croft in cipher, which deciphered, I send you with the others. It would seem that they had formerly written to Sadleir and Croft of some intended interprise, who have not yet received the letter. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Croft to Norfolk.)

I received your letter of 20th from Alnwick, this day, and trust you have received the doubles of my letters to the admiral and lords of the Congregation, hoping I have done all for the best, for on conference with Gorge and Malling, &c., we thought the want of boats and mariners might be best supplied by the Protestants, and sending the ships to the Frith would comfort our friends. Last night Lord John of Coldingham was here and told me the French on Friday and

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Saturday were sending their ordnance from Fife to Leith, as also the 2 "enseignes" which were at Stirling, and on sight of our ships will make more haste from Fife. These have gone this day into the Frith, and I look for news from them and the lords with the first wind.

One Logan a Scot a "venturer" at sea and a friend to the Congregation, lately took some prizes, left them at Portsmouth and came here by land, asking safety in our ports for his ships and men, while he passed to advise with the Lords in Scotland how to further their cause. I assured him accordingly, and he with others are preparing 5 ships against the French; one of which being at Holy Island, is being stayed by the Lord Admiral's officers and Clavering. It may please your grace to give me authority herein, and as to such other ships which I know to be our friends. Berwick, 22 January 1559, James Croft.

1 *p.* *Copy by Railton.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(2) (Arran and Lord James to Sadleir and Croft.)

Being on the enterprise "we did let you knowe by the last berer," the enemy marched forward and broke our purpose, and though they retired to camp at Kinghorn, and we to ours here, we can do nothing at present. As we wrote before, Huntly sent his cousin the Earl of Sutherland with full commission, but being shot in the left arm and evil hurt at the first skirmish, he is gone home to make Huntly keep promise. The ministers of France assure us that their congregations are secretly resolved to take the field on a day within 3 or 4 weeks at furthest under a prince of the court, of the Blood royal. Your "lang tarie" has put all the commons and sundry barons in despair of your aid; and if your ships be not hasted, or your land host make not a "meanyng" forward to us, to draw the enemy back, we and the whole cause shall be put in extreme danger. Kircaldie tells us that within these 8 days, an Englishman came secretly to the Dowager and was conveyed forth in like manner by the Laird of Langton. He speaks "many good languages." Dysart, 19th January.

Despatch this other packet to the Court.

1½ *pp.* *Copy by Railton from the original cipher deciphered.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Jan. 25. **627.** RANDOLPH TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

On the 23d about 6 p.m. the Laird of "Brimstone" arrived here, sore troubled by the dangerous travelling. His news gave no small comfort to the Duke and other lords here. Before his arrival, the Master of Maxwell had sent from Dumfries to Arran and Lord James, that he was coming; so they knew he was here, as soon as we that saw him.

The Lords have this day "viz. the xxiiij" required me to signify how much they are bound to serve the Queen, and also to requite your good wills to the common cause. This day the lords in Fife wrote and their friends daily left them for rest to themselves and their horses, the enemy grew stronger, and they had to retire to Cupar, leaving their enemy more liberty, and desiring the Duke and other lords here to repair at once to their aid. They have therefore resolved to convene here on Sunday next, and on Monday to set forward to

Elizabeth,
1559–60. Stirling, where they hear only 300 French keep the town: of the castle they have no suspicion of evil. Necessity forces them to this till they see what becomes of the present cumber. They have great hope from the sending of these 500 men to Fife, and wish they were hastened. Their need requires no less, I assure your honours: and it were well our ships were in the Frith to encounter the French, whose following the Scots marching along the coast, annoys them more than the French skirmishers on land, besides bringing them provisions which they only get by sea. Their purpose seems only to weary the other out of the field. I cannot see how they can return to Leith by sea, if ships were laid to stop them about Burntisland, Kirkaldy, &c., and to return by Stirling is long, and as I think something is intended against them.

The Lords think it good that one be sent to confer with my lord of Norfolk, but can not resolve till meeting. The hostages are ready, but they would rather the Queen chose those whom it pleases her, than to send the whole 12. I have travailed with the Duke here to send his 2^{d} son the lord of Arbroath. It stands in suspense till the meeting with my lord of Arran: the young gentleman desires it very much himself. I see no impediment thereunto, *nisi quod pater sit aliquanto ad rem avidior.* If your honours think it will serve to any greater purpose to have him rather than the youngest, I do not doubt but it will be granted. I doubt not that my letters of 22^{d} are come to your hands. Barnabie has got leave to speak with La Marque, and that he shall not depart but on convenient terms, and desires your honours' advice. I desire pardon for my hasty and unadvised writing, as the time presses. Glasgow. *Signed:* Tho. R.

2 *pp. Holograph, closely written. Addressed* (To Sadleir or in his absence to Croft). *Indorsed.*

Jan. 25. **628.** RANDOLPH TO SADLEIR.

After ending my other letter, I received the inclosed from my lord of Arran, whereby you may judge their comfort at the ships' arrival. The Duke's purpose to Fife continues, except those there stay it till they assemble their friends. The Dowager it is thought shall be shortly received into Edinburgh Castle, "for anie travaile that cane be to the contrarie," only with her household servants and gentlewomen. Know for certain that she wrote to many gentlemen and lords to be ready, who purposely absented themselves and would not acknowledge either letters or message, as my lord Morton, on whose door her letters were fixed, as no man would receive them. I understand her party of Scotsmen is not like to be great, and her force by sea is very small. I heard there was a fair ship brought into a little haven at Kenele, and neither money (?) nor ware found in her, and no man knows her owner. The Duke has sent to-day to enquire further, as the town is his. [Glasgow], "at x of the clocke." *Signed:* T. R.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph. Addressed* (to Sadleir). *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "M^{r} Randall to Sir James Croftes."

Inclosed in the same:—

(Arran to Randolph.)

Although I have written to my father, yet I would certify you of

Elizabeth.
1559–60. our good news, that the ships arrived yesterday in the Frith to the number of 9 or 10 as yet, and the "ramanent" follows. John of Forret, Lord James's servant, came to us this morning at 2 o'clock, whom they retained to convoy them; and we are now "derekand" him back to them with our mind. What ye advertised me of, touching their treatment, shall not be forgot. I refer all other things to my father's writing. Cupar, 23d of this instant. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 25. **629.** WYNTER TO NORFOLK.

On the night of 22d, I arrived at the May, and immediately set on land on Fife side John Farrat, the Scot commended to me by Croft, giving him the letters you sent me for the Earl of Arran and Lord James, and also a bill of things we need, a copy of which I enclose —but hear nothing as yet from them. The 23d being very calm, we "dryvyd" up the Frith with the tide, and half way between the May and Inchkeith, we descried 2 ships, one hoy, &c., hard aboard Fife shore near a village called Dysart, and directing ourselves towards them, 2 Scottish gentlemen boarded us in a small boat from shore, called Robert Kyrkcawde and one Hamilton, who told me the French camp of 3000 men "and od" had been 3 days there, and departed that morning for St Andrews—that the vessels we saw were their men of war and barks laden with victuals and ordnance, &c., and if they got past us to St Andrews, the Congregation would be in great peril; but if we defeated them, the French purposes would be quite overthrown, and their camp in extremity, for the people along the coast fled on seeing them, and left no cattle or victuals to succour them—and their ordnance, powder, shot, tools, &c., &c., for winning St Andrews were in the hoy. Hearing this, I did what a man could do without boats, taking their two vessels of war, whereof the captains were Fyrnando Sayntandero a Spaniard, and James Cullyne gentleman, the hoy with their ordnance and munitions, and part of their barks with victuals, and drove the rest aground on Fife side where the Scots destroyed and spoiled them: of which and other matters the bearer will inform your grace. There are not 600 men in Leith at present, and those in Fife cannot get there this 4 or 5 days: and I hear by men from Kinghorn that came aboard to-night, the country gathers courage by our arrival—those neuter are now become partakers, and those who favoured the French desire the Congregation to receive them. So it is thought they shall be fought with before they come to Stirling bridge: and can pass nowhere else, for I will keep the passage between this and Leith, and that at the Queen's ferry, God willing, who hath wrought marvellously in our favour, weighing all things. This opportunity should be taken, for if the French recover Leith, they have great store of victuals. The Scots of the Congregation in Fife may hinder the French from marching in two days as much as otherwise they might in one, but I doubt their overthrowing them, for they have no order. If succours come from France, the wind being S. to S.W., they may land at Eyemouth, which we cannot help, lying here, so your grace must remedy it there; and if you placed a small bark at the Ferne island to watch and warn us of ships

Elizabeth.
1559–60. bound this way, we could join, being now dispersed keeping the passages. I would be glad to hear of my other ships: if any are riding off Holy island or Coldingham bay, they forget their duty, for the wind has been better for them than it was for me to come. I beg we may have 300 mariners by means of one Geoffry Vaughan at Newcastle, appointed therefor by the Lord Admiral, &c.

Last night Snawdon herald came on board with a trumpet from the Regent, to know if I came as enemy? I said I was sent by the Queen my mistress to conduct divers ships with ordnance, provision, &c., to her fort of Berwick, and there being no sure anchorage there, while they were discharging, I brought her fleet hither, thinking there was peace, and expecting friendly entertainment: but coming into Leith road, the French forts in Inchkeith, Leith, and Burntisland, shot at me many cruel shot of cannon and culvering, and thereon I hearing their great cruelty to the Congregation of Scotland, and the captivity it is like to fall into, determined to give them all the aid I could against the wicked practices of the French, "and that hearoff the Qwenes highnes my mystres was nothing privye."

* As I was writing, we saw the French on Fife side march back towards Stirling, and those in Burntisland (who had 2 brass pieces and some of iron) overcharging them to break them, and then setting a fire all their powder, joined their camp hard by, tarrying for them.

I send your grace herewith letters taken from a man in the French victuallers. Aboard *The Lyon* in Burntisland road. *Signed:* W. Wynter.

5 *pp. Addressed* (To Norfolk or in his absence Croft). *Indorsed* (26th January).

Inclosed in same:—

(Winter's memoranda.)

(1) A village or town to relieve our sick men for reasonable money. (2) 7 or 8 pilots to carry the ships up the Frith if forced by weather, or to Dundee. (3) 14 fisher boats to fetch our water, land our men, &c. (4) Victuals to be brought to the water side if need be. (5) What to do with 2 barks I stayed—one French and the other a Scot bound from Leith to Dieppe [Dyep]? (6) That some small barks from Dundee, as Andrew Sandes or Wytte, be, set to chase small vessels bound from Leith to France, for we are loath to put our great ships to it.

1 *p. Holograph.*

Jan. 26. **630.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I enclose copy of a letter I have from Croft. You will see the Humes and Carrs of the Merse and Tevidale have been long sought by the Duke and lords to join them, and favouring the common cause so far as the expulsion of the French, though not in the matter of religion, have sat still as neutrals. But now seeing our fleet in the Frith, and our foot with me towards the frontiers, they seek appointment with us, for which I gave Sir James licence, and you

* Holograph from this point.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. shall hear the result. You see also the courage and comfort of the Protestants by our ships' arrival. Newcastle.

* You see it is bootless to dissemble our intention longer, seeing our ships and Inchkeith have already "bykerd" with shot. "Wherfor good Mr Secretarye, lett not opportunytye by to much closnes, wher yt neds not be forslakt, but a God's name lett that wyche with honor cane not be left, with effycacy be folowyd, the wyche I dowt not shall redowne to the honor off thys realme and commodytye off our frynds." Your great friendship towards me, and gentleness to my servants when they have anything to do for me, makes me bold to utter my "fullyche fantesys." If they seem not meet, think of this as written to my friend. Hoping shortly after my duty done to the Queen, to see you as I go homeward to Kenynghall. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Croft to Norfolk.)

Last Monday Lord Hume sent to me for a meeting: I desired it shortly, and to-day he sent word that Cesford, his friends, and himself will meet me at the Bound road on Wednesday next: after which I shall advertise your grace of their minds. I think they would fain sit quiet, victual our army, and let slip their sons and young gentlemen to attend upon the Duke; but I will press them further. The messenger told me that on Tuesday about 11 o'clock, our ships were betwixt Inchkeith and Fife, and shot was freely spent between them and the island. Fife takes great comfort at our ships, the French are daily skirmished with and short of victual, and would fain cross the water, but have not past 8 small boats. Since the French left Stirling, the Duke came to Lithco, and took up all the boats from Queensferry to Stirling, and if the French seek to cross there, minds to break the bridge before them. These good news being like to be true, I send them. Berwick, 25th January. James Croft.

It is said the Duke will be at Edinburgh to-night, rather from fear of the Dowager's faction than otherwise, for it is not likely he can be so soon ready.

The bishops and priests who counselled the French journey to Fife, are greatly perplexed with the ill success.

1 *p.* *Copy by Railton.* *Indorsed.*

[1559–60. Jan. 26.] **631.** ARRAN TO [RANDOLPH].

[*Begins abruptly.*] Thanks to God all is now well "amongs thes timide peipill," but when ye understand the matter, it has not been without great cumber and hasard that we have stopped their enterprise. We believe their purpose is, having seen the ships, to pass to Leith again this night, for they are taking all boats. We shall annoy them all we may. Written in haste this Friday morning. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

½ *p.* *Holograph.* *Part of a letter.*

* Remainder holograph.

Elizabeth.
1559–60.
Jan. 28.

632. NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I have this day letters from Sir James Croft, with one to him and Sadleir from Arran and Lord James Stewart, and copies of his replies to them and M^r^ Wynter, all which I enclose, as also copies of what I have written to these lords, Croft and Wynter. I pray you to put your helping hand to these matters, wherein is great likelihood of success, if followed with speed and effect. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

¾ *p. Written by Sadleir. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Croft to Norfolk.)

I send a letter directed to Sir R. Sadleir and me, showing the state of the French. The messenger said the French took our ships for their own, and marched along the coast thinking to fortify S^t^ Andrews, but being deceived, retired. The Dowager "made forth" two ships of war to conduct their victuals, and a hoy with 6 pieces of brass, and 2 other small vessels with 10 tons of wine, &c., all which Wynter has taken, and used matters so that he procured them to shoot at his men, whereby he alleges they began the quarrel. For this the Dowager sent a herald to him both on Thursday and yesterday, to know if he came to make war, and he denies as before. I have written to the lords and Wynter, as the "dobles" of their letters show, and though the lords required no men, I offered 500 harquebusiers, but the messenger said that I had no commodity to embark them for their pretended enterprise. He showed me the French have been 3 days without meat, and how the Congregation horsemen destroy all victuals in their way, and have written to the Duke to do the like between Stirling and Edinburgh. This morning I received your grace's letter dated Newcastle yesterday, at 4 p.m. Berwick, 27^th^ January. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's secretary): "xxviij^th^ of January," &c.

(2) (Arran and Lord James to Sadleir and Croft.)

We received your "double" writing of 7^th^ and 17^th^: the French have not abandoned Leith, but continually repair the damaged wall. Your ships arrived here on 23^d^ instant, while the French on their march towards S^t^ Andrews had reached "the Ely besydis the Erlis ferry," trusting it had been the Marquis; but seeing they were yours, retreated, and on 24^th^ were all night in Kirkcaldy, on 25^th^ all night in Dunfermline, and this day march towards Stirling. But seeing their extreme hunger these 3 or 4 nights past, travailling them with our horse, and our cutting the bridges before them, we are assured they shall not "wyn" Stirling till this Saturday "evin," the 28^th^; and God willing, it shall be two days more or they win Leith, if they escape so, but we trust to famish the most part of them. If your army might have, or may yet prevent them, the matter is ended; or if that not possible, make all haste and advertise us for a special day to meet, that the enemy get no leisure to "strentht" himself. We

Elizabeth.
1559–60. have determined, if God grant good success, and wind and weather serve, "to assailye it" ourselves on Sunday or Monday "nixt cummis" by sea, for we hear surely there are not above 400 men therein at present. Aberdour, 26th January. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Stewart.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(3) (Croft to Wynter).

Understanding by letters from Arran and Lord James, how well he prospered against the French, forcing them to begin the quarrel as instructed, can only advise him to proceed as he has begun, but to consider well how he takes in hand their proposed enterprise against Leith, lest he put them in danger, and unfurnish his ships of mariners. Berwick, 27th January.

1 *p.* *Copy in Croft's writing.*

(4) (Croft to Arran and Lord James.)

Understands by their letter of 26th and their messenger's report, their good success since the fleet reached the Frith. As for their desire that the army come in to prevent the French, the laird of "Brymston" is directed them by Glasgow, who shall report how soon it will be ready. Trusts their determination to assail Leith is grounded on good consideration. Refers other things to the bearer.

1 *p.* *Copy in Croft's writing.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xxvijth of Januarij 1559. Copie," &c.

(5) (Norfolk to Croft.)

Having received his letter of 27th and enclosures, likes right well the advertisements and his replies. Has written to the lords and Wynter and encloses the letters to be forwarded. Thinking that if the fleet could land 1000 or 1500 men to join the Protestants, the matter might be soon ended in the distressed state of the French, without further charge, prays him to consider it, and either embark them in Berwick vessels, or cause Wynter to send back some of his for the purpose. Newcastle, 28th January.

1 *p.* *Copy in Sadleir's writing.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Jan. 28. **633.** NORFOLK TO WYNTER.

Commends his proceedings reported by Croft, and thanks him heartily. Thinking it would be to great purpose to land 1000 or 1500 soldiers to assist the Protestants, he has ordered Croft to make ready 500 or 600 of the Berwick forces, and confer with Wynter as to embarking them, with advice of Arran and Lord James. Meantime to be careful of his charge, and give no desperate or doubtful adventure against Leith, as they propose, but delay till it can be done safely. Newcastle.

1 *p.* *Copy by Railton.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1559-60. Jan. 29. **634.** NORFOLK, &c. TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Reporting Wynter's proceedings [*as described by him in his letters*] his entering the Frith as a safe harbour while his convoy unloaded at Berwick—his being "sore shott at" by the French at Inchkeith, Burntisland, and Leith, whereon in reprisal he took 2 French men of war, and a great hoy laden with 2 culverins, 12 smaller brass pieces, 12 pipes of powder, a number of spades, mattocks, shovels, &c., for fortification, intended (as they suppose) either at Eyemouth, or elsewhere to annoy Berwick. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., H. Westmorland, Will^{m} Dacre, Thomas Whartton, R. Sadleir, Francis Leek.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 29. **635.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I received this day from Croft and Wynter, these inclosed letters, which show you the terms whereon we stand, better than I can declare. I also send you copies of my replies, and if you think they need amendment, on hearing, I shall take order. When the letters arrived, Lords Westmorland, Dacres and Wharton were with me, and I told them by mouth, of Wynter's letter—the French cruel firing on our ships peaceably seeking harbour, but that we had sufficient pledges from them, for Wynter had taken 2 men of war, and a hoy laden with fortifying tools, artillery, &c., all evidently meant for Eyemouth, S^{t} Andrews or elsewhere to annoy us. With these and like words weighing the case, they thought good to write this to the Council as their conjecture, with which I was well contented—wishing indeed that the matter should "rather burst oute by littell and lyttell, then to make all here with the sodennes of thinges in a hurlie burlie." Yet you may see by the letters, that all these things were provided to win and fortefy S^{t} Andrews, and no other purpose. Thus wishing, that "you there" would no more seek to hide that which is here so manifest, and desiring to hear of your recovery, I bid you farewell. Newcastle, . . . "at nyght."

* I had written this with my own hand, but when I could scant read it, I made M^{r} Raylton copy it. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p. Written by Railton. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Inclosed in the same :—

(1) (Croft to Norfolk.)

Sending him letters brought by Wynter's messenger, a note of the latter's credit, and double of his own reply now sent. The credit whereof is to instruct Wynter what to do with his prizes, &c., viz., to offer the lords such things as they shall think meet for their purpose, and send towards Tuesday or Wednesday to Berwick to learn the Duke's pleasure. Begs to know if he shall receive the ships and prisoners to this haven or Holy Island. Berwick, 28 January. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

* Holograph from this point.

Elizabeth.
1559–60.

(2) (Norfolk to Croft.)

In reply to your letters of the 28th, and inclosures, you have well advised Wynter regarding his offer to the lords our friends. But I think good that you receive no prizes or prisoners at Berwick or Holy Island, but that Wynter keep them, or place them in St Andrews or Dundee, by advice of the lords, till I know farther of the Queen's pleasure. Or he may place the prisoners with the lords, and man the ships, if they can serve his purpose. I have this day letters from Thomas Randall *alias* Barnaby, directed to you and Sir Rafe Sadleir, whereby it seems the Duke of Chastelherault and his "complices" hope much for the 500 arquebusiers in Fife, so doubt not you will see thereto, as by my former orders. Send the inclosed letter to Wynter. Newcastle, 29 January.

½ *p.* *Copy by Railton. Heading by Sadleir. Indorsed.*

Jan. 29. **636.** NORFOLK TO WYNTER.

I have received your letter of 25th sent by Sir James Croft. Your proceedings are worthy great thanks, as the Queen shall be informed. I trust Captain Holstock who left Tynemouth last week with the *Swallow*, *Fawcon*, and *Jerfawcon*, is with you, by whom I sent you instructions as to good watch at night, &c. The bark you left at Yarmouth, is now arrived with the munition vessels at Tynemouth, and repairs to you as wind and weather serve. Keep your prizes, or with the lords' advice bestow them in St Andrews or Dundee. If you can use them, do so, putting the prisoners with our friends, offering the latter whatever they think meet.

I shall furnish you with mariners as I can, but they are not to be had in these parts. Newcastle.

1 *p.* *Copy by a clerk. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Jan. 29. **637.** ARRAN AND LORD JAMES TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

As we understood in your last writing you justly considered our present necessity caused by the French, and heartily thank you for the offered liberality, we gladly accepted the same, but postponed till the present bearer Maister Whytlaw might be "lasaryt,"* to whom it will please you to deliver the sum you offered us, for it will stand us in great stead, as he will show you, to whom give full credence Aberdour. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Stewart.

½ *p.* *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 29. **638.** KNOX TO GREGORIE RAILTON.

Dominus adjutor opportunus.

Your ships arrived in the Frith 2 days before I got your writing—the very day they were at the May, the French were within 8 miles of this, and thinking they were the army with the Marquess, they approached within 6 miles, but the certainty known, retired as much in one day as

* *i.e.*, at leisure.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. they advanced in two. "What war our sobbes, and what was the dolour of my hart, I will not now express"; but you may conjecture how I stood, when so-called friends openly said to my face that the support of England would come when we sufferers had no need of it! "But omitting these dolouris, which we must devor before we triumphe," I beseech you, brother, to put Sir Raufe and Sir James in mind of my former request, viz., that men of judgment and authority be joined with our lords, and that expert, faithful and godly captains be appointed, not only over your own soldiers, but also to correct the disobedience of our "throward" foot. For unless you concur with us continually in wisdom and policy of war, neither your riches nor force greatly advance this cause. For I am judged among ourselves "to extream," and therefore have extracted myself from all public assemblies to my private study; yet can I not cease to signify to you that unless wisdom bridle the foolishness of some, all that favour this great and godly enterprise "will on day murn." If God's mighty hand had not defended "these two young plantes,* thei had both perrished in this sam last daunger; for what hasard took thei when with fewer then two hundreht horsmen (I compt our footmen as sipheris) thei lay without fort or walled toun within thre myles of the ennemy," and the most of that country "unfreindis"! God is highly to be praised in the prudent boldness and painful diligence of the Laird of Grange, who constantly annoyed the enemy, cutting off their victuals by land except when they moved their camp. He has been in great danger, was shot under the left breast, yet God preserved him. All wonder at the patience of the Protestant gentlemen of Fife—for from 1st January when the French left Stirling, till 24th when they retreated, these never came to bed, or slept but in their jacks and armour, assisting Kirkcaldy against the enemy. Others wearied in 2 days. A letter should be written exhorting them to perseverance: the principal are the Master of Lyndsey, the Lairds of Lochleven, Bavard, Londye, Cragyhall, Raymornye, Thomas Scott of Abbotshall and many others, but these took greatest pains and adventured farthest.

The lords here should be advertised that enemies Scotsmen should be treated as enemies, or there will never be obedience. I put in your mouth that which I cannot persuade myself. As things worthy advertisement occur, you shall hear. You remember "brother," my old request for support to some private men, who without it cannot serve. I have before written to Sir James Croft of our foot: my judgment is, they shall never profit us in our need. The sum they consume is great, and their service always to our displeasure, and so shall continue "till such tym as thei be brought till better ordour and obedience." Communicate this as you think expedient. "The grace of the Lord Jesus be multiplied with you." St Andrews. *Signed:* John Knox.

I have great need of a good horse, and pray you put Mr Wickleaf in mind to haste me one. My mother† writes she has one, but knows not how to get him conveyed.

3 *pp. Holograph, closely written. Addressed:* "To the wirshipfull and his most assured freind Gregorie Railton. . . att Barwick."

* Arran and Lord James.

† *i.e.*, Mrs Bowes, his wife's mother.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Wafer signet (faint): a vessel on billows. Leg:* "Adjuva fluctuantem."

(1) A transcript of above, not very correct.

2½ *pp. In a later hand, with pen and ink sketch of the seal.*

Jan. 31. **639.** WYNTER TO NORFOLK.

I received by M^r Holstocke your grace's letter of 21^st^, and instructions. The French in Fife recovered Stirling with great pains, and are looked for in Leith this night.

Being "alland" on Monday at Burntisland, I "spack" with the Earl of Arran and his company, who said, as his force could not "let" the French going to Leith, and a messenger from England "that instant" said our army could not enter before a day to be appointed, he should go to his father to make ready his power, Lord James doing the like at S^t^ Andrews, and the other lords, &c., going home to repose themselves and put order against the day.

On 13^th^ February our victuals should end, and I fear will not last till then (I mean the bread and drink). The foul weather has caused leakage and spoiled the bread; I have taken from the poor men their ordinary drink "besydes ther mealles," which pinches them much, to lack victuals, and to be so naked of clothes. I doubt any supply from England (the cruelness of weather is such) and have sent captain William Holstocke of the *Swallow* to Lord James, with the letter (copy of which is enclosed), to know if we can get 14 days' victuals from Dundee, S^t^ Andrews, &c., for money, as I hear from men of credit we shall. I beg your grace to send by captain Southwick the bearer, 700*l.*, without which we cannot have it, for relief from Holy Island cannot be expected, and Fife, from Stirling to within 10 miles of S^t^ Andrews, is totally wasted by the French.

As we lack men, it might please your grace to send us 300 hackbutters and captains. Also money for our men, were it but for one month's wages.

The 2 barks of war sent by the Regent to attend the French victuallers, and manned by Frenchmen and Scots, with two captains, one Collen a Scot, the other a Spaniard Fernando, which we took, "hit is so," the lords have freed the Scots on oath not to serve against them, and required me to send the French to Berwick for your orders. I also send the Spanish captain, whom I assure your grace is a man of service, and can inform you of Leith and the French doings, and for some reasonable entertainment, will serve faithfully. M^r^ Southwick can enlarge more to you. Aboard the *Lyon* in Leith road. *Signed:* W. Wynter.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed* (To Norfolk or in his absence to Croft). *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Inclosed in same:—

(Wynter to Lord James.)

Though certain that 2 months' victual is shipped at London for his fleet, yet doubting the weather, he sends captain Holstock to confer with Lord James as to getting 14 days' victual at Dundee, S^t^ Johnston, &c., and expects money from Berwick to pay for it: begg-

Elizabeth.
1559–60. ing his lordship meantime to write letters of credit to these towns for Holstock, promising to see himself that every man shall be paid to the uttermost penny.

1 *p. Holograph copy by Wynter.*

[1559–60. Jan. .] **640.** CERTIFICATE FOR JAMES BASSANTIN.

James Bassantin born in Scotland and brought in France to attaining great knowledge in the mathematical sciences, having been in the writer's house of late, well approved of for honesty and learning, and being desirous to return to his native country, is recommended to the good offices of all his friends or acquaintances. Under his hand and seal. Westminster.

½ *p. Contemporary hand.*

1559–60. Feb. 1. **641.** CROFT TO NORFOLK.

Yesterday Lord Home and I met, but Cesford came not. It would be too long to write our communication; he would fain remain neuter, as he had not been of council formerly, and he saw not how with honour he could discharge himself to the Regent. Nevertheless he said he would be most advised by his friends Huntly and Lord Ryven. I said Ryven would counsel him to follow the way he had taken in hand; also Lord Huntly had promised to take plain part with the Congregation, which he would hardly believe. In the end he desired to be borne with, till he might advise further: saying if he could do no better, he would keep good quiet on the Border, and suffer his people to victual the army and serve the Congregation; and promised, if commanded to serve the Regent, he will not have above 20 horse in his company. I required of his lordship to know Cesford's mind, for I knew they had been at sundry councils and determined to take one part? 'Hyt ys trew' said he, 'that we have byn at sondry concels, and yett we have not determyned any thyng'; and he willed me to take Cesford's own answer, who he knew would be glad to speak with me, and had come as far as "Hewme" now, but for needful business had to return, but he would give him warning to appoint a meeting. He was very inquisitive if our army would enter Scotland, wishing the report of my mouth, "but thereyn I left hym to hys own imagynacyon." In the end he desired me to give him notice before hand, that he might declare to the Regent he could not resist our power. I heard from sundry, the Regent was practising both in England and Scotland to take the Laird of Ledyngton, who should have good guard both through Northumberland and in his lodging.

The weather has prevented any man from Wynter on Tuesday or yesterday, as I looked for: but with the first passage I will send your grace's letters of 27th and 29th January to the lords and him. Where Thomas Randall writes that the Duke of Chatylharault and his complices hope much of the 500 harquebusiers coming to Fife, I assure you they should have been sent if possible with the ships; which case is now altered, and it is most certain, that if the ships had been stayed but one tide, we had failed of the success by their timely arrival in the Frith. And now, if I had the means to embark them, I

Elizabeth.
1559–60. know not to what purpose, for the French are so far marched, as unless the Congregation can hinder them, they be near Leith by this time. The last I heard of them, was they were within 8 miles of Stirling on Friday, where the laird of Grange overthrew their horsemen. Other bruits I hear of their coming this side Stirling, and the Duke's gathering to meet them, but I have two at Edinburgh, by whom I look for news hourly. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

4 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 4. **642.** RANDOLPH TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

Immediately on "Brimstone's" arrival here, the Duke dispatched him to my lord Arran and Lord James in Fife, who hearing the Duke of Norfolk's desire for a meeting, Arran came hither to consult with the rest, who have devised to send Lord James, the Master of Maxwell, Lord Ruthen and M^r^ Henry "Balneus," on any day his grace appoints. But as they are not all here, and require time to prepare, I pray your honors give knowledge to his grace, that he may appoint a somewhat longer day after the 20^th^ of this present, and a place to meet him, returning notice with speed by this bearer.

I doubt not a little what is become of my last messenger to you with my letters of 22^d^, for he has already broken 3 days of his promise. I wrote also to you on 25^th^ by Carlisle, to Newcastle or Berwick, which I hope has reached you.

The French retired out of Fife, in great dishonour, sustaining great hunger and loss of men. The arrival of our ships encouraged many who lay by to take part with them. Others in Fife, as the Lairds of Wemys, Bawerie, Syfelde, Bagonie, &c., that took open part with the French, have promised fidelity and given pledges never to stand against the Congregation. This has been the Lord James's act since the French came their way. Grange's house is clean overthrown, and the custody of Burntisland given him by the lords. The French have burnt divers houses, and used great cruelty. They remained in Stirling on return but one day, and left 4 enseigns. Their intentions were doubtful, but this day word came that they both in Stirling and Lithcow, were determined to remove to Edinburgh. They took the Duke's house of Kenele, and burnt everything in it, for there was nothing they could take away. One gentleman and 2 soldiers were slain by those that held it against them. The Duke's men took that day "a faythefull chaplayne and a paynefull" of the Bishop of S^t^ Andrews, called Sir Androw Olifant, that accompanied the French by command of his lord and master. There was found about him a bill of as many as the bishop had named to be saved from spoiling in Fife: a copy of this is sent to Lord James, that the bishop's friends may be known and himself put in the prison of Glascowe.

It is greatly feared that Lord Ersken will receive the Queen "Dougior," notwithstanding the late controversy between him and the French in Leith, that accused him as enemy to their countrymen. It is said the fortification of Leith daily fails, this weather nothing advanceth it. The winter is so unkind, the French long after the summer: their misery is such that I wonder what hope of life they have, and we hear they have no small doubt themselves. Only one lord in Lothian obeyed the Dowager's orders to burn their own corn; and others she trusted are like to leave her. The lords wish to know which of the

Elizabeth.
1559–60. 12 hostages the Queen will choose, to avoid the charge of bringing all. This day a gentleman was sent to Huntly to come as soon as possible to the Duke, and have his friends ready on 4 days' warning. It is not doubted he will be here and very forward. Sutherland since being hurt, is a great enemy to the French. Huntly's reason (he says) for not sooner joining, was he feared the other lords would make composition with the French. This much Sutherland says on his behalf to Arran and Lord James, as desired by him. More English ships are reported: I never saw men more joyful of felicity than these. An old prophecy, that there should be two winters in one year and great wonders in Scotland, is thought fulfilled by Wynter the admiral's arrival. With such follies men sometimes recreate their spirits. Having been required by the Duke to accompany these lords to my lord Duke's grace, I know not what purpose it would serve, unless to open some things to your honours by mouth, which I cannot write, and beg your advice herein. Glasgow. *Signed:* T. R.

It may please your honours this letter may discharge my duty to M^r^ Secretary. La Marque remains where he was.

3½ *pp. Holograph, closely written. No address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 6. **643.** LORD JAMES TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

Albeit "we" were resolved long ago to send this bearer M^r^ Whytlaw to you (as you may perceive by this other writing) yet for divers occasions we have deferred it. Being loth to trouble with long writing, we desire you let him have the thing the other writing requires, and give him credence in all matters as to "my self." S^t^ Andrews. *Signed:* James Stewart.

⅓ *p. Addressed Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 7. **644.** LENNOX TO CECILL.

On this 5^th^ February my friend the laird of Gaston arrived here from Scotland, who was here before Christmas, as I certifyed you by my servant Nesbet. As it has always been "my trayd" to give you news of importance, this is what he tells me.—

On his return to the Scottish Court, "temporisyng" in absence of the Bishop of Caithness and my friends, and hearing no word from me, of his zeal for me he repaired to the Queen Regent, declaring my good mind, my licence to treat for my own in Scotland, and sending him to know her highness' pleasure. That hearing no word, he would return to England to know the "lette," praying her grace to be "good ladye" in my causes. Who said she would be, but understood not the particulars of my desires, and seeing he went that way, willed him to carry a "pack" of letters from her to the French ambassador in London. Before this, I had a letter from my cousin James Stewart who has charge under the Regent, whereto I think she was privy, and participated it to my lord lieutenant his grace, with my answer. I forbear any answer to Gaston in these things till I know the Queen's pleasure. My house at Sutringhton. *Signed:* Mathow Levenax.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Feb. 8.

645. KNOX TO CECILL.

One of my especial friends a young man Richard Anderson, who left us in October last to dispatch his business in France, has not since been heard of, and it is supposed has been stayed in your country. If so be, I doubt not by your favour he and things justly pertaining to him, will be delivered. For he has been one of us since the first erecting of the church in Edinburgh, and his mother is the most faithful matron and most liberal to the saints afflicted, that we have in those quarters. If either were enemies to this cause, no earthly thing should "cause me to procure" in his favour. The sum he was to receive from the hands "of a banqueur, surmonted xij^{c} frankis." I am thus bold to require of you, because I am assured of your favour towards all that unfeignedly profess Christ Jesus. S^{t} Andrews. *Signed:* John Knox.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 8. **646.** NORFOLK, &C. TO CECILL.

You shall receive letters, brought here last night from Croft and Wynter by captain Sowthaick, who informs us that 13 men of war ride in the Frith in good state, saving they fear lack of victual. Wynter asks aid and money, for which order shall be taken.

You see from these the French are back at Edinburgh, and we look daily for some of the lords coming here to confer on the exploit to Leith, wherein we earnestly desire the Queen's certain resolution with speed.

On Sunday last Lord Graye arrived, and next day Sir George Howard, whereon we devised together on the said exploit; and though we cannot certainly resolve till we confer with the Scottish lords, yet meantime we send you a proportion of ordnance and munition, the least that may be for a battery. We find great difficulty in land carriage of the same at this time of year, both from the deep and foul ways between Berwick and Leith, and draught horses cannot be had in time. Therefore we suppose they must be taken by sea, the foot landed as near Leith as may be, the horse going by land, when we hear the foot are on shore. We pray the Queen's pleasure and your opinions thereon. Newcastle.

Postscript.—We received these other letters from Thomas Randall *alias* Barnaby, showing who of the lords are to confer with us, to whom we appointed a day on 25th instant at Berwick, for they can come no sooner. We beg the Queen s certain resolution for proceeding, and also which of their pledges we shall receive, thinking those named herein most meet. You can well consider how the Queen's treasure consumes, without any fruit of service, and fear a greater supply will be needed, though we save charges as much as we can, and have stayed the lighthorse from Yorkshire till the 20th instant. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, G. Howard, F. Leek.

Names of the pledges:—1, The Duke of Chastelherault's 2^{d} son; 2, the Earl of Argyll's father's brother's son; 3, the Earl of Glencairn's son James Conyngham; 4, the Earl of Menteith's son George Graham; 5, the lord Ruthven's son Archibald Ruthven; 6, the lord James's brother uterine, Robert Douglas.

2 *pp. Written by Railton. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Feb. 10. **647.** RANDOLPH TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

On the 8th, lord James, the Master of Maxwell and other lords arrived here to consult on dispatching some to meet the Duke of Norfolk, and being fully resolved, they pray his grace to be at Berwick on the 23d instant, where he shall find Lord James, Lord Ruthven, Master of Maxwell, Laird of Patarrowe, and Mr Henry Balvanes appointed by the whole council here. My lords James and Ruthven, with Patarrowe and Balvanes embark at Pittenweem in the Frith, and I have written Mr Wynter to provide a vessel for them. Maxwell being near the Borders, goes by land. The hostages shall be all ready at St Andrews for the Duke to name those he likes. The hope of all men is great, their numbers daily increase. The Bishop of St Andrews desires some poor place to retire to: their case is pitiful, when their clergy begin to fail them. Huntly has begun to reform religion in his country; on the 14th all the nobles of these parts assemble at Aberdeen. The Earls of Athol, Errol, Montrose, Marshall, Crawfurd, Lords Gray, Oglevie, Drummond and Olifant, promise to do as Huntly advises them, whereof lords Gordon and Ruthen this day advertised the lords. The 4 French enseignes I wrote of, remain at Stirling, the rest at Edinburgh, Leith and the country thereabout. They impede what they can, and any force coming there shall have no victuals. It is said they required many to burn their own corn, and destroy their mills, as your honours may know better than myself. I stand in great doubt if my letters reach you, seeing I have no word of three messengers besides this one, or one I sent to my lord Dacres with letters that way to your honours, and beg to know what is become of them, or if I can send otherwise. Unless I hear to the contrary, I must accompany my lord James to Berwick, as determined. May your honours live long to enjoy the fruit insuing to both these realms, if by God's will they shall now be united in such faith and amity as never was since they were first divided asunder. Glasgow. *Signed:* T. R.

Lord James sends his provision before him by water.

2 *pp. Holograph, closely written. No address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Perhaps inclosed with the same:—

(News of the French.)

My lord Dossell came to Edinburgh this last Friday [Feb. 9] at even with all the French, except 4 bands left in Stirling. In coming by Lynlythqu, he destroyed Kynneill a place of my lord Duke's. As for the rest of the French bands, 4 "handsehais" (enseigns) shall remain in the town of Edinburgh, 3 in Mussilburgh, with the "croner" (colonel?) lodged in Pynkin house; certain other bands in Dalkeith, Newbatill, and Lasswaid. The Queen's grace lets them garrison these parts till she is further advised, but all the time they were absent, they were very evil handled. My lord of Arran is with the Duke his father at Hamilton.

⅓ *p. In a Scottish hand. No date or signature.*

Feb. 11. **648.** NORFOLK, &c. TO CECILL.

The enclosed letter from the Queen Dowager, was brought hither

Elizabeth.
1559–60. by a Scottish herald. Though it importeth some credit to him, he had none: wherefore supposing he was but sent to spy our doings, I thought good to dismiss him, saying in a day or two I would send a special messenger to the Dowager with suitable answer. And I have now sent Chester herald with my letters as the enclosed copy will show, and instructed him to bring us what news of their doings he can attain. I also send copy of a proclamation set forth by the Dowager, whereby you may see they look for open war at our hands: and therefore the more expedient it is to consider and foresee our enterprises. We shall advertise farther what ensues of the said proclamation. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, G. Howard, F. Leek.

1 *p.* *Written by Railton.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xijth of Februarie," &c.

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (The Queen Dowager to Norfolk.)

We intend to send a French gentleman Jehan de Montaignac, to the Queen your sovereign for our affairs, and because of some "novatioun occurrand," have stayed him till we know he may have sure passage. Desiring you to advertise us thereof by the bearer Ilay herald, and grant him safe conduct for the same gentleman and 4 in company; desiring credence for the herald. Edinburgh, 6th February. *Signed:* la bien votre, Marie R.

¼ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

(2) (Norfolk to the Dowager.)

Having received her letter of 6th by Ilaye herald, and knowing of no such impediment, assures her grace that on the gentleman's arrival at Berwick, he will take order for his safe passage to Court. Newcastle, 12th February.

⅓ *p.* *Copy by Railton.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

(3) (Proclamation by the King and Queen of Scots.)

Francis and Mary by the grace of God, King and Queen of Scots, &c., to their sheriffs of Selkirk and Roxburgh, &c., and Patrick Runsimen, &c., messengers, &c., greeting. Our dearest mother the Queen Dowager and Regent having thought it expedient to stop the wicked doings of the English ships in "our water of Frithe," and the intended invasion of their army through the Merse and East Lothian, "to what purpose God knowith," but supposed for assistance of certain rebels and conspirators against our authority: Our will is ye proclaim at the market crosses of Selkirk, Jedworth [ ] that all our subjects betwixt 60 and 16 well furnished "in feir of weir," muster at our town of Edinburgh with 20 days' victual on 24 hours' warning, to resist the same, on pain of "tinsell" of life, lands, &c. Under our signet at Edinburgh 2^{d} February 2^{d} and 18th of our reigns.

1 *p.* *Broad sheet.* *Copy by Railton.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Feb. 12. **649.** WYNTER TO NORFOLK.

By my servant from Berwick I received this day your grace's letters. The last dated 2d, tells how thankfully my service is received, wherefor I thank your grace. Mr Southaick would inform you of all things, and whereas I wrote by him for 700*l.* to provide 14 days' victual in Fife and Angus, now it may please you to know the *Prymeros* and the *Robart* of Ipswich brought here this day the ships from London with 2 months' victuals. The masters report great part of the beer and biscuit spoiled with the cruel weather. Your grace needs not now send more than 300*l.* for what we have received, for I will release the rest. I beseech 1000*l.* to relieve our men with "hose and showes," yet it will not make a month's through pay. Did I not consider your want of money, I would crave more. I send my bill subscribed with my hand, by Richard Weston my servant, to whom please deliver the 1300*l.* or such amount as remains, if Southaik has received a portion, and departed before this reaches you, giving up his writing, and keeping my bill for the whole. The Lord Admiral (by letter received to-day) thinks not good my taking mariners from the north, in case wanted for the coast service, but that your grace send me 300 hackbutters; to transport whom hither, if it please you, I have appointed the *Halpenny Pott* and the *Grayhond.* This day I had letters from the lords still at Glasgow, requiring me to provide a vessel to convey Lord James, &c., to Berwick, who will be ready to go on the 20th. We know not what is become of the *Mynyon:* as for watch, I think the French in Leith and Inchkeith will not deny "but we hav kept them wacking." Every night possible, I have had 300 or 400 men armed in boats, to keep the haven mouth from succours coming in along shore, or their sending more men and victuals to Inchkeith. And I dare speak for truth to you, that nothing has come in by sea, and I trust so to keep it till your grace comes. We have viewed Inchkeith, landing 300 men, and by over much hardiness, had one slain and 5 or 6 hurt, among them captains Gorges and Crokers, who will recover without maim, and the French "skapped not scotfre." We are well and friendly used by the Scots on Fife side; and many merchants repair from Aberdeen, Dundee, &c., to Burntisland, with great store of wine, barrelled salmon, cod and herring, in hope of the camp coming. So you will have great relief, for Fife side is a country of much victual. There will be no want having money, save casks,—not to be got here. Leith road, aboard the *Lyon. Signed:* W. Wynter.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 14. **650.** NORFOLK, &C. TO CECILL.

Your letters of the 11th hereof, and from the lords of the Council, reached us on 13th, and we trust that soon after Bynckes' dispatch from you, you received our letter of the 8th, satisfying your expectation for news. So did we long look to hear from Berwick, and so soon as it came, we sent to you. Even now, having received these letters from "Randall *alias* Barnabie," we return you this bearer with the same. As you see, the lords of Scotland have "prevented" our day of meeting at Berwick, whereto we have consented, and we look daily for your directions how to proceed in these weighty affairs.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Your determination to keep an eye on the Marquis d'Elbeuf and reinforce the navy here, is very necessary, but we doubt if the Newcastle and Hull ships here are meet and ready, for mariners are scarce, and apt soldiers as harquebusiers, cannot be had so well here as in London, unless we "disfurnishe" our bands here. We beg you give order for the greater diligence of the posts—the only remedy is to give them their old wages of 2*s.* the day, for now having but 12*d.*, and ill paid, they complain much, specially in these north parts, that they cannot keep horses to serve the turn. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., Wyllyam Gray, R. Sadleir, G. Howard, F. Leek.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 16. **651.** THE QUEEN TO NORFOLK.

As the bearer the laird of Leddyngton now repairing towards Scotland, has occasion to confer with you, we have thought very meet to recommend him to you as one in whom ye shall find much understanding and knowledge of the state of Scotland, and as we think, a plain earnest affection to have his country free from conquest or oppression. So we pray you use him favourably, and let him be so regarded, as for this service to his country, he be not by any practice of the French either intercepted or endangered, as we have heard hath been purposed, which should much touch us in honour.

¾ *p.* *Draft by Cecill.* *Indorsed* (by him): "M. to my lord of Norff., xvj° Feb. 1559—by S. S. lettre commendat."

Feb. 16. **652.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

As we have answered the matter pertaining to the ships in our letters to the Council, we shall not need now "to blot with them ennye more paper." We have only to "remember" you to send us the Queen's pleasure by letter for our meeting with the Scots, and what points we shall agree with them upon? for otherwise we cannot answer them.

We hear nothing yet of any victuals provided for "thys jorney," and peradventure my lords think the Scots will help us? which M^r^ Secretary, I would have wholly put out of their minds, for if you consider the bareness of the country, and the waste by the French in Fife, no relief can be looked for there. As for the Scots alone expelling the French, we can say no more than before, and wish it might be so: we shall do our uttermost to win the Merse and Lothian—hereof you may be sure.

We have not yet heard if it has pleased the Queen to make M^r^ Tempest her sergeant [sergne] for the bishopric of Durham, till which the commission of *Oyer* may lie still, whereof there is great need, as also of a commission to the Dean of Durham or other, to order spiritual cases, which in many things run out of order—which pray good M^r^ Secretary, see answered, and we shall not trouble you with repetitions in our letters. The Queen's ships are in safety: but pray take order for the posts, though your last through post came in half the time that any letter did since I came hither. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph, also address:* "To my lovyng frynd M^r^ Secretarye Cycell, knyght." *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Elizabeth.
[1559–60.] Feb. 17.

653. JAMES OF BASSANTYNE TO [CECILL?].

Since your honour knows the "chance of our wayage towerd the north in the schip called the *Mignon*," it is needless to write, but to do my duty as to a good master. I being yet in Hull, where some Scots merchants have lately "commed," and learned from them the "fasson" of the country—it may be that I could secretly advertise you of some important matter. And I would write all such by the "alphabet" underwritten, beginning the first letter "almost in the myddest of our common alphabet, as the superscription schawes." Hulle. *Signed:* James of Bassantyne, Scottisman."

1 *p. Holograph. No address. Indorsed:* "Cipher, Bassantine." *The alphabet is given,* 1 *being the cipher letter for* a; m *for* b, &c., &c.

1559–60. Feb. 17.

654. ANSWER TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

To be made to Monsieur de Seure the ambassador, by the Queen's command, on 17 February 1559, by Sir William Cecill and Sir John Masone knights.

Because the ambassador in the end of his "talke" mentioned two special matters, to which her Majesty's answer was short by reason of the long audience, she doubts if he conceived her meaning, and sent us expressly with her pleasure therein.

1. The ambassador said the young French queen bare not the arms of England of her own motion, but by command of her father the late king, and so seemed to excuse it. Her Majesty thinks this excuse either very strange or very imperfect. For though the offence was in the late king's time, and indeed solemnly the day he was slain at the tourney [turneile] and since then much increased, so it is an injury to impute the same to him being buried. And her Majesty marvels who is to blame that the Queen and her husband not only bear the arms, but use the style of King and Queen of England and Ireland, in issuing their commissions with these seals! And though the Queen may be somewhat excused by the authority of the king her husband, yet the latter acts not a friend's part, nor can be excused. Also her Majesty museth much that the French queen in granting privileges in her own name to French merchants, useth the stile of England seemingly to divulge it to the common people. Her Majesty forbore saying this, having neither leisure nor much good mind to enter into so ungreatful matters, but liketh it not to be used so slenderly, nor suffer her estate to be neglected in the open sight of the world; and thinks her ambassador has said somewhat to the French king hereon.

The next point is, the ambassador seemed desirous to know if she would keep peace with France? Her Majesty's answer is, unless contrary occasion be offered, she means nothing else; and as for aiding and comforting those called rebels in Scotland, her Majesty desiring to end her speech, used less talk. But meaning not to say other than she thinketh, though she will not often speak all she thinketh, she assures "them" she does not take the nobles and nation of Scotland to be rebels, but as is manifest, wise and natural subjects to their crown, to adventure the offence of the French king, in defence of his wife's right their sovereign. And indeed if they permitted the eviction of their kingdom out of their own governance, during the

Elizabeth.
1559-60. marriage and absence of their sovereign from her realm, where she is solely directed by French only, as by her mother and certain advocates of France, and in France by the Cardinal and Duke of Guise—the world might speak shame of them. Yea! She herself if she "overlyve" her husband, might justly condemn them as cowards and unnatural subjects, for neglecting the interests of her kingdom.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "1559, 17 of Februar. Answer made to Nowaillies the Fr. embass. by Sir W. Cecill and Sir John Mason."

Feb. 18. **655.** M. DE SEURE TO NORFOLK.

It is some days since I arrived in this town, as ambassador from the King my lord. M. de Noailles my predecessor, told me that certain ships bound for Scotland with grain, &c., were driven by weather into Scarborough [Scalbourg] and Newcastle, and remain there, hindered from proceeding. In discharge of my duty, and by the Queen's leave, I have sent the Sieur de Plancy the bearer, to view their condition, and hasten their departure. Praying you to forward his business, and order payment to be made to him for the corn discharged from the ships at Newcastle. London. *Signed:* vostré affectionné serviteur et amy, le Ch'ler de Seure.

1 *p.* *French.* *Addressed:* "A monsieur monsieur le duc de Norfort," &c. *Indorsed:* ". . . Monsieur de Ceure," &c.

Feb. 18. **656.** THE QUEEN REGENT TO ELIZABETH.

It has been difficult to us to believe that at the solicitation of some particular rebels, so good a peace has been interrupted. Yet we have presumptions of their practices in England, and getting large sums of money there, with part of which some have been apprehended. Not less since the arrival of your ships in this Firth, "na wayes constrenit be tempest of weddir, bot rather travessing contrair the wynd," the admirall of the fleet called Wynter, comforts these rebels all to him possible, doing daily hostile acts against the treaties. He lately by trumpet summoned the Inchkeith garrison to surrender, landed men and assailed the fort, though repulsed; and on our sending him a herald demanding redress, &c., answered by a gentleman named Sowthwall, that he had reported to you his success here, and would restore nothing till he knew your mind. We therefore despatch the bearer with a herald, desiring you to declare to the French ambassador now with you, your mind anent the reparation of these damages against the treaties, that he may advertise his King, also to grant the bearer safe conduct to France. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your gud sester and allya, Marie R.

1 *p.* *Broad sheet.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . Q. of Scotlandes lettre to the Q. Majesty."

Feb. 19. **657.** LORD GREY OF WILTON TO CECILL.

When at our late conference, I showed the need of some man of authority to be joined in the entry to Scotland, if anything happened to me, and we considered Sir James Croft the meetest man, from his

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1559–60. experience, &c.: as I think the short notice will cause him to make some difficulty, it were well that the matter be signified to him by her Majesty or the Council. And as there is no man that knows better than yourself, it may please you to devise order how he may be willed to put himself in readiness with all speed; for without him or some other such, I would be loath to take so great a charge. Newcastle. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Closely written. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a gem* (indistinct).

Feb. 20. **658.** NORFOLK, &C. TO CECILL.

Since writing last on 16th, we have called before us Bartram Anderson of this town, who is joined with Geoffry Vaughan for setting forth ships here and at Hull. He gives us good hope that the underwritten ships (4 at least) shall be set to sea within 10 days, and the other 2 as soon after as may be: and to man them, we have ordered 400 soldiers, besides mariners, to be ready by Saturday next. We have ordered Vaughan at Hull to set forth 4 ships there with speed, and for manning them, have ordered Sir Thomas Gargrave to furnish him with such soldiers of Holderness as he thinks needful, but have not yet heard from Vaughan. As it is thought at least 4000 foot are needed for the exploit into Scotland, we have put 1000 more in readiness, and I the Duke have written to levy 200 men in each of Cheshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Stafford, and Nottinghamshire, to be sent hither by 6th March; intending to use or stay them, as we may decide with the lords of Scotland. To-morrow we go to Berwick to meet these lords, treating with them as instructed in the Queen's letters of the 15th, and otherwise as may be necessary. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, G. Howard, F. Leek.

(List of ships of Newcastle.)

1. *The James of Rookesbyes*, 120 tons, Thomas Postgate, captain.
2. *The George of Bewycke*, 120 tons, Edward Stafford, captain.
3. *The John* of Mr Andersones, 110 tons, Olyver Wrothe, captain.
4. *The Marie Flower*, 110 tons, Ninian Menvell, captain.
5. *The Angell*, 110 tons, William Tuttie, captain.
6. *The Marie Gallant*, 110 tons, Thomas Bamboroughe, captain.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Feb. 23. **659.** CHATELHERAULT TO NORFOLK.

On the 22d I received from the Master of Maxwell's servant, your letter dated Newcastle 19th, whereby I see that though the Marquis del Beuf, being at sea bound hither, was driven back to France by tempest with loss of ships and men, yet he is preparing anew to come by the west seas and land at Dunbarton or thereabouts. For which advertisement I thank you very heartily, and shall leave nothing undone to hinder his enterprise, though as ye write, it may impede our other purpose if not well handled. As some principal men of the west parts still favour the Queen Dowager, there can be no better help devised than to haste your army forward with all diligence. And the lords commissioners from the council, now with

Elizabeth.
1559-60. you, can show you who favour the French in these west parts. Glasgow. *Signed:* Yowr assuret louffing frind, James Hammyltoun.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . Erle Arrain" (*sic*), &c. (*Undoubtedly the Duke's signature.*)

Feb. 23. **660.** CROFT TO CECILL.

Yesterday the Duke of Norfolk came hither, in whose presence Lord Grey said I was to go with him to Scotland, and he thought I had received letters from court to that effect. I hardly believed him, but was much abashed at the novelty and weight of the matter, considering my inhability, and also to have had so small warning. Debating with him, he said you promised I should have letters to set me forward. I must desire better consideration—if ye cannot do me any good, I pray you do me no harm, for if commanded to go, I am utterly undone, for I must answer that I cannot; "and howe evell suche answers be taken at the handes of auctorytye, you knowe!" Yet there is no remedy, "but when a beste ys over laden, he muste nedes lye downe under his burden." I have borne as many and weighty burdens as any man I know of my degree, and shall never refuse to bear to the uttermost: but if overburdened and forced to lie down, "and there whipped and turned out into the mershe like "a tyred jade," I had then spun a fair thread after my long travel, if my lord Grey's request takes place. What he requires is not needed, for the Queen is already at charge enough for the small regiment under his leading, but I am driven to stand upon necessity, as ye would say if ye knew; and I beg a comfortable answer, for I have not been this many years in such perplexity as now. Berwick. *Signed:* Jamys Croft.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Wafer signet* (indistinct).

Feb. 23. **661.** RANDOLPH TO SADLEIR AND CROFT.

It has pleased God to make me a little better, as I trust you have heard by M^r^ Henry "Balvanes." After receiving your letter of 8^th^, I thought it good before joining you to see Dunbarton, and talk with La Marque prisoner there, which I repent now, as much as I desired it: for by a "recheles fawle"* I had coming out of the boat, I caught this sickness which stayed me. The Duke himself, Arran and Argyll were there—chiefly to see the castle, and take order with the town and country when needed. The castle is marvellous strong by nature, but greatly neglected and needing repairs, altogether unvictualled, and scarce 6 men to defend it. Since my lord of Norfolk's letter to the Duke here, 100 harquebusiers are to be sent there, the castle victualled and repaired. They have sufficient artillery, but chiefly lack powder, which they will crave from you. As the French will doubtless henceforth attempt landing there, it will be desired that you send some fit man to view and advise necessary works for defence, the Duke intending to bear the charges.

* Reckless fall.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. It was here thought the Marquis's arrival on that coast was impossible. When my lord of Norfolk's letter came, the absent lords were sent for again to this town, and what order they take you shall hear as soon as I can, trusting yourselves and the other lords with you will remember the same, lest too great trust in our friends, or saving money, may cause negligence in this great cause. The Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis are the chief lords "in that coste, and wholly addictid unto the Quene in this cawse," so their landing will be easier, and support greater in the country there. Thus good advice and policy must be used to withdraw either of them from her; "to assure ether of them to the contrarie syde, ther is no hope." La Marque exercises patience, and thought the Dowager had greater means to set him at liberty than she has, as she wrote to him she had both here and in France. He will confess no more but that he was sent to visit her only, and report her commands on return. He had no more credence than the common commendation princes give their servants. I remained with him in the castle (by reason of my fall) the whole night we came thither, and talked with him at large. Till next morning, he took me for a Scotsman, for he speaks very little English. He seemed to have no suspicion but that Scotsmen took him. We discoursed much of England, he reasoning always as a man that favoured well his country. When he heard my lord of Arran name me, he then suspected me, and remembered (he said) both my name and face. He excused many merry words that passed between us, and so we parted. Since then, from a letter Balnaves wrote to the Duke, he has been "straytlyer" looked to.

It is reported the French in Stirling are sent for to Leith. Huntly still remains in his purpose, and Arran is to meet him at S^{t} Johnston, unless the Marquis's arrival call him back hither as I think it will. How it will satisfy your honours that my lord of Arbroath comes not, "I wotte not," but trust you think I have done my part, and my lord of Arran has not failed to show his willingness to further so good a cause. [Glasgow?]. "Scribled in haste owte of a feble fyste." *Signed:* T. R.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 24. **662.** NORFOLK, &C. TO CECILL.

In our letter of 11th we advertised you that Chester herald was sent to the Queen Dowager. He is now returned, and we send you herewith his discourse of what passed in conference with her and others, which we caused him to put in writing. The French gentleman Mountagnac arrived here with him, despatched with letters from the Dowager to the Queen, and we have taken order for his passage to Court. Lethington arrived here yesternight, and at the same instant, the Master of Maxwell from Carlisle, but the rest of the lords, coming by sea, are not yet arrived, the wind being contrary. We enclose a letter I the Duke received yesterday from Wynter.

Postscript.—The Queen's ship the *Fawcon* has arrived at the haven mouth, with Lord James and the rest, and we have sent out boats to land them. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, G. Howard, F. Leek.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "... D. Norf. to W^{m} Cecill."

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Inclosed in the same :—

(Chester herald's report.)

On Friday 16th February at 9 a.m. Chester herald arrived at Edinburgh, with a letter to the "Doger" of Scotland from the Duke of Norfolk, which he delivered at 3 p.m. in presence of the bishops of St Andrews and Amiens, MM. le Broche, and De Osselle, the Earl of Bothwell, Lords Sempell, Sayton and others. She demanded from whom it came? "I answered" from the Duke of Norfolk lieutenant, &c. She then read it, and said 'you have credet,' but before I could declare it, she "as yt wer in collere," demanded why English ships were in her waters? marvelling the Queen my mistress would break the late peace which she had sworn, and since promised not to break with me, 'as I have letters of her hand to shewe,' &c. At first our talk was in the "Scottyshe toung," which I not well understanding, was forced to speak French, requiring of her answer in writing of all her "greves": which she promised me, but at departing I had none. Then I declared my credit—that the Duke of Norfolk marvelled to receive a letter from her by "Ylley" her herald with credit, which when demanded, he had not: also at her request to send a gentleman into England, he knowing no cause to the contrary. As to the ships—having learned of myself that the King of France had gathered a great power of men of war on his Picardy frontier, to come into Scotland, the Queen my mistress not understanding it, sent certain of her ships to these her northern borders, which after long travel and foul weather lost all their boats, and while their victuallers were discharging at Newcastle, &c., the others having no wind to return, thought best to take the Frith, and coming as friends, found all the cannon bent against them—whereof the Duke willed me to show your grace he marvelled not a little. The Dowager answered, that all stranger ships passing a hold should do homage—and further it was well known before their coming, for the Congregation did not "let" to declare it, and letters passed between, 'whereof we have to shewe.' To that I answered I neither saw nor knew of the ships or their doings, nor spoke with any of them. And thus I took my leave for the time. On Sunday next following I was commanded before the Dowager at 3 p.m., where I found the same nobles. She declared to me she marvelled that the Queen my mistress took part with rebels—that the late peace was only with the French King deceased, not with her subjects, with whom she had not to do, and trusted the Queen would with honour not move war without a summons—requesting me, if such thing were, that the Duke as the queen's lieutenant, would give her notice and she would prepare accordingly. 'And I wyll send with you into England upon the Dukes grace promyse, a gentleman.' I demanding if it was M. Le Broche? he standing by, said he heard that Englishmen were coming into Scotland, and he would "geve them the lokinge upon." And then M. d'Oysel said, 'what gatte Quene Marye by her last warres?'

"Intellygences."

He says, all the way between Berwick and Edinburgh, he found great friendship with the Scots he met, who seemed very glad to

Elizabeth.
1559–60. hear of Englishmen—asking heartily of their coming to deliver them of their misery and captivity of the French. I also met Hamilton laird of Enderwicke, who showed great friendship, asking me on my return to come to his house—which I promised to do, but it chanced at my home coming to be accompanied with them that neither loved him nor me, and I could not. But I asked him at first meeting, why they suffered the French to oppress them? and he said that every one doubted another, which could not be helped without England.

None of the nobility, but the bishop of S^{t} Andrews, are of the Dowager's privy council.

She has certainly proclaimed that all men from 16 to 60 shall be ready on an hour's warning.

Also that all her subjects from Edinburgh to the "Pease," should break their brewing vessels and put all their victuals out of the way of the English. I heard in Edinburgh and all places on the way, that the commons are so troubled, they know not what to do—what for oppression of the French, and fear of the Congregation spoiling them: for which I pray God they may be put out of doubt, for most trust only in our coming to deliver them.

4½ *pp. Probably holograph. Indorsed* (partly by Cecill): "Chesters going to the Dowager, &c. &c., xvj° Februarij 1559."

Feb. 25. **663.** SCOTTISH LETTERS OF MARQUE.

The senate and nobles of Scotland, seeing that the Frenchman [*Gallus*] is notoriously bent on destroying themselves and their country, for no other reason but their embracing the true religion of Christ, and rejecting Antichrist nine months before, have licensed William Makesoun, master of the *William*, to attack the French and all other enemies, in lawful warfare. S^{t} Andrews, 5 *Kal. Martias. Per Dominos Secreti Concilii.*

1 *p. Latin. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Cop. of a salv. cond. given to a Scottishman. Found at Portesmouth."

Feb. 26. **664.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

The Admiral of the Queen's navy and his company have had as good success as ye would wish, and behaves to us so well, and are "sa fearfull" to the enemy as we would desire. They have taken divers French ships, and last of all, a hoy with the "Marques grite hors," and lament they did not take himself. We have taken order for provision of victuals for your army, and for all the friends we can to join us. In Fife and thereabouts there is no man of honesty or reputation, but has promised by "hand writt" to defend God's cause and liberty of the country against the French. We are to meet Huntly at S^{t} Johnston on 4th March, of whom we have good hope, as the "tryist" proceeds on his earnest desire by his double writings to us. S^{t} Andrews. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 27. **665.** ARTICLES OF BERWICK.
Fæd. xv. 569.

At Berwick the 27th of February A.D. 1559, it is agreed and finally

Elizabeth.
1559-60. contracted between Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, and Queen's lieutenant in the north, on behalf of her highness, on the one part, and Lord James Stewart, Patrick lord Ruthven, Sir John Maxwell of Terregles knight, William Maitland of Lethington younger, John Wishart of Pittarrow, and M^r^ Henry Balnevis of Halhill, on behalf of James Duke of Chatelherault, second person of the realm of Scotland, and the "remanent" of the lords of his part joined with him in this cause for maintenance of the ancient rights and liberty of their country on the other part, in form as after followeth—viz. [*Here the clauses are recited. One follows thus*] The Duke and nobility joined with him being earls and barons of Parliament, shall subscribe and seal these Articles within 20 or 30 days at most after delivery of the hostages, and procure the like to be done by all the nobility who shall hereafter join him, within 20 days after requisition made on the part of the Queen's majesty. And further he and his said associates, certainly perceiving that the said Queen is only moved by princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the just freedom of the crown of Scotland from conquest, and not of any other sinister intent, do declare that they nor any of them mean by this compact to withdraw due obedience from their sovereign lady the Queen, nor the French king her husband and head, during the marriage, but in maintenance of their ancient laws and liberties, and their sovereign's honour are bound to spend their goods, lands and lives. *Signed:* James Stewart, Patrik l. Ruthwen, Jhone Maxwell, W. Maitland, Jhone Wyschart, Henricus Balnaves.

Exch. Sc. Docs. Case 100, No. 106. *Broad sheet, parchment. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill). *Six seals are appended.* (1) *The Scottish lion, without any abatement;* (2, 3, 4, and 5) *broken, sewn in bags;* (6) *a fragment: a chevron, letter H at side* [*Balnaves?*].

(1) First draft, names, &c. omitted.

6 *pp. Holograph of Cecill. Indorsed* (by his clerk).

(2) Another copy of Articles.

5½ *pp. Corrected and indorsed* (by Cecill).

(3) Another copy of same.

French. Broad sheet. Indorsed (by Cecill): "Cop. of the League *inter Angliam et Scotiam.*"

Feb. 28. **666.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

I received your double writing, "that ane by Maister Randell, that uther of the yong lard of Lethingtoun," by whom I also understand your good will and most earnest labours at all times on this our common action. Whereof I trust in God you shall (with time) reap the fruit, the contentment of your heart, "that thristis the wele of boytht the realmes." For my part I thank you for your loving counsels and good advice, whereby you admonish me so gently of my duty to my God and common wealth; which I do so heartily embrace, that by the grace of God you shall have experience that you have not travailed in vain. The sufficiency of the bearer "cuttis" occasion for longer writing: to whom give credence as to myself. Berwick. *Signed:* James Stewart.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Feb. 28. **667.** LORD RUTHVEN TO CECILL.

After coming to this town, I perceive by my lord Duke that my son is one of the pledges for the contract betwixt the two realms. As I would have him nourished and brought up in the fear of his Lord God, I will desire you to move the Queen that he may be "put to the scole in Cambreche [Cambridge] upon my expens," and obtain her writing to the Duke to send him there. "Becaus the boy is presentlie heir, and dois no guid bot tynis * tyme." Berwick "ye penult of Februar." *Signed:* Ruthwen.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 29. **668.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

As in conferring with the lords of Scotland, divers great matters fell out, whereto we think good before proceeding further, to make you and the council privy, these bearers shall not only show you the articles communed of, but also our opinions, and how grounded. If the Scots were as able as willing, we should not need to put the Queen to such great charge as these of experience here think necessary: for whether we make a battery with a continual siege, or "invyrone yt with a syege volant," the general opinion is, that the 4000 foot first appointed, the 1000 out of Berwick, with the new levied 1000 to be here 6th March, is far under a number competent for such exploit. But why trouble you, when the messengers can instruct you plainly, who heard our whole discourse with the Scots. The Scots made some requests, to which we durst not answer, and they therefore return Lethington to you to show their suits, whereon we await your determinate answers, for till then they stay delivery of the pledges. Beseeching you to credit in all my affairs my servant Nycolas Strang. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

On margin: Pray Mr Secretary send us more treasure, for fear we lack it in time.

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

[Feb. .] **669.** MEMORANDA BY CECILL.

[*In the form of questions and answers.*]

Lord Grey's doubts how to proceed in the siege [of Leith?].

1. His [ordnance] not yet arrived. 2. His full number is short by 2000 foot. 3. The full number of Scots promised is not there, and having no wages, cannot keep the field; and it is desired the Queen entertain a certain number. 4. How far the treaty with the Queen Dowager may extend to the Queen's honour, the surety of Scotland and consequently of this realm?

ANSWERS.—1. It is hoped the ordnance delayed by contrary winds, will soon arrive. 2. It is certain the number is now gone forward. 3. The lords of Scotland should have been charged to understand the case better. If needful, some of the Scots may be entertained, who can best serve, but the lords must not be made privy hereto, lest gain

* *i.e.*, loses.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. move them to slack service. 4. Care must be taken in any conference, that the French abuse us not with long talk. The governance should be committed to some of the lords, for the Dowager can not be suffered to remain.

2½ *pp. Holograph of Cecill. Memoranda on back. In very bad condition from damp.*

Feb. 29. **670.** NORFOLK, &c. TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Having been for three days in conference with these Scottish lords, proponed questions, and received their answers (both which we enclose), at last we came to debate the conditions whereon their hostages should remain in England. And as they require certain promises by the Queen under the great seal, as the articles we send show, to which we could not conclude, they therefore send the laird of Lethington to sue her majesty in all their names for these: which they desire, more to satisfy the other nobility not yet joined, than from mistrust of her majesty, as they affirm. Meantime we have agreed that they go home to prepare their forces, and meet us at Achison's haven in Lothian on 25th March next. As soon as Lethington returns with the Queen's pleasure on these articles, they shall have their hostages ready to be put on board one of our ships in the Frith and transported hither. Surely we find them grave and discreet men, and albeit they hope the other nobility will join them, yet they are loth to promise more than they can perform. They are of singular zeal and good will to the perpetual concord of these two realms, but their power is so little, they cannot defend the common enemy without our aid. It is thought here that their promised power, being but 5000 men, is too little even joined with ours, to achieve this exploit, if we are driven to besiege Leith. We therefore send these bearers Sir Nicholas Strange and Mr Randall, who are privy to all our conferences and purposes with the lords, to declare our opinions thereon, to whom please give credit; and meantime I the Duke have taken order to levy 2000 foot from the shires in my commission, to be ready by the said 25th March, on an hour's warning, given by my next letters, who may be called forward or stayed, as the case requires. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, G. Howard, Jamys Croft, F. Leek.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (partly by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Questions and Answers by the lords.)

[*Sixteen in number. Extracts of answers.*]

1. We are unable of ourselves to expel the French.

3. We could bring 5000 men out, 2000 to join the English, the rest to keep the country—to Achison's haven by 25 March.

4. The nobles, landed men and households will keep the field as long as the English do, the rest for 20 days on their own charge; thereafter 2000 foot and 300 or 400 light horse will need the Queen's pay.

5. All ordnance, &c. is in the hands of the Queen, the French, and others not with us.

Elizabeth.
1559–60.

6. We can supply draught horses from Achison's haven to Leith.

7. We can levy 300 or 400 pioneers on the Queen's charges.

8. We have no siege necessaries: but wood and broom enough is within 4 miles of Leith.

9. You shall have oats for your horses, but forage we doubt till the country is viewed. For victuals, commissaries with money must be sent beforehand, and plenty will be found,—and the better, the longer you remain. In Dundee and Burntisland, 200 tuns wine is arrested, which the commissaries may have for 34*l.* Scots the ton or 8*l.* 10*s.* sterling.*

10. For the march between Berwick and Edinburgh, bring victuals with your men—the horses must trust to the country at reasonable prices—if not, ye may take it.

11. We shall meet you in Lothian, at your discretion.

12. To attack Edinburgh before joining you, is too great a hazard. For Lord Erskine we cannot answer, but hope he will be no enemy.

14. We have no ships at command but private adventurers.

15. The 600 demi-lances and 600 light horse shall be placed in Edinburgh, failing it, in towns about.

4¼ *pp. Copy by Railton. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "20 Februar. 1559."

March 1. **671.** GREY OF WILTON TO CECIL.

I beseech you so to consider the declaration of Sir Nicholas Strange and Randall, that a sufficient number of men, &c., be allowed us. I see all the charges must rest on the Queen: so give them especial credit even as though I were there myself to express my mind, and dispatch them with all possible speed. As I am now appointed lieutenant of that journey, with but 66*s.* 8*d. per diem* for my diet, table, &c., ye knowing well how little it is for that purpose, and my own ability: it may please you to move for an increase at the Queen's pleasure. I trust ye remember order for Sir James Croft's going with me. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Holograph* (?). *Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 6. **672.** THE QUEEN TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER.

We received yours of 18th February brought by a gentleman of yours, with a herald, and as you require us, we have "not only with our owne mowthe" but also by our Council, declared our good mind to peace to the ambassador of our good brother of France, as he will advertise you: assuring yourself we mean peace, however contrary the proceedings of others have been, in taking and "as it were seking to bereve us of our kingdom, by using our armes and our stile, tytle and seale," &c. But trusting God hath altered the mind of the French King and Queen therein, and seeing the good and amicable conference our ambassadors hath had with the King, and his councillors your brethren, and we also with his ambassador here, in whom we find very good disposition thereto: therefore if you also be herein conformable touching Scotland, which we as next neighbour thereto

* Thus 1*l.* Scots equalled 5*s.* sterling.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. "covett to remayne in the prystyne estate of governaunce and obeysaunce to your daughter our syster the Quene, and to her husbond our good brother the Frenche Kyng," we doubt not good and perfect amity shall continue one towards other. As for the attemptates surmised to have been done by William Wynter, we have directed inquisition to be made by our cousin of Norfolk, and any disorder corrected, as we have declared at more length to the French ambassador. Our palace of Westminster [ ], March, 2d of our reign.

Broad sheet. Draft noted by Cecill. Addressed. Indorsed: "M. to the Dowager of Scotland vjo Martij 1559."

March 6. **673.** LORD RUTHVEN TO CECILL.

It will please you to remember the acquaintance betwixt us in London and Wyndsoir, in the times of my lords Dukes of Somerset [Symmersyde] and Northumberland, when I found that friendship and kindness that I shall not forget. Knowing your good and godly mind towards "furth setting of the trew word of God and the unioun of thir realmes in greter amite nor in tymes bypast hes bein," I thought expedient to advertise you, that since the beginning of this enterprise, I have been one of the furthsetters thereof to my power, and shall continue God willing, to the end. And desiring to se it have "ane ferme and unfailyeabill ruit and ground," require your good help therein, as one in such place that may greatly further it. I dare not write to the Queen, not being "with hir Majesty as yeit acquentit," but desire by you my most humble service may be commended to her highness, till I may have better commodity to "vesy" her Majesty, as I trust may be shortly, as the bearer will show. Commending you in brotherly love to the ever living Lord.

Ruthven. *Signed:* Patrik Ruthwen.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "6 Martij 1559. Lord Ruthen."

March 6. **674.** [CECILL] TO MR SHEERES.

Instructing him as to the Queen's objects in sending a force of men to her frontiers, and her navy to Berwick, on the suit of the Duke of Chatelherault and the nobility associated with him—which is meant only to preserve the realm of Scotland from utter subversion by the French: that if he hears contrary reports by them or other ill disposed persons, he may satisfy them of the truth. As the French King seeing her readiness, has sent offering to accord the injuries done by using the title and arms of England, and to leave Scotland free, her Majesty willing to peace, has been contented to give ear (though she has no cause to trust them) and has agreed to articles, a copy whereof he will receive herewith.

2½ *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "To Mr Sheeres from my . . . vj Marcij."

March 7. **675.** FRANCIS II. TO ARRAN.

Accrediting to him the Bishop of Valence, one of his privy

Elizabeth.
1559–60. council, with matters to communicate on his behalf. Amboyse. *Signed:* Francoys. *At foot:* De L'Aubespine.

½ *p. French. Addressed:* "A mon cousin le Conte D'haran." *Indorsed.*

March 7. **676.** MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO ARRAN.

Accrediting the Bishop of Valence on her behalf. Amboyse. *Signed:* Marie. *At foot:* Aubelin.

½ *p. French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 7. **677.** HUNTLY TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

I understand by the bearer's report lately come through your realm, your Majesty's good mind to the liberty of this realm, and good opinion of me undeserved. God, who has the hearts of princes in his hands, has stirred up your Majesty to support this realm, and put in your hands and power the perpetual concord and union of this isle. As I will not "fasche" your Majesty longer, I have instructed this bearer with my mind and "sobir" opinion, to whom it will please you give audience and credit. Perth. *Signed:* Hwntlye.

1 *p. Holograph (?). Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "7 Martij 1559, Erle Huntley to the Q. Majesty."

March 7. **678.** HUNTLY TO CECILL.

I received your letter from this bearer, and thank you heartily for his good treatment, and reminding me of our old familiarity, and love which I bore to my native country. Ye are not unmindful of your labours "sum tyme" for the unity of the two realms, and I thank God ye are in such credit with your sovereign, that ye may accomplish the same. Whereto I will do my best, and desire by you the Queen may understand my true mind therein. And when ye hear the bearer, to whom give firm credit, ye will not greatly marvel that I have not yet united with my lord Duke, Arran and the rest of the nobility of the Congregation. Perth. *Signed:* Hwntlye.

1½ *pp. Holograph (?). Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

March 7. **679.** HUNTLY TO LETHINGTON.

I thank you for your good mind to me at all times, and counsel to this my servant in England, by whom I understand your proceedings and labours. I have spoken the lords lately in Perth, and upon the motive the bearer can show you, have sent him this journey, praying you to give him good counsel and convoy. And how soon ye come home, I would ye took the pains to come over to me, for the "weill of all besines as ye sall ken at meting." Innerpeffray. *Signed:* "Your gud friend and cussyng, Hwntly."

½ *p. Holograph (?). Addressed:* "To my rycht trest cusing William Maitland of Lethingtoun." *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Elizabeth.
1559–60. March 8. **680.** LORD JAMES TO NORFOLK.

After leaving Berwick, I safely arrived in Fife, and found my lord Arran at S[t] Andrews, ready to go to S[t] Johnston to meet Huntly. I went with him, and found Huntly willing to further these matters, as testified by his letters sent to the Queen and Master Cecill by his accredited servant. If it please your grace, "thai wryttingis suld be kept in stoyr for all aventeures." Since returning from Huntly on the "fyift of this instant," I have been constantly travelling in the sea coast towns, preparing victuals against the arrival of the commissaries, and in preparation of our folks to meet you on the day. If any "lat" come on your side, let us know, as we look for "nayn." Pittenweem. *Signed:* James Stewart.

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

March 8. **681.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

As travailing with my lord Duke of Norfolk and all times before, I have found the favour of God prospering his work in the hands of his servants, "evin so perceave I still, and sensyn his blessing allwais to contineu thairwith." Huntly and great part of the north I look will keep the "affixit" between the Duke and us, as I trust you shall be certified by his own writing, which I would wish were kept "in stoyr." I hope in God that but very few of the nobility shall not join them. If God grant us "guid luk" and success in this journey, I am persuaded the matter all godly men have long looked for, and wise men travailed to bring to pass, shall be by God's tender mercy happily achieved to our comfort and great felicity of "the aages to cum": and seeing it comes near the birth, "lat no ernist laubourar (as you be) faint in the Lordis work." Pittenweem. *Signed:* James Stewart.

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

March 10. **682.** ARRAN TO NORFOLK.

I met with the Earl of Huntly at S[t] Johnston this last "Monunday the ferd of this instant," and find him "applyable" to join in this action, both in religion and concerning the common weal. He has promised to be with the Duke my father and me "betuix and the appointit day of metyng." This bearer his servant is come from him to me, directed to the Court with his mind. Burntisland. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

March 10. **683.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

[*To the same effect as preceding.*] Huntly has directed this present bearer with letters both to the Queen's Majesty and to you—"the copy quhairof I wald ye suld send to me, to the effect that I may haif suir knawlege gif his writtingis aggreis with his commonyng." Burntisland. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Elizabeth.
1559–60. March[12]. **684.** CARDINAL OF LORRAINE AND DUKE OF GUISE TO THE DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

2 *pp. In cipher. Enclosed in Lord James's letter to Norfolk of 17th March. For the decipher, see next No.*

Mar ch[1 2 **685.** THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE AND DUKE OF GUISE TO THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF SCOTLAND.

"Madame—" the bearer has made good diligence with your letters, for we had received no news from you since "Protestant the courrour" came, and the Queen of England has kept us in alarm of war, and been stirring the coals. She has forgotten nothing whereby to draw fruit of her evil disposition, if she had found things in case to go through with her business. Yet she has given us the fairest words of the world, whereunto the King has not so much trusted, but has advertised the King of Spain of her doings: who has answered, there is no cause to disallow his intent and chastise the rebels in Scotland, and will give him as many vessels, men and victuals as he will, and so has written to the said Queen. She seeing her hope defeated, begins to use other language, causing her ambassador say, that what she has done has been only for "jalousye" of her realm, and fear to be taken unawares. So it seems she repents going so far, and before this come to your hand, we believe you shall see her intents are "waxed verye colde." And if what her ambassador said be true, you shall understand the whole story by a man whom the Sieur de Sevre the French ambassador in London has sent to you. Yet we send back this bearer by way of Flanders, to tell you we think your rebels will be "farre from their rekeninge," if they make account of "the said ladyes protection," or else there is much dissimulation. Yet the King knowing after what sort to trust Englishmen, is preparing 24 great ships, with intent (if the said lady continues her evil disposition) to succour you with them, and other forces in readiness.

Meantime he has sent the Bishop of Valence, a privy councillor, to the Queen to learn plainly her meaning: which if good, then to come to you, to assay to appease things and win time.

The thing, Madame, that grieves us most, is we are hindered sending you money as oft as we would be glad to do in your need; which we durst not venture, nor our brother the Marquis, for the evident danger. But it cannot be long or some way open, and then you may be sure Madame, we will not lose one quarter of an hour.

Now Madame we must with you lament the evil that this matter of religion may bring into a realm. It has so gone to work here, that within these 12 or 15 days a conspiracy has been discovered to kill us both, and then put the King under masters and governors, to instruct and bring him up in this "wretched doctryne." And an assembly of a great number hereabout was to have been held, not without comfort and favour of some great ones, between the 6th and 15th of this month to execute the same. So without help of God and intelligence we had from all parts of Christendom, and disclosures of some of the conspirators, it had taken effect. But being discovered and many prisoners made, we hope it shall be "bowlted out" and the danger avoided. You shall be more particularly advertised hereafter, if the way be freer.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. Montignac is presently arrived "upon the depeche"; whereon order shall be taken out of hand.

2½ *pp. Contemporary hand. Indorsed with* 2 *other deciphered letters to the Queen Dowager* (by Cecill): "B. 12 Martij—20 Martij. Lettres deciphred from France to the Queen Dowager." *Decipher of the letter No.* 684 *ante, from French into English.*

March 14. **686.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I enclose letters from Lord James, and others addressed to you. I hear they prepare their forces to meet ours on the day appointed at our last conference at Berwick. But on receipt of your letters of 7th, I wrote to Arran, Lords James, and Ruthven, putting off the day till 28th of this present: and now again on receipt of her Majesty's and yours of the 10th, I have written to them putting off till the 31st—which will scarcely please them. I have also written to Chatelherault and said lords to beware of the French temptations and stand fast. Likewise to Mr Wynter not to attack the French in the Frith unless they provoke him: but still to stay all succours to them. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

* The news here is that Lord Ambros Dudleye is dead—which if true I would ask you to sue the Queen for the office of the Ordnance for my cousin Sir George Howard, who should order it as well as any other.

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

March 15. **687.** LORD JAMES TO NORFOLK.

I understand by your letter of 11th from Newcastle received from the admiral, that you have delayed the day of meeting till the 28th. Whereof I have advertised the country, who will keep it as well as they were ready to do the former one. I have sent my lord Duke's writing to him with my best advice, and persuade myself he will hearken thereto. I hope that the French craft, "bowsterit" with falsehood and lies, to trap both you and us, shall reap no fruit, but that God will manifest their wickedness to the world, and enable us both to avoid their snares. Beseeching your grace to be earnest to stop the evil mouths and bind the wicked hands of the common enemy. St Andrews. *Signed:* James Stewart.

I trust ere now you have my writings of Huntly's "adjonction" in the cause.

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

March 17. **688.** BALNAVES TO SADLEIR.

This day I received your letter of 14th, and have seen the contents of the Duke's letter to my lord James. Arran was not here, but is with his father at "Glesquow" preparing for the journey—his letter is sent to him, and writings to his father, warning him of the contents of your letter and the French ambassador's practices,

* The rest holograph.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. which are so well known here, they will get no place. Let not my lord Duke nor none of you there, doubt anything, but hasten forward your army. We meant to have "tane" the field on the 20th, but on the Duke's first letter appointing the 28th, we deferred to the 23d and 24th to meet at Stirling, and this diet we dare not alter, or our people on any stay, will cast doubts; and specially the Queen Dowager noises abroad that your army is stayed, and the Queen has fully agreed with the French King: and the day before the Duke's letter came, she made it manifest in the country that England would not keep the day first appointed to us. So make all diligence forward, for I dare affirm so long as I have vote in council, French practices shall not detain any of our lords here. And I would ye noised ye will enter Scottish ground 2 or 3 days before ye come, to make the French go sooner to their holds, and our folk come sooner out. Huntly has promised all we could wish, and many others have joined since we returned from Berwick. Livingston the gentleman stayed in England, delivered a letter to a Scotsman, sent to the Queen Dowager from her brothers the Duke of Guyes and the Cardinal of Loraine; which letter was presented this day to my lord James, and is all written in "zepher, conteyning ane scheit of paper; and becaus thare is non here can gett the understanding therof, it is send to Mr Cicill in this packet, the whiche the Dukes grace may oppyn, if it please hym. It apperis thare is mater of great importance in the said lettre, if it can be diszepherit." St Andrews. *Signed:* Henry Balnaves of Halhill.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

March 17. **689.** LORD JAMES TO NORFOLK.

I received yours of the 14th from Newcastle, and understand thereby your "stay to the last of this instant, to cum upoun necessiteis of preparatioun." As our power was warned to meet in Stirling on 24th, that as you wrote, we might have met you on the 28th, we dare not for wasting our provision, alter the same, but shall take the easier journeys from Stirling to meet you "this last day but * faill." I thank you for the good advice about the craft of the French. This day I received a letter sent from the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine to the Queen Dowager. Being in cypher, and seeming to contain the chief points of their devices, I enclose it in this packet for Sir William Cecill, if peradventure he can find any there able to disclose it, which I doubt not should do us both pleasure, for here is none able to do it. So your grace will please despatch it. St Andrews. *Signed:* James Stewart.

I have sent my lord of Arran's letter to him with my best advice to his father, for presently they are together.

¾ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).
Inclosing the letter in cipher No. 684.

March 19. **690.** NORFOLK, &C. TO CECILL.

Having written to the Duke of Chatelherault of the report made

* *i.e.*, without.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. concerning him by the French ambassador in London, touching his submission to the French King, he has replied, and sent Thomas Randall hither with credence for his "purgacion." I enclose his letters, and have made Randall put his credence in writing, also enclosed, and have presently dispatched him back to the Duke. When in Scotland, he got a copy of the beginning and ending of a patent granted by the French King and Queen, when he was "King Dolphin" (herewith sent), where they use the title and arms of England and Ireland, and he tells me he saw and handled the original. He also says the Duke and the lords make all preparation to come to the field on the "deferred" day, and that Huntly does the like, and their party and power daily increase, rejoicing to join us and expel the French. Yesterday I heard that 8 ensigns of French left Edinburgh and Leith last Friday* for Stirling: and Randall tells me the Duke, being advertised "a sevennyght past," that they would do this, sent men towards Edinburgh to know, but at Randall's leaving Glasgow on Friday last at 1 p.m., the Duke had learned nothing. He also said Arran and Lord James intended to levy forces to attack the 4 ensigns still in Stirling, and desired of Wynter aid of 500 harquebusiers: whereof likely the French have intelligence, and therefore send the reinforcements to Stirling, either to maintain the town, &c., or withdraw their men to Leith. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, G. Howard.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xxth of Marche 1559, *Dux Norff.* to my master."

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Chatelherault to Norfolk.)

Your letter of the 11th shows me the malice borne to me of this French nation, who by false reports and "unhoneste" means, seek to hinder my credit with the Queen of England, as by no other means they can change my purpose or fail in my promise to such a princess. "By my honour, I never had anie suche thought in my hede, as that that the French embassadour falsly hathe burdayned me with unto her Majestie, nor never wrote or cawsed letter to be wrytten into France or unto anie man ther, sens the commynge of my sonne into Scotlande, or at the leaste one monethe before." I desire you to credit the bearer M^{r} Randolf as myself, whom I have charged with my mind. Glasgow, 15th March 1559. *Signed:* "Yowr l. assuretly, James Hammylton.

1 *p.* *In Randolph's writing.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xv of Marche 1559 Erle of Arrain (*sic*) to the Duke of Norff."

(2) (Randolph's credit.)

Credit committed to Thomas Randolphe by the Duke of Chatelherault to the Duke of Norfolk lieutenant, &c.

(1) You shall confirm to the said Duke in as many words and as amply as you can, what I have already written to him, and declare

* 15th.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. (2) That on my honour and faith to God, I had no such thought, and have sworn and given bond to the other lords of the Congregation, never to talk or communicate with the French or their faction, without consent of the most part. (3) That if the Queen suspect me, contrary to my promise with the other lords sent to her by the laird of Lethington, and confirmed to the said Duke by the late commissioners, I will whenever demanded, deliver to her Majesty any son I have or may have (except my eldest, who cannot be spared in this action) to assure my fidelity; or if not thus satisfied, I will put my eldest son "in state" of my lands, and yield myself into her hands, to live where she pleases, that some time I may enjoy her presence.

You shall thank the Duke for his letter and refusal to credit this report by my enemies the French, "be he Kynge, Quene, embassadeur, brother or other," offering my self to fight herein with my equal, or assign one to fight with my inferior, "to the meneste that beggethe his brede."

Finally to continue his favour to this poor country and further its action. Remember the lords' request to Wynter for 500 men, and declare the state of things as you know.

1½ *pp.* *In Randolph's writing.* *Indorsed* (by him).

March 21. **691.** CHATELHERAULT TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

Hearing that you have informed the Queen and her Council that we have lately sent to the King and Queen of France to ask pardon for ourselves and our friends, of crimes committed in this country: it is utterly untrue that we have done so, and if any man in France (the King excepted) maintains it, we give him the lie. And if you yourself do so, we have 100 gentlemen "de nostre nourriture," the least of whom is your equal, and will when you are discharged of your office, answer in person to you in this quarrel, that you have falsely and "malheureusement menty." Hamilton. James Duke of Chastellerault.

1 p. *French.* *Contemporary copy.* *Indorsed.*

[March .] **692.** NOTE OF ASSUMPTION BY FRANCIS II.

When Monsieur Dardois secretary to Monseigneur le Connestable * took the ratification of the peace in name of the King Dauphin, to King Philip during the life of the late King Henry, he gave it to Monsieur Darras † in this style: "Francois par la grace de Dieu Roy descosse, Dangleterre, et Direlande, Daulphyn de Viennois, &c." And when the lord of Arras heard that England was comprised, he laughed. "Je vous assure, je vous assure, croye moy."

½ *p.* *French.* *Contemporary hand.* *Indorsed:* "1559 Intelligence of a commission wherein the French King used the stile of England."

March 21. **693.** ARRAN TO NORFOLK.

By your letter of 14th from Newcastle, I see you hasten Huntly's servant, whereof I am glad, believing his master will keep promise.

* De Montmorency. † Cardinal Granville.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. I thank you heartily for advertising me of the French practice against my father and the other lords—assuring you they will never go back from their promises, knowing the French "pretent" is but to put us and our country in thraldom, which we will maintain to the death. The deferring the day of meeting will do little "skayth"; but I travail that the country be not discouraged at your long tarry. Hamilton. *Signed:* James Hammylton. I refer you to my father's letter as to the French doings, and enclose his letter for the French ambassador at Court, with a copy of it, that you may see how he desires the matter to come to light, to shame the inventors.

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

March 21. **694.** CHATELHERAULT, &c. TO NORFOLK.

We wrote to you before of the French coming here. Before leaving Glasgow, we left some soldiers in the bishop's palace and "stepill," to drive time for 48 hours, till we assembled our friends. But they surrendered to the French, a company of whom entered to spoil the "graith," and in a tower of the palace, where a barrel of powder was hid, it "fyrit throw ane of thair luntis," * and burned a great many men, whereof 13 are dead, one a principal captain. The French horse seeing 30 of our men left in the town, charged them: they stood at the "brig," slew 8 French, part were defeated and part escaped. The French soon after, knowing we determined to give battle, left the town for their "strenth," without sound of trumpet or "tawberoun," when my lord Arran followed with the best horsemen, skirmishing them at Callander wood, "to draw the chace on"; where they remained 2 hours, "and durst nawis brek ony of thair cumpany fer verray feir, doutand the ambusche quhilk wes laid for thame of befoir." And with great haste "frathine," marched in order of battle, horse and foot, doing no skaith in the country. So they have got no advantage, and "he" † knowing our other purpose, came back to provide for the army, leaving one company of horse to keep them from scattering and destroying the country. We have appointed our folks to be in Glasgow the 26th instant to come forward and join you, praying you do the like, as ye think good. Glasgow. *Signed:* James Hammylton, Ar^d^. Ergyll, Alex. Glencarn, R. Boyd.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* ". . . the Erle Arr." (*sic*), &c.

March 21. **695.** NORFOLK, &c. TO CECILL.

Ye shall receive herewith letters to me the Duke from the Queen Dowager, by one of her trumpets who arrived yesterday, more to spy than otherwise. I sent him back at once, and to-day have sent an English trumpet to her with my letter, copy whereof is enclosed. Yesterday morning Guillam Chaperon the Frenchman arrived from Scotland, who came lately from De Seure the French ambassador in London with the Scottish herald, and is now returning. I hear from him that the French "inseignes" for Stirling, are now directed to Glasgow, to "levie" the siege of Lord Semple's house by the Duke of Chatelherault—though this is most untrue or we should have heard

* *i.e.*, matches. † Arran.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. of it by Thomas Randall who left Glasgow the same day the French marched from Edinburgh. The truth is, the French seeing the lords gather their forces to join us, do what they can to hinder it, and thus repair to Glasgow; or it may be they have a purpose on Dunbarton. I send you copies of the ambassador's complaint against Wynter, which you sent hither, and Wynter's reply. To-morrow we repair to Berwick, and have ordered the army on Monday night* next, to encamp in Berwick bounds. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir, G. Howard, F. Leek.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: quartered shield with garter ribbon, ducal coronet above.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (The Queen Dowager to Norfolk.)

Sending him a copy of Queen Elizabeth's reply to her own letter of complaint against Wynter's disorders,—showing that she has directed the Duke to enquire into these. Requesting him to take order therein, and signify in "write" by the bearer, what day and place is appointed for the trial. Edinburgh, 17 March 1559. *Signed:* La bien vostre, Marie R.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland impaling Lorraine* (indistinct).

(2) (Norfolk to the Dowager.)

Having received her letter of 17th yesterday by her trumpet Drummond, with copy of the Queen's his sovereign's letter to herself, and memorial of Wynter's "attemptates," he has already written to the admiral, in order that if he has misbehaved himself, as her grace alleges, redress may be the sooner devised. Being informed that though the French ambassador in London promised the Queen, that their garrisons should retire into Edinburgh and Leith and surcease hostility during this treaty and communication had with him for redress of late innovations, yet sundry ensigns of them have left Edinburgh, Leith, and Stirling towards Glasgow, to annoy Chatelherault and the other lords, he sends this bearer to know her grace's mind therein.

1 *p. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "Copia," &c.

(3) (Charges against Wynter.)

"The attemptatis committit be Williame Winter sen his arrivall in the Frethe."—

First—On 23d January last he took 2 ships of the King and Queen's, and their captains James Cullane and Fairand, with soldiers, mariners, artillery, munition, &c.

On 24th, he took a hoy "frauchtit" from Leith to Fife, 2 "bastardis," a "moyane," 2 falcons, with "equippage," 6 barrels cannon powder, 6 of small powder, and 2 of "twiche" powder, 4 hagbuts of crook, 60 "tressis" of cords, 60 yokes, "80 hemmis and brechynnis,"

* 25th.

Elizabeth.
1559–60. 150 bullets to the bastard, 100 to the moyane, 40 to the falcons, lead in "platis," 3 pieces of iron and their "chalmeris," &c. Also 40 barrels of meal, 1 piece of wine, "punscheonis" of beer, and great "nowmer" of bread. Also sundry other ships, a hulk with horses of the King's subjects, passengers', fishers' and travellers' boats. Also took and holds the Bishop of Orkney prisoner, and one John Fentoun whom they caused pay a ransom. Also many other offences to be specially declared.

¾ *p. In same hand as the Dowager's letter. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

March 22. **696.** NORFOLK, &C. TO CECILL.

We send you these letters received this morning, whereby you shall see how the lords of Scotland seem determined to give no ear to the French practices, and are loath that any time should be lost in this journey. This morning the Queen's letters of 19th arrived, with the articles of the treaty and conference with these lords, and your letters to me the Duke. Being ready on horseback to go to Berwick, we bid you farewell. Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, G. Howard, F. Leek.

1 *p. Written and addressed by Sadleir. Indorsed.*

1560. March 25. **697.** RANDOLPHE TO NORFOLK.

Since last arriving here, I wrote to your grace (which I hope has come to your hands), advertising the Duke's, his son's, and others' great good will to perform their promises, and still see their daily travail to make themselves worthy of the favour and friendship they have found. And no alteration in them, though the Dowager's ministers, I assure you, practise to that effect. Yesterday the Lairds of Drumlanrig, Garlies, Lochinvar and Applegarth arrived here, who have joined, and earnestly travailed with the Duke to persevere, though there came one from the Dowager "as not sent from her" to entreat communication on the matter. To same effect Lords Erskine and Hume have written to Lord James, copy whereof and his answer I send you. So as far as I see, it must be debated at point of sword rather than communication, and the lords are determined not to fail their day and place to meet their friends. Of the French doings here, I wrote to your grace in my last: they were so intolerable that much hatred was engendered even in their favourers. The country gathered so fast on them, that they left sooner than they meant, and in better order than they came, for fear of attack. They left their purpose on Hamilton and went to Lithcow where they remain, saving M. Doysel, who left yesterday for Edinburgh, and sent 60 horsemen to Stirling, it is thought to convoy the rest thence. I think it shall be to their advantage as the lords are determined to put them out before joining you as they intend in 2 days, God willing.

To show you the nature of a well disposed prelate, I send copy of an intercepted letter privily sent to Mr Gawen Hamilton abbot of Kilwinning, only to give terror to my lord Duke, and put him in fear of the issue of the matter in hand. The Duke was so much offended at the bruit of his revolt, that he caused a letter in French to be

Elizabeth.
1560. written to the ambassador, as he thinks in your hands by this, with other letters. He now thinks it had been better to send it by his own servant, than have troubled you, but leaves it to your wisdom to keep or send it. Glasgow, written in haste, the 25th at 6 a.m. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Ink much faded.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Lords Erskine and Home to Lord James.)

We your friends and kinsmen perceiving the great troubles now in this realm, and greater like to be, if as bruited an English army enter, require you to let us know if ye would be contented to commune by yourself with us, and reason the matter at length. We will spare no pains therein, if it may profit, for we are near the Queen's grace, and think she will agree to anything reasonable. Desiring you to advertise us of some convenient place to meet, that we may exoner ourselves of our duty first to God, next to our country and friends. Referring the rest to the bearer. Edinburgh, 19 March 1559. Erskin, Alexr. Home.

½ *p. Copy in a Scottish hand.*

(2) (Lord James to Lords Erskine and Home.)

Your letters dated Edinburgh 19th March, I received at St Andrews next day, and perceive your compassion on the miseries of this our country, "maist tyranfullie persewed and oppressit be the Quene Drowriar" and her faction the French: though you appear to be more troubled by the bruit of an English army entering. Considering your favour to me, your friend and kinsman, I was moved to thank God, &c. [*Ends abruptly.*]

*The rest of the letter for lack of time, could not be sent to your grace.

¼ *p. In same hand as last.*

March 27. **698.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

Though since coming to "thir" parts, I have not finished any great work, I have not been idle. I have by letters and messages so travailed with Morton, that I am in some assurance of his joining with his friends. There are some particularities between the Duke of Chastellerault and him, for lands and civil causes, wherein it is "convenient" he have good security—which obtained, I think there shall be no more delay. I have written to the Duke of his demands, and doubt not he will agree to all; and you shall know within these 8 days. I fear no Scotsman showing face against us, and so soon as we take the field, order shall be taken to induce all the neutrals to a manifest declaration. There will soon be few of them, and though I love not to promise uncertainties, and therefore write less, I hear nothing of our part misliked.

* Note by Randolph.

Elizabeth.
1560.

The laird of Ormiston assures me the 4 Scots ensigns with the French are now fewer than 120 men, and before the siege 10 will not be left. That the French exceed not 2200, whereof 2 ensigns are come to Dunbar, where they look to be "asseged" on your entry. Stratagems are in working to destroy their powder and victuals, but success is doubtful. I hope to see the Queen's support so embraced by all Scotland, that she shall think her charges better bestowed. The young lairds of Cesford and Ferniherst are already gone to the "Dukes grace." I have not yet spoken with Lord Hume, and cannot assure his part—though not plain friend, he dare not be enemy. Let no suspicion of our untruth enter your head, unless we give cause, and assure yourself if anything fall out otherwise than the Queen expects, I will give her warning and not cover or dissemble it. I trust we shall to-morrow enter Scottish ground. The Queen's ministers here shall see my mind to do her service, as well as to the common cause. Berwick. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

March 28. **699.** RANDOLPHE TO SADLEIR.

Nothing worthy advertisement has happened since I last wrote to my lord Duke. The Duke here, and his son the earl, have written to his grace they will meet him the last of this present. As the French are still at Lythco and Stirling, and their movements uncertain, the Duke here is forced to come with the company now with him, leaving the rest of his friends to follow in a day or two. When assembled, I hear they will be very near 8000 men. The water is so grown between those in Fife and us, that it will be longer or Lord James and his friends join the rest: but it is hoped the French in the above places will depart either this day or to-morrow, which will greatly advance our purpose. It is said the Dowager after long doubt whether to go to Edinburgh Castle or Leith, is now resolved to go to the castle this day. I send the copy of a letter sent this day to each of 26 or 30 lords (Montgomery being one) that either lie by or show themselves enemies to this cause. On Saturday next * the Duke departs hence, and I trust on Sunday night † will meet the English army. I wrote on 22^{d} and 25th to my lord's grace since last coming, and sent them by the Carlisle post. [Glasgow] in haste. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

1¼ *pp.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Circular to the neutral lords.)

Signifying to them that as notwithstanding the cruelties of the French, they have neglected to obey a summons to Glasgow on the 25th instant to join the writers: These now intending to meet the English forces at Achison's haven in Prestonpans on Saturday next, summon the neutral lords as "trew native Scottismen" with their

* 30th. † 31st.

Elizabeth.
1560. kin, friends, tenants and servants, "weill bodin in feir of weir," with 30 days' victuals, to meet at Linlithgow on Saturday next, to pass forward and expel the French, on pain of being held plain enemies to their country and assisters of the enemy. Glasgow, 27 March 1560. "Be your gud freind as cause requiris."

1 *p.* *In a Scottish hand.*

March 29. **700.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I send you letters received yesternight from Randall, also letters from the Dowager, sent to me by her trumpet, who came with mine from her. Also copy of my reply to her, which I have sent by the pursuivant of this town, and returned her trumpet; thinking it good to write thus under the Queen's instructions, now that Lord Grey is entering Scotland. The two days' delay of treasure hindered the army marching: but this night they encamp at Dunglas, and I trust will keep the day appointed with the Duke and the lords. I cannot tell if Huntly is with them or not. Some say he has sent his son with his power, and will follow.

Wynter is to receive the hostages, and but for the stormy weather and contrary wind, they would have been here ere this. Lord Grey is to receive the lords' confirmation of the articles signed and sealed, and thereon deliver the Queen's under her great seal, which could not be done before the army entered, from your so late dispatch. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (The Dowager to Norfolk.)

We received your letters by the trumpet "namyt Midcalf," as to Winter's attemptates. That matter is "notour" enough and needs no further delay, seeing the letters your Queen has written to us, and those you have sent. As for the garrisons dispatched from Edinburgh, &c., towards Glasgow, they were sent by reason of a proclamation by the rebels to convene without our licence on the 20th and 21st instant, to usurp our authority, and also their invading our subjects and their houses, specially Castle Sempill. The King's ambassador in London made no mention to us of any such promise as you allege, to abstain from hostility: yet we would have done so, but for the said proclamation and other acts. We doubt not your sovereign would not be content that another prince "suld mell" with her rebel subjects, and we believe not she will assist ours: but if she do, we believe in God we shall be able to resist such injustice. To have more perfect understanding of the promise that ye write is made to your sovereign, give sure passage to the bearer sent to the ambassador to know the truth. Edinburgh, 25th March 1560. *Signed:* La bien vostre, Marie R.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(2) (Norfolk to the Dowager.)

I received your grace's letter of 25th by your trumpet James Drummond, and notwithstanding your grace's allegations as to

Elizabeth.
1560. Wynter, yet on due examination, it appears his acts were caused by just occasion ministered by the French in Inchkeith, &c., besides other offences in using my sovereign's arms, stile, and title, for which no redress though promised, has yet been made. Wherefore considering my office in these north parts, the great forces lately arrived from France in Scotland, preparations for a greater one coming not only for the conquest of Scotland, but against this realm, in discharge of my duty, I must impeach the same, unless your grace speedily remedies it, by withdrawing the French from Scotland, and leaving it to its own laws: and if any of the Scots oppose the just authority of their Queen, I shall be ready to aid her if need requires: meaning only the surety of my sovereign's realm and the quiet of Scotland. Berwick, 28th March.

1 *p.* *Copy by Railton.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

March 29. **701.** SADLEIR TO CECILL.

You may blame me for not sometimes writing privately, but I had nothing else than in our common letter. So pray pardon me, and knowing your toil rather increases than diminishes, I hold you excused for the like fault, "if it be any." I trust we shall do well here; like you there, so here we are of divers opinions, yet think Leith not "inexpugnable," though being strong with many good soldiers in it, it will take time and more charge than we "can now resolve here." The greatest want of our chieftains is money, which had, they care less for the rest. They are of good courage hereto, and Sir James Croft, to whom I made your commendations, will show himself serviceable, notwithstanding his late warning. God knows what care I have had, and if it please his "Divine Majestie" to set a good end thereto, I would wish to be at rest if it so please him, and leave the joy to our posterity. Berwick. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

March 29. **702.** CONFIRMATION OF THE TREATY OF BERWICK.

The Queen of England seeing the danger both to Scotland and her own realm, if the French succeed in their designs, confirms and ratifies the accord made at Berwick between her lieutenant general in the north, and the Lord James Stuard and others of the nobility sufficiently authorised, for the present delivery of Scotland from danger of conquest, and mutual defence of both kingdoms from the unjust enmity of France, as contained in a particular writing thereto annexed. Under her great seal. Westminster, 2d of her reign.

7 *pp.* *Draft corrected by Cecill.* *Indorsed* (by him): "29 Martij 1560. Confirmation of the compact betwixt the D. of Norfolk and Scotland."

(1) Fair copy of the same.

4 *pp.* *In another hand.*

(2) Fair copy of same.

3 *pp.* *In a different hand.*

(3) Another corrected draft of same.

2¼ *pp.*

Elizabeth.
1560. March 30. **703.** GREY OF WILTON TO NORFOLK.

This night, alarm was given us by the folly of some "lewed boddie" of our company, yet unknown. In the midst of it, Chatelherault's servant brought the enclosed letters, which I made bold to open, and one to myself, also sent. He * said the Duke had driven the French out of Stirling, since he wrote. We are hitherto welcome, and victuals are brought to the market cross as cheap as in Berwick. This morning by 6 of the day, we intend removing towards Dunglas, where I purpose to lay an ambush of light horse and 500 or 600 foot to give our neighbours of Dunbar a good morrow on Sunday morning, if they issue, as is likely. At the Camp. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

I pray to be commended to my Lady's grace, Mr Sadleir, and Sir Francis Leke.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

March 31. **704.** SADLEIR TO CECILL.

Seeing the army is now in Scotland, and lack of money great, beseeches him to travail therein. What is 20,000*l.* more or less in a prince's purse, in the prospect of such an advantage as setting the French and Scots at such enmity, that the former can never as formerly, attack England that way! And what a disgrace if the army return *re infectâ* for want of money, leaving the Scottish lords in danger and desperation, either a prey to their enemies or forced to join them against England! Berwick. *Signed* R. Sadleir.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

March 31. **705.** GREY OF WILTON TO NORFOLK.

I would have written from Dunglas, but our haste thence was sudden, and news little. To-day passing Dunbar on our march, I sent 50 or 60 foot with Sir Henry Percy's light horse to occupy Dunbar, till our rear, &c. was past. The French had 50 horse and 200 foot in their trenches, but though offered fair play, would not issue. For my son with 30 men going nearer than near enough, they discharged their pieces almost in their beards, and one of his men was stricken through his jerkin, doublet, and shirt, and his skin not pierced. They liked not that "tyrevollant," and retired to their strength. Eldercarr then seeing a chance, charged an enemy and lighted in a "stale" laid of purpose, and was rescued by Tremaine and Peter Myus and 3 or 4 of my band, or he had been taken or slain. They slew 3 or 4 French, but Myus shot through his right knee-bone. We are now at Linterne brigges, without loss of man, woman, child, horse, bag or baggage. We hear the laird of Grange has distressed 20 or 30 French foragers between Leith and Musselburgh, and taken the lieutenant of Monsieur la Beroche (Brosse?). I beg commendation to my lady's grace, and might present her with 2 or 3 French saker shot, though not meet balls for ladies' play! Lintonbriggs, "Sondaye." *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

* Randolph.

Elizabeth.
1560. Postscript.—I enclose some letters received. I beseech commendations to Mr Sadleir and Mr Leek.

¾ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 1. **706.** COMMISSION BY FRANCIS AND MARY.

As King and Queen of France and Scotland, empowering the Bishops of Valence and Amiens and M. de la Brosse, or 2 of them, to deal with their subjects of Scotland who have forgotten their duty, and bring them back by all gentle means, with amnesty for the past, and if necessary, to treat with the envoys of the Queen of England. Amboyse, 7th April 1559, 1st of France and of Scotland "le deuxiesme." Francoys et Marie. Par le Roy, De l'Aubespine.

2 *pp.* *Contemporary copy.*

April 1. **707.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I received your letters of 28th March on 31st, and have not only written to the Dowager (as the copy with you or this time shows) but caused Lord Grey to offer all courtesy and reason both to her and the French, as you direct. But they mind not to accept our offers, but to keep Leith and Dunbar and abide extremity, which will cause longer time or they are expelled. I have also desired lord Grey to learn the lords' opinions how to use the Bishop of Valence on his arrival: but think he shall have "hard passage" to Edinburgh or Leith, now they are in the field, specially if the French stand to their defence, as I think they will. So will be glad to know from you how to use him in case he ventures in, where I cannot assure his passage?

By letters presently from the camp, the hostages are in Mr Wynter's possession and will arrive here when wind serves, which has been contrary these 8 days. It would be to the Queen's honour to have them, "beyng children," well brought up at "schole" and have learning either in Cambridge or Oxford, which their parents have earnestly required at my hands. So pray you move her Majesty, and advertise me of her gracious pleasure. Berwick. *Signed:* Yours most beholdyng, Tho. Norff.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Names, &c. of the pledges.)

26th March 1560.

The names and ages of the pledges.

1. The Duke of Chatelherault's 4th son, Lord Claude, aged 14 years: *in Canterbury.*

2. The Earl of Argile's father's brother's son, Mr Alexander Cambell, and

3. The Lord James brother uterine, Mr Robert Douglas, both at men's state: *in some colleye at Cambridge.*

4. The Earl of Glencairn's son, Mr James Cunyngham, a man grown: *Lord Wharton.*

Elizabeth.
1560. 5. The Earl of Menteith's son, M^r George Graham, 5 years old: *Dean of Durham.*

6. The Lord Ruthven's son, M^r Archibald Ruthven, aged 14 years: *Dean of Westminster.*

½ *p. Written by Railton. Indorsed. The words in italics are in Cecill's writing on margin.*

April 2. **708.** NORFOLK, &C. TO CECILL.

We had your letters of 29th March on 1st, and see the Queen's earnest desire to accord matters by treaty, to have Scotland freed, and the French removed: if not, to lose no time and save charges—indeed very great. Herein we have done what we can, and again written urging lord Grey—but we think the French will abide. Our pursuivant is not yet returned from the Dowager. We hear that the English and Scottish powers are joined. The battery pieces, &c. shipped at Newcastle and here, is in the Frith, but we hear nothing yet of those shipped at London, or the armour, though the wind has served well for long. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir, F. Leek.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 4. **709.** NORFOLK, &C. TO CECILL.

We enclose letters from the camp received this morning, whereby it appears by the Dowager's answer to Henry Raye the pursuivant of this town, that she will make no composition without authority from France. As he is stayed at Dunbar by the French, whether by her means or not, I can not tell—I cannot learn her answer certainly, but it seems they mind no amicable treaty. But we shall do all we honourably can, as in her highness's letter to me the Duke of 30th March, to have reasonable record; failing which, we shall lose no time, and if we see delay without cause, shall as directed send Sir Rafe Sadleir to the camp. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir, F. Leek.

* Lest reading lord Grey's letter, you might think I had sent him a copy of yours "word for worde," there was nothing in the copy touching him any way.

Yesternight the pledges were in the *Gennyt* off the haven mouth here, and by weather driven to sea. Tell us quickly what order to take, as it were pity being but boys, they lose their time.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Grey to Norfolk.)

I have your letter of 1st, 2 copies of M^r Secretary's letters to you, and one from him to Lethington, and as directed, have conferred with Croft, Howard and Lethington. Two things we think require answer (1) the offer to the Regent and (2) the bishop of Valence's coming. It

* What follows holograph of the Duke.

Elizabeth.
1560. may like your grace to know that "Harry Barwick" has declared your mind to the Regent as M^r^ Secretary's letter purported—and I shall do the like to her by herald or otherwise. But seeing her answer to "Barwick," it is not like she will agree without authority from France, unless compelled by fear or otherwise. But I will as occasion serves, do what I can to the effect of M^r^ Secretary's letter. For the bishop of Valence—if his coming be to good purpose, he should be furthered —if rather for harm than otherwise, "then it is thought mete" that your grace warn him that his passing to the Regent must be on his own adventure. Seeing that Chatelherault, the lords, and the English army lie in his passage, your grace can only grant him post horse and a guide for his first entry, with letters (if he requires) to me, though of but small stead, for my proceedings are guided by advice of the Duke and his adherents. I shall set forward with diligence—arrived here on Monday, and yesterday conferred with the Duke and lords, on the pledges, the treaty, and the Queen's confirmation, which I shall deliver so soon as the "counterpane" now in hand, is made up by them. I am this day landing the ordnance, &c., from Berwick, and will then march to Leith. Till the rest arrive, we have not enough for battery, but hope to hear of it shortly. At our coming, the country had for fear of the French, put away their goods and cattle: we could hardly get relief, and that so dear, that the soldier had to give 2 or 3 days' wages for one day's provision! So I doubt our money lasting so long as we looked for: yet with money, we shall have reasonable provision brought to market. The Camp at Salt Preston, 3^d^ April 1560. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

These inland people are not well acquainted with our silver, therefore if gold may be had, it were more passable and current.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 4. **710.** GREY TO NORFOLK.

Having conferred with the lords, and seeing that 12 of the 20 days for which their men are levied are expired, in 8 days only their houshold servants will be left: also the large circuit of Leith and our want of ordnance, I have by the council's advice, communed as to besieging Edinburgh Castle first, as I think it easier to win, and the Queen Dowager being in it, her taking would make a short end. I find many agreeable, saving Lord Erskine's kindred, who favour him, so we are not yet determined. I desire your pleasure herein with speed, for I trust to persuade them. I find marvellous great want of the miner you promised me, and beseech him sent with speed; need also of money: and the lords have been in hand for loan of that I cannot spare, so pray you for supply, and that the 2000 soldiers be hastened to me, as we must trust only to ourselves for watch and ward, and assault (if any given), as these lords will not think it meet they be put to any. We remove on Saturday * towards Leith, so I beseech speedy answer. We have unshipped our lightest ordnance, the rest we will land in havens near Leith. William Grey.

1 *p.* *Copy by Railton.* *Intitled:* Copy of Lord Grey's letter to the Duke of Norfolk of 4^th^ April 1560, written in cipher from the Camp at Saltpreston, and deciphered. *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

* 6^th^.

Elizabeth.
1560. April 5.

711. GREY TO NORFOLK.

By your letters of the 4th and those which came from the Queen this day, I find such contrary matter, that I know not which way best to turn: for her Majesty directs Sadleir should be in especial communication of affairs, and your grace exhorts me to urgent expedition. For more perfection, I think if Mr Sadleir were here to do that which he is directed, and I to attend to the other, the effect looked for would be attained. Meantime I shall do the best for the Queen's honour.

As we must likely be forced to besiege Leith, well manned with at least 4000 men, it were well our strength be increased. For the Scots all depart after 20 days, saving the lords' families. The lack of the battery from London is a great weakness, likewise the 2000 men; for by cold and sickness our men drop daily away, and our horses for lack of forage, decay. And if the navy departs, I assure you we cannot remain here, for we need its aid against the enemy, as well as to convey our ordnance, having no other means. So though I have stayed by advice of others here, I am willing to go forward to prevent the French of further aid "on the sodden." Saltpreston. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 5. **712.** GREY, SCROPE, &C., TO NORFOLK.

We have this day at 3 p.m. received your grace's letter of 4th instant, and her Majesty's of 30th March, both to one effect. Her highness seems desirous that the matter be ended without bloodshed —otherwise, that no time should be lost, for the navy cannot be suffered to remain. Further her pleasure is that Mr Sadleir be sent here, in whom I am to trust. Having consulted the council, I signify as followeth—On coming hither I met the herald Berwick returning from the Dowager, by whom I learned she little esteemed the courtesy offered by your grace: yet I sent a trumpet as directed, to her, for licence to a personage I should send to make these offers on the Queen's behalf; who was returned to me yesterday without answer, but that she would send her own messenger. Also the Duke and the lords sent letters to her, the copy whereof is enclosed, but at writing hereof "we" had no answer. To lose no time, I have had Leith viewed, and will encamp near it to-morrow; so the matter is something confused, to proceed thus by force and treaty. It were well as the Queen wishes, that Sir Ralph Sadleir come hither, for I and the rest are so cumbered with martial affairs, we cannot do everything. If the navy departs, it had been better the army had never come in, for we must then retire, having no other means to bring home our ordnance. Also I hear the ships have not 6 days' victual. I pray you forward the soldiers, on whose arrival and the London battery pieces, we shall use our best endeavours in service. Also more money, for ours is wasted by the great dearth; and let me know how long the ships remain, for before departing I must embark all our battery pieces. While writing, a trumpet came from the Dowager, to know the names of those I would send; whereon I named Sir James Croft and Sir George Howard, to speak with her to-morrow

Elizabeth.
1560. where she shall appoint. The Camp at Saltpreston. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, Jamys Croft, G. Howard.

I beseech you signify when and in what manner the bishop of Valence comes hither.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(The lords to the Queen Dowager.)

Not being able to induce your grace to expel the French from Scotland, we have obtained the help of the Queen of England therein, if it cannot be brought about by gentle means. Yet for the reverence we bear your grace, as mother to our sovereign lady, and to avoid effusion of Christian blood, we pray your grace again that their whole force, captains and leaders, may be removed, for which purpose her grace will not only grant them free passage through her realm, but safely transport them in her ships to France. Certifying your grace that unless they depart without delay, we will endeavour ourselves to expel them by force. Protesting before God, that we are driven to this, not of malice or ill will to their persons, but unwillingly and of very necessity, for preservation of the realm and surety of ourselves and our posterity: and yet meaning not to subtract due obedience from the Queen our sovereign, nor resist the King her husband as head of her body, in anything not tending to decay of our ancient liberties or our own subversion. Praying your grace to consider the equity of our cause, and quietness of your daughter's realm, and incline to this our request. Dalkeith, [ ] April 1560.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "*Primo* April 1560. Dooble of a lettre from the lords of Scotland to the Quene Dowager."

April 6. **713.** RANDOLPH TO CECILL.

If I doubted that my letters to the Duke, Sadleir or Croft did not reach your hands, I should think I had failed in my duty to her Majesty, and what I owe to yourself: so pray you henceforth accept any such as though directed specially to you only. I leave my lord Grey's good success to the advertisement of my lord lieutenant himself. Of the Queen Dowager, how she likes this day's doings of our men against Leith, &c., I leave to write, save I am "afearde" that her long experience in craft and subtlety may prevent or stay the godly purpose in hand, favoured as it is by many more than I ever thought. The daily travail and talk of my lord Duke's grace shows his earnest desire to content the Queen and forward the common action. The late false report has both altered his body and disquieted his mind, as I can testify. The like rumours are not only daily spread to falsify the Queen's promise to these nobles, but also most unhonourable reports are sown "by her * mynisters" against her highness's honour, to the shame of the speakers. Besides the open injury of usurping the Queen's title, the oft solicitation of divers noblemen of

* The Dowager's.

Elizabeth.
1560. this realm to her opinion therein, "yt is not for me to reporte what wordes have passed the Douagers mouthe bothe in private and open tawlke, of her graces doynges, lyf and behavieur," as I can utter more largely to yourself only. But assure yourself that the Duke here—as long as his son lives at least—is nothing to be doubted of. As for Arran, his daily hazards, which I cannot write, but the report will some way reach your ears, and not above his deserts, show his mind. And the zeal of the rest to serve the Queen is beyond my writing, but would be open to you if you had the daily conference with them that I have. Friends daily increase; the last is Lord "Oglebie," a well disposed young gentleman, especially since the sight he saw this day—who came well attended, and will not diminish one of his number till he see the end of this matter. Also Drumlanrig, Lochinvar, Garlies, &c., are here. Morton this day promised Glencairn and Lethington to join to-morrow, and is very like to bring Lord Hume, Fernehirst and Cessford, "both" whose sons are here. What can I think of many more, seeing God has been pleased to open the eyes of them that lay back, and said they saw no "owte gate." Your honour cannot doubt of Huntly—he is no "chayngelynge" and not unknown to you. We look daily to hear from him, and the Duke has sent one to bring him away, or show himself an enemy. His brother the bishop of Athens, is here, and assures the lords daily of his coming. If he does not, it is thought that his friends as Marischal, Sutherland, &c., will leave him. "Some wyse men judge him better lost then founde."

Writing in an unseasonable time of night, I trouble your honour with things coming to my head without order. Many of these noblemen are so desirous to show no difference between English and Scottish, that they agree to everything proposed, as though there had never been discord between the two realms. Arran, Argyle, lord James, the Master of Maxwell, the laird of Patarrow, the tutor of Petcur, &c., lodge in camp: the Duke and the rest in the town, as near the others as possible. The Camp at Restalrig [Lastoricke]. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

3 *pp.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 6. **714.** NORFOLK, &C., TO CECILL.

You shall receive herewith our letters from camp: in one, Lord Grey's disposition to besiege Edinburgh Castle. We have already answered him it is inexpedient, thinking the Queen would have no such extremity to the Dowager being in it, also as it might turn Lord Erskine to an enemy (who may be a friend or at least neuter), and draw the Scots' hearts from us, if they saw us leave the French in Leith, and assail the castle. Yet consider it, and advertise the Queen's pleasure. You also see they dislike the recal of the fleet, which we think should not be revoked while the army is here: yet the doubt may cause more expedition in the enterprise, which we shall urge by all means, though they still lack the battery and treasure, which last please to haste. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir, F. Leek.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Elizabeth.
1560. April 7.

715. NORFOLK, &c., TO CECILL.

The Bishop of Valence arrived here yesternight with the Queen's letter that I should provide him safe conduct to the Dowager of Scotland: which is somewhat difficult for me, seeing the Duke, &c., are in the field, the Dowager in the Castle, and the French in Leith. Having showed him these dangers, he said to me, "sumwhat hotlie," he would not have come hither but at the Queen's desire and for her cause, and not for the Scots' sake. He desired to travail between the Dowager and them for an "accorde," and would go if I undertook his safety. I durst not assure him, but would do all I could if he adventured. In the end, he resolved to send his man with his letters "unclosed," to the Dowager and also Chatelherault, and on their answer will decide as to going on or returning. Meantime I pray you for the Queen's pleasure how to order him, as it is not meet he abide here long. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir, F. Leek.

Postscript.—To satisfy the Queen as to M. del Boeuff's horses, I annex this, which should not have needed, if M^r^ Justice had declared what was told him "oftener then once or twise." When here, my servant Fulmerston wrote to me from Newcastle that some horses were there, sent by Wynter to court, taken at sea: and a Frenchman there awaited my coming, who claimed by the Queen's commission he said, restoration of all Frenchmen's goods. I wrote "streight," fearing he might see them to the Queen's loss, that the horses be kept secretly till I came, meaning then to send the Frenchman first, and then the horses to London. Meantime Captain Southaik came from Wynter, saying that the horses were not to be removed further than Newcastle—that Wynter had bought them of M^r^ Malyn, taken by his small bark, none of the Queen's ships, that 3 were for Arran and the laird of Grange, a jenett and a mare for London (for whom I know not) and I might make choice of the rest—whereof I "chosed" 2, not so precious but any one may have them for 2 good geldings.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 7. **716.** NORFOLK, &c., TO CECILL.

I send enclosed Lord Grey's letter, whereby you will see the French "braverie," the hot skirmishes before Leith, and the conference between the Dowager, and Croft and Howard. She would be content to win time by treaty; and if she would accept the reasonable offers made, it might be well ended. But as she seems to doubt what surety can be made to her by subjects that have given hostages upon a contract made with a foreign prince, we fear her coming to any conclusion for their surety and the freedom of Scotland—which nevertheless we refer to your wisdoms for the Queen's pleasure. While writing, the hostages arrived here: praying your remembrance of our request as to their education. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir, F. Leek.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Grey, Scrope, &c., to Norfolk.)

I encamped this day at Lestarrick a mile from Leith, and found

Elizabeth.
1560. some Scots harquebusiers shirmishing with some Scots and English lighthorse. A trumpeter from the Dowager arriving with safe conduct for Croft and Howard to come to her, I thought the skirmish should cease, and ordered our party to retire, the said trumpeter warning the French to the like. After Croft and Howard departed, hearing some shots, I drew near the French, and gave notice by a trumpeter, that seeing the communing then on hand, skirmishing should cease. They made a brave answer that they were on their master's ground, and without warning, discharged 50 or 60 shot at me and a few of the Scots lords with me, compelling us to make the skirmish, which was very hot, wherein we have killed and taken 100 Frenchmen, not without a good number of ours hurt, and some slain. Whereof no man of name, but M^r^ Knevet shot in the arm. Fernando did notable service.

After long debate meanwhile with the Dowager, Croft and Howard report it likely she will agree (1) to remove so many French as to be out of suspicion of conquest, (2) pardon the Scots in this action. But she demanded what security she might have of subjects bound by hostages to a foreign prince? wherein I think will stand some difficulty. In the end, she said she would grant so much as Sir James and Sir George thought in conscience sufficient, to be put in writing against to-morrow, and then we should have answer. She has licensed any messengers to your grace from me; so I think to-morrow to send Sir George with the articles, and to declare to you our proceedings with her. We have signified to her that we shall not "omyt" business, wherefore I pray you haste hither both the foot and the money, likewise Sir R. Sadleir, for I lack help in so great a matter as this treaty is. Restalrig, 6^th^ April 1560. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, Jamys Croft, G. Howard.

"Painfull M^r^ Randall must be remembred with your graces lettre of thanckes for his desert." I am bold to remind your grace of Tremaine and Baker, for their worthy and valiant service this day.

1 *p.* *Closely written.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 7. **717. Henry Kyllygrew to Cecill.**

I arrived here with the bishop [of Valence] at night on 6^th^. The letter you delivered from the French ambassador for the Duke of "Chattellereau," is sent by the bishop's man who goes to the camp for a safe conduct, &c.; till whose return I can write no more. I could not "lenger" his journey hither any longer without suspicion. We rode but 40 miles a day, whereas he would have ridden 60. He spoke with no man to hinder the Queen's service by the way, but the day we arrived he met 4 Frenchmen "towardes" Alnwick, taken by the laird of Grange and had the Duke's passport. They complained to him of ill usage, and he was very desirous to speak with them secretly, but I made as though my horse "wold not away from his fellowes," and heard what he said, viz. (1) the Queen was in Edinburgh Castle, (2) they had 300 men in Inchkeith, 200 in Dunbar, 100 Scots light horse, and the rest in Leith, which he thought would "kepe play a good whyle," unless they were sorely handled with mine and battery; but the most he doubted was want of victuals. One of these men, an old soldier who had served under

Elizabeth.
1560. his brother, when he saw by the bishop's countenance I was an Englishman, "framed his tale thereafter, to my jugment," for I heard him say that Leith was "nothing strong."

On the way, the bishop said the Queen did him great wrong to send him a pilgrimage in his old days, and dallied with him—for he knew he would not be suffered to go into Scotland—and seemed greatly offended. One reason was the Spanish ambassador told him the Queen's army was ordered to enter Scotland before he left London. He tried also to put in my head that King Philip would join the French King in this matter, and ere long I should hear Englishmen were forbidden his ports and country. What he meant, I refer to you, but judge he thought I would write of all he said. His treatment by the way pleased him, but his stay here is no small grief to him. I spoke to the Duke about the horses, and he is to answer you "by the first." Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Kyllygrew.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill). *Small wafer signet.*

April 8. **718.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

The admiral has this day taken, hid in a barrel of "oignons" in a Flemish ship, a great packet of letters from France, many of old dates and no importance, others from the Marquis D'Elbeuf of 18th March. The sum of the whole is, that he has heard from his brothers that the King of Spain understands not the Queen making any trouble to the King his sovereign, and if she do, he will be her enemy. He has promised 6000 Spaniards, and ordered the Low Countries to give D'Elbeuf all aid. He is ordered not to leave for Scotland till the army is ready, which cannot be for these 2 months, for the merchant ships have all sailed, and shift must be made in Flanders. The army is to be 10,000 men, as well soldiers as mariners. So it appears if we have 2 months to bestir ourselves in, if well occupied, they shall come too late. I thought meet to impart the effect of these letters. The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 9. **719.** ARTICLES DESIRED OF THE QUEEN DOWAGER.

(1) That all the French soldiers be removed with speed.
(2) "That we may have place to sute" of our sovereigns such articles as are necessary for pacification and government of the realm by our ancient liberties.

¼ *p. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "9 April 1560. 2 articles desiered by the Scottes of the Quene Dowager."

April 9. **720.** MAITLAND TO SADLEIR.

I have presently written to the Duke the doubts fallen out in this cause, whereto for I know you will be privy, I should lose time in rehearsal. "Truely I never had greatar care sence I wes borne!" The whole question falls to one point—lack of money to continue the Queen's forces here. How that difficulty has been looked to before-

Elizabeth.
1560. hand, I cannot tell. Your honour knows the mark I always shoot at is the union of these two realms in perpetual friendship. There is no good to be wrought in this case that does not tend to that "fine."* My determination always rests on two points—that unless all the French are removed, and the government left in the hands of the "borne men" of the land, we shall neither be in surety ourselves, nor able to serve your turn hereafter. If we are forced to any other appointment than this, then we be undone, and the Queen hath lost all her great charges: for though the French would for a time keep covenant, yet I am assured they would soon "betrap" a few persons, who being "cut schort," they would think themselves for ever in surety. The Queen has proceeded too far to leave off: it is true I have been always privy to matters. Mary! So many great and apparent difficulties have been made, as I durst not advise to the contrary, though I know it has been hurtful to us. The "treating" doth stay many noblemen who were thoroughly appointed and determined to join us. It is too much for me to keep in the fire on all parts, entertain communications, and keep our own men "in frame," who all mislike it, and desire not to enter in friendship again with the untrusty. Now I begin to learn what misery it is for a man to bear a great burden of the common affairs—but I am so far proceeded, that forwards I must go. I am bold with the Duke to require you to come hither, to do your country good service, and great comfort not to me only but this whole nation. And I pray that you may thus help to resolve some of these doubts and difficulties, and that it be soon; trusting you will not take amiss my boldness. The Camp. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

April 10. **721.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I received from the Duke of Norfolk at the Queen's command, certain articles collected by you on the affairs of Ireland. I have "superfecially broken" with Argyll therein, and found him earnestly bent to further these and all the Queen's affairs to his utmost. For Callogh Odonell, lately "contracted with his fatheris wyfe," he thinks it may easily be "lauboured." For James "McOnell," he will try by gentle means to induce him to the Queen's devotion—if not, he doubts not (the matters we have in hand being finished), either to drive him thereto, or banish him this realm. Time does not now serve for "those proposses," but he will presently confer with Sir James Croft, experienced in these Irish matters, and then write to her Majesty.

We are presently communicating with the Queen "here," which the nation mislikes, knowing no good shall come of it. It is so far entered, upon the declaration of the Queen's "mynd" by Sir James Croft and Sir George Howard, that we cannot come out of it; and I must confess seeing your men unwilling to break it, "and douting that the Quenes majesties mynd be inclyned that way—whose affection I am alwayes determyned to follow, so far as my countrey will permit"—I dare not advise to the contrary. Yet it greatly hinders

* End.

Elizabeth.
1560. our cause, for while the most of the neutrals had resolved to take part with us, "the onely bruyt" of treating &c., stays many of them. The friendship of Scotland must be the recompense of her Majesty's great charges; whereof she cannot be assured, unless the French are removed, and the government left in the hands of the born men of the land. I am assured these two points will never be obtained by "apoyntement," while they remain. Your men of experience make many doubts, if force is attempted: I cannot answer all, but I wish if battery be too "hasardeux," that siege by a "camp volant" be continued. For if neither is pressed, we shall perish, and the Queen's honour be touched. We have broken and mean to break, no promise: there are more victuals than were looked for, and the market increases daily.

I dare not write nor speak all I think, but if your army retires (nothing done), or you drive us to a doubtful appointment for fear of it, I would wish the Queen had not proceeded, and that I had not been a "medlar" in it. Your men think battery not feasible, and that for lack of money the camp volant cannot continue. I cannot understand this: "thesperance" of success never made me so rejoice, as these doubts cast me in care! I pray you be a mean that these excessive charges borne by her Majesty be not wholly lost! hoping the continuance for a short time shall end it, for the most part is already spent. My doubts and uncertainties have made me defer writing to your honour, and I dare not write to "my lady, whose anxietye and care for our common caus nedeth rather comfort then increase." I would not end, if I did not fear to trouble you, and pray God in these doubtful matters you choose the best. The Camp. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

April 10. **722.** RANDOLPH TO CECILL.

Though my duty is somewhat discharged by service to the Duke and my lord Grey, yet I must satisfy myself by writing of things here to your honour.

Though some things have passed contrary to the desire of some who wished hastily to end debate by adventuring their bodies, than by talking of matters, yet there is no time lost or the cause hindered to the effect of the Queen's desire. I see them all bent, being assured of performance of her promise, to make no other appointment than the liberty of the country, the French expelled, and the league between England and Scotland remain, whereunto they crave her highness's support.

Your favour is known to them all, and your travail on their behalf. I would be content to end life with half the praise that I have heard of your doings; and desire to live no longer than to see a happy end of this notable enterprise. The "moste inconveniens" of this treating, is that many of the "bye layers" that meant to have entered, "harken yet" what will become of it. Morton appointed the hour to come to the lords and subscribe, but as the Queen wrote to him that the matter should be ended in one day, he came not. Of Huntly Lethington will or has written, as I did in my last. "As you your-

Elizabeth.
1560. selfe" * My lord of Arran is presently "evle at ease," and by advice has left the camp and come to his father in Holyrood house. I cannot judge the ["nature?"] of his disease; it seems to me rather care of mind than pain of body. His "spiryt" is always occupied and his body without repose. I enclose copy of a letter which he caused me to draw up for him to the Duke: and Lethington will also send you copy of another. If any unquietness of mind causes his disease, your wisdom shall have "a gesse" by these letters. He was also determined to have written to you himself, had he not been prevented by this misfortune. Any omissions by the haste of this bearer departing, shall be supplied in my next. How worthily Sir Henry Percy behaved himself the first day against the enemy; I would be loth to write more than truth, but never saw man do better since I was born! Holyrood House. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

April 10. **723.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

Though in our general letter, we have declared the state of things, yet I now tell you plainly, as one to whom I am bold to impart my whole mind, our conjectures here upon the case. The matter between the French and us depends on some communication between the Dowager and us with the lords of Scotland our friends, on certain articles which Sir George Howard brings to you, which request it seems to us the Dowager with some qualification, may be brought to condescend unto. Though they seem but small, yet when well weighed, they do under colour of a pretence of amity and peace, cloak that, which unless well considered, may turn the Queen at this time "to save a pounde, and or it be longe cause her to spende tenne"! You can well see as long as the Dowager is ruler, be her French garrison never so small, they may at opportunity, revenge themselves of them now taken under the Queen's Majesty's protection. So her honour and surety is much to be regarded, for you shall either see it come to this pass, or the Scots for necessity shall join the French as our utter enemies. Wherefore good Master Secretary, let not a small charge now cast away all that has been spent. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

* I had so scribbled this, that I had it copied, or you could not have read it. Take it written to yourself only.

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

April 10. **724.** NORFOLK, &C., TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

We have received letters from the camp in cipher, and send them deciphered, with others thence to M^r^ Secretary: by which you will see how loth the Scots are to settle by treaty, unless the Dowager be deprived, the government left to some of their nobility, and the French expelled. Also the difficulties of winning Leith without a greater force of soldiers and pioneers, not to be got so soon as needed, unless the Queen please to pay a certain number of Scots to keep the

* The page ends thus abruptly, and some part is lost. † Remainder holograph.

Elizabeth.
1560. field, who cannot at their own charges. The 2000 men due here on the 25th March, only arrived last night, and shall be sent on to-morrow. When all together, they shall be 8000 soldiers and 700 pioneers, besides the horse; but Leith is so great in circuit, and well garrisoned (supposed to be 3500 French and 500 Scots) that they are not strong enough to prevail. Being thus far entered, if not ended by an honourable treaty, it must be achieved otherwise, though chargeable: or our friends shall be left a prey to the enemy, or forced to join them against us. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir, F. Leek.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Grey, &c., to Norfolk.)

Double of a letter in cipher from Lord Grey, &c., to my lord of Norfolk, 9th April, deciphered.

All things for our first battery are in such readiness, that we may prepare soon to approach Leith and plant it, if we saw appearance of success. But we want the 2000 men appointed, and I trust Sir George Howard has declared the danger. If we fail to achieve the enterprise, then the congregation will be left a prey to their enemy: on the other part the Scots are obstinate against the treaty, unless the French are expelled and the Dowager deprived. She will not think it reasonable, so long as the contract between the Queen and the lords remains in force, to enter into composition. Having agreed yesterday to name whom she would appoint to commune of the articles presented to her, it chanced some Scots horse took a trumpeter and her secretary between Leith and Edinburgh, I suppose sent to confer with M. D'Oysel, &c. But after staying them a short space, they were licensed to go to the Dowager. Whether from this or otherwise, I have no answer yet as she promised: but if I find she drives time to-day, I will send before night to her for plain answer, or desist further communing.

You will consider deeply whether it is better to attempt these things by force with excessive charges, the end whereof is uncertain, and success doubtful, or compound the matter so, as the great causes being removed, either party may relent in some part of their desires. I mention this in respect of the Queen's honour. Our opinion is, that unless the other battery come hither better appointed than the first, we shall not win Leith by battery and assault. At Lestarrick, encamped, 9th April 1560. William Grey, H. Scrope, James Croft.

Since writing, the Dowager has sent for a conduct for 6 personages to commune on the articles delivered to her by the lords.

1½ *pp.* *Copy by Railton.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 11. **725.** RANDOLPH TO SADLEIR.

If Lethington's letter dispatched this present morning, have come to your hands, you understand our case. We humbly desire you to "tendre" the same, which now lies in balance. It grieves me so godly a purpose should "quayle" when we thought it most ripe.

Elizabeth.
1560. I cannot satisfy men's expectation, and your presence would stand us in great stead. This day the 11th, there meet to commune for the lords of the congregation, the Lord James, the Master of Maxwell, laird of Patarrowe, "lairde Lidingeton," Sir James Croft and Sir Henry Percy. For the Dowager, Monsieur D'Oysel, La Brosse, "l'evesque D'Amians," the Earl Morton, lord Erskine, the bishop of St Andrews. All judge it will come to nought. There came advertisement this morning to my lord of Arran, that if he sent with speed 20 soldiers to Blackness, it should be delivered to them. Holyrood house. *Signed:* Tho. Barnabie.

1¼ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

April 11. **726.** FRANCIS II. TO THE QUEEN REGENT.

If the Bishop of Valence reach the Queen Regent of Scotland safe, she will hear from him all that has passed with the Queen of England, her hardness, and the unjust demands she makes for herself and the Scottish rebels, and can judge what she may hope for from England. She will also learn from the bishop what the King has done to quench the fire nourished by the Queen of England, and the means he has taken to mollify and remove all her "jalouzie" of his force sent to Scotland, which has done no good; and his slight hopes, if the Sieur de Glajon sent by the Catholic King to her, is unsuccessful. And if they cannot bring said lady to reason, it seems to the said King that they should assay to gain some of the rebel lords by promise of pardon and amnesty for the past, as in the bishop's instructions, who knows the King's mind.

If the said Queen persists in her opinion, their best course will be that every man stand on his guard, looking to the "holdes" as well as possible, till his succours come so strong as to bring these rebels to reason, and keep the Queen of England from hindering their chastisement. These will arrive in June, or the middle of July at farthest. Among these will be some Spanish vessels, and a good company of his subjects which the Spanish King has offered, besides all assistance in his power.

As the Queen Regent is on the spot with many good advisers, if she can keep matters in suspence without it come to arms, the King will take it in most acceptable part: for he fears the slackness of succour may be to his great hindrance—and yet rather than do anything to his rebuke, he is determined to abide God's pleasure. Meantime, to assist the lady Regent to retain men of war, he has within these 8 days sent her by the "little mariner whom she sent hither," 6000 francs and 20 barrels of powder, and now by Captain Chapperon, a further sum of 4000 crowns: thinking good to help her thus, by little sums by divers ways, till he can send a great "renforce" of money, as he is determined to do with the succours. And she may be assured that he will omit no occasion to help her by some means or other.

As the Queen of England was in nothing earnest with the said bishop, as he had no power to promise anything to the rebels, or treat with herself on certain points not clear between the King and her, there is sent presently a general commission, which the said lady Regent may use for the one and the other as she sees fit, for the

Elizabeth.
1560 affairs of Scotland. And as no more particular instruction can be sent hence, he refers the whole to her and her good council.

2 *pp. French. In a foreign hand, partly cipher, partly deciphered. Indorsed* (by Maitland): "Memoyre pour envoyer a la Royne Regent descosse, du xj^me^ Davril 1559, avant Pasques."

(1) Another copy of the same, in a different cipher, deciphered.

2¼ *pp. Indorsed* (partly by Cecill): "A. xj Aprilis 1560. The memoriall that shold have byn sent to the Quene Douagier by Chapperon, in ciphers disciphered."

April 11. **727.** NORFOLK, &c., TO CECILL.

I enclose these letters presently received from the laird of Lethington, praying your good consideration of them. And as I resolved before, I send this day Sir Ralph Sadleir to the camp, with the rest of the footmen. Also to know their doings and the state of the camp. I send Sir Frances Leek to lead these men, with a band of horse under Sir John Forster, who shall bring him back to report to me. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., R. Sadleir, F. Leek.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Maitland to Norfolk.)

I received yesternight your letter with some articles from the Queen on the matter of Ireland, which as directed I will communicate to Argyll. I would have written or now, but cannot see the end of our doings here. I cannot believe the French are sincere, and mistrust their communications. On the other part, I am credibly put in doubt of your forces' stay till matters are ended, for lack of necessaries. Your 2^d^ battery is not yet here, and men of experience begin to think your number too few for battery, and it would require 20,000. And they fear her Majesty would "waxe wery" of the expenses of a "camp volant." I am not of experience to choose the best: but am assured of one thing, no appointment can please our countrymen,—unless we be "preissed to it, for feare to be destituted off your support,—but suche as I think the Frensh will never agre to."

If all things do not proceed to the expectation of my countrymen, no man can be in worse case, for I shall bear the whole blame and lose my credit. Meantime I dare not move your men to any desperate enterprise. "So that I sayle betwix Scylla and Caribdis!" I think you have too few councillors here, and if you could spare Sir Rauf Sadlar, he would greatly help them. Did I not think it more than necessary, I would not presume to move your grace therein. The Camp before Leith, 9^th^ of April 1560. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

April 12. **728.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I have received these inclosed letters this present morning, some to you, some to M^r^ Sadleir and me, whereby you may see the "greate

Elizabeth.
1560. pensivenes" and fear of the success of this treaty, the Scots are in—for which I can no way blame them, touching them so near. How it may end I know not, but I am sure it has greatly hindered us, keeping neutrals back. I trust the Queen and you of Council will ponder how it stands for the safety of the realm to bring this enterprise to good end, and how it is cheaper to finish this war begun, than hereafter to begin anew. It may be, in reading these Scots' letters, you will think we put them in more fear than our directions willed us—as indeed had I been in the camp, I would have been loth to cast such bones among them. Yet for fear of their desperation before my cousin Sir George Howard's return with the Queen's resolute determinations, I have sent Sir Rafe Sadlier and Sir Francis Leek who may meanwhile content them with gentle and fair words. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

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

April 12. **729.** KYLLYGREW TO CECILL.

Till I received "this inclosed," I could write no more of "my buschope" than in my last. I think when this man returns, whom I look for to-day or to-morrow, "we shall bak to London agayne." Yea! I fear he will not tarry his messenger's return, so fain would he be at home. I never saw man worse contented, and was never so weary of a charge, but I trust soon to be rid of him, as he "sewyth" the Duke for horses, and think he shall have them. He thinks the Queen may and will not only drive the French out of Scotland perforce, but use the Scots at her pleasure. He laments this as the worst of all his "imbassagis," and it will be his undoing, but he foresaw this ere he left London, and wrote thence to his master that he looked for no other end but war. Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Kyllygrew.

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

April 13. **730.** CHATELHERAULT TO ELIZABETH.

Though unable to requite the least part of your graciousgoodness to this poor realm, yet it is my part to testify the will I have to serve your highness with as loyal and true affection as any man of my nation. My boldness at present is to inform your highness why it seemed good to the lords of Council here to refuse speech of the bishop of Valence: whom we (having had trial of the French practises) deemed to have been sent under pretence of friendly communication rather to stir up more mischief, than for any good he can do. I am so hardy as thus to write, and send your highness copy of the answer which he received from us. Holyrood house. *Signed:* Yowr graceis hwmyll serwetwr, James Hammylton.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk): ". . . Therle of Arrayne (*sic*) to the Quenes majestie."

Inclosed in the same:—

(Chatelherault to the Bishop.)

I have your letters bearing that the King and Queen my sovereigns

Elizabeth.
1560. have been pleased to send you to the Queen Dowager, and also to "speak me and uthers my lordis" in matters towards peace, and asking me for sure passage. I have ever been willing for peace, but for "na laboris I or the rest of the nobilite mycht mak," could never find your countrymen conformable to any good purpose. I have seen letters from the "Marques D'labuif" in this realm, showing great preparations of hostility without mention of redress, which puts us all in suspicion that subversion of the realm is meant. Thus we cannot at present agree to grant you passage, whereby professed enemies may have intelligence to our annoyance. But if by commission or otherwise you show us you have authority to remove this "scurge" of men of war, and bring the realm to quiet under our sovereigns, you may be assured of free passage and honourable treatment. Holyrood house, 13 April 1560.

¾ *p.* *In same hand as letter.* *Indorsed* (by Randolph).

April 14. **731.** KYLLYGREW TO CECILL.

To-day the bishop's man returned, with a refusal.

In my opinion the French in Scotland have deserved to be more "quicly" used than the Queen has "meaned" hitherto, for faults they have committed since Lord Grey went in and entered communications with the Dowager, &c. I sent you "incontinent" the last letter I had from Lethington, and here inclosed send his letter to my answer unto him; but methinks all to small effect, as it pleases God to frame things. Howbeit if we can trust in him, I see no doubt in the good sequel of the matter. But referring these to God and your wisdoms, I return to my matter, viz. for sundry respects the Duke thought before the bishop's return to London, that I should ride to the camp and prove once again what might be done for his audience: and the bishop desires the same, so as to win time to hear from you before it be resolved whether he go or not. I have sounded him so far, that I believe if the difference be to be ended by treaty, no man can do it better than he, either for the Queen's honour or the Scots' safety. But unless great extremity and necessity be imminent, God forbid it should end by "apointment," for then should the Queen lose all her charges, besides the dishonour and danger of her state. The Bishop would be content to pardon all things past, to retire all French save those of old appointed to keep Dunbar and the "Inschif" [Inchkeith] —also to cause the Dowager to call a parliament, wherein if their party "be of most voycis, to have religion establisched as yt is now preached," also assurance of their persons as they can devise; but for the government, still to have Frenchmen joined with them. Thus much I learned of him, under protestation that I would not "entermele" in it unless he assured me with many promises and good tokens, which he did not only before the Duke's grace at length, but also to me "privautly." So to-morrow I depart to the camp, and mind to solicit both the Dowager and the Congregation to hear him —and also to set forth to her the desire of the Queen to see an end of these troubles by means of this bishop, whom she hath let pass only for that end and purpose. At my return, I trust to be better able to resolve you of their doings, and of the end we may look for in

Elizabeth.
1560. this enterprise. Berwick, Easter day at night 1560. *Signed:* Henry Kyllygrew.

2½ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk): "The xiiijth April," &c.

Inclosed in the same:—

(Maitland to Kyllygrew.)

Nothing is yet resolved as to the Bishop of Valence, but I think he shall return from whence he came, unless he will give adventure, as I wish he should, "so shold I have occasion to speake with yow eyther a prisonar or fre." My care was never greater: I fear your men shall drive us against our heart to an evil appointment, for they cast many doubts. The "peace" * they think so great and difficult that 20,000 men are too few to siege it: and fear money shall "inlake" to continue the siege volant. If neither way followed, then we must be forsaken by you, and "in worse caas then if you never had medled with ws," or else receive a "desadvantageux" appointment. I cannot tell how the matter is fallen out, but I begin "to enter in a jalousy." I cannot think the Queen's Council have so unadvisedly proceeded, that they have not foreseen how charges might be continued for a time, if the matter could not so soon be ended. "I se some off your men here ernest to have the mater compounded, and no ouverture made how eyther we may be in saivty, or able to serve the turne of Englane hereafter!" I pray you confer with Sir Rauf Sadlar, and help the matter when it is like to be overthrown. The Camp before Leith, 10th April 1560. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1 *p. Holograph; also address:* "To my assured good frend Maister Kylligrew at Barwick." *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

April [14]. **732.** THE QUEEN TO NORFOLK.

She has received and read his letter brought by Sir George Howard, and heard by him at length, of the doings of her army, and his communications with the Queen Dowager, her hopes of concord, &c., also the lacks of the army. All which things though weighty, might have been imparted in writing without sending him, considering his place and charge—therefore she sends him back with speed, and will address one fully instructed with her pleasure.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk): "M. to my lord of Norfolke from the Queenes majestie, Aprilis 1560." (In another hand), "Not sent."

April 15. **733.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I have heard nothing from the camp worth writing, since my last. This day I have the Queen's and your letters of 11th whereby I see that her Majesty desires to accord these matters by an "amiable peax," wishing Sir Ralph Sadler sent thither—who is already gone. Her Majesty gathers "no frustrate opinion" in choosing him as the

* Leith.

Elizabeth.
1560. meetest instrument to serve her, for ("making no comparison") he is best esteemed by the Scots of any Englishman. Though I instructed him at his departure, yet I have now sent him articles drawn out of her Majesty's letters, "the acomplisshement wherof I doo no lesse mistrust, then if I were present there myselfe." To-day 27 or 28 sail of ships passed by here—we hope it is the ordnance, which will much avail the Queen's service—for no peace can fall out for our purpose, except it be made to the "Frenchis" great fear, and hazard of all before their eyes.

You need not fear any hurt to us by the bishop's man, for he went no further than the Scottish camp. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

Names, &c., of the pledges [*as in list of 26 March*, No. 707].

Of their qualities or how they have profited in learning, I cannot inform you. I pray you send word how I shall send them up?

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (partly by Cecill).

April 15. **734.** RANDOLPH TO KYLLYGREW.

I have now digested my "malencolie," and am "clene woide" of all passions that before troubled my wits, which were so near spent, that for 3 days continually I "lysted" for nothing so much as "for to die." Your letter written on Good Friday deserves my best thanks: I read it in the hearing of those that commended your affection to the cause and praised your wit. This communication and your friend's arrival where he is, and the doubt of his coming hither, have greatly hindered the cause, which I trust will speedily be repaired. All here are so "affectioned" to the utter expelling of the French, that whoever thinks to the contrary, is esteemed no less an enemy than if he had cut 500 throats! It is now resolved that "the lorde your bysshope" shall not come here, for the causes above written. You are to mollify the matter with as meek words as you can to content him, and satisfy the Queen our sovereign to take in good part that he was not admitted. I am sorry I shall not have your company at present. I am not unmindful of your private cause, and when M^r^ Raylton comes, I will see what commission he has. "Agayne to" my former matter; I know not your information of our doings, nor wherein our promise has failed. I have seen no such fault, nor am I so blind as to dissemble with such as have given me credit here. I can testify all promises have been kept hitherto and I assure you I never found men more fervent in any cause than they are in this. So I hope God will send us a happy end to his glory. Besides that they doubt loss of their lands, lives and goods, I see many of them have the fear of God. I cannot commend too much the "vertu" of three noble young men, the eldest of which passes not 26 years: "in whome I profesce byfore God, I coulde never se but mervileus tokens of singular wysedome and godlines." These are Arran and Argyll, both under 23; the third is Lord James Steward *quondam* prior of S^t^ Andrews, "at whose verteu, manhoode, valiantnes, and stowtenes in this cawse, I cane never wondre at sufficiently." I will do your commendations and talk with Tremayne at large. I am "crabbed" I hear never a word of.* Commend me where you list, espe-

* Five words cancelled here.

Elizabeth. 1560. cial to Francis Walsingham. Written in the Duke's house at Holyrood.

"Our communication is buried" unless it revive. The French refused to talk or have to do with Lord Maxwell and the Laird of Lethington, two of our principal men. They also broke the truce that day with 30 or 40 shot of artillery.

You made me merry when you wrote we shall have no lack of money. It is no small comfort among so many "neadie soules." Upon my word, victuals are cheaper in the camp than in the town of Edinburgh, and no lack since their first arrival. I saw to-day a "yolle" of fresh salmon, 2 "spannes longe within on ynche," sold for 3*d.* to 2 soldiers, which did my heart good to see the poor men so merry. Huntly has promised once again to be here, credit him as you list! Morton's chiefest friends have left him. "God I trust (Harrie) wyll prosper our cawse in dyspyte of their noses that wyll the contrarie." Touching the Lord * of S^t^ Jones, it is to be consulted upon, and shall be furthered with all my power.

2½ *pp. Holograph; also address. No signature. Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

April 16. Add. MSS. 33,531, fol. 31. **735.** CECILL TO MAITLAND.

"Sir, I am sorry of the perplexite wherin you and others have bein brought of late with dowt of any conclusion that might prejudice your liberty, and therfore in any wise collect your stomak ageyne, and make and assured accompt that ye shall ether make the bergayne yourselves, or els ye shalbe to unreasonable. Indede I see no such savety as to have the governance in the naturall borne, and the men of warre utterly put out: and yet this now semeth at the first sight both to many here and to other princess abroode so straynge, as it is thought unreasonable. And indede I see herin grete difficulte; for it is thought by some, that it might lye in you there to moderate this matter, and thus to parte the state—to gyve to the French the interest of soveraynte with some shewe of honor, and reserve to your selfes suerty, as to have a generall remission, and that for the mayntenance therof there might be othes taken amongest your selfees for one to mayntene the other—that the chancellorshipp might be exercised by one of your contrey,—that the men of warr might all depart saving some to remayne in Dunbarr for a collor of soverayntee—that Lyth might be demollished—that for the governance iij or iiij might be joyned to the Quene untill a daye assigned for a perlement—that for all other particular differencees, vj might be chosen to report the same to the French Kyng. And so many devisees might be thought of. But when all is mitigyued (?), it shall best lye in your selfes to judge of the truest—and if ye can also devise some titular honors for the French reputation, it shall satisfye the world and putt over this heate that Kyng Phillipp conceaveth agaynst this realme—which ye must thynk is of no small moment here; and yet suerly not by us of counsell so wayed, but we prefer your weale before his power. Take this my wryting in good part I besech you, and if motions of offers do offend you, lett them offend

* Substituted for "Prior."

Elizabeth. 1560. "no moo—for they wer never spoken in tonge by me. Fare ye well, and increase your strength. From Westminster, xvjth Aprilis, *hora* 7^{a} *nocte* 1559. Yours assuredly." *Signed:* W. Cecill.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address:* "To the yong L. of Leddyngtone." *Indorsed* (by Hay): "At the sege of Lethe citell."

April 17. **736.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

If our sincerity and goodness of our cause did not comfort me, I should doubt of success, so many doubt the winning of the "pece," which is made more difficult than it is: for no man of judgment but thinks it feasible enough. Our numbers are not so great as I looked for, yet such as no man of reason can charge us with breach of promise. Our men faint at nothing, their mind is always constant: these I mean who embraced the cause. Huntly, Morton, Hume and other neutrals, were at your first entry in as good forwardness to declare themselves as I could wish: but this treaty so suddenly propounded, they became cold, not knowing what should follow. Neither they nor we see likelihood of a good issue. I something mistrust the messengers have not made the best report, yet no Scottishman has shown hostility to our men nor yours since their entry. The enemy are all in Leith, Dunbar and Inchkeith. Arran has procured the rendering of the Blackness to him. Edinburgh castle rather fears than means to offend us. Generally, all who will not take part with us, are glad to show us some friendship. Never camp was better provided of victuals, and the longer it continue, the better it shall be. I think the French cannot send any great force here, and the King of Spain I think means by threatening, to withdraw the Queen's forces, rather than to enter into the matter earnestly; and although he would, if the French were once removed (which will soon be done if the matter is stoutly followed) he would hurt himself more than us. As I have often touched to your honour, the points necessary for our safety are (1) the removal of the French, and (2) government by our own born men. To satisfy the Queen, rather than any good we look for of his message, passage is granted to the bishop of Valence. I know what a burden your honour sustains in these our matters, but since they are so far proceeded there is no "bak going," therefore I pray you faint not but go through. The Queen's honour and wealth of the two realms require it.

The Duke, &c., are minded to send an ambassador shortly to thank the Queen for her most honourable and liberal support, with letters also to my lords of her council and others of the nobility. If she will command that all things be attempted to further the cause, I doubt not we shall soon be at an end. In matters of such consequence I would not wish we were "to scrupulous." I fear more deceit by treaty than the worst otherwise. The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

April 17. **737.** ANSWERS BY GREY, &C., TO NORFOLK'S ARTICLES.

1. This is fulfilled, as his grace expected.
2. The first part shall be followed as the Queen instructs; the

Elizabeth.
1560. second, as on consideration of the answer to the third article. Meanwhile no time shall be lost.

3. Leith for its strength is difficult to approach: but if we could make 3 camps, it is feasible. If there were two to maintain 2 batteries, there were good hope; but having only one camp, it seems not feasible. The additional number of men required for 2 camps is at least 3000, and 1000 pioneers, with tools for them, and those we have already.

4. This answered by the Admiral.

5. There was some disorder in the soldiers frequenting Edinburgh —not so great as is made—wherein we are devising remedy. William Grey, H. Scrope, Jamys Croft.

The Admiral's answer to article 4th.

State of Inchkeith, as I hear from men who have carried men and victuals to it. There are 140 soldiers in it, besides 70 women, boys and labouring persons. They have no drink but water. Wheat to serve 10 or 12 days, other victual little or none. Their great relief is oysters and periwinkles, which they get at low water mark in the isle, and fresh fish with angling rods. I think it takable, if we might lie there with 600 men, 3 demi-cannons, 3 culverins, 2 sakers, 2 falcons with 150 shot each piece, and 5 lasts of serpentine powder. But if suddenly called away to meet enemies at sea, or help the army with men against Leith, I cannot promise to bring off the men and ordnance once landed, in 6 days after warning given. The wall and "ramper" is 30 foot thick, *i.e.*, 14 foot of stone and 16 of earth. The *Bull* is come, and with her, 13 sail of victuallers, laden with 30 days' victuals for 17 sail, *i.e.*, 13 of the Queen's and 4 of London.

(The fleet off Leith.)

The Queen's own ships.—The *Lyon* (Wm. Wynter, captain), the *Philip and Mary* (Rob. Constable, captain) and 11 others. Their crews, 2129. Men to be landed, 447.

Ships from London.—The *Minion* (Tho. Jones, captain) and 3 others. Their crews, 606. Men to be landed, 170.

Ships from Newcastle.—The *Marie Gallant* (Bamborough, captain), The *Newe John* (Brode, captain) and 6 others. Their crews, 618. Men to be landed, 321.

The *Robert* (Stoner, captain), the *John Baptist* (Tho. Rowles, captain) and 2 others. Their crews, 359. Men to be landed, 190.

Total ships, 29. Men in them, 3712. "Of men that be by lande of the saide nomber, 1128." W. Wynter.

The [13] captains crossed, are to lead the 1128 soldiers, and Robert Constable to have chief charge.

3 *pp.* *In Railton's writing.* *Indorsed.*

On the back is a copy of the Duke's instructions when sending Sadleir and Leek to the camp on 12th *April to which Grey, &c., replied on* 17th *as above.*

1 *p.* *Also in Railton's hand.*

April 18. **738.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I wrote to you this morning, of a skirmish last Monday between

Elizabeth.
1560. us and Leith: Mr Leeke is now arrived, who saw the whole, and says it was the hottest he ever saw. There were killed and hurt of either part, 7 or 8 score; and hard to judge who had the better. On our side none slain above the degree of lieutenant. Captain Barkeley hurt and taken, M[r] Arthur Grey shot through the shoulder, but thank God, in no danger: Brian Fritzwilliams shot through the leg. Of the French, Monsieur Chepper one of the chiefest captains slain I hope this will be a lesson to them in charge to keep their men out of Edinburgh. I have written oft enough, if that would help. By report I gather almost one-half the foot was in the skirmish. "Rastaricke deanrie is so sweete, that our campe lyeth not within halfe a myle and more of our trenches." I think all our fine armed Berwick men be not the best furnished of them. Praying you to be so much my friend that every man may bear his own burden, and nothing undeserved laid on my neck.

Captains Rede and Vaughan I hear, showed themselves very stout and valiant there. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

* The gain has been so sweet that our old treasurer makes much ado to part with office. I hope his messenger to London gets no comfort from you.

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

April 19. **739.** NORFOLK TO CECIL.

The Queen's and your letters of 16[th] were the best welcome since my arrival here. Now we know that her Majesty will go through by fair or foul means, as shall seem most agreeable for the safety of both realms. I have this night dispatched her letters to Lord Grey, "in whome of any there, there lackes leest good will of forwardnes. There be others that cast perills, if the skye fall, we shall have larkes!" Your letters I hope will "redubbe" this long slackness. Men's minds alter with time, yet I pray you impute not "varietie" to me, who have written the contrary to you heretofore. The Scottish lords and ours are agreed chiefly by the Scots' desire, that with her Majesty's contentment if Edinburgh castle were taken, it would advance taking the other, for the Dowager does more harm than 500 Frenchmen. She sends continually up and down, which can only be stopped by siege, and this would not hurt the other, for they assure me they will have it in four days. She were better to be at the Queen's "curtesie," than we at hers: and demolishing it will not hurt the realm. You will understand the state of Inchkeith by the Admiral's letters sent herewith. Of it and Edinburgh let us have speedy answer. The French have gained little. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

Postscript.—The Bishop of Valence goes to-morrow into Scotland, with leave to tarry 8 days going and coming. I look for neither good or bad thereof, and yet he is accounted by the Scottish lords "oone of the fynest inginers in Christendom."

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

April 19. **740.** NORFOLK TO GREY OF WILTON.

I have received by Sir Francis Leek your answer to the articles

* Holograph.

Elizabeth.
1560. I sent by Sir R. Sadleir and him, and as you may see by the Queen's and her Council's letters herewith sent, her disposition to prosecute matters to the end, you shall immediately entertain 2000 foot of the Scots, and so many pioneers as you think fit, and expedite approach to the enemy. In my letters to the Court, I touched on the Scots' desire to take the "Greate Cragge"* and Inchkeith, and hope for answer soon. Meantime I wish the Scots animated that they may know their cause and themselves is considered.

Postscript.—To-morrow the bishop of Valence takes his journey, meaning to lodge the night at Haddington and be at the camp on Sunday. I pray you speak to the Duke, &c., that he may be well used. I have given him 8 days to go and return, trusting you send some gentlemen to meet and conduct him to you. He desires but one hour's talk with the Dowager and then to return to the congregation, which I desire he may be suffered to do.

1 *p.* *Contemporary copy.*

[April *c.* 20]. **741.** D[R] WOTTON TO CECILL ON THE SCOTS.

"Syr,"—As you willed me, I send you my thoughts of matters. First—seeing King Philip has determined to help the French king to reduce the Scots, if our men suffer 5000 or 6000 Spaniards to land, the Queen's purpose is defeated: for ours cannot resist the French thus aided, and the neutral Scots seeing this, will declare for them. If our navy on the other hand keeps them off, and thereafter (which God forbid) be overthrown, then our army is lost too. And even if our chance were to overcome them, that could not be without great bloodshed (the Spaniard being "a brave and a superbe soldate)," then King Philip for anger and despite, instead of mere assistance to the French will fall to open war for revenge, whereto he shall lack no counsel in Spain.

As for remedy by seeking to pacify the matter otherwise than by sending men to Scotland, he is so far off, and the Queen cannot well send by France, and ere answer come it will be too late to "lette" his navy, which seems well near ready. And even if the way were open, it is feared he would stand by his promise to the French king—so that this aid is like to cause war both with France and Spain. A matter to be well considered, for help we are like to have none, "no not of the Scottes," for they seem little able, or even willing, to do anything to help themselves. And though our cause be just, yet God for secret causes to men unknown, sometimes suffers the maintainers of just causes to be punished and oppressed, and it were little wisdom to counsel the Queen to attempt to fight both, if by any tolerable means it may be avoided. To help it by sending to King Philip is somewhat late, and to send to the Duchess of Parma, I fear is vain, for she has not (I think) authority in such a matter: and yet it were well to prove both ways, to see what God can work therein, though some other way must be sought for. King Philip's request to revoke our army from Scotland has been debated and not liked: yet the state of things is now altered from that when it was talked of; for then it was expected certainly the Scots would perform promise, coming with a great force

* Edinburgh castle (?)

Elizabeth.
1560. to the field for 30 days, when some good might be done: but it was not meant that our men alone should drive out the French and resist the Spaniards. Whether these two great and unlooked for points, viz., King Philip's aid, and the Scots' non-performance of promise, give the Queen occasion to alter her former determination, must be well considered: and if thought meet to alter anything, then she has a good colour for it in the Scots' non-performance. If this occasion be let pass, peradventure the like will not serve again. But if no alteration be thought meet, then I see no way to avoid war with both the princes, but by making agreement with the French, which out of question cannot be now made so beneficial for us or the Scots as it might, if King Philip had not meddled in it, and the Scots had shown themselves strong in the field and earnest at this beginning.

The Scots' requests are (1) to be ruled by their own nation and laws; (2) to keep "the religion which they have receyved"; and (3) the French "revoked." The Queen would also have them out, for safeguard of Scotland, but chiefly of her realm, also satisfaction for usurping her title and arms, and the former treaty confirmed. The first point I think will be hard to obtain, viz., that the French king have no lieutenant of his own nation—so if it might be made that he appoint a viceroy, or whatever he will call him, to do nothing in weighty affairs without consent of 6 or 7 Scots nobles appointed by the congregation for each parliament. (2) For religion (which I suppose the only cause why King Philip stirs), if it could be obtained that such as have received it may continue in it, using themselves quietly and troubling no others, or attempting any further thing *vià facti*, it were well for the time. If these points, chiefly touching the Scots, can be made easier for the French, the Queen might let them pass rather than war with both these "greate princes," seeing the untowardness of the Scots. (3) I fear the French will not agree to remove, seeing the small power of the congregation: yet it is so important for us it must be "sticked at," and if not obtained, yet the Queen might agree to as small a number remaining as the Scots will yield, for it touches them too. For the matter touching the Queen only: as I hear of no answer or commission by the French, it may be the King "disdeynith" to speak of them: yet if they agree with the Scots only, then the Queen may seem to be at open war, if they pretend we broke the league by sending forces to Scotland. It seems therefore inexpedient to suffer an agreement between France and Scotland unless the Queen has at least confirmation of the last treaty. Other assurance from the French king, as by hostages, &c., I suppose is not to be looked for. And such confirmation can only be made by one in Scotland duly commissioned by him. Hearing that of late the title and arms have been openly set up again in France with great solemnity, it is to be considered what the Queen should do.

If it is thought meet to continue in war and not agree, then the words of the articles with the Scots must be considered, whether the Queen is bound to protect them against King Philip, or only against the French: for if the latter only, then they must in reason make themselves stronger than they first promised. This is all that comes in my mind hereon.

Our merchants at Antwerp must be remembered: for if King Philip arrested their goods in the Low Country, that, without sending his men to Scotland, would set us in such trouble at home, that

Elizabeth. 1560. it "wold go nigh" to make the Queen revoke her forces from Scotland.

When lord Grey sent Edward Randol hither a while ago, it appeared he looked that the Scots should have been in far greater strength than the treaty provides; and now he seeing their weakness and hearing of the Spaniards, it may discourage him and his forces.

4 *pp. Holograph, closely written. Indorsed* (by Cecil): "1560 M^r Wottons discourse touching Q. Scotts."

[1560. *c.* April 20.] **742.** D^R WOTTON TO CECILL.

I trouble you with a few other "fancyes" come to my mind since I sent the other.

What indifferency is there in King Philip's readiness to hear the French, and making nothing at all of the Queen's complaints!

Seeing he was told of the French king's usurping the Queen's title and arms, and his evident intention to conquer, first Scotland, and then England: it is very strange he promised to aid the French against the Scots, without signifying it to the Scots or the Queen. "No! nor never soughte so much as to understande how the cace standith betwixt the French and the Scottes!"

What is this but to open the gate and the way for the French to conquer England by Scotland?

The ancient unity and traffic betwixt the King's countries and England deserved not he should so lightly make a promise so prejudicial to it (yea to himself also if he well considers it)—without making the Queen privy to it.

If there are covenants between Scotland and the French king, why should he tyrannically break them and oppress his own subjects? And why should another prince maintain him without hearing the Scots' case first?

In the Low Countries they never suffered Spaniard to be lieutenant or magistrate: why should it not be so in Scotland, specially if it was agreed to before?

King Philip would likely be ready enough in a good cause against us, when he is so ready to pick this quarrel! It were strange if by this sudden "not wel digestedde" promise, war should rise between him and England, where his ancestors so many hundred years have ever travailed to maintain amity, whereby has risen much of the greatness of the House of Burgundy!

What if a bruit were raised in Flanders, that the English army must leave Scotland, and fall out with the Scots for not keeping promise with them? This tale might keep back the Spaniards.

Or if a letter were devised as from my lord of Norfolk to the Duke of Chatelherault, signifying that Glagion after hearing the Scots' causes and ours, saith that his master never understood them, but has heard otherwise from the French, and he doubts not but the Duchess of Parma will stay the aid till news come again from King Philip, who he thinks will stay it everywhere; for which the Queen hath sent both to the King and the Duchess, making such offers that the King will be more likely to drive out the French than to help them. To make this more like a true letter, another may be put in the packet written in false cipher, addressed to my lord Grey: and these so

Elizabeth.
[1560.] carried that the bearer may be taken by the French or French Scots. But Lord Grey and the Duke to be warned of it, lest the packet reached and deceived them.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph.* *Neither signed nor indorsed.*

1560. April 20. **743.** KYLLYGREW TO CECILL.

Since my last, I have been with the Queen Dowager and the lords—first with them, who were very unwilling the bishop should come in, as men who would abide all danger rather than treat with those they could not trust. Yet upon your letter written since Monsieur de Glagion's arrival, it was agreed after long debate. I never saw men from the best to the worst, more content to please and obey us. They have not broken but rather amplified their promises: which I shall declare at length when at leisure, which I have not now "for my bischopes affayres." Their doings are not so orderly as ours, which they confess is the cause why their show of men is not so great: but to amend it, they have taken a new order —the like not before seen in Scotland—viz., to have 1200 chosen men the best of Scotland, to continue as long as the Queen shall command, at their own charges. If that be not sufficient, Argyll has offered to bring besides those he has, 1000 more men by 6th May, to remain in camp for 30 days at their own charges. By this I doubt not they will spend lands, lives and all, rather than this enterprise fail, if they are well used. Our men have committed great faults, which some "that rule" impute to many wants and "lettes," but the best soldiers there assure me to the contrary, and that if their advice had been followed, Leith should not be long French.

On the 17th Mr Thomas Ker came to the Lords from his master Huntly, to excuse his tarry and assure them he would be there on 20th. Morton and Hume have stayed for his coming only. The Lord of "Saynct Jones" shall shortly be sent to the Queen from the congregation; whom I take to be one of the "proprest" men in all Scotland for our Court. I enclose the laird of Lethington's letter: the copy of the lords' safe conduct for the bishop, I have left with the Duke to send yon. The bishop is allowed to go, that the world shall not say but he was heard. If the fear of his coming and our men's communication with the Queen Dowager, has stayed Hume coming in who is yet neutral, his short abode and departure without doing good, will bring things out of suspicion, the rather for your last dispatch, which will so encourage all that I doubt not of success, "so you consider the mony matters according to the importance of the cause." If there had been men enough to guard 2 batteries, and pioneers to have trenched, the town had not been now to win. That is the only excuse for the slackness. Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Kyllygrew.

* The bishop departs hence this morning for the camp. Mr Winter on the 17th at night, gave the town so hot an alarm with ships and boats, that the cry was heard to Edinburgh: but I know not what hurt it did, for I came thence in the morning.

3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

* Written lengthways on margin.

Elizabeth.
1560.
April 21.

744. NORFOLK, &c., TO CECILL.

You shall receive herewith the letters from camp that came to me this morning, showing that albeit at Monday's skirmish our loss was thought great, the French was greater, and the enterprise is thought now more feasible. I have already sent Lord Grey some corn-powder, and will send the rest with speed. Levistone the Scot whom I stayed on suspicion, I will send by Lethington's advice to Chatelherault and the other lords, with the next convoy of treasure within I trust 3 or 4 days. Randall's letter to me, and that of the bishop of Athens Huntly's brother, in his excuse, I include herein, with Huntly's requests to the lords of the Congregation, and their answer.

I pray you also send an alphabet of the cipher lately deciphered by Sommer, for certain letters in cipher from Leith to the Dowager were intercepted lately, which I might perchance thereby decipher here. Also the Queen's resolution as to besieging Edinburgh castle and Inchkeith, both thought easy without hindering the purpose to Leith. About 3 p.m. yesterday my cousin Sir George Howard arrived, whom I will dispatch with next convoy to his charge at the camp; with whom, to know the state of things at Leith, Edinburgh, &c., and prick our men forward, I will send Sir Richard Lee. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., G. Howard, F. Leek.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Armorial wafer signet.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Grey to Norfolk.)

Since I wrote by Sir Francis Leek of our Monday's skirmish, I have credible advertisement from Leith that captains Charlebois the younger, Piemont, and Pyeres, and Monsieur de Lorgeé, were slain there, captain Laggard sore wounded, and 30 of their bravest gentlemen slain, besides 74 of the companies of captains Harbierges and Rycarvile: the total slain and hurt is 250. The likelihood whereof is very apparent by the continual lamentation of the Dowager, and the "still lieng" of our neighbours of Leith. I pray your grace to send as much corn powder as is ready from the mill at Berwick, and that it may be kept working more to be sent out of hand. I will "render" for it as much serpentine. Of matches we are almost thoroughly destitute. Lestarrick, 20th April 1560. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

(1) (Sadleir to Norfolk.)

Lethington has written to Mr Secretary desiring me to address it to your grace for perusal before forwarding it. I also enclose letter from the Bishop of Athens Huntly's brother, seeming very sorry at his delay in coming here, and excusing him to your grace. Huntly has sent his man to take up his lodging, and is looked for to-morrow, but his "wylynes" is such that none of his countrymen will assure it till they see him. Since Mr Leek's departure, nothing has happened worthy advertisement. Our neighbours in Leith have been very quiet

Elizabeth.
1560. since last Monday's skirmish, and though it was thought the loss then was on our side, we have certain intelligence that theirs was greater, for there were slain of them almost 80, and above 200 so hurt as to do no more service, among them a man of good reputation who died last Wednesday, for whom they moan much—but they keep this a secret, "or elles it is a tale well made." I will advertise the truth when I know it. Our chieftains here seem to have better hope of Leith than heretofore, and think to plant their battery within 8 or 10 days at furthest, which done, they hope the rest will not be long a doing; and the lords of Scotland promise to have at least 2000 more men than are here for the assault, and will bear their charges. Also to furnish 500 or 600 pioneers, whereof there are already 13 score, and have this night set them to work with ours. All our armour is now landed and the soldiers armed, and to-morrow the other battery shall be landed. So if the Dowager and the French shall not come to a good and amicable treaty, the matter shall be soon determined otherwise. Edinburgh, 19th April, at 10 o'clock at night, "with the rude hand of"—*Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—The Earl of Mounteth humbly sues your grace that his son for his tender years' sake may remain near the border, that he may the better send some of his to see and hear oftener from him.

2 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

(3) (Randolph to Norfolk.)

The manifold difficulties daily to be seen in this enterprise, make me "wyllinger" to leave the report to men of more "schile," than to write encouraging a matter of so uncertain issue, or say so little as if there were no hope. I will be so bold as simply to report what I daily hear from men of judgment, English and others, that with diligence and determination of all rather to venture their lives in the "dyches" of Leith than waste time in vain talk, it were easy enough in a few days to make such a way to the indissoluble amity of these two nations, that neither French nor their partakers shall ever be able to set foot in this land. But I must confess that my zeal to have an end is greater than my experience, and your grace will best credit the more "experimented," and pardon my bold utterance of what I believe shall shortly take place..

In my last letter by Mr Killigrew, I wrote to your grace of Huntly's coming. To-morrow is the day he appointed to be here with 300 horse. The suspicious men fear he has got something (as the earldom of Moray or such like) at the Queen Dowager's hands to thrust himself in as a peacemaker. God either amend his nature that deals so "subtylly" with men, or their conditions that suspect him. I dare not write what some men doubt if the bishop of Valence and he meet. Holyrood house, 19th April late in the night, 1560. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(4) (Archbishop of Athens to Norfolk.)

Whereas the Queen Dowager lately said to divers of your country "wha spak hir" in the castle of Edinburgh, that my brother the Earl of Huntly would "na vay" assist nor concur in defence of this our

Elizabeth.
1560. godly action: I will be so bold, with your pardon to assure you of the contrary, notwithstanding her great policy and craft to impeach the same, and her "uter diligence to brek the haill nobilitie of his cuntre aganis him, quhilk ves the maist principell and chifest occasioun of his tary." He will be without fail in our camp the 20th or 21st of this present, to assist and set forward our proceedings. Edinburgh, 18th of April 1560. *Signed:* A. Gordon.

½ *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecil).

(5) (Huntly's requests.)

Whereas there is a league by persuasion of the French &c., between the nobility of the north of Scotland, certain clans and islesmen, to defend the "auld maner of religion" and French authority, against the Duke and his partakers, also to invade "me" and my friends and destroy our "rowmes," already begun.

Therefore "he" desires from the Duke, &c., an assurance under their handwriting to maintain him and his friends in their lives lands and possessions, and procure them the Queen of England's support.

Understanding also that the Duke is already disponing certain "rowmes" in the north parts, he requests none of the lands and duties of the "kirk, eschetts," &c., may be so granted, save to his partakers or at least with his consent, viz. in the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Murray, Nairne and Inverness.

He desires that he may have similar authority over the north as he and his predecessors have had from their sovereigns in times past, and be maintained therein both by the Duke and his assisters of Scotland and England—and that in case any refuse to concur in the cause, their "eschetis and rowmes" may be bestowed on the Earl and the gentlemen and barons serving with him.

1 *p. Copy in Scottish writing. Indorsed* (by Cecil and Randolph).

(6) (The Lords' answer to Huntly.)

They are bound to maintain and defend each other, and if he joins them, will defend him, giving him any reasonable band he desires. He will also be "participant" in their treaty with England.

They have disponed nothing, but only appointed factors, and if he joins them, shall only do so by his advice. They have as yet made no disposition of escheats, or office of lieutenantry, fearing the adversaries would calumniate them as usurpers of the sovereign authority. Not the less, seeing his good will, they will at his coming hither grant all that may further the common cause consistent with their obedience to their sovereigns, and then advise with him.

1 *p. Closely written in same hand. Indorsed* (by Cecil and Randolph): "18 Aprilis 1560," &c.

April 22. **745.** RANDOLPH TO CECILL.

From the letters I have sent to your honour from time to time, you will have seen my good will to this cause to my small power. By Sadler's arrival I perceive the noblemen received "newe myndes

Elizabeth.
1560. and currages." They wonder at the Queen's might and power, and her singular good will to set their country at liberty, and doubt more of their own insufficiency. Whatever your honour hears, suspend your judgment till you see their service. I cannot write more than I am sure shall come to your knowledge from Sadler and Lethington of the present doings. I was so bold as write to my lord Duke touching the Bishop ambassador: and pray God he be as he would be thought. I trust our men here are sufficiently armed against any assault. But that it is her Majesty's pleasure, and that it is thought most honourable, he should be evil welcome to some in this company, whom I know never with greater wisdom did bridle their affection than in this case. What honour can be devised, he shall receive; whatever he says, his trust shall be as his deserts require. We have long looked for Huntly, the last day of his "treste" (as they call it here) is Tuesday next*; the bishop his brother has gone to meet him. With my simple wit, I know not what to make of it. Of Mr Thomas Kere, I may not fail to say *Domino similis est.* His privy practices with the Queen Dowager are discovered, and he as much ashamed of himself as one that beareth such a face. She makes daily means to speak with Lord James, which he will not consent to. A message came to him this day from Lord Erskine, to beware what end he took with the French, and rather doubt the danger to come than that was present. I have often wondered at the feeble hearts of men who hate the French government, and lie by to their own confusion: I never saw in any country so many private quarrels, causing men that mortally hate the French, to keep off. Your wisdom can consider how such men are to be dealt with, and the "dyscontentation" it is to any man to travail where so little love to God is, or zeal to their country. At the Camp. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

[Postscript].—I am required by the Earl of Arran to hold him excused, the time is too short to govern in good order one half the affairs that pass through his hands. He reposes much in your good will, and if there had been greater matter than is expressed in these enclosed writings, he would have thought it his duty to reveal it. This afternoon I think the bishop will discharge himself—to whom I am sent presently to the castle to convoy him to the Earl's tent in the camp.

3 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

April 23. **746.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

We have received from the camp the enclosed letters, the particulars whereof to write were but a double trouble: yet as I am always plain with you, I must tell you my "fantasie" in one thing I noways like, that if the Scots relent in any part of their demands, as lord Grey writes, they would soonest allow a certain number of French left in Dunbar, which I think is too near neighbour to Berwick's chief enemy Aymouth. I speak not as though the thing were thus agreed, but that I would be loth to be too late—for if Leith (as appears by Grey's letter) is like soon to be taken, there will be no way so sure for the safety of the English and Scots, as to win it† by

* 23d. † Dunbar (?).

Elizabeth.
1560. force. This take as but my foolish opinion. Two things in Randall's letters to you and me, are to be chiefly considered—one in yours, Erskine's warning to the Lord James—the other in mine, of the "dissembling bishoppes venimous woordes." Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

* "I dede thys daye in the honor off Seynt Gorge make a George knygt, M^r^ George Bowes marschall off thys towne." Considering his long service and living, I marvel he has been so long "unknygtyd." I will not forget your request to make no knight but such as can maintain the degree. This man's land is accounted better than 600 marks a year.

I would have written this letter with my own hand, but I am so sore troubled with a "quynsy under my neare† that I cane not stowp without payn."

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Randolph to Norfolk.)

I am specially required by the lords here, that whatever your grace may hear of them, you will suspend judgment till they purge themselves. I know not their ability, unless deceived in their words, being daily present at all their consultations (and perhaps curious enough to understand their meanings). I see no cause to speak "affectionedly," and hope no untruth shall ever be found in me who desire only to serve so gracious a princess. I never saw men more earnestly disposed or loather to commit any offence to her highness. They will spend everything in her service, only desiring what shall be most honourable to her in this treaty, if the alliance with her remain in force.

The Bishop's arrival contents them better, as it seemed good to her Majesty, otherwise it had been hard to obtain. His behaviour and doings in times past made them harder now. He has had as great honour "of my lord lieutenant here" and the Council as they could show him: and takes no less liberty than they grant him, for misliking his appointed lodging and getting another, he yet lay that night without the lords' advice, in the castle. I am bold to say under correction, it is suspected he bears another face than he shows. I never heard man speak "wyselyer" or with better affection, to the lords. In private talk with me conveying him from camp to the town, his nature appeared in a word or two, as well his mind to the Queen's Majesty, also these lords here, saying, the time would come that the forces here defending a rebellious people, might do better in short time at home to defend ourselves. It is thought those letters he brought from the King and Queen were blanks—and those from them to the Duke, his son, and lord James, contained only credit.

Huntly is not yet come, but it is said, is this night at Stirling; his brother the bishop of Athens, and M^r^ Thomas Kere his trusty servant, are gone to meet him. From the Camp, 22^d^ of April. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

2 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

* Remainder holograph. † Ear.

Elizabeth.
1560.

(2) (Grey, &c., to Norfolk.)

We perceive by the Queen's letters of 16th instant and your grace's, that by reason of the late treaty with the French by Croft and Howard, the lords of Scotland here are much perplexed and in some despair, that for lack of money &c., this matter was not likely to be prosecuted to the end. We therefore signify for answer, that understanding her Majesty's desire to end by treaty rather than "bludshed," we as you instructed entered into treaty with the Queen Dowager, as we advertised you; and finding this enterprise of Leith not so easy as was supposed, lacking power of men, we pressed the Scots lords to fall to some accord, but said nothing to cause them discomfort, and find them well satisfied with all our proceedings, as Sir R. Sadler has seen since arrival.

Yesterday the Bishop of Valence arrived here, escorted by Sir Henry Percy with 300 horse from Haddington; and being "jently saluted" by us, he without showing himself to the lords of Scotland, but with their consent, repaired to the Dowager in the Castle. At 2 p.m. he returned to the Camp, and then delivered to the Duke of Chastellerault, the Earls of Arran and Glencairn and Lord James, letters of credit from the French king, and the Queen their sovereign, making a long discourse of the great regret and displeasure they had conceived of this trouble and discord in Scotland; for pacification whereof they had sent him with ample commission to redress it out of hand, which he would think himself a happy man if he could do so good a work: but because his tale was in French, and somewhat long, we refer it to Lethington's letters. To-day the lords will show him their grievances and petitions, which we think will depend on two points, viz. removal of the French, and government by some of themselves, and a national council. They may be content that a small number of French remain in Dunbar, so that the Dowager be utterly deprived of rule. "But hanging their treatie," we intend to proceed against Leith, and our power being too small to divide into two camps, we have devised a fort on the east side of the town, on the furthest part of the high ground next the town within "xxx skore" thereof; where we have already planted artillery to beat the "steaple," whereon the French have made a platform which hath done us much annoyance. "And even nowe the same is in execucion, trusting that er it be night, to take awaye the said steaple." When the fort is in some strength (which we trust it will within 5 or 6 days), we intend to put men in to besiege that side of the town, and remove our camp to the S.W. side of the town for our better security, and plant our battery there (the weakest side as we hear); where also we shall employ "your man in his feate." So between mine and battery, we hope ere long if this bishop haste not an end of the matter by treaty, that your grace shall hear of another ending, not to the pleasure of the French, "God willing." We have already retained a number of Scots pioneers, and when the treasure arrives, we shall take in pay so many Scots soldiers as we think expedient, without putting the Queen to more charge than necessary. Lestarrick, 22d April 1560. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

Postscript.—Since writing, the said "steaple" is put out of order to do us further annoyance.

3½ *pp.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk): ". . . L. Gray, Sir Raphe Sadler and Sir James Croftes to Mr Secretary" (*sic*).

Elizabeth.
1560.
April 25.

747. RANDOLPH TO NORFOLK.

Yesterday about 3 o'clock the Earl of Huntly arrived in Edinburgh, it is reported with not above three score "of his owne." There is come with him never a noble man or other that I could either see or hear of. On my return from convoying the bishop to the Castle, M^r^ Killegrew and I went to see the Earl, of whom we had many good words and large promises. This day he is to see Lord Graye, Sadler and the rest of the Council. His brother the bishop makes great promises of him, and told me he refused to speak with Lord Erskine unless two of the lords of the Council were present. He has brought his second son with him. Touching the bishop: I see no man fears him so much being present, as they doubted the issue before his coming. It is thought this shall be the end or none—all French to depart, saving 100 left in Dunbar, Inchkeith and Blackness (which was agreed in the first contract with France), Leith to be rased, and the government committed to "mere" Scotsmen. The continuance of the league with England and liberty of the Gospel, it is thought may be disposed by the men in authority, as shall be most to God's glory and their own security. Lethington is requested to report to your grace of the talk between the lords and the bishop. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1¼ *pp. Holograph; also address* (to Norfolk). *Indorsed* (by Cecil) "25 April 1560. Th. Randolph to my lord Grey" (*sic*).

April 25.

748. GREY, &c., TO NORFOLK.

I have your grace's letters of 21^st^ and 23^d^, and shall not fail to press this exploit with all diligence. Since my last, there is little but daily light skirmishes with small gain to the French. Yesterday some horse and harquebusiers issued only to discover our new fort; they were soon forced to retire with loss. Lord Seton hardly escaped, being charged by a horseman, who broke first his staff then his sword on him, and had him about the neck to carry off, till rescued by the French harquebusiers. Of ours, were hurt one Browne Sir George Howard's lieutenant, and a pioneer and Scotsman slain. We have talked much with the Bishop of Valence to little purpose, though he seems desirous to pacify these troubles. At first when the lords required the fort of Leith and the new works at Dunbar to be rased, and the French removed from Scotland, he said he had no commission to rase forts: but seeing the lords would break off, he said the Queen Regent had full power in all tending to good accord, and the King and Queen would ratify her acts in that behalf. Desiring to confer with her, it was granted and yesterday he returned, saying she was content to remove all Frenchmen, save some to keep Leith, Inchkeith and Dunbar; and though he thought she would not stand on the demolition of Leith if other things were well ended, yet she said it might not stand with the honour of the King or the garrison to render it, and desired to confer with Dosell, La Brosse and Martigues—which considering they mean only tract of time to learn the state of the town and make better bargain, was not granted, but yet in good sort and terms "avoyded." Which the bishop seemed to take in good part, desiring some of the lords would confer with the Queen thereon: but in the end they charged him therewith, resolving after he has again spoken with the Queen, that Lord James, Argyll, Lethington, Sadler

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1560. and Croft shall treat with him at his lodging at Edinburgh. Though they have no great hope of good result, they do this that the bishop may not accuse them of disobedience to their sovereign, and chiefly as he pretends such zeal to bring good accord. Meantime we look for no result and proceed with our enterprise, wherein we shall be sooner ready than they look for. The fort we wrote of is now of some strength and we have put in "M^r" captain Vaughan and 240 soldiers, and when it is in order, intend to remove the camp to the S.W. side, as we wrote.

Beseeching you to haste the treasure, for we are destitute of money. Huntly arrived last night, with whom we have not yet spoken, but understand he will be forward in the cause, and shall report as we find him. Lestalrig. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

2½ *pp.* *No address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 26. **749.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

Although at writing your last letter, it seemed you did not know of the skirmish "a Mondaye was a sevennyght," yet as I am sure or this time you have received my letters, I will "scrible" no more of that. It was Thursday at night * before I heard from Lord Grey of it—though he had 14 of my messengers with him, but would not suffer one to come with the news. I have sent to amend it, but whether memory serves not or good will, I cannot tell—but my advertisements be rather slower than faster, and seeing no request will help, I will send a man of my own, Strange, whereby I shall advertise with more speed and certainty.

As you require my opinion on Leith, &c., I will tell you my mind, which in the end you shall see to be true. In itself, it is no ways strong, and I believe when tried, our "fearefull" men will not find half of the 4000 men so often named; and yet a great many of their best captains are slain and hurt. "I must nedes saye playnelie unto you, there be twoo in the feelde, the one so farre to seeke, the other so desperate, as nothing proceadith." Lord Grey I must say, shows himself forward enough, but all is not in him that has been thought. I am a subject and will obey, but if I may, I will rather lie in prison than ever come such a journey, where another man shall have the doing, and I the burden! If they would once go in hand with it, you should hear good news in three days after, but I cannot get our men to leave treating, which you may be sure "shall never fall to our bent," except they are unable to defend. To show you whence all this "desperation and treatie" comes, I send you a private letter of M^r Croft to me, and my answer. The only way for you there to further this matter, is to forbid the treaty and command battery and assault. The mariners offer, if they might have the spoil, to enter it or die. There is no defence to the waterside ward, but "bourdes," with sand cast against it, and no other part of the town much stronger, except it be to the N.W., where they have made a citadel, which would serve them little after losing the "hither" part of the town. Though Grey and Croft charged the Scots with not having full number, they stood the trial and missed

* 25th.

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1560. not one man, and to prove it true, required their men called twice a day, and should answer their names. Thus the message commanded to my cousin Sir George, was not true.

I have sent you copies of my letters to Grey from time to time pressing him on, and to hearken to no accord unless the Queen's confederates agree—and to be more diligent in reporting to me how things go.

* If my quinsy in my cheek would suffer me to write not scribble, I would have written this letter myself, but as I could "skant" read it, I had it copied Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Croft to Norfolk.)

After the Bishop of Valence proponed to the lords on Sunday last the cause of his coming, a meeting for next day was appointed, when it fell out that the lords would hear him no more, and he should depart—but yesterday he sent articles to Lord Grey, whereon the lords and bishop intend to commune this day. As the matter is of great weight and I cannot see the bottom of it, I dare not give counsel, yet will be so bold, under correction to open the case as I conceive it. This treaty consists in two principal points (1) expelling all French and demolishing Leith; (2) depriving the Regent, &c. The Scots incline to qualify the first, and let a small number of French keep Dunbar and Inchkeith, but will stand fully as to the regent, and would rather break the treaty than yield this. It appears by letters from Court, the Queen would be contented these matters ended with some reasonable qualification approved by the Scots; but if she do not restrain them, I see little care will be had of her aid and charges; but they will procure the war to continue at her expense and her subjects' blood, with little aid from them. When we have done all we can, there is no assurance of their amity, unless she would take the Earl of Arran "to husband," and I vehemently suspect (not without good cause) that if it were not to force that matter, the Scots would not so "preciselie" stand to have the treaty broken, as they do. Camp of Lastarrick, 24th April 1560. James Croft.

1 *p.* *Copy in Railton's writing.*

(2) (The Duke's reply.)

As you have written your mind of your "treatie affaires," for which I thank you, I am of quite a contrary opinion. You think it "convenable" for us: I think it (Leith being "capable" in short time, as Lord Grey last wrote to me) "most to be eschewed": for we can hope for no long amity, if the Scots either leave the Dowager regent, or the French in any one fort. Once they have footing, they will soon bring as many as they list out of France. Delays are bad, take time while we have it, for we shall never have the French at such advantage again. Marvel not at the Bishop's intreaty, when he sees no

* Holograph.

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1560. other way; but the Queen will in no case treat without the Scots' "hole consentes," therefore good Mr Croft hasten your business, which shall be far more honourable and surer for the Queen and both realms, and banish yourselves out of that "cursed Deanrie of Lastarrick," which keeps you so long out from the camp among the gentlemen and soldiers, who are discouraged by your long absences! Let not Martigues brag and say that the Queen's army is come to besiege Lastarrick! I say this not alone, but Berwick and London too, I am afraid. It grieves me more, for the honour or dishonour is mine: what lack you? If you lack more men or pioneers, entertain more Scots. Never went a goodlier battery out of England. Call your hearts to you, and if it were the Queen's pleasure, I would I were there with you. Berwick, 25th April 1560.

I lately wrote my mind of Dunbar to Lord Grey.

1 *p.* *In Railton's hand.* *Indorsed* (by him).

(3) (Norfolk to Grey.)

I send you letters from the Queen and Council: I see in her Majesty's letter to me by my cousin Sir George, who arrived here yesterday about 3 p.m., that at his coming to you in about 3 or 4 days hence with the next convoy of treasure, the siege of Leith shall be more hotly prosecuted, and the treaty less regarded,—except something unforeseen occurs—and the congregation advertised that she is determined to augment her force by land and sea, rather than the exploit be hindered. So I pray you lose no time in satisfying her expectations: I hear also that the cart horses, lymmer horses &c., lie not only an easy prey to the enemy, but have consumed all forage, and many die daily, so that the armed and light horse may need to be discharged. So weigh how others may be got, and what number of horses should be kept, and what provision made for them. I have shipped 3000 spades for your pioneers and 4 "graund" barrels of corn-powder. [Berwick], 21st April.

1¼ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

(4) (Norfolk, &c., to Grey.)

I see by your letter of 22d, you forward proceedings, and also the bishop's arrival with his long protestations and "paynted taales." For your doings, I must yield to you as better able to judge than I, far off; yet on the "platte," I could judge no place so meet for approach, as on the S.W. part of the town: and I can amend nothing, but to hasten matters. There is no way so profitable for us (if feasible) than to win it by force. If a few French remain in Dunbar, the Scots in "a while" shall be brought in thraldom, and this northern frontier in as great danger as ever, being so near Aymouth Berwick's chief enemy; for they will soon augment. Now having shown my foolish opinion, I leave the doing to you. The Council blame me for slow advertisement, for news of Monday's skirmish was at London, before you sent to me. I got it out of a Scot that brought letters "to a sorte" of men's wives here. They impute the fault to me, rather than you. So for God's sake write once a day, or at furthest in 2 days, if but to say "you are merye." It is but little labour and would

Elizabeth, 1560. quiet me. [Berwick], 23d April 1560. Tho. Norff, Ge. Howard, F. Leek.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

April 26. **750.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

Your honour by my last understands the bishop of Valence "his proposition" on his first audience. It rests to show why we took arms. On the "morne" (22d instant) we showed him the behaviour of the French "ministers" was such, the number of French soldiers and "renfort" of more, such an intolerable burden, and fortifying Leith without consent of the nobles, &c., so prejudicial to our liberty, and redress from the Dowager by humble suit not obtainable—that we could do no less than essay remedy by force. And seeing our strength insufficient, we implored the Queen's aid both for the interest of our sovereign lady and our own surety.

Debating each head with him at large, he answered (as for a frank offer) that all should depart, leaving only a convenient garrison for Leith, Dunbar, Inchkeith and Blackness. On pressing as to Leith, he plainly said he had no commission to rase any fortress; whereat we expressing surprise (for he had spoken of full commission) said the matter cannot be taken up, and he might depart when he would—praying him not to find it strange (seeing he had no commission) that liberty was refused him to practise with the Dowager to hurt our cause. So we broke off: but that he might not think himself ungently dealt with, my lord James and I were sent to his lodging, to see his commission and authority: but he could show us nothing for (as he said) the Dowager had his letters and instructions, and had full powers. On 23d he wrote a long discourse to my lord Grey—but far different from what he had "spocken" in his presence the day before—and desired to speak with him. Being heard anew, he somewhat qualified his former sayings, and offered if he might understand "by the Quene" that Leith was fortified without advice of the nobility, he would entreat her grace it might be demolished, and further, if he understood our demands for good accord, he would go about to obtain our reasonable requests. We told him we chiefly stuck on removing the French and demolishing the new fortifications at Leith and Dunbar, and though there could be no reason why any fortress should be in French hands, yet if our sovereigns would have it so, we would consent that Dunbar, Inchkeith and Blackness should be guarded by no more than 100 French soldiers in "the whole," which are more than enough in peace time.

Upon the 24th he "shew" us divers considerations why the Queen could not think it reasonable that Leith were rendered—the princes assurance for the subjects' obedience, the King's honour which should be touched if this were done—that he should rather seem compelled, than induced by persuasion—besides La Brosse, Doysel and Martigues, &c., in the town, who would think their honour touched in rendering it, seeing "no cause why"—and therefore desired she might have their advice. This was "platly" refused, as it is not convenient that besieged receive comfort of friends outside, or the latter have intelligence of their state within.

On the 25th, he desiring it, brought with him of the Queen's party, Lord Erskine, the laird of Fynlaterre, and Mr John Spens; and the

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1560. lords appointed my lord James, the Earl of Glencairn, the Master of Maxwell, and me, in company with Sadler and Croft, to confer. Most part was spent "anent the assurance off our obedience"; but at last it was concluded that the Queen should put "in write" what she would agree to in demolition of the new fortifications and removing the French, and "siclyke" what security she would demand for our obedience, which we promised to do in reason.

This day her articles were presented, a copy whereof is inclosed. We showed that they were so obscure in the points to be done to us, that we saw no certainty: the bishop said her grace would do nothing anent Leith without advice of those in it, nor demolish the new fortification of Dunbar—both which points be most unreasonable —and they had no commission to name any special number to remain.

Though in the first article, we had matter "aneugh to stick at," viz., where required to obey her as regent or any other having commission, which "disjunctif" will include French governors—a point nowise to be granted—yet as some may think it "not plausible" in other princes' ears, "if we wold preiss to prescrive to our soveraynes the ordre of regiment," we passed it lightly in silence without quarrelling, the rather as we saw in the other articles sufficient difficulties to dissolve the treaty with our better reputation.

Coming to the next—the league with England—we said it was plain they meant no accord, propounding so impossible a condition, performance whereof stands not in our hands. For though we agreed to it—as we nowise mean to do—it is notorious we cannot without the Queen's consent. We made this offer—the compact being in no point against our commonwealth, our liberty "nor our debvoir to God or man,"—we shall refer it to the estates of the realm, and as they decide, we shall do in reason. The bishop can no way digest the league, it offends his stomach, and we broke off on both parts. I cannot say if he will stick at the other points: but if he do so, we are "libre aneugh" not to agree. He thinks the Queen will dissolve the league: this is not my expectation, and if it be, our case would be more miserable than ever! If he become not more conformable, he shall be sent quickly home. Huntly is "commed" and others begin to draw nigh. The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

5½ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(The Queen Dowager to the lords.)

"Forsamekle" as the lords have desired of the Queen regent's grace, that the fortifications of Leith be "cassin doun," and the French soldiers removed from Scotland. It is answered—the town was not fortified till necessary for the safety of the Queen's person and her soldiers, against the lords' attacks: yet she may be moved to reason, provided the advice of the noblemen in said town be had—the lords doing as follows, viz.—

(1) They for themselves, &c., shall return to their sovereigns' obedience, and that of the Queen Regent, or any other duly commissioned; and obey all the laws and "lovabill" customs of the realm as in times past.

(2) That all leagues with foreign princes, especially that with the

Elizabeth. 1560. Queen of England, be "cassit and annullit," and the pledges, if any given, be brought home.

(3) That such principal lords as she shall name give pledges, to be interchanged from 3 months to 3 months, &c. And the English army depart the realm.

(4) As the Queen Regent understands these troubles proceed mostly from the Duke and his son: the castle of Dunbarton, the patrimony of the crown, shall be delivered to Scotsmen nominated to keep it for the sovereigns and herself.

(5) The said lords at next parliament to exhort the estates to keep the premisses, and any disobedient to be declared public enemies.

1 *p. Copy in Scottish hand. Indorsed* (by Cecil).

April 27. Harl. MSS. No. 289, fol. 7a. **751.** BAND OF THE SCOTTISH NOBILITY.

("27 Aprill 1560, *A°* 2° Eliz."*)

Binding themselves in the presence of God, to set forward the reformation of religion and that the true preaching of his word may have free passage through the realm—to expel the French maintained by the Queen Dowager, and take plain part with the Queen of England's army sent by her for that purpose. Edinburgh 27 April 1560. James, James Hammylton, Huntly, Ar^d^. Ergyll, Glencarn, Rothes, Mortoun, A. Gordoun, James Stewart, Jhon Monteyht, Ruthwen, R. Boyd, Ogylwye, Uchiltrie, Jhon Maxwel, Patryk Lyndsay, Jhon maister Phorbes, Lord Somerwell, Jhon Gordoun of Finlatter, Alex^r^. Seton youngar of Meldrum, Henry Grahame youngar of Morphy, Alex^r^. Gordoun of Abyryeldy, Drumlaynryk, Farnharst, Craynston of that Ilk, Wedderburn, Alex^r^. Hwme, Jhonston, Cesfuird, Mark Kar, Hundhill, George Nysbyt with my hand at the pen, Cunynghaymheyd, Leslye of Bowquhane, Jhon Innes of that Ilk, Arthure Phorbes, W^m^. Lesley yongar of Wardes, Jhon Wischart, Drumloyghy (?), James Jhonstoun apperand of Elphistoun, Patryk Dowglas, Robert Campbell, Andrew Jhonstoun, Robyn Car, Alex^r^. Dunbar of Cumnok, Graytly, W^m^. Douglas of Whyttingeym, George Hwme of Spott, James Halyburtoun.

Broad sheet. Contemporary Scottish hand. Indorsed: "The copie of the bande amongest the nobilitie of Scotland."

April 27. **752.** CHATELHERAULT AND GLENCAIRN TO [ ].

As before the English our friends came in to expel the French, they were promised a greater force of this nation than now is with us, and the army being divided and Leith besieged in sundry parts more than at the beginning, more men are required; we have directed public proclamation that all manner of men "bayth to burgh and land," be in camp here on 2^d^ May next, with 8 days' provision—praying you as ye have always tendered this cause before, not to faint therein, but come forward on said day with all your power, for the proclamation shall be executed with rigour against them that disobey. But we

* On margin, in Cecill's hand.

Elizabeth. 1560. look for better at your hands. The fields before Leith. *Signed:* James, Glencarn.

½ *p. Not addressed or indorsed.*

April 27. **753.** NORFOLK TO CECIL.

Receive herewith a letter to me from Lord Grey, showing that as yet the French gain nothing of us. By taking of these Dunbar men, our letters shall go more safely, and I hope we shall quickly make an end at Leith, and go in hand with Dunbar, which would not be long "a dooying, if this abusing dissembling treatie were quyte shaken of." Be sure of one thing—they will never conclude one, before the Queen release her pledges and covenants taken with the Scots, and when it comes to that pass, her highness shall have "a fayre cache" in recompence of her great charges. If Leith were not easily won, it were good to treat, but if it be as Lord Grey writes, there is no way so sure for us as the sword. I have sent thither Sir Richard Lee, who at my request was content to go though not well able, and I doubt not will prick them on to an end. It is a shame to lie so long at a sand wall. I durst not send the treasure by land, it was in such cumbersome money it could only go in carts, for which the country serves not, as also the borderers of late are ordered to be ready on an hour's warning: their meaning I cannot judge, unless it were with the succour of Dunbar, to have set on the convoy, as the best aid they could give them in Leith. But I send Valentine Browne this night with a "wafter," the *Elizabeth* of Hull. For God's sake when you send us more money, let it be in gold or new silver. "This was in pence, twoo pences, and olde testons." Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(Grey of Wilton to Norfolk.)

Having been informed by a credible Scotsman that the Dunbar garrison used often to range somewhat far from their "piece": conferring with Lord Ruthven and Kirkcaldy of Grange, I ordered Sir Henry Percy with his light horse to join them and their bands, and their "stale" and ambush laid, to put out some carriage horses in sight to draw the French forth. Who so ordered the matter, that they slew and took 58 (45 of them prisoners) with captains Payrot and Hayes, other gentlemen and officers. This day also a great number of horse and foot issued from Leith; our foot skirmished "freshlie" with them, and a few of our horse charged valiantly. One of my band ran a Frenchman through the body, breaking his staff on the ground—a strange and rare chance, so I name it expressly. So were forced to retire to the town leaving many slain, and no loss of ours, except 2 of my band hurt. This night we remove our camp as we said. Thus I do not neglect your command to advertise often. Lastarick, 25th April. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

Postscript.—Yesterday the Bishop of Valence and others met the Scots lords in Edinburgh, and went so far in conference, that there

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1560. was in question, whether if Leith were demolished, and the French removed, that he and his friends demanded what security might be had for the Scots' allegiance to their sovereign, or that our army should not seek to possess Leith or otherwise damage this realm. Likewise the Scots demanded assurance of those things to be done on the other part. This matter will come up again to-day, 26th April. At our new camp before Leith, being presently planted there.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 28. **754.** THE PROTESTANT LORDS TO ELIZABETH.

Although divers occasions moved us (having long experience of French dealings) to show ourselves at first unwilling to treat, or license the bishop of Valence to enter this realm: yet learning your grace's pleasure, we were content to hear him at large. But finding so little surety in the Queen Dowager's offers or any thing he could assure us of, we were unwillingly forced to end all communication with him, as shall more fully appear in the Laird of Lethington's letter to Master Secretary. We can offer your Majesty no recompense for your help, but our service while our lives endure. The Camp foranent Leith. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, G. Huntly, Ard. Ergyll, Alexr. Glencarn, Johne of Mentehte, James Stewart, Rothes, Patrik Ruthwen, R. Boyd, Ogilwye, Wcheltre, Jhone Maxwell.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* To the Quenys Majestye off England. *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . The lordes of Scot. Prot.," &c.

April 28. **755.** THE PROTESTANT LORDS TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Having received your Majesty's letters of credit by the Bishop of Valence, as we had occasion by his report to rejoice in your highness's good will to continue our good and gracious princess: so have we declared to him that we mean no other but to do the duty of your loving natural subjects. And in answer to his inquiries why we took arms, as he had authority to devise for pacification, we opened to him some principal points, no less for your highness's interest, than the liberty of this realm, and therewithal the misbehaviour of the King's ministers here in fortifying the principal port of the country and others, "by* the advice of the nobilite and counsale," maintaining numbers of men of war and oppressing the poor lieges; whereof we can obtain no redress, though often humbly sued for. At his coming we looked for better accord, being ready to do whatever became good subjects: but in the end, finding the conditions proposed partly unreasonable, and partly impossible, as we doubt not he will truly report to your Majesty—the communication is not broken "in our defalt, bot to our grite regraitt." But albeit we mean to prosecute this quarrel in your highness's interest, and to preserve your realm in the estate of a kingdom, whatever our enemies report of us we mean nothing but to continue your faithful subjects. Camp before Leith.

1 *p.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

* *i.e.*, against or without.

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1560.
April 28.

756. RANDOLPH TO NORFOLK.

Though your grace hears by better means, yet I thought it my duty to say somewhat of what I have seen and heard. The bishop of Valence told me himself he had received "greate humanitie" of my lord Grey and the council here, and was only grieved he came too late to work any good in so weighty a matter—uttering this with such "affection" that any man may believe it. Of what passed between the Dowager and the lords, your grace has heard by Lord Grey and Lethington's letters. He* "semed" this day, in talk with me, that the lords "had somewhat more reason to do as thie do, then he wold utter" to them at conference. Lord Erskine has also told Lord James "that he hathe stoode mervileusly" against the Queen here, for her resolve rather to see all the men in Leith perish, than resign her authority. I took the copy of her demands to Sir Raffe Sadler—how far beyond reason they are, you can judge. The Lords themselves see how it stands them stoutly to defend their lands, lives, &c., and have said they will give any adventure, rather than again communicate with her. Besides their present number, counted very near 2000 as I hear (though their 25 days of assembly are expired) and 300 of Edinburgh (which Sir James and Sir Raffe saw yesterday in jacks, with arquebusses, pikes, and two handed swords) yet they have set forth in most parts of the country the proclamation of which I send a copy. Though loth to report above their deserts, yet I should neither serve the Queen well nor your honour, if I made less account of them than they are worthy: my six months' daily travail and experience among them should make me better able to judge of their manners, than those "of les tyme." And I have found in as many "as ever I travayled with in this cawse, such constance," that never one revolted that ever promised faith and joined himself. Whatever comes to your ears, of non-performance of promise in men or otherwise, I would your grace heard what they can say for themselves, which you would find reasonable for men of their wealth and experience, lying always on their own charges.

Huntly was moved by most of the lords this day to join and subscribe their "bande." He made delays, and would fain have "shysted" † himself till he discharged himself to the Queen Dowager: but at the last, was content secretly to do it in sight only of Lord Ruthven, Lethington, and me—requiring us to keep it secret for 2 or 3 days. He talked much with me of what he would do to further this cause and the Queen's service—offering his own body or whatever is dearest to him.

Morton has sent once more for Lord James to come and speak with him, but having been twice deceived, he is loth to have more to do with him. It shall not be "forslewed" if any good may come of it. Others are looked for, and many more if Leith be won.

May it please your grace this letter may suffice for M^r^ Secretary, for lack of time to write to him. At the Camp. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

* The bishop.

† *i.e.*, remained as he was.

Elizabeth.
1560. April 28. **757.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

By your letters to M^r^ Kylligrew, I perceive you think me "to sweare"* in writing: yet if all my letters come to hand, your honour has no occasion to be offended with me. By mine of 26^th^ you will see how our communication with the bishop of Valence was broken off. We are now well forward anent the siege, and hope in those 10 days to see good success. You have heard "or now" of the exploit at Dunbar by Sir H. Percy, Lord Ruthven and the laird of Grange. At least 50 were taken and killed, and 2 captains (one of horse, one of foot) taken. Yesternight a number of Frenchmen were cut to pieces in the very ditches of the town. Though the force of "this nation" is not great at present, it is more than I looked for, and their wills very good; I am sure the people never bore so good affection to any nation as now to the English. I have yet received no answer from you anent the Lord of S^t^ John's coming, who only stays for it, and would be glad to know. M^r^ Kylligrew can more amply inform you of all things than I can write. Camp before Leith. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

April 28. **758.** NORFOLK AND LEEK TO CECILL.

You shall receive herewith Lethington's letter to you, and the articles propounded by the Dowager to the lords: whereby you may gather what the French shoot at. I judge that they would make the Queen lose her excessive charges, and in the end proceed against the Scots and us. What have they lost if they get Dunbarton for Leith? and having all the havens, may bring in more men than ever! If they keep Dunbar, I speaking as an Englishman would rather they had Leith. Look into it well, for if it fall out so, the Queen shall rather augment than diminish her Berwick charges. I write thus earnestly, in case it be hereafter said, "and if we had thought so muche, we woolde better have looked unto it." If the likelihood of winning the town be so good as Lord Grey writes, this is surest for us. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., F. Leek.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 28. **759.** GREY TO NORFOLK.

Yesternight I caused the pioneers to entrench nearer the town; and in case they were molested by the French in a trench they had dug outside the walls since our coming, I ordered captains Somerset and Marchame, with some of Sir Jarvice Clifton's men on watch, should covertly attempt to cut off these French. Which being done, they found 200 of them, drove them into the town ditches with a great number slain and hurt; how many we know not because of the dark night. Of ours no loss, save captain Marchaim and 3 others hurt—he so little, that he is walking already. At same time captain Vaughan out of his fort "was doing," and the Admiral by sea "very hotly." Thus occupied, M^r^ Pelham and his band sped him "soe

* *i.e.*, too backward or unwilling.

Elizabeth.
1560. lustelie" that we have won ground marvelously fair and "gardable" within 9 score of the walls. Thus the opinion of our slackness is wrongful, for no day escapes or almost a night, but we lose some blood, and distress our enemies. For myself I deserve no thanks, but wish your grace would at least write to M[r] Pelham for his travail, good M[r] Randall, Sir Jarvice Clifton and captain Somerset, for their stout endeavours: wherein the Master of the ordnance should not be forgotten. Our "lymmer" horses are so weak, we are forced to use our carriage horses in the artillery, as also our own hands. Consider our want of soldiers, for the time approaches when we must trust only to hands and manhood: and Scots we cannot get for love or money. We have planted 8 pieces of our battery, and occupy them well. I wish your grace were here to see our deeds which seem to need so much calling on for speed. Camp before Leith. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 29. **760.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

You may see by Lord Grey's letter, that now things go forward, and the past slackness has not been for lack of my calling on. I assure you, if things had been handled with that celerity before, as they have been since the 18th of this month, Leith had not been now to win. Yet you know the nature of Lord Grey, and though meanwhile I will feed his humour with some gentle letters, I pray you procure some letter of thanks from the Queen to him: and it would do no hurt, if some private letters to like effect were written to those he names. As to his getting no Scots for love or money, I think to write to Lethington, and will advertise you after hearing. I have stayed any order for besieging Edinburgh castle as you write, and have written to Wynter. I beg you send me speedy word, whether if King Philip lands men, we shall use him as enemy or no? As yet I know not the Queen's pleasure in this weighty matter. For our near approach to Leith, I refer you to Lord Grey's letter. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 29. **761.** RANDOLPH TO CECILL.

I will not trouble you with long discourse, leaving many things to be said by the bearer M[r] Killegrew, with full credit. I will only discharge myself of my promise made to the Earl of Huntly, who desires to be recommended to you as one who favours this cause to his uttermost power. Half the words that come from his mouth might persuade an "unexperimented" man to speak further on his behalf than "I dare be bolde to wryte." I leave your honour to judge him as a man not unknown to you, and myself will always measure my thoughts as he shall deserve to be spoken of. With much difficulty, and great persuasion, he subscribed with the rest of the lords to join in this action. Whatever he can invent to further it, he has promised, with solemn protestation and many words. He trusts to adjoin many, and says no man shall lie by where he takes

Elizabeth.
1560. part. He has this day subscribed the "bande" betwixt England and this nation, saying "ther was never thynge that lyked hym better." Hume and Cesford came with him this day to the camp, who intend to join. I have sent you copy of the letter to the French queen, from the lords she wrote unto: they wrote to the King to same effect. I need not send you copy of their letter to the Queen's Majesty, for I am sure you know it. The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

[Postscript.]—It is determined to send the lord of S^{t} Jones ambassador to the Queen: the lords stay it only for your advice. My lord of Arran desires to be excused; his business is great, and travail without cease. Your friendship is no small comfort to him. He "ought" [oft] laments what may happen to you if this cause should "wracke," my hope whereof I dare not almost utter, lest I should seem to prefer my own judgment to others of many more years and greater experience. But I have the greater number on my part, that think we shall shortly have the town.

2 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

[April] 29. **762.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER TO D'OYSEL AND LA BROSSE.

I send you copy of letter received yesterday from my brothers, wherein I find neither "sawce nor verius."* They were so occupied, I believe they knew not where they were. It was written 3 days after the bishop of Valence departed. He went his way yesterday, the parley broke up on the article of the league with England, for they would not revoke their hostages, and would have put the matter to the Estates. They have gone so far, they cannot get out of it, whereof I can very well make profit, and will not fail to publish it.

I wrote to you yesterday by a gentleman of Monsieur de Seton's, to whom I thought to deliver your letters which are but on your private affairs—there are none for you M. de la Brosse. Send me word whether he is in Leith or not with my letters, for he should have come back to fetch your packets, but has not been seen since.

I hear from all parts, and M. de Valence told me, that "our men" desire but the least chance to catch this place.† I have victualled it the best I can, and do cause labourers to work in the places most necessary, also made a flank on the side of the gate "de lesperon,"‡ whereof they would have gathered matter of "pike."

My health is better, but I am still lame and have "a legge that asswagethe not from swellinge. Yf any laye his finger upon it, it goithe yn as into butter." You know there are but 3 days for the dropsy in this country. Edinburgh, 29th [ ] at 9 p.m.

This last night 15 Englishmen were slain in the trenches. The bruit is there are many dead in Leith. Send me word how matters stand. I learn by one that was this night among them and heard them talk, that they are not well where they are, and spake of another place on S^{t} Nicholas side; and their pioneers are of that opinion. They look for 3000 or 4000 men in 8 days, and mind not to give assault till they arrive.

* Verjuice (?) † Edinburgh Castle. ‡ The spur gate (?)

Elizabeth.
1560. I am very sorry to see the great inconvenience of the fire with you, and beyond all things fear your munitions.

1 *p. French. In cipher. Indorsed* (by Randolph): "Lettres in sipher taken goynge to Lyethe."

(1) Decipher of same and translation into English.

2 *pp. Contemporary hand.*

April . **763.** [. . .] TO M. D'OYSEL.

"Monseigneur," the bearer has been all night past trying to get into "Petit Lict" on the Newhaven side without success, and says the enemy have made a trench on that side, not visible from this. He returns to try to enter by another way. I dared not hazard your letters by him, which a gentleman of the house of Seton left and must return for them. I wrote by him of the last negotiation of Monseigneur de Valence, who left "devant hier"; who told me his fear that a clause in his safe conduct to negotiate nothing in prejudice of the Queen of England, might cause his imprisonment; for having in presence of Englishmen insisted on revocation of the league made with her. Nevertheless he will try to advertise the King of France. He has requested me to make his humble recommendations, and say that on his arrival "pardela," he will do for you as for himself.

½ *p. French. Cipher. Probably from the Queen's secretary.*

(1) Decipher (modern).

½ *p.*

(2) Translation into English.

1 *p. Contemporary hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 30. **764.** SIR HENRY PERCY TO CECILL.

It was the 23d before your letter of 14th instant came into my hands. It is to my no small comfort, and where you tell me not to faint in my doings for any "frowninges" here: I assure you the body shall not be spared for the Queen's honour and service, or the pleasure of my friend. As a true man fears no accusation of theft, no more do I think envious persons can hurt them whose conscience is clear. For the late exploit at Dunbar, whatever any man writes I find no fault, but if you will credit me, no man living was privy to it but the laird of Grange and myself, and there were not 20 Scots on the field. Lord Ryven was there by chance, therefore let not Grange lose his well doings. Captains Hayes and Perrat were taken, 46 French foot taken and slain, and 12 horsemen. As they of Dunbar troubled those passing from our camp to England, Grange and I made 12 of our men pass it at 9 a.m., ourselves being laid the night before in a secret place near; so when they passed, Hayes with 12 horse issued after them, and Perrat with 50 foot to relieve him. Our men as we ordered, fled, pursued by the French horse and foot very fast, and when a mile and a half from Dunbar, I with 300 of mine and the laird of Grange "chefest," brake and cut betwixt them and the town, overthrew the foot at the first charge, and drove the horse into a house called Inner-

Elizabeth.
1560. wik, where we lighted, and with our harquebuters on horseback and the harquebutes we had won from the foot, we won the house. I desire you excuse me reporting occurrents here—for my own things, though but small, I shall be glad to advertise, but other men's doings will be better done than I can.

I have written to my lady your wife two letters, and to you one since I came to Scotland, and desire to know if they came to hand. For my own affairs—I mean Tynemouth,—I pray you let me not be burdened with so weighty a "pece," and so small a commission to rule it: for you know I have kept it this 12 month almost at my own charges, too sore a burden for a younger brother of my ability. Desiring you to make my hearty commendations to my lady. The Camp. *Signed:* Henry Percy.

½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

May 1. **765.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

By the inclosed letter from Lord Grey, you will see our forwardness, and that they will defer other things till Leith is taken. Grey writes that he has not been answered as to the Queen's relinquishment of her league and pledges of Scotland: wherein I had willed him to do nothing till we had her further pleasure—yet I would be loth to hear that she yielded to it. The Bishop of Valence came here yesternight and infringed his safe conduct; for his passport extended but for 8 or 10 days, and he returned not before the 11th.' If he be as cholerick at Court as here, you may soon silence him by saying that if extremity were taken, he might be a sufficient prisoner! But I refer the whole to Killigrew's report, who I think will so prolong the journey, as he shall not arrive this 8 days. When Chaperon comes, I will stay him 4 or 5 days, and yet it shall be "clenlelye handeled." Lord Hume is come in, and some more of the marches to the number of 300 horse.

The last mass of treasure will not make full pay for 2 months, considering the charge of the Scots bands, and also Grey will no way consent to dismiss any horse. Enclosing also Thomas Randall's letters to me. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(Grey, &c., to Norfolk.)

I received your "severall" letters of 29th. Touching Edinburgh castle: if I had had the like commission to assay it as you now commit, it had been well achieved long or this. As you think it meet to attempt so as not to hinder this exploit to Leith, we are in such forwardness that we can attempt nothing else, till God send us a good end of this we have in hand: our trenches are now so near, that the harquebuseers on both sides shoot level one to another, and this night we intend to plant our battery, which had been done last night, but for the great rain yesterday which filled our trenches, making the ground like a marsh. Trusting after it is planted to-night, we shall in 2 or 3 days be ready for assault, but till then we

Elizabeth.
1560. cannot meddle with Edinburgh or Inchkeith, as our power by land and sea is too small to divide.

We hear the Bishop of Valence is still at Haddington for lack of escort to Berwick, and therefore have ordered these garrison men that came last with your grace's letters, shall attend on him. We would be glad to know Monsieur Chapperon's commission: if to make a new treaty, we trust he is too late. Unless the Queen abolishes the contract with the Scots and frees the pledges, we see not that the Dowager will enter communication except perforce. Though we have written often, we have yet no answer on what points we should rest. At the Camp, Tuesday the last of April at 10 a.m *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

May 1. **766.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

Since sending off my letter this morning, the enclosed arrived from Lord Grey, which good news I thought pity to keep from you. Whether it be against or with their wills, that the fire is chanced, "yt skylls not, for yf they doe yt for the nonst," thinking to go to the Citadel, then they mind nothing "but to putte off ther cappes and yeld." Berwick, at 2 p.m. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

"The Scots do me(r)velouslye cume in apon thys soden fyer."

¾ *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed* (by Railton). *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Grey to Norfolk.)

This present Tuesday night "aboutes supper tyme," a very terrible fire arose among the houses on the S.W. part of Leith, and continues burning marvelous vehemently; which we help by shot of artillery to increase. Already by our judgment, the third part of the town is consumed. Some think our shot lighting in some fiery place dispersed the fire, and set some easily burned house on fire; others think they fired it themselves meaning to abandon the town; and there are other imaginations. Whatever the cause, we take it as "a comfortable token" of good success. Camp before Leith, Tuesday night the last of April. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

"Yet it burnes yet yet."

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

May 2. **767.** NORFOLK AND LEEK TO CECILL.

The fire in Leith is quenched, and it is thought happened by chance. I hope it is a sign of good luck. You may see by Lord Grey's letter, that they mind "by the grace of God," on Saturday next to give the assault, copy of the order whereof I enclose. I pray you to further "poure" Mr Vaughan's suits at the Council board, he has well deserved favour by his travail here. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff., F. Leek.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1560. Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Grey, Scrope, &c., to Norfolk.)

We have received your letter of last of April encouraging us to hasten our enterprises. I and the rest have the same good will thereto as your grace wishes: and whereas we wrote that our pieces should be planted this last night and ready this day to batter, we could not, for our last made trenches were so drowned with rain water which had "sopped" the ground and made the earth "so deape and durtie," that it could not sustain the weight of the pieces, as Sir Richard Lee can witness. But this night "God willing," the battery will be placed, ready at dawn of day to "execute"; trusting on Saturday next we shall be ready for the assault—the order whereof you shall receive in a "cedule" herewith. From the highest to the lowest, no good will is lacking.

I most humbly thank your grace for remembrance of my son Arthur, who is mending, and past danger of his hurt, ready to spend more of his blood in the Queen's service. Camp before Leith, Wednesday 1st of May. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

Postscript.—We beseech your grace to write to the Council in favour of "Master capten Vaughan," in the suits which his wife is presently following at Court; for he has shown himself a worthy valiant soldier and wise gentleman.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

(2) (Assault of Leith.)

Orders for the assault.—On Saturday morning at 3 o'clock, God willing, we shall be in readiness to give the assault in order as follows, "if other impedyment then we knowe not of yet, hinder us not."

For the first assault.—Captains Rede, Marcham and Yaxley, Masters Sutton, Faierfaxe, Mallerry, the provost marshall, Mr Aston, Mr Conwaye, Captain Druerie, Masters Barckley and Fitzwilliams; the Scots 500, borrowed harquebussiers, 120—in all, 3020 men.

For the second assault.—Captains Wood, Dirrick, Carvell and Skurley, Mr Littellton, Sir John Suthwoorthe, Mr Babthorpe, Sir Thomas Hasket, Mr Newport, Sir Rowland Stanley, Mr Loe, Captain Pregle, Mr Tunstall, Sir Arthur Mainwaring, in all, 2240 men.

To keep the field.—Captain Somerset, Sir Jarvice Clifton, Sir Thomas Jarret, Masters Denny, Capell, Peter Lieghe, Richard Lee, Masters Butler, Gifforthe and Varnham, in all, 2400 men.

It is ordered that Master Winter admiral of the ships shall, when a token is made to him, send 500 men into the haven of Leith, to assault that side, at the same instant the assault is made in the breach. It is farther ordered that Captain Vaughan shall at the same time assault the side of the town next the fort of Mont Pelhame.

And the Scots are ordered with such number as they can, to attempt assault on the W. side the town towards the sea side.

2 *pp.* *Broad sheet.* *Written by Grey's clerk.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *The numbers of men noted by Cecill.*

Elizabeth.
1560. May 2.

768. COMMISSION TO THE BISHOP OF VALENCE, &c.

Francis and Mary King and Queen of France and Scotland, empower the Bishops of Valence and Amiens, MM. de la Brosse, D'Oysel, and Charles de la Rochefoucault sieur de Randan, any 3 or 2, to go to Scotland and treat for restoration of amity between their realms and England. Chenonceau.

2 *pp. French. Contemporary copy. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(1) Another copy of same.

2 *pp. Another handwriting.*

May 2. **769.** GREY, &c., TO NORFOLK.

I perceive by your grace's letter of 1st that the Bishop of Valence is arrived at Berwick, and how you will entreat Chapperon at his coming. We desire to know some part of his commission before he arrives here. The Master of ordnance and his lieutenant Flemming have not used such diligence as they might; the pieces are not yet planted, and we are utterly disappointed and this day lost. But for their excuse, myself being in the field with them all night, the great rain on Tuesday and last night made the ground—itself marshy and rotten—so deep and foul, and the weakness of our lymmer horses, these were the chief causes. But this night coming, we shall place the pieces, and rather than fail I will help to draw myself. So trust we shall keep the day for assault. To-night or to-morrow we are promised some Scotsmen who may stand us in stead therein.

Huntly shows himself in words forward, but has no power of men here with him. What Morton and those with him will do, we know not; but their promises you shall understand by Lethington's letter herewith sent to Mr Secretary. The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

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

May 2. **770.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

Now that communication is ended, and men see the Queen only drives time till she gets support from beyond, our neutrals become partakers. Huntly has devised a new and straiter band among the noblemen than ever was before, and subscribed it. Morton and all that will do for him, will be in camp to-morrow night, looking for the assault shortly after. Hume after speaking with the lords, went home unresolved what to do; Huntly "holdes ws in hand" that he will return on 5th. "Mary! I dar not assure that it wilbe so," yet it is likely. Cesford was here and promised if Hume comes he shall come with him—if not, without him. The laird of Blackater has promised to come with Morton. We hope to give assault within these 4 days, and are in good comfort.

I have a suit for the laird of Ormistoun whose son is in France, at "Burges en Berry," he wishes him home. If you would please to write to the Queen's ambassador to essay his conveyance, you shall do us both a pleasure. He lacks furniture, and I will pray you to desire the ambassador to give him 150 French crowns, which on your

Elizabeth.
1560. next writing to M[r] Sadler or Sir James Croft, shall be paid to either of them here. We have no other mean to send money. The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

May 4. **771.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

Judging you by myself, now the matter is come to this point, and longing for news, I ply you with letters, and see by Lord Grey's he has good hope. However it chances, I doubt not those who have seen my proceedings shall either say that I have done my duty, or the fault if any be, has proceeded from ignorance, not lack of good will to my small power. While writing I received the enclosed from Lord Grey, showing good hope of success.

* My writing is so fair, I keep my own hand for a copy, and send you those letters written out again. I am unable to requite your continual friendship, but am always yours. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

I send you 4 letters in cipher directed from them in Scotland to the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine, with copy of the contract between the Queen's Majesty and the Lords of Scotland. They should have been conveyed by one of Lord Erskine's men.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Grey to Norfolk.)

I received your letter of 2[d], and perceive Lord Erskine's man is stayed with your grace for "good consideracion." None of us here minded otherwise in sending him, but that on "matter moving" he and his letters should be ordered as to you seemed requisite.

We planted our battery last night, and now it "dothe execute. Marie! the gunners have not yet founde the just proporcion of their marke, but I perceave they will fall in to it well favourdlie in contynewance." I must now be brief in my letters till chief matters are accomplished; for "my hed must travaile in orders of oure speede here." Still you shall have news "tho they must be short and sweate." Camp before Leith, this third of May, Friday.† *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

May 4. **772.** GREY, &c., TO NORFOLK.

Yesterday we applied our battery to breach with as much diligence as possible: but the French reinforced and filled the places battered, so as they have left us little or no advantage, but rather seem to have put themselves in more strength than before. Wherefore seeing no assaultable breach yet, I yesternight ordered "presentmentes" of assault in sundry places to try their ditches, discover their flankars and occupy them, "whiles" M[r] Pelham with the

* Remainder holograph. † On back, 9 a.m.

Elizabeth.
1560. pioneers approached the citadel on the N.W. part of the town by trenches. Also captain Vaughan to give alarm on the side next his fort, Norton the provost marshal's lieutenant, and Birchall Yaxley's lieutenant, to assail their trenches lately cut under the walls, and search the flankers, while the Admiral kept the haven side occupied. Which was done, M^r^ Vaughan has measured the depth and breadth of the ditch and height of the "rampiere," the last more than a pike's length. In these the French scouts were chased home and many slain; our loss was 3 or 4 slain and divers hurt, including Vaughan's ensignbearer and Norton. M^r^ Pelham "in this instant" cut the trenches, and we have put a sufficient guard in them. Our battery yet executes, and if it prevails not we shall use the spade and mattock. It now appears well that our power is too weak for such an enterprise: for if we cannot make a "saultable" breach by battery, "whiche God willing, shall be attemptid"—then if we assault and are repulsed, I see not that we shall be able to give a second, but must leave it with dishonour for lack of power. Though we have done what we can, we have not yet past 6 score Scots in pay. Within a day or two we shall see what is possible for the enterprise. Camp before Leith.* *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, Jamys Croft.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

May 5. **773.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

If I had not continually sent you lord Grey's own letters, but had written my own opinion of them only, you might have thought the changeableness mine, but when you peruse his own letters you shall find great alterations. If I had been there I would have gone through with it, or else lain in the ditches, seeing they said in sundry letters that they made no doubt of winning. The service is my mistress's, and therefore I may not be silent, lest the fault be hereafter "layed in my necke." Grey's service consists only in courage without conduct; every man that can lead a band of horse is not fit for such an enterprise; "and to abate his forwardnes, there be that be as backwardes." I pray you confer Valentine Browne's letter with this of lord Grey's for the number of Scots, and judge if M^r^ Browne will deceive the Queen of the pay of so many hundreds or no! Praying God to send you more quietness with their letters than I have. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 5. **774.** KYLLYGREW TO CECILL.

The Bishop of Valence arrived here last night, and hearing that Monsieur Chaperon was passed by to Berwick after making great inquiry for him, he sent my man there with his letters and mine to the Duke's grace, intending to remain here till his return to-morrow night; whereof I advertise you, that our coming seem not over long. I see he is very sorry he cannot carry peace, and would be very glad yet to return for the purpose. The Dowager was not so well inclined as

* On back, at 4 p.m.

Elizabeth.
1560. he [expected?], she hoped so much that Leith would not be won. "Methinkes" the bishop now could be contented the castle of Dunbarton should remain in the "Duk of Chattelereaux" hands, and ask no pledges for their obedience, nor that the league betwixt them and England be broken, but "molyfied" in some point, and all Frenchmen sent out of Scotland "unto" 200. But it is too late now to mention these, as our men by this time have either concluded a better or worse bargain for us. The Queen Dowager I heard, began a new overture of treaty by Lord Erskine [Askayn]. I see the bishop judged the only "let" of peace to be in the Queen of England and her ministers, who had too great advantage to yield such a peace as might stand with his honour to make, or his master's to receive; which moved him not to offer so good conditions as otherwise he might. I told him he was greatly "begyled," for the Queen desired nothing but peace. Since then I have never seen him quiet or merry, but a man the most wayward and full of extreme passion that ever I saw. Would God I were once well delivered of him! Darlington [Darinton], 9 a.m., 5 May. *Signed:* Henry Kyllygrew.

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

May 5. **775.** GREY TO NORFOLK.

I caused trenches to be cut N.W. of the town to destroy their corn mills, and last night planted 2 pieces of artillery there. But the French abandoned the mills this morning, when our men burned them without resistance. To write of all our skirmishes were superfluous: but they have lost many men of late, and we some hurt and a few slain—but nothing in comparison. We shall advertise your grace of the order and "the instant befor hande" of the assault. At the Camp. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

This letter should have been earlier with you, but I wanted a messenger till 8 p.m.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

May 6. **776.** RANDOLPH TO CECILL.

Your honour being otherwise informed of things here, makes me lother to trouble you. I trust you are not ignorant by the letters sent to my lord Duke, of our chiefest doings here. I am requested that those inclosed may safely come to you, and be delivered with some good word of your mouth to supply the default. But that he [Grey?] is moved with great desire to do his duty, time would hardly permit him among so many cannon shot, to put pen to paper—writing cannot testify his affection to the cause, as his pains show. All that have seen the difficulties that have happened, far above expectation, must confess it is a thing of greater importance than at first sight they could judge. There is no cause to despair "whie that within fewe dayes God wyll not sende us a notable succes of our entrepryse."* Time nor money were never better spent to the Queen's advantage.

This day there have subscribed to their common bande, Morton, Borthwick, Drumlanrig, Farnehirst the father, Cesford and 23 others

* Two or three words on erasure.

Elizabeth.
1560. of good estate; and daily we look for more. The Duke has been advertised of "Paris sute" and offer of service. I hope to see 4000 Scots this day on the field, as they appointed; 1000 to be at Lord Grey's assignment for one month—the rest to remain 8 days, besides the lords and their households as hitherto. Written at the Camp. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

The other letters could not so hastily be dispatched, wherein is required your favourable excuse of his [Grey's ?] long silence.

1¾ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

May 7. **777.** SIR GEORGE HOWARD, &c., TO NORFOLK.

On Monday two batteries were laid, one to beat a pale between the Citadel and town, the other to beat the "curtyen and bullworke of the churche"; and if they made good breach, the assault to be made at 4 a.m. next morning; M^r^ "Vahan" also to assault on his side, and the seamen on theirs, "besyde the scale rownde." Whereon I left the council for Edinburgh, where I lie with the horsemen, who were ordered by lord Grey to bè on the field next morning betwixt 2 and 3 o'clock, which I did and found the skirmish very hot, our men approaching fast to the assault, which I was glad to see: but 2 hours after daylight, we saw all things contrary—for there was neither breach meet for any man to assault—as I am informed by them that was at it—nor any scaling ladder long enough by 2 yards to reach the top of the wall; "no nor never a flanker taken awaye!" For want of which things we have sustained a marvellous great loss, not only almost all our captains hurt, but have in killed and hurt I think 1000 men. This has caused such fear among the soldiers, that M^r^ "Huggin" and I "am fayne" to encourage them, that every man on pain of death shall repair to camp and get 10 days' wages aforehand. I beseech you for the Queen's and your own honour, &c., to devise how we may stand here, for our power diminishes daily. We are worse by 2000 men than when we left Berwick, besides all our shot great and small, and other munition utterly spent. We are so well esteemed here, that all our poor hurt men are fain to lie in the streets, and can get no house room for money. Horse meat is so dear, that our soldiers cannot live on their wages. Edinburgh. *Signed:* G. Howard.

Postscript.—I assure your grace, the gentlemen and soldiers were so wearied with overwatching and warding, that they desired any attempt to be eased of travail; and now our numbers are so weakened their travail must be greater.

(Hogan to Norfolk.)

I have no joy [joe] to write of these unpleasant news, but assure your grace there wants no "currage nor paynefulnes" in the rulers here; but of good order and discreet direction, "we have no grete plentie." Wanting "leyesar," I leave further troubling your grace. *Signed:* Thomas Hogan.

2 *pp. On same sheet, the second letter holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Elizabeth.
1560.
May 8.

778. NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I send you Lord Grey's letters, by which you shall not understand the truth of the matter, as by Sir George Howard's and Valentyne Browne's. The thing was marvellously ill handled, for to say truth, there was no breach "sautable," no scaling ladder long enough by 2 yards and more, nor any flanker taken away. If it had been ordered as I am told, the thing might have been won with much less loss. Hoping nobody will find fault with my doings. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

Postscript.—The loss being thus, I have sent to levy 2000 men with all haste, till I know the Queen's pleasure—which number as the case stands, is far too small. "For Godes sake" provide money and munitions, else these matters will "quayle,"—and more men, as you think good. I have sent 400 foot to the camp, so but 600 remain here. *When I have "dysgestyd my malancolye," and learned the truth, I will discourse at more length.

¾ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Grey, &c., to Norfolk.)

We would be glad to advertise you of good success: but such as it is, your grace must needs understand it. Yesterday devising all possible ways and means to achieve the enterprise, "according to your graces often advertisement," we caused the ordnance officers make two breaches, one on the W. side of the town, on both sides of the river which is "empaled"; the other on the bulwark of the church on the S.W. side, and the curtain of same: their pieces being planted the night before. Both breaches being made, "tho not so well as we wold have wisshed it"—we ordered the assault as your grace shall see by the enclosed writing. This morning before day we had our men in the field, and at daybreak attempted assault, and if they had kept order and "valliently gon to it," surely the town had been won. But by their disorder and cowardice, for indeed (except the small number of the Berwick bands) they are but raw soldiers, without skill for such hot work as appertains to a well manned and defended town like Leith, we were repulsed with heavy loss, the number we cannot presently advertise—but we think we have 1000 hurt and slain. We shall not be able to maintain more assaults, seeing our small power—but we think we can keep the field. As our chief leaders and best soldiers are slain and hurt, we find ourselves in very ill case, and beseech your grace's direction in that behalf. Our men are much wearied and toiled with watch and ward, which we are forced to make very strong to guard our ordnance and trenches; and we would fain have a greater power of Englishmen if possible, for there is no trust to be given to the Scots. Our powder and munition is greatly wasted, and our store of "sheaf arrowes" wholly spent. While sorry we have no better news, yet comforting ourselves that we have done, and shall do our uttermost "devoyer," and are not the first that have been repulsed at an assault. At the

* Remainder holograph.

Elizabeth.
1560. Camp, 7th of May. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft, G. Howard.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(2) (Order of the assault.)

The assault of the breach beyond the water.—Captains Conway, Sutton [and 7 others], 500 Scots, and Bamburgh and Brode with 500 mariners, 2700 in all; Sir James Croft [and 4 captains] with 900 men, to attend the artillery on that side the water, or be otherwise employed.

To assault the bulwark at the church.—Captains Wood and Dirrick [and 5 others], with 1050 men.

To assault the curtain of said bulwark.—Captains Carvell and Sturley [and 4 others] with 1000 men.

To attempt the bulwark next the fort of Mont Pelham.—Captain Vaughan [and 5 others] with 500 Scots, in all, 1700 men.

To keep the field.—My lord lieutenant, the Scots lords, &c., and their servants, Captains Somerset [and 9 others] with 2400 men.

The Admiral with his men by boats, shall offer attempts at the side of the town next the haven. The trench master with his pioneers, shall enter the ditches at the instant of assault to "sappe" such places as he sees most convenient.

Sir George Howard, with the armed horse and Mr Arthur Grey's band, to guard the fields between the fort of Mont Pelham and the sea, westward. Sir Harry Percy with the light horse, shall guard the fields between the camp and the sea, eastwards.

2 *pp.* *Broad sheet.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(3) (Captains hurt and slain.)

List of 20 captains and ensigns hurt, besides sergeants and drums, and many of their bands slain, spoiled, &c.

1 *p.* *In same hand.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

(4) (Grey, &c., to Norfolk.)

Since writing our last of this date, we see our estate is worse than we thought, and as we cannot so well express it in writing, we have addressed this bearer Mr Killinghale, who will show our case to you fully, beseeching credit for him, and if your grace thinks good, to send him to Court to declare all to the Queen and Council, or else return him to his charge here. At the Camp, 7th of May. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

May 7. **779.** KILLINGHALLE'S INSTRUCTIONS.

Articles for Franis Killinghale to my lord's grace and the lords of the Council.

[*Extracts.*]

Under 14 *heads.*

1–4. Their assaults—number of men—report of slain, &c.—impossibility of further assault.

Elizabeth.
1560.

5. How I would never have attempted assault without greater number, "but that I have byn enforced therunto by lettres."

6. For assault, we require 12,000 at least—and our "neade" requires 20,000.

7. It is quite feasible, if we are strengthened.

10. There is great scarcity in the town, and if strengthened, we could enclose and famish them.

12. It is difficult to get Scots in pay.

13. How we must embark the ordnance, if supply come not.

14. How our soldiers daily steal into England by "heapes"; and if the Duke "do not justifie" some for example, we shall lose a great number.

1¼ *pp.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "8 Maij—Kenninghales memoriall."

May 8. **780.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

Since I wrote to you this morning, M^r^ Killingale arrived here, whom for necessity of his office in the camp, I durst not send you, but advertise you of his message brought to me from Lord Grey—(1) that while they left this town 8500 foot, they cannot now show 4500 fit for the field: and if the Queen minds to win Leith, it is not to be done under 20,000 men. Their ammunition being quite spent, they borrowed 5 lasts powder of the ships, who can ill spare it. If you levy (as you must) more men, they are not to be had in my lieutenancy. Lord Grey also sends word, that had it not been the hastening he had by letters (meaning mine) he would not have ventured this assault. You may see how unlikely this is—"first, of haste" I never wrote to him since he removed from Lastarrick, and then you know I did it by direction. Since then, I have praised his doings, "and never advised him to nothing," but left all to himself, saying that he being there must needs see more than I could so far off, advise him. You may see by his letter to me of the 6^th^ which you have, he promised before the assault to advertise me of the manner and the time: and yet I had a letter from him on Monday,* that said no word thereof, nor heard from him till this morning, the thing being done yesterday. It seems he meant to go through with it, and thought to speed well enough, when he "wrote me" a letter making no doubt of it. Seeing you have the copies of the letters he finds fault with, you can judge. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

[Postscript.]—After writing this, as you will be better satisfied by speaking to Killingale, who saw the repulse, I shall send him up to-morrow morning.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

May 8. **781.** GREY TO THE QUEEN.

Reporting his operations, and, in consequence of expedition having been sundry times urged on him by letters, his assaults on 4 places of the walls of Leith, the reasons of his repulse, and the necessity of speedy reinforcements, all as the bearer Francis Killinghall will declare to her Majesty. As to the aid of Scots, though he finds their

* 6^th^.

Elizabeth.
1560. nobility "paynefull and willing," there is no trust of any help from them in this case. Camp before Leith. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

May 8. **782.** GREY TO CECILL.

[*Repeating the account of his operations and repulse, &c., as in the letter of same date to the Queen, with some further slight details.*] "Beseching you good M^r^ Secretary, to have suche oppinion in my travaile and care for thiese causes, as my painfull solicytude dothe deserve, and shalbe reported by my fellowes here . . . Alwaies desirous that aunswere of the Quenes majesties pleasure maye be with all possible diligence signified unto us herein." The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

May 9. **783.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

Sending my own man to you in company of "M^r^ Kenynghall," makes me write the less to you. Though I once thought to stay him, yet thinking Lord Grey and the rest would not be so well satisfied with my writing their opinion, as with their own messenger going, I have sent him. Also giving some credit to Sir Nicolas Lestrange whom pray believe, and whatever my enemies say, let me have no favour but according to my deserts. I send you by Sir Nicolas, copies of the letters you yet have not, whereby you may judge what occasion Lord Grey has to impute the fault in them. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

May 9. **784.** ARTICLES FOR SIR NICOLAS LESTRANGE.

First—To tell M^r^ Secretary that as Grey and the others would suffer no muster to be taken, I would spare you for 10 or 12 days.

M^r^ Secretary shall overthrow all Kenynghall's "payntyd taylles and letters," if he but ask him,

First—Whether the breach was "sautable" or no?

"Secundarylye"—Whether the assailants were ever before shown the ground? For lack whereof they ran on the wall they knew not where!

Thirdly—Whether the scaling ladders were long enough? Yet Lord Grey writes the "just" depth of the ditches had been taken.

"Fortlye"—Whether in his conscience he thinks not the town had been won, if the relief had followed? Which stood not within "fower and tewntye score"! This shall bring out the truth.

To remember the munitions, &c.

For myself—let M^r^ Secretary after reading my letters, judge whether I have "over rechyd or noe?"

Also tell him how I was advertised in my Lord Grey's letter of 6^th^ instant—"I was passing to the assalt." To remember him for my lieutenantcy, Shropshire, Northumberland, Cumberland—also the Scots.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph of the Duke.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Elizabeth.
1560. May 9.

785. REPORT OF THOMAS GOWER.

Cornpowder, shot, and other munitions remaining in camp, 9th May 1560.

Powder, 22 lasts, . . . ; cannon shot [various], 5980; matches, 6 cwt.; bows, 220; arrows, 234; "curriers," 100; harquebutes, 80; demylance and light horse staves, 620; blackbills [ ]; "hedinge" bills, 30; pikes, 240; "leide" 500 (?) "*li.* wight"; "ladell" plate 36 "*li.* wight"; "showlls and spaides," 1000. *Signed:* T. Gower.

½ *p.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

May[10].

786. RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF BERWICK.

James Duke of Chatelherault, &c., second person of the realm "and heire apparante * to the Crowne," the council, nobility, and principal estates of Scotland, considering how liberally the Queen of England agreed to assist them, when their natural rulers failed in their duty, on the conditions specified in a treaty passed at Berwick between her lieutenant the Duke of Norfolk, and commissioners for Scotland, on 27th February last (the tenor whereof followeth)†: Ratify and confirm the same, which we have subscribed with our hands; our seals of arms in such cases accustomed are appended. At the day of May 1560. James Hamilton, Duke of Chastelerault, Archibalde erle of Argile, James erle of Arrane, Erle of Huntly, Alex. erle of Glancarne, Erle of Moorton, Erle of Lothell [Rothes ?], Jo. erle of [Menteth ?], . . . Gordon bishop of Galloway, James abbott of St Andrews, after Erle of Murry, James Stewarde, Lord Russell [Ruthven ?], Jo. Elect of the Isles, Jo. Ogleby, Lord Boyde, St Johns, James bishop of Argile, W. lord Eestar [Yester], Lord Sommerwell, Lord Ogleby [Ochiltree ?], Lord Jo. Steward, Lord [Ro.] Steward, Jo. Kendores [Lindores ?], Comeskinall, W. abbot of Binlos [Kinloss ?], James [Gawin] Hamelton, abot of Kilwyninge, W. of Culrosse, M. Car of Newbottel.

7 *pp.* *Contemporary copy.* [*Treaty Book, Vol. I. fol. 225.*]

May 11.
Eg. 1818, fol. 11.

787. THE QUEEN REGENT TO PATRICK LORD GRAY.

"Traist cousing." We have spoken with your servant, whereby we understand that as ye have been ever of good mind to your sovereigns' service, and ours "in tymes bigane, siclike" ye will persevere therein. We gave command before, to write to you of all our proceedings here "sen the ariving of the Inglis army," whereof we send you a short minute, that you may consider if we have made reasonable offers, and if the point they ‡ stand at be agreeable with due obedience to their sovereigns or not. So that you and every nobleman shall approve and maintain our part therein.

"Thair hes bene extreme commonyng aganis our freindis in Leytht as ye haif hard, quhairintill the persewaris hes gottin litill avantage, bot rather skaytht quhilk we forthuik (?)" Yet as before, we shall at

* Rather "presumptive." † Recited here at length. ‡ The Protestant lords.

Elizabeth.
1560. all times do that lies in us, to bring matters to a reasonable "dres"; not doubting but you will as in times past, further the cause to a good end. Credit the bearer to whom we have shown our mind. Castle of Edinburgh. *Signed:* La bien vostre, Marie R.

1 *p. Addressed:* "To our traist cousing the Lord Gray." *Wax signet* (defaced).

May 11. **788.** GREY TO CECILL.

I have received this day your letter of 6th, and made your commendations as you willed. Since my last of 8th, I have taken a general muster, and find our number "defeated" at the repulse nothing so many as bruited; but our men continually run away to England both by sea and land. If her Majesty please to reinforce me, I doubt not to give a good account of the enterprise. I am bold meantime to sue her highness by you, for leave to court in my private affairs, for surety of my poor wife and family; wherein I assure myself of your special aid. I refer our prospect of success to the bearer Mr Cwrdge (?) At the Camp. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . to the Duke of Norff." (*sic*).

May 11. **789.** GREY, SCROPE, &C., TO NORFOLK.

In answer to your letters of 9th and 10th, (1) having conferred with the lords here, we think if Chapperon have nothing but letters of intelligence, which were better kept from the Dowager, you should stay him till you get the Queen's pleasure; but if he has commission to her for pacifying these troubles, whereof there is no hope or likelihood—it were good to let him pass. For Lord Erskine's man: as he has letters in cipher from the Dowager to the Cardinal of Lorraine and Duke of Guise, and other things not meet to pass, the lords here and we think you should send his letters to Court, and himself back here. For answer to your second letter: we still guard all the ground and trenches as heretofore, by reason of the fort determined on at the departure of Mr Howard and Sir Richard Lee. It is not yet finished, but we trust it shall be in these 2 or 3 days; it is to the great toil of our men, but when in strength they shall be eased, for we shall remove the camp nearer the enemy before their Citadel, and thus environ them—having Vaughan's fort on the east, this new fort "in hand" on the S.W. side, and our camp on the N.W.—wherein Mr Lee knowing the ground, can make you very perfect. If your grace can send us any present relief besides the 400 men arrived, we should be better able to attempt their Citadel with spade and mattock, as we hear they are in some distress of victuals. We send your grace an abstract of the general muster taken yesterday, whereby you shall see that the 2000 to be levied will not suffice to furnish our "broken bandes," so no more captains are needed. Though we have employed your miner sundry times, no fruit has followed his work: he has begun on the Citadel, but says the ground serves not. He shall make a better essay this night, whereon we shall report. At the Camp. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

Postscript.—The Dowager having sent Mr John Spence and the

Elizabeth.
1560. Larde of Fenlitter to the lords, for a conference to save Christian blood, &c., the lords though very unwilling to treat, supposing it but a device to stay neutrals joining as they do now, yet after long consultation, have resolved to send Lord James, Lord Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell, and Lethington to hear her offers, rather than be charged with obstinacy to come to good conformity.

3 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

May 11. **790.** SADLEIR TO NORFOLK.

As I see it is your grace's resolution, I am content to remain and further the Queen's service to my uttermost, but I was never in the field with such slender furniture as at this time. We have need of present reinforcement, for if the enemy knew our weakness, it would be over dangerous. Our men are diminished, many slain, more hurt, they daily fall sick, and daily and nightly steal off and run away: and the rest are so wearied with watch and ward, whereat they and their captains so murmur and grudge, that they are more likely to mutiny and desert us than to do good service. I trust this small number from Berwick will encourage them—but we need more comfort, and as it will be long before the 2000 men your grace has ordered to be levied can be here, it might please you to send M^r^ Leke's band, which following "in the tayle of the others" now here, would not only encourage our men but discomfort the enemy,—now we credibly hear, in some extremity from great lack of victuals. With them we could not only guard our ground and trenches without toiling our men, but when our other fort is finished within these 2 or 3 days, we could approach the enemy so near as to "be doing" with spade and mattock on their west bulwark the "Cyttydele," where they most fear the loss of the town. This it is said by all, will do far more than battery. So Berwick being out of all danger, I pray your grace thus to reinforce us with all expectation. If needed, you can strengthen Berwick with your horsemen, and a force of the Bishopric and Newcastle. From the Camp. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

May 14. **791.** MAITLAND TO CECIL.

I thought good to make you this short discourse of the late communication betwixt the Dowager and us. On the 10^th^ two gentlemen came declaring her grace's pity for this afflicted country, and as many believed she was the cause of the trouble, she desired to purge herself, requiring Huntly and Glencairn to be sent to her.

It was answered that sundry communications had come to no good end, and unless she had commission and will to yield (1) the removal of all strangers, and (2) demolition of the new fortification of Leith, all communication was vain. If her grace had authority, &c., the lords would send to her, not these two earls, but such as they thought meet. Next day the gentlemen returned, declaring that her grace had not only commission and will to remove the French, but was most desirous of it, as most necessary for the commonwealth. Whereon "my lordes" were content that Lord James, Lord Ruthven,

Elizabeth.
1560. "the Maister" Maxwell and I should "speake hir grace." On the 12th we opened "our griefes," and understood of her part in general terms, that she could be content to remove the most part of the French, having assurance we would be obedient subjects, "but she could on nawys digest the compact made with England"; and in the end finding nothing could be agreed without advice of some in Leith, as M. Doysell, La Brosse and the bishop of Amiens, or any two, for whom she desired leave to come and "speake hir grace," we being without instructions thereon, took upon us to report to the Council. Yesterday we were again directed to her grace to offer, that if she agreed all the French were removed, except 100 to guard Dunbar and Inchkeith, the lords would give all obedience to the King and Queen our sovereign, as they or their predecessors were "wont to giff to hir Majesties progenitouris," and if any were "inobedient," the whole rest should become his enemies. All other controversies &c., presently depending, the French being removed, they would agree should be ordered by the nobility and estates, and if her grace would not agree to those, they thought it not reasonable that any intelligence should be between her and Leith.

Being unable to get any resolution on any point from her without she first spoke and advised with the aforesaid, "and the most part off hir doute alwayes hang[ing] on the treatie with the Quenes majestie," which we declared in plain terms the nobility were determined to keep and rather spend their lives than break it—the communication broke up, and the council not minded hereafter to enter on a new, nor yield so much at an other time, or permit any French to remain or hold any fort. Camp before Leith. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

May 15. **792.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

This morning I received the Queen's and your letters, and see her mind to go through with this exploit—in my foolish opinion, the only way to preserve her highness's person, her realm and honour. I send two letters from Lord Grey received yesternight, one concerns a communication between the Dowager and four lords of the congregation—the other with some news of Leith, answering mine "for that he did overskipp" to report divers things, which though trifles to them, were worth knowing, for a man may gather by accident their case there, so as to advertise the Queen and my lords of council from time to time. In the Dowager's proceedings, you see nothing but devices of delay, and therefore "there is littell accompt made of her bloodie swearde in a scabard of peax; her bloobbering is not for nothing." The French either despair of succour or else lack victual. "I trust that God will thinke this last assault punisshement ynoughe for us, and so nowe direct our wayes, as shall seame to him best, wherby we maye nowe becom his souldiours, who hitherto have called uppon his name with nothing but swearing. God amend us, the best of us is nought." If any flying tales come to your ear that I do not advertise, assure yourself they are false, or of no moment. For Doctor Marten's foolish prating: think it "spoken in the cuppe," he knows no more of things here than all the world. Hoping by this time my "cousen" Percy and Strange have satisfied you.

Elizabeth.
1560. We are so troubled with the "olde" money to Scotland, that we must send it by sea, and you know how dangerous that is: for our winds are more like winter than summer. Sir Richard Lee sends this "platt" of Leith to the Queen, and deserves a letter of thanks for his pains going thither not so able to ride as I would wish. He would be glad to hear her Majesty's resolution for the works. "Tyme passeth a waye a pace." Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Grey, Scrope, &c., to Norfolk.)

[*Reporting the lords' conferences with the Queen Dowager, and final decision, somewhat more fully than in Maitland's letter of* 14th, *No.* 791, *with the addition that the Dowager might be permitted to go to Leith but must remain there.*]

Yesterday morning some soldiers, &c., issued from Leith to gather "cockells and perriwinckells" on the shore, when I ordered Thome Clarck with my light horse and Fardenando, to set on them, who slew 40 or 50. This morning about 1 o'clock 200 French sallied "in camisado" to our trenches near the Citadel, but were repulsed, with 5 or 6 killed and many hurt, one only of ours slain. At the Camp, 13th May 1560. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

(2) (Grey, Scrope, &c., to Norfolk.)

In answer to your grace's letters of the 12th, on Thursday last we took a general muster of the foot, horse, and carriages "all at one instant": doubting not you are satisfied in that part, and understand the abstract we sent you, of the serviceable men, slain, hurt, and runaways. At Richard Overton's return, you shall be more amply advertised. The enclosed schedule will show the number of corslets and weapons in store, and our lack of powder, &c., in case of new battery. The Ordnance officers say they spent at last battery 16 lasts in a day.

Touching what your grace has heard from Scotland—(1) the Lord Seton's conference with Grange was by common assent for private business of their own; (2) the Lord Robert's coming out of the castle is to little purpose, and no account made of it here; (3) the Scottish soldier of Captain Steward's escaped from Leith, is "none other, saving your grace's honnor, but a verry slave and horskeeper" run away from his master, as other ragged boys and knaves both French and Scots have done since we came here; and (4) for the Dowager's weeping on Wednesday last, which your grace sent us for news—it is not strange to hear of it—for few days in the week does she otherwise, "as shee hathe good cause"! We gather your grace thinks us negligent in news, but we humbly beg you not to think we neglect our duties. We might every day fill your ears with such trifles.

The *Halfpenny Pot* shall be sent as you direct, but understanding from Mr Treasurer that your grace means to send the treasure by her, we think the surest way is by land; for if he had not been himself

Elizabeth.
1560. with the last that came by sea, and being a careful man, watched his time to get into Burntisland harbour, he had been blown back and peradventure not been here yet; and it was 3 days before he could land from said harbour.

Overton will tell your grace how many of the hurt captains will be able in 14 days to serve. Our sick and hurt men in Edinburgh are in no danger when we remove our camp to the other side the water; for we have debated that matter. The French cannot be victualled without such convoy and carriages as we cannot imagine them having, with their few friends in the country. Yet before removing the camp, we shall take the best advice among us. At the Camp, 13th May 1560. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 17. **793.** MAITLAND TO CECIL.

On the 15th Captain Chaperon came hither, sent by the Duke of Norfolk, having about him divers packets of letters to the Queen "Douairiere" and the Frenchmen here. Lord Grey remitted to the Council's discretion, whether he or his letters should come to the Queen's presence? they thought if on inspection any hindrance to our cause appeared, they should be stayed, otherwise, not. Being "disclosed," all of importance is this, viz.—letters from the King, the Cardinal of Lorraine and Duke of Guise, directed to the Queen, MM. Doysel, La Brosse, Martigues, and the bishops of Amiens and Valence, "bearing nothyng but ample credit to the berar"—also a "memoire in chyphre" and a commission under the King's seal, whereof a copy is enclosed for decipher, and thereon your judgment whether it should reach their hands? The Council think all such intelligence should be intercepted; and it appears by a letter of the Chevalier de Sevre to Doysel, that this man's coming is only for crafty conveyance of intelligence—for he writes to credit him "anent" his passage, that he may quickly return and have means to repair hither again. Meantime till answer come from you, he shall be well treated, yet so looked to that the Dowager shall hear none of his news. Though I declare the lords' opinion herein, yet they remit the whole to the Queen's pleasure which they will obey, knowing her highness no less tenders the "wealth" of them all, than they themselves do. The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

[Postscript.]—You will see no clause in the commission, but only promise of pardon of our offences, if we will acknowledge them. We will receive no pardon, "for none of ws all" has offended against his duty, nor done anything against our sovereigns: but what we do is chiefly to preserve the Queen our sovereign's interest, as beseems good subjects.

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

May 17. **794.** THE DUKE, &c. TO NORFOLK.

In answer to your grace's letters of 14th, bearing that divers "pynnases," &c., of ours have haunted the narrow seas, and under colour of our commission "hes mayd such misordour against nocht

Elizabeth.
1560. only Frenchis, bot als Flemyngis and Portogalles," hindering not only your traffic, but touching the Queen's honour—it grieveth us much that such acts should be done, "knawing wele how far we ar detbound to schew the contrair." And as you desire, we shall grant no such commission in time coming. For the past, if any of this nation has troubled any Fleming, Spaniard or Portugall, they had no commission from us, and we will not think it strange but rather allow that they be punished by some show of justice, as shall seem good to the Queen and her ministers, which we refer to your discretion. The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* James Hammylton, Huntly, Ar^{d}. Ergyll, Glencarn, James Stewart.

1 *p.* *Addressed* (by Maitland). *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . Erles Arrain (*sic*), Huntley, Argile, &c., to the D. of Norff."

May 18. **795.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I am much beholden for your "gentle" letter of the 13th—that "yll tongues or rather malytyous letters cane not make you thynke enye furder fawlt in me thane I trust I have desarvyd!" I hope by this time you are more fully instructed of the truth than you were by Kenynghall's messages. I will pray for my enemies, and wish their doings had been more circumspect. I have written this day to Lord Grey with all the comfort I can, "whoe in my opynyon ys no waye to be blamyd, except yt be for that he hathe not, hys wyttes and memorye faylles hyme." Be sure so long as the Queen's service continues, "ther shall be no quarell made to nobodye for me, what somever occatyon be gevene me." I have also written to the lords, of the Queen's forwardness to revenge this last "myshape," and of the great relief she minds, besides money and all kind of munitions; also "off my none goyng in," as you required me. "I ame afrayd yt ys but a *presagium* off that wyche shall folowe," yet I am ready to obey her Majesty's commands. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

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

May 19. **796.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I send you herewith a letter to me from Lord Grey, and two from Lethington, one to me, the other to you—with copies of Chaperon's commissions, &c. Peradventure you think I have not fulfilled the Queen's majesty's passport, when you see him stayed and his packet from the French king to the Dowager broken up? Which I assure you I do not allow, for in all cases I would have "pryncys thyngs" more reverenced. But to let you understand what I willed Lord Grey to do: this is the message I sent him by M^{r} Leke, under whose safe conduct I sent Chaperon to him. I showed him how Chaperon came under the Queen's protection, therefore if the lords would so agree, that he might deliver his letters and commission to the Dowager; "yf they suspectyd the parsons," they would suffer some of the Dowager's "folkis" to receive the packets at his hand, without speaking to the messenger. If these two offers were not liked, then I required he might be sent to me as he went in; thinking the Queen's majesty thus to be sufficiently discharged in honour, without any hurt either to the Scots or us, by his going in.

Elizabeth.
1560. Having thus declared the whole circumstances, I leave the matter to your wisdom. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed* (by Railton). *Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Grey, Scrope, &c., to Norfolk.)

On receipt of your letters by M^r^ Leke, we saw that Chaperon was addressed hither with him, and let him stay at Musselburgh till we had conferred with the lords here, and left it to their discretion whether to let him pass to the Dowager with his letters, &c., or to do otherwise. Whereon he being brought before the Duke and others at Holyrood house, they stayed him from the Dowager's presence, as they see he has credit besides his letters and other intelligences meet to be kept from her. Having opened his letters and read them, they find nothing important but the memorial in cipher, and a commission from the French king and queen to the bishops of Valence and Amiens, and La Brosse, to treat with the Queen's commissioners on the matters now in question. Copies whereof the laird of Lethington sends to M^r^ Secretary herewith. Till the Queen's further pleasure these lords detain Chaperon with honest "entreatie." They have returned Erskine's man to his master, who seems not offended, protesting he knew of no letters in cipher sent with him, but mistrusting it, desired the lords here to open his letters, as we reported to you before. By yours of the 15^th^, we see her Majesty's good and earnest mind to relieve our wants, and meantime shall keep the enemy from victuals, and annoy him as we can. Camp before Leith, 17^th^ May 1560. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey, H. Scrope, R. Sadleir, Jamys Croft, F. Leek.

Postscript.—Yesterday the Admiral took 11 French sailors, who having been taken about 20^th^ March last in the Forth, were licensed by the lords to pass to France, but took Dunbar in their way, where they stole a boat to transport themselves, and were encountered on passage. We have daily small skirmishes, nothing notable.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

(2) (Maitland to Norfolk.)

Referring him to his letter to M^r^ Secretary for the lords' decision as to Chaperon: but if his grace thinks good otherwise, they will follow his pleasure as one interested in their cause. Camp before Leith, 17^th^ May. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

May 17–21. **797.** THE QUEEN DOWAGER TO M. [D'OYSEL].

I have notice that besides their mine at the Citadel, the English are making another at S^t^ Anthony, more secret and known to few Scots, and as the man who has been in it reports to me, is already almost the length of a "bute" beginning from the trench. There are 140 "[septvingtz]" men working in it, and 5 on guard. They are driving it straight to the "flancz," and by Monday or Tuesday will be beyond

Elizabeth.
1560. the curtain. More than 12 days since, I sent you notice by several routes that they deliberated to mine at S^{t} Anthony, the little bulwark near the mill and the Citadel, and again later by Captain Sarlabos' spy [mouchoir], but know not if you received it. My lege ("graces a Dieu)" keeps well, the heat is "dehors," and I have been my own physician and surgeon. I informed you by said spy that Croft had gone to Berwick, but have since learned it was Howard [Hauert]. Their horsemen have gone, and within these 8 days at two times, 700 men have come from Berwick. This day past, the Prior,* Ruthven, the Master of Maxwell and Lethington were twice here. I communicated with them, in hope thereby to find means to communicate with you—but could not, for they wished me first to send off the French, as the Bishop of Valence offered, so nothing was done. Bothwell has asked my leave to go to France, I have sent an "ample" despatch by him, and another by Wilson a kinsman [parent] of the bishop of Dunblane, lately returned from France. From Edinburgh castle, 17th May.

I must not expect succour before July; if meanwhile you are in danger and can warn me, I will renew negotiation. This afternoon, the man who saw the enemy's mines tells me there is water at S^{t} Anthony's, but beside the Citadel they find the ground very hard and firm. They have begun to mine at this last trench towards the "plus eminent" of the Citadel, and have done 10 or 12 paces—the beginning is masonry, the rest not; and he saw the ground so compact as if it was a "voulte," that they have great hope. On Wednesday a gentleman coming from France through England, was taken and is in the Duke's hands, I have not yet found means to speak with him, but from what I hear he must be Captain Chaperon. He is reported to have remissions and powers under the great seal directed to M. de Valence; with what truth I yet know not. Our people take all occasion to quarrel with us. I had no means to send this till to-day the 19th, and hear the enemy have much advanced their mine and hope to finish it by Wednesday. They know you are countermining, but say theirs is so deep, they will pass under yours. They find the fort of "Peleric" [Pelham ?] strong, and it is said there is another mine there, drawing towards the mill bulwark. There are 5 "chadres" of victuals come into the isle on the Fife coast.

I have heard to-day the 21st that the enemy are at the water side, and wish to pass under your "palliz" to make a "sortie" within. At first they had but 3 men abreast working in that mine, now they have 20. It were good to trench well forward on this side the water, to encounter them.

2¾ *pp. French. Contemporary hand. Indorsed:* "The Q. Dou. of Scot., lettre disciphred."

May 22. **798.** MEMORANDA BY CECILL.

(1) Place of meeting—what shall be required of the French for using the arms and style of England? "*Callise—defacing.*"†

(2) What shall be required for removing the French—how many left—demolishing the new works at Leith, Dunbar, and "playner" at

* Lord James.

† The italics are on margin.

Elizabeth.
1560. Aymouth? Conservation of the band betwixt the Queen and Scots? "*With the Scottes consent.*"*

(3) How shall the Scots be assured—their realm governed to avoid new peril of the French—if a Scotsman may enter England being no traitor?

(4) What required to preserve the advantage for redemption of Calais?

(5) What assurance required for observation of pacts?

*Touching manner of departure.**

Objections on the French part.

(1) No pact or league can be permitted betwixt a foreign prince and another prince's people.

(2) What surety may the French have of Scotland, if they neither have garrison nor governor there?

(3) An alteration of religion in that kingdom cannot be permitted without the prince's consent.

1 *p. Holograph of Cecil. Indorsed* (by him): "22 Maij 1560, Memoryall."

May 25. **799.** MAITLAND TO CECIL.

The Queen's most comfortable message by Sir Peter Carew, was sufficient to recommend him to the whole nobility here; yet doth his own honesty, with your good report, and also being your dear friend, not a little increase his credit amongst us. He is able to give you ample information of the state of all things here. In his presence we took such order for the few neutrals not yet joined, that I doubt not shall unite the whole "in one body." The matter is not so difficult as the craft of some would make it; who rather seek their own ends than furtherance of the cause, and yet would be loth it were overthrown, but are content to cast in difficulties to compass what they are about, and cannot otherwise obtain. We shall both meet their craft and retain their friendship, so far as we may. The Estates shall be assembled in parliament again the 10th of July next; "then I think shall ane uniforme ordour be taken by a common agrement, wherin I am sure the Counsall will desyre to have your advys."

The Earl of Morton is writing to ask you to assure the Queen of his affection to her service. I assure you there is none of them all more earnestly bent thereto than he is. Some letter from you that her Majesty takes his offer in good part would comfort him. And I would be glad if you wrote somewhat to the Master of Maxwell of your good opinion of him, for his faithful dealing in this cause deserves no less. The lords intend within these 6 or 8 days to send the Lord of St John to give thanks to the Queen. I thank your honour for your gentle letters from time to time, and pray you make my most hearty recommendations to my lady your bedfellow, to whom and you I am more bound than I shall be able to discharge. The Camp before Leith. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

* The italics are on margin.

Elizabeth.
1560. May 25. **800.** COMMISSION TO TREAT WITH FRANCE.

Letters patent by the Queen empowering Sir William Cecill, Doctor Nicholas Wotton, Sirs Ralph Sadler, Henry Percy and Peter Carew, any 3 or 2, to treat on all disputes between herself and the King and Queen of the French. Palace of Greenwich, 2d of her reign.

1½ *pp. Latin. Fair copy.*

May [25]. **801.** MEMORIAL BY CECILL.

An alternative discourse as well for England as France.

As the French king and his "wiff" have pretended title to England and published the same—and have so ready a way to invade it by means of Scotland—not only must this pretence be falsified, but Scotland must be so governed as to prevent any such possibility of invasion.

Though it may seem strange to demand these, seeing Scotland appertains to the French queen, yet seeing the French first gave occasion, they must either give amends, or grant such conditions as may assure England.

On the French part.

If bearing the arms and title cease, and all French except 400 or 500 depart—also the Scots coming to due obedience, they may be pardoned and the government committed to French and Scots mixed.

Replication for England.

No men of war need be left in Scotland, after peace—for if mistrust remain, there is no sound accord. If any are left, the former doubts of conquest remain.

Questions for the commissioners sent to Scotland.
[*Similar to the Memorial by Cecil, 22 May, No.* 798.]

2 *pp. Holograph of Cecill. Indorsed* (by him).

May [26]. **802.** PRELIMINARIES FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

Questions for the Queen's commissioners and answers thereto, whereon the Instructions are to be formed.

Under 17 *heads, with as many answers.*

5½ *pp. Holograph of Cecill. Indorsed* (partly by him). *Embodied in the succeeding instructions.*

May 26. **803.** INSTRUCTIONS TO CECILL, &C., COMMISSIONERS.

The French king having lately sent M. de Randan with commission to the Bishops of Valence and Amiens, MM. La Brosse, Doysel, and himself, to treat for peace, the Queen directs her five commissioners or any 4, 3 or 2 of them (besides the direction of her commission) in these special points, viz.:—

(1) Cecil and Wotton shall repair to Newcastle by the 5th of June next to meet the Bishop of Valence and de Randan, with whom, after

Elizabeth.
1560. hearing from the lords and Council of Scotland and the Duke of Norfolk, they shall agree on a place of meeting either within Scotland or on the frontiers.

(2) In case the Bishop and de Randan require their fellow commissioners now in Leith, either to join or confer with them, this is to be utterly denied, seeing their commission serves for any two. But if it is pressed, the French in Leith may confer with the English at some place near, but diligent heed must be taken that no intelligence of the town "doo growe" to the French without.

(3) If this be agreed, then Cecil and Wotton "if they maye," shall join with them Sadler or any other, to confer.

(4) If the bishop and de Randan desire to confer with the Queen Dowager, it shall be suffered, unless it appears hurtful.

(5) If the French desire a surcease of arms, the same shall be granted by Norfolk, if in the field, or in absence by his lieutenant.

(6) That the lords of Scotland may see the Queen deals uprightly with them, her commissioners shall confer with and show them her whole meaning so far as it touches them—persuading them of the evil designs of the French to dissever the two countries.

(7) To avoid suspicion, they shall as soon as possible and fitting, require all forces on both sides "reciproquely" to be removed.

(8) If the French press that some small number of their force shall remain—as this chiefly touches the Scots, the commissioners shall yield the point or allow the Scots to accord it—provided it neither endangers their liberty, nor the surety of England.

(9) If the removing be agreed on, the commissioners shall settle with the French the time and manner, &c., and if cause so requires, that hostages be given on both sides.

(10) They shall travail either by themselves or by the Scots, that certain fortifications, to be notified by the latter, shall be rased: taking their opinion on all, saving Aymouth, which the commissioners must and shall earnestly press, if not already demolished—using discretion however, and imparting the same to the Scots.

(11) If the French refuse to treat with them for the governance of Scotland, and press to accord rather with the Scots, the commissioners after giving their advice to the Scots, shall forbear to meddle therein.

(12) They shall use their best means to bring the French to permit the league between the Queen and the Scots to continue as now; but if that cannot be, or seems unmeet, yet at least the substance tending to preserve the liberties of Scotland, may be agreed by contract between the Queen and her nobility of one part, and the French king and Queen of Scots and the Scots nobility on the other, that in case either of the realms shall be invaded by strangers not born in England or Scotland, a mutual defence of either of the kingdoms and subjects of Scotland, may be during the absence of the Queen of Scotland out of that realm.* But if the French will not agree to one or other and utterly refuse, then the commissioners shall leave off treating, and forthwith certify the Queen.

(13) They shall require that the treaty of "Chasteau Cambresis" be newly confirmed—that Calais be restored to England on breach of

* A clause added by Cecill binding the Scottish Queen to a like defence of England—is scored out by him.

Elizabeth.
1560. that treaty—and that all done by the Queen in Scotland shall be passed over. If they agree in other things with the French, they shall not break off for Calais, though "they shall use all the vehemency that they can to obteyne it."

(14) They shall earnestly press that public revocation be made both in France and Scotland, of the usurpation by the French king and Queen of the style and arms of England; or at least shall revoke it in the treaty, and be bound to cease the same, on pain of breach of treaty.

(15) If the commissioners see it needful, and the Scots cannot obtain to live in freedom of conscience, they shall persuade the French that they may; or at least that the penalty of law may be suspended against such as do so, without breaking common tranquillity, and so remain till the end of next parliament in Scotland. But if the French will not be induced, and the Scots will not accord with them, then the commissioners shall not conclude with the French.*

(16) If it so fall out that the Queen's commissioners commune with the three supposed to be in Leith, they shall permit the other two or the Dowager to write to, and receive answers, so as the English are privy to the letters; and if any of the three be outside, and conferred with, none shall re-enter the town, till matters are fully accorded.

(17) If during the treaty it should appear that any matter shall be requisite to be concluded tending to peace and amity, the said commissioners shall proceed therein as to their wisdoms seems needful.

Finally—In all other circumstances that may bring good conclusion, they shall use their discretion; and considering the difficulty of this treaty is such "as the lyke hathe not bene in any mans memory," and many unthought of occurrences may arise, wherein delay in sending for the Queen's resolution shall be inconvenient, she will be content to approve their proceedings without such delay.

12 *pp.* *Draft, with many alterations and additions by Cecil.*

(1) Another copy as altered.

6¼ *pp.* *Contemporary official writing.*

May [28]. **804.** SIR JOHN MASON TO CECIL.

Having much to do at your departing, it were pity to occupy you with vain talk, as commonly used between friends "in suche officious salutations"; so instead of bidding farewell in presence, I wish you by letter, first health both going, tarrying, and returning, and then the assisting of God's grace, if our times will suffer it in the execution of your commission—beseeching him so to direct the end as may best serve him, and preserve the Queen's highness and estate. The good of peace no man knows better than yourself, and though not always so continuous as were to be wished, yet have not wise princes many times embraced it, so sweet a thing is it "now and then too take breth!" Examples whereof are the late Emperor and King Francis—who concluded many peaces in their time, which they, or at least one of them,

* This clause re-written by Cecil, and this added—
"*Nota.*—It wer best that this article wer torned for the Scottes." "*Quere?* If the French will not agree."

Elizabeth.
1560. thought should not last long. And if we can make a reasonable bargain with the French, we shall gain thus much—that King Philip, who now alleges our invasion and his bond by treaty to aid our enemy, shall, either by force of his own allegation whensoever the French break with us, be bound to help us against them, or else show to the world that he uses arguments as they best make for his purpose. This is one special cause making my "folishe hedde" wish some good end to follow of this "assemblee." But albeit it is true that *pax sit optima rerum*, yet it may be dangerous to the State, and be it never so precious, yet to have it, *nihil turpe* must be committed. I commit the end whatsoever it be, to the determination of Almighty God, not doubting you and your colleagues "whoo in this cace ar his ministers," will have such due foresight as appertains.

If in absence I could serve you, no poor friend you have in England would be "gladder." I mean to be no great courtier till your return, though "ready att all cawles." This I have gained, by the misliking of some at whose hands I have deserved nothing but favour and friendship, to my no small grief and vexation of mind—that I have digested it with other worldly things, reposing myself wholly upon a true upright and an "unaccusable" conscience "*innocentie mee que ut est semper optima, ita dolendum non semper esse tutam.*" Praying God to conduct you with his "holy angell," and send us here no lack of your absence, I take my leave. "Scribled in hast whilest I stoode in contention with me selff, wheather I wer bettre too doo thys office in parson or by wryting, att my pour hous this * of May 1590."† *Signed:* John Masone.

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecil): "28 May, Sir John Mason, 1590" (*sic*).

May 30. **805.** BERNARD HAMPTON TO CECIL.

The Queen understanding you are this day departed on your journey, and mean to lie at Ware this night, commanded me to write to your worship, and pray you in her name to signify to her how you feel yourself, "and howe you can brooke the travayle of the way?" Also to remember her last words to you. Farther, as her highness considers that appointing Sir Henry Percy in the commission, and leaving out "the partie you woot of (so hir Majestie willed me to terme hym)," may perchance cause the said party to think he is mistrusted, and so occasion him either to absent himself or attempt some desperate enterprise—though she considers that the commission, &c., cannot now be altered, yet she is desirous to know your opinion, whether it would not have served to good purpose to have named him therein, yet so as he had no liberty to do any hurt? She herself can say "sumewhat to the matter both *pro et contra*," but your opinion should much satisfy her. Her Majesty's meaning by this question you can better guess yourself, seeing I know no part of the matter, nor durst presume to inquire any "particularities" more than it pleased her Majesty to utter herself. I barely report her words, and if the matter be dark, I pray you sir, hold me excused. She looks for your answer "specially touching your helth, wherof I assure

* Blank. † Mason died 21st April 1566.

Elizabeth.
1560. you sir, she is not a lytle carefull, sum [tyme to]-morrowe, if it may conveniently be." My lord "Penbrooke" wills me to make his most hearty commendations, and says he forgets not to follow your advice if occasion so require. Mr Treasurer has required me to make the same. "I wysshe your mastership perfect recovery of helth, with encrease of muche honnour." Greenwich. *Signed:* B. Hampton.

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

[1560.] **806.** DISCOURSE AGAINST THE FRENCH.

"A Discourse against the governement of the French in Scotlande before the warres of Leithe."

[The anonymous writer charges the French with the design of subduing the ancient kingdom, from the time when the young Queen, "*impubes* (*quæ vix undecimum ætatis suæ annum excesserat*)" conferred the regency on her mother, till then held by the Duke of Chatelherault—by corrupting the nobility with honours, money, &c. The French besides other crimes, are charged with poisoning the Earls of Rothes and Cassillis, the bishop of Orkney, and lord Fleming, 4 of 8 ambassadors returning from France—3 of them men of singular wisdom, and the 4th married to the daughter of Chatelherault, and of high promise. He passes by the licentious conduct of the army now for 2 years quartered in Scotland—relates the attack on Arran Chatelherault's son and heir, while in the French King's service (next to the Queen in succession to the Scottish crown) only for his devotion to the Gospel and true doctrine, and on his flight, throwing his younger brother into prison, an innocent youth of 15 years, sent to France by his father for education. Lastly, besides keeping Edinburgh Castle, the bulwark of the realm, for taking and fortifying of Leith against the congregation. Witnessing the justice of their cause against these wicked doings.]

9¼ *pp.* *Latin.* *Official hand of the time.* *No signature or date.*

(1) (Another copy of same.)

11½ *pp.* *In different handwriting.*

1560. June 4. **807.** CECILL AND WOTTON TO NORFOLK.

We think M. de Randan and the bishop of Valence will be at Newcastle to-morrow night, where also we trust to be next Friday.* Understanding that De Randan has divers captains in his train, whose meaning can only be to explore Berwick and the frontiers to aid the enemy, we wish it could be devised they came neither "nigh" Berwick nor Leith, or do any thing to our prejudice. But fearing neither you nor we can impeach their entry, as they are all named expressly in the Queen's passport, we see no other way but that the lords of Scotland prohibit all known captains (unless De Randan's household servants) to enter Scotland during this siege: or if this cannot be, that they require of De Randan and the bishop that these captains shall neither approach the camp nor depart out of their

* 7th.

Elizabeth.
1560. train. We refer this to your opinion to do the best, for we are "jeloose" of them, and wish they entered some other way than Berwick.

We thank your grace for your offer of lodging and your wine at Newcastle, "wherof we meane to be bold ynowgh."

1 *p. Holograph draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by his clerk): ". . . My master and M^r^ Wotton to the D. of Norff."

June 4. **808.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

Yesternight arrived here my lord Ruthven, a man very well esteemed by the lords of the Congregation, commissioned to confer with me at what place the French should come in to treat: who reports from them, they will put that and their own lives too in the Queen's hands, having sent to me by him a passport for them to Edinburgh. Yet they would be glad if it stood with her pleasure, that they came no nearer than Newcastle; for at the bishop of Valence's entry, he gave a sum of French crowns to the Dowager, whereby their enemies have been heartened, and the neutrals kept back; for she has already sent to them with news of Randan and the bishop's return, promising them "great montaynes" if they hold back till it may be seen how the treaty ends, to which they are easily intreated. Also they hear that there are divers skilfull men as captains and "fortyfyers," in their train, "semyng" as if but their men. I pray for a speedy answer, that Ruthven may report your determination.

If the foot were come, I would ease the French of their pain, for if we were once "afor" Leith with more force, it would soon be ours either by force or surrender. They have resolved if they must yield, rather to trust to Wynter's "curtosye" than Lord Grey's. They are afraid of revenge, and yet I see not how they can be made prisoners, the Queen's proclamation being as it is. "The hope off thys gayne one waye, and the great swetnes that cumes by pollyng* the Quenes majestye the other, wold make sume to wysche the contynuans off thys brute lyfe," but if the Queen and her realm were delivered with honour in their enterprises, and "I att home att Kenynghall, I care not in what other cuntrye they hade ther fyll theroff." But why trouble you with this letter, when I mind by the grace of God, shortly "by mowthe" to say many other matters to you. The "bell wether"† of all mischief will meet you by the way, whose company I am sure you cannot miss "and yff yt were for halfe a score mylle." I never had so much ado, "as to use temperancye with hyme; he sawe I dede no waye lyke hys doyngs, nor greatlye hys companye, and yeit I cowld never be reade off hys inquysytyve hede." I hear to some points he will plead ignorance. I am very sorry "off your unstedfast helthe," which I hope God will maintain for the Queen's service. I pray my most hearty commendations to my uncle Wotton. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

I hope you and my uncle Wotton will take my house at Newcastle. If I cannot obtain this by request, then I would somewhat stretch my authority, during my "meraultye."

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed* (by Railton). *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

* Fleecing. † Croft (?)

Elizabeth 1560. June 6.

809. Sir Henry Percy to Norfolk.

According to your grace's command by Sir George Howard [Haywurthe], I spoke with lord Grey and sent my trumpeter to M. Doysel, who was well received with fair words, "as by meates and drinkes also." With M. Doysel were MM. la Brosse and Martige, and his first communication with my man was for "lowsinge" his cousin Captain Haies, and Captain Parrett. My man demanded Captain Bartlaye, who was sent for and spake with him a long time. Immediately La Brosse and Martige left the chamber, my man was called to M. Doysel, who said to him, 'I sent my drumme the last daye into the campe commandinge him to speake with your master, if he cowlde, and thinking that you be commed presentlye for the same purpose.' My trumpeter said he came only to know his pleasure. M. Doysel began with him thus—'You knowe verry well that I have borne good will to your master, and seinge that we be presentlye in distresse, not in vyctualles I assuer youe, and so tell your master (of myne honor)—but being nowe in dispaier of our scecowrse frome Fraunce, and heringe of your army comminge forwardes, wich makes us to thinke that by time ye woll overcome us: therfor I was desyrous to speke with Sir Henry for this cawse, that knowinge the ill treatment of our sowldiers by my lorde Graye, as also by the uncurtes langwage to our messengers, I had rather we the nobylytie should fall into thandes of Sir Henry, then to taste of the crewaltye of my lorde Gray, wich is not unknowen unto us. For as we have had experyens of the mercy wich your master hathe shewed in victoryes ageinst us, so ar we assured of the vyolens that the lorde Graye canne do unto us, whose reportes comes to us dalye. Therfor I sent my drume the last daye for to showe your master this matter, if he wold speke with me, and if so be it that I durst come forthe of the towne unsuspected to the souldiers and noblemen, I assuer you I wold be glad to speke with Sir Henry: but if he wold come into the towne, I wold make him what assurance or pledge he wold desier for his safe retorne'—and so left off. I reported to Lord Grey that M. Doysel only desired the loosing of Captains Haies and Perret, and would have me enter the town for further talk, which I told Lord Grey I would not do unless commanded on pain of my allegiance; which I trust your grace will not do, seeing how these gentlemen's promises have been well "experyemented." I made Lord Grey privy no further than this, but have imparted the whole to Sir George "Haywurthe," which I would not have done if I thought your grace would make Lord Grey or Sir James Croft privy to it. On Monday I sent this bearer with a letter to the above effect, and another of Sir George's, commanding him to put it in his "bote hose," and if taken, to cast it into the fire; which has chanced, and grieves me as much as anything that has happened these 7 years—not for my man or his horse, but that you have not heard of the matter sooner, for I would rather have paid 40*l.* for his ransom—so I trust your grace will impute things to fortune. I will inform Sir George to-night of the loss. Musselburgh. *Signed:* Henry Percy.

The Dowager is in great danger: when I send one to your grace, credit she is dead.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill). *Also some pencil notes by him.*

Elizabeth.
1560. June 7.

810. THE COUNCIL TO CECILL AND WOTTON.

The Queen having received letters from Viscount Montague and Sir Thomas Chamberlayne her ambassadors in Spain: albeit she only discovers in them "an uncertayne aunswer, groundyd for the more parte uppon the sellf matter and argumentes that have byn heretofore as you knowe" alleged by the bishop of Aquila, yet has thought good the inclosed copy be sent to you, to show what the "humours and disposicions of those partes" tend to. Two points in them are wortby special consideration—one, that the Duke of Alva says plainly, that all things imparted here to the bishop, have been reported by him only "as talke passed here" with her Majesty, without requiring on her behalf the King's advice therein, thus showing indirect dealing by the bishop; "for (as you Master Secretary doo well knowe)," the King before her ambassadors went over, was by her express letters addressed to him referred to the bishop's report for understanding her Majesty's meaning and the state of things here, whereof it appears no mention or remembrance is had now. The other special matter is that the French king is content that the King of Spain name umpires to compound the differences between her Majesty and himself. We know not what has moved this or why the King of Spain has accepted it, unless he takes hold of the Queen's motion to be content that recompense of the wrong done her by the French king using her style and arms, be made by "arbitrement" of indifferent persons named by the King of Spain.

For the first point: the bishop is to be plainly told his manner of dealing herein. For the second: it is to be passed over in silence, unless it shall be specially moved to the Queen by the Spanish ambassador. We also send you an article from M[r] Gresham's letter, touching advertisements brought to him, with abstract of intelligences from Sir Hugh Paulet from Jersey, showing the preparations in these parts; and although "we take not all to be gospell" from France, yet the Lord Admiral has been written to, and the duplicate of these sent to him: wherein you may use your knowledge. Greenwich. *Signed:* W. Northt', Penbroke, W. Howard, Tho. Parry, E. Rogers, Will'm Petre.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

June 7.

811. NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I have made Lord Ruthen privy to your letter received this morning, and he minds with Lethington to be with you "ther" on Monday with full instructions. If Lethington come sooner, they will hasten, "to prevent thys daye." If you agree to bring the French further this way, I think if lodged here (as they must) the town may receive much "determent"; but weigh the case as seems good to you. The Dowager is either dead or in great peril of death. "Yf suche good luke shuld chance," I would the supply were here to "amase the Frenche brages" who are out of hope of succour. I have sent my man to the camp, on whose return I shall certify you of their state. Referring all else to the messenger. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed* (by Railton). *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Wafer signet, very good: A shield quartered;* (1) *semée of fleurs de lys, a bend;* (2) 2 lions passant in pale; (3) checky; (4) a lion rampant. *Garter motto and ducal coronet.*

Elizabeth.
1560. June 7–8.

812. RANDOLPH TO NORFOLK.

Lord James and the others returned from S^{t} Johnstons to the camp on the 5th instant. Of the northern lords, only the Earl Marshal came; of the others, some for private quarrels with Huntly, some who were told by the Queen's ministers there of secret practices (as that Lord James besides his friends, had 400 harquebusiers with him, and that Sir Harry Percy and the laird of Grange had brought 300 light horse)—divers also measuring their promises, "howe assuredly somever theie mayke them," as it please their wives they shall perform them,—absented themselves to their own dishonour, discontentment of the lords here, and great despite of those sent to treat with them. The Earl Marshal showed himself very reasonable in his talk; arrived here to-day and intends joining with as many friends as he can procure. He is esteemed very wise and able to do much good in the cause. Atholl one of Huntly's "dysfavorers," wrote to Lord James from his house in the north, of his great desire to speak with him, and would be very glad to meet him at Dunkell 12 miles beyond S^{t} Johnstons—which Lord James thought not to be omitted. After many debates, they resolved (1) that Atholl have copies of the contract with England, and the lords' band among themselves; (2) that he might be assured (for it had been often said and written to him and many others there) if the lords intended to deprive the Queen and transfer her right to another, or no? (3) whether, if he and his friends joined in this action, they should be forced in religion against their consciences? (4) as the Queen had often told him and his friends that she found the lords here very unreasonable, he wished to know all that had passed between them since the siege of Leith. In these and all other points he is, and shall be so reasonably satisfied, that I trust he will join with no long delay.

At our return from Dunkell to S^{t} Johnstons, word was brought to Lord James that Lady Drummond had come. Her husband was one of those that broke appointment with Argyll to meet at Stirling, who took it very ill, and sent some "token of unkyndnes" to the lady. So she to repair matters, so trafficked with Lord James that she promised for her husband who is very sick, that her eldest son should join with all their friends within 7 days. Lord Oliphant has so "dyscorded" of late with a gentleman called "Mountcrythe," that many are offended with him; howbeit this will be shortly repaired "nor the cawse greatly hyndered, thought he never come"! Cassillis as he promised, will be here on Sunday next: his friends are harder to be agreed with than he himself. The Earl of "Mungomerie"* desires assurance to speak with the Queen in the castle: and then will say what he will do. The lords will deliberate hereon; it is thought he is more "wylfull then wyse, verie yonge and evle guyded." It is very certain that Bothwell has his "dyscaphe" to France, and is at present in the north to "serche" passage; he was lately with Atholl and divers gentlemen in the country, his train is small, he rides with but 5 horse, and uncertain to men where he comes or how long he tarries in one place. Wilson who was said in the deciphered letter sent back from your grace to lord Grey, to be dispatched to France, is assuredly yet in the castle, waiting to see what becomes of the

* Eglinton.

Elizabeth.
1560.

Queen. This day I think lord Grey reports to your grace what the 4 lords have done there, and fully told him. To-morrow the Duke himself before noon, and his son the Earl at afternoon, intend to see the Queen, at her own request. Whatever becomes of her, the bishops, abbots, &c., are like to remain there or be delivered to the lords, "and so were theie as good accompagnie Bonarde * in the Marshalsee," so well are all here "affectioned" to them! Ruthven has by divers letters from Berwick reminded the lords of Eymouth [Heimouthe]: when Lethington as he will soon, repairs to you, he will declare more than was thought good Ruthven should be privy to, who was only told "that ther was no necessitie." I would be very glad at the commissioners' meeting, to do my duty to your grace, M^{r} Secretary, and "M^{r} Doctor Wotton," to whom I am singularly bound for whatever is in me worthy the Queen's service. So if I get leave of Lord Grey and the council, I doubt not the lords here will spare me. Holyrood House, 7 June. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

This day at 8 o'clock the Duke, the Earl Marshal, and Lord James went to the castle, and found the Queen "to their judgement worce then she was yesterdaie, her lyppes, handes, and ledges [legs] verie colde, her tonge and wyttes fayle her verie greatly, and she her self withowte hope of lyf, her mynde well dysposed to God and wyllinge to here anie thynge that is well spoken. She is also well content to speake with M^{r} Wyllockes, whoe is presently with her." She desired that till her "departeur," some of the lords might not be far from her. So this day the Earl Marshal, Lord James and Lord Salton dined there, and this afternoon Arran goes up to her, as required by the lords, and herself desirous of it. The lords have sent a precept to Lord Erskine, to stay the bishops, &c., till order is taken about them. I intend if Lord Grey gives leave, to accompany Lethington to your grace. I send a letter of M^{r} Killegrew's received this morning—assuring you that if there be "one treue worde therin" of what the bishop has reported, I will be content to sustain the reproach of an "unhoneste" man as long as I live. The Camp, 8th June at 3 o'clock. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

4 *pp.* *Holograph, closely written.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

June 8–10. **813.** CONFERENCE AT NEWCASTLE.

Articles agreed by the Bishop of Valence and M. de Randan ambassadors of the King and Queen of France, at a conference held on 8th and 10th June at Newcastle with Sir William Cecill and D^{r} Wotton ambassadors of the Queen of England.

1. That M. de Randan and the bishop shall pass from Alnwick to Scotland either by Berwick, or otherwise as the Duke of Norfolk shall direct.

2. That they shall take no more treasure than seems to him convenient for their expenses.

3. They shall pass to Edinburgh town without conferring with Frenchmen or Scots other than allowed by the gentlemen in charge;

* Bonner?

Elizabeth.
1560. and de Randan only, with one English or Scottish gentleman approved by Lord Grey, may enter the castle and remain 2 hours.

4. After Cecil and Wotton reach Edinburgh, the bishop may have access to the Queen Dowager.*

5. None of their train shall leave their lodging without permission of lord Grey, or such other appointed by him to attend on them.

6. The Bishop and M. de Randan bind themselves and their company to observe the premisses.

1¼ *pp. French. Corrected contemporary draft. Indorsed:* "Copie," &c.

(1) Minute of same in English.

1¼ *pp. Holograph of Cecill.*

June 10. **814.** DEMANDS FROM THE FRENCH.

"By us only."

(1) To recall their forces from Scotland.

(2) That their King and Queen revoke all grants, &c., under the style of England, and

(3) Proclaim that no subject keep any "artificiall" thing displaying the arms of England and Scotland joined, but deface the same.

"By the Scottes only."

(1) To govern themselves. (2) Their doings to be accepted as withstanding oppression of their liberty, and in defence of their sovereign the Queen. (3) That no French remain. (4) Perpetual peace between England and Scotland, &c. And (5) the Duke of Chatelherault's right as second person to be confirmed.

1 *p. Holograph and indorsed by Cecil.*

June 14. **815.** ARTICLES OF BERWICK.

Articles concluded at Berwick between the Queen of England's commissioners and those of the King and Queen of France and Scotland, in presence of the Duke of Norfolk, lieutenant general, &c.

(1) Edinburgh to be the place of treaty.

(2) Next Monday† they shall convene and begin the treaty, continuing no longer than Saturday following inclusive, *unless extended by mutual agreement.*‡

(3) On Monday they shall agree on suspension of arms.

(4) The French, and their train in their safe conduct, shall enter Scotland with the English, taking no more money than necessary expenses, and on the road or while in Scotland, shall not confer with Frenchmen or Scots, without consent of the English.

(5) No one of the French train shall leave his lodging without consent of the English in charge.

(6) During the treaty the French commissioners may confer with

* Replacing a clause allowing this only if the Queen required spiritual consolation.
† 17th. ‡ This clause cancelled but restored in the draft by Cecil.

Elizabeth.
1560. the Archbishop of S[t] Andrews, the Secretary of Scotland * and the Justice Clerk—and if any of these decline, then with any other Scotsman not being in any fort held by French.

(7) The said three Scotsmen after conference, shall return to the place whence they came.

(8) The French may demand and keep all ciphers and dispatches of their King and Queen, left by the Dowager in her secretary's hands; and Captain Chaperon shall also speak with and deliver to them all commissions and writings brought by him from France to Scotland.

(9) They may send for the French ladies about the late Queen Dowager's person to comfort them, or that they may come to them.

Finally—The commissioners on both sides bind themselves to observe their respective parts.

2 *pp. French. Draft corrected by Cecil. Indorsed.*

(1) Another draft of same articles.

2 *pp. Partly Latin partly English. Holograph of Cecil. Indorsed.*

June 14. **816.** AGREEMENT AT BERWICK.

The ambassadors of England and France, agree,—that during the treaty at Edinburgh there shall be

(1) A suspension of arms as well between the camp as "Petit Lict," Inchkeith and Dunbar.

(2) The defenders are not to issue from or provision their forts, or the assailants to approach them nearer than they are.

[*Several clauses of the main articles follow.*]

1½ *pp. French. Draft in two hands—a correction by Cecill. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . the first articles of suspension devised by the French ambassadors." "M[r] Tresorer" (in Cecil's hand).

June 15. **817.** THE COUNCIL TO CECILL AND WOTTON.

In reply to your letters of 11[th] declaring your proceedings with the French, and the death of the Dowager of Scotland: her Majesty well allows your opinion to signify to King Philip's ambassadors that you are in very good way to concord, and find not things so hard as supposed, and she has taken orders to send one out of hand to declare it to them, and what she has heard of the Dowager's death. For the other points in your letter, we have reported our opinions to her highness, who has resolved (1) in case the French commissioners, on the Dowager's death, press to break off and return, you shall agree, and thereon consulting the Duke of Norfolk and the lords of Scotland, take order for the expelling of the French as before determined, and that as speedily as may be, for by all advertisements they seek only to draw out time, which must not be endured. For your inquiry if the French commissioners require the presence of some of their colleagues in the town? her highness thinks as you do, it is in no wise to be granted. If they shall require assistance of some Scotsmen of their faction, her highness thinks, if on consulting the lords of Scot-

* Originally, "the Secretary of the Queen Regent at her death"; and so restored in Cecil's draft.

Elizabeth.
1560. land, you see no reasonable cause to the contrary, that you may grant the same, using your discretion.

As we hear that one Parrys a fugitive Irishman (as we think you remember) has left the French and given himself up to Lord Grey: we pray you to talk with and learn from him what he can say of the practices attempted in Ireland, or anything touching the state of the Queen or her realm—that if his meanings and doings deserve, we may sue her highness for his pardon and such other consideration as he deserves. Greenwich. *Signed:* Winchester, W. Northt', E. Clynton, Tho. Parry, Will'm Petre, Ry. Sakevyle.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

June 17. **818.** SUSPENSION OF ARMS AT LEITH, &c.

Extract from articles agreed between the Ambassadors of France and England.

That from Monday 17th instant till Saturday next at 8 p.m. a suspension of arms by sea and land shall be, on these conditions.—

(1) The English and Scots shall neither by mine, trench, or sap, attack the town of Leith [Petit Lict], Inchkeith, or Dunbar.

(2) The garrison of Leith shall not advance beyond their counter-scarp and ordinary trenches—that of Dunbar not beyond a mile on land, and that of Inchkeith not beyond it. And no one shall attempt to provision or succour these places on pain of the suspension ceasing.

(3) The assailants shall not approach their watch or trenches nearer Leith than now.

(4) If the ambassadors break off negotiations, the suspension of arms shall also cease.

1 *p.* *French.* *Corrected draft.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk): "xvij Junij 1560. Articles of suspension."

June 17. **819.** THE LORD KEEPER BACON TO CECILL.

Since your departure, nothing worth advertisement has happened, besides what the Council has written, or you should have heard or this. Were I in your place, and saw cause to credit the "myserey" of France, "the hard happ happenyd to Kyng Phylypp," of the wants of Leith, and the death of the Dowager, then would I agree to no end, but present delivery of Scotland from the French ("the dutye of there aleagyance savyd"). Again, if I saw cause of doubt in these advertisements, then would this sentence rule me—*Quando non potest fieri quod vis, id velis quod possis.*

The Frenchman, as you left order with "Mr Recordre," is taken, examined, and committed to the "Towre"—a lewd man in my judgment.

Yesternight my lady your wife and I were at your house, where all things go well forward. "Mary! me thynkes the privye in the west end ys with the least, and to nere the logyng, to nere an hoven,* and to nere a lytle lardre." I think you were better to offend your "yey"† outward, than your nose inward. My young boy Anthony has been and is very sharply handled with a fever, much to my wife's discom-

* Oven. † Eye.

Elizabeth.
1560. fort, who commends her heartily to you. *Signed:* N. Bacon *C(ustos) S(igilli).*

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): " . . . Lord Keper of the Great Seale."

June 18. **820.** [ ] TO M. D'OYSEL.

God has been pleased to call to him the Queen Dowager on the 11th of this month before 1 o'clock midnight, the 30th day of her sickness. Our and the English ambassadors came to this town two days agone: they neither speak themselves nor suffer any of their company to do with any Frenchman otherwise " then orderly." The memorials and instructions of our ambassadors were in cipher, and the English would not I should see them, but send them the cipher, which I would not do. At last I was suffered to go to their lodging and decipher them, whereby I had means to let them know as much as I did, by some about me. It was once agreed to by the Queen of England, that you my lords on this side should be at this negotiation, but now she will none of it. The contents and end of these memorials are of peace, and that no succours can be looked for before end of August, weighing the danger wherein things are presently " on the other syde," as in one of these addressed to the Dowager only, with a letter from my lords her brethren. The others are to agree to rasing Leith, sending back the French (except some in Inchkeith and Dunbar), and the artillery, &c., in Leith—to touch nothing of the arms, or relinquishing the French queen's title of England, but the French king to take order for her leaving it. The enemy have the King's cipher long " agon," as I shall show you more at length, and how I learned it: so if you think good to advertise in it, and let it fall into their hands, they on deciphering and finding your state to be such as you please to make it, this in my simple opinion, may be beneficial to the negotiation on our side. We greatly desire to know how long you are provisioned, and as the bearer may not have means to return, it may please you cause a token to be made thus—If to the 15th July, light a fire on St Anthony's church; if till end of this month, light one on the Citadel; if for but between both, or less time than the 15th, then make 2 fires. If you must " to it perforce," then make 3 fires all at once, and that they may be seen from hence, continue them half an hour about midnight. Edinburgh Castle.

2 *pp. Chiefly in cipher, deciphered. Headed:* " Extract of a French lettre sent out of Edinborrough to them in Lyeth in cyphre the xviij of June." *Possibly from the late Queen's secretary.*

June 19. **821.** CECILL TO THE QUEEN.

I have nothing to advertise of any great moment beside our common letter, yet thought it my duty to " acerteyn " your Majesty privately in some things wherein Mr Wotton is not acquainted. Your army here is small, but worthily besieges a great town having many advantages against us. Your pay is much more than your numbers, partly by stealing away, but chiefly by " stealing of captaynes." Your Majesty will think me a great enemy to sumptuous apparel, " that nether can spare my speche ageynst it at London nor at Edenburgh "!

Elizabeth.
1560. Here is such excess, that I fear "some captayne carryeth xx, some xl, soldiors in there hoose, both be they so bigg and so costly"! It were mere folly for me to "invey" against these things here, the best way is to make a short end thereof. For fare—I assure your Majesty none here of any degree ever fared better at home, and thus "pass awey" the pay of many soldiers. I have caused a muster since I came, and think you shall save "at one paye" 2000*l.*

Sir Peter Carew's [Caroos] reports to your Majesty by letter are very true, and touching Sir James Croft,* I am sorry to find so apparent matter—his neglect of duty was the principal [cause of] the loss of the town, "so evidently as it cannot be denyed." Surely Enfeld is now wrong,† wherefore if it please you, there is no difficulty therein: you can well think some here are greatly perplexed. Though all this Scottish nobility hate the French, and are devoted to England, yet some are for one reason, some for another. Many questions are moved to me by certain lords, which I cannot answer.

For peace here: we may sooner do it than the Scots would have it —only I find Lethington disposed to work the nobility to allow whatever your Majesty determines; he is of most credit for his wit, and almost sustains the whole burden of foresight. Next him, the Lord James, "who suerly is not unlyke ether in person or quallitees to be a kyng soone!" Argyll is a goodly gentleman of person, and universally honoured here of all Scotland. As for Arran, he has all his father's honour laid upon him, for the father yields in all things to him. If your Majesty had money to maintain a just war, this amity of Scotland now would so abuse France, that your posterity to the third generation should live quietly. But I see the lack now, will "lese that" at this time, "that quadruple so much" at another will not redeem. I beseech pardon of my hasty scribbling, for I am overwhelmed with business. I am forced to bear the whole labour, for M^{r} Wotton though very wise, loves quietness; but this matter requires travail. "So most humbly of Almighty God I doo require that it may please him to direct your Majesties hart to make choise of a husband that may be a father to your posterite; for without it for my part I wish to my self no posterite." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your Majesties most humble subject and obedient servant, W. Cecill.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address and indorsation. Wafer signet: quartered shield.*

June 19. **822.** ARTICLES PROPOSED TO THE FRENCH.

Under four heads—

(1) Total disuse by their King and Queen of the arms of England, and defacement of any work whereon they are; (2) the like as to the stile of England and Ireland in writings, and renewal of such without it; (3) if refused, these to be submitted to the arbitrement of the King of Spain to be given within a year; (4) in recompense of these, and satisfaction for violation of the treaty at "Cambresy," the Queen has demanded restitution of Calais: but the French deputies having no authority, and to avoid the delay of such being sent to "this towne of Edenburgh," it is agreed to refer it to a new treaty at London, and

* This name in cipher. † Last three words in cipher.

Elizabeth.
1560. if not accorded within 3 months, then the said Queen, King, and Queen, shall stand to the arbitrement of King Philip, if he give "a resolute sentence" within one year. If he do not, then the said claim of restitution shall remain "whole entyer, &c., as it did the daye before this treaty begon."

3 *pp. Corrected draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by his clerk): "19 of June 1560. Copie of tharticles proponed to the French ambassadors, for the ceassing and compensation of the use of the style and armes of England. Sent to the Quenes majestie by the first depeche, in Englishe."

June 19. **823.** ARTICLES PROPOSED TO THE FRENCH.

[*Copy of articles* 1, 2 *and* 3 *of the preceding document.*]

1¼ *pp. French. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xixth of June 1560. Copie of tharticles proponed to the French ambassadors for the ceassing and amendes for the use of the stile and armes of England, in French."

June 19. **824.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I most heartily thank you ("good M^{r} Secretarye") for your news, wishing you better hope of success in your treaty, than I gather by your letter. I am glad you find "with your yes [eyes] and eares," that my account of things there was true, though I thought there would be great working to cover all faults. There is no man there to make account of but M^{r} Sadler for council matters, and M^{r} Randolph for "warlyke affayres." There is in my opinion time enough for Lord Wharton, if you write to Court to have the Queen place him here, which would prevent all misfortunes. The office remains yet in M^{r} Sadler's hands by the Queen's letters, and I would wish the like to lord Wharton. I would be sorry after missing M^{r} Sadler's company all this while in Berwick, to miss it also in the field. Whatsoever my "rasche heade" writes on a sudden, I hope you will moderate it. I cannot go out of this town till the money arrives, wherefore I hope you will remember it; nor is our armour come from Newcastle yet, God send it quickly. While writing, a packet from Court arrived, herewith sent you. I can give no straiter orders to take Scotsmen passing in my lieutenantcy than I have already; so hope to be held excused. As I can gather, it was the Dowager's almoner [Dowgers amner], who was conveyed through Northumberland by some of the country. I may chance one day to know "whoe were there conductors." Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

I forgot our Berwick news, viz., that M^{r} Croft is to be here in 3 days at farthest; if true we need not study for a new captain.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed* (by Railton). *Indorsed.*

June 20. **825.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

At last our armour is here before the haven, and we hope to have it in next tide. We are as diligent as possible to be in readiness: I fear nothing but our fewness, and think now you see the necessity of

Elizabeth.
1560. a greater army than we have yet levied. But I follow directions, and shall be ready to set forward, if it come to that issue. I hope for your opinion on "the present exployt." The new reconciliation between Lethington and Sir James Croft seems very true, for I hear credibly that the lords of the congregation and he wrote either to the Queen or some of her Council in his behalf; and Hume who seemed to you and me to go for Arran's horses, carried the letters. "I lyke not thys synyster delyng in them." I pray you send your nephew "Fuyllyr" hither and I will supply him: I would there were many more such for the purpose. Wishing you good success, "wherby I maye lye the idler." Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

Lord Wharton renders his hearty commendations.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed* (by Railton). *Indorsed.*

Jun. 21–22. **826.** RANDOLPH TO KILLIGREW.

I am much beholden for your letter of 12th June, and your good will. Your news ("thought otherwyse pyttyfull"), was not ungrateful to us who fear and suspect all who we think may hinder the cause. On Monday last our treaty with the French began, and continues till Saturday at 8 p.m. Whereto it will grow we cannot judge, but assure ourselves "that on waye or other yt wyll shortly be at an ende." Their necessity is great—their doings hitherto as become valiant soldiers—it will be no small loss to the French king to have so many slain as are like to be "yf theie attende the furrie of the blacke byll"!

In this time of abstinence, divers of ours have talked with divers of them "in gentle wordes and termes," and have "droken and eaten togyther." Yesterday on the sands on the east side, the captains of Mount Pelham met with some of them, each bringing such victuals as he had—the English, beef, bacon, capon, chicken, wine, &c.; the French, to signify the difference between "thassigers and thassiges," brought a "colde capon rost, a pastie of a baken hors, and vj rattes well rosted," telling them that was their best "freshe vivers," whereof they lacked no store. "Credyt this to be trewe," I should myself have been at the "banket"—where there were "Vaughthan" general of Mount Pelham, Sir Andrew Corbett, Sir Edward Filton, *cum multis aliis.* They departed kindly, whatsoever their meeting shall be.

I have lately had a little more credit in the castle, and favour at divers ladies' hands. I saw the Dowager's corpse: she lies in a bed covered with a fair fine white sheet, the tester of black satin, and the bed stock hanged round about to the ground with the same. All her own servants at liberty, saving only the bishops, abbots, priors and priests, stayed till order be taken with them by parliament.* Her "ordinarrie" continues, her ladies constantly watch the corpse; they have not yet received their mourning garments. *Sindite corda vestra, non vestimenta:* so said Lady Fleming to me, talking of the matter. Her burial is deferred till the lords of Parliament assemble, the first day is *decimo Julij.* She is to have all solemnities "feite for so noble a personage, savinge suche as savor rather of supersticion then of Christian pietie." It is almost miraculous to see how the "worde of Good" takes place in this country; they are better willing to receive

* This sentence added on margin.

Elizabeth.
1560. discipline than in any country I ever was in. On Sunday last * both "before noone and after, ther were at the sermons that confessed their offences and repented their lyves before the congregation; M^r^ Secretarie and Doctour Wotton were present." Wednesday after, three others did the like. We think to see next Sunday the Lady Stonehowse by whom the bishop of S^t^ Andrews has had "withowte shame" 5 or 6 children, openly repent herself. "God sende us greate mercie hereof to his honour! Thaffars here are verie troblesome, the nature of men dyvers, the libertie greate, justice sclenderly executed in all places! God save us from more dyscorde amongest ourselves when the French ar gone—then now that we have them in Lyethe." I write to you for a miracle, that since our camp came here there was never quarrel or discord between English and Scots, that blow was given or sword drawn. I leave you to God desiring him to make you an honest man. Let me know where you bestow yourself, that I may be surer what becomes of my writings: if you go to France, I pray you have care of my things there, that they may shortly be at home. "Your bysshope *antiquum optinet*": he had great honour here both by English and Scots, royally banqueted and entertained. M^r^ Secretary and M^r^ Wotton both in health and have visited our works. Sir James is with you; let us know what becomes of him. All our hurt men are "hole" . . . Grey, Tremayne and Carew are in health and commend them to you, as I myself. Holyrood House, 20^th^ June late in the night. *Signed:* Vostro, Tho. Rand. *Virtus pro divitiis.*

The commissioners cannot agree as yet: the abstinence is broken, the time thereof expired, all men in armour; "the Swisshes † sonding dom drom, &c., &c., xxij at mydnyght."

3 *pp. Holograph; also address:* "To . . . M^r^ Henrie Kyllegrewe at his brothers howse in Paule churche yarde, nexte unto the Deanes howse." *Indorsed. Faded and damaged in parts. Wafer signet: a device, the letter "R" at one side.*

June 22. **827.** SIR THOMAS PARRY TO CECILL.

This present 22^d^ of June my lord Treasurer has written to me that the 22,000*l.*, as I wrote in my last, is gone towards you with good haste.

The advertisements from France are confirmed from all parts, as well touching the losses at "Yerbes," as of the "ragged" state there, and their "smalle habylytie to anoye, &c." The greatest news on earth that men look for, is to hear from you.

My lord Admiral has written in the inclosed letter, to M^r^ Wynter to have his charge well seen to, and look to the shalop that spoils victual at Dunbar.

All your friends here are well, and their desire to hear from you makes them "a litell to languyshe" till they do. "Do my humble commendacions to my lords grace, yourself, M^r^ Wotton, M^r^ Sadleir," &c. *Signed:* T. Parry.

1 *p. Holograph. No address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

* 16^th^.

† *i.e.*, Swiss or Germans.

Elizabeth.
1560.
June 24.

828. SIR WILLIAM PETRE TO CECILL.

I thank you for your letter, which was brought hither almost "one hole day befor others sent from Barwyk iij howres befor yours was dated att Edingborough." We have good hope now of your agreement if all things fall out well in the talk between the French and Scots. I pray God send a good end of these "pykes," and give us grace to foresee and provide for what may follow. The King of Spain's ambassadors have been made privy, as you advised, and take it (as they say) in very good part. My lords mean to send M^r^ Jones presently to M^r^ Throckmorton with matters that they cannot write, *e.g.*, your doings, &c.

I showed M^r^ Treasurer your letter as to your charges, who (I think) will take occasion to declare it.

The Duke of "Holst" shall this day (it is said) have the Order presented to him. Referring you for the rest to the Queen's letters. Greenwich. *Signed:* Will'm Petre.

1 *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecil). *Injured by damp.*

June 24.

829. THE QUEEN TO CECILL AND WOTTON.

Sign manual: Elizabeth R.

Acknowledging their letter of 19^th^ and approving their wise and careful dealing with the French commissioners, for which she heartily thanks them. On the points of their letter, having advised with her council, she has resolved—first, touching the title and arms, they shall press that the French king and queen shall proclaim that these wherever set up, graven or painted, in their realms, shall be defaced within six months after the treaty—if refused, to be referred to the King of Spain. For compensation in the past, they shall demand Calais and 500,000 crowns—if not obtained, they may refer it to a further treaty, and if the latter be not concluded in 3 months, to refer the matter to the King of Spain, and if he make no end within one year, the claim to subsist in force. (2) If agreed that her army retire, 2000 of her tallest and best appointed men shall be placed in Berwick beyond its ordinary garrison, to be a good encouragement to the lords of Scotland. (3) If the French be removed, they shall be shipped at their own charges, in such victuallers, crayers, &c., as can be found in the Frith, Berwick, Newcastle or Hull. Or they may pass through England, not more than 40 in one company, without arms other than swords and daggers. (4) Hostages or other security to be given that the English ships go and return safe, and charges paid. Two or three of the Queen's ships if required, to see them safely wafted, but to enter no French harbour. Prisoners on both sides to be released on their own charges, and preparations as proposed by the French commissioners, to cease on both sides. Lastly if possible, the substance of the league between herself and the Scots to be continued, but if, though earnestly pressed, they cannot obtain this, they are referred to the Queen's former instructions. All other points are referred to their own wisdom and consideration. Under her signet. Greenwich, 2^d^ of her reign.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Elizabeth.
1560.
June 24.

830. NORFOLK TO CECILL.

We were so long mustering our men yesterday, that I had no "leysure" to write to you. Our whole number is not yet arrived, though I understand the greatest part will be by Wednesday night. If they were come and the money,—of which I hear nothing—I would hope to have all things ready for my entry by 2d or 3d July. I marvel we hear nothing either of your continuance of abstinence or else breaking up, but hope to hear to-day. A packet with books and private letters arrived here this morning, "broken up with nere a letter other to you or to me, I beleve ther hathe bene sume lost by the waye." Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

I send you the packet "unsealyd and unbownd up, as yt was browgt me."

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 25. **831.** DECLARATION BY THE SCOTTISH NOBILITY.

As ye required us yesterday in name of the nobility and council, to put in writing such "devises" as we thought might pacify these troubles: these are the principal, which, if accorded, the King and Queen our sovereigns "wilbe" assured of our obedience.

(1) Having found how hurtful these unpaid forces have been for these 2 years, levying at discretion from the poor: and the soil of our country being unable to sustain more than "the borne people of the lande," nor have our princes in times bypast ever kept garrison over the people—it is time this were removed, and all debts incurred thereby, paid to the creditors.

(2) As our histories, and experience of all ages teach us, that fortresses have never preserved this realm from invasion, yea the chief cause that we have so long continued a free kingdom, has been the lack of them, an enemy finding no place to plant himself, but only burning a small part of the country, and then retiring—"and that better it is to have a spylt countrye then a tynt* countree": all fortifications made or begun since the late treaty between our sovereign the Queen and the Queen of England, should be demolished, and no new made without special consent of the Estates.

(3) As Inchkeith fort is useless against a foreign navy which may lie in "our fyrth" at their pleasure in safety, and yet in an enemy's hand might greatly annoy both sides of the firth: it is convenient it be demolished, as the estates gave no consent to fortify it, and the isle pertains to lord Glammys in heritage, who is defrauded of his rights.

(4) Whereas some of the castles have been many years in the hands of French captains, showing our sovereign's mistrust in her own nation, it were good policy for her "to cutt of the Kynges superfluous expences in that behalfe" and commit them to her own nobility.

(5) As strangers are ignorant of the nature of our people, laws, &c., it is not meet any Frenchman or stranger should govern here—seeing the King of Spain employs no German in Spain, nor Spaniard in his Low Countries, nor had any such in England in Queen Mary's time.

* Lost.

Elizabeth.
1560. (6) As we have been ever accustomed to have a parliament of the three estates every 2 or 3 years, we humbly desire the King and Queen to ratify the order for assembling parliament on 10th July next, and be content that the estates may "according to the conswetude of the realme used in all ages, rappeall, conferme, alter, eik * or of new establishe suche lawes and ordinaunces" as they shall find necessary for quietness of the realm, "aswell anent the civille pollicye, as uniformetye of religione, wherin ther is suche controversye already rissen, that withowt order be spedelye taken by the advyse of the estates, and an uniforme rule devised, the unitye of the leieges can not longe continew"; and it may please their Majesties to confirm the same.

(7) Seeing our sovereign lady is "furthe of the realme," and not so well directed as if she were present, we most humbly desire it may please her Majesty, in all matters appertaining to the realm, government, peace, war, &c., to be guided by the counsel of her three estates, and allow the order which they shall take by common agreement.

(8) As no two nations approach so near in similitude of government as England and Scotland, we humbly desire it will please the King to keep to us such promises as were made to England by the Emperor Charles on behalf of his son before the marriage of Queen Mary, "sence the Kinge is in lyke place with us."

(9) And as the surest way in government is for her Majesty "to insiste in the vestigies of her moste noble progenitores," we humbly beseech her to follow "the same trade of reule," assuring her in return of as good obedience as any of them ever had.

(10) And as many disorders have chanced in "these trowblous tymes," the punition whereof touches so many that it would seem rather tyranny than justice, it were well that the "lawe of oblivione sometymes established amongest the Athiennes" † at the like time, be passed in parliament with special consent of the King and Queen, for all offences since 6th March 1558—but excluding wicked persons, as "thefes, murderares, or such odiouse offendoures," including only such as the estates think worthy.

(11) Whereas we have been defamed to all nations and to our King and Queen, as a rebellious people, by these their ministers who ought to have justified us, "we are moste gladd of the commoditye offered to us by your message, being their deputies," in whose presence we are ready to acknowledge our bounden duty and all lawful obedience to them, as their natural and loving subjects—protesting before God that though highly irritated by the intolerable injuries of their ministers, we never meant to withdraw our obedience, but intend to present our complaints for reparation of these injuries "wherunto we beleve your credite shall serve us of a moyen."‡

5 *pp.* *Indorsed* (partly by Cecill): "25 Junij . . . Declaracion of the generall requestes of the nobilitie of Scotland. Altered." *Doubtless to the French ambassadors.*

June 26. **832.** CECILL TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL (OR LORD TREASURER).

"It may please your good lordsh[ips], your flock and chardg doth

* Add to. † Athenians. ‡ *i.e.*, mean.

Elizabeth.
1560. "very well; I am bold to medle therin, and visitt them with myn eye, morning, nonetyde, and evening." I relieve them as I can with money. I see it is "impossible" for them to prevent boats with victual entering Dunbar, nor that "in mystye nightes, wherof here is stoore, some crepyng bootes maye steale into Lethe towne" therewith and news: yet these are but hazarded. We are come to reasonable points, since the Queen may not prosecute her advantage with continuance of one year's war. We have "strayned" the French to assent to any reasonable requests of the Scots, "wherin I have gotten more by bragges than by eloquence." The Scots shall choose 24 noblemen, 12 of them to be the council—"of these xij the Quene shall chose vij out of the xxiiij, and the lordes of Scotland v." This council "or the more part" shall rule Scotland, and no French man shall hold office there. No man shall lose any office room or promotion by this business. No French shall remain, but 50 at Dunbar and 50 at Inchkeith, to be mustered monthly by the lords of Scotland: and only bringing in victuals and munition at sight of the Scots, for 6 months at a time. All new fortifications at Dunbar shall be demolished, and the soldiers be answerable to the justice of Scotland. The Scots "remayn in there relligion, as a thyng that the French dare not medle withall." I should have mentioned first—the Leith garrison shall be embarked at our appointment, and the fortification demolished under our oversight. They shall either pay, or the French king be bound to pay, the Scots for all victuals, &c. taken since this matter began, whereof good testimony can be made. The Duke of Chastelherault and his son (Arran) and all others, shall be restored to their estates in France. The Scots shall not acknowledge any "falte," but only require "all these thynges above sayd," and the ambassadors shall covenant that their King and Queen shall agree with "our soverayne lady" to ratify them all to the Scots. "I knowe not howe reasonably to require more." All we yield is for these 100 men, which is to be treated in this next parliament, and if found unnecessary, they shall be withdrawn. "God send good performance of these thynges! The French ar angred with nothyng so much, as that the treaty betwixt the Quenes majesty and the nobilite of Scotland can not be broken. We both stand fast at that band." I trust things will do better than French conditions are wont to promise. "I must be playne with your lordsh[ips], though I wryte this of my self: I wold not for more than ever ether I looke or covett to have by service, but that I had come hyther. Suerly here had bene no accord, as the Scottes saye, without my presence, and I feare without accord at this tyme, matters had proved worss than they have bene hoped of. Suerly my lord (*sic*) this towne of Lethe is well ordred and paynefully defended; no intelligence can be gotten, although we take manny. The state of the victells and nombres is so ordred, that no privat soldier nor manny captaynes can gyve any certeyne knoledg. My poore knoledg serveth me to judg that no battery will prevayle, the hope is only in sappage, for doing wherof the approche will cost manny lyves—for hytherto the French kepe watch and ward without there dychees, having clensed there dychees and cast the erth outward so farr of as they have a walk without there dychees, and ar defended with the erth which they threw out of there dychees, which erth is to them a conterscarffe."

On our part, there has been "wordy" service, painful and venturous—our numbers small compared with the length of the town. Our

Elizabeth.
1560. trenches, notwithstanding the forts, are almost one mile in length guarded by not less than 1500 men, besides the 2 forts having betwixt them 1800 men. There is great lack of numbers in the bands: for at musters they are full, "and in service not 500"; no remedy can be attempted now till we are sure of peace.

At beginning this, "I thought not to have scribled so liberally." I assure your l[ordships] whatever is reported, Lord Grey is a noble valiant careful gentleman. "Here is Randall, worth more than I feare our tyme will well consider; he is wise, paynefull skillfull and no poolar nor robbar; for myn owne part, I must saye I fynd hym a very odd man for all respectes in this service." Vaughan also is able for a great charge, he orders his soldiers well, and "of rude men" makes good soldiers in short time. I must make good report of your servant Cheute. Of Wynter all speak well, "he is to be cherished." And so I end, not able to say whether or not we shall conclude, "untill we may be answered of our lettres wrytten from hence on the 19 of this month, and sent by Jhon Bynkes the Quenes messenger." I trust to hear of him by 12 o'clock to-morrow, and if he bring nothing to stay us, I trust we will accord fully on Saturday,* remove the French on Monday,† embark our ordnance on Tuesday and Wednesday, and march to Berwick with the most of the foot on Thursday.‡ "Your l[ordships] seeth how fast I reckon, as though I wold fayne end and be from hence." If we conclude, the "new army" shall return with speed, yet 5000 may be chosen to remain till we are sure of a full disarming in France.

It is time to leave troubling your l[ordships]. "I praye God preserve the Quenes Majesty, and dispose hir hart to take our paynefull service in good part, and send me to be laborer in myne owne § poore causees, where I shall not be so oppressed with care of mynd as I am here: wherof God send me some end, or els end them with my liffe, which I assure your l[ordships] I speke and thynk advisedly and contentedly. From Edinburgh the 26 of June 1560." *Signed:* W. Cecill.

4 *pp. Holograph, closely written. No address, the covering leaf awanting. Undoubtedly to the Privy Council, or Lord Treasurer, not Norfolk, as in* Foreign Series Calendar.

June 26. **833.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I have your gentle letters this morning, whereby I take good hope of peace. If I durst, I would fain make a journey "unknowen" thither, to see somewhat for my learning. Our only news is that all Sir James Croft's men are gone "to London ward," they say to meet their master who comes down in great "tryumphe," which if true, "I wyll lerne" myself not to be so hasty in such cases again; "and yeat I assure you, I thought a mane cowld not have gone nerer a treator and have myst, than Syr James." I am plain with you as one of my chiefest friends, "I cane not skyll to dysymble for charytye sake. I prey God make hyme a good mane." Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

* 29th June. † 1st July. ‡ 4th.
§ From this point written on margin.

Elizabeth.
1560. I pray you send your opinion as to my seeing Leith if things so chance.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 28. **834.** PETRE TO CECILL.

Receive in this packet the Queen's letters on the points in yours of the 21st, which contain all that might be obtained, and are sent with all the speed that could be, after signature. I pray God you may return with a good peace. This morning the Duke of Holstein departed for his country, being made of the Order two days past. By your articles sent hither, which were delivered by the Scottish lords to the French commissioners, it seems there were no such pacts in the agreement for the marriage of their Queen as has been thought. It were to very great purpose that you had a copy of that treaty. You shall see by letters herewith sent that Mr Throckmorton is also very desirous to see them, and if they contain such matter for the liberty of Scotland as is said, it were good he had them. By his letters that came yesterday, you shall see the French preparations are more hastened than before; yet my lord Admiral has divers men very late come to him, which say of a truth that the ships are in no such towardness. Jones was sent to Mr Throckmorton 5 days past, and was stayed the longer, to have carried some certainty of your doings; which (I trust) may shortly be sent. Florence de Diaceto is come again, yesterday he was with the Queen: "whatt old nues he bringeth I know nott." Trusting to see you shortly here, whereof I would be almost as glad "as my lady your wieff." Greenwich. *Signed:* Will'm Petre.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill). *Injured by damp.*

June 28. **835.** THE QUEEN TO CECILL AND WOTTON.

Sign manual: Elizabeth R.

In answer to you our Secretary's letter inquiring our pleasure, whether ye shall break off, if the French commissioners will not agree that our league with the Scots nobility stand as it is, or be continued betwixt us, the French King and Queen, and our nobility and theirs of Scotland? Ye shall press them by all means to one or other, and if they still refuse, ye may offer to have the same matters covenanted between us and the said King and Queen only, without mention of the nobility of Scotland as "principall contrahentes," having nevertheless a special clause inserted that a good number of the most noble men and best cities of this realm and Scotland be named and bound for themselves and successors to perform and keep, and see that their sovereigns keep, all the articles and covenants in this treaty, in such or like forms as in the treaty of perpetual peace between our dearest father King Henry the 8th, and the late King Francis, the copy of which clause you shall herewith receive. But if they in the end will not agree thereto, or to some "suche like" as may assure us of the continuance of the amity with the said nobility, we must think they only seek to gain time to strengthen themselves, which we must not willingly suffer. And when ye perceive the same,

Elizabeth.
1560. our pleasure is you break off further treaty, and signify with diligence to our cousin of Norfolk, to the intent he may will all good speed proceed with our army for Leith, and the rest as by our former resolution: to whom we have also written, upon knowledge from you "to goe forwardes in Godes name." We doubt not you will encourage the lords of Scotland, and assure them that we seek chiefly their surety and liberty of their realm. Under our signet. Greenwich, 2d of our reign.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "28 Junij 1560 the Quenes Majesty. Rec. 4° Julij."

Inclosed in the same:—

(Extract of Treaty referred to.)

[Names of the prelates nobles and cities of France and England, mutually bound for performance of the treaty between Francis I. and Henry VIII.]

2 *pp. Latin. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Extract of a treaty for a mutuall obligation of the Estates of France and England to be bound for performance of a treaty of peace *inter H. 8um et Franciscum regem Gallie.* Sent to Edinburgh from Greenwich 28 Junij."

June 29. **836.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I have dispatched your letters to the court to "Mr Peter," and spoken with the treasurer for dispatch of that money remaining here, to you with all speed; "wyche yf yowr nessestye ther dede not much crave, we heare could yll spare." I fear they will send the treasure to come from London by such "pecemeles," that the Queen's service shall want, and yet never a "penye" saved. We greatly lack corselets, the 700 will not stretch to 10 to the hundred. All the "harkebousys" in store are already bestowed, and yet a great many are unfurnished, who would willingly have them if they were to be had for money. "Beyng goyng to supper, I bede you most hartelye farewell." Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill). *Wafer signet: shield* (Norfolk) *with garter.*

June 29. **837.** TREATY OF BERWICK.

[Article suggested by the Bishop of Valence, as to the clause in the treaty of Berwick on 27th February between Norfolk for the Queen and certain lords of Scotland, relating to the conservation of the liberty, &c. of either kingdom and its sovereign, with modifications.]

¾ *p. Latin and French. Partly holograph of Cecill. Indorsed* (by him): "Sentence sent by Monsr de Vallence 29 Junij 1560."

June 30. **838.** HUNTLY TO CECILL.

At my departure from Edinburgh, I understood nothing of your

Elizabeth.
1560. coming into this realm, by reason of the Duke of Norfolk's writing to hasten our commissioners to Newcastle; for if I had, no present occasion should have caused me "to haif bein on spokin with yow." My servant this bearer also wrote that you would not remain "in this pairtis." I was "rycht desyrus" both to have spoken and advertised of the "guid apperand success of the effaris of thir thre realmes now in handilling." Whereof we are bound to give thanks to God, the Queen your sovereign, and you as a powerful instrument in her hand towards the liberty of this realm. I will not forget what it pleased her Majesty to show my servitor this bearer, or what ye wrote to me and showed him in her name, and would be happy to do her any small service in my power. If you could "put me to ony charge in this realm that lyes in my possibilitie," I would be glad to do it. For the north parts where I am occupied, I remit the state to the bearer's declaration. "Albeitt the Quein Dowegeir be departit, hir practykis ar yitt on lywe in thir pairtis, and hes bettir operatioun nor I wold wyss." I remit the rest to my servitor whom please credit as myself. Huntly. *Signed:* Your assurit gud frind at all pour, Huntly.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Ult.° Junij 1560 . . ." *In the text the year is given "1556."*

[1560. June .] **839.** LIST OF ENGLISH CAPTAINS, &c.

The names of such captains as best served in Scotland under Lord Grey of Wylton; both the gentlemen of the country, and the old captains.

Sir Jervice Clyfton, Sir Thomas Jerrard, Sir John Nevell, Sir Andrew Corbet, Morryce Barkley, Sir John Conwy, Sir William Fayrefax, Sir John Sowthworth, M^r^ Dennye, Sir William Mallery, Sir Lawrence Smythe, [ ] Fytton, Gifford, Peter Liegh, Sir Richard Nuport, Sir Tho. Hesketh, M^r^ Skryven.

M^r^ Randall, M^r^ Huggan, M^r^ Pelham, Frauncis Somerset, Cutbert Vaughan, M^r^ Fitzwilliams, M^r^ Cornewall.

[ ] Reede, William Markham; "corporalles," Showte, Lewes, Jeronimo.

Captains.—Yaxley, Wood, Pickman, Carvell, Browne, Ditheke, Pregell, (?) Sturley.

Captains of demi-lances.—M^r^ Gawdye, Andrewe Tremayn, John Baker, Sir (?) Arthure Grey.

Captains of lighthorsemen.—M^r^ Knevet, M^r^ Kyllingale, Frauncis Wolstrop, John Constable, Raff Elderkar.

1½ *pp. Contemporary hand.*

1560. July 1. **840.** CECILL AND WOTTON TO THE QUEEN.

"Primo Julij 1560."—Reporting that they are "right sorry" that after such likelihood of peace, it chances otherwise—that after receipt of her Majesty's letter of 24^th^ June on Thursday last,* they ineffectually pressed the French for the defacing of her arms and style used in France, and continuance of her treaty with the Scottish nobility—

* 27^th^ June.

Elizabeth.
1560. their breaking off on refusal of either, and semblance of departure from Scotland, their renewal of negotiations next day, the "impudency" of the French—various drafts and suggestions on both sides [numbered A to G]. Cecill's separate meeting with the Bishop "yesterday, in the morning being Sonday," * and pressure put on the latter—delivery of articles in Latin by Cecill and Wotton to the bishop, and delay in his reply from Randan's requiring them translated into French—their final breaking off, and signification to Norfolk to enter, which cannot be till the treasure reaches him, which though expected shortly, is no more than will pay the army to "this present daye."

5 *pp. Corrected draft, holograph of Cecill.*

July 2. **841.** CECILL AND WOTTON TO THE QUEEN.

"Written 2 Julij."

After this other letter sealed, we were so perplexed with the lack of peace on one article only, that I the Secretary, yet with my the Dean's assent, pretended to send "a brawleng message for my particular respect, to the bishop: and so entred therby into a new devise to obteyne our purpoose, with putting therto a few fayre wordes, as in this paper herincluded shall appere; which in the end is thus obteyned as is added by them in the margent. And being now brought to this extremite, ether peace this way, or none—we have with the contentation of the lordes of Scotland accepted the same; and so now we see no matter left of any controversy, except there busy heades will imagyn." So we will now write our treaty with all speed, and then fall to removing the men of war. "And so we beseche Almighty God to contynue this process, and move your highness hart to allow our good meaninges." Edinburgh.

½ *p. Draft by Cecil on back of preceding letter. Indorsed* (by him): "2 Julij 1560. *Copia literarum* W. Cecill, D. Wotton to the Q. Majesty."

July 4. **842.** THE COUNCIL TO CECILL AND WOTTON.

Having lately had intelligence from Flanders that 3000 of the Spanish soldiers are ready to embark, some say for Spain, but most suppose for Scotland to aid the French: though we are not certain of the news, nor even if true that it would impeach the Queen's service, yet it were well to warn William Winter to have an eye to his charge, and be ready to meet any such matter. Greenwich. *Signed:* Penbroke, W. Howard, E. Clynton, T. Parry, E. Rogers, Will'm Petre, Ry. Sakevyle.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Lords of Counsell to W. C. and N. Wotton. Intellig. of the Span. navy." (By Wotton): "*Recept. Edinburgi, 11 Julij 1560, horâ 6 mane.*" *Wafer signet:* "E.R." among tracery. *Leg.:* ". . . pro patria." *Damaged.*

* 30th June.

Elizabeth.
1560. July 4. **843.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I am glad to hear your affair is like to come to good end; all things considered, it will prove the happiest peace ever concluded. My cousin Sir George Howard hopes you will direct him with the news to the Court, and on a letter from you, I shall dispatch him. If the money you wrote for, when here, had been sent, it would have saved the Queen much, that must now be spent paying the bands till a greater mass arrive. For God's sake, consider and advise me what to do. Thanking you for so often writing, to which before your arrival there, I was not much used. Berwick, at 10 at night. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed* (by Railton). *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 5. **844.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

I enclose you a letter from the Queen to me for M^r^ Grymston, which I am sure I should not have received "so slenderlye," without some ground why my man was displaced, if you had been at Court. I pray advise me what you think best to do. I hope Strange has not neglected his duty, or deceived the Queen. So long as his "trouthe" therein may be known, the gain is not so great to a true man that he would sue to keep office. I hope if your journey take good effect, not to be long from home, and then treble the gain of office could not make him tarry here. The treasure is arrived—no great sum—it will all be done * within this 5 days. I pray God send you good luck with the French, "and me quykelye att my beggerlye house." Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

(On back).—I pray return the Queen's letter to me.

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill). *Wafer signet* (Norfolk).

July [5]. **845.** THE FRENCH DEPUTIES TO THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION.

(1) Their sovereigns have offered and still offer to preserve all the laws, liberties, &c., of their realm, and if the lords will point out any contravention, it shall be remedied.

(2) They desire to mark the principal points wherein the lords have failed to obey their sovereign lady—not for reproach, but to allow them to find means to assure her for the future.

(3) They have assembled in arms, roused the people to follow them, menaced and constrained the nobility to join them, made new laws in religion, ruined the churches, and [*stops abruptly*]

1 *p.* *French.* *Contemporary hand.*

[July 5.] **846.** EVACUATION OF SCOTLAND.

Proposals by the French.

(1) The English to give hostages. (2) One-fourth of the French shall embark, an equal number of the English marching by Mussel-

* Or "dewe."

Elizabeth.
1560. burgh to Berwick—at sight of 4 gentlemen of each side. (3) One-half the French artillery shall be removed to Leith harbour mouth, and half the English to Newhaven [Havre Neuf] and Musselburgh. (4) Half the remaining soldiers shall be withdrawn, the French to embark, the English to march to Berwick. (5) English pioneers shall demolish the 3 bulwarks facing Edinburgh, the French to demolish the 2 forts, and the fort newly made at the English camp —each side by relays of 4 hours. (6) Then the rest of the artillery to be withdrawn, the French pieces embarked, the Scottish given up to the lords, and the English embarked at Musselburgh. (7) Then the soldiers shall be all withdrawn—the French embarked—the English marched to Berwick—save the gentlemen overseeing, who shall remain till the morrow and then depart. That done, the hostages shall be discharged.

1½ *pp.* *French.* *In a French hand.*

July 5. **847.** EVACUATION AND DEMOLITION OF LEITH, &c.

Fœd. xv. 591. ChapterHouse Scot. Docs., Case 100, No. 102.

Agreement between "Jehan de Montluc evesque, conte de Vallence et Dye," &c., Charles de Rochefoucault knight, seigneur de Rendan, &c., and Sir William Cecill knight, &c., and Nicolas Wotton "doyen de Quantorbye et Yorc," &c.

[*Under* 10 *heads—Similar in effect to the preceding document, with some variations and details.*] *Signed and sealed:* J. Monluc de Valance, Randan, W. Cecill, N. Wotton.

Parchment. French. Broad sheet. Two signets en placque: (1st) *a shield quartered;* 1 *and* 4 (*indistinct*); 2d *and* 3d *a rounded: an escucheon surtout with a cross. Leg.* (*illegible*) (*the Bishop's*). (2d) *A shield with* 5 *bars gemellées, charged with* 3 *chevronels* (*De Randan's*). *Document damaged by damp.*

July 5. **848.** EVACUATION OF LEITH, &c.

[Translation of the preceding document into English. On margin are noted Sir Henry Percy, Francis Somerset, and William Pelham, as the English three of the 6 gentlemen to see the artillery removed under Article 1. And "My lord Marshall," Sir Francis Leke, Sir Jarvis Clifton, Mr Randolphe, Mr Marcham, and Mr Shewte, as the 6 without whose licence no soldier shall enter Leith.]

2¼ *pp.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Articles for demolition of Leth." *He also gives a list of the chief nobility, shires and districts of Scotland, and some genealogical notes.*

(1) Another copy of same.

2¼ *pp.* *Draft corrected and indorsed by Cecill.*

(2) Another copy of same—before Cecill's alterations.

2½ *pp.* *French.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Elizabeth.
1560. July 6. **849.** DEMOLITION OF LEITH, DUNBAR, INCHKEITH, &c.

[Under 5 articles. To like effect with preceding, but briefer.]

1 *p. Contemporary hand. Indorsed.*

July 6. **850.** PROPOSITIONS BY THE SCOTS.

"Articles proposes a Messieurs Levesque de Valence et De Randan depputez du Roy et de la Royne nos souverains par voye de requeste de la part de la noblesse et peuple Descosse."

[*Under fifteen heads.*—Much as in the document No. 846, with some few additions—120 French to be allowed in Dunbar and Inchkeith, equally divided between each place.]

5¼ *pp. French. Indorsed* (partly by Cecill): "6 Julij 1560. Requestes of Scotlande to the Frenche king, accorded by the French embassadors of Scotland, in presence of the embassadors of England.' *Apparently cancelled.*

July 6. **851.** TREATY OF EDINBURGH.

Fœd. xv. 581, 593–6. Scot. Docs., Box 100, No. 109.

Under 11 *articles.*—The first of which declares the treaty of Chateau Cambresis between the late King of the French and the Queen of England, shall remain in full force. Edinburgh. *Signed: J. Monlucius episcopus Valentinus*, Randan, W. Cecill, N. Wotton.

4¼ *pp.*, 4to. *Vellum. Latin. Indorsed. Spotted by damp. Fragments of* 2 *seals on ribbon.*

July 6. **852.** TREATY OF EDINBURGH.

"Accord betwixt the French Kinge and the Queene of Scottes, and the Lordes of Scotlande."

[According and ratifying the Articles proposed to their commissioners by the latter, with some slight additions. Signed by the commissioners at Edinburgh 6 July. The commission by Francis and Mary is appended. Romorentin, 2^{d} June preceding. J. Monluc de Valence, Randan.]

The undersigned for themselves and the rest of the Scottish noblesse bind themselves as above.

"This is the true coppie of the originall, confirmed and collationed. James Steward, Ruthwen, W. Maitland."

10 *pp. French. Contemporary copy.*

July 6. **853.** TREATY OF EDINBURGH.

"Tractatus pacis Edinburgi habitus, inter Franciscum secundum et Mariam, Regem et Reginam Francorum et Scotorum, et Elizabetham Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginam, 6° Julij 1560."

[*To same effect as preceding*:—The sovereigns' commissions are

Elizabeth.
1560. appended—that of the French (in French) at Chenonceau 12 May 1560, of the English (in Latin) at Greenwich 25th of same month.]

12 *pp. Latin. Fair official copy. Not indorsed.*

July 6. **854.** TREATY OF EDINBURGH.

Another copy of same.

10 *pp. French. Contemporary hand. Not indorsed.*

(1) Another copy of same, without the commissions, &c.

10 *pp. Latin. Draft corrected by Cecill. Not indorsed.*

(2) Another copy, differently arranged, with the commissions.

14 *pp. Latin. Contemporary hand. Indorsed.*

(3) Another copy, differing in some points.

7 *pp. Draft by Wotton, corrected by Cecill. Indorsed* (by Cecill) : 1560. First papers of the treaty in Scotland."

(4) Another copy, differing in many points.

14¼ *pp. Draft, corrected both by Cecill and Wotton.*

(5) Part of the 4th article, relating to Eyemouth.

Latin. Holograph of Cecill.

(6) The 8th article as to the comprehension in the treaty, of Philip King of Spain.

Latin. Holograph of Cecill.

(7) Several articles, two omitted, one of them relating to a treaty to be entered into with Chatelherault and the other nobles of Scotland by the French commissioners, &c.

2½ *pp. Draft corrected by Cecill.*

(8) The third article as to suspension of hostilities.

½ *p. Headed by Cecil: "Sequitur tertium articulum." Indorsed* (by him): "First copy."

(9) Two articles, as to the Scottish hostages in England, and ratifications by the parliaments of each kingdom, omitted in treaty.

1 *p. Latin. Draft by Cecill.*

(10) Two articles—one as to Calais, &c., the other as to the convention of Berwick on 27 February, omitted in treaty.

2 *pp. Latin and English. Draft by Cecill.*

(11) Memoranda of the articles, and beginning of article as to usurping the arms.

½ *p. Partly Latin. Draft by Cecill.*

(12) Three articles as to the Scots helping England in a French invasion.

1 *p. Latin. Draft by Cecill.*

(13) Article binding England to protect the Scots from invasion, &c.

1 *p. Latin. Draft by Cecill.*

Elizabeth.
1560. (14) Article permitting the English to pursue malefactors across the March.

1 *p. Latin. Draft by Cecill.*

(15) The 5th article as to the usurpation of the arms and style of England.

2 *pp. Latin. Draft corrected by Cecill.*

(1) Copy of same.

1½ *pp. Latin. In a later hand. Indorsed.*

(2) Another copy.

1 *p. Draft by Cecill.*

(3) Another copy.

1½ *pp. Latin. Contemporary. Much injured.*

(4) Another copy.

½ *p. Latin. Much injured.*

(5) Another copy, varying from that in the treaty.

1½ *pp, Copy in rather later hand. Indorsed:* "The point concerning the Q. of Scotts bearing the armes of England and Ireland."

(6) Copy as finally agreed on.

1 *p. Latin. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "The article out of the treaty of Edenburgh, 1560."

(7) The 1st, 5th, 9th and 10th articles, with the French King and Queen's commission to their ambassadors.

3½ *pp. Latin and French. Contemporary copy. Indorsed:* "Extract of certain articles," &c.

(8) The 7th article of the treaty.

1 *p. Latin. Draft corrected by Cecill and another. Much damaged by damp.*

July 6. **855.** TREATY OF EDINBURGH.

"A note of theffect of the principall matters concluded betwene the Quenes majestes commissioners and the Frenche in Scotlande the vjth of July 1560."

[*These are 12 in number*—Abandonment of the English arms and style—government of Scotland—amnesty—expulsion of the French except 120—demolition of Leith and rasing the new buildings at Dunbar—religion and the Scottish league with England to be passed over in silence, &c.]

2 *pp. Contemporary hand. Indorsed* (in another): "Articles agreed upon by the commissioners of both parties 6 July 1560."

July 8. **856.** CECILL AND WOTTON TO THE QUEEN.

Yesterday peace was proclaimed, first in Leith in presence of certain gentlemen of England, next in the camp in presence of certain French. "It semeth suerly very wellcome to all partes." The

Elizabeth.
1560. artillery on both sides is presently being withdrawn. As far as we understand the town, the numbers are many, and those which are seen, for all their scarcity of victual "very well lykyng, all very well armed." They have demanded shipping for 4000 men, and we think they are not under 3000 soldiers, "which in all mens judgment had bene hable to have incontred a grete nomber, and if they had stand to it shuld have bene the occasion of the shedding of a grete deale of blood, which is now well saved." [*They then give the substance of the treaty under 26 articles. Under the article restoring to the Duke of Chatelherault,. &c., their estates and pensions in France, they state that many of the lords wish to prohibit such pensions, Glencairn who holds one, being as earnest therein as any.*] We pray your Majesty may enjoy the benefit of this peace, "in this begynning of your reigne, and as yet in your maydenhoode,"—thus finally procuring the "conquest of this land that none of your progenitors with all their battells never obteyned—that is in a manner, the whole hartes and good wills of the nobilitie and people of this land—which suerly is better for England as we gess, than the revenneue of this Crowne."

5½ *pp. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by him): "viijth Julij 1560. Lettres to the Q. Majesty by Sir Peter Caroo."

July 9. **857.** CECILL TO THE QUEEN.

The sight of your most gracious letters written with your own "blessed hand," before I deciphered it raised me to such height of comfort, that after I perceived the sense, my fall was greater into the "depe dongion" of sorrow than ever I thought any letter of your Majesty should have thrown me! Yet after a season gathering my "astoned spyrittes" together, I have risen to the opinion and comfort of your Majesty's goodness to me, and my own clearness of mind and "sowle" to fulfil all your contentations, that when it shall appear by our letter sent hence the 6th instant, how far we had concluded by the 2nd hereof, and how so honourable and necessary this peace is and could not have been made otherwise, your Majesty will not only allow our doings, but will think it "a good happ" that we had not these your letters before our conclusion. For in breaking off on "the matter of Callise," these ambassadors would have departed and Norfolk have entered: and within 10 days, must have followed either the loss of the town to our dishonour, or winning it by assault with great effusion of Christian blood—or taking it by composition—by any of which three ways war would still have remained, and I see not how Calais would have been gained, or peace hereafter made.

As for the message brought by Tremayn, "God forbydd that your Majesty should enter into that bottomless pytt" of expense of your force and treasure in France—a manner of war more dangerous and troublesome to you than this of that King's in Scotland, where the obedience is due to his wife and cannot be lost—while in France you shall have no more to further you, but "a devotion populare uppon opinion of relligion," and the French King rather than lose his country, would not stick to incline to his people's requests, and so your "purpooses" could not last long there. For my part I meant, if the French would continue war, then your Majesty should have maintained "that matter of Brettayne and Normandy" to annoy

Elizabeth.
1560. them—but as to taking and keeping any "pece" there, experience of "Bollen" in sight of Dover, teaches us what to do. And when I consider that neither Portsmouth your own haven, is fortified, nor the town of Berwick most necessary of all other, finished, I should think it strange to take Brest or any other in those parts, to keep longer than the French maintained war, which being now ceased to your great honor, I think it a "happy mishapp" that your letter came not before our conclusion. Most humbly beseeching your Majesty's pardon in this my opinion.

2¼ *pp. Draft holograph of Cecill. Indorsed* (by him): "9 Julij 1560. My private lettre to the Q. Majesty for answer by Sir Peter Caroo."

July 9. **858.** CECILL AND WOTTON TO THE QUEEN.

Your Majesty's letter of 3d came to us here on this morning—after 6 days' carriage. "We be right sory in respecte only of your Majesties contentacion, and of no other reason that we can consyder," that your pleasure did not reach us on the 2nd hereof—for that same day we did fully conclude; and for so doing we had more causes for expedition, than can be uttered but to your Majesty or your Council, part whereof is not unknown to the Duke of Norfolk. Surely we see not how this demand of "Callise" could be obtained (whereon we used all earnestness we could, after your letter of 24th June by Binkes), both for their lack of authority, and the great likelihood as they said, that rather than the House of Guise would deliver Calais in the King's minority, being their own conquest, they would suffer "all these in the towne perishe"—protesting also they durst not speak with us thereof, for loss of their heads! So doing, you should have remained in war (how long we know not) and be "never a deale the nygher to have had Callise." Wherefore interpret our doings to the best, though if we had not concluded before this, we would (as becomes us) have followed your commandment, whatever other reasons were to the contrary. *And we beseech Almighty God bless your Majesty "with fruites of peace, and as we may be bold to wryte, with the fruit of your womb." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Cecill, N. Wotton.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecil). *Wafer signet* (Cecill's).

(1) Draft of same.

1 *p. Cecill's writing. Indorsed* (by his clerk).

July 10. **859.** THE COUNCIL TO CECILL AND WOTTON.

By letters from you Mr Secretary to me the Lord Admiral, we understand Wynter's opinion is, that his fleet should now repair to the Thames [Themys] to be grounded and new trimmed at Gyllingham, whereof they have great need. Though we doubt not he thus advises to his best judgment, yet the most expert officers of the Admiralty think otherwise, and therefore we pray you and the Duke of Norfolk (to whom we have also written), between you to order

* The rest holograph of Cecill.

Elizabeth.
1560. Wynter to repair with the navy to Portsmouth, in his way thither wafting such merchant ships, &c., as take the French soldiers from Scotland homewards. Taking care that none of the Queen's ships nor the *Mynion* or *Prymrose* enter any haven in France, or pass along that coast further than Portsmouth, there to abide orders.

And though Wynter thinks his ships must be grounded, and in no better place than Gyllingham or such like place on Thames; the best masters in her Majesty's navy are of a contrary opinion, that none of her highness's navy in Scotland (the *Philip and Mary* only excepted) may be as well grounded in Portsmouth water as any other place; so we pray you take order as aforesaid. Greenwich. *Signed:* Penbroke, W. Howard, E. Clynton, Tho. Parry, F. Knollys, Will'm Petre.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 10. **860.** ARTICLES FOR THE BORDERS.

"Thir ar the heidis and articlis necessar for the intertinement and continewance of the peax betuix thir realmis of Scotland and Ingland":—

(1) Reformation and redress of all attempts since last peace.

(2) True men only of both realms to pass freely, but thieves compelled to have safe conducts.

(3) Stealing, "reif," slaughter, &c., to be punished as a felony to the realm where the doer dwells.

(4) The warden and realm resetting an offender of the other, to be caused to make redress.

1 *p.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil): "10 Julij 1560. Master Maxwell for order uppon the Borders."

July 10. **861.** NORFOLK TO CECILL.

Master "Caroe" is arrived and goes presently "to London wards." Barkeley has written to me this morning, for aid in his delivery; there is no way to help him but with exchange of Senjone.* They say he is but a third brother and was taken before, and then did not pay above 300 crowns ransom. M^r^ Barkley offers 500; I would be sorry that a little covetousness should make Barkley go into France, to his utter undoing. No man is so able as yourself to do anything with Lord Grey herein, so pray speak with him. The Queen wrote to me to place Lord Wharton here, if I had entered; whom I warned when you wrote to me of the great unlikelihood of peace, whereon he sent for his men, who are come. I pray write to me what I were best to advise him to, and to whose charge I shall leave this town at my going? for I mind to return to Newcastle as soon as I can. Our new bands are almost discharged and many gone, whom I hope with your good help to follow. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Norff.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed* (by Railton). *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

* St John?

Elizabeth.
1560. July 13. Cott. Calig. B. x. 114.

862. REPORT AS TO DUNBAR.

Robert Hammylton of the Briggis and Robert Montgomery, by command of the Lords, passed with 2 French gentlemen to Dunbar, "vesyit" the new fortification, and found that it makes the place "mare ample by the dowbill then it was off before, and capable" of 500 men at least "ma" than the castle could contain before. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Hammylton, with my hand at the pen, led be Maister Jhon Wod; R. Montgomery.

½ *p.*

July 15. **863.** SIR THOMAS PARRY TO CECIL.

Since I wrote last to you, "I have ben the sickest that may be of myne ollde disease: but in tyme to serve God hathe sett me on fote; I prayse him therfor." But above all, for maintaining you in health, and wisdom to treat and end so great matters, in so many parts, and touching such states. The end indeed is so honourable to God and the Queen and her realm, and so beneficial that all English hearts have great cause to praise God and you and your colleague: to both whom, as those whom I honour in my heart, I commend me.

The Queen much commends your services now, as you well deserve, and thanks God in most hearty wise: taking it in most thankful part, as at your coming you shall know further.

On conferences here of dissolving charges by sea and land, it was thought that my lord treasurer sending £20,000 for this July, should be sufficient to serve the turn, seeing the numbers now "cassed there." But as none of my lords or any other here know the certainty, I thought my part to write for your mind therein, wishing your dispatch there both honourable and profitable. So let me know with all haste what you think, for some say less will serve—and I will move her Majesty to give order accordingly, as I have my lord treasurer to haste with money to "cutt of" growing charges. So let Bynkes post hither with your answer, that her majesty may see it. For indeed there are large sums to be defrayed to soldiers, mariners and captains at Portsmouth, whereof two parts are to be "cassed" this 20th instant —like as of your navy at their repair home, household charges, &c. Sir, if it may be, send particulars of the necessary charges, that money may be sent. My lady your wife is well, and came hither to rejoice with us. Let them whine who "lust," and so my trust is you be glad though weary. If M^r^ Wotton be provided of the "stuffes" he wrote of, let him send them before hand to be "acquyeted" here among us. My lord chamberlain looks therefor. At the Court. *Signed:* "Your faithfull frende," Tho. Parry.

3 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecil): . . . "M^r^ Tresorer."

July 15. **864.** CECILL TO THE COUNCIL.

I perceive your lordships' pleasure is that the Queen's ships shall not enter the "Thamess," but shall keep their course to Portsmouth, where the rest remain, M^r^ Wynter shall apply himself thereto. Our former determination arose on conference between him and me. For

Elizabeth.
1560. dressing and grounding the ships, he cannot be persuaded but Gillingham is the better. My opinion was—that as it will be the end of this month or they come home, and with August the season for service "will growe out," and it is agreed here between us and France that preparations should cease, as appears by the letter sent by Sir Peter "Caroo" on the 9th—I thought it meet to avoid charges, that these ships should come to their winter place now, rather than sail to Portsmouth, and within 20 days return to Gillingham, as last year all the ships did. Nevertheless I now change my opinion, and think surely some greater matter has moved your lordships thereto for the best.

As to their entering any French port: it was so much considered, that not one shall have a "French person" aboard. But we were forced by importunity of "Martigees and Doysell," that either of them with 40 persons only, might sail in the *Primroose* and *Mynion*, yet none of these to enter a French haven. The number of French is so many, and except they all depart at once they would not embark, that here is no small shift made to provide "equippage" for them. As your lordships know, it needs a great number of merchant ships (whereof none will take above 200 and the most not above 80 or 100, besides the mariners) to transport 4000 "and odd persons" with armour and baggage. This day the town was "demantelled" round about and made "saltable," and the foundations of some points of the bulwarks undermined. We trust to-morrow to see some part "lye flatt," and leave the rest to the Scots. By to-night 1000 French will be embarked—the rest I trust by to-morrow night. There is good will in all, they to be gone—"we to carry them, and the Scottes to curss them hence; so as by Wednesday at night we men of peace trust to lodg at Haddyngton."

I am obliged to intermeddle here with "cassing" divers unnecessary bands, "and receave no more thankes therfore then I looked for"! Of 8000 foot, 3000 shall depart in the morning, and the 5000 well ordered, will do as much service as the 8000. Of the horse, I have advised to leave but 300 lances and 200 light horse—"cassing" 500; and for any thing I see, the lances on arriving at Berwick may also depart. For order, 4000 or 5000 foot may remain there not longer than a month; if your lordships see otherwise, it may be well to order it by your letters to my lord of Norfolk. Edinburgh.

3 *pp.* *Draft in Cecill's writing.* *Indorsed* (by himself and his clerk).

July 15. **865.** TRANSPORTATION OF THE FRENCH GARRISON, &c.

Articles between the English and French ambassadors, that 10*s.* English be paid for each man and [ ] for each woman shipped for France—the French giving 4 hostages till the ships return, and paying any extra expenses. Edinburgh.

1½ *pp.* *Latin.* *Draft corrected by Cecill.*

[1560. July 15.] **866.** TRANSPORTATION OF THE FRENCH GARRISON.

Obligation by "Nicolaus de Petra episcopus Ambianensis," &c. "Jacobus de la Bross dominus ejusdem loci," &c., J[ ] "baro de Corton," and J[ ] "baro de Jersey," each *in solidum*, as securities

Elizabeth.
1560. and hostages for performance of the conditions in the preceding document.

1 *p. Draft in Cecill's writing.*

July 16. **867.** [CECILL] TO HUNTLY.

"Therfore good my lorde," bestow your wisdom and authority to preserve your country, and join fast with the rest of the nobility in just defence of your liberties. Beware that ye permit not under pretence of fair offers by the French to the persons next the Crown, that their estates be undermined and overthrown. "Well your lordship can understand in these few wordes, what I meane: and so I take my leave, 16° Julij."

¼ *p. Written by Cecil's clerk. Indorsed* (by him): "[Postscript ?] of my lord master his lettre to the Erle of Huntley, 16° Julij 1560."

July 17. **868.** THE LORDS OF SCOTLAND TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

We received your highness's letters by your ambassadors "Maister Secretarie and Maister Doctor Witton," willing us to credit them as your Majesty's self: who have not only reported your most noble inclination to continue amity and maintain our ancient liberties, but also have so skilfully concluded this treaty, as we never could have done ourselves. Though we can not give sufficient thanks, we will at least acknowledge our bounden duties, and if ever occasion offer, your Majesty shall perceive your goodness has not been bestowed on unthankful persons, as we mean to declare to your highness by some of our number. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, Ar^d^. Ergyll, James Stewart, Ruthwen, l. Jhon Steuart, Robert Stewart.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed (by Cecil's clerk).

July 19–20. **869.** PETRE TO CECILL.

Your letters dated Edinburgh 14^th^ instant, were brought hither this morning. The Queen likes well that Sir Francis Leke take charge of Berwick, and writes to my lord of Norfolk and him therefor. What she resolves for Lord Grey shall appear "by my lordes lettres now sent to yow." She is sending M^r^ Kylligrew into France with this despatch of the agreement for stay of warlike preparations, and also to learn what he can of their doings there.

Yesterday were brought here letters from the ambassadors in Spain, containing many good words and promises of that King: and a special gentleman is come, named Don John de Pacheco. His message is not known, for he has not yet been at Court. Among other things, the Duke de Alva told Lord Montague and M^r^ Chamberlayn, that he wished two things specially provided for in this treaty with Scotland, (1) that if the French King sent any more forces into Scotland than is agreed therein, the Queen might lawfully expel them by force; (2) the ratification of the treaty of "Chateau in Cambrisis," especially for Calais [Calice]. "Half so many good wordes in the begynnyng, hadd byn moch more to be estemed: and yett thies nott to be mislyked, if all

Elizabeth.
1560. thynges succede." The Queen minds to remove hence the 29th instant, and begin a progress towards Portsmouth. I much wish you were here before her remove, for I am utterly unable to follow, unless I go in a "littar," and yet not without some danger and pain. So my trust is you will do what you conveniently may. Greenwich, 19th of July. *Signed:* Will'm Petre.

Postscript.—I wrote this yesterday thinking to have sent with it Mr Leek's dispatch: but her Majesty stays it, and will I think resolve "this day, 20 Julij."

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

July 22. **870.** THE KING AND QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE QUEEN.

Requesting safe conduct for Henry Kinloch and Mark Browne merchants and burgesses of Edinburgh to trade between Scotland and France through her realm, for a year. Under their signet, "witnessing thairunto the lordis of oure privie counsale." Edinburgh, 1st year of their reign, of France, 2d and 18th of Scotland. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, Ard. Ergyll, Mortoun, James Stewart, W. Maitland.

Broad sheet. *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

July 29. **871.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

Please to receive a letter from my Lord of Arran to the Queen's Majesty, whereof I enclose your honour a copy. An Italian, one of the masters of the late Queen Regent's household, long familiarly known to me, has earnestly requested that these his inclosed letters may come to the French ambassador's hands; and has purposely left them open that I might see they would do him great pleasure and hurt no other. I pray your honour command some of your men to deliver them.

A good part of our lords will be here within these two days for our parliament; we have among other things, to treat upon confirmation of the league with you, "and siclyke to name our counsall, whome off the Quene hes to choyse a part. Off this do I doubte if it be expedient to propone the ratificacion off the ligue publiquely, whearby it shall comme to our soveraynes knowlege that we go about the same, before we send to them for establisshing off our counsall—in which caas I feare they shall be the more circumspect, and perhaps mak some difficulte in the choyse making; and on the other part, it is lyke that the counsall ones chosen and in autorite, shalbe able to make all men consent to the compact, althogh any wer onwilling. I stand but onely upon the ordour off propounding, wherin I desire your honours advis. Atour,"* if possible to learn by your ambassador in France how our Scotsmen are looked on there, how received at their arrival, and how they behave themselves? I would be glad to understand it, for it may serve to good purpose. "Siclyke" how the peace is liked there, and if the King or Queen mislike any head of it? When our parliament begins, you shall know particulars. Not for-

* *i.e.*, moreover.

Elizabeth.
1560. getting my duty to my lady, I wish you both most heartily farewell. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(Arran to the Queen.)

"Madame."—Though the "noblesse" and people of this realm have good reason to thank your Majesty for their lives and all they have in the world, with this good peace, I beyond others am infinitely more obliged for your favour, never so little merited by one of my quality, in saving me from the hands of those who sought my death, and restoring me safe to my country, again possessed of its pristine liberty. Above all, for once in my life having had opportunity to contemplate the singular graces which God has so liberally bestowed upon you. I can but offer your Majesty my most humble service in any way it pleases you to employ me. Praying the Creator to grant whatever your noble heart desires. "Edinbourg le xviij^{me} Juillet."

1½ *pp. French. In Maitland's writing. Indorsed* (by him): "Copy off my l. of Ar. lettres to the Q. Majeste"; and (by Cecil's clerk) "... to the Queene of France" (*sic*).

July 29. **872.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Yesterday the 28th the laird of Spotte advertised the lords that 6 French ships with victuals had reached Dunbar: and this day they sent Captain Forbes [Forbois] and another to see what they contain, and report. As I wrote to you on 23^{d} that the bishops and abbots had retired to find more surety: the abbot of Dunfermline finding no place in Fife, rather for his own suspicions than anything intended against him, came privily over the water to Dunbar, where he remains, thus to eschew the summons out against him to compear before the Council to answer accusations laid against him for his behaviour in Fife. The Lords have this day sent another messenger to him. The bishop of S^{t} Andrews has had his "privat masse" since he came to Paisley [Parsclay], and perseveres a sore enemy to this cause, as much as he is able to do with his "tonge," for otherwise he has not much wherewith. This day Lord James and Lethington returned from Enderkethen in Fife, where they met with Atholl, Gray, Crawford, and Ennermethe, who are all coming to parliament to further their country's cause. Huntly is sick, as is said; "I here no man that is deceavyd in hym." The Duke is presently returned from Hamilton. Lord Symple wrote to him craving favour. Concerning the money that was lost, the lords are daily doing what they may. Whatsoever occurs, and Forbes brings from Dunbar, you shall hear with all speed. Edinburgh, 4 p.m.

What is your pleasure as to the ship that Lethington and I advertised you of on the 23rd? *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Aug. 1. **873.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Yesterday Forbes and the other returned from Dunbar. As

Elizabeth.
1560. commissioned, they visited the ships, which are laden with "bisquyte," "syder," lard, and little else, as appears by a minute sent by the ship masters to the Council. Their desire is to "utter" it where they can get most money. Sarlabos showed himself very gentle in receiving the lords' message, and in words, willing enough to observe all points of the contract, and has sent to them for a copy. Forbes thinks the fortification not sufficiently demolished, and that 10 days' labour would restore it, wherein I doubt not the lords will take order. The Bishop of Dunfermline has promised to attend parliament and purge himself of charges. He is greatly offended with the inhabitants of "Kircawdie" a town of his own, who bent 2 pieces of ordnance against him, when they heard he was coming with so great a train as five or six score horse: wherefore he says he came to Dunbar. I am required to see the inclosed letters safe to your hands, and have no other means but by Sir George Bowes. What is further to be advertised, your honour has knowledge from Lethington. Edinburgh, at 3 o'clock p.m. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Aug. 1. **874.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

Trusting on the Queen's gentleness and your favourable report, I have taken the boldness to write to her highness, which letters I enclose, praying you to accompany them with your good commendation: so that as by your means I have been before delivered from danger in my greatest troubles, even so when I have no less need, I may ever find the like good will, which I must confess I will never be able to requite, but if God grant occasion, I will show has not been bestowed on an unthankful man. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

Aug. 2. **875.** ROBERT CORNEWAYLLE TO CECILL.

As you directed, having addressed myself to the captain of Dunbar, to know his answer for the "letting" of the demolishng the fort there, he answered as he wrote to your mastership. Whereon I repaired with the Laird of Spott to Lord James, who with the Earl of Morraye [Morton ?] appointed commissioners to command the country thereto, the Laird of Whittingham being chief. After waiting 3 days, they took such order as is inclosed. But, for the urgent causes I had with my lord lieutenant's grace for my men's pay, &c. I repaired to him, leaving at Dunbar M^r^ Stafford to call upon the demolishing: who after tarrying 4 days, and seeing no person come to it, has this day advertised me from Berwick, and I having reported to his grace, look for my dispatch to Dunbar again.

Considering with myself what advantage the French had by their "arquebusies de calibre," I have found three Frenchmen who make these and have promised me service, but are gone home to France to receive their pay &c., and to return to me. But fearing some stop might hap to them, and being very sorry to lose such a commodity for the honour of my country, I thought to send this bearer my servant who knows them well, to seek them in France or on the

Elizabeth.
1560. way, if your worship think expedient; without which I would not take it in hand. For the charge of every piece will draw near to 26*s.* 8*d.*, besides that of the shot is double the other arquebuse; howbeit it draws for that double or triple effect, for where our arquebuse shoots but 8, 10 or 12 score, they will shoot 20 or 25 score—which cannot be maintained without better alllowance of the prince. Wherefore I beseech that the bearer may know your pleasure herein, and also that you will take order that none reap the fruit of my device, and that I may still enjoy the entertainment of my 200 men, with which as occasion serves, I hope to serve my prince. Newcastle. *Signed:* Rob^{t}. Cornewaylle.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Demolition of Dunbar.)

The manner of division of the fort, for the demolishing thereof, to the persons underwritten.

(1) The Lord of Moorton and the Lady Prioress of North Berwick, &c., 46 paces of rampire from the castle gate to the first mark; also defacing the "conterscarpth" and ditch from the castle cross to the captain's garden.

(2) The lord of Yester and his mother with their free tenants and vassals, 40 paces of rampire from the first mark to the second mark, with 40 paces of the ditch and counterscarp, from the castle cross westwards.

(3) The "baronrye" of Humbye, lords of Skogalle, Basse, Noise (?), Kirkelonde hill, Brokkesmoothe, Tygnnyngham, and Loughehoire, all the rest of the rampire from the 2^{d} mark to the "great platfourme," with 80 paces of the counterscarp and ditch beyond where the lord of Yester and his mother left, and so westward.

(4) The Queen's lands of the lordship of Dunbar and Donglas, township of Dunbar, lords of Coldrenpitt, Pinckarton and George Hume of Brokkesmouthe for his "temporall" lands, the great platform as marked, with 40 paces of the counterscarp and ditch.

(5) The lords of Innerwick, Thorston and Thorneton, their tenants and vassals, from the great "blockhowse" to the next mark, with 40 paces of the ditch and counterscarp.

(6) The lords of Whittingham, Spotte, Stannyeperthe, Stensoune, Rowthelowe, Whitlawe, and Tarsire, from the said next mark to the flanker where the passage is.

(7) The Prioress of Hadyngton, Lord Lyndessaye, the heirs of Darlton, the lairds of Walton, Conguilton, Sedgeferth [Sydserf ?] and Glecghorne, the whole from said passage as it lies S. and W. to the castle ditch, with all the rest of the counterscarp and ditch "undefaced."

The whole as above to be ended, with certificate to the lords of Council within 6 days from 26th July present, on pain that those failing shall be punished as rebels at the discretion of the said Council.

1½ *pp. In same hand as letter.*

Elizabeth.
1560. Aug. 3. **876.** WYNTER TO CECILL.

"Frome Orwell Wans I wrot your mastership" with the book of the French embarked in our English ships, subscribed by me, the French captains, the ship masters, and MM. Doysel and Martigues —with you no doubt or this time. I could not then advertise the whole number that embarked at Leith, Dunbar and Inchkeith, for want of time, and many embarked in their own vessels at Leith. I now send a bill of the whole, wherein I have been careful to travail as may appear in the "justnes" thereof. I arrived here this day with the Queen's fleet safe. S[t] Helen's point, aboard the *Lyon*. *Signed:* W. Wynter. William Holstake required me to remind you of the 175*l.* the French owe for victuals in Scotland. He is answerable to the merchants, and you to him.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Inclosed in the same:—

(Bill referred to.)

[List of English ships (23) and "Frenche and Flemyshe bottoms" (6) with the numbers of French shipped from Leith, Inchkeith and Dunbar, on 17[th] and 18[th] July and landed at Calais; with the officers' names and ports of embarkation. M. Doysel, the bishop of Glasgow, and Lord Seatton embarked in the *Mynyon*, M. Martigues in the *Primrose*. Total numbers,—men, 3613; women, 267; children, 315—in all, 4195.]

3 *pp.* *Holograph of Wynter.*

Aug. 6. **877.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

I have seen the Queen's most gentle letter "send to my lord my fader fra Grenewiche the first of Julij"—Whereby it appears besides her former benefits (of the fruit whereof we have largely tasted) her highness's special good will and earnest care to preserve our persons yet remains. Besides our most humble thanks, I specially, whom she has already "oftare than ones" preserved, must confess I owe more to her highness than I can ever pay; but she may be assured that my person shall at all times be ready in her service, as I desire you to assure her in my name. Desiring my due commendations "to my goode lady your bedfellow." Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "6 *Augusti* 1560. Erle of Arrayn to W. C." *In the text the year is given as* "1561."

Aug. [7]. **878.** PETITION TO THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT.

The barons and freeholders show to the Lords of Parliament that they are the greater in number, and bear the greater part of the charges of the state both in peace and war; claiming as of old custom, to sit and vote on the common weal, and that the lords will suffer nothing to be passed and concluded without their advice and counsel.

Broad sheet. In a Scottish hand. *Indorsed* (by Randolph): "The coppie of the lettre geven into the parlement by the barons."

Elizabeth.
1560.
Aug. 8–10.

879. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since I last wrote to you on 29th July, I had nothing worth reporting. Most part of the nobles are arrived, you shall have their names in writing. Huntly excuses himself by an infirmity in his leg; his lieutenant for this time is Lethington, chosen speaker of parliament or "harange maker," as these men term it. Their first sitting will be on Thursday next *; hitherto as many as are here have communed on certain heads to be propounded—as, who shall be sent to France, who to England? It is much easier to find one than the other. It seems almost resolved on that for England the Master of Maxwell and Lethington, for France, Pattarrawe and the Justice Clerk. They have also consulted whom to name for the 24, of whom the 12 councillors must be chosen; and intend shortly to send Dingwall the herald to France with the names they choose, and for the King and Queen's consent to this parliament. They have devised to have the contract with England confirmed by parliament, and also their articles of agreement with their King and Queen ratified. These things are as yet but in communication; I have no doubt as to the contract with England, for I hear many like it very well, as the Earls of Atholl and Sutherland, Lord Glammis, who dined yesterday with Lord James. Lord James required me this day to bring the contract to him; and I intend this day to speak to the Lord Gray "in our lord Grayes name," as he promised in my hearing to subscribe, and would have done it then if the contract could have been had. For more assurance, I would, besides the ratification by parliament, that every nobleman in Scotland had put his hand and seal to it, which may always remain as a notable monument, though the act of parliament be hereafter "dysanulled." If it pleased you that the lords might be written to to that effect, or that I received from you an earnest charge to travail therein, I doubt not it would be to good purpose—if also known in what words or clause you desired it confirmed, I think no great difficulty would be made. The Earl Marishal, though often moved to subscribe, uses "mo delayes then men judged he wolde." His son told me yesterday that he would speak with me at leisure, so did Drumlanrig; I know not to what purpose. I have caused my Lord James to be the "ernester" with lord Marshall for his "autoritie sake." When of late it was in consultation how the amity between these two realms might be perpetual, and among divers opinions, "one" said he knew no way but making them one, and in hope of that more had been done that otherwise would have been granted—the Earl of Argyll advised him earnestly to stick to what he had promised, "for that yt sholde passe hys power, and all the craftie knaves of his councell (I am bolde to use to your honour his owne wordes) to breake so godly a purpose. This tawlke lyked well thassysters, howesomever yt pleased hym to whome yt was spoken unto." The barons who in times past have been of parliament, had yesterday a convention in the church in honest and quiet sort; and thinking it good to be restored to their ancient liberty of "voyce in parlement," this day presented a bill to the lords—a copy whereof shall be sent as soon as it is got. It was answered gently and referred to the lords of the articles to resolve on, when they are chosen.

* 15th.

Elizabeth.
1560. Touching demolition of the fortifications and Dunbar, I never saw men "negligenter" than these in charge to see it done. Now that the Duke of Norfolk has written to the lords so earnestly, I trust they will see to it.

Of the 7 ships I wrote about, 4 have discharged at Dunbar; so men judge it victualled for 2 or 3 years. It is reported to the lords, that Charlebos takes much on him: he inhibited a sergeant of arms speaking with the Abbot of Dunfermline, restored a cave in the new fortification, and filled it with victuals, and commanded that no man English or Scottish, shall lodge in the town without his leave. So the inhabitants have informed the lords, and I myself saw their bill. The Abbot of Dunfermline comes not here at present: the other ships have arrived at Leith to "utter" their cargoes. There lately arrived at Dundee the *Anteloppe* for which David a Forrett was suitor to the Lords of Council; she brought 2 French vessels taken (it is said) before the appointment with France; I hear of no suit against their takers. I have been asked that certain bullets gathered up in Leith, be left here for Dunbarton; thinking it strange, I shifted it, and think to hear no more. M^r^ Blunt tells me there are already gathered 2000 shot and they trust to find more; whereon I would be glad to know your pleasure. Also what shall be done or said to the master of the ship I stayed at Dunbarton, whereof Lethington and I wrote to you.

The Lords are well pleased with the late news of King Philip's good will to the Queen's majesty; also to hear of the King of Swedia's coming to England, his great substance, wealth and honour. Divers of them desire to see her Majesty. Captain Forbes told me the Duke was in hand with him to go to France for his son David. Some think this very hasty: others would he were "cleene owte" of the country, fearing that his father being "a facile man, myght be the easlyer persuaded that way, havinge his sonne in their handes."

I had written thus much yesternight the 8^th^, meaning to take leave.

This morning the 9^th^, hearing the lords intended to be at parliament, caused me to stay for what I could hear. They assembled themselves at 10 o'clock at the Palace where the Duke lies, and from thence departed towards the "Tawbowth" as they were in dignity,—each one being set in his seat in the order as in the "scrowle" enclosed; the crown, the mace, the sword, were laid in the Queen's seat. Silence being commanded, Lethington began his oration. He excused his insufficiency for that place, made a brief discourse of things past, the necessity men were forced to in defence of their country, what remedy and support it pleased God to send them at that time—how they were bound heartily to acknowledge and requite it, taking away the persuasion in many men's heads that "laye backe," misdeeming other things meant than were attempted, advised all estates to lay all particularities apart, and bend themselves wholly to the true service of God and their country, and reminded them how long it had lacked good government and exercise of justice. In the end, he exhorted them to hearty friendship one with another, as members of one body, using the example of the fable, where the mouth denied to receive sustenance to nourish the rest of the body so long, that the whole perished. He prayed God long to maintain this amity with all princes, especially between England and Scotland, in the love and fear of God. "And so ended." The Clerk of Register

Elizabeth.
1560. immediately stood up, and asked in what matter they would proceed? When it was thought good that the articles of peace be confirmed by common consent, that they might be sent with speed to France to be ratified. Being read, they were agreed to, and a day appointed for certain nobles to subscribe and seal them, to be sent away by a herald who should bring back the ratification.

The barons of whom I wrote, then required answer—somewhat being said to the contrary, they alleged custom and authority—and it was resolved 6 should be chosen to join with the lords of the articles, and if after good advisement, it was found for the common weal, it should be ratified at this parliament for "a perpetuall lawe."

The Lords proceeded immediately to choose the Lords of the Articles—the order being, the lords spiritual choose the temporal, and the temporal the spiritual, the burgesses their own. They were chosen as in this other paper I have written. This done, the lords accompanied the Duke "all as farre as the Bowe (which is the yate goyinge owte of the Hye streate) and maynie downe unto the palace whear he lyethe: the towne all in armour, the trompettes soundinge, and all other kynde of musyke suche as theie have." Thus much of what I both heard and saw. Other solemnities have not been used, saving in times long past, the lords have had "parlement roobes," now wholly out of use. The Lords of the Articles sit henceforth in Holyrood house, except when on any matter of importance all the lords assemble as on this day, in the "parlement howse." This purpose is changed to-day, and the place where you conferred with the French, chosen.*

The next matter to be communed of I hear, is "the dysannullinge" of the Pope's authority—that done, they intend to confirm the contract, that then both England and Scotland being of one religion, may also make bond of perpetual amity. It is no small pleasure to many that "the two olde byshops are none of the Articles." The whole are well liked and good hope that things shall well insue. Edinburgh, 9th of August late, and sent away by Mr Cornewall, that brought the Duke's letter to the lords of Council. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

(List appended.)

Names of the earls and lords spiritual and temporal assembled at this parliament. The Duke of Chatelherault. Earls.—*Arran, Argile,* Athel, Crafforde, Cassels, *Marshal, Morton, Glancarne,* Sutherlande, Catnes, *Rothos, Montethe.* Lords spiritual.—Bishops, St Androw, Dunkell, Athenes, the Isles, *Argile.* Abbots and priors.—"I know not howe maynie." Lords.—*Ersken, Ruthen, Lynsay,* Sommerwelle, Carcathe, Hume, *Lyvingeston,* Innermethe, *Boide, Ogleby,* Fleminge, Glammes, Gray, *Ocheltre, Gordon.*

Lords of the Articles: Spiritual.—*Athenes,* Iles, *Lords James, Arbrothe, Newbottle, Londores,* Couper, Kynrosse, Kylwinninge, *the Subprior* of St Androws. Temporal.—*The Duke.* Earls.—*Argile, Marshall, Athell, Morton, Glancarne.* Lords.—Ruthen, Ersken, Boide, Lynsay. Barons, elected to be of the Articles.—*Maxwell, Tillibarne, Cunninghamhedde,* Lochenbarre, Patarrowe, Lundy. Ten provosts for 10 chief towns, which also are of the Articles. So the whole number is 36.

* This sentence written on margin by Randolph.

Elizabeth.
1560.

[*Letter continued.*]

It were too long to rehearse the nature, disposition, &c., judged to reign in these men thus chosen lords of the Articles, but it is the common opinion there was not a "substancialer" nor more sufficient number of all sorts chosen in Scotland many years, nor in whom greater hope of good. This morning the 10th, Lethington made me privy to your letter, and intends to follow your advice. Some hard points there are—he is determined not to go to France, alledging many reasons, but speaking least of that moving him most, viz. the example of the last that went with a more grateful message than that he shall carry, and stood in other terms with their prince than he does—and yet your honour knows what the world judges!*

Some of the noblest would gladly come to England, but there is nothing settled, as Lethington's letter shall show you more at large.

Argyll puts me in remembrance again to-day of the ship at Dunbarton, and promised to send the master to me—who is not the man I suspected,—he sues daily for discharge, and it only waits your answer. Lady Fleming is suing the lords for their letter to the Queen for her passport. I remember what honour she received at our Court on leaving France; how forgetful she has been, both her words and deeds sufficiently testify. Though she has forgotten the kindly part of a noble woman, your honour will consider both herself, "and also whome she bringethe with her," for whose sake she was so honourably received before, and now trusts for the same in returning. I stay her suit for a day or two, till Lethington knows how she means to pass, and how accompanied? For I heard she desires to see the Queen, or at least that her son might. The hurried departure of this bearer caused Lethington to "spare" his letter, which shall be sent shortly. 10th August 1560.

I am bold to leave your letter unsealed, to excuse my negligence to the Duke of Norfolk to whom I only wrote a word or two. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

6 *pp. Closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill). *The names in italics probably marked by him.*

Aug. 15. **880.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I have received your letters, one from Richmond the 1st August, the other from "Otlandes" the 4th. I must confess not of late writing so oft as my duty requires, awaiting some matter in our Parliament worthy the writing. I remember not in my time to have seen so "frequent" a parliament. It "begonth" the 8th instant, which day the late treaty with the French was ratified by all, and ordained that one should go to France with it for our sovereigns' ratification. "I think that voyage shall lyght on the Lord off St Jhone." For other matters, the order of Parliament was observed, viz. the first day to choose the Lords of Articles, that is, 10 of every estate who shall advise and consult upon all articles presented to the Estates. "There is sensyne already past, the Confession off our fayth, by ane uniforme consent off the haill Lordes off Articles," to be sent to the King and Queen, whereof in 3 or 4 days I shall send you a copy. The whole estate of

* Alluding to the suspected poisoning of the four ambassadors in 1558.

Elizabeth.
1560. the clergy is on our side, a few excepted of those present, as the Archbishop of S[t] Andrews, the bishops of Dumblane and Dunkeld. "The Religion" is like to find many favourers "off the whole off all estates." Now we mean to proceed to choose the 24, of whom the Council to rule the realm must be chosen: then to the ratification of the treaty passed at Berwick. "In the meanetyme no laubouris shalbe omitted that may serve to allure every man to condescend eyther to the auld, or to mak a new off as good effect." As yet "praysed be God," there is no appearance of division. "We thought good before all things, to pas the Confession." Some noblemen shall shortly come to the Queen to give thanks; I think the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Robert, the Master of Maxwell, or two at least, shall be sent. "I mon on force comme with them or els I se not how I can mainteyne amyty with the Dukes grace and my lord off Arane, so ernestly have they preissed me and layd it to my charge that no excuse will serve; and I neyther may nor will lose theyr frendship. I mervell what yow ment, to write that I wes reserved for the voyage off France: I think it wes not in ernest! for (I speake it in the presens off God) I had rather be banished Scotland for seven yeares, then tak that journey on hand"! My lords of Arran, Argyll, and my Lord James command me to remember their commendations to you, and most gladly received yours, as from their dearest friend. It will please you to have me heartily commended to my lady your bedfellow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

Aug. 15. **881.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

If my letter of the 10[th] has come to your hands, you are not ignorant of all that has passed to that day. Since then, the Lords of the Articles have consulted of many matters of state; and besides have travailed "severally" with the lords not yet joined, that they would show themselves lovers of their country and embrace the Queen's friendship, by whose support they are delivered from the perpetual servitude into which the realm was like to be brought. How much they shall be able to prevail with such kind of men as some of those they have to do with, I cannot tell; howbeit as yet, whatsoever blinds them or enchants them from not seeing their own destruction, what persuasion or means can be made to them,—I find not one willing to give ear to reason, in so much that as yet there is not one nobleman of those here present that has signed the contract, more than those you saw when here! Though I do not mistrust that before their departure it will be ratified by Parliament, and more done to confirm it than yet is: otherwise I am sure it will cause greater breach of amity between some of these noblemen, than any other occasion will. For I see some of the lords determined rather to break friendship with their dearest friends, or they will have that confirmed, that they have for the common weal of their country, subscribed and ventured their lives for. Of those here, "yt stayethe moste" in the Earls Marshal and Atholl; the rest depending on their authority and power. Their goodwill was never more plainly shown, than in the Lady Fleming's letter which she desired to be subscribed for her passport; to which these two denied to put their hands, as it was a request to

Elizabeth.
1560. be made to England! So you are not like to be troubled with such suit, except you see one or both their hands at it. Their obstinacy has sore grieved many noblemen; "their nature is extemed dyvers—thone fearefull and lothe to entre into anie matter of controversie; thother obstinate and singuler, withowte undrestondinge what daynger may insue unto his countrie, whyleste that he is careles therof." The Earl of Crawford has been twice moved in my hearing, to subscribe: the first time he desired to advise with his friends—the last, he said since the law of oblivion was granted, he saw not how any man could, reserving his duty to his sovereign, give consent to any such contract. Howbeit, he would speak a word in council, viz. if he was sure where it would please the Queen's Majesty to place herself in marriage, he would not stay to do more than that, and so he knew would many more do. The first part of this, he "lernede" of M^r James Magille; the other perhaps was put into his head by some other. I have spoken with Lord Graye, but find nothing to any effect, he promises to give a better answer before he departs; the Duke also this day has been very earnest with his wife. The Earl of Eglinton is also arrived; very little has been said to him yet. Lords Drummond, Yester and Somerville came to town yesterday: it is said the number of noblemen is greater than of long time at any parliament.

On motion made to him, the bishop of S^t Andrews talked with the subprior, the rector and two more; they have had much communication without hope; he is stout and bold enough, rides and goes at large. He came to the Duke's to supper, invited and convoyed by M^r Gawen of Kilwinning; "he was as whomly as welcome." The Duke talked long with him after supper; "he was better wyllinge to here hym, then to beleve anie thynge he spake." They concluded in these words—"that for his consciens, he was determyned in that mynde that he was of at that present to ende his lyf—for his boddie goodes and lyvinges, he was content to yelde all into his handes. What, besydes matters of consciens, he wolde commaunde hym, he was allwayes reddie tobeye." So the Duke thinks to bring him to subscribe the contract.

The bishop of Dunkeld remains "as obstinat as ignorante," being moved to hear M^r Knox, he answered he would never hear "an olde condemned heriticke." Knox has been "with hym for yt sens that tyme," so have others that have preached. "Sermons are daylie, and greate audience; though dyvers of the nobles present ar not resolved in religion, yet do thie repayre daylie to the prechynges, which gevethe a good hope to maynie that God wyll bowe their hartes." The Bishop of Dunblane is also now come, not to reason upon religion, but to do so I hear, what Argyll will command him. "If God have prepared hym and his metropolitane * to die obstinate papistes, yet I wolde that theie before thie goe to the Divell, wolde shewe some token that ons in their lyves theie loved their countrie, and setto their handes unto the contracte"—as hardly I believe they will. That night the bishop supped with the Duke, many nobles, &c., were offended he should receive such "humanitie" there amongst the men he has so spitefully offended. How grateful soever he was to the Duke, there was never man "worce welcomme to the sonne!"

For the doings of Parliament, I refer to Lethington's report rather

* S^t Andrews.

Elizabeth. 1560.

than write of what I neither heard nor saw—and what he omits, I will supply as near as I can by his or other's report.

For demolition of Leith, there is much less done than the case imports; where so much is in hand, some things are negligently overseen. I wrote for your pleasure for M^r^ Blunte and M^r^ Strude: they are determined to ask leave to return, and I see no further use for them, except there were more men to set to work. "Lyttle London" next the sea on the E., and "Loggens" bulwark stand "cleane hoole." The Lords are loth they should "departe," yet are over slow to see things done out of hand. They have sent a captain and 100 pioneers to Dunbar, with special order to "Sarlabos" to admit them to work, and he has written very humbly to the Duke: copy of which letter I hope to send you, for some points in it. The shot found in demolishing Leith, is now shipping for Berwick.

The lords are consulting to-day on the 24, wherein neither Marshall nor Athol are like to be. Then they will propound confirming the contract with England, whereof the lords adjoined make sure, being the greater number. I see of necessity, Lethington must be one of those sent to England, or the Duke will not be satisfied—though he can be ill spared here. I would that the Master of Maxwell "whoe laborethe to be Lord Heres," might be one, and Lord Robert the other, for the reasons your honour shall shortly learn from Lethington or me. My lord Arran has more deeply weighed things since your departure than before. Over much suspicion, without cause, "somme what transported his spirits." There has been sufficient said to him on that matter, he understands his errors. "His father yeldeth myche more to reason then his nature bearethe." The "pestilent" counsel of 2 or 3 here, seduces many honest men "from Good and ther countrie." M^r^ Knox spares not to tell it them: he and M^r^ Wyllockes were yesterday before the Lords of the Articles with the bishops. S^t^ Andrews desires a copy of their Confession of Faith: it was not denied him to have it shortly, though it is doubted it be to send it to France before the lords send, rather than any mind to examine its verity, or reform his conscience, be it never so reasonable. Being only concluded yesterday, it was not possible to send your honour a copy so soon. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

3½ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Aug. 17.

882. CONFESSION OF FAITH.

Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. pp. 526–34.

"The Estatis of Scotland, with the inhabitantis of the same, professing Christ Jesus his Holie Evangile," &c., proclaim to their countrymen and the world, the sum of that doctrine which they profess, and for which they have sustained infamy and danger.

* "Math. 24.—And this glaid tydyngis of the kingdom salbe preichit throwout the haill warld for a witnes unto all nationes, and then sall the end cum."

"Arise O Lord and lett thy ennemeis be confundit, lett them flie from thy presence, that hait thy godlie name, give thy servandis streinth to speak thi word in boldnes, and latt all nationis attean to thy trew knawlege, Amen. From Ed^r^."

19 *pp. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "Religion established in Scotland by consent of Parlement."

* This text added in the printed copy after the heading.

Elizabeth.
1560. Aug. 17.

883. COMMISSION TO THE LORD OF S^{T} JOHN.

Letters patent by the three Estates of Scotland, reciting the Article of the Treaty at Edinburgh on 6th July last, providing that 24 persons should be named by them, of whom the King and Queen shall choose 7, and the estates 5, to govern the realm in absence of their sovereigns, increasing these respective numbers to 8 and 6. Commissioning James lord S^{t} John their special envoy to present to the princes their ratification of said treaty, and bring back that of the sovereigns with the names of the 8 councillors chosen by them out of the 24 submitted for their choice. Under their hands and seals. Edinburgh.

Broad sheet. Latin. Copy on vellum. Indorsed: "Copie. The commission yeven by the nobilite and Estates of Scotland, to the great priour of S^{t} Johnne of the said realme, sent ambassadeur from them to the French King and Quene the xvijth of August 1560."

Aug. 17.

884. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE LORD OF S^{T} JOHN.

The instructions given to James lord S^{t} Johns by the three estates of Scotland, to be declared by him to the King and Queen their sovereigns.

To declare (1) to their Majesties their most humble duty, &c.

(2) That as appointed in the late treaty, parliament met on 10th July and sat till 1st August.

(3) That there were present the Duke of Chastelherault and 13 earls—the Archbishop of S^{t} Andrews and 5 bishops—19 priors and abbots—the "commissairs" of 22 towns—110 barons, and many other barons, freeholders and landed men, "but" * all armour.

(4) That they have bound themselves to observe all points of said treaty, and send them the confirmation, requiring in return their ratifications under their subscriptions and great seal.

(5) He shall declare to them the article for nominating 24 persons, out of whom the Council to govern the realm shall be chosen—8 by their Majesties, and 6 by the Estates.

(6) He shall make them most humble and affectionate recommendations to the Queen Mother, the King's "brether" † and sisters, the King of Navarre and other princes "off the blude," the Duchess Dowager of Guise, the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the Duke of Aumalle, the Great Prior, and the Marquis Dalbeuff, the Constable, MM. de Vallence and de Randan, and pray every one of them to give their favourable mind and counsel to the King and Queen to have good opinion and show favour to the nobles and people of Scotland as obedient subjects.

The article as to Lord Sempill.

Though by the late treaty it was provided that all oppression should cease, and the people live under law, it has been complained to the Council that Robert lord Sympill and others had committed many slaughters and "heirschippis," burned houses and corn, and "kest down stane howsis," only on private feuds with his party, and

* Without. † Brothers.

Elizabeth.
1560. though summoned before the Justice General to answer, failing to appear, was denounced rebel and put to the horn, and so remains. Yet he has further strengthened himself with men of war in the Castle of Sempill, "and off new fortit ane hows* within ane ile in the loch of Lochquhinyeoch," daily reiving and spoiling "not sparand to sla auld men off fowr skoir yeris off age lyand decrippit in thair beddis." The Lords hearing he lately retired to Dunbar castle, leaving his sons in Castle Sempill with a strong garrison, sent a gentleman to M. Saralabos the captain, demanding Sempill as a rebel under the late treaty, or that Sarlabois deliver him to the Justice General at Edinburgh — which he has refused to fulfil. Wherefore their Majesties are to be asked to order Sarlabois to deliver him to justice.

The cause of Arran's going to the West Border is the great disorder caused by the augmented number of thieves during the late troubles, and his forces were required to join those of the Master of Maxwell the warden.

My lord James was sent to the north by the council, to reconcile the lairds of Dunlugus and Grantlie.

3 *pp. Closely written in Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "Instructions geven to the greate priour of S^{t} Johns," &c.

Aug. 18. **885.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

The earnest desire this people have to be joined in perpetual friendship with "that realme," has put matters in public deliberation, which for my opinion, might as conveniently have been treated more secretly—not that I mislike anything either in the matter or manner of doing for itself—"bot for a certane kynd off feare I have to medle in so weghty a caus, not being fully assured how it sall be lyked with you." But I have been driven herein to a further point than by my good will for the present I would have pressed it.

The ratification of the treaty being propounded to the Lords of Articles and other principals of the nobility and clergy, every man acknowledged the Queen's goodness to this realm, to have been such as we can never recompense, and therefore thought it meet "that continuance of the amity sould be sutit, wheroff God hes offered ane good occasion to endure for ever, if it shall please her hyghnes to embrace it. The mater wes so lyked off all, that althogh I could have bene content (for feare to offend her Majesty) it shold have bene generally passed owyr, yet wold they nedes insist in it—wich seing, and that our very ennemyes did apeare no les zelous in it then the other, least they mycht by any laubouris be persuaded to the contrary, ane writing wes made and subscrivit by all theyr handes, wheroff your honour shall receave a copy herewith inclosed.

"On the morn the whole estates wer assembled in Parliament, wher they wold nedes have the same off new propounded—at which tyme, althogh (for the same feare) I wes not glade to se the mater so published, yet did I rejoice to se the whole Estates, althogh in other poynts off divers opinions, yet with ane uniforme consent so ernestly wishe the consommation off that mater, that I well perceave it is the onely meane to joyne ws in ane indissoluble union."

* The Peel.

Elizabeth.
1560.

The whole Estates ratified the Act of Parliament made before, "wherby the Dukes grace wes declared second person off the realme, and heyr apparent * to the Crown—and conforme therto did off new acknowledge the same and therle off Arane to be next unto him, so presently the thrid person, and in caas off his deceas, to comme in his place."

The Confession of Faith was passed by common consent, no man present gainsaying. "It is true that the Archebishop off S^{t} Andrews, the bishops off Dunkeld and Dumblane, and two off the temporall lordes, did excuse themselffes that they wer not ready to speake theyr jugement, for that they wer not sufficiently avysed with the book. This far they did liberally profes, that they wold aggre to all thing myght stand with Godes Word, and consent to abolish all abuses crept in in the Churche not agreable with the Scriptures—and asked longar tyme to deliberat on the book propounded. Wherby they did in a maner conferme our doctrine, wheras they having liberte to speake what plesed them, durst not impung it, and uterit theyr aune ignorance to theyr confusion!" It was no small wonder to see what victory "the Trueth" obtained by so uniform consent. We are not like to have many enemies here. This day some principal nobles have been with the Duke for naming ambassadors. I think Morton and Glencairn, the Master of Maxwell and I, "shalbe put to the journay, and that with all possible haste." Meantime I would be glad to hear somewhat of your advice, and with diligence—for I think we shall go forward within these 10 or 12 days. "I wishe to God I may rather dye in the voyage, then that it turne not to the union of the two realmes!" The Estates have remitted the "dressing" of the commissions, instructions, and all pertaining thereto, to the Lords of Articles. If any other thing fall out, you shall be advertised. Commend me heartily to M^{r} Treasurer and my lady your bedfellow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(Commission of the Estates.)

"Apud Edinburgh xvj^{o} Augusti," &c.

Acts of Parliament of Scotland, ii. pp. 605–6.

The Lords of Articles, &c. have thought good that suit be made to the Queen of England to join herself in marriage with the Earl of Arran, and that an embassy be sent accordingly, also to thank her for her good will to Scotland.

†"These have subscrivit it."

Clergy.—Bishops, "no mo wer present"—S^{t} Andrews, Dunkeld, Galloway, The Ilis, Dumblane, Argyll.

Priors.—S^{t} Andrews, Lochlevin, Coldinghame.

Abbots.—Arbroth, Halyrudehous, Cowpre, Newbottill, Kylwynning, Culros, Lyndoris, Kynlos.

Earls.—Argyll, Athoill, Morton, Crawfurd, Sotherland, Rothes, Menteith, Glencarne.

Lords.—Gordone, Erskyne, Ruthven, Home, Borthwik, Salton, Yester, Somervell, Ouchiltre, Innermeth, Boyde, Lyndesay, Gray.

* Rather "presumptive," in modern language.

† From this point written by Lethington, with the place and date.

Elizabeth.
1560. Provosts of "burrowes."—Edenburgh, Dunde, S[t] Andrews, Striveling, Aberdene, Glasgw, Lythquho, Jedburcht, Perth.

1 *p.* *Text in a Scottish hand. The list of subscribers differs materially from that in the Acts Parl. Scot.*, p. 606.

Aug. 19. **886.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Having daily occasions to write to your honour, I omit as few as I can. On the 15[th], somewhat late at night, Lord James sent for me to his lodging, where I found Argyll and Morton, Pittarrow, Lethington and M[r] Henry "Balvanes." The occasion of my sending for, was the question had that day in the "Parlement howse," of those to be sent to England, and on what points. One was to give our sovereign thanks for the inestimable benefit received, the other to devise for order on the Borders—the third (and most important) how to maintain amity with England and continue the same "to our posteritie." The first all men agreed to, and wished it done honorably with speed. The second was found "so godly" and profitable for both countries, that it was thought the Queen would incline thereto and support it. For the third, they judged it deeply to be considered, well weighed, and wisely handled. After many consultations and devises ("farre from that that theie shotte at") it was resolved there was only one way in which the appearance was great, if followed in due and convenient sort, as became wise and noble men in weighty affairs. I need not rehearse it to your honour more plainly, you know their meaning well enough: they concluded with me thus. It seemed good to the nobles of the three Estates to direct certain noblemen (whereof 2 should be earls) to treat with the Queen and her Council of these three points, trusting that, as they had found her favourable above all men's expectations, "she wyll now consummate suche a worke as may redownde to her immortall fame, and perpetuall felicite of bothe the realmes." In this time many purposes passed from one to the other. Argyll showed himself very "affectioned" to the matter, my lord James "mervilous erneste," and the others spake no less than I know their hearts desire. "The Larde of Lidington rather consulted upon the maner of the doinge, then that he thought it not verie good, and expedient to be put in experiens." It was then thought that first, a "copple" of noblemen should be sent to treat of reformation of the borders, and also to learn whether it might please the Queen that "anie suche sute myght be made unto her"? To this "viage" were appointed the Lord Robert, the Master of Maxwell and Lethington, whom the Duke so pressed, that it could not be denied. Next day on debate in Parliament, there fell a new resolution on the last point, viz., that by common consent of the three Estates, an open embassy should be sent in all their names for all the three purposes above said—which was fully agreed to on Friday * last by the Lords of the Articles, and ratified on Saturday by the Estates, every man giving his goodwill and free voice thereto. Forty-seven lords have set their hands to it, copy whereof and of their Confession of Faith—written in such haste † that I am ashamed to present it, as I am of my other writings—you shall presently receive. I never saw so important

* 16[th]. † This does not appear to be so.

Elizabeth.
1560. matters sooner dispatched, or agreed to with better will. The matters concluded last Saturday are (1) that the barons under an old act of James I., A. D. 1427, shall have free voice in Parliament—and passed without contradiction of the "bysshoppes papystes," or others. Next, on the ratification of the Confession of Faith, the bishop of S[t] Andrews in many words, said in effect—it was a matter he had not been accustomed with, and had had no sufficient time to examine it or confer with his friends; howbeit as he would not utterly condemn it, so was he loth to give his consent thereto. To that effect spoke the bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane. Of the temporall lords, Cassillis and Caithness said "Nae"! The rest, with common consent and as glad will as ever I heard men speak, allowed it; "dyvers with protestation of their consciens and faythe, desyered rather presently to ende their lyves, then ever to thynke contrarie unto that that thaye allowed ther. Maynie also offered to sheede ther blude in defence of the same. The olde Lorde of Lynsay, as grave and goodly a man as ever I sawe, said 'I have lyved maynie yeres, I am the eldest in thys compagnie of my sorte, nowe that yt hathe pleased God to lett me see thys daye wher so maynie nobles and other have allowed so worthie a work, I will say with Simion, *Nunc dimittis.*' The old Laird of Lundie confessed how long he had lived in blindness, repented thereof, and embraced the same as his true belief. Lord James, "after some other purpose," said he must sooner believe it true, as some others in company did not: "he knewe that Goddes trothe wolde never be withowte his adversaries. The Lord Marshall saide, thoughe he were otherwyse assured that yt was trewe, yet myght he be the bolder to pronunce yt, for that he sawe ther present the pyllers of the popes churche, and not one of them that wolde speake agaynste yt." Many others to like effect, as Lords Erskine, Newbottle, the Subprior of S[t] Andrews—all concluding that this was the faith wherein they ought to live and die.

The third was the bill whereof you receive here a copy. As it needed few words, it was sooner concluded, never a man dissenting—I marvelled whence the good will proceeded. I must, with many other, "judge yt the worke of God, whatsoever he determynethe that shall insue therof." I have also talked with many that I can assure you regard neither profit nor commodity, nor hope to attain any great favour thereby, that heartily desire it.

As the charges of the embassies to France and England are like to be a great sum, the lords have granted a tax on the whole people for 6000*l.* sterling, if the Lords of Articles find it expedient.

That all these things were done by common consent the Duke gave a piece of silver (as the order is) to the Clerk of Register, to have an instrument of the same. Thus your honour understands what is done till this day. The next matters to be motioned, are, the election of the 24, the confirmation of the Berwick contract, and a resolution of a bill given in against the bishops. As the Earl of Argyll has required me to be with him this day to see some letters he has from Ireland, whereon I must write your honour again, I most humbly take leave. Edinburgh, . . . "rathe * in the morninge." *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp. Closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

* Very early.

Elizabeth.
1560. Aug. 20. **887.** ARGYLL TO CECILL.

I received a writing from "Owneill in Yrland," and incontinently delivered it to M^r^ Randoll with the "true translation" of it in our language, to be sent to you for your good advice therein. I have yet no advertisement from the lord Deputy but look for one shortly. If required "(willing God)" I shall meet his lordship and satisfy all his reasonable desires, and wish I may have your honour's good advice from time to time therein, that I may do for weal of both realms, and content of the Queen's Majesty, to whose highness please commend my humble service. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Ar^d^. Ergyll.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 20. **888.** FRANCIS II. AND MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for John Clark Scotsman and four others, to pass and repass through England to France, &c. for a year. "Geven under oure signet, witnessing thairto the lordis of oure secreit counsale. At Edinburgh the tuenty day of August, and of oure regnis, of France the first, and of Scotland the secund and auchtene yearis." *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, Mortoun, Glencarn, James Stewart, R. Boyd, W. Maitland.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: France impaling Scotland (as before).

Aug. 22. **889.** FRANCIS II. AND MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct to "oure cowsingis Lord Harye de Valoys, sone naturall to umquhile oure derrest fader the maist Cristin King, of worthye memorie, and Jane Lady Fleming his moder," with 24 persons in their company and as many horses, to pass and repass between Scotland and France, through her realm for a year. Under their signet, "witnessing thairunto the lordis of our previe counsale." Edinburgh, 22^d^ of August and "of oure regnes, that is to say of France the first, and of Scotland the secund and auchtene yeris." *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, Ar^d^. Ergyll, Mortoun, Glencarn, James Stewart, W. Maitland.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet (as last).

[*c.* Aug. 22.] **890.** THE LADY FLEMING'S HORSES.

The number, colours, and qualities of the horses which my Lord Harry de Valloys and my lady Flemmyng brought with them furth of Scotland.

Four "morells"—2 black, a bay and a grey, 4. My lord's own horses—a bay gelding ambling, a grey gelding ambling—2. My lady's horses—a white ambling, other 2 for her gentlewomen, grey ambling,—3. "My lorde Harryes master," a grey gelding trotting, 1. Two pages' horses—"blake, bothe amblyng," 2. My lady's steward, a grey gelding ambling, 1. M^r^ George Levengston, a bay gelding, ambling, —1. Master of the horses, one grey ambling gedling, 1. "The master cooke," a "sourde" trotting gelding, 1. "The master of the pantrye,"

Elizabeth.
1560. a white trotting gelding, 1. A page horse, a black " curtall " trotting, 1. " A sompter " horse, " lyerde " ambling, 1. " The nomber xx."

1 *p.* *In an English hand.* *Indorsed* (by the writer and Cecill's clerk).

Aug. 25. **891.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the 16th of this present, there came to the Earl of Argyll out of Ireland, an ambassador from " Oniel " ; his message and effect of his embassy your honour may see by the letters Argyll hath sent, besides some other matter he requires to be advertised of, as you see time. He caused Oneill's letter to be translated into English, and also sent the original *ad faciendam majorem fidem*, and " for you to see the strayngenes of their ortographie." He desires this to be sent back to him. Oneill's manner and behaviour is not so strange, as the wonderful " presens " of his ambassador, a man that exceeds many in stature! " He walked a foote owte of Erlelande hyther alone; his diet, by resone of the lengethe of his yornaye so fayled hym, that he was fayne to leeve hys safron shyrte in gage." The rest of his apparel such, that the Earl before giving him audience, arrayed him " newe from the necke downe warde, for cappe he wolde none; hys logginge was in the chymnaye, hys drynke chefly [*a*]*qua vite* and mylke." Though his message was such that the Earl will by no means consent to, chiefy for " the ungodlynes of the person, and the worthynes of hys syster, of whom I heere great commendation "—yet will he not shake him off, or give him resolute answer, but will entertain him a while, to see what good may be done upon him, either to bring him to God or more civility. Free passage and surety is always allowed him, " to sende lettre or man." Argyll has taken order with me how to forward your answer to his letter; he departed hence on Saturday* at 10 p.m. for Argyll, not intending to return these 3 months—his business there greatly requiring his presence. He required me in many words to make his earnest commendations to your honour, and testify his good will of service to the Queen's Majesty, and his faith and honour never to go, say, or do contrary his promise. In my conscience, I cannot sufficiently commend him to you, and wonder not a little to see a man of his age, life in time past, and bringing up, so " affectioned " to God and his commonwealth, so earnest, constant, bold, and frank in his talk with the greatest, so upright in conscience that I can compare him but to one other in the whole country. " Ther is only he and one more, that deservethe immortall fame! Your honour had some proffe of them bothe at your beinge here. I knowe not wich passethe other." That night he left, after long talk, he thus concluded with the Duke and Arran, that he would honour, love and serve them, so long as they feared God, sought the weal of their country, and performed their promises to the Queen our sovereign. He reminded them both of many other things that he wished in them both to be reformed,—advised them to beware of their council, and put all suspicion out of their heads, " to mayke of hys frendes as theie were worthie, and not as

* 24th.

Elizabeth.
1560. "affection leede them." Also to do in sending forth these ambassadors as became noble and worthy men, for the honour of their country at least, if there were no other respect. In this matter there has been late much controversy, both for the personages and the manner of sending them. In choosing the fittest men, the Duke thinks he ought to "have the stroke," because he says the "cheffeste poynt of their message touchethe hym and hys." The other point requires such charges, that he is loth to take part, or "dysbource so myche as shall furnyshe them," till the tax granted by parliament is levied—wherein very much has been said, and nothing yet concluded. Whatever order they take, "some theie thynke necessarie to sende." They were once resolved on Morton and Glencairn, the Master of Maxwell and Lethington. The Master can ill be spared from the Borders, whither he is gone commissioned to see good order. In his place, if it may be "withoute suspicion," my lord Robert is very willing to come, as are the two earls, both for hope what may insue as also to see the Queen. If it were not that I fear to be tedious, I would be glad sometimes to discourse with your honour more at large, and would rather write a word or two "owte of course," than leave any thing you should know untold. Since it entered into the Duke of Chatelherault's head that it were a great benefit to the country to be freed from the French, and since his experience of the Queen's goodness to this nation, he has had many thoughts with himself and "devises" with others, how it were possible to prolong the amity betwixt the Queen and the estates, that posterity "myght also taste of the felicitie therof." Though often times he has said he desires no longer life than he has will to perform his promises to her Majesty, "ether in publicke contracte or prevate wrytinge," yet he cannot see how this friendship can long continue, "excepte yt may be coopled with some more intier bonde then cane be conceaved ether in parchement or paper." Though it is "so ordinarie a tale in his mouthe," that he talks of little but that, "which some may judge myght proceade rather upon the affection that he berethe unto hys sonne," than that he considers and weighs things as he ought: yet I find many other wise and godly men that see the present state of this realm, and also of the next, "that judge that ther wolde a wondrefull benefyte insue unto them bothe, yf yt wolde please the Quenes heighnes timbrace the occasion offered. These of whome I speake have left nothynge unexamined; theie knowe the inequalitie of the personages, the worthynes, thexellencie of thone, the lackes and imperfections of thother—theie ar not unmyndefull what suters ther hathe byne in the lyke, what honour, what alliance, what proffyte, myght insue yf ether of them myght tayke place!" They utterly confess, that unless it please the Queen "for the love of God only, and for pyttie that yt may please Hym to put in her harte," not to see these two nations that have lived so long in debate (now joined in amity) to be again dissevered—"yt were bothe a farre unequall mache," and not their parts, after such benefits received, as restoration to their lives and liberties, to make any such suit! But their experience of her "vertu," hope of the great good that may ensue, the wisdom of her doings, her patience with their other suits, emboldens them to proceed with the embassy. The Duke himself is so earnestly "bent that waye," that he lives as one in "jelosie" with all that he suspects may or will be enemies to it; yea! I have known him suspect some his greatest

Elizabeth.
1560. friends, "bothe in thys countrie and the nexte." His son also, whether by inheritance, "or a humour annexed unto all those that feele lyke passions, hathe substancially fayled herein." God knows on what slender occasions such things proceed. I believe there is no man "wyllinger" it should come to pass, than he who is thought to hinder it most.*

When it was communed of who should be sent to England, my lord of Argyll would have taken it gratefully if he had been asked; he desires to see the Queen as much as any. How loth men are that it should not take place, appeared of late when some question was made of the likelihood of the issue; all concluded that the chief stay or "lett" would be in them that most "covieted" it, either by lack of wisdom in handling it, "or the imperfection of the partie whom theie desyer to prefer." They therefore concluded "everrie man," that whatever be "that waye" omitted or not take place, they will all otherways observe their faithful promises to the Queen. They are determined whatsoever insue, to maintain the contract, and thus leave some joy [yoye] to their posterity.

On the 17th of this present, when the bill (of which your honour has a copy) should have been subscribed, many consenters "thoughte lyttyll to have put to their handes." Argyll and Lord James went from place to place among the absentee lords, that they might have no excuse to avoid their promises. Cassillis remains as obstinate as ever, and Argyll and Lord James have "geven over kyndenes with hym, rather for a whyle to be a terror unto hys frendes, then that theie intende presently to do agaynste hym." Atholl bears so litill good will to Huntly, that he will do nothing for any man that favours him. The Earl of "Mongumerie" [Eglinton] loves his wife so well,† he will do nothing for her father's sake. The Earl Marischal is too well "scholed" by Mr James Magill, to do his country any good; his son laments to me his father's doings, and "promysethe better of hymself when he commethe in the place." His father is sick and gone hence 8 days since. Lord Gray departed contrary to his promise, without subscribing the contract. The bishops of St Andrews, Dunkeld and Dumblane, as soon as they had put in their bill of complaint of misusing them, and contempt of their authority, departed; and when called to the parliament house to pursue it, no man "compered." The bill by the barons against the bishops, contained rather a general accusation of all living bishops, than any special crime. The other three are become good protestants, and have subscribed the contract; the bishop of Athens preaches earnestly and prays heartily for our Queen, greatly extolling her benefits. Mr Wyllockes specially by name prays for France and England—Mr Knox "universally" for all princes living in the fear of God, desiring him to turn the hearts of others, and send them in the right way. Mr Goodman has been lately in the Isle of Man; he laments the slender reformation of religion there, and great lack of preaching among people so well disposed to hear God's word! he tarried there 10 days and preached twice.

I have lately talked with them all, to search their opinions how uniformity might be had in religion in both realms: they seem willing, as many commodities might ensue; but I find them "so severe in that that theie professe, and so lothe to remytte any thyng of that

* Lord James?

† Ironical. She was Arran's sister.

Elizabeth.
1560. "that theie have receaved, that I se lyttle hope therof." With others I have dealt more liberally, who say it is so expedient that their good will shall not lack.

Their "Booke of Common Reformation" is now in translating into "Lattyne," and shall be sent to Calvine, Viret and Beza in Geneva: to M^r^ Martyr, Bulinger and others in Zurich. I see not their opinion to England to be such that they will "stonde to their judgement herin," yet they will not refuse to commune with any "lerned in our nacion," to hear it. The Confession of Faith shall shortly be "translated and put in prente"; and order is taken that Knox shall preach at Edinburgh, Wyllockes at Glasgow, and Goodman at S^t^ Andrews. The Book of Reformation was not at this time presented to the Lords of the Articles, but divers other acts passed against the Pope's authority, the Mass abolished, and penal statutes against heretics taken away. So much already is done that all men professing Christ may live in freedom of conscience; what may ensue time shall show, and the sooner if good success follow the suit to the Queen's Majesty, whereof we have new comfort in the bill subscribed by all the noblemen of the realm.

The Duke himself, on my return from your honour at Berwick, made some rehearsal to me of the Queen's goodness to him and his house. Also what he heard by the Duke of Norfolk, and how much he was beholden to your honour; letting me also understand "that some purpose he had with you of thys matter that nowe is intended, he looked for mo comfortable wordes of you then he receaved: notwithstondinge that ther was nothynge saide that myght cawse hym to myslyke." The Earl of Arran had hoped on your arrival for no "smale comfort," or at least "some token or seigne," or "worde" escaped you, whereby he might gather what was intended, or "augemented were yt never so lyttle," his hopes; wherein "looke howe myche he fayled, so myche dyd he dyspayre of hym selfe." We are now fully resolved "with tothe and nayle," to set matters forward; the worst that may ensue is either honourable repulse, or a happy success in so notable an enterprise. Thus we stand, in love and friendship, without suspicion of any man.

We heard of late of the King of Sweden his son. Though much force lies in the sums of money he brings, "and what the substance that he is bruted with may allure or intyse men unto: yet is not the dyscomfiture of that so greate, as the force of the Duke of Howlst to be dowted, bothe for the nobilitie of his howse, the goodlines of hys personage, hys power, hys frendes, and also that he professethe the same religion. This is he, this is the man, that hathe geven us maynie a sharpe alarma in our campe! Thys ys he that breakethe our sleapes, and tyethe oft oure tonge. Thother * we knowe the fyrste of his estate, and howe latly he tooke the name of princly dignitie. We here myche more of hys substance then vertue; nether dothe hys tonge agre with anie langage the Quene Majestie speakethe, nor hys personage suche as greatly excellethe, hys people nether of suche civilitie or nature, that cane myche allure anie nation to intier amytie —his religion farre from that ours professethe, his supporte and aide farre of when neade shalbe, a prynce evle obeyed at whome, and worce beloved of his neighboirs! So that of hym we have no suche fere, nor

* The Tsar (?)

Elizabeth.
1560. "of anie other stonde so in dowte, be he never of so hyghe estate, but yt maye be contrevailed ether with vertue or other commodities that may insue." We also comfort ourselves somewhat with the possibility that "hanges over our heddes," which if God send, we consider the honour that shall "redowne" to the Queen and her posterity, that shall be able to conquer the hearts and service of such a people, "as nether with monie nor force coulde be wone, or brought into subjection."

These are our discourses, such is our daily, nightly and hourly talk. As the presence of a man in notable enterprises may greatly advance the purpose, it has been devised how "to conveie a secreat viage" to some such place into England "wher a man desyerethe to be." We think nothing impossible to a willing, bold heart. And if it were not for fear rather to offend than that anything else were to be doubted, "that adventure wolde soone be geven." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

8 *pp. Holograph. Address leaf lost. The date* "xxv" *has apparently been* "xxiijth" *originally.*

Aug. 27. **892.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I wrote to your honour "off before" how the Estates in parliament had "devised" some ambassadors to the Queen's Majesty, as well to give thanks, as of "suting" for a continuance of farther amity. I look for your advice therein—very necessary—and pray you to hasten it. Although our parliament is not ended, it is for the present dissolved, and many principal matters passed, with more uniform agreement than was looked for. There is "in a maner" no controversy in religion, and much less "anent manetenance off amity with England, wich all most ernestly wisses may endure for ever, and that the meanes off continuance may be embraced." The treaty of Berwick is by act of parliament confirmed, which I doubt not shall highly "irrite" the French. The 24 for council are chosen, and the Lord of S^{t} John goes to France "for the first," with the ratification of the treaty and names of the council, "and to essay what countenance they will mak to our men ther." If I may have any comfort from you in our matters, I will esteem myself happy. I pray you forget not my commendations to M^{r} Treasurer, M^{r} Wotton and my lady your bedfellow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

Aug. 27. **893.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since my last letter, the lords of parliament assembled in "the Tawbowth" in like sort as they first met, and confirmed divers acts agreed on by the lords of the Articles: first the treaty of Berwick which was notably commended by Lethington, with ample declaration of the necessity of the time, and the good will and favour of the Queen in relieving their extreme necessity and "almoste utter ruen of the whole countrie." It passed by common consent of all, divers saying "theie wolde be content to seale yt with ther bloode." Some exhorted all men to remain constant, and never to swerve [swharve] from it. Others praised the first "motioners" and prayed

Elizabeth.
1560. for the life and welfare of her Majesty the "performer." This ended, Lord James for himself and the others "contractors," protested for an instrument that their act was good, lawful and not prejudicial to the Crown of Scotland, and confirmed by consent of parliament. Then the "allowance" of the 24 councillors, whereof the 14 must be chosen—as the lords have taken the greater number. They have deposed the Pope and abrogated his authority without contradiction, and taken away many penal statutes against heretics—the Mass utterly abolished, with "paynes appoynted bothe to the sayers and herers: the fyrste, confiscation of their goodes, the nexte, banyshement, thyrde, losse of their lyves."

The three bishops, "Androws, Dunbleane, Dunkell," when called to pursue their bill, "compered" not, whereof a decree was made "for the staye of their lyvinges." Other acts passed, concerned the commonwealth or some private cause. Parliament is prorogued till it seem good to the lords to re-assemble. Divers are departed and many like to follow, savng such as remain to dispatch common causes.

Lady Fleming has obtained the lords' letters to the Queen for her passport. My lord Duke requested me to write to your honour for favour therein, and that it might be sent her by next post. My lord Arran desires the same, and Lord James would be glad that for her son's sake, she may have favour. Lethington also "wolde her good, thoughe he wolde not yt came by hym." Thus your honour understands their requests, "thoughe I had rather that theie had testified yt with their owne wrytinges particulerly, as her requeste was." The letters you sent that came out of France, are received. The news are what your honour knows, and of no importance. The Duke's son is out of prison, free to go where he list and live as he can; the manner was found very strange, no advertisement given but from a Scottish gentleman that wrote to the Duke, who I think intends shortly to send for him. I send not the copy of the bill against the bishops; it is long and contains nothing special. Edinburgh, 3 o'clock. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Aug. 29. **894.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I received your letter "from Wynchestre the xxij off this instant," for which I am bound to give you "double thankis," not only for your good advice, but also for your pains to form such an act of parliament as you thought convenient for confirmation of the treaty of Berwick; before receipt whereof "upon a five dayes," it was confirmed by the Estates in a form nothing disagreeing with your advice, differing little "in the very wordes." It will be nigh the end of September before those sent to the Queen may be at Court, for they come by "journey" not by post.

"I am most sory for the disgracing off Schir James Croft," specially as it is for matters concerning this country, for which I wish no Englishman should receive displeasure—seeing we are bound to all that were here, and have had some good turn of every one, "and very many off hym." If I dare be so bold, I pray you be good to him. The Master of Maxwell is gone to put good rule on the West Border, the inhabitants whereof have kept not good neighbour-

Elizabeth.
1560. hood with the countries of Scotland next adjacent to them, "this twelfmonth past." I will do what I can by my letters to prepare his mind to accord with Lord Wharton: "though I think it shalbe hard to bring it to pas, for on that mater he is not very tractable."* I see by Sir Francis Leeke's letters from Berwick that many false tales are brought to him of our doings here, which I fear on "misknawlege off the treuth" may be written to you. There is no appearance among us praised be God, but of very good concord; if anything chances contrary, it will be advertised by me. Forget not my most hearty commendations to M^r^ Treasurer, M^r^ Wotton and my lady. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

Aug. 29. **895.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I have received your letter of 22^d^, and think myself much indebted for your favour. I am very glad to hear of Sir Nicolas Throgmorton's return, and pray God send a worthy man in his place. I am sorry at my heart for Sir James Croft's deserts: "what somever inchaunted hym," I assure you at my first having to do with him, I never found man franker than he was to "the purpose." Your favour will stand him greatly in stead: I leave the matter to your wisdom and Lethington's writing. James Ormeston shall shortly be with your honour; the Duke sends him to convey his son secretly out of France. He himself shall come to you, his servant Nesbett shall ride straight away before, to bring the Duke's son to the Borders or into Flanders, where Ormeston shall receive him. The Duke takes it "mervileus evle that he was so spytefully sett owte (for so he termethe yt) shaken off lyke a dogge owte of a kennell!" I think it will content the French little to hear he shall be so conveyed. Argyll "(who by all meanes sekethe to retyre the Dukes affactions from those parties)" was persuader herein, before his departure.

I am required by the Duke to let Nesbett have my letter to my brother-in-law M^r^ Cryspe, lieutenant of Dover Castle, in case of any impediment of his passage. The Lord of S^t^ Johns will shortly be with you; the rest follow as soon as they may. All things are well and quiet amongst us, and so I trust will continue. May it please you to signify your will for my return: the lords that go up have been in hand with me for my company, and Glencairn spoke with the Duke for it. Arran withstands it for some other purpose, "wherof in I cane nether be counceller, nor wolde not enterpryse to tayke yt in hand in his compagnie, excepte I knewe howe well yt myght stonde with thadvyce of wyser heddes then my owne; yt were as made a yornaye as anye that ever was made!" You shall know enough hereof when time shall be. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

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

Aug. 30. **896.** FRANCIS AND MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Praying her letters of safe conduct for their cousin David

* Wharton had declared Maxwell a perjured man for his treachery in Feb. 1547–8, probably not forgotten.

Elizabeth.
1560. Hamiltoun, son to the Duke of Chatelherault, with 12 companions on horseback, to pass from France to Scotland through her realm—to endure for a year. Under their signet, witnessing the lords of their secret council. Edinburgh, penult day of August, 1st year of France, 2d and 18th of Scotland. *Signed:* James Hammylton, Mortoun, Glencarn, A. Galloway, W. Maitland.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: France and Scotland (as before).

Aug. 31. **897.** THE ESTATES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Considering that England is so near a neighbour to Scotland, and its Queen is sought in marriage by princes of all parts of "Chrestiente," and it would be equally prejudicial to France and Scotland, if she married an enemy to the former: they have considered it possible she might accept one of his subjects, and have sent an embassy to propose to her the Earl of Arran, who both from his near relationship to their sovereign the Queen, and his upbringing from infancy in France, is well disposed to do service to the King of France. They request him to direct his ambassador in England to assist theirs herein. They are sent with the more speed as it is rumoured the Prince of "Suecia" is soon coming on a like mission, and they would regret to have such a powerful neighhour who could join the power of England to his own.

1 *p. French. Headed* (by Maitland). *Indorsed* (partly by Cecill): "A French lettre. Cop. of a lettre sent from the Lords of Scotland to the French King." *Teulet* (i. p. 620), *adds* 17 *signatures, including the archbishop of St Andrews, bishop of Dunblane, &c., the Regent, Argyll, &c., and* 6 *provosts of towns.*

Aug. . **898.** TREATY OF EDINBURGH.

Commission to Sir Nicolas Throckmorton knight, the Queen's ambassador in France, to ratify on her behalf, the treaty made at Edinburgh on 6th July last, between herself, and Francis II. and Mary, King and Queen of the French and Scots.

3 *pp. Latin. Draft corrected by Cecil. Indorsed* (by him): ". . . mense (?) Augusti."

Sept. 4. **899.** LORD JAMES STEWART TO CECIL.

As in my other letters before, I referred all things to the arriving of Lethington, now my expectation being accomplished, "thair restis nocht bot that your honour credit him as my self in all caces. And yit this much will I wryt my self—that evin as of my part I never think I may be hable (how good that evir my will be and sall declayr the self as evir occasion salbe granted) sufficientlie in ony sort to recompense your kindnes and your laubouris schawin in the furtherance of this our commoun cause, so man I persuaid my self of your continewance and ernist persuit thairof evin to end; according my good expectatioun of your honour from the begynnyng." I refer the rest to the sufficiency of the bearer. St Andrews. *Signed:* James Stewart.

Elizabeth.
1560. Postscript.—"Ane day affoir the wrytting of this present," my lord of Argyll parted with me at Perth, and willed me to make his hearty commendations and excuse his writing to you, "quhilk wes throu suddantye of departur" only; for he assures your honour of his mind to serve the Queen, as I trust Lethingtoun will declare.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 4. **900.** ELIZABETH TO ARGYLL.

"Right trusty and right welbeloved coosyn," we have seen your letters to our Secretary, with declaration of your good will to the weal of both these realms, as appears therein, and also by your sending the letters and message which "Oneyle" lately sent to you by a special messenger. We shall not forget the "peculiar good will it semeth that ye beare towardes us." For answer to O'Neill, we have willed our Secretary to write to you our opinion. Windsor.

½ *p. Holograph draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by his clerk): "iiij° Septemb. 1560. M. from the Q. Majestie to the Erle of Argile."

Sept. 6. **901.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

"I have not hard anything frome yow sen the xxij off August, and never in all my lyfe wes so desirous to heare." I lose no occasion to report our doings, but cannot tell if all my letters come to your hands. I pray you for some advice "anent our commyng thyther." I had your commendations in M^r^ Randolph's letter, also what message the Cardinal of Lorraine sent to the Queen: there is no great cause of complaint in it. The clergy in parliament presented a general complaint, neither declaring the names of the complainers, nor on whom they complained. "Upon the first sicht theroff, all men in generall wer inhibited to have any intromission with there levinges frome the day off the date off the treaty; when thEstates ment to go more particularly to work for redresse off the thyng wes amisse in that behalff, and soght to be more at large informed. Ther wes none off the clergy found that wold prosequut the complaint or insist in it; so that if they be not fully satisfied, let them impute it to no other but themselffes." If the mind of the French is no better towards us, it is too great an oversight in us to suffer "those our domestique ennemyes lyve so quietly as they do." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

Sept. 7. **902.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I have received your letter of 29^th^ August, giving me occasion to think how much I am beholden to your honour. If my poor advice had been heard touching the Confession of Faith, it should not so soon have come into the light. God has sent it better success for the confirmation than was looked for—it passed men's expectation to see it pass as it did. Before published, or many words spoken of it, it was presented to certain lords, "to see their judgementes," and committed to Lethington and the subprior to examine. "Thoughe theie coulde not reprove the doctrine, yet dyd thie mytigate the austeritie

Elizabeth.
1560. "of maynie wordes and sentences wich sounded to proceade rather of some evle conceaved opinion, then of anie sounde judgement. The autor of thys worke had also put in thys treatie a tytle or chapiter of the obediens or dysobediens that subjectes owe unto their magistrates: yt contayned lyttle les mater in fewe wordes then hathe byne otherwyse wrytten more at large. The surveyers of thys worke thought yt to be an unfeet matter to be intreated at thys tyme, and so gave their advice to leave yt owte." Touching the "storie," it is not yet "absolved" as I understand. I hear your honour is to have the first sight, as I shall know as soon as I can speak with the "autor," who promised me long since to see it. Your honour was advertised by Lethington, that it would be very near Michaelmas before the ambassadors could be at London. The Lord of S^{t} Johns departs hence on the 12th instant. Your absence from Court, if it so chance, "wilbe more greveus unto some men, then the losse of half their lyves: I dare not as yet gyve them anie token therof, and for my owne parte, I knowe that when you leave that place you occupie, maynie will greatly dowte what wyll become of thys cawse."

Lethington being absent at receipt of your letter, I sent your commendations to him at his father's house. To the letter I sent him, inclosing yours, "he gave me thys answer that you shall receave" showing his affection and care in this cause.

The other matter of which he writes so "obscurly," is this—M^{r} Grymston when here to pay the money laid out for the sick and hurt soldiers, gave him secretly to understand that the captain of Berwick was informed "that the Erle of Morton was a man to be suspected, and therfore thunfetter for the yornaye that he was appoynted unto." Of this matter your honour receives Lethington's answer to M^{r} Grymston—when he moved the same. "Of that man * I cane gyve your honor no assurance, but by apparance bothe of wordes and dedes, he is that same to our nation that he wolde be extemed for of us—I never sawe or harde that acte or worde whie I myght suspecte hym." Touching the Cardinal of Lorraine, your honor conceived no less than truth, that whatever was said of the matter was false, as I trust you will find many other reports, both from here and other places.

Argyll, Atholl, and Lord James met at S^{t} Johnstons at a "treast" on Sunday last †: what they concluded I hear not, but have to-day sent to the laird of Grange to know. They met to confer how to "brydle" Huntly, if he became an enemy to the "cawse"; whereof though no open appearance, yet his nature and behaviour in the country, gives occasion of mistrust. My lord of Arran was to have besieged Lord Sempill: but the matter is like to come to communication, which many think best.

The lords are all absent, saving the Duke and his sons. I am asked to desire remembrance of Lady Fleming's passport; also I pray you be good to M^{r} Patricke Cogborne; I sent you his letter long since. The Lords have hired pioneers to demolish the fortifications of Leith, as they did at Dunbar, where as much is overthrown as the treaty imports. M^{r} Blunt and M^{r} Strude remain here by their express order, till an end is made. I wrote long since of one Lessingham's ship, stayed at Dunbarton: the man is freed to go as nobody charges him—

* Morton. † 1st Sept.

Elizabeth.
1560. the ship stayed and goods kept. There is a case in the Admiralty here for a prize taken by Thomas Wallace under a letter of "marte" from the Lords, said to be before the peace—the judgment I "wott" not. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

I have so much offended D^r^ Wotton with silence, I know not how to excuse myself.

2½ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "*Primo* (*sic*) *Septembris* 1560," &c.

Sept. 13. **903.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I received your letter, from Windsor the 5^th^ of this instant, and thank you most heartily being so occupied as I know you to be, you will sometimes "tak pane" to remember us. There is come to my hands in a packet sent from Rome, "ane oracion" made to the Pope in name of the King and Queen, which I enclose, that in reading the latter part, you may consider what is meant to this realm. "Marke these woordes, *A qua illud dotis nomine accepit*, and yow will imagyne the rest. I pray yow kepe the originall, for ther is no copy autentike off it in Scotland, and it may perhaps serve hereafter for some propos." If there is anything in the Confession of our Faith which you mislike, I would be glad to know, that "it may eyther be changed (if the mater will so permit) or at least in some thyng qualifieed, to the contentation off those which otherwayes myght be offended."

You know the purpose of our ambassadors coming to England: "wherin althogh I have ever found yow cold whenas I tooke occasion to enter in communication with yow upon it, as well the tyme I wes in England, as that yow were here, and that yow shifted the mater as one onwillyng to talk moche in it, yet can I not perswade my selff that (being so wyse and so well affected towardes your countrey as I know yow to be) yow do altogether mislyke it." It may be you are "entred" in a worse opinion of this country, on your late "sicht" of a part of it, seeing the wealth of it nothing like England; yet I am sure you have considered this lack of wealth proceeds not from the ground itself or sterility of the soil, "but off other ocasions which be accidents, a realme being eightene yeares together destitute off constant governement, the princesse a minor and furthe off hir realme, so long in a continewall warre, and for the most part off that tyme oppressed by tyranny of strangears, besydes many other incommoditees—yow may imagyne if it have good caus to be very wealthy"! Yet for all these accidents, not "so far dejected that it may not off good reason be compared with Swathen [Sweden]—theyr ostentation may be greatar and they I confes ar able to mak a greatar shewe off richesse then we be—yet fynd I not wherin theyr frendship shall stand England in soche stede as ouris may do; for in that God by creation off the world hathe granted to ws a prerogative above all nations, that they with all theyr richesse ar not able to purchesse!" In the whole realm there is suche a general consent and agreement among us to that "propos," that they to whom "we have done greatest injury wishe it may be broght to pas," and the "very papistes" can be content for its accomplishment, to renounce "theyr God the Pope"! I thus discourse to stir you up to think what commodity may ensue to both realms, if this matter be followed; and then doubt not yow shall see more than I yet do. It may be thought I speak

Elizabeth.
1560. thus for my country's sake rather than the profit of both; yet though I owe such love to my native country as becomes a natural subject, "yet I do protest in the presens off God, that I think my selff so far bound to her Majesty, and am so addicted to her hyghnes service, that I wishe no pleasour to any my countreymen joyned with her Majesties displesour. For that this mater is most in my memory, I wold be sory it shold be altogether out off your thoght, and therfor am thus bold to trouble yow therwith. Prayeng yow so to embrace the caus as the goodnes off it selff doth merite and the wealth off both the realmes require." Commendations to M[r] Wotton. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Sept. 17. **904.** CAPTAIN SARLABOS TO THE SCOTTISH LORDS.

"Messeigneures: jay receu vostre lettre avec la creance de Monsieur de Forbes." Whereby I understand the council is displeased at my receiving "le my lord Semple" against the peace, and demands him. But he being in the King and Queen's service and no rebel,—as he has declared at length to Captain Forbes and your herald,—I cannot here render him without their Majesties' command. Praying you not to be offended, for if I had done otherwise, within 24 hours I should have been put to the horn [mis a la oorne] and in 12 hours after sent to Paris with orders never to return to Scotland. Dunbar. Sarlabos. "Coppie."

1 *p.* *French.* *Addressed* (by Randolph(?)): "A messeigneurs du Conseil a Leslebourge." *Indorsed* (by Cecil).

Sept. 19. **905.** GLENCAIRN TO ARRAN.

"I spak with the Lord Boyde in my hayme cumming," who showed me a writing from my lord of Argyle, that his "pece" was ready how soon you or your father would call for "hir," yea and it were but myself that called! and he should have 500 men ready to come with "hir," the best he has in Argyle, "or ma or fewar" as your father or you would "charge" him. So you may be assured there "wilbe na stope in that pece." I delivered your father's writing to the captain of Dunbarton, who has prepared all things conform thereto, and has written to your father for the things he has not, that pertain to the "drawing of the pece." I shall be, "willing God," at my lord of Argyle "upoun Fryday * anis on the day, for expeditioun of his pece." On Saturday at even the captain here has promised me to have the "careours" at Carrik Castle to receive Argyle's "pece." So I think it best (under your better judgment) that you were in Hamilton on "Tyisday † at evin at the fardest," bringing with you "sic small pecis" as your father promised "to gar cum," and 20 hagbutters more. I assure you on my honour, this last Wednesday ‡ the few hagbutters you have here, came to Castle Sympill, and they within came forth to the "yeardis" in their accustomed manner; "and thai mair vilfull nor wys, come plane upoun thame and dang thame out of the yearde in to the castell, quhil as thai schote litil pistolatis at

* 20th. † 24th. ‡ 18th.

Elizabeth.
1560. "thame out of the vyndois, and durst not cum to the wal hedis! and to verifie this, thai tuik scheip that thai had inwith the clos * away with thame." And never a man hurt or slain, but one who will not be the "were," but divers of the enemy evil hurt, as my brother has written to me this day. On my return you shall know what is required for Argyll's "pece"; for horses and oxen we shall provide. Let me know by the bearer where I shall meet you with my folks and friends, to deliver to you to end this "journay, and sa depart fra you." Dunbarton. *Signed:* Glencarn.

The man that took our commission to be sealed is presently here, and passes with me to Argyll for his seal; "and hes na mair ado bot to cum agane be my lord Erskin quha is presentlie in Erskin, and sa I think he selbe in Edinburcht on Tyisday at evin at the fardest."

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill), and (by Randolph): "Castle Symple."

Sept. 23. **906.** RANDOLPH TO CECILL.

When I wrote last to your honour, I was forced, for the vehemence of the pains I then felt, to leave much of your letter unanswered, and omit things I would you should know. Where it pleases the Queen to accept my doings, I pray God give her grace the honour, and me the power to serve her.

The reasons why you should retire yourself, are better considered of your part, than coveted of your friends, who heartily wish you would abide the consummating of the happy work now in hand for perpetual uniting these two realms. I long since dispatched your letter with the other inclosed, to my lord of Argyll, who is no less worthy of the honour the Queen has been pleased to show him than any one in Scotland. My lord of Arran is much beholden for your commendations. The passport is not yet delivered to Lady Fleming; my care is how to "seclude" out of her number Robert Lyslye, a mortal enemy to our cause and pretender to the earldom of Rothes. Thus much I left unwritten in my last.

Since then, Lord Sempill doubting the force preparing by the nobles here, left his castle secretly, and was received in Dunbar the 11th of this present. The Lords thereon sent Captain Forbois to Sarlabos with letters "to gyve hym knowledge that he had done agaynst the treatment," requiring Sempill's delivery as an offender, to their sergeant of arms. The written answer of Sarlabos you shall receive by Lord St John, who will devise with you thereon, to see how the French may be justly charged with breach of covenant; who burden others with false charges—as that of the bishops not suffered to enjoy their livings. One other thing in the treaty is not yet performed, viz., the "dimolution" of the fort of Eyemouth—not unworthy to be had in mind. It is said the men in Dunbar exceed 60, the number agreed. The munition house yet stands; Sarlabos would not suffer the pioneers to overthrow it. He stands always on guard, and goes not far abroad. Captain Lucinet and those in the Inch never come "alande," and very few repair to them. It is said there are more

* *i.e.*, inside the inclosure.

Elizabeth.
1560. women than men in it; and the "merrie" men call it, "Lisle des fammes, and not des chevaux."

I lately received a letter from the Bishop of Athens, confirmed at this parliament bishop of Galloway, and answered it as at the end of his letter inclosed. I have talked at large with M^r^ Knox concerning his "Hystorie," and as much as is written shall be sent to you at the Lords ambassadors' coming, by M^r^ John Wood. "He hathe wrytten only one booke; yf you lyke that he shall contynue the same, or adde anie moe, he sayethe that he must have farther healpe then is to be had in thys countrie, for more assured knowledge of thynges passed, then he hathe hym self, or cane combye here: yt is a worke not [to] be neglected, and greatly to be wysshed that yt sholde be well handeled." M^r^ James Magill desires my acquaintance—it shall not be refused "as farre as he lyste—yf no good may be done upon hym," I will at least bring him in "jelosie" with the French. It is said here that Earl Bothwell is married in Denmark to a wife with whom he has 40,000 "yoeudalles."* The author of this tale is the "Ladie of Baclowgh his olde frende and lover." I have heard since writing this, that he was not out of Scotland, but lay secret in some corner.† There came lately out of France a Scotsman called the "person of Wylton" reputed an honest man. If he had come by land, "he had" brought letters to you. He advises all here how to deal with the French, viz., "to yelde nothynge of that that theie have gotten": persuades the continuance of amity with England, and discourages trust or credit to promises or fair words. He depends "of the howse of my lord of Cassels, and thought to have some credyt that waye." He has promised to travail with him, and if possible frame him to good purpose. Huntly who was absent this last parliament, has been written to by the lords, that seeing he did not give "open consent to these messages" at least he should confirm them by his oath or letter, which he has done, as the lord of S^t^ John will show you more at large, as also make you privy to some other charges, that the upright meaning of these men, so long as they are friendly dealt with, may appear.

My lord James is not yet looked for from the north; Argyll will be here within 20 days. Huntly has promised to be with the Duke the 5^th^ or 6^th^ of next month. My lord Arran continues his journey to Castle Sempill; they lately slew in his bed an old man above 80 years of age, since Sempill came to Dunbar. His other doings are intolerable; "when Goddes wyll is to delyver hym, Dumbarre cane not holde hym."

The fortification of Leith goes down "apase," 200 pioneers are on them. Touching the Borders, the sooner the warden returns, better order will be kept.

At their meeting, Argyll, Atholl and Lord James made a perpetual league against all adversaries now or hereafter against either of them —this specially to bridle Huntly, if he intends any mischief, whose doings cause doubt—were it only sending his kinsman Captain Coullayne into France, and is "the meane here that Robert Lysley sholde followe." I told your honour Captain Forbes had been with Sarlabos, who in private familiar talk condemned the opinion of those that think our sovereign would give ear to the suit to be made

* "Udallers?" † This sentence interlined.

Elizabeth.
1560. to her for Arran, for said he, she was determined long since to marry the "Sueden" for the great abundance of his riches and substance, and having enriched herself that way, be better able to withstand whatever enemy comes against her. But her Council seeing how necessary the amity of Scotland is to her, intend to offer to Arran in marriage the Lady Catherine, daughter to the late Duchess of Suffolk, that she being an heir apparent and next of blood to the crown of England, shall be matched with an heir apparent of Scotland; so if both the present possessors of these crowns die without succession, the right shall come to "them two." He assevered this and much more with such oaths and words, that Forbes "entred in certayne beleeve" that otherwise it could not be. He also swore to me that he [Sarlabos] said he had seen letters written from "so sure a place," that he would not deny it; and offered to lay a horse of 100 crowns that it shall so come to pass. He trusts that this advertisement which he has sent by his servant, shall help him to advancement when he returns. Though of all this there can nothing sound in my ears that I credit, saving perhaps that he* may have had some intelligence from England—yet I thought it not necessary that this tale should be told straight to Arran or any other that stand yet in doubt of the Queen's meaning to this realm—*Omnes quibus res sunt minus secundae, sunt nescio quo modo suspiciosi; ad deteriorem partem sumunt omnia.* "He† hathe promised me hys faythe to kepe bothe thys, and also all other matters in sylence, besydes thys of commen rumors and brutes, untyll that I doe release his tonge, wich I intende not to do untyll that I may here howe farre these unsesonable brutes wylbe blusterede abroode." Edinburgh. "Your honours to maunde alwayes as bounde." *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

4½ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . Tho. Randall to W. C."

Inclosed in the same:—

(Bishop of Galloway to Randolph.)

"Rycht honorable schir and brother . . . I am ernestly desyrit of my dyocesianis of Galloway to obtene ane pasport generall of my lord Duke of Norfok to all the induellaris of Galloway, to frelie pas and repas thair selfis and thair merchantreis in the north partis of Ingland, and I sall on the uther part obtene of my lordis of counsell for your cuntrie men to have lyk privilege on our syd." As I am not well accustomed in such affairs, I pray your help, and let me know by the bearer the readiest way to "sut" it.

"I am to pas to my lord my brother within foure dayis, quhair I sall remember on your haik‡ gif ye have nocht gottin hir alreddy. My bedfallow commendis hir service to yow in hir maist hairtly maneir." Perth, 9th of September. *Signed:* "Yowr gwd frend and brodyr at pwar, A. Galloway."

½ *p. Addressed:* "To ane rycht honorabill and his gude freind Mr Randell knycht" (*sic*). *Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . Bysh. of Athe."

Note by Randolph.—The answer was that Norfolk's commission

* Sarlabos. † Forbes. ‡ Hackney (?)

Elizabeth.
1560. was expired, and if the bishop obtained letters from the Estates to the Queen, Randolph would see to their conveyance.

Sept. 23. **907.** RANDOLPHE TO [CECILL].

"Thoughe my case be as myserable and as farre from hope [of] good fortune, as anye mans that ever travayled so farre [and] served prince with so wyllinge and carefull hart: yet [I take] God to wytnes, I sorrowe more other mens mysfortunes [than] I lament my owne. The fyrst worde that I rede [in yours] of the xjth of thys present, conferrynge yt with suche brutes [and slan]derus reportes as have byne maliciusly reported by the F[rench] and their faction, so passionethe my hart, that no grefe [ever] I felte was lyke unto yt! I nether had worde to confort [my selfe] nor advice to gyve my frende, we mesured our affections [bothe] for our countrie and frendes, as thoughe we had seen that [sorrowful?] harte that you wrote with your penne. The self same com[fort] you staye your self upon, *quod jactas curam tuam super Domi*[*num*, did] also releve us, and so we intende to moderate our cares. Both [Lidington?] and I thought yt good for a tyme to kepe your lettres from all [others, for] yt ys yet no tyme to caste no suche dowtes. I se men to sl[owe where] most expedition is requered. Yf ther be no more allowance, I [feare?] that ther is no more service loked for. I wolde I coulde des[erve so?] smale a portion as wolde suffice in thys case; yf yt were n[othyng] but the wearinge of my substance, I wolde that I sholde never [be payed?] of on grote to have thys cawse prosper. I feare more mys[fortune] then the losse bothe of my lyf and all that ever I h[ave or] am lyke to come to. My lyf is not here so pleasant that [I wyshe] here to mayke anie longe aboode; thoughe I see not howe [easely] to wrappe my self owte. I have denyed all reddie to [muche?] at my lorde of Arrans handes, nowe to become a craver [there]? nether so myche imbace my power frendes, but that I wy[ll serve] her Majestie one monethe or two for naught. I am not s[o despe]rate in thys cawse, but I am sure Goddes mercie surmo[nteth] mens devises. Yf I thought yt neaded, I wolde commend [my lordes?] service unto you." Of all your wordly acts to thank God for, is your benefit to this country. I never wished you half the honour and favour that I am assured you have here. "Yet God be my wyttnes, the report of your doynges made me thynke well of you before that ever I spake unto you or perceaved what God had done for you." The affection of this country towards the Queen is such, that I believe she has as many faithful hearts in this realm, "as she hathe for so myche grownde in Englande"! I would be right sorry to see this good will perish, or to see so many noble and worthy men as love and honour her Majesty and would serve her to the death, "sholde other wheare be transported, agaynst their hartes (?) myndes, and consciences. Thys is myche lesse then that I have to saye, and more then I wolde have wryten unto you, had yt not byne that the necessitie of the cawse so pressethe me. As your wysedome hytherto hathe byne worthylie commended in all wayghtie affayres, so I do not dowte but God wyll prosper all your honest action, and lett them end in hys glorie. Whatsomever your honor shall judge me to have deserved, be yt ether to be rent in peaces or to be burnte in the fyer for my playne and rasshe wrytting, lett the same be executed

Elizabeth.
1560. "upon my hastie and unadvised lettre. . . . All wayes at one place, untyll to-morrowe, that we tayk our yorneye to Castle Symple." *Signed:* T. R.

Copy of my lord of Arran's letter [we] received from Lethington.

2 *pp. Holograph; also indorsation:* "To your self." *The first page damaged at end of each line.*

Sept. 28. **908.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

"Gif my commendatioun culd adde ony thing to the augmentatioun of the worthy opinioun that your l[ordschip] hes ellis consavit of thir noble men my deir and speciall freindis, the erle of Mortoun, the erle of Glencarne, and the lord of Lethingtoun," I would force myself to say more of them than I need. At the suit of the Estates of this realm, they have taken on them an enterprise whereon the weal of the country, their own honours, "and my life dois depend." My request is you will credit them as myself, and also weigh the necessity of the case, that they may return "joyfull and happie men to the confort of the hale realme." Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Hammylton.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 1. **909.** MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct and commission for post horses, for her cousin George lord Setoun and 12 companions, to pass through England to Scotland and back—to endure 6 months. Under her signet. S^{t} Germains, 1st October, 2^{d} and 18th of her reigns. *Signed:* Your darrest suster and cusignace, Marie.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.

Oct. 1. **910.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

Albeit I wrote to you from Edinburgh with Lethington, yet having occasion now being in the west, to meet with my lord of Glencairn, "I thocht good to desir yow to except me said lord as my aswrid freind, to quhom I haiwe bein alwais addettit for his gowd will, boyth in tymes past and now." Glasgow, "in haist." *Signed:* James Hammyltoun.

1 *p. Holograph; also address:* "To Maistir Ciscills principell secretary to the Quenis Majeste of Ingland." *Indorsed.*

Oct. 7. **911.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since my lord of S^{t} Johns departed, by whom you would be advertised of all things, there has been no great matter to report. The ambassadors in 2 or 3 days will leave this town towards you; they stayed a few days longer, for advertisement they had from Sir Francis Leke, and also the uncertain bruit of the fall of English money, of which they had made their chief provision, and paid very dear at the merchants' hands to have it. They have written their determination to Sir Francis, who I am sure will speedily advertise you, as will

Elizabeth.
1560. Lethington, in the matters that your honour wrote to him of: wherein he and many others will show their desire to continue the amity. The contract is yet in my hands; 30 of the estates have subscribed it, there lack yet 3, whose seals I doubt not to get when they come to this town. I am advised to have the copy of the Act of Parliament confirming it, subscribed by the clerk of the register's hand, and beg your pleasure thereon.

To show your honor in how good part Argyll did accept the Queen's letters, I send you his own, testifying the receipt of them and his devotion to her highness' service. Of the "self same" band and league is "my lord of S^{t} James,"* of whose handwriting I can testify no less. Others there are, no less bound than these, of whome I have no fewer promisses bothe by worde and wryting, then I have of the other." You shall hear soon of these matters by those coming up.

I trust you shall shortly hear the Castle Sempill mâtter is agreed: my lord Arran wrote to me from Glasgow that he had sent two gentlemen to require the Master of Sempill to deliver the castle; who answered that as his father had put him there, he would be loth to do anything contrary to his command—but if Arran pleased, he would come himself to him and remain, sending his brother to Dunbar to know what his father would agree to. The son is returned, but I know not yet his father's answer: it is told me the father is returned to the Duke and his son, to take such composition as he can. You shall know in my next. In the same letter Arran writes that the bishop of S^{t} Andrews is like to become a good protestant—has already given over his Mass, and received the common prayers. "This (?) good token (as the larde of Graynge wrytethe unto me) he hathe geven of repentance and amendement of his lyf; for at what tyme he offered most largly, the ladie his love the lord Symple dawghter was in howse with hym at Parslaye [Paisley]. My lord of Arrane is not so hastie in beleve, that he wyll credyt myche before he see some token of hartier repentance than I cane thynke wyll proceade owte of so dyssembled a harte! As myche as the Duke possessed of hys, wich was Parslaye only, he † hathe in possession agayne; what so ever my lord of Arran had, he kepethe stylle in hys handes. The hatred of men increasethe dayly agaynst the bysshope, his fawltes are oftayne tymes tawlked of bothe in the pulpet and owte."

Lord James is not yet returned from the north. I doubt whether Argyll be gone to meet the Deputy of Ireland—for he was so purposed, as I understood by Glencairne. The Master of Maxwell was again written to, to see if Wharton and he could be agreed on reasonable conditions. Lady Fleming takes journey hence to-morrow for France: having promised to me "of her honour," that none are in her company but the ordinary attendants of her son and her self. Robert Lyslay (of whom I wrote) sues a passport for himself and 9 others; he will hardly find favour here. Lord Erskine I hear has given the keeping of Edinburgh Castle to his brother Alexander, "a worce papyste then hym self and more malicius then a man of good judgement owght to be. As ther was never good to be loked for at hys‡ handes, so ys ther no hurte to be dowted." If it pleased your honour to procure my return, without suspicion of alienation of the Queen's

* Lord James ((?) † The bishop. ‡ Lord Erskine's.

Elizabeth. 1560.

favour to this country, I should be bound to you for ever. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(Argyll to Randolph.)

I received your writing with letters from the Queen and "Master Sisyll," and for her Majesty's "gowd lettir" shall be ever ready to do her acceptable service. I shall do diligence as M^r^ Cecil directs, but I have received "na word from the Erll of Swsex depwty of Irland, qwharof I marwall, for Mastir Sisyll belyfes that I haif rasawit from hym." Therefore certify him. Dunoon, 30* September 1560. *Signed:* Ar^d^. Ergyll.

¾ *p. Holograph; also address:* "To the richt worschepfwll Tomas Randolf." *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 8. Egerton, 1818, fol. 12.

912. MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO LORD GRAY.

"Cousing . . . Notwithstanding of the gude report maid to ws of yow, yet we ar blyith to se be your lettres the intire affection ye have evir had to our umquhile modir the Quene regentis service and ouris." And we know the good will she had to yow; trusting you will continue it during these troubles, and keep your friends to their duty and obedience "awcht to ws," and to give no favour or consent to "na thing" but what is conform to our mind; whereof ye shall ever be advertised, as matters succeed in these parts, and we pray your advice. S^t^ Germanis. *Signed:* Your gud freinde, Marie.

In case our former letters were "tynt," we give this credit by Lord Seton as from ourself to thank you for assistance.

½ *p. Addressed:* "To our trast cousing the Lord Graye."

Oct. 11.

913. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since I last wrote to you with the Earl of Argyll's letter, I have received another from him written "in Insche Dryniche" † the 3^d^ of this present, desiring me to tell your honour that then he had heard nothing of my lord deputy of Ireland, as he had hoped and would have been glad of. I also received the letter from the Master of Maxwell which I inclose for your judgment. The occasion of my writing was to signify to him the Queen's continued good will to this country. He writes another letter to Lethington, almost to the same effect, save in the end he answers a former letter from him as to appointing with Lord Wharton in these words—'And wher ye desyer [me] to wryte my mynde towardes the lord Wharton, this is my answer: I love the lord Dacres howse beste of any one mans in England, and love the Lord Whartons worste, and yet nether love I thone so well, nor thother so evle, but I love the amitie betwexte the realmes better then them bothe; and whome somever yt shall please the Quenes majestie and councell of England to put in office here, I am well con-

* Originally 23^rd^ or 28^th^.

† Inistrynich on Loch Awe (?)

Elizabeth.
1560. 'tented so that I may have justice, but I am sure ther is no man within the realme of Englande may do the Quenes majestie suche service upon the West Marches, as my lord Dacre may; nor for my parte no man that I wolde so wyllingly receave yt of. But whoe somever yt wyll please the Quenes majestie tappoynt, so I may have justice lyke as I shall do, I shalbe well satysfied, and withowt justice I wyll never be satysfied, and so I assure you.' These are his own words to Lethington which I desired your honour should know.

Lethington on arrival will let you know more of this and other matters. His care is in all points to set forth the Queen's honour and weal of both countries. There are others of whom no less "compte" is to be made, ready for any attempt by force, policy, or wisdom to achieve her pleasure. Lord James is not yet returned from the north. Argyll and other nobles are written for to be here, as a resident council for affairs. The Duke is at Hamilton, Arran at Castle Sempill. The Lord himself is so wilful, there is no reason to be had at his hands; "hys sonnes breede of the father, and so are determyned to make a *symple* ende." The last letters from one Alexander Clerke in France to my lord Arran and lord James, have greatly encouraged them to persevere stoutly against the French, as they both have told me. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(Maxwell to Randolphe.)

"Gude Maister Randulpfe." I received your writing and believed not you were in this country, or I would have written to you. I perceive ye have seen my letter to young Lethington, desiring him to show M^r^ Secretary my heavy complaint on Lord Dacre for lack of redress. "Of veritie I have nocht gottin redres of ane grote sen the conclusioun of the peax, quhilk is ane yeir and almaist thre quarteris," though I offered full redress and passed to England myself, "quhilk is by the accustome,"* seeking delivery. Besides my offers, I delivered to him "ane rycht notable offendar that was in all Scotland aganis Ingland, and tuke bot ane sobir fallowe quhilk was justyfite.†" His excuse is that the Grahames the principal offenders, "is nocht obedient." I offered to concur with him in ordering them or any others "that wald leip out, in syk sort as himself could devise"; and be bound to give them no maintenance or reset here. "I mon desyre yow my loving freynde," to take the pains at Court to show my complaint to M^r^ Secretary, that the Queen and her Council may take such order that peace may be kept "in baitht thir realmes: quhilk for my part I pray Almychtie God gif this word 'baytht' mycht be put away!"

Whether I shall "wyt‡" Lord Dacre for goodwill to their evil doings, or that he be "inhibit" from riding on them, I know not. I can "wyt" no man but him, being in office; but whoever is in "wyt," unless reformation is made of these great "attemptyvis," which are above 6000 or 7000 merks sterling, besides slaughter of 40 or 50 men, ye know the great inconvenience which will follow. For the subjects

* *i.e.*, is not usual. † *i.e.*, executed. ‡ *i.e.*, blame.

Elizabeth.
1560. will be forced to seek relief where they may have it, of these daily incursions from the English side. Dumfries, 7th October 1560. *Signed:* Jhone Maxwell.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 15. **914.** MORTON, GLENCAIRN, &c., TO CECILL.

For our necessary affairs we have directed this bearer Robert Melville before us, among other things to receive some money from the persons appointed, conform to the Treasurer's warrant here which he brings. We pray you to see the same delivered. Referring all other things to his credit. Berwick. *Signed:* Mortoun, Glencarn, W. Maitland.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xjth (*sic*) October," &c.

Oct. 21. **915.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Immediately on the lords' ambassadors' departing from Edinburgh, I repaired to my lord of Arran at Castle Symple, who after long "comber and myche adoe," had it delivered to him, after beating down the chiefest tower of defence. He was at it 10 days, 7 of them so evil, that neither approach could be made nor artillery planted. The Master and his brother with the chiefest, yielded to my lord, and are presently with him in this town; of the others, above 60 dismissed, besides 18 slain and divers hurt. The custody of the house is committed to Captain Forbes with 10 soldiers to be used at the lords' will. The little fort that Lord Symple built in the "loughe," is to be overthrown, "rather for the name sake then that yt anye thynge importethe. As *symple* was his devise to name yt, 'Defendour of the Faythe,' as he hathe byne *symple* in all his other doynges." Arran requires no reward but the disposal thereof. Lord Sempill himself and the laird of Blanerne, as it is written to Arran, have left Dunbar for France. The Lords intend very shortly to assemble at Edinburgh, to put order to things "amys": Arran shall lie at Melrose [Muros] for a space to put order to the borders. It is reported to the Duke that 8 score of the English Grahames and Fosters are broken out, and ride at liberty: to whom it were a happy thing if some order might be put. Hamilton. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

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

Oct. 21. **916.** RANDOLPHE TO MAITLAND.

The day after your departure, I took my journey towards Castle Sempill: "I vesyted by the waye the larde of Hauton,* the larde of Cawder, and the Lorde of S[t] Johns wyf; from thens to Hamilton, and so to my lorde of Arrane," whose success and honorable doings are worthy to be commended. For 7 days after he came to the castle, the weather was so "extreame" that neither could the pioneers work to effect, nor the artillery be placed for battery. But his ardent desire and his servants' good will was such, "that the viij daye in the mornynge, the artillerie was placed so nyghe that yt astunysshed

* Hatton (?)

Elizabeth.
1560. "bothe his ennemyes and was to be wondered at of all men that behylde yt." That night after "maynie sutes," there was appearance of good effect: and about 3 p.m. next day, the gate house tower fell one half from the other, giving entry to the soldiers, who held it almost 2 hours—so long that they feared the other half would fall on them,—so by my lord's command, retired with loss of only 2 men, and James Baxter hurt in the thigh. The enemy thus discomforted, and "the cheffeste corner" overthrown, early next morning hung out "a whyte bannarde," and my lord sent the Lairds of Graynge and Stanehouse and Captain Forbes, to whom the Master of Sempill and others in charge, said they acted by the Lord Sempill's command rather than of their own will, and would submit unconditionally; which my lord accepted, and has the Master and his brother here at Hamilton. The castle, and house "in the lough" are committed to Captain Forbes with 10 men: the things in the house reserved unspoiled, not worth 40 crowns, besides the artillery and victuals, whereof they had good store. The soldiers all dismissed and well pleased—the one side happy to escape with their lives, the other well rewarded above their wages—the country round well delivered of such "combersome" neighbours, and think this a good example to others. To rehearse our incommodities by rain and wind, "were to good a pastyme for you to knowe!" Never was camp better victualled, saving lack of houseroom and fire. My lord and his nearest friends lodged in a barn, "wher I was my self the leaste of vj that lay in one bedde!" Lords Boyd and Somerville with their friends were daily in my company, also Glencairne's brother and many of his friends, with whom assurance is taken "at my lordes requeste," till 20 November.

The castle was delivered on 19th, and the 20th "at the wrytinge herof," we were all merry in Hamilton, intending to be at Edinburgh on 22d, where many of the lords are to meet. Grange of any man in the earth, is furthest in credit with the Duke, for this service to his son. "God sende you to deserve to be as well beloved." He * is now gone "over the water" to repose till his next voyage, which he believes will be against the thieves on the borders; whereto the father is willing enough, and the son desires no better life. By Grange's report of his doings before I came, and what I saw since, he deserves great praise, and is notably commended by all the country about. It is written from Edinburgh by Alexander Guthrye that Lord Symple and the laird of Blaneherne are shipped at Dunbar for France. †I cannot write more till I come to Edinburgh. "Scribbled in hast and wrytten in my bed." Hamilton, 21st of October "rathe in the morning." *Signed: Vostro* Tho. Rand.

My humble commendations to the Earls of Morton and Glencairne "with the leave of my fellowes." My lord has sent you "pres la croce of France (?) wich retorne agayne."

3 *pp. Holograph; also address:* "To . . . My lorde Lidingeton lorde embassadour," &c. *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 21. **917.** RANDOLPHE TO HENRY KILLEGREW.

"Incontinent" after the ambassadors' departure, I went to

* Arran. † From this point in fainter ink.

Elizabeth.
1560. Castle Symple, where my lord Arran had been 5 days before my arrival. The 10th day after he came it was rendered, after their chief strength had been beaten down over their heads. The principal of them are here at his will. Lord Semple himself is gone to France, and with him one named the Laird of Blanerne, "as craftie, falce, and suttle man as anie in Scotlande." This is he for whom Sir James was suspected: he has practised secretly for Huntly, and is thought to have some matter of his in hand now. "Lett my lord Sir Nicolas be advertysed of them bothe." Hamilton. *Signed: Vostro,* Tho. Randolph.

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

Nov. 15. **918.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since the taking of Castle Semple, the Duke and my lord Arran have mostly remained here, where divers lords are assembled, and more daily looked for: all purposing to continue and take order for justice, and waiting answer from France "to autoridge them farther." I trust you are sufficiently assured of their affection to England and desire for amity, by the ambassadors. Besides, I understand it by daily conference with many lately re-entered on their ancient liberty, whereof they have been so long deprived. As the greatest disorder now is on the borders, the lords have promised reformation as the case requires, whereof this bearer servant to my lord Graye, can inform your honour. Other matters like to breed cumber, are well "quayled."

Lord Symple is yet in Dunbar, his eldest son by his last wife, and the Laird of Blanherne, are gone to France. The Master of Symple presently labours to the lords for his father—it is suspected more of policy than good meaning. The Earl of Huntly changes nothing of his good nature. One [ ] Wylson was lately taken in Fife, ready to set foot in the ship with letters into France, of which your honour shall be privy by Lethington. He escaped from his keepers' hands, and is thought to be in Dunbar. It is said that the Earl of Eglinton [Mungummerie] intends to go to France: Lethington can show you the cause,—"wich I wolde to God were impeached by all meanes, for that hys landes be nexte unto the weste seas, in places most to be dowted yf anye attempte shalbe geven by the Ff. [French] on that coste." The Bishop of St Andrews makes many "craftie" means to win favour; the bishop of Murray has agreed with Lord Ruthven, and speaks fair. I was late, by advice of Lord James, Pattarrowe and Mr "Balvanes," in hand with the clerk of register, to have the confirmation by parliament of the treaty between England and Scotland, "signed with his hande, as a perpetuall and autentice testimonie of the ratification, daye and tyme." He answered he could give no such at any private man's request, whatever he were; howbeit he would not refuse his advice, as he judged for the best, viz., to tarry till the Council be established or the peace confirmed, and then sue the council to command him to that effect. The contract remains yet in my hands, subscribed and sealed by as many as I have any present hope in, though perhaps at the lords' next meeting, some one other may be "wone" thereto. I inclose the last letter I have from the Earl of Argyll, and the credit thereof "under wrytten." I answered

Elizabeth 1560. in the fittest words I could find, promising to make your honour privy to his good will to serve her Majesty. I give most humble thanks for your favourable remembrance, as appears in your letter to Sir Francis Leeke, and remit myself wholly to your pleasure. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

3 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xix (*sic*) of Novembre," &c. *The date in text has been altered from "xj" to "xvth" in darker ink.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Argyll to Randolphe.)

I have sent this bearer to "my lord Duke's grace and to my lord of Arran," to show them the cause of my absence from council, "quhilk indeid is weray vechty and laborious to me, that is to put ordour to this my cuntrie beand so lang without ony ordour or ministratioun of justice." Credit my servant who has my mind, and certify me of any "novellis" there. Straquhur, 7th November 1560. *Signed:* Your asswrit frind, Ar^{d}. Ergyll.

* "The credyt."

(1) To declare his good will to serve the Queen.

(2) The cause of his abiding in these parts, is awaiting letters or message from the Lord Deputy of Ireland, which he has done for 6 weeks.

(3) And his marvel at receiving none, as like opportunity may not long serve.

(4) To write to M^{r} Secretary thereof.

1 *p. Addressed.*

Nov. 16. **919.** FRANCIS II. TO THE ESTATES OF SCOTLAND.

After their long delay in sending it, he has heard the message and seen the letters brought by the "Chevalier de S^{t} Jehan" present bearer—but is greatly displeased by their proceedings, and hopes they will return to the good road from which they have deviated. He will send two good and notable personages as his deputies to assemble parliament legitimately—and see that they come to [resoudre] to their reasonable "debvoir." He for himself is willing to forget past faults, as he has fully declared to the Chevalier de S^{t} Jehan. Orleans.

1 *p. French. Contemporary copy. Indorsed:* "Double de la lettre que le Roy escript aux estatz Descosse, 16 Novembre 1560."

Nov. 17. **920.** CHATELHERAULT TO LORD GREY OF WILTON.

We have your letter of Berwick 14th instant, and understand your good mind to the peace of the borders. As some things mentioned therein required advice of the council, we have communicated with them and they have answered your lordship. "Oure sone hes bene evill at eys, bot thankes to God he is convalescit, and gif his

* What follows in Randolph's hand.

Elizabeth. 1560. "absence fra heir may be sparit, sall do gude will that he be at Melros about the day appoyntit for the Justice Court." If "we" or he can do you any pleasure, your lordship shall have experience of it. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Yowr lordschipis lowffing frind James.

½ *p.* *Addressed:* "To . . . the lord Gray of Weltoun wardane of thest marcheis," &c. *Indorsed:* ". . . the xixth of November."

Nov. 26. **921.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the 22^{d} there arrived here a gentleman from the King of Denmark, with letters to the Duke and Council, whereof I send the copy. The answer thereto will be to like effect as given in times past, viz. "that a free releace and quyetance hathe byne made of the hole, by hys predycessors for them and their heires for ever."

Affairs here are in "self same state" as when I last wrote. Arran, Lord James, and others of the Council repair shortly to put order through the borders, intending on 10th of next month to kepe their session at Gedworthe. Divers are glad of Lord Grey coming to Berwick, hoping for his maintenance of justice. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . M^{r} Randall . . . with a copye of the King of Denmarkes lettre for the Orchades."

Inclosed in the same:—

(Frederic II. to the Scottish Council.)

We rejoice to hear of the peace between France and Scotland. But though unwilling to commove you, we must remind you of the isles of Orkney, which our predecessor Christiern I., when he married his only daughter Margaret to James then King of Scots, gave in pledge for part of her dower of 50,000 "*Florenorum Rbenensium* (?)" till paid; which done, the right of redemption was reserved for ever to the Kings of Norway. It now concerning us much to regain these islands, we affectionately beg that on payment of the sum as we now offer, you will see to their restoration, as is just. We await your reply by this our man sent for that reason to your highnesses. "E venatione nostra Cymbrica" 23^{d} October 1560. *Fredericus Rex: Addressed at foot:* To . . . James Duke of Hamilton, &c. and the other governors of Scotland.

3 *pp.* *Copy by Randolphe.*

Nov. 30. **922.** LENNOX TO ELIZABETH.

When I was a humble petitioner to your Majesty for licence to travail in my wife's and in my own rights and livings in Scotland—leaving it to your pleasure whether I should sue to the French Queen or to the Scottish Council: your Majesty signified I should first know the advice of my friends there, and then I should have yours. I have now had their full minds by their writings and credit sent by the bearer my friend the Laird of Gaston, whom I also send with the same to your highness according to my duty, as has always been

Elizabeth.
1560. my "trade" in your most noble progenitors' time, with any news from Scotland. They advise me to sue for pardon and living to the French Queen—always with your Majestys' advice—and impute great negligence and slothfulness in me by their letters and credit. Yet I intend still to follow your Majesty's pleasure as in time past before that of my friends, trusting to have comfortable answer, so that I may know to whom I shall sue, the time serving well for my purpose. I perceive by this bearer that a good many more of the nobility and gentlemen of Scotland who have not written to me, are as much my assured friends as those that have. My house at Settrington. *Signed:* Mathew Levinax.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Nov. 30. **923.** LENNOX TO CECILL.

I send you, by this bearer the laird of Gaston, my letter to her Majesty, with letters and credit sent from my friends in Scotland, all which I pray you deliver to her highness, praying you to be a mean for her answer so soon as convenient.

As my countrymen the earls of Morton and Glencairn are "there att this present," who are partial in my wife's and my affairs—the one * being chief keeper of my wife's inheritance unjustly from her, contrary to all law and right—the other having most "ingratlye" deceived King Henry VIII., and me his confederate in the said King's service, at my last journey to Dunbarton, as Sir Peter Mewtas can partly declare—which earls I suppose will sooner advance my enemies cause than mine—I desire you to keep these my affairs secret. And I hope in God that if my wife and I prosper in our matters, it shall redound more to the Queen's commodity and her realm, than anything "they goo abowte."

Pardon my writing thus plainly, but I was informed that immediately on the receipt of my "petigree" and letters which I sent to you from this house last year, copies were sent to my enemies in Scotland—and those that saw them, and were made privy to them by "Hamelton," † have advertised me of it. With my wife's hearty commendations to you and my lady your wife. From my house at Setrington. *Signed:* Mathew Levinax.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Armorial wafer signet (indistinct).*

[Nov. .] **924.** THE SCOTTISH NOBILITY.

Headed.‡—The Earls of Atholl, Sutherland, Erroll; the lords Gray, Innermayth; the Earl of Crawfurd. [*Short pedigrees follow of the intermarriages, &c., of the chief nobility—the Lady Fleming is styled* "soror notha Jac. 5ti" (which she certainly was). *At the end, Maitland's own lineage is noted.*]

2 *pp. In Cecill's writing. Indorsed* (by him): "Mariages of the Lordes of Scotland." *Very curious.*

* Morton. † Chatelherault no doubt. ‡ In Maitland's writing.

Elizabeth. 1560. [Nov. .]

925. THE QUEEN TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

Addressing them as right trusty and right "entyerly" beloved cousin, "right reverend father in God," right trusty and "right welbeloved" cousin, &c. &c., she acknowledges their letters "dated the ," in name of the three Estates, commissioning the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, with William "Makland the young lard of Ledyngton" to declare certain things to her, with credit for them.

½ *p. Draft by Cecill, unfinished, on back of preceding paper.*

[Before Dec. 7.]

926. MOTION OF THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADORS.

Representing to the Privy Council, how that God has been pleased to place the title of England in the person of her Majesty, a maid and unmarried, and to provide that he who is by "lawfull descent of blood" heir apparent to Scotland, failing succession of the body of their sovereign lady (whereof they see as yet no likelihood) is also unmarried. Showing the weighty reasons against her marrying a foreign prince—the increase of her power in uniting these two realms—the good qualities of the suitor both in person and otherwise—the danger of her own title to the crown of England, which though acknowledged there is questioned abroad, especially by France, and will be jeoparded in battle ere long, by one who has sworn to try it with 20,000 men—the only safety against which is this marriage—finally lamenting their former rejection of such a union, for which they have ever since been plagued and so deeply wrapped in misery, that they are not yet rid of it—and now that God has propounded a like means, they fear if again rejected, both countries shall hereafter repent it.

4 *pp. Closely written. Indorsed* (by Cecil): "A motion of the lordes of Scotland for a mariag of the Quenes Majesty to the Erle of Arren." *Much stained by damp.*

(1) Copy in a somewhat later hand.

6 *pp. Indorsed.*

Dec. 8.

927. THE QUEEN TO HER COUNCIL.

Concerning the request of the Lords of Scotland.

1. She acknowledges the thanks of the Three Estates, and if they need her help again in a just cause, it shall not be wanting.

2. While thanking them for their offer in marriage of the "best and choycest person" they have, and that not without danger of displeasing the French king—she is not at present disposed to marriage (unless political necessity may hereafter constrain her)—recommending Arran not to forbear marriage elsewhere, and his nation to continue in amity with hers, though no marriage take place. Thinks Arran "to be a noble gentillman of great wordyness," &c.

3. Thanks the lords for their pains and travail, advises them not to forget what has past, and keep good concord for the future, and avoid factions, remembering the proverb—"that dartes forseene hurt very

Elizabeth, 1560. little or not at all." That she will neglect no reasonable thing to further defence of both realms against their common enemy.

3 *pp. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by him): "viij Decembris 1560, the Quenes Majesties answer to the lordes of Scotland, viz., to the erle Morton, Glencarn, l. of Ledyngton. Mariadg with the Erle of Arran."

Dec. 9. **928.** THE QUEEN TO GREY OF WILTON.

Licencing him, as he lately requested, on necessary occasion to enter and confer on the Scottish frontier with such nobility as come nigh her borders, taking all precautions for Berwick and his own safety in travelling.

1½ *pp. Official draft. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "The ixth of Decembre 1560, M. to my Lord Graye," &c.

Dec. 12. **929.** THE CREDIT BY LENNOX'S FRIENDS IN SCOTLAND.

"The credut send frome my lord of Lenox fryndis in Scotland be the Lard of Galstone."

1. They think if the Queen of England stands his good lady and mistress, neither he nor "my ladeis grace *" can lose their Scottish possessions, and advise him accordingly.

2. If he could thus get the Queen of Scotland's pardon, (1) he would recover his earldom, because his forfeiture "was nocht ordurle led" † as is well known; (2) and my lady's grace may pursue her title to the earldom of Angus as nearest and lawful heir to her father.

(3) If he cannot get the Queen of Scotland's pardon, he must still go on, with the Queen's Majesty's advice and help, "and fryndis assuris your [lordschip] and they sall wair ‡ tham selfis, thar heretag, and all that thai haf, bot your lordschip and your hus sall be up agane." And there is no "stop" but in himself to pursue his own.

(4) They impute great sloth to him, and desire him to be more diligent in his own business, and he will find friends in Scotland, more than he has written to—so let him "tyn §" no time, and they assure him if it would give him pleasure, they would come to the furthest "tryst" where he is.

1½ *pp. Scottish hand. Indorsed* (by Cecil): "12 Dec. 1560, Lady Lennox. Creditt by L. Gaston." *Marginal notes by him also.*

Dec. 16. **930.** CECILL TO LENNOX.

Upon the Laird of Galston's arrival with your letters, I immediately presented yours to her Majesty, and gave to her all his "creditt" in your affairs "in as good sort as becam me." She "oppened" it to some of her council, especially to my lord of "Penbrook," but on the French King's death, she stayed her intended purpose. Till time shall better declare what is meet or unmeet for her Majesty, I see she would that this bearer return without tarrying, as he can show to your lordship. I am sorry for this accident and stay of your matters,

* The Countess. † *i.e.*, legally done. ‡ Spend. § Lose.

Elizabeth.
1560. "although I perceve grete lykeloode that the same shall herby be the better." With my humble commendations "to my ladyes grace, I take my leave, prayeng your lordship to thynk assuredly that I meane as ernestly towardes you and hir grace, as any other who so ever they be." Westminster, "the xvth of Decembre."

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xvjth of December 1560. M. from my master to the Erle of Lennox."

Dec. 16. **931.** ELIZABETH TO LENNOX.

[*To same effect as the preceding letter.*] Not doubting but the forbearing of some time will rather amend than impair your causes, and give us better occasion to further the same; "as suerly for our coosyn your wiffes sake, nature shall dewly move us, and for your owne sake, being our subject, we will not neglect nor pretermitt any thyng that resonably we maye doo. As we have caused our coosyn of Penbrook and our secretory your very frend, at more length to declare to this beror, whom we thought not mete to have stay any longar." With our most hearty commendations to our dear cousin your wife.

1 *p.* *Draft by Cecill.* *Indorsed* (by his clerk): "Mynute the Quenes Majestie to therle of Lenox xvj^{o} Decembris 1560."

[Dec. .] **932.** BENEFITS BESTOWED ON LENNOX.

"Yf therle of Levenax allege straithandling, ingratytude, or brag upoun the covenantes of Henry theight—Answer."—

All the King's covenants fulfilled, and 100,000 crowns more disbursed, "withoute frute," for the Earl's advancement. None of the earl's fulfilled. Being sworn a "perpetuall subject," and never to make private bond elsewhere: where he excuses his practise with the Queen of Scots for marriage, "by comenyng witht the Lady Latymer for one of hir doughtares": Answer—ye know since the "last" French king's death, the same was never "in talkes" with her or any other in this realm. And that lady and "thei" * have been cold in friendship for this year and more.

"It shoulde seame my lorde," that your labouring for your living in Scotland is "but a colour for a hiear feather! For we be not ignorantlie advertised from Scotlande, that yow and my lady may dispend more heare above the revennous of the Levenax, nor boetht therles of Angus and Morton may spend, if yow had them all," and we will prove it.

The Queen is "good lady unto yow boetht," to let you enjoy these great livings undisturbed, seeing what faint hearts ye bear her and seek to be her "enymie."

"My lorde," ye enjoy more of her liberality yearly than you think she knows of, which is meet to be restored.

Her highness's usage of you has been most gracious, and not "straite," as that of other princes—and your "lycences whiche ye often speke of," was not so "oversene" of these princes as you report, "but circum-

* *i.e.*, the Earl and Countess.

Elizabeth. 1560. "spectlie luked to, knowing your inclynations in these late yeares,' which we omit to recite.

1 *p.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Benefittes bestowed uppon the Erl of Lennox, 60." *Perhaps prompted by Morton and Glencairn, both then in London.*

Dec. 20. **933.** CHATELHERAULT, &C., TO A BURGH REPRESENTATIVE

My lord of S[t] John, lately sent by the Estates to France, has now returned with answer of the affairs committed to his charge, to be declared to the said Estates: and meantime it has pleased God to call to His mercy our sovereign's husband "the maist Cristin King." We advertise you thereof, that you may convene with us on the above, and other matters touching our sovereign and her subjects, in Edinburgh on 15[th] January next, duly commissioned "to aggre for your burcht" to what is concluded by the Estates for the common weal. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James, James Hammylton, James Stewart, Menteht, Rothes, Erskyn, R. Boyd.

1 *p.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "20 Decemb. 1560" (and by Randolphe) "Lettres tassemble the States."

Dec 23. **934.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Arran is returned "thys present" from his "viage" against the border thieves, where (both from what I saw, and am informed) such good order has not been taken in many years. Though I have at large informed my lord governor of Berwick, as much as I was able, when with him at the day of "treues" at Ridingburn on 17[th] instant, yet I send your honour in this inclosed writing the chief points for order determined on by my lord Arran for Gedworth and country round. When there, Lord Grey sent him news of the French King's death.

The benefit to both England and Scotland, and the happy relief to so many afflicted and troubled souls, in danger of death and banishment, "gave hym great occasion to prayse God, and hartely rejoyce for their delyverie, bysydes the great benefyte of God towardes thys nation, that so sodayntly unloked for, unthought of, contrarie unto thexpectation of all men, in so blessed an hower hathe taken awaye so great a schurge as was hangynge over yt, to the subvertion of the whole estate and nobilitie." His father also is much bound to the Queen for so speedy advertisement, at such time as he had good reason to doubt the French intentions and practises against himself and the country—as the inclosed letter which I was charged by the Duke to send you, shows—were all ready in their heads and minds to put in execution by any means. He has other intelligence from a friend in France, "that undowtedlye thys matter" was in communication immediately after the King's death, and himself earnestly advised to see to it. He thinks it so important that he wishes that "the Erle of Lenox his sonne wer cawled nerrer unto the Courte, with some couller of attendance or service, that all occasions of practyse and meanes ether to drawe hym into thys countrie, or convieynge of hym to anye other place, myght be taken awaye—for that he seythe that

Elizabeth.
1560. "great inconveniens may ryse here upon." While thus with me, the Duke with many earnest words and oaths, said "that what succes somever God wyll gyve unto the sute nowe in hande, or wych waye somever yt wyll please hym to inclyne the Quenes majestie our soveraignes harte," he will to the end of his life remain her "moste affectioned serviteur," for her benefits received. Thus much he charged me to advertise your honour, and make no man alive about you privy, not even those present with you.

Before the news of the King's death, through the reports of the French preparations, and that the Lord of S^{t} Johns had not prevailed in his "legacie," the papists [patystes] had divers consultations how to do if any force were sent here, concluding that all who would promise aid and support, should subscribe a "bande."

They met on the 10th instant at Dunbar, the chief of those present was Lord Hume with his friends in the "Marche," whose names are in this "tyckett." To this convention are privy the Earls of Huntly, Sutherland and Eglinton *; and Lord Ruthven not without suspicion, for his great friendship with Hume, whose journey to France for this tyme is stayed. Eglinton continues his purpose that way, I think the "shortlyer," for he has of late been pressed again by the Duke for the "divorcement of his dawghter." The case is strange—the wife complained of the "inhabilitie" of her husband, and he like to be divorced for adultery, "that sens his wyf left hym, hathe gotten a wenche with chylde!"

The Earl of Cassillis is "wyshed unto her, yf she were at libertie." Argyll is daily looked for, "his mother-in-lawe† repentethe the bargayne that she made in Irelande, and as yt is saide, wyll shortly retorne." Ruthven has never been here since Parliament. I trust he means better than men think. The others you know of remain "all wayes one." Letters (as the inclosed imports) are directed to the lords and barons to be here on the 16th of next month. I inclose copy of a letter written hence to some ministers in France. The answer is that letters shall very shortly be sent according to its tenor. To this matter very few are privy. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

I cannot send the order taken for the Borders, for I have it not so far written. So send a letter that you have seen the copy of already.

3¼ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed:* ". . . R. 28."

Inclosed in the same:—

(1) (Border Court at Jedburgh.)

Declarations by Arran before the convention of landowners of the Middle Marches, and the principals of the clans of East and West Teviotdale, for keeping the peace.

Extracts.

For redress of attempts by Liddisdale against Scottishmen, Lord Borthwick the keeper to hold a Court in Hawick on 23rd and 24th instant, and "ane uther Courte" in January. He has a company of hagbutters to assist him, and Sir David Hamilton of Preston is to see he does his duty.

* *On margin*—Hume was lately in the North with these men.
† His father's second wife.

Elizabeth.
1560.

An attempt was committed by John Halyburtoun of Murrayslaw on Willie Niksone, "Gymmerhorne," Englishman prisoner to the laird of Farnehirst, which John is in Edinburgh Castle, till Gymmerhorne's recovery or not, when order will be taken with John.

There is also "ane face" of a public kirk erected in Jedburgh, the principal town of that country, and minister, elders and deacons appointed in order—the like to be done in all that wardenry.

There was some disorder committed before both wardens by the laird of Ormestoun in Teviotdale and John Ruderford of the Know. The lord lieutenant has warded them till punished.

4 *pp. Copy in Scottish hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Novemb. 1560"; (by Randolphe) "Extracte of these thynges that were done at Gedbroughe by my l. of Arrane for order upon the borders."

(2) (Names of those at the Dunbar convention.)

10th December.

Lord Hume; the Abbot of Jedburgh, his brother; the laird of Langeton: Mr William Ker "person" of Roxburgh; Sir Andrew Ker; the lairds of Greenhead, Hundelie, and Ormeston, with others not known.

Ormeston was charged at the day of truce at Ridingburn, with reset of stolen English oxen; he challenged his accuser to fight, and cast his glove to him. Till it can be decided, they are commanded to ward—one to St Andrews, the other to St Johnstons. This is another Ormeston than him you know.

Sir Andrew Ker who was all this "viage" with Arran, was charged by him to have been at the Convention—but utterly denies, though acknowledging the report that such a thing was.

1 *p. In Randolphe's hand. Indorsed.*

Dec. 26. **935.** MAITLAND TO LORD ROBERT DUDLEY.

I thank you for your gentle and friendly letter, received by the hands of Mr Randolphe, whereby I see your lordship has not forgotten the communication which passed between us at Hartforde Castle—which matter "as in the selff" worthy of consideration as tending to the amity of both realms, "so hath it in my jugement some respectes wich upon good reason may move your lordschip somewhat to travell in it, and can not be but honorable and in the end proffitable to your selff." I trust you believe that with all my heart I wish these two princesses to be joined in tender friendship, "and in deade it is the earthly thing I most ernestly call to God for, and yet (in his presens I speake it)" I can desire no more fervent good will than I find already in the "Quenes Majesty my maistres towardes the Quenes highnes your soverayne," in whom I found the like at my last being "there," and see by your letter "it is nothing diminished." Such ministers as you may much further the consummation, and I pray you "weary not to travell in so just a mater; and as I trust the Quene your sovereygne will not the more mislyke yow for it, so dar I well assure yow that off my maistres yow may mak good accompt, as off one off your dearest frendis. I have not omitted to make onto her majesty soche offer on your behalff as by your lettre yow willed me—which she did no lesse gently receave, and commanded me ex-

Elizabeth.
1560. "pressely that I shold not forget in her Majesties name, to giff yow most harty thankis for it, and assure yow that she doth not a litle esteme the good will off soche a one as yow be—wheroff she will not fayle to mak full demonstracion, if occacion be ministred whearby she may procure anything may do yow honour or pleasour." I trust when you essay it, you shall experience it.

I must not forget her Majesty's commendations to you, and "to say this also, that besydes the tendernes off blood, the one off them doth so moche in all things ressemble the other, that whosoever loveth the one off thayr two majesties, he must also off necessite love the other." If you could persuade her Majesty sometimes to write to my mistress with her own hand, "yow shall do her a singular pleasour," for however short or of small consequence, she will more esteem them than a great gift, taking it as a "gaige" of amity, till it please God they may meet "face to face." Offering you all service I may, I will ask you to say for me to the Queen "that which by my selff I dare not presume," my most humble thanks "that it pleased her so gently to ask off me at my lord off S^{t} Colmes and so to have me in remembrance." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

2½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address:* "To my veary good lord my Lord Robert Duddeley Master off the Quenes Majesties horsses off England." *Indorsed:* "Dec. 1560, W^{m}. Maitland L. of Lyddington."

Dec. 27. **936.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I send your honor the writings I omitted with my last, as they were not then ready. I am required to remind you of the last matter I wrote of, as a thing "deaplyer conceaved" in some men's heads than I can suspect why. "I dowte" it rather forged at home than thought of abroad. It is now whispered that "she intendethe to marrie in Denmarke." I heard this talked of before it was possible the news should come so far, and many discourses what may ensue, proceeding from the clergy and their faction. Some wish her at home, for she can marry no foreign prince without consent of the Estates, as was agreed in the contract of marriage with her late husband; many desire wherever she marry, that the amity may long continue,—the most earnest of these are best able to help this, "thoughe theie are not of the greatest." Argyll is at Stirling, where Lord James goes towards him to-morrow, thence to S^{t} Andrews for 6 or 8 days.

You are not ignorant I am sure, of one Patrick Hume, lately gone to France: his chiefest occasion is to supply Alexander Clerke's place, and keep the lords assured of things there. The Lord of S^{t} John has not yet reported his answer from the French, as but few lords were present on his arrival. Lord Seton has not been here nor spoken with any of the Council: and though I "mystruste not" he shall be well enough received, there are some who would have him know he has not deserved so well, as others that have hazarded their lives and goods for the liberty of their country. The Duke asks me to write to you for a poor man Cutbert Vesie, out of England these four years for a slaughter—for whom he and my lord of Arran have written to you. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.*

Elizabeth.
1560. Dec. 29.

937. THE QUEEN TO RANDOLPHE.

Because ye have shown yourself diligent and faithful in our service, and are of such good acquaintance with the nobility, &c. as may tend to maintain their good devotion towards us, we will you to abide at Edinburgh when the Estates meet, or with the Duke of Chatelherault or his son, to preserve the good intelligence between us and that realm; reporting such occurrences as are meet, to ourself or our secretary, as the case requires. We have ordered our Treasurer at Berwick to pay you [ ] by the day.

1 *p. Draft in Cecill's writing.*

The royal warrant to the treasurer is endorsed, to pay Randolph [ ] by monthly prests.

Holograph of Cecill. Indorsed (by his clerk): "xxix of Decembre 1560. Mynute," &c.

[Dec. .] **938.** ADMIRALTY SENTENCE.

A.D. 1560.—In the suit by William Kerr, Archibald Greme, and others merchants of Edinburgh against Thomas Claveringe in the Queen's Court of Admiralty, as the chief ringleader in spoiling their ship and goods at Saterburne mouth Northumberland, he was condemned in 2300*l.*—but execution of the whole could not be got, and by consent of the Laird of Ledington, a levy of 1200*l.* was ordered on Clavering and the rest, with commission to Sir John Foster knight and Valentyne Browne to see thereto.

1 *p. Official contemporary hand. Indorsed* (in another): "A note of the sentence in the Admiralty Courte," &c. See *Border Papers*, Vol. II. p. 819.

[1560.] **939.** NOTE ON THE EARLS OF ANGUS, &C.

Begins with "oulde erle Archibald [5th] of Angus, long presonar in Bewte, deid after Flowdon feild"—his sons, the Master of Angus, slain there, Gavin, bishop of Dunkeld, "who deid in the Savoye," and Archibald, provost of Edinburgh, banished to England and died in Paris—his wife Janet Hopper, widow in Edinburgh, and their son Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie "late provest of Edenburgh"—Archibald last [6th] Earl of Angus, "deid at Temtallon," and his brother Sir George Douglas, "who deid in the northt of Scotlande" (the Master's 2 sons), their marriages, &c.—Lady Lennox and her two sons are noted.

Broad sheet. In pedigree form, and a hand closely resembling if not the same as that of the "Benefits bestowed on Lennox." (No. 932.)

940. BOND FOR LORD GRAY OF SCOTLAND.

Sir Walter Ker of Cesford, Sir John Ker of Pharnihirst, Sir Ralf Grey of Chillingham and Sir Thomas Grey of Hortowne,* bind themselves jointly and severally to the Queen in 1000*l.* sterling, that the Lord Gray of Scotland "taken prisoner in the late warres† . . .

* This fourth name scored out. † In Queen Mary's time.

Elizabeth.
[1560.] and not hitherto putt to his randsom," and now going to Scotland by the Queen's licence, shall re-enter with the warden of the East Marches on 40 days' notice.

2 *pp. Latin partly. Draft in two hands. Corrected by Cecill. Indorsed:* "Copy," &c.

1560–61. Jan. 1. **941.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

You remember there was a letter directed from my lords of Council to Lord Wharton, in favour of two Scottish merchants stayed by him at Berwick "in Quene Maryis dayes," which I caused to be delivered to him at his house "on S[t] Stephens day, as we past that way." By his answer I see the poor men will get no favour at his hands, unless "by commandement from above," for he is displeased at their complaint to the Council. They are I trust at London, and will resort to you: I pray you show them such favour in their suit as you may of justice.

The pledges at Newcastle desire to be changed to some other place; I delay speaking to their friends as to discharging their expenses, as they wish me, till I hear from you. If you think otherwise, the matter is not great.

I would be glad to hear from France: please to send the enclosed packet to Sir Nicolas Throgmorton there. Berwick, "this New yeares day." *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1 *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "*Primo January 1560*," &c.

Jan. 1. **942.** MORTON TO CECILL.

Your honour will remember I travailed with you for transporting my cousin Robert Douglas, pledge for the Lord James, either to Court or Cambridge, as you thought expedient. His urgent request causes me to remind you to take order to have the young man brought first to court for sight, and then placed as the Queen finds best. Berwick. *Signed:* Mortoun.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 1. **943.** ALEXANDER CLARK TO CECILL.

As I have long laboured to my small power, towards maintenance of the Queen's realm in liberty, whereof her grace's ambassador Sir Nicolas "Throughmorton" now in France, has informed your "maisterschipe"—and shall continue, God willing, to the end of my life: "I have swa used my Lord Seton with gentyll perswacionis as well heir at home as by the way, that he hes confessed of thus interpris that your awld frendis haid prepared for your countrie in the begynnyn of this instant yeir." Your ambassador has doubtless informed you of their army, but of this I believe you have heard nothing, viz., that before Lord Seton's departing he was called to privy council, none present but "the Duk, the Cardinell, and two devisoris of fortis, wher thai maid hym sueir the great oith of fidelitie, that he schould not devulgat thair interpris to no creatour,

Elizabeth.
1560-61. "and how thai asked his counsell in the mater; and did schaw hym the platforme and portraitt of Holie Iland besyd Berwik and within the see, asweill that thai had drawin it with pen upon paper as thai haid the same maid in forme and portraitte with mennis handis in cley or earth, and siclik with two fortressis maid of cley that thai wor myndit to have maid in the said iland and in everie fort four hunderith harqubusearis"—and the King's galleys with ships, to have taken ordinance, munitions and "vivres" at Calais, and elsewhere in France, so as to have always remained at that island to have troubled your "cost sydis" and seas. As many as 300 ships of France, besides of the east seas, as "Hambrought," &c., were to have besieged Berwick which they made sure of taking by the end of May next, and made account of it as a thing already done. It would be well to give order herein, for though the King's death may hinder it, there is no trust in their friendship whoever governs, be it the King of Navarre [Navern] or the Constable. If you think my hasty return necessary for the Queen's service, I shall make diligence. I have been more gently entertained by the Lords and nobility here than I deserve. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Alexander Clark.

1½ *pp. Holograph; also address* (to Cecill): "be this deliverit with speid to his awin handis." *Indorsed* (by Cecill's secretary): "Alexander Gordon (?) to my master." *Clark's signature has been defaced and* "Geffray Blarnock" (?) *written above.*

Jan. 2. **944.** GREY OF WILTON TO CECILL.

On Tuesday the last of December the Scottish ambassadors arrived; and after accompanying them to their lodgings, as I could not ask them to sup with me that night, I spared them till the morrow —New year's day. In the morning at church, heard the order of our Berwick service together, which they liked very well; and afterwards Earl Morton craving sight of part of the new works, I brought him through the places I thought convenient, and then made them a soldier's dinner, with my most "curtest and jentill manner." In the afternoon we communed of the articles in the Council's last letters, and I find them well disposed towards all kinds of reformations. So after some discourse of the article touching marriages between the two nations—their opinions wherein shall be touched by it self in our report on consultation—they departed, accompanied by a good number of gentlemen, to the "Bounde Rode" well contented with their entertainment.

To-morrow I go to meet the wardens at Hexham. Berwick. *Signed:* Wyllyam Grey.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk). *Stained by damp.*

Jan. 3. **945.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

My lord of Arran this morning gave me knowledge he minded in a day or two to send his servant Captain Forbes to France—his message being to thank the King of Navarre for his old friendship, and keep him in good opinion. I have great presumption that in this hasty and secret despatch (as it was first devised) some "secreter" matter is meant than is openly signified. Since the King's death,

Elizabeth.
1560–61. divers conceits have troubled his mind, and many tales whispered into his ears, both of the Queen our sovereign's small favour to him, "and also how patent a waye God hathe made to mache hym beinge heire apparant, with her that ys all reddie in the right of succession." To prevent in time any disadvantage, he sends this man to take occasion under his credit, to utter his entire affection and desire to be further at her grace's commandment. He has also written to the Constable, as one to whom he is much bound. To these matters, no man is privy "excepte Knox, and he whome he trustethe with the whole." He has himself written to Sir Nicolas Throckmorton with his commendations, and also asked me to write, as I have done, with a word or two of this matter, in the letter I now send to your honour, which I wish (though it be hard) should reach his hands before Forbes arrives.

It is said the ambassadors are this night at Tantallon; and have so wisely governed their affairs, that they have themselves prevented the tidings of what fruit shall issue of their legation. Though some I know suspect the issue is not as desired, yet they are not without hope of perpetual amity. Lucinet of "The Inche" and the Controller, have been of late to present their service to Arran: but were much better "saide unto then trusted." The lords are absent, but intend soon to be here. Lord Seton has not yet been here, or seen any of them. Some wish him better than his deserts, others would like some assurance for the future. Alexander Clerke asked me to see his letters conveyed to you and Sir Nicolas Throckmorton. Trusting that Lethington shall bring some word of my return, I will not trouble your honour more than to remind you. I have been 6 years continually out of my country, before the Queen came to her crown, and the space I have been here is little to my content, saving for my duty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

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

Jan. 6. **946.** ARRAN TO CECILL.

I received your letter dated Westminster 19th December, and see your good will to me thereby, besides the report the ambassadors made of you, for which we thank you heartily and shall never be forgetful.

I pray you for the Queen's licence for this gentleman I am sending to France to "gratife" the King of Navarre for his goodness to me when I was there. Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Yowrs assurid at his poar," James Hammylton.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . by Mr Forbosse."

Jan. 10. **947.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

In my letters by Forbes and those before, you will perceive the conjectures on his hasty despatch. What he has showed you, or may open to Sir Nicholas of his secrets I know not, but he is a man "patent inoughe" and easy to deal with, if rightly handled; and I would wish this sooner, for on his return he may show more pleasure in some things than many others. Of things worth writing, Lething-

Elizabeth.
1560–61. ton has advertised you; his good will to our nation never more apparent than since his return. He informed me of her Majesty's pleasure for my abode here; when I know more, I will trouble your honour with one word or two of my own estate. Edinburgh.

1 *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet: a device with snake's head.*

Jan. 10. **948.** MAITLAND TO CECIL.

We came to Edinburgh the 3^{d} instant, where besides the Duke and Arran, we found no number of nobility. The Estates shall be assembled on the 15th, to hear report of our answer, consult on our duty to our sovereign and what ambassadors shall be sent to her. The king's death, concurring with the Queen's majesty's "doubtefull" answer to our nation, which our men take to be nothing but a plain refusal "in good termes," makes many enter in new discourses. We have done what we can to keep them in hope, and that the matter is not yet so impossible but all shall be well, but it will be hard to keep them in.

Arran has sent one Forbes a gentleman of his own to France (he says) to the King of Navarre, and to learn the state of things. If I had been here then, I would have written to you by him. I see men here will begin to make court to the Queen our sovereign more than they were wont, and press to put themselves in her good graces; yet fear not but the most part will keep "touche" with you, whereto I offer myself as a mean, recognising the great friendship I have found at your hands, and how much you have hazarded for our cause, and it is our duty, and of all others most mine, to serve your turn again. I have not conferred with many since my return, but so soon as I can, shall impart all.

M. de Seure at our parting, willed me to tell him what the Estates intend, and that some were sent to our sovereign with diligence. I have written to him as I promised, and enclose the letter, which after reading, close "with any signet" and cause it to be delivered by any Scottishman or other as you think good. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

[Jan. 12.] **949.** QUEEN MARY'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HER COMMISSIONERS.

Instructions to Symon Prestoun of Craigmillar, James Ogilvy of Finlatar, John Lumisden of Blanerne, and Robert Leslie of Arthuirheyir [Ardersier], passing instantly to Scotland on the Queen their sovereign's part.

(1) They shall signify the King's decease to the Duke, the Archbishop of S^{t} Andrews, Huntly, Atholl, Argyll, Bothwell and the Prior of S^{t} Andrews, the Queen's "regreit and fascherie," and present her missives for opening Parliament.

(2) Also make the whole nation understand that she before the King's death, strove for their reconciliation to him, to which he was favourable.

(3) "Attour," as King Charles his brother is governed by the Queen

Elizabeth.
1560-61. mother, in whom her highness finds great love, they to preserve the alliance, have dispatched the Sire de Novaillis Councillor, master of requests, to assure them how desirous the King is to continue it.

(4) Her Majesty has sent them to advise with the Estates thereon, &c., being assured that nothing has happened to alter the old fidelity of their fathers to her progenitors and that their obedience hereafter will cause her to forget the past.

(5) Her grace desires the Estates to depute certain to come and advertise her of their deliberations.

(6) As she intends to come to her realm as soon as she has settled her affairs, her Majesty desires that her rents and revenues "that hes bene handlleit sen hir motheris deceis, and siclyk the revenue that come nocht to hir said derrest motheris knawlege induring the lait trublis, be als haistelie and diligentlie lukit on as possible maye."

(7) The Estates shall chose certain capable persons, of whom her Majesty will choose a Treasurer and Comptroller.

2 *pp. Scottish contemporary hand. Indorsed.*

Jan. 18. **950.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct and commission for post horses, for Symoun Prestoun of Cragmyllar, James Ogilvy of Fynlatar, John Lumsdaine of Blanerne, and Robert Leslye of Arthuirsheyr, with 12 others to pass through England to Scotland, to endure 4 months. Orleans, 19th of her reign. *Signed:* Your darest sister and cusignes, Marie. *Countersigned.*

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Small wafer signet: France impaling Scotland.

Jan. 22. **951.** CHARLES IX. TO THE ESTATES OF SCOTLAND.

Sending them the bearer the Sieur de Lisle his councillor and Master of Requests, to signify his desire for continuance of the amity of their countries, with full credence. Orleans. Charles.

½ *p. French. In Lethington's hand. Headed* (by him): "The kyng his lettre to thestates."

[*On same leaf and date.*]

(The Queen mother to the Estates.)

The King her son desiring to preserve the former amity between the realms, sends thither the Sieur de Lisle, whom she has charged to declare her good will. Orleans. Caterine.

½ *p. French. In same hand. Headed* (by Lethington): "The Quene mother her lettre." *Ink much faded.*

Jan. 25. **952.** MEMORIAL TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

(1) God having so disposed to set your Majesty at liberty to govern your realm as you like, the Queen your sister wishes you will govern as your ancestors, *i.e.*, by laws and ministers of your own nation.

Elizabeth.
1560–61. (2) It may please you to know how well it has been governed since the foreigners were removed.

(3) Your sister the queen's good meaning appeared last year, in her taking no "pece," or winning your subjects from their obedience.

(4) Her wardens, &c., have joined with yours to bring order on the Borders, which have not been so quiet this many years.

(5) She desires all former unkindness buried, and nothing but friendship henceforth.

(6) If these good offices be refused, and injuries renewed, as in your late husband's time, your good sister will be very sorry, and (to her great grief) compelled to alter her love "to some other affection."

(7) She finds it very strange, after so many promises, that the late treaty of Edinburgh is not yet ratified. But, imputing the fault more to the late king's ministers than you, trusts your majesty will now go through with the matter.

2 *pp. Written by Bedford's secretary. Indorsed.*

Jan. 28. **953.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for John Hart merchant of Edinburgh to buy and export 1000 qrs. of barley or barley malt, and 500 qrs. wheat, from her realm to France—to endure for a year. Under her signet, witnessing thereto the lords of her Privy Council. Edinburgh, 19th of her reign. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, James Stewart, Glencarn, Mortoun, Ruthwen, Wchiltre, W. Maitland.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland with the col ar of the thistle; motto: "In mi defens."

Jan. 31. **954.** THE MASTER OF MAXWELL TO CECILL.

Your mastership may remember when at Edinburgh we spoke of redress of the borders, specially the West Marches: and "sensyne" I have sought Lord "Daiker" very effectuously, offering redress for Scotland, and to receive like "value for value"—also to the terror of the most notable offenders, I gave him one of the most principal truce breakers of Scotland "that duelt thir xl. yeris upone the West Merchis, quha wes justifeit, and tuke fra him bot ane Scottis fallow in lik maner to be punist." Now he has a Scottish fellow born under my father, who has been a principal causer and slayer of 11 Englishmen, and a common truce breaker in theft and slaughter; and I "siclik" have an Englishman who lately slew one of Carlisle in that city: but he will not deliver up the one notable murderer of English and Scots, for the other heinous criminal. Therefore I right humbly pray you for the Queen's pleasure in the premisses, and pardon my rudeness in troubling you. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jhone Maxwell.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 1. **955.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for William Henrysoun burgess of Edinburgh to pass and repass with his goods between Scotland and France, through her realm for a year. Under her signet, witnessing the lords of her Privy Council. Edinburgh, 19th of her reign. *Signed:*

Elizabeth.
1560-61. James Hammylton, James Hammylton, Ar[d]. Ergyll, Mortoun, James Stewart, Glencarn, Ruthwen.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before). Collar of thistles very distinct.

Feb. 4. **956.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for her "cousin" Lord James Stewart about to come to her person in France on the affairs of Scotland, with 60 companions—and commission if necessary to "list" 20 post horses —to endure for a year. Under her signet, witnessing the lords of her Privy Council. Edinburgh "ferd" February, 19[th] of her reign. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, Mortoun, Glencarn, Ruthwen, Jhone lord Lyndsay, Wcheltre, Jhonne Wyshart, W. Maitland.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).

Feb. 4. **957.** THE SCOTTISH TO THE ENGLISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Requesting the Queen's pardon for Cormok Oconochor gentleman of Ireland, for offences by ignorance in his youth, and restoration of his father and predecessors' lands there, or part thereof. "Thus we wys your lordshipis fairweill in the Lord God." Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, Mortoun, Glencarn, James Stewart, Ruthwen, Wchiltre.

1 *p.* *Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 6. **958.** MAITLAND TO CECIL.

Take it not in evil part, that thus long I have delayed to write, for till now I could not make the certain and resolute advertisement you look for. The principal Estates have been here these 15 days, and yet are—things grow to a conclusion. First, in religion many things are determined for the policy of the church, and order taken for establishing religion universally, "some thing more vehement then I for my opinion, at ane other tyme wold have allowed. Mary! as thyngs ar fallen out, this tyme doth require some vehemence, and it will serve to good propos. Ernest embracing off religion will joyne ws straitly togidder, and mak the danger apeare the greatar if the one part sould suarve from the other: and in my jugement, it is convenient for conservation off the intelligence begonne, that we have some what wherwith to exerceiss our selffes; for I feare to great a securite mycht brede in ws some owyrsicht." Next religion, report was heard of the embassies to France and England; for France, God's providence has varied the case and effect, by taking away the king. For England, we have so much declared the Queen's gentleness and good will, that I am sure we have discharged our duties to her highness; and in the principal matter, have so "tempered" the answer, that our men are not altogether out of hope, "nor yet can tak hold upon ony thing hath past our mouthes, wheron to repose them selffes certeinly, but onely left to abyde the working off tyme." My lord of Arran is greatly dis-

Elizabeth.
1560-61. couraged, seeing no likelihood, but knowing my humour, makes the best of it before me.

It is resolved, to prevent evil advice to our sovereign, &c., to send an embassy from the Estates; whereof Lord James shall be principal —as meetest for many respects. "He is zelous in religion and one off the precise Protestantes, knowen to be trew and constant, honest and not able to be corrupted; besides that nature must move her hyghnes to beare him some good will, and it is lyke that she will rather trust him then any other." The "somme" of the legation is to know her mind, and if she will repose confidence in her subjects or not? It is wished she come home without force, and through England, where her own subjects will meet her at Dover or elsewhere, and conduct her honourably to her own country—thinking that the meeting of the two Queens "shall breed ws quietnes for theyr tymes." If her highness be counselled by those "that least can juge the best," to bring a force with her by sea, some think she lacks natural love to her country, and in that case we are not bound to receive her with a force, where such a danger may ensue: but before any "resolve to or fro," the matter shall be laid before the Queen's Majesty, whose command what she thinks "rathest," shall be obeyed. For without her advice we dare do nothing great, having sufficient experience of her good will, and aid if need be. Lord James will sue her for a passport, and in passing make her highness "participant" both of what he has in charge, and what he minds to do. "Yow know somewhat off his natour, and I dar ondertake that he is no dissemblar but will deale frankly with her Majesty." We have learned that Bothwell and others are on their way home with some directions from her*; it imports little, for whatever their message, nothing will be resolved till Lord James has "fully groped her mynd." To make his legation acceptable, it is moved that he have commission now since dissolution of the marriage, to renew our old league with France. Knowing how prejudicial it is to our amity with England, I have shifted it off thus—"that it is a mater rather to be granted than offred," for France we are sure will make suit for it, and will esteem it more than if we offered it, and we shall thus have better means to make reasonable conditions. I hear Monsieur de Noailles is coming from the French king for this purpose—few yet know this—but I shall be loath that he report any certain answer. Argyll marvels he has yet heard nothing from Ireland: I would be sorry he thought his offer less regarded as matters are quiet there; he is worthy to be entertained.

"The Kinges deathe is commonly taken for a great benefyte off Godes." I dare not rejoice, for the security has "lulled ws aslepe" —the fear of strangers is for the first taken away—but we little more out of danger! We all begin "to enter in some devocion towardes our soverane lady," who must follow her uncles' advice, and so can never forget what has heretofore been done contrary to their pleasure. "I feare many simple men shalbe caryed away with vayne hope, and broght abed with fayre wordes." If Lord James can persuade her to trust her own subjects, I will take courage—if not, "I se the perell large greatar then ever it wes." No man is in worse case than myself unless things fall out better than they look. "I

* *i.e.*, Mary.

Elizabeth.
1560–61. "am taken to be authour off many things, and am hyghly envyed by those at home who wold our caus wer overthrowen—they take me to be a great instrument to nurishe concord amangst some, whear they wold wishe to sowe division—which unity they juge a great hinderance to the Frenshe intentes. I wold to God I wer able to do as moche as they think I can do!" I know, for my friends there have advertised me, that in France I am taken for a better Englishman "then other." It imports me greatly that the intelligence began "betwix ws" may continue, for I see evidently "whenever thamyty shall decay, I must look for ane other duelling place. I made yow some ouverture at Londone how to salve all matiers; I wrote to yow more amply in it from Schir Rauf Sadlars hous. I wold be glad to onderstand what yow think in it, or how the Quenes Majesty can lyke off it, and how it shalbe followed? I know the Quene my sovereyne is so enformed against me, that oneles I be able to do her some service, I cannot long be suffred to lyve in her realme; and will never prease to continew in service longar then thamyty betwixt both realmes shall continew. My meaning from the begynning hath bene honest, and I will so continew to thend. I write something affectionatly to yow in this mater, for it standeth me upon so to do. If I be assured that meaning honestly, we shall not be neglected off her Majesty, a good nombre wilbe found who will not feare to prosequute the mater that is begonne, to thend."

I hear one Tennant a Scottishman delivered a packet of letters to the Queen our sovereign in France, "which wes directed to Mr Throkmorton." I remember not that any letters were delivered to this man, but if it be so, you should do me great pleasure, if at his returning, he might by severe punishment understand that he has played a "lewde" part. I pray you have the Laird of Ormeston's case recommended.

Write to me plainly and amply what you would have done here, and you shall see there is one here that will gladly please you, besides his affection to the Queen's service. I will never forget the favour I have found at her hands, or the opinion her highness is pleased to take of me—nor yet the good will I have received of you. I pray your honour let my good lords of the Council, specially my Lord Penbroke, my lord Admiral and my lord Robert, understand I will be glad to do them service. * Pray send Lord James's conduct with the first post. I pray God send you at length the fruit of your labours. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

I received a letter by Randolph, and saw his of the 24th of January —and for answer I will confer with him.

6 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. The month of the date in text is corrected from* "January" *to* "February."

Feb. 6. **959.** RANDOLPHE TO CECIL.

I forbore to write till I could let you know the whole. Though appointed for the 15th January, it was the 21st before any number assembled at the Convention—whose names you shall receive herewith. To the intent other actions might better proceed as "founded upon

* From this point, added in fainter ink.

Elizabeth.
1560–61. "God," it was thought good, "that his cawse sholde be fyrste sett forwarde, whereupon the self same Booke of Dyscipline (or at the leaste not farre alteryde from that that you sawe wrytten as your honour remembrethe by whome)" was presented by the authors to the lords. Six whole days were spent in examination and reasoning thereon, the matter well debated, divers well satisfied, and in the end approved by common consent. As I cannot come by the copy so soon as I would, I send you the "titles of the whole booke." In uncertain cases it is hard to judge the issue: if things come not otherwise to pass, than yet I find likelihood, we are not yet fit to receive any such burden. "Thoughe Goddes worde, for the tyme that yt hathe byne preachede, hathe had great advancement," yet I cannot assure myself what root it has taken in men's hearts, whereof trial will soon be taken, if this discipline be universally embraced and all points observed.

On the 7th and 8th days, the lords gave their whole labour to hearing poor men's causes, and dispatching bills presented. The articles on the borders, sent here by the Governor of Berwick, are answered as your honour shall know from my lord himself, whose servant attends here for the lords' mind thereon. Lord Hume's absence very sick, caused delay, the rest found the demands reasonable and consented to them. Then the ambassadors both to England and France discharged themselves of their commissions. Though Lord St Johns did not report till 10th January, from the lords' absence, he had little to say not already known to them all. All difficulties through the rejection of his commission, were removed by the King's death, which has bred in us here such security, "that were yt not that some tymes Mr Knox in the pulpet, or the lard of Lidingeton in consultation of thaffayres, puttethe us in remembrance wher and in what case, we were not long sens, we sholde growe starke dulle or forget our selves." Though nothing is in the answer from England to discourage any man, or make him think the cause over thrown, yet their earnest desire to enjoy the felicity that might ensue, put them so far in doubt of themselves, that they could neither resolve on a new attempt, nor yet despair after so reasonable an answer. Never at any time, did Lethington show the excellence of his wit, love to his country, or good will to us, more than that day, or could be thought in one man. It came in purpose how either amity might be maintained, or a new league made with us? And much debate there was. *In hoc conveniunt omnes*—that never had any nation received such good will and love as this, from the Queen's Majesty, and ignominy would redound to their posterity for ever, if they did not show themselves grateful. There lacked no spokesman hereto, specially the authors of the last contract, which many now wish had been of longer continuance. In renewal I know not what difficulty may arise, and France, as your honour is not unmindful, will do daily and has ministers here. You know the force of *auri sacra fames*. Our Queen is not so unfriended, or her servants so unvigilant, but some thing will be espied "owte of what coste somever the wynde blowe."

On the special point of renewal with France, Lethington I think has written his opinion, and if your advice concur with his, it will greatly advance the matter, at least make us nothing inferior to the French. The words of the Berwick contract are not so absolute but it may be doubted if it be ended after one year of the death of the French king or no? being these—"And the tyme of the continuance

Elizabeth.
1560–61. "of the hostagees to be only duringe the mariage of the Quene Soveraigne of Scotlande with the Frenche kynge, and one yere after the dyssolution of the saide mariage, untyll farther order may be had betwene bothe thir realmes."

Of those who consented and subscribed it, I doubt of none, "but only of hym of whome never man at anye tyme was assured of.* Yf his crafte were not so well known that no man wyll truste hym ether in worde or deade, he were hable for his good mynde to God and his countrie to doe myche myschef." If Lord Ruthven be as open hearted as fair spoken, there is nothing to be doubted in him; I trust his doings are better than the bruit "that goethe on hym."

The last and most difficult point was to find a fit personage to be sent to the Queen their sovereign. No man was found meeter than "her owne brother" Lord James. I am glad our Queen will thus be able to judge the value of such an assured and faithful friend without "note or spotte," as he from the first has shown himself. The Laird of Lethington has written to your honour in this matter. The Lords have written to the Queen for his safe conduct, which I send you presently, trusting shortly for answer. He is not yet resolved how to travel, wherein many desire to accompany him, as well for the "great brute" of the Queen our sovereign, as to see their own Queen. Whoever he takes, one will be the Laird of Patarrow "a man mervileus wyse, discryte, and godly, with owte spotte or wryncle," and not unknown to your honour. Some wish to send with him the Abbot of Kilwinning; I know not how their "complections" will accord abroad, that never liked each other at home!

In these matters "some tyme" has been spent, and many things "moe" yet to be considered, before they come to the "passe" they desire. It was debated at length, whether it were better to reject all Papists that ever had enjoyed "benefyte of the Churche," or admit and restore to their possessions such as willingly will subscribe and accord to the Book of Discipline. After many reasons "to and fro," it was resolved to admit all "of what estate somever theie were," who submitted themselves by the 25th instant—the edict being published incontinent thereupon—otherwise to be rejected and reputed enemies to "Goddes trothe."

This to my remembrance, is the effect of their conclusions at the Convention, except some private causes.

I am earnestly required by Argyll to write to you in favour of "one Cormok Ochonachar" an Irish gentleman who at other times served King [†]. On his humble submission to the Queen our sovereign, the Lords of secret council have written to the Lords of her Majesty's council in his favour. Besides his own promise of faithful service henceforth, Argyll has promised if he shall ever fail, to become enemy to him and his whole house for ever; saying this "in my heringe," he willed me to tell your honour. Being suspected for his being in France: he says he only went to sue for his pension, promised to be paid there, and now coming hither with a signed bill to be paid in this town, there is no money to be had. He refers his service and means thereto, to Sir William Centlowe [St Loe] and Sir James Crofte.

Argyll marvels not a little at never hearing from the Lord Deputy

* Huntly?

† Blank.

Elizabeth.
1560-61. of Ireland, seeing "the promysse was," and he prepared himself. It were well he received some word to assure him, being so well disposed to the Queen's "godlie purposes" to his uttermost. He will shortly write to your honour, and I am to meet him soon at Stirling.

The Master of Maxwell desires remembrance, and gave me the inclosed letter for you to consider, and answer as is reasonable. He hears the Queen will place Sir Nicolas Arnolde in Carlisle—he knows him not, but whatever he be, "onlie one excepted," * he will gladly concur with him for justice, and show him all pleasure. He † is among those that "I could never have other thought but as an erneste frende, and well wyller to set forwarde all honest purposes betwene these two realmes."

Glencairn lately conferred with me how he could "do" for payment of 300*l.* sterling to M^r^ Hickeman a merchant of London. By the exchange he shall be a very great loser, and would be much bound to you if order might be taken for payment in London, and as much to be disbursed out of hand to the Treasurer at Berwick. His affection to our nation has been shown more of late in discourses of the honour of our country, the majesty and dignity of our "princes and soveraigne."

I sent you copy of the King of Denmark's letter to the lords, and enclose copy of their answer, deferred till now.

There went to France of late the Earl of Eglinton and the Abbot of Dunfermline out of Dunbar.

There are looked for to pass "by you," Earl Bothwell, the Lairds of Finlytter and Cragmillar, in commission from their Queen. Their credit here is "no suche that theie are hable to move mountaynes"! Lord Seton has showed himself hitherto very uprightly, and is like to be as he shall be used. The Clerk of Register seeks credit at all hands, and finds it in few. Huntly craves kindness "at" Lord James; "ther is no good that waye to be done." The familiarity grows great between English and Scottish merchants: much herring, salmon and salt fish is carried this year "from hens to us"; what wares "they bringe to us," I know not. I doubt most conveyance of silver or gold, where their advantage will be "wonderfull," in every pound of silver 3*s.* sterling, and 9*d.* in every crown.

There are presently in this town, English murderers, vagabonds and thieves, "above one dosen or xvj." At Lord Westmorland's request, I had one arrested who slew a gentleman of his; he is this day to be delivered to 2 of my lord's gentlemen here for him. I am sorry to be thus long, but am loth to omit anything. I have now but to signify receipt of the Queen's letters, with command that I remain here in her service—a great mark of her Majesty's favour to so poor a servant. So having no choice, I intend to frame myself to her service in all things, trusting for your honour's advice and counsel to direct me in matters of importance. I received copy of her Majesty's warrant for my allowance, but have not yet had occasion to examine the charges following this Court, and only desire to live that I may serve. As need is, or occasion grow of expenses, I shall make your honour privy thereto, so that it shall be seen "that nether gryddie gayne shall leade me from my duetie, nor that I seeke in thys place but so to lyve as I maye serve." Hitherto I have only burdened the Duke with my own

* Wharton ? † Maxwel

Elizabeth.
1560–61. meat, my lodging in his house, and one nag in his stable; 2 geldings, one man and a boy, I nourished always abroad wherever I was.

I shall be forced to take another man on leaving the Duke's house (as most convenient), and have devised with Lethington thereon; though indeed "my lord" himself is unwilling thereto. Lethington presumed to make me privy to many of your letters, where your honour's affection to me appears, far beyond my desert. In one, you wrote that the Queen thought my lord of Arran kept me here "to gratifie me with." I doubt not he is pleased with my company—but profit or gain I never sought of him or any Scotsman; assuring you that besides the money I have had of her Majesty, I have spent since I first met with him in his own house, 200 crowns of my own, and never received of his father or him "sens I was borne," one piece of gold—my chain, which your honour knows—excepted. I have always thought it gain enough to live thus with their love and favour. I have presumed to write to her Majesty in answer to her letter, wherein your commendation may supply my want, being unaccustomed to address such personages, and desiring pardon for my long delay.

The Lords have made a very strait law for eating flesh in Lent, and other days "of olde forbeden"; some would have had them changed, some one day augmented. It fell out the old custom remains, saving on Sundays in Lent, any man may eat what he can get—"ther are we afore you!" There come with Lord James, besides Patarrowe, Lord Salton son-in-law to Lord Marshall, Lord Glames or Oglebie. He is resolved to go in post, 24 "horse in trayne," and within a month, as his letter signifies. The Lords are departed, and the most part intend to return on 25th instant. The Duke goes to Hamilton, whither also I purpose. I send you a cipher, and find some danger in conveying letters, but by my own servant or one of Lord Grey's. I have commended F. Tenant's cause to some of the lords; Lethington is "fartheste in conceate with hym of anye man alyve." George Paris has hurt his leg, desiring it may excuse his longer abode here. There is a "neweu" of his here, William Paris. I know not what he is or his doings. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

[*Written on a separate half sheet.*]

I know his poverty to be so great that in my heart I lament it, for I doubt that either care will shorten his time, and so shall we lack a dear and assured friend; or else he shall be forced many times to absent himself, when need shall require, and thereby some good purpose may have great lack of such a patron as he has been in all our causes. Would God it pleased the Queen in some secret means (otherwise I would not wish it yet for a time) that he might have some relief, which I am sure might be so conveyed, that not one living, saving those it pleased her to make privy, should "wytte" thereof.

Of any other besides this man, Graynge deserveth most, for his earnest affection to the Queen's service; and his credit and means thereto are as good as many of greater name. I thought these few words to be annexed "rather as a cartell" than write largely in my letter. Your honour will please use them according to your wisdom.

11½ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. The postscript evidently refers to Lethington and Kirkcaldy. Wafer signet (as before).*

Elizabeth.
1560–61. Inclosed in the same:—

(The Scottish Council to Frederic King of Denmark.)

They acknowledge receipt of the King's letter of 23d October, but are unable to answer his demand as to the Orkneys, as their Queen is still in France. Edinburgh, *pridie Calendas Februarias* 1560. James Hamylton, James Hammylton, Ard. Ergill, Alex. Glencarn, Mortoune, Rothes, James Stewart, Ruthwen.

Broad sheet. Contemporary copy. Indorsed.

Feb. 7. **960.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

It having pleased the nobility and council to burden me with going towards our sovereign, to declare our duty and devotion, and having asked the Queen's Majesty for her safe conduct: your honour will please to obtain and send the same to my lord Grey at Berwick shortly. I am greatly addebted for your favours to George Paris at my instance, and pray you continue his good friend. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Stewart.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 16. **961.** MONEY, &C., SOLD TO SCOTLAND.

Note of "paise" and "new" money and plate sold into Scotland by Edward Barwicke, Leonard Stockdale, John Harrison and Thomas Carne all of Kendal, &c. from 16th June 1560. New money 12*d.* per pound.

1 *p. Contemporary hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Feb. 20. **962.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Thanking her good sister for her kind messages sent by the Earl of Bedford, to console her in the affliction which it has pleased God to send her. Will do her best to preserve their amity. Fontainebleau. *Signed:* Votre bonne cousine Marie.

Broad sheet. French. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: France impaling Scotland—"M. R." *at sides of shield.*

Feb. 26. **963.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

Now having spoken with Captain Forbes, and after with the Laird of Cragmellour and his colleagues, I am more able to discourse of our state here and the French intents and their issue. Whereas this realm was before divided in two, viz., in those that hasard all for the liberty of their country, and in the "newtrals—(for so many as durst professe them selffes plane enemyes wer so few, that no accompt wes to be made off them)"—now there begin to be three factions—at least men's judgments are thus divided. The neutrals, as before careless of the common weal, so now "continew ready to receave whatsoever is propounded unto them under the shadowe off

Elizabeth.
1560–61. "the princes commandement, without examination from what counsell it doth proceade, or what end it doth tend to. This poynt onely fynd I amended, that some fynd themselffes desapoynted off that they loked for at the handes off the Frenshe, so that they begyn to lyke theyr owne countrey the better. The other sort is devydit in two, albeit all aggre upon this—that seing it hath not pleased God (our synnes deserving that ponishement) to be so beneficiall to bothe the countreys, that by receaving the ouverture lately propounded by ws, the realmes may be joyned togidder, now we must off necessite, so far as in ws lyeth, procure the Quene our Soverane ladyis benevolence towardes ws. In this they do disagre—the Dukes grace, and those which ar particularly affectionat to him, and onely desyr the avancement and wealth off his hous, do thynk that ther is no surety for him, oneles his sone may be joyned in mariage with the Quene our Soverane, seing ther is no lykelyhod off the other—and that the danger is to great for his hous, if she comme in her owne realme before that mariage be assured—for he taketh that to be the onely meane to put his hous in surety." The other, and no small party either in number, degree, or power, think it good policy to persuade her highnes to come in her own realm, and receive her favourably, provided she neither bring force nor counsel of strangers, but trust only in her native subjects; "and then that ther wilbe wayes anew" to induce her to favour "the Religion," overlook the past, and put all things amiss in order, living in concord and unity with her subjects. This party think it hard to propound any other conditions to her, and "not plausible in the world abrood."

I touch the matter shortly—there are many heads "and a great sequele depending on it." It has not yet come in question, but having conferred with the principals and "most speciall" of both opinions, I can judge that in time divers effects must ensue. "All is as yet calme, and shalbe I dout not so long as men can be content to be bridled with reason." The four last come from France, besides the "sede off sedition" in their private letters, have brought a commission to assemble the Estates for two respects—first to have a number of great men chosen to pass to France to advise her Majesty in her affairs, and specially her "home comming," whereto she seems to have a great desire; the other, to renew the league with France, for which M. de Noailles will shortly be here. That head is "difficill"—if it take place, you may judge what must ensue with time, "that which neyther yow nor I lyke." Her Majesty is "ernestly bent" on it: I have conferred with M^r^ Randolph the best I see for the present. "Although some off the new comme sede is ordeyned to be planted in my gardeyn, yet I change not." This league may by policy be delayed for a season, but at length it must be renewed, "oneles yow loke circumspectly upon the mater." If we altogether refuse ("which I can hardly trust, yea I think it will not be so) then besydes the Quene our soverayne ladyis displesour, we shall have France perpetually to be our ennemyes." Discoursers here say it were a perilous thing to break it, and have no foreign ally, we being joined by a "dry marche" to your puissant realm, and though you are like to be friends for a season, yet seeing "the meane off perpetuall frendship is desperat," in time you may be enemies, and then "wer we a facill pray" without ally! I warn you of these matters beforehand, that you may advise in time; and remind you of "the latter mocion off

Elizabeth.
1560-61. "two I made onto yow, a litle before I came from Londone, and send me word what yow think in it; or if that can not be herd, what other remede yow se or can invent?" For unless our sovereign can be "allured" to friendship with England, intelligence betwixt us cannot long continue. If you hear not so amply or often from me as you would wish, consider my danger in writing, under many men's eyes—my familiarity with England is known and so misliked, that I fear it shall be my undoing unless the Queen be made favourable to England—hard to do. God is judge if I mean anything against her obedience or liberty of my native country, yet men's true meaning is never taken in good part. As this burden is common to me with many others, I bear it more patiently. I will serve my sovereign truly, and do wish the two realms may continue friendly, yet my labours thereto will not be so taken, which makes me so often touch this point. Pray continue your favour to this bearer Archibald Grahame, as heretofore, "in his just caus." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.
3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Feb. 26. **964.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since my last, I had small matter to write, but to signify receipt of your letters of 4th instant, with "forknowledge" of the coming of the 4 "lardes commissioners." Either by mouth or writing, I opened to whom I thought expedient, your advice as to receiving them, and bestowing "suche stuffe" as they have brought. Lethington, with all care and diligence, did the like. All that could be then obtained was, that in the lords' absence, they could neither devise nor determine what might be done, but were forced rather to leave it to "Fortune," preparing themselves against all "myscheves," than unadvisedly attempt a matter whereof they knew not the issue. Whereon Lethington and I by two sundry letters, wrote to my lord Grey what we thought most expedient. On 20th instant all four arrived at Cragmillar, where Lethington of purpose met them, to prevent some matters that he doubted, and understand what he could of their "arrant." Before leaving, "he came so farre within them," that I think most of their "store" was spent. "Theffecte of the whole tended unto no other [but the homecoming of the Queen?*] thoughe the same be never so well covered or dysguised ether with fayer wordes or large offers, wich so swetly flowe owte of their mouthes, as thoughe their tonges and teethe had byne fyled only to frame falced, and to tell lyes!" Of the "packe," if any better than other, "the moste hope is of Cragmellour." They agree so well among themselves, that not one trusts another; and their tales accord so well, that one is ashamed of the other's lies! They report the Queen intends shortly to be home—all offences here are remitted; the French king has given her 6 great ships, and 2 galleys, and increased her dowry 20,000 francs. The Frenchmen are to be paid their wages, and retired out of Dunbar and the Inch. To show her subjects how she tenders their weal and honour of her country, she will not apply her mind to marriage—though already many sue her, as the King of Spain for his son, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark for themselves—until she be in place to have the

* Words in cipher.

Elizabeth.
1560–61. advice of her nobles, and assent of her people. If these reporters were of such credit with the world, or if they had the disposal of these things as they would, the matter were of no small weight, for they are very plausible. John of Lumbie "*alias* Blaneherne," reports that he learned of my lord of Bedford, that he had commission to entreat the Scottish Queen to pass through England, and large offers, if it pleased her to accept them. Another point wherein he was directed, was to require her to give up her title and claim to the crown of England. He forged this to bring us in more "dysdayne" with this nation.* This report he made to Morton, who sharply reproved him, saying Bedford was not the man to make him so privy to his charge.

They have reported largely of your honour's entertainment, which is so well liked of all honest men here, that they think this country much bound to you. Lord Grey handled them "so frendly" at Berwick, that they speak little to his praise. They have brought "well nere" 300 letters, "with credit as theie lyste to frame yt, or as theie fynde a feete moulde to worke myschef in." Also 2 commissions—one to the Duke, the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Bothwell, Lord James, Earl of Athol and bishop of S^{t} Andrews, or 4 of them, to summon a parliament against the [ ],† and that Nouales by the [ ] shall be here, from the French king with direction from their Queen, to consider what may be done—"so are the wordes of the commission,"—for the confirmation of the ancient league between France and them. Many well willers here to our sovereign are in great perplexity, for it is thought, and I verily believe, that the French offers shall be such, and appear so reasonable, that he,‡ having the Queen's consent and command, and using other means, cannot be refused. "In which case, yf Englande be not so provided for, that yt maye at all tymes stande in equall case and termes with France (havinge in thopinion of men all reddie rejected the most assured meanes that coulde be thoughte to have intertayned amitie betwene these two countries)," I neither know what our sovereign's great charges, the loss of so many her grace's subjects as here ended their lives, and the fame of her worthy doings, shall come to, nor what incommodities in process of time may ensue if things here return to their old estate. Though I assure myself that her Majesty's benefits to this nation will never be so clean wiped away, or rooted out of men's hearts for their lives, whereof she may be assured for her time as of her own natural subjects,—"yet I mystrust not but her Magestys care is so farre extended over those whome God hathe appoynted her to raigne over, as maye be thought that the worlde cane indure." Seeing therefore the entry is fair, and difficulty not great, to procure her highness increase of honour, and tranquillity to her people, I would that the next means were embraced and diligently pursued "whyle tyme is," and men's minds so well disposed, as I presently find them. I am well assured your honour and my lords of Council have had some thought hereof. The way to assure amity is either to have the late contract of Berwick renewed if possible, or join with the French "in thys that theie desyer to be confirmed," on such conditions and points as can best be devised, whereto I mistrust not

* A marginal note.

† *Note.*—No day assigned, nor of Noailles' coming.

‡ Noailles.

Elizabeth.
1560-61. many here are willing. Herein I have as yet conferred but with Morton and Lethington; neither is less careful than myself, and heartily wish something done as your honour knows best; and Lethington desires it be known in time, that men may be "framed" thereto. Morton thinks the confirmation to the French will not be granted till the Queen is here; and that the Duke of Guise "and that sort" will hold up their heads by her, and make such "trafique" of her as best to their advantage. Lethington believes she will not be here so soon as reported: whenever she come "I beleve here wylbe a madde worlde! Our exactenes and singularitie in religion wyll never concurre with her judgemente; I thynke that she wyll hardely be broughte under the rule of our discipline, of the which we cane remytte nothynge to anye estate or persone." Every man is inclined to obedience if she will be content to "imbrace the worde of God" and maintain it—even such as were furthest off and have travailed most earnestly against it!

Touching the other commission, it is only to themselves with instructions to the lords, in receiving and disbursing her revenues—maintaining her houses and disposing of her offices—wherein the French controller is inhibited from making payment to any one, whatever warrant he has from her late husband, or herself since his death, till her farther will is known. She has sent a new commission to the controller to receive.* On the 23^{d} instant, all four went to Lythcow to signify to the Duke and my lord Arran the Queen's will on these commissions: the Duke answered he could do nothing till the lords assembled, which will be in 8 days of this. It is thought Lord James will now stay till he see what is then done: and though he meant to have gone privately before, as she had no Scotsman to advise her, I think now that one or two others shall be joined with him. The Duke can no way be satisfied but that "some dere frende of his muste be one," yet there can not be one found "sufficient to concurre with those that shalbe sent." It is now said Huntly will shortly be here. Robert Lyslaye is gone to my Lord James, Atholl, and other lords of the north, "to utter some suche ware as he hathe broughte." Cragmillar and Finlytter remain in Lothian, Blaneherne now in his own house. Bothwell is also arrived to work what mischief he can, so far as his credit will extend: I know not how Arran and he will accord, and Seton is also at some difference with him. Those that have arrived make no great vaunt of any great reward or gifts received. Forbes' answer from those he carried letters to, contains as many fair words as anything important. All reasonable requests shall be granted, and they will keep amity "with their ancient allies," and obey their sovereigns. It is thought very "straynge" by many that Arran wrote to France without advice of other lords, "and bruted here that he seekethe some waye aparte"; whereon he sent "Balvanes" and "Forbes" to S^{t} Andrews, where were Argyll and Atholl, Lords James and Erskine, &c., to report the news he had from France. Glencairn wrote lately to me to know if I had any answer from you on "that poynte" I wrote to you of him. It is bruited in his country that Lennox's son was gone over with the Earl of Bedford; and the Duke heard the same before Forbes's arrival, but I have heard no word of it lately. We are glad that

* Added on margin.

Elizabeth.
1560–61. Monsieur de Nemours [Denamours] is "caste" in his cause. Of the hostages, and the Leith ship that took the Spaniards, I can write no answer till the Lords are assembled. "Ther are in thys towne, that intende to travaile with the Portugales to have thys lettre of marque dyscharged" for a sum of money, as it was once agreed for 14,000 "ducates." I wrote to Lord Grey that the lords desired to know what the hostages' charge would "mount unto." Francis Tenant excuses his falsehood with many fair words, but I think will not so escape. He has got two offices for his good service, viz. "conservateur of the chauncelarie, and master of the garde robe to the Quene." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

I intend to-morrow to ride to the Duke, who in 4 days will be in this town. The worthiness I know in the "R*" and his deserts in the Queen's service, causes one oftener to remind your honour of him. He serves for many more purposes "then to weare a jacke."

7 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Many words re-written on erasure. Attached is a slip of paper with 4 lines of ciphers, also holograph.*

Feb. 28. **965.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I wrote of late on M. de Noailles coming here to renew the league with France. I pray you let means be found that the "Quene our sovereyn" may be in friendship with England, "otherwyse the intelligence betwixt ws can for no tyme indure." You may easily judge what subjects professing obedience can do, when the prince is bent a contrary way! If she could be induced to make an equal league, the subjects of both should long live in ease. "Let me heare from yow some ouverture, if that which I made unto yow can not be receaved." Please to show the bearer William Henderson reasonable favour for a passport to France. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1 *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

March 4. **966.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the last of February, Arran departed from his father at Lythcow, and came here to be present at "the administration of the communion, which was celebrated" on Sunday last the 3d March. He gave me the letters inclosed—one to the Queen and the other to you, sealed, as I trust you shall find them, "and the coveringe open." They came to his hands thus—at the four lairds' leaving France, one in their company named Conningham, was required by Sir Nicolas Throckmorton to deliver them to your honour if he could come to "your speache," otherwise at his home coming to give them to Arran for surety. My lord, thinking some of importance to himself might be in the packet, opened it, but finding none, gave them to me to forward, and has also written to you with his own hand herewith. He also required me to write, that whereas you wrote to Lethington you could learn no news of Captain Forbes's doings in France; "that

* Laird of Grange?

Elizabeth.
1560–61. "he was more precyse ther in, than neade required, or then his wyll was—seinge that at all tymes his desyer hathe byne so to governe hym self towardes his frendes, that theie sholde have no suspicion of hym, nor occasion to thynke other wyse then of one, that meanethe all wayes and at all tymes, to deale as one frende ought with one other in faythe and honestie." He says his meaning in sending to France was this—the Queen's husband being dead (who was in special the occasion of all the troubles here) he judged that he might without offence acknowledge his duty to her, without prejudice to the liberty of his country, or burden to his conscience, being also moved by the example of others, and also to prevent false accusations that might be made of him to her Majesty. To the King of Navarre and the Constable, he thought that their old acquaintance, which has been great, as also the friendship he received at their hands, required no less than some signification from him, how glad he was that God had opened a way to them greatly to advance the weal of their country, and work such works in setting forth his glory, as might procure themselves immortal fame.

Thus much I was required to write to your honor from my lord—and thus much it behoved me to show him, to assure him what I had written. I think I understand that he wishes now he had taken better advice; yet he is minded not to let this occasion to pass, thinking it will be the only weal of his country "yf he were hable to bringe yt to passe." He has by these commissioners received another letter from "her," with commandment "ofte to wryte, and verie maynye fayer wordes in credyt"; and this present day he has written to her Majesty again by one William Henrison his own servant, who reports to "my lord" he has a safe conduct for one whole year. He passed over with my lady Fleming, and has some other man's letters, and shall have one of mine to your honour, if he come for it, that you may "marque hym the better." To my former matter: there are so many doubts put into my lord of Arran's head in "optaynynge of her," that he is now more uncertain than ever. The Duke can by no means be persuaded that way, "but rather that all her fayer wordes wyll ende in some myscheffe, yf yt be not substancially provided for." And lately devising with Lethington hereon, "he frankely uttered unto hym that he lyked not his sonnes doynges, nor founde no lykelyhoode that good coulde come therof, but dowted rather that (that is all moste in everie mans mouthe spoken) that she wyll no good to hym nor none of his; for which cause he wolde be glade to knowe howe good and favorable the Quenes majestie our soveraigne wolde be unto hym yf anye suche thynge sholde manifestly appere"? To this I was first made privy by Lethington, who said my lord Duke would I should write to her Majesty thereof, that he might better know how to avoid the practices intended. I requested Lethington to "dyssemble" the matter, till I might hear it spoken out of some of their own mouths, and so have the "faster grype ether of thone or bothe." Yesterday my lord of Arran in long discourse, broke the "self same" matter. I continued his purpose, and maintained his opinion to the uttermost of my power. He finds now where he made his fault; and I travail what I can to make him acknowledge it. I thought good, if it be a matter resolved between his father and him to prove the Queen, as I have above written, that it be done by their own writings rather than mine, as a thing more acceptable to her Majesty, and more graciously to be received. So we ended, that matters should be deferred till his

Elizabeth.
1560–61. father's arrival; and I thought it not amiss to forewarn your honour. "Well my lord of Arrane maye conceave of hym self that ther is possibilitie or lyklyhoode that he maye have her, but yt ys agaynste thopinion of all the doctors." I shall write more amply in 3 or 4 days. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp. Closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Some words re-written over erasures.*

March 5. **967.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

As I omit no opportunity for my duty, I advertise that on the 4th instant I received your letter of 26th February, and have conferred with the Duke and my lord of Arran in the matter you wrote of, finding them both well inclined to take good advice, and not "verie hastie" in granting to any thing incommodious to their country, or "dysadvantagieus" to themselves hereafter. No lords are yet arrived, saving the Earl of Crawford, thought to will well to the Duke, but will not "greatlye meddle" in any matter. Your advice is well liked —it will end either in that, or some other to like effect—as that, in their sovereign's absence, they would be loth to conclude so weighty a matter; or that their league standing with England, they can do nothing prejudicial to it. "Which shall rather be quyetlye rounded into mens eares then openly spoken."

It will also be questioned whether with "salfe conscience" a Christian people may enter into a league where occasion is of "so myche bloode shedinge, &c. Your honor conceavethe the reste." The Duke is "resolved" that they only mean mischief to him. Lord Sempill is "relaxed" (as they term it) from the horn. Bothwell has given him by the Queen the abbeys of Melrose and Haddington. The Bishop of Orkney begins to reform his diocese, and preaches himself; I saw to-day a letter from him to the Duke. I would rather bestow time in writing of some greater matter, than trouble your honor "in this sorte." As Lethington lately put a "scruple" in my head, if my letters reached you safely? I would your honor by Mr Wynnibanke or otherwise, gave me knowledge hereof. For their conveyance to Berwick, I use "the moste secreteste waye," either by a servant of Ormeston's or of Grange's, if he be here. I have received both your proclamations, for which I most humbly thank you. The liberty we have here to eat flesh on the Sundays in Lent, makes us bolder to do the same the whole week after. The communion was "mynestrat" here on Sunday last with great decency and very good order. There were none admitted but such as made open protestation of their belief, "examined and admitted by the mynisters and deacons," to the number of 1300 "and odde." On Sunday next they choose in divers places for all the shires, "superintendantes, knowne and lerned men." Of these known to your honour, Mr Willockes for Glasgow and that country—for St Andrews, the subprior of the same. Mr Knox thinks his state "honorable inoughe, yf God gyve hym strengethe to persyste in that vocation that he hathe placed hym in, and wyll receave no nother." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph. Address leaf lost. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Elizabeth.
1560–61. March 11. **968.** GLENCAIRN TO CECILL.

Please your honour "reduce to rememberance" my suit and letter to Lord Grey, then obtained, for the exchange of my pledge, "but being lett to this day by disease of him who suld have enteryt and releisit that other," and hearing the Queen's wishes to transport our pledges out of Newcastle, I thought good "upon hoip of haistie recouvery of the childis perfyt health," to beg your honor, that my pledge might remain there at my expense till he is exchanged. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Glencarn.

Postscript.—My hearty commendations to your lady.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . Erle of Glencarne to my master by the Lord James."

March 11. **969.** ARGYLL TO CECILL.

"I wald not pretermit the present offerit occasion be my bruther my lord James reparing towardes you," to let your honor know my earnest affection to the Queen's Majesty since the benefit received at her hands, and my readiness to serve her in all ways, saving my duty to my sovereign and native country—also to know wherein I can gratify your honour. Credit my brother Lord James as myself. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Ar^d^. Ergyll.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . Erle of Argile to my master by the Lord James."

[March 12.] **970.** HARANGUE BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

The King has sent him to condole with the Estates on the death of his brother, and dissolution of the alliance formed by his marriage with their Queen. The Queen of Scots desires to bury past offences, and show her sincere love, trusting for their obedience in return. The King has charged him to declare that he has offered to their Queen to continue the old amity, and the Queen mother desires to assure them of her concurrence.

3 *pp. French. Copy in Lethington's writing. Headed* (by him): "The harangue maid by thembassadour in conseyl." *Ink much faded.*

[March 12.] **971.** THE SCOTTISH COUNCIL'S REPLY.

Expressing their sorrow at the late King's death, who, they think, if he had lived, would have looked into the late troubles and punished such as were authors of the same. They desire perfect friendship between his successor and their own sovereign, to whom they are not otherwise affectioned than becomes good subjects. For his monition to their duty, it is unnecessary, for no subjects are more ready to serve their sovereign. They desire to thank the Queen mother for her good will.

2 *pp. French. In Lethington's writing. Headed* (by him): "The Counsallis answer to thembassadour by tongue." *Ink very faint.*

Elizabeth.
1560–61.
March 14.

972. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

At this assembly of the lords, there were neither so many as looked for, nor any great matters to resolve on. It was thought much better that Lord James should take his journey "owte of hande," than wait the end of parliament, as before it begins the lords hope for his return, to which end they have summoned it against 20th May, greatly to the discontent of the ambassador and his faction. Meantime your honor shall have sufficient matter proponed to you, and time to weigh it. Lord James departs on Tuesday next the 18th towards England, and this day despatched good part of his train, as Pitarrow, Mr Robert Richardson and Mr John Wood, to the number of 20 horse. The lords that come with him are—Lord Salton that married Lord Marchall's daughter, Lord Livingston [Liveston] that married Lady Fleming's daughter, the Lord of St Comes Inche that shall marry Grange's daughter, with as many as his safe conduct licenses. At his arrival, you shall hear more of the state of this country, his own good will towards amity, and the affection of other noblemen, than I can write. As he is right glad of this occasion to see our sovereign, so her highness may assure herself to find him such a man as the like is not in this nation—for will and power to serve her—as I have sufficient trial. My commendation can add nothing to what your honour has already conceived of him, but I wish it were as well known to others. The self same day he leaves this town, I will write to your honour by post, also by himself, and Lethington likewise will. Another matter—how the ambassador was to be received being considered, all agreed he should lack no kind of honour. He arrived here on the 11th instant, convoyed by Lord Seton with 120 horse. He lodges where M. Randan did. Lethington saw him that night from the Lords, and there supped with him at the Controller's, the Clerk of the register and Mr John Spence. The next day, desiring to speak with the lords, who assembled at afternoon in the Duke's house, they sent two gentlemen to convoy him. After all courtesy showed him, he entered with them thus—that they were not ignorant by the gentlemen that came before him (the 4 lairds) of his master the French king's desire, and the Queen their sovereign's pleasure; yet as he was directed to the whole estates in parliament, he had nothing to say till they were assembled. This was his talk in public, bestowing some fair words to make further entry, and then took his leave. "The most that myslyked anye man was, that he refused to drynke at his departeur." I will trouble you no more with these, but enter into other purpose.

My lord's grace is now in marvellous doubt to what end these things tend; he knows not of whom to be assured. The next day after the ambassador was there, he sent for me, and declaring the purposes above written, he says he can find nothing but manifest deceit, requiring me by all the means I can, to entertain the Queen's good opinion of him, and his good will to farther her weal and honour. I gave him as many good words as I received. He willed me not to doubt his inconstancy, for even if that were his fault, reason must needs make him confess, that the Queen was the preserver of his life, and the creature on earth to whom he is most bound and loveth best, next his eldest son. He has at no time written to the Queen his sovereign. Arran intends very shortly to send a special man to France "to

Elizabeth.
1560–61. solicite" such matters as he hath to confer with the King of Navarre and the Constable. James Ormeston was appointed; Forbes has no will of that commission, and Sander Clerke has utterly refused it. So it is not yet resolved—but whoever he be, he shall inform your honor of his whole purpose, according to the enclosed copy of the letter that shall be sent to you.

The ambassador may well give fair words, for I see he has not much money. The Controller, who was to furnish him out of the Queen's revenues, was discharged by the lords from intermeddling further with the receipt, as being against one article of the contract at the conclusion of peace, that no "straynger" should bear office here, as also that he is not sufficient to answer for so great sums to be received. They appointed another "with caution" to receive what he can, but to disburse nothing till the Queen's will be known. This was done before the ambassador's arrival.

As many now seek to pass to France, the lords have proclaimed that no "man of landes (other then marchantes) of what estate somever he be," shall leave the realm without their license, till Parliament ends. It is not yet certain whether the ambassador will tarry Lord James's return or no, but thought he will remain to do what mischief he can. It is "quyetly" concluded that before his return no parliament shall begin. I have communed with divers lords, as Argyll, who has written to you by Lord James, with Morton, who sends a gentleman with him, and as many as ever were "owers," and find all "in wordes" as heartily affectioned as ever. It is bruited that Sir Raffe Sadler is like to come hither shortly: whether so or not, I let "the brute wander" to keep some in suspense. It came first from the Controller's mouth, "and to me from Justice Clerke." Some men say that at other times when the like matter has been demanded, as confirmation of a league between princes, it has been by honourable personages, or one famous man at least. They reckon themselves to be less esteemed than in times past, for that this man* is none of that race or sort as at other times have demanded the like. "He lackethe nether honour nor repayre unto hym." Huntly was on his journey, but is now stayed: his trusty man M^r^ Thomas has been here and returned again. He seeks greatly Lord James's favour, "and for my lord Duke he thynkethe to leade in a lyne." The abbot of Kilwinning made many motions to go to France: it is suspected the chiefest occasion is to practise for the "honourable prelate" the bishop of S^t^ Andrews—he would willingly have been in this company, *Sed non convenit Judæus cum Samaritanis.* Concerning the hostages I am answered, that as they have not long to remain in England, they ask to tarry where they are, for convenience of sending to them from time to time. To the intent their charges may be defrayed, they desire to know the amount, for which I have written to Lord Grey. They should not have been so long unpaid if they had known they owed them.

For William Cante that took the "Portugale," they wish he and all such were out of the world; for their offence against the Spaniards, they desire they may have their deserts, as for taking the ship within the Queen's waters; while the Lords say against the Portugales, the fault is in themselves letting the letter of marque continue so long unredeemed, for it was once offered to them for 12,000 or 14,000

* Noailles?

Elizabeth.
1560–61. "ducates": and until either that be satisfied, for which it was granted, or the letter redeemed, they have some defence for their doings. Some motion shall be made next Parliament to see if such enormities may be avoided. Written in haste. *Signed:* Thomas Randolphe.

Earl Bothwell seeks all means to be reconciled. I know not yet the issue.

6 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Wafer signet as before.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Arran to Cecill.)

Expressing his gratitude for Cecill's good will, and his readiness to requite it when occasion serves. Divers occasions move him to send the bearer to the personages in France, and on the affairs, which he will report to Cecill, whose advice he is to take in all matters, and assure him that in no way is his mind alienated from his good will and affection of service to the Queen's Majesty. Desires credit for the bearer as for himself, and that God will keep them always in his fear and send increase of good gifts.

"The coppie of the Erle of Arrans lettre that shall come unto you yf the purpose chaynge not."

1 *p. In Randolphe's hand.*

March 16. **973.** THE LAIRD OF GALSTOUN TO CECILL.

The occasion of my writing is, that I have spoken with sundry of my lord of Lennox's special friends, and have shown them the Queen's "good mynd" to him—whereof they are very glad; and because they consider her Majesty may not labour presently "in my lord and ladyes graice effairis," they think good to essay their own credit at the hands of the Queen's grace of Scotland, "in sewtyng my lordis remeit and perdone" whereby my lord and lady's grace may "breuk" and enjoy their own in Scotland. Whereupon I remind your lordship that my lord of "Pembroght" and you thought the Earl's friends should so labour for him, as the "alteration was ane astay" to the Queen's Majesty for the time. Praying you to hold me excused of my "homlye wryttyng," for I found your lordship my lord's special good friend, and thus advertise my proceedings. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Stewart of Galstoun.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . the Lard of Gaustoun to my master."

March 16. **974.** LAIRD OF GALSTOUN TO LADY LENNOX.

I was "of mynd" to have come and passed my time with my lord and your grace, but his friends have desired me "ane uther way," as his writing will show your grace. I humbly desire you to send this other writing to "Maister secreter Secyll," and you shall have a copy. I was for a month since departing from your grace, "at evill ease," as the bearer will show. The common bruit here is that my lord Darnley [Darlye] is gone to France to be a suitor to the Queen's

Elizabeth
1560–61. grace of Scotland; and sundry have been "inquesytywe" of me if it was true? whereof my answer was, that I was "ingnorant thairof." The bearer will declare the "novellis" in Scotland. I most humbly thank your grace for the gentle entertainment of the boy I left with you, and "siclik" your gentle favour to myself. I will not "cummer" your grace with more till my return, which shall be soon, God willing. "With my most hartlye recommendationis to my lord Darlye and Maister Chairles," I bid your grace farewell. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Stewart of Galstoun.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* "To my ladyis graice Countes of Lynnox and Angus." *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

March 16. **975.** LAIRD OF GALSTOUN TO LENNOX.

I have spoken with your lordship's friends and shown them all my proceedings when last in England. They consider the Queen's good mind to you, and that the alteration of time has stayed her Majesty's labour in your affairs, and "my ladeis gracis at this present." They have met and consulted, and will essay their credit with the Queen's grace of Scotland for obtaining your pardon at her hands. And they have written effectuously to her grace; and desired me as before, to pass and present their suit to her, advertising your lordship of their purpose. They desire your lordship to "pretermite" no time, but to be mindful and diligent in your own affairs, fortified by advice of the Queen of England, for they perceive you are much bound to her Majesty. I will write no more, but so soon as I get my dispatch from the Queen's grace of Scotland, I will advertise you, or else come myself and show the whole. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Stewart of Galstoun.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* "To my speciall gud lord and maister my lord Erle of Lynnox." *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

March 18. **976.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for William and Robert Hamilton and 10 others to pass and repass through England to France or elsewhere, and back to Scotland, for a year. Under her signet, before the lords of her Privy Council. Edinburgh, 19th of her reign. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, James Stewart, Glencarn, Ruthwen, Wchiltre.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).

March 17. **977.** [MORTON?] TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Add. MSS. 23,109, fol. 10. "I ressavit your writing be the handes of the Lard of Blanerne, daitit at Orleance the viij day of Januar last bipast, be the quhilk your M. declair that it is nocht unknawin to me the late seditioun movit in this your realme, the tyme of umquhile your derrest moder Regent, and that I alienat my self fra the dewitie quhilk ony trew subject aucht to thair naturall prince and soverane; and was alsua of the furtheraris of the samin with sic supple and manteinance as I

Elizabeth.
1560–61. "mycht mak: and nochttheles your M. hes understand be the Lard of Blanerne the gude will and affectioun that I had to your derrist moderis service before hir deceis, and now that I desire to confirme the samin gude mynde towartis your grace; and in sua doing I may be assurit thair is na thing your grace is mair desyrous of": declaring further that if your highness may know any "successioun" of my "effectionat mynd and fidelitie," it will occasion your Majesty to confirm the good opinion your dearest mother ever had of me; and your Majesty shall not fail to grant and "caus publische sic abolisching and lettrez of remit" as shall content me—referring the rest to the said laird with credit for him. "Pleis your grace," whoever accused me to your highness of the above, "have spokin wrang," for the truth is that since the beginning of these troubles I at your said dearest mother's command on . . . *May 1559, went to the Borders to confirm peace, and thereafter continued with her in all things that "stude with" the common weal, both spending my goods and attending her grace when desired. "Last of all, nocht by hir graces aune avis, accumpanyt me with Lord James for sic caussis and considerations (as your said derrest moder thocht gude) as scho declarit to the bischop of Vallance at his first cuming in thir partis." Wherethrough her grace knew my mind was never against her, your grace, or this your realm. And I shall ever so remain in time coming, "nixt my God" to obey your Majesty, as not only myself but my father and predecessors have done "in your les age." As the bearer shall declare, whom credit as myself.

For what the Laird of Blanerne declared to your Majesty, he had no direction of me, nor did I know of his departing to your grace. Edinburgh, 17 March 1560.

2 *pp.* *Contemporary Scottish hand.* *No signature or address.*

[1560–61. March 17.] **978.** INSTRUCTIONS BY MORTON TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

Add. MSS. 23,108, fol. 13.

"The instructionis gevin be my lord of Mortoun to his cousing and servitour Maister Archibald Dowglas, to be schewin to the Quenis Majestie his soverane."

(1) After my most humble service, "ye sall declare" that when the troubles here began in May 1559, I was in Stirling with the late Queen Regent's grace—directed by her to establish quiet in Lothian, and on my way received her grace's letters, showing that the treaty of peace with England "behuiffit" to be confirmed before the 1st June—desiring me with Lord Hume, the Dean of Glasgow, and Clerk of Registry, as her commissioners, to meet with the Earl of Northumberland, the bishop of Durham, Lord Dacre, and Sir James Croftis for England—which command I obeyed at my own expense, and remained thereon till the 25th June, passed the confirmation of peace, and returned to Edinburgh, where I found her grace returned "fra the trublis of Sanct Johnnestoun and Cowpar muir." I remained with her till her first "passing" in Leith, and then by her grace's special direction in writing, I remained at Thomptalloun and Dalkeith, and "incontinent eftir the departing fra Leeth past to hir grace in Leith;

*Blotted out.

Elizabeth.
[1560–61.] "and sa continewit as hir grace directit, ewyr present with hir self or utherwis, quhill hir entre within the castell of Edinbrucht."

(2) To declare to her, "that eftir hir derrest moderis passing in the castell of Edinburcht, ye the said Maister Archibald wes directit with my speciale writingis to knaw hir graces mynd, and I ressavit hir answer be yow, of the quhilk and hir grace directioun and answer at that tyme, that I suld meit with Lord James, ye can maist specialie declair. Quhairof the bischop of Vallance schew to me in presence of the clerk of registrie, that the quenis grace regent hed declarit to him the occasioun of my adjonyng with the said Lord James—as ye in speciale can yit schaw."

(3) After declaring these, "for satisfeing of the Quenis Majestie upoun the wrang informatioun maid to hir of me anentis the trublis bigane, quhairupoun hir graces writing is foundit and directit, ye sall declair to hir hienes for the better assurance of my detfull obedience (eftir God) unto hir, that I wes with my fader eftir the birnyng of Edinbrucht, quhilk wes in the moneth of May the yeir of God $j^{m}v^{c}$ xliiij yeris, and than gif the rest of the nobilitie quha divisit the regentrie to haif than becumin in umquhile the quene regentis handis, hed done thair pairtis as thai promist, the samin hed bene than perfitit; and becaus my fader remanit continualie with the said quene moder, he wes summond be the beraris than of the auctoritie to heir him forfaltit. And thaireftir the said beraris of the auctoritie having sutit and obtenit of the gretest part of the nobilitie, bandis and promisis of our soveranis mariage to thame, my fader continewit with the quenis grace moder quhill he causit thai bandis be renuncit, and thai oblist nevir to sute the mariage quhill our soveranis self wes of the age to grant thairto. For the quhilk caus and service, my fader and all the rest of his blude hed the hatrent and malice of the beraris of the auctoritie at that tyme. And ferder my fader continewit in the quenis moderis service nocht onelie within this realme, bot past with hir in France; as inlikewis eftir hir returnyng thairfra, wes with hir grace in cumpany quhen he deceissit. And eftir his deceis I upoun the speciale desire of the said quene moder, come to Striveling, and with my haill frendis remanit thair quhill the said quene regent obtenit expres consent of the Governour for the tyme to dimit the goverment of this realme in hir favouris; for the quhilk doing as for the like service done of before to ye said quene moder, the hatrent and evill will is borne to me my frendis and blude."

(4) Further that from the time the said Queen mother received the regency, I was ever with her in service—specially "tuke the charge upoun me before the upbringing of the weir, to pas to the west bordouris of this realme, for drawing of the commissionaris thairof furtht of Ingland, quha wer suspectit to be haldin and detenit thair; and did sa that I met thame and helpit and convoyit thame hame to hir grace. And inlikewis I, the tyme of the weir, servit nocht alanerlie as for my aune rowmes and possessionis, and acceptit alsua the publict charge upoun me at that tyme, of lieutenendry upoun my aune expensis, bot alsua quhen utheris suld haif servit, acceptit the same charge of lieutenendry upoun me and servit in the samin upoun my aune expensis inlikewis."

(5) The Queen's grace our sovereign "directand credit speciallie be lord James for the croun matrimoniall to unquhile the King, I did thairin as I refer to the said Lord James, quha can declair my part

Elizabeth.
[1560–61.] "of the samin, and quhat hatrent agmentand the first, hes bene and is borne be thame that wes in the contrar thairof aganis me my frendis and blude.

(6) "Attour to declair to hir hienes that abuif all erdlie thing, and nixt eftir my dewtie to God, I desyre to knaw hir weilfair will and mynd and hir speciale resort and cumin to this hir aune realme; quhair and in all uthir partis, as I am able to travell, sall nocht spair my body nor substance in hir Majesteis service, according to my bundin dewite and detfull obedience, quha evir be party thairto. And this maist assuredlie I testefy God is my will and mynd; and sua sall continew quhill he call me to his mercy."

3 *pp.* *In the same contemporary Scottish hand.* *Not indorsed.*

[March 17.] Add. MSS. 23,108, fol. 16. **979.** INSTRUCTIONS BY MORTON TO ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

[Rough draft of the preceding number, with this additional clause,]

"Item.—Gif ye find perfite favour of the Quenis grace in accepting my writing and thir my instructions geven to yow, ye sall propone is ye find occasion, to haif the gift of the nonentres of the landis and lordshipis of the erldome of Angus and utheris pertening to the erlis thairof sen the deceis of umquhile George erle of Angus, Archibald erle of Angus his sone, or ony utheris thair predecessoris or successoris last lauchtfull possessoris thairof, immediat tenentis to our soveranis predecessoris, of the samin to me my airis and assignis, be ressoun I haif the said waird nonentries and releifis disponit to me be umquhile the Quenis grace regent donatare to our soverane thairto."

3¼ *pp.* *In same hand as preceding.* *Indorsed* (in another): "Copy of the lettres and instructionis maid be the erll of Mortoun to M^r^ Ar^d^. Douglas to the Quene."

1560–61. March 18. **980.** CHATELHERAULT TO CECILL.

The great kindness you have at all times "utirid in effectis" to this realm, "and specially me and my hous," deserves more thanks than I can recompense in deeds, so I "mon" content myself with words. I have requested "my lord my cousing Lord James" to declare how gladly I would do you pleasure, and her Majesty service, for her gentleness. Pray credit him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Yowr asswrit lowffing frend James.

⅓ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecil's clerk).

March 20. **981.** MEMORIAL TO RANDOLPHE.

"A memoriall to Thomas Randolph to execute diverse thinges for the service of the Quenes Majestie in Scotland, 20 Martij 1560."

Referring him to the abstract of the message sent to her Majesty, by the Protestant princes of Germany assembled at "Nawenburgh"* on 20 January last, of their renewed league against the Pope and his adherents—their ratification anew of the Confession of "Augusta"†

* Naumburg. † Augsburg.

Elizabeth.
1560–61. —and to declare this to the Scottish Estates, with advice to persevere and augment their numbers—how to deal with those inclined to amity, but indifferent to religion—to get rid of the league with France, or such clauses as affect England—to persuade their sovereign not to marry a foreigner, which will be their ruin, but some one in her own country. Wherein the Duke, his family, and other nobility, burghers and townsmen who have defended their country, should be of one mind. Proceeding as the Queen's agent in all these matters, with discretion and good advice. *Signed:* By the Quenes Majesties commandment, W. Cecill.

3 *pp. Written by Cecil's clerk. Indorsed. The date filled in by Cecil.*

March 20. **982.** CHATELHERAULT TO CECILL.

The bearers Robert and William Hamilton my servants, pass presently "with ane few cumpany," to get payment of debts owing them in France, and return "haistalie." I pray you for the Queen's passport. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Yowr asswrit lowffing frend, James.

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

March 20. **983.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the 15th instant Huntly and Sutherland arrived at Edinburgh, with whom I have talked at large of the state of things in their country. I never found in my life at either of their hands better entertainment or more "affectioned" words out of their mouths, nor heartier desire as it appeared, to maintain amity. "The men ar bothe right well knowne unto your honour, nor I cane not otherwyse for all this, judge of them then in tymes past." I have written in special of the one, of whom you shall be more amply informed by Lord James of matters between "them two." The Duke's and Arran's own letters will signify their own estate and devotion to our sovereign's service. Arran, to avoid all suspicion of his doings, has charged Alexander Clerke to open to you his purposes and intents, largely promising me that whatever he does hereafter, you shall be advertised, or I put in knowledge in good time. Lord James and he parted great friends, exchanging large promises. The Duke never uttered to me in more earnest words, than at my departure towards this town with my lord James, his affection towards the amity, for otherwise he thinks it will be his utter ruin. He showed me three letters he dispatches to France—one to the Queen with only remembrance of his duty, and credit for the bearer Lord James—another to the King of Navarre, with thanks for kindness to his son, and request to have his land of the duchy of Chatelherault released—and to like effect to the Constable. So soon as he hears from thence, he will send over the abbot of Kilwinning.

When I left Edinburgh on the 18th, Huntly had not spoken with the ambassador, who is now removed to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, and David Forrest required by the lords to keep his company. He will now remain till this parliament, but I hear of no great resort to him, and the lords for the most part ready to leave the town, and not to return till they hear of my lord James' arrival. As the Abbot of

Elizabeth.
1560–61. Newbottle is "a wyse honest man," Lord James required him to prevent the ambassador practising in the "Merche" and whatsoever is under Cesford's charge, which he has promised to do. The chiefest other matters are in Lethington's letter, saving that I am required that any suit for Robert Lyslay to pass to France may be denied. "He hopethe greatly in my Lord James herin, by whose advice I wryte this unto your honour."

Mr Knox has earnestly required me to desire the ministers in this town of Berwick, that there may be some conference "betwene hym and his brotherine of (*sic*) and them, in wrytinge; or otherwayes yf yt myght stande with the Quenes pleasure": which I intend to move to my lord Governor, whose "brute" amongst us is very great for exercise of justice. Mr Knox, in certain articles given to my lord James, "hathe mytigated somewhat the rigeur of his booke,* referringe myche unto the tyme that the same was wrytten." Whatever is to be declared by Alexander Clerke, Forbes is sent to France, and left Leith on the 20th "of this present." To-morrow I return to Edinburgh. In haste, at Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet (as before).*

March 20. **984.** MORTON TO CECILL.

Having occasion to send this bearer to the Queen my sovereign, I have commanded him to speak with you to see if there is anything wherein I may do you pleasure, to acquit your goodness to me. I pray you give him safe conduct going and returning, and commission for post horses. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Youris assurit Mortoun.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 22. **985.** STEPHEN BETON TO THE [ARCH]BISHOP OF GLASGOW.

I intend by God's grace to "visie" your lordship, "giffand attendance only uppon the wind." Besides, no ship for France but is countermanded by the Lords on pain of death and treason, to receive passengers without their licence—which your wisdom understands I neither seek nor pursue, although their proclamation contains "tynsall of livinges, geere and benifices." For "sick" affairs as I have to communicate, tending "will God," both to your honour and profit, I will hazard life and living to come to you—praying you to do what in you lies, that if the Prior of St Andrews anticipate and "perjourne"† my coming, and labour with our sovereign the Queen, to entertain him with good words and give him no credit till I come, when I will show her grace and your lordship his proceedings, &c. I intend to pass in a Flanders ship, and then take the post. Langormy (?) S. Stephan Beton.

1 *p. Contemporary copy. Titled:* "Copie . . . by Forbasse." *Indorsed:* ". . . Copie of a lettre sent from one Sir Stephen Beton to the Bishop of Glasco. Against the Lord James."

Another copy of same.

1 *p. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "Received penult Marcij 1561," &c.

* "The First blast of the Trumpet (?)" † Precede (?)

Elizabeth.
1561. March 29.

986. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Late yesterday the 28th, I received your honour's of the 22d, and conferred with Lethington, who sends his opinion on the late offences against the "Portugals." I find him and all honest men desirous that order were put thereto. If any overture were made by the first offenders, there are divers here would gladly travail in it, but wish the suit should first be made to their sovereign, that by her authority "some stroke myght be stroken therin," otherwise there will greater difficulty, seeing so many gentlemen, merchants and others in this realm support it, and have spent large sums in furnishing themselves to the seas against the Portugals. The *Lion* of Leith is ready to leave the Frith, the best ship in this country, and never better prepared: there are in her 10 or 12 Englishmen. There are also 15 or 16 other English, French, and Scottish ships, that have "transumptes" of the same letter of marque; the original whereof is in the hands of Gylberde Loggen's widow dwelling in Dieppe, with whom perhaps it were good to travail.

This suit and controversy before moved, had been finished, but for the bishop of St Andrews and M. Doysell, who had the said letter of marque "ingage." The Queen Dowager also for her part, required 5000 of the 14,000 "ducates" that were offered to redeem it. This I heard, and also that the King of Portugal has levied a tax of 100,000 "ducates," to redeem it. I am well assured it will be bought with 8000 or 10,000, and that 2 merchants of this town, David Foster and Thomas Tomson, who have some interest in it, will agree. Others have moved Lethington and me to procure the Council's license that they might take Portuguese prizes into the Queen's Majesty's ports, giving caution for their demeanour towards her subjects; which seemed to us so unreasonable, that since, we have been noted as enemies to their cause; and one captain Murray who has a ship ready for sea at Dieppe, intends to sue the Queen of Scotland for her letters to the Queen our sovereign to that effect; and is presently in hand with the Duke and Arran for their letters to the Council, which I trust yours to me will be a stay. The Lords of secret council being absent, I cannot communicate your mind with them, nor see many of them before 20th May. I thank you most humbly for your "Cardinals"; and in a day or two will requite it "with the syght of some thynge or other, that the knowledge therof shalbe more to your honors contentation then yt is pleasure to me, to here howe that pestiferous prelate * sekethe to mayntayne his kyngedome." If by any means your honour can work the Council may be stayed, it will be the best act that ever you wrought. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

June 1.

987. THE SCOTTISH COUNCIL TO CHARLES IX.

Thanking him for his letters by M. de Lisle, as to renewal of the old friendship between the realms, for which they will not be ungrateful, consistent with their duty to their sovereign. Referring his

* The Pope.

Elizabeth.
1561. Majesty to their reply to his ambassador. Edinburgh. "*Cal. Juniis.*" Huntly.

1 *p.* *Latin.* *In Lethington's hand.* *Addressed at head.*

(1) Similar letter to the Queen mother.

1 *p.* *Latin.* *In Lethington's hand.* *Addressed at head.* *Ink very faint.* *In a collection, Jan.* 22–*June* 1.

June 5. **988.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

I received your letter of exhortation, which in deed arrived in very "deu tym"; the state of this country hath been such as the craft of the "most wicked papistis," joined with the like of them that had some further pretences, a little afore my arrival, hath almost made some "ouproir and trouble in the Religion." Being "espyit," "it wes quicly bornen hard to and lett * to birst out be the countenance of the baronis assembling thaime selves with diligence. After, the mater wes sa quytt that evin ane number of the same (and that of the greatest) wotit frely for the abolishement of the messe." God grant that in your country and others, where the papists make such countenance, they find the like "yssuye" as here. Not only ours, "bot apperandly" your security and France depends on "the Religion" at present. "Yff we fallou God, he wilbe faythfull, yff we leyn to much to our awin wyttis, it shalbe ane feible fondement."† I will leave nothing undone that may establish the "treu vership of God in thir partis, as my present estat will suffer me. You haif good cause to be walking . . .‡ I leave the rest to Lethington to satisfy your honour. Commend me to your lady, "and so committis your honour to the direction of the spreit of God." Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Stewart.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

June 12. **989.** PETITION BY JOHN EDWARDS.

To the Lords of Council of Scotland—John Edwards Englishman owner of the ship *Marie* of Hamptoun, complains, that in April last, while bound with English merchandize for Spain, Patrick Blacater captain of the *Lyoun* took him and his ship "upon the streame," put in her 18 of his men and a captain; and refused to put him and his crew on land in England, though he offered at divers times "to quyte to thame" his ship; but kept her till he took two "Portingall" prizes "towart" Tynemouth, when he restored her to the petitioner: who when he reached Newcastle, was put in prison with his crew, and his ship arrested by the Lord Admiral of England's deputy, as an "assister" of said Patrick, where they remain in danger of their lives. He prays them to warn the said Patrick to appear and answer, and the innocence of himself and his men being shown, to attest the same, that he may show it to the said deputy.

This bill being first delivered to the Lords of Session at Edinburgh 12th June 1561, was referred by them to the Lords of the Secret Council; who on same day ordained a macer to warn Patrick and his

* Hindered. † Foundation. ‡ Many words obliterated here by damp.

Elizabeth.
1561. complices to appear before them "the morne," to answer the complaint.

Broad sheet. Contemporary Scottish legal hand. Indorsed: "The copye of Jhone Edwardes supplicatioun," &c.

June 17. **990.** TESTIMONIAL BY THE VICE-ADMIRAL OF SCOTLAND.

David Kintor, vice-admiral to James Earl Bothwell, &c., great admiral of Scotland, attests, that on the supplication of John Edwards, he caused appear before him Patrick Blacater, gentleman, captain of the *Lyoun* of Leith, Edward Blacater, the master, the quarter masters and others mariners of said ship, who swore on the "Holy Evangellis," that in April last cruising against the "Portugalls" under their letter of marque, betwixt the "Ile of Wicht and the cost of Bertanye," by chance they "forgadderit" with said John Edwards' ship, and "did expone" to him that a great leak had broken up in their own ship, putting their lives in danger, and required him "maist humanlie" to show them amity, in case their leak "augmentit," as he might look for in like case. And to be more sure of John's ship, they embarked 18 of their men till they found the leak. Soon after, the *Lyoun* chased and took two ships which were found to be "Portingallis," and "turnand hame als hie as Tynmouth," the said captain Blacater retired his 18 men and allowed John and his ship to depart. "Attour"—the said Blacater, &c. declare on oath that they made no paction or promise by writ or word, whereby Edwards could claim any part of the goods in said prizes, nor did he assist in taking them. "Bot onlie tuke ayde of thame and thair schip in thair grit necessitie and daingere of the tinsall of thair said schip and lyvis as said is and no utherwys." Attested under his hand and his seal of office. Leith. David Kintor *suâ manu.*

Attested by John Mosman notary public and clerk of court of the Admiralty of Scotland.

Broad sheet. In same hand as last, Mosman's probably. Indorsed: "The copy of the Testimoniall gevin be the vice admirall," &c.

June 29. **991.** MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS TO LETHINGTON.

"Lethington"—I have your letter of the 10th of this month. If you employ yourself in my service, and show the good will whereof you assure me, you need not fear calumniators or talebearers, for such have no part with me. I look to results before believing all that is told me. For the scruple that may arise from your acquaintance in England, it will cease with your intelligence there, and is easy to remedy if you wish. Forasmuch as you have been the principal instrument and negociator of all "praticques" that my nobles have had there, if you wish (that besides forgetting all past offences, as I have written before) that I should in good earnest [a bon essient] trust and employ you, cause the hostages now in that country to be withdrawn, and busy yourself in undoing what you have brought about therein, so that I may be assured of your good affection. You have the knowledge and skill to do more than that, for nothing passes among my nobility without your knowledge and

Elizabeth.
1561. advice. I will not conceal from you that if anything goes wrong after I trust you, you are he whom I shall blame first.

I wish to live henceforth in amity and good neighbourhood with the Queen of England, and am on the point of leaving for my realm, where I hope to be at the time I announced by the Prior of St Andrews. On arriving, I shall need some money for my household and other expenses. There must be a good year's profit from my mint [monnoye] and also other casualties. You will pleasure me by having it ready from some quarter or another, and for all that give me notice. I saw by your letters you had published and executed those I lately sent you as to the alienation of church lands. For my further intentions, being on my departure, I remit them to my arrival, when I see and hear from you how things have passed both before and since the troubles. Paris.

1 *p. French. Copy. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "29 Junij 1560 (*sic*). Copye of the Quene of Scottes lettre to the L. of Ledyngton."

July 1. **992.** THE QUEEN TO RANDOLPHE.

Sending him her letters to the Three Estates of Scotland, whereof he shall receive a copy, to the intent that before delivering it, he may take advice of her assured friends. The "argument" is founded on the answer made of late by the Scottish Queen to the English ambassador, whereof a copy is sent for him to show to those he thinks meet. As the Queen's return will alter many things for the worse, specially religion and devotion to England, it were well if it could be delayed, or things so settled that she cannot alter them. And if "hollow" friends were forced to declare themselves, the Estates might either press their Queen to ratify the treaty before returning, or her own Council in France seeing this, might therefore protract her departure. "And because they which be secrett, and be suer both in relligion and in frendshipp" to the Queen of England, should not take any strange conceit of her letter to the Estates, Randolph shall privately assure them she means not to "taxe or note" them but only to provoke the backward either to show themselves as they are, or amend and join the better sort. He is to advise with the "wise" and though it were only 2 or 3, let her have some answer before Doysel comes. Sends also a letter to Chatelherault, whom as also Arran, he is to assure of her friendship, advising them to see that they and their house suffer not in their right and title, failing the Queen and her issue. She only promises this conditionally, so long as they promote religion—not otherwise.

She writes also to Lord James, of whom she has as good and sound opinion as of any man in Scotland, and will always support him in the cause of religion. Refers Randolphe to her secretary's letter.

3 *pp. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed.*

July 1. **993.** ELIZABETH TO THE ESTATES OF SCOTLAND.

We doubt not but as our meaning "is and hath bene allweise sythence our reign, in the sight of Almighty God streight and direct towardes the avancement of his honor and truth in relligion," and

Elizabeth.
1561. thus for peace and concord betwixt these two realms, "so also our owtward actes" have declared the same to the world and you our neighbours, who have tasted and proved our good will more we think than any of your ancestors, yea more than many of yourselves could have hoped for! Though at the beginning of your troubles, the jealousy and malice of divers both there and abroad, suspected us of meaning to surprise the realm and deprive your Queen of her crown, or to make the monarchy a common wealth, yet the end showed our meaning was to establish our cousin and sister in her state, then in the hands of strangers; and though no words could satisfy the malicious, yet our deeds declare nothing was sought but restitution to "the ancient liberty," as the solemn treaty at Edinburgh last year by our and your Queen's commissioners testifies. Yet your sovereign, either not knowing her own felicity or seduced by perverse counsel, forbears, though sundry times required by us, to ratify the same, and makes dilatory answers, and would have us delay till she returns to her country. We must plainly let you all understand that this manner of answer without fruit, cannot long content us. Our meaning to your sovereign has been good, we stayed her realm from danger, and have kept peace hitherto, as we promised. We think it strange she has no better advice, and require you all the Estates of the realm, to consider the matter deeply, and make answer whereto we may trust. If you support her breach of solemn promise, we shall accept your answer, and doubt not but by the grace of God, you shall repent it. If you will have it kept, we promise you the like, and all shall go well with your Queen, yourselves and posterities. Advertise us of your mind, specially if it is for peace, and if you forbear any long time to advertise us "ye shall gyve to us some occasion of dowt, wherof more hurt may grow than good."

6 *pp. Draft by Cecill, much corrected. Indorsed:* "1561, *primo Julij.* Minute from the Quenes Majestie to the States of Scotland."

July 11. **994.** INSTRUCTIONS TO M. DOYSEL.

By the Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France:—

(1) To procure from her sister and cousin of England, a passport for herself and retinue, with power to land at any English port, and continue her journey by land to Scotland.

(2) Another for 100 hackneys, mules, carriage and cart horses, &c., belonging to herself and suite, with grooms, &c.

(3) Another safe conduct and commission for 15 post horses for himself to pass through England to Scotland and back to France, with 35 or 40 horses from Scotland.

1 *p. French. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "xj° Julij, Monsr Doysell, 1561."

July 13. **995.** THE ENGLISH TO THE SCOTTISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

Perceiving by your letters to Lord Dacre, warden of the West Marches, that on complaint by the Master of Maxwell the opposite warden, ye find some lack in Lord Dacre's dealing, we think fit to let you understand the very truth. The Greames, being the greatest number of those charged by Maxwell, mistrusting the impartiality of

Elizabeth.
1561. Lord Dacre, sent some of their chiefs hither, with petition that the Queen would commit the hearing to indifferent persons. Though we doubt not the upright administration of Lord Dacre, yet for justice sake, we gave ear to these men's request, whereby this delay arose. We find them willing to answer for all charges before September last, according to the old custom of the West March; and for all matters proved against them since, according to the present order on these borders. And as our sovereign lady has committed the consideration of these men's causes to certain special persons, presently sent on her highness's other affairs, who shall take due order, we pray your lordships meanwhile to take order with the Master of Maxwell, to suspend his complaints; with assurance that the Queen means to leave nothing undone for the quiet of the borders, as he will understand at the commissioners' arrival. London. *Signed:* N. Bacon C. S., Winchester, W. Northt, Edward Derby, Penbroke, E. Clynton, W. Howard, E. Rogers, F. Knollys, W. Cecill, Amb. Cave, Ry. Sakevyle.

2 *pp.* *Addressed:* "To . . . the Duke of Chastellherault and other the lordes of the privie counsell of Scotlande," &c.

July 13. **996.** [THROCKMORTON] TO ELIZABETH.

In my last despatch to your Majesty "of the xiij of this present," I said that a poor merchant your subject was come to complain to the Queen of Scotland of a depredation done on him and his consorts in "Island" within the King of Denmark's dominion: and so soon as the Queen answered, I would advertise your Majesty. This afternoon, after my servant left with my despatch, the Queen sent him * a letter "to my Lord James," to see justice duly done, as the copy herewith will show your Majesty; which (as I take it) is very favourable from her to your subject, and as much as she can do, having no knowledge or power in the matter here. He comes to beseech your recommendation to Lord James; whereto it may please your Majesty to incline. "13 Julij 1561."

Postscript.—The Queen of Scotland has sent me word she minds to send her "escuerye" through England, and required my favourable letter for their usage at landing; and for their passport to Scotland. As I have not yet heard touching her own safe conduct, I know not what to say on this point, and humbly beseech your Majesty's pleasure.

1¼ *pp.* *Holograph (?), or fair copy.* *Indorsed:* ". . . To the Quenes Majestie by W. Pertrydge merchant of Wodbridge in Suffolk in his awne behalf."

July 15. **997.** ELIZABETH TO MARY.

We have received your letters by the hands of your "chevalier d'honneur le Sieur Doysell," whom we send back to you, for the reasons and considerations which we doubt not he will faithfully report; which also we have charged our ambassador at the Court of France to communicate: whom credit as ourself.

Broad sheet. *French: fair copy.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill).

* The merchant.

Elizabeth.
1561. Another copy of same.

1 *p. French: copy in a foreign* (?) *hand. Addressed:* "To the Scottish Quene." *Indorsed.*

July 15. **998.** THE QUEEN'S ANSWER TO DOYSEL.

"The substance" of the same is—That the Queen finding no answer from the Queen of Scotland, but delay—requires the ratification of their late treaty, which if performed, she will gratify any reasonable request for passing through her realm, and if it like "the sayd Scottish Quene," will give order for a friendly meeting between them for corroboration of their amity.

For his passing into Scotland: she thinks he should rather return and signify thus much to his mistress, and for this, shall have her passport and letters to the French King, Queen, and Queen of Scots. And if he has any letters or messages for Scotland of importance, he shall have a passport to send them safely.

2 *pp. Draft by Cecil.*

Aug. 6. **999.** LORD JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

My earnest desire to see the intelligence betwixt these two realms long endure, moves me deeply to consider how, on one part, it may be increased, on the other, what are the chief impediments to be avoided. For the increase, I doubt not but conformity of religion, neighbourhood sustained by mutual good offices, and the very necessity of the case, will daily promote it. Indeed seeing for the subjects' part, the old enmity of these two nations is by God's providence miraculously converted to reciprocal good will, and both desire a friendly conjunction: I see not what could impede it, "if the headis culd so hartly be joyned in love as be the memberis," I mean your Majesty and the Queen my sovereign lady—"betuix whome I find mony natural causes, and strayt bandes of amyty, and but one rote [root] frome which ony variance can grow. You be tender cusines, boyth Quenes in the flour of your aages, much ressambling other in most excellent and goodly qualiteis, on whome God hayth bestowit most liberally the gyftes of nature and fortune." Your sex will not permit you to advance your glory by war and bloodshed, but in that of a peaceable reign. Neither of you is ignorant from what root the contrary affection proceeds; whereon before I touch, I shall crave pardon of my boldness, which proceeds only from the good will of him "who of all the subjects in both realmes, hayth, as apereyth to me, most interesse to wishe that your two Majesties wer joyned in most tender familiaritie. I wishe to God the Quene my souveraine lady hayth never by any advis taken in head to pretend interest or acclayme any titill to that your Majesties realme; for then I am fully persuaded you suld haif bene and continewed als dear freindis as you be tender cusines—but now sence on hir part some thing hayth bene thocht of it, and first motionit when the two realmes wer in warre togyther (your Majestie knoweth it) I feare that onles that rote may be removed, it sall ever bread unkindnes betuixt you." Your Majesty can not yield, and she may on the other part think it hard, being so nigh of the blood of England, so to be made a stranger from it! "Yff any

Elizabeth.
1561. "myd way culd be pyked out to remove this differenc to both your contentementis, then it is lyke we culd haif ane perpetual quyetnes. I haif long thocht of it, and never durst communicat it to the Quene my souveraine, nor many of my cuntrie men; nor yett will heirafter follow it forthir nor shall seame good to your Majesty. The mater is hyghar then my capacite is hable to compas, yett upon my simple ouverture your hyghnes can lay a more large fundation. What yff your Majesties titill did remain ontouched, als wele for your self as thissue of your body? Inconvenient wer it to provyde that to the Quene my souveraine her own place wer reserved in the succession of the Crown of England? Which your Majestie will pardon me, if I take to be next by the law of all nations, as she that is next in lawfull discent of the ryght lyne of King Hendry the sevint your grandfather" —and in the mean time this isle to be united in perpetual friendship. The succession of realms comes by God's appointment at his good pleasure, and no provision of man can alter what he has determined, "but it must neidis cum to pas"! Yet it appears that without injury to any "party," this accord might bring us great quietness. "Every thing must haif sum begynnyng," and if I may receive answer from your Majesty that you can allow it, I will travail to bring my sovereign to some conformity; if you mislike it, "I will no farder mell [meddle] thair with . . . Protesting in the presence of God, that this my ouverture proceidit of no uther intent, nor tendeth to any other fyne [end], than to the contineuance of th'intelligence begun, which I wishe rather to do (?) than se in any poinct violated." Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Stewart.

2 *pp.* *Closely written.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 6. **1000.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

As I am persuaded nothing ever "lykeyt" your honour better than the good intelligence betwixt these two realms, "whereof (the praise to God) you haif bene ane cheif instrument,"—so the fear of "inlacke" thereof has moved me to seek all overtures to preserve it, and made me bold to write my judgment to the Queen, whereof I send the copy, that finding it good, you may "lett the same to hir Majesties syght, not as direct to you, but as sent in Maister Randolphis pacquett" —or otherwise on consideration to withdraw it.

Unless God shall "moyen" * by this or the like, good intelligence between these two Queens, the amity begun can not long continue, to the grief of all such as mean uprightly. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Stewart.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Aug. 6. **1001.** SUMMONS TO THE SCOTTISH ESTATES.

The Lords understanding both by common bruit, and their Queen's letters from Paris of 12 July, her intention to return to Scotland, and looking for her arrival before the end of this month, pray [*the lord addressed*] to convene with the rest of the nobility at Edinburgh on the 31st instant, as they hope her highness will land there,

* Work.

Elizabeth.
1561. to receive her honourably. Though by chance, while unlikely at this time of year, wind and weather hinder her Majesty keeping "the first triste," this is to be no stop to his coming, that order may be taken for quietness in the realm—for as he sees "sum tumult alreddy rasit in the principall burcht,* quhilk may be sum precedent to forther inconvenientis, and sone quhen the nychtis begyn to grow long, the Bordouris wald be providit for"—or her Majesty, if strangers with her saw this out of order, might think her nobles negligent and careless. They have written to her Majesty thereon, and of the day appointed. Edinburgh. "Your lordshipis loving freindis."

1 *p.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Indorsed* (by Lethington): "Copy off the lettre for convocation off thestates"; (by Cecill): "6 August. Copy of the lettre from the Lordes of Scotland to assemble the states in Scotland, 1561."

Aug. 6. **1002.** JOHN KNOX TO ELIZABETH.

"Grace from God the father throught our Lord Jesus, with perpetuall encrease of his holie spiritt." Please your Majesty, it is here "certainlie spoken, that the Quen of Scotland travaleht earnestlie to have a treatiss intitilled 'The ferst Blast of the Trompett,' confuted by the censure of the learned in divers realmes; and farther, that she lauboreht to inflambe the hartes of princess against the writar. And becaus that it may appear that your Majestie hath interest: that she myndeht to travall with your grace, your graces counsall, and learned men, for judgement against such a common ennemey to women and to thare regiment." It were but foolishness in me to prescribe to your Majesty what is to be done in anything—especially in what men think touches myself—"but of on thing I think my self assured, and tharefor I dar not conceall it,—to witt, that neyther doht our soverane so greatlie fear hir owen estate by reasson of that book, neyther yet doht she so unfeanedlie favour the tranquillitie of your Majesties reing and realme, that she wold tack so great and earnest panes, onles that hir crafty counsall in so doing, shot att a farther marck. Two yearis ago I wrote unto your Majestie my full declaration tuoching that work; experience since hath schawen that I am not desirus of innovations, so that Christ Jesus be not in his menbris openlie troden under the feitt of the ungodlie. With farther purgation I will not truble your Majestie for the present. Beseching the Eternall so to assist your highnes in all effares, that in his sight ye may be found acceptable, your regiment profitable to your common wealht, and your factes to be such that justlie thei may be prased of all godlie, unto the cumming of our Lord Jesus, to whose mychty protection I unfeanedlie committ your Majestie." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Your Majesties servand to command in godlines John Knox.

1¼ *pp.* *Holograph; also address* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . M^r Knox to the Q. Maty."

Aug. 9. Cott. Calig. B. x. fol. 37. **1003.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I received your letter of the 1^st written at "Osyes†" in Essex, and

* Edinburgh. † S^t Osyths.

Elizabeth.
1561. one to Lord James from his kinsman "S[t] Come" from France—both agreeing that the Queen's purpose in home coming is not changed. It will be "a stowte adventure for a sycke crased woman" on the sea, and how she shall be received by many who are persuaded she means their ruin. There is little "preparance" yet, and scarcely any man expects her. On showing your letter to Lord James, Morton and Lethington, they wish as you do, she might be stayed, and were it not for obedience sake, "some of them care not thoughe theie never saw her face!" They try to prevent the wicked devises of her mischievous papist ministers—but it will always be found "that *filij hujus sæculi, &c.*" They do what they can for "the religion" and amity with their neighbours—and need look to themselves, for their hazard is great, as they see. There is no safety for them, but in our Queen's favour —for friends abroad they have none, and few trustworthy at home. They mean to try what she will assure them of, in return for their offers; and this the Queen of Scots fears above all, and has ordered S[t] Colme in her name to forbid any such thing till her return—as two are reported already here from England for the purpose.

They are grieved with her "refusall" and fear her thrusting Englishmen out of the country. By my late talks with Lord James and Lethington, I see they think after next Convention I should go to you with their determinations for your advice. So soon as it please the Queen's Majesty, I would be glad to quit this place for one of more quiet, and as I have continued here by your honour's mean, pray your good advice.

I doubt this Queen's money more than her fair words, and yet cannot conceive what great thing can be wrought with 40,000 crowns, for she has little or no treasure here, nor ready means to get it. Lethington does all he can to satisfy you of things here—he thinks it best she come not—but if she do, to let her know she shall find obedience and service if she embrace Christ, and desire peace with her neighbours. Your honour understands that M[r] Knox is determined to abide the uttermost, and others will not leave him till God have taken his life and theirs together. It might please you to comfort him by letters, "that the Quenes Majestie dothe not utterlie condeme hym, or at the least in that poynte that he is so sore charged with by his owne Quene, that her Majestie wyll not allowe her doynges." It will be a great comfort to him and others. His daily prayer is for amity with England, and that God will not suffer men to be so "ingrate" and to "rune hed lynge" to destroy them that saved their lives and gave their country liberty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

Whytehede was freed from prison 2 days before your letter came —the Admiral's court testified his innocence against the Portugales. I will complain to the Lords of his delivery.

On back.—I must not omit this, though I would not put it in my letter—Huntly's wife has conferred with her "familiers," who promise her "that the Quene shall never set her foote in Scottyshe grounde." If false, I would she were burned for a witch.

3¼ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Aug. 10. Cott. MSS. Calig. B. x. fol. 150.

1004. MAITLAND TO CECILL.

That Lord James and he have been 40 days in the north, advancing

Elizabeth.
1561. "the Relligion," &c. &c., hence his long delay in writing. Approves of the "staye" of M. Doysel. Discusses the evils if the Queen returns, the elation of the Papists and its effect on the lukewarm Protestants, &c., &c. Prays him that the inclosed letter "comme not to lycht." Will make it his "utermost study" that no seed of division take root between Chatelherault and Lord James, on whose concord their cause depends. Begs him if it happen that the Queen's Majesty write to Chatelherault, that she, or Cecill by her command, say somewhat to Arran his son, to further matters. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

8 *pp. Holograph. No address leaf. Wafer signet: a shield with lion rampant. This has been transferred from the missing address leaf.*

Aug. 15. **1005.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

Yesternight came hither from France a Scottish gentleman Captain Ainstruther, sent by our sovereign. He left her Majesty (he says) at Mern 6 leagues from the Court at S^{t} Germains, where she had left the King and was coming to Calais to embark. He has letters to most of the noblemen, wherein she complains that the Queen has not only refused passage to M. Doysel, and the safe conduct she courteously required for her self, but openly declared she will not suffer her to come home to her own realm! Yet such is her affection to her country, and desire to see us, that she minds not that threat shall stay her, but takes her journey with 2 galleys only and no forces, accompanied with her three uncles, the Duke D'Aumalle, the Marquis D'Albaeuff, and the Great Prior, one of the Constable's sons, Monsieur Danville and their trains—and to trust her person in our hands. Meantime, thinking the Queen's Majesty will "practique" with her subjects here, she has written to divers, specially those most affectioned, to continue intelligence, and no wise receive an "ambassade" or renew any league with her Majesty, till herself "be present with ws." The bearer says she will arrive before the 26th instant. What this message means I cannot judge—"but I marvell that she will uter any thing to ws which she wold have kept close from yow! and if two galayis may quyetly passe, I wishe the pasport had bene liberally granted. To what propos shold yow open your pak and sell none off your wares, or declare yow ennemyes to those whome yow can not offend?" It passes my dull capacity to imagine what this sudden enterprise means. We shall trust no more than we see, and yet fear the issue for lack of charges and sufficient power. If things go amiss, we shall feel the first "dint." It were well the Queen kept some power at Berwick, so long as we stand in doubtful terms; it will discourage the enemy and make us the bolder. I pray you advise me in this dangerous case, whereto my "wit" is not sufficient—"as well in the commen cause as my particular, who am taken to be a cheeffe medlar and principall negotiatour of all the practiques with that realme. Thogh I be not in greatest place, yet is not my danger least, specially when she shall comme home, having so late receaved at the Quenes Majestes hands (as she will think) so great a discourtesy!" Ainstruther has also commission to receive from the French captains Dunbar castle and Inchkeith fort, and send

Elizabeth.
1561. home the soldiers. I hear the Queen means to draw home the Earl of Lennox from England, and make him an instrument of division, setting him up against the Duke of Chatelherault. I trust the Queen's Majesty will have good regard thereto. Let me hear from you often—if every 4 or 5 days a line or two, it would be my greatest comfort. And as I must now be "jalouse" of my letters, make mention how many you have received this month—this is the third—when I shall know they have reached you. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

2½ *pp. Holograph: also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill): ". . . L. of Ledyngton."

Aug. 16. **1006.** ELIZABETH TO MARY.

The Lord of S[t] Colme [Cosme] brought us your letters dated the 8[th] of this present at Abbeville, signifying, that although by our answer to you by M. Doyzel, ye doubted our amity, yet after "certaine purposes passed" betwixt you and our ambassador, ye assured us of your good meaning, and required credit for S[t] Colme, who has declared to us the same excuse for not ratifying the treaty, as yourself did to our ambassador—whom we have briefly answered, as he can show you. If he shall not so do, lest you thought your reasons had satisfied us, "sommarely" we assure you your answer is no satisfaction, we only require performance of your promise, whereto ye are bound by your seal and hand—in your own power as Queen of Scotland—which yourself "in woordes" confess, concluded by your late husband's and your own ambassadors, to which your own nobility and people were privy, and without which no amity can continue. Yet seeing by report of the "bringar," that ye mean forthwith on coming home, to follow the advice of your Council there, we suspend our "conceipt of all unkindnes," and assure you we be fully resolved on performance thereof, to unite in sure amity, and live with you in the "knot of frendshipp," as we are in that of nature and blood. And herein we are so earnestly determined, that if the contrary follow "(which God forbid)" the world shall see the occasion to be in you, not in us; as "the story witnessith the like of the King your father our uncle," whom evil councillors advised against meeting our father at York to conclude a "perpetual bonde"; whereof we know witnesses remain with us, and some (we think) with you. For the report that we had sent our admiral and navy to impeach your passage: your servants know its falseness, and that we have only 2 or 3 small barks at sea, to apprehend certain Scottish pirates haunting our seas under pretence of letters of marque; whereto we were almost compelled by the complaint of the Spanish ambassador. On this matter we earnestly require your consideration at coming to your realm—the rather for "respect" that should be betwixt Scotland, our realm, France, Spain and the "House of Burgundy." Recommending us to you with request not to neglect "theis our frendly and susterly offers of frendship, whiche before God we meane and intend to accomplishe." Under our signet. Heuyngham, 16 August, 3[d] year of our reign.

Broad sheet. Fair contemporary official hand. Addressed.

Elizabeth.
1561. (1) Original draft of the same.

3 pp. In Cecill's writing. Much corrected and altered. The clause as to James V. refusing to meet Henry VIII. at York, is struck out. Indorsed (by Cecill's clerk): "M. to the Quene of Scotland," &c.

Aug. 22. **1007.** THE MASTER OF MAXWELL TO ELIZABETH.

On the 21st of this instant, I came to treat with your grace's commissioners here, according to the tenor of the letters I received from your Council, and have found them so well inclined to redress of offences, &c., "as I rest weill satisfyit," not doubting but execution shall follow, as Lord Dacre the opposite warden, their honours and I have agreed. As I and all my true countrymen are most bound to pray for your Majesty's long continuance in royal estate, for the benefits we have received in delivery from the bondage of the stranger, so I trust we shall never be found unmindful, but declare such honest service to your Majesty as appertains.

The Queen my sovereign is lately come to her native country, on whom I intend to wait with all diligence, as bound, and give my "sempill and plane oppinyoun and advis" for continuance of this amity, "bayth to Godis glorie" and the weal of my native country. "Traisting in God, hir Majestie vill consider the samyn; and geif nocht, yit I for my part and, as I think, syndrie of the nobilitie and utheris gud subjectis of our realm, will do that we haife professit unto your Majestie in the conclusioun of this last amitie"—advertising your highness after my return from her grace. "Maist humlie beseikand your grace, for the lufe of Almychty God, to accept my part as I sall bayth meyne and wyrk in to it." Carlisle. Your Majesties hummle and obesand servand honestlie. *Signed:* Jhone Maxwell.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 25. **1008.** ELIZABETH TO MARY.

The King of Spain having sundry times of late written to us that not only the subjects of the King of Portugal, but also his own of Spain and his Low Countries, are spoiled by pirates, some English, but most Scots, haunting our south and north seas: and this last July has earnestly renewed the complaint by his ambassador, adding that if the seas were not better preserved under our leagues, he must arm a force himself. Wherein, though we have taken order forbidding aid in our ports to such rovers, the ambassador seemed dissatisfied, as the time of fishing is now present—without our sending some barks to the seas, which report that the most of them have withdrawn into your east and west ports. We pray you will make strait order to apprehend them, or the seas will be again annoyed when our vessels return to port. Pirates are common enemies to all states, so we require you to redress "the collor of them" in your country, *viz.* the "pretence of a lettre of marque"; and hearing some noteable pirates in Scotland are our subjects, *viz.* "one named Marychirch, *item* another named Jhon Whythed, a third called Jhonson,"—we pray that the presenter hereof our servant Thomas Randolph, may solicit their delivery at

Elizabeth.
1561. your hands, and aid for their safe conduct "without rescuss" to our town of Berwick. With full credit herein for our said servant. Under our signet.

2 *pp. Corrected draft by Cecill. Indorsed.*

Aug. 25. **1009.** ELIZABETH TO RANDOLPHE.

Sending him copy of the letter to the Queen of Scots, which he is to deliver, previously informing himself where the pirates there named are, and how to move her in redress against those sailing under letters of marque.

He is to let M. Dampvile and the Grand Prior understand that she has sent to the French ambassador in London their safe conduct to return to France through her realm. He will do well to find out what the Queen means as to ratifying the treaty. He is to remain in Scotland to understand the affairs there.

¾ *p. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed:* "M. to Thomas Randolph."

Aug. 26. **1010.** RANDOLPHE TO THROCKMORTON.

Pardon me though I am shorter than I would, having so much in store that I would you partook of. On the 19th instant at 10 o'clock the Queen landed at Leith, with 2 galleys only, her three uncles, M. Danville, and other gentlemen. The noblemen here were all absent except Lord Robert—her arrival so sudden that none expected her. Incontinent on the news, the Duke arrived first, next Lord James, then Arran. Since that time, the repair has been great of all sorts, all men welcome and well received, good entertainment, great cheer, and fair words. I find no great alteration in things: all men "persyste" in the same mind that they were of before they saw her —the protestants "stowte in defence of Godes cawse," and the papists "nothyng incurraged for anye thynge that yet theie have founde." If you say to me, it is yet "but newe dayes," I answer that when I see occasion, you shall hear as I find it. She was 4 days without Mass, the next Sunday after arrival she had it said in her chapel by a French priest. There were only at it besides her uncles and her own household, the Earl of Montrose, Lord "Grehame." Lord Hume would not be there; "the rest were at Mr Knox sermound, as great a number as ever was anye daye." The Earl of Cassillis was that Sunday at "the preachynge," and the Monday at the "Masse": it is said that since he has repented it, "and this ys but Twesdaye!" I have not yet received my commission, and can write nothing of her Majesty; I look daily for it. The second day after her arrival, she asked, "what I made here, and when I dyd departe?" I looked then to have been sent for. Now we stand in better terms than before—especially since the lord of St Colme's arrival with her safe conduct 4 days after she was landed. She neither met nor saw ship on the sea for all the bruit that was of her stay that should have been.

It was concluded on Monday that all matters touching religion should stand as she found them: "she herself to use her howse with owte reproche of persone. I see no hope of other in her then when you lefte her. Yt dothe me good to remember that ther are yet but two byshopes arrived—Androws and Donkell—bothe in longe gownes

Elizabeth.
1561. "and typpettes with hattes upon their heddes, but scharce dare put their noses owte of their doores for feare of after clappes. The preste that saide the Masse, when he had his god at the hyghteste, had almoste for feare: I saye no more for reverence!" Lord James does most "with (*sic*) here, next in credit is Lethington. Ambassadors are appointed to France, England, Spain, &c."—their names you shall know when I am better assured. "Duke Domale" and M. Danville pass through England, the Prior by sea, the Marquis will winter with us. Bothwell is forbidden the Court, for the difference between Arran and him. Huntly came here, "xvj horses in poste." Not one absents himself, "or that is not well taken with for the fyrste face, savinge John Knox that thonderethe owte of the pulpet, that I feare no thynge so myche, that one daye he wyll marre all! He rulethe the roste, and of hym all men stonde in feare—wolde God you knewe howe myche!" I am amended myself, "but nowe agayne in erneste." The Frenchmen are dislodged from Dunbar and the Inche; Dunbar is committed to the custody of Lord John of "Coudingham," the other I know not. Proclamation is made on the Borders for justice and amity. This is more than I thought my time would have served me. Whatsoever it please you, I am at your command. My humble commendations to my "very good ladie." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address:* "To the righte worshipfull Sir Nicolas Throgmorton knyght ambassador . . . in France!" *Indorsed:* ". . . from M^r^ Tho. Randolphe" (and in same hand) "Alex. Bog 12 September." *Armorial quartered wafer signet: 1 and 4 a bend engrailed between 2 stars (?); "1561" at foot.*

Sept. 1. Cott. Calig. B. x. fol. 155. **1011.** CHATELHERAULT, &C. TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Having commodity by the present departure of the Secretary, directed to your highness by the Queen our sovereign, we have committed to him certain things tending to continuation of the amity between the realms. Praying your Majesty to give him as firm credence as to ourselves. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Hammylton, James Hammylton, Mortoun, Atholl, Suthyrland, Huntly, Mersheall, Cassillis, James Stewart, Erskyn, Ruthwen, James lord Ogilwy, Seton, Innermethe, R. Boyd, Wcheltre, Sant Jhon.

1 *p. No address leaf.*

Sept. 1. **1012.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

Albeit ever since I knew the state of this my native country, and saw the need of amity with yours, and have been earnest to my small power to procure it: yet some "accidentis" fallen out between the two Queens, constrained me to write to the Queen's Majesty with "perticuleyr ouvertures," as your honour understands "rycht wele." I would crave your favour in the matter, though I have as yet no answer—knowing your affection to the purpose—whereby you may not only procure quiet for these two realms, but profit the "posteriteis to cum." Credit the bearer in the rest, as myself. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Stewart.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Elizabeth.
1561. Sept. 2. **1013.** ADDRESS TO QUEEN MARY.

[Verses addressed to the Queen on her entry to Edinburgh, when she was presented with a Bible and Psalter and the keys of the City ports. Four stanzas of 8 lines each, beginning]

" Welcome our Souveraine, welcome our natyve Quene."

1 *p. In a Scottish hand. Inclosed in the letter from Randolphe to Cecill 7 September 1561, No.* 1017.

Sept. 2. **1014.** GEORGE BUTSYDE TO RANDOLPHE.

My service in "most humblist maner" unto you. Desiring you in charity to tender the petition "of me a poure gentyll man of Ynglond, who have byn a prisoner with my lorde Jamys Maconell thes ten yere—and nott taken in no skyrmyshe, but I was betrayede and layed yn as plecg by Sir Raphe Bagnall" then lieutenant of the Queen's forces in Ireland, and Sir James Croft was deputy at the same time. Trusting to the honour of the Council of England and Ireland, "and that ther sholde be no stopp of any counseelar by any sarvys or meynes that I mousst dou, I offryde my selleffe for to becom bounde borrough" * for Sir Ralph, and he promised 500*l.* sterling for his ransom and "Kapptayn Couffes (?)," and gave his writing to Lord James for payment—the one half being 250*l.*, "is layd unto my charge." Sir Ralph got by gift of King Edward VI., the 500*l.*, paid to him by Sir William Brabston then being treasurer of Ireland; "and he spendit the mony awaye and never touke any hede to hes honysste and to the honer of Ynglonde," but sent many fair letters and promised many fair days of payment, but never kept one! My friends are far off in Devonshire and Cornwall, and I never was suffered to write or could get a trusty messenger till I "companyd with this gentillman Cormake Maconuhare, hou beres a tru mynd unto all Ynglyssche men." Now good M^r^ Randalle I am so bold as to make my pitiful request for the love of God to get me relieved by means of "my lorde Deuke and my lorde of Argylle." They may get me "apon there worde of my lorde Jamys Maconell, and the devyce of this berer Cormake Macanohere, and your goodnys to be bound for me," and get me leave to go home on your bond to follow the law and "shewt" upon Sir Raph Bagnall. I am well assured you may get me relieved for 100*l.* or less. I pray you make no motion that it comes of my request, but of your own mind, and doubt not if I had a half year's respite, I could recover the whole of Sir Raphe. Desiring you to help me out of this "mysscery," and it will bind me to you for life and cause my friends to give you great thanks. "I come of the best bloude in Deuvonshere and Cornwalle as you shall understand by Serr Peter Carew [Caro] and the Cortnys." Desiring credence for the bearer. Kintyre [Kyntere]. *Signed:* George Butsyde.

1½ *pp. Addressed:* "To the ryght honorable M^r^ Randalle the ynpasseteur out of Yngland to Skotland."

* Pledge.

Elizabeth.
1561.
Sept. 6.

1015. MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Has received by her servant Thomas Randolphe, her letters dated at her manor of Leighes 25th of August, complaining of English and Scottish pirates. On her arrival in Scotland she forbade all her subjects to sail under pretence of letters of marque, against those of any Christian prince. Has ordered strait search for the three English pirates to be delivered to Randolph, and forbidden her subjects to deal with any such robbers. Under her signet. Palace of Holyrood House, 19th of her reign. *Signed:* Your gud sister and cusigne Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland, imperial crown above, and collar of thistles round shield.

Sept. 6.
Cott. Calig.
B. x. fol. 156.

1016. RANDOLPHE TO THE QUEEN.

On the morning of 1st instant I received your Majesty's letters to this Queen, and "incontinente" desired to know from Lord James, when her pleasure was I should attend. The answer was at 4 o'clock that day, when I was sent for by the laird of Patarrowe, and brought to her presence by Lord James. On presenting your Majesty's commendations, "and some what saide as I thoughte feete for the tyme," of the happiness of her country on her return, wishing her a prosperous reign, &c., I delivered the letters, which she read to the end, and in places where she knew not the "hande or termes," she "used" me. After considering the contents, she said, 'I muste neades accepte in verie good parte the Quene your mestres my dere systers commendations, and am gladde that she is in good healthe, as I truste she is of myne, which you see in what case yt is. For that you rejoyce in my retorne, and wysshe me so well, I thanke you hartely, and truste that I shall fynde none other occasion of my subjectes, but as lovinge and obbedient, and I towardes them a good princesse. Touchynge the Quene your mestres lettres, bycawse I am unacquainted with the matter, I wyll tawlke with my counsell and speake with you agayne.' Of her Council present were Huntly, Marshall, Atholl and Lord James: conferring with them, she said to me—'I have harde thopinion of these whome you see presente of my Counsell, who tell me that theie have at other tymes done somme what concerning the same mater that the Quene my syster wrytethe of; and I for my parte do promes, and wyll wryte the same unto the Quene your mestres, that thaie of whome she wryteth in her lettre, nor none nother pirates shall have supporte or refuge within my realme, but that I wyll doe my indeveur to the uttermoste to have suche as are here to be apprehended, as well my owne subjectes as those of England, for that I knowe yt my part so to doe, and am wyllinge ther unto." And then in my hearing commanded the Justice Clerk to make inquisition in all the country for such. She required me to come in a day or two for her letters to your highness sent herewith. She said nothing of my tarrying, but when I left, told Lord James she saw your mind was I should remain, and after some words "bothe in erneste and merthe" between them of my past doings here, 'Well' saythe she, 'I am contente that he tarrie, but I wyll have one other ther as craftie as he." I "threatned upon" Lord James, that these words were rather his than her Majesty's; but however it be, there is one of hers presently with your Majesty

Elizabeth. 1561. "that cane playe hys parte with crafte inoughe." * On Thursday after, the 4th instant, I presented myself to her grace for the letters, she willed Lord James to remind her, and me to return "the morrowe." At my being with her next day, she said her secretary shall bring them, 'and I praye you lette her knowe from me, that I desyer hartly that we may lyve togyther lyke good frendes and neighbors,' and that she desired nothing but peace and amity as her people are inclined to. I answered your Majesty would be ready to the like, and I hoped she would not credit every tale brought to her ears by mischief makers. I said this because Sarlabos not two nights before, told her grace, there were 50 of your ships at sea, and Lord Grey was coming to Berwick with 10,000 men, so heed must be taken to Ayemouth and Dunbar. She liked the motion, and willed me to assure your Majesty it should be well observed. I had good words for myself, also from her uncles. I showed the Grand Prior and M. Danville of their passport as your Majesty commanded me. Touching the treaty, I had no "purpose" with her Majesty, as Lethington is with your highness. With others I have talked, who doubt not but things will succeed to your contentation. "I am geven to beleve that her meaninge is as her wordes are." Of other things at present, I will rather write to Mr Secretary than trouble your Majesty further. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Sept. 7. Cott. Calig. B. x. fol. 158.

1017. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I received your honour's letters on 1st and delivered the Queen's Majesty's that same day to this Queen, her grace's answer being sent herewith. I have reported to our sovereign her grace's words two sundry times for amity and peace. Your honour grieved that you heard of her arrival not from me but from Berwick: if you had not 2 letters of 19th August, you and I are deceived! for I wrote one in the morning, on first hearing she was in the galleys, and the other 2 hours after she landed, and am sure they reached Mr Valentine Browne safely. "Where your honor exhortethe us to stowtenes, I assure you the voyce of one man is hable in one hower to put more lyf in us than vc trompettes contynually blusteringe in our eares. Mr Knox spoke upon Thursday † unto the Quene, he knocked so hastelye upon her harte, that he made her weepe. As well you knowe, there be of that sexe that wyll do that, as well for anger as for greef, thoughe in thys the Lord James wyll dysagre with me. She charged hym with his booke, with his severe dealinge with all men that dysagreed with hym in opinions. She wylled hym to use more meeknes in his sermons. Some thynges he spake unto her contentation, in myttigatinge the rigeur of his booke, and in some thynges he pleased her verie lyttle, in specyall spekinge agaynst the Masse. He declared the greveus plagues of God that had fawlen upon all estates for commyttinge of idolatrye. He concluded so in thende with her, that he hathe libertie to speake frelye hys conscience, to gyve unto her suche reverence as becommethe the mynisters of God unto the superior powers. He prayethe and hathe daylie prayde for her, as the preachers were wonte to praye for Quene Marie."

* Lethington?

† 4th Sept., originally "Twesedaye."

Elizabeth.
1561.

The bruit that he has talked with her makes the Papists doubt what will become of the world; and they like not that I resort so oft to Court. I have been there thrice since Sunday. But they marvel most what traffic Lethington makes with you! She herself finds three points necessary to maintain her state—1st to make peace with England; 2nd to be served with Protestants; "in thother she fyndethe" not that she looked for. The third is to "inryche" her crown with Abbey lands, which if she do, what shall there lack in her, saving a good husband, to lead a happy life? Seeing your honour has one with you, with whom you can consider them better than I can write, I talk of something else. Upon Tuesday last she made her entry and dined in the castle. The first sight she saw after she came out of it, was a boy of 6 years of age, that came as it were from Heaven out of a round globe, that presented unto her a "Bible, a Psaulter, and the keays af the yates," and spake to her the verses I send you. The rest were terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters. There were burnt "Coron, Nathan, and Abiron" in the time of their sacrifice. "Theie wer mynded to have had a prest burned at the auter at the elevation." Huntly stayed that "pagient," but has played many as wicked since he came. "He bare that daye the Sworde." Your honour knows by Lethington why the Duke and Arran were absent. The Queen takes great suspicion of fortifying Dunbarton, and has sent one to see it. I persuade as I can both in word and writing, that they should show her that obedience "that theie wolde looke to have of other, yf God put them in that place," and that they use themselves so that their friends may think them worthy of kindness. If they come "to schathe,* yt wylbe trewe that of olde is sayde *Nemo lœditur nisi a se ipso.*" The councillors named, I refer to Lethington's report; till whose return James Steward's admission as Captain of the Guard is stayed, to certify if he is sworn Englishman. Yesterday Argyll came here, with whom in a day or two I shall speak. The bruit is great of an overthrow of our men in Ireland. "Thys daye ther communicated above xxijᵉ, vj of the Quenes councellers." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Sept. 10. **1018.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I have your letters written at Hertford castle, the 3d instant, trusting your honor has mine of the 7th with this Queen's letters to the Queen our sovereign. By this time you know the occasion of Glencairn's departure; though the remedy cannot be compassed as yet, I trust it will in time. Those you made "accompte of," remain always yours. The departure of "these noblemen" is uncertain; they promise to give me 10 days' warning that I may advertise to Berwick. The Queen left this to-day for Lythcowe, where she remains 2 days. The Duke and Arran are gone to Hamilton, for Kinneil is too near Lythcow. These noblemen accompany her the whole journey, though they say no farther than Stirling. My lord James (being asked), likes my coming home for a few days very well, so as it be done on some occasion not misliked by this Queen; which you

* Skaith, *i.e.*, hurt.

Elizabeth.
1561. can devise better than we here—and that I speak to her before I go. Yesterday, before the Council for some matters of my countrymen, I got such answer as I thought satisfactory for the time, and you shall know the success of their suits again. I was then in the garden where her Majesty was, but for lack of occasion, did not present myself. To-day I dined with Lord James, taking order with him for what may occur, and purpose being with him at St Andrews, or elsewhere as you shall advertise me. "The oftyner that I haunte the Courte, the greater occasions may be geven to wyne credyt, that in other places cane not be had."

I have spoken with Argyll, and find him as ever he was; neither he nor any of his country have sent or will send any men to Ireland, without notice to the Lord Deputy and you. Maconel is not yet come to Court, but looked for; of him Argyll promises that he shall do nothing prejudicial to England. He thinks the enterprise against O'Neill [Onel] great, and to be followed up before winter come. He hears a bruit of some "cumber" elsewhere in Ireland, which may hinder the purpose against him. O'Neill says he will give the Deputy occasion to augment the libel put in print against him. There was a foolish sermon made by a Doctor of the Sorbonne [Sorbon] that preached to the Queen on Lady Day*; "he wolde have proved prayer for saintes, and spake mo good wordes of the Masse then yt was worthe." Lethington's return is greatly expected. No news from France of late, but "whysperinge worde" that Guise is out of Court. Some wish those here were also gone, others, I doubt not as glad to be rid of the Englishman.† Huntly has sent a son to France to study, he has my letter to treat him well in case he arrive on your coast. I had as good words of him these 2 days as ever I had. The letter of marque against the Portugals [Portules] is discharged—how you shall know in my next. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet: armorial (as last), the 3rd quarter a squirrel sejant.*

Sept. 17. **1019.** COMMISSION TO SIR PETER MEWTAS.

Letters Patent by the Queen, authorizing him to demand ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh on 6 July previous, and give the like for England. Under her sign-manual and seal. Manor of Enfeld.

1 *p. Latin. Corrected draft by Cecill. Indorsed.*

Sept. 18. **1020.** ELIZABETH TO RANDOLPHE.

Signifying her satisfaction with the answer of her good sister the Queen of Scots to the letter presented by him as to the sea-rovers. Wishing him to see that English pirates are also apprehended, and sending a letter to her said sister in answer, with credit for himself. Has ordered increase of his "interteynment."

½ *p. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed:* "18 Septembris 1561. M. of the Q. Majesties to Mr Randolph."

* The Nativity, 8th Sept. † Himself.

Elizabeth.
1561. Sept. 22.

1021. THOMAS HEDLEY TO RANDOLPHE.

I perceive Mr Butsyde would fain have relief, and no man in England has been more earnest in his aid than I have, since my home coming out of "that countrey." I have very earnestly and importunately travailed "to" Sir Raphe Bagnoll for his redemption: which had been practised long before this, had he not been "sworne Scottishe and rendred up his allegeance from this realme; wherin to dooble as he dothe, bringes him in disestimacion and makes his taker discredit him, and advaunces not his sutes here." But that he shall have no cause to doubt your regard to his "perplexities," please to charge him with these bruits of his revolt, "whiche if he can prove otherwise by testimoniall from his taker," yet more shall be done for release. Meantime, if my Lord James and my lord of Argyll come in your way, prove what they will do for him "by request." The father of "my lord of Argile that now is, uppon his dethbed told me that Mr Butside fell to his part of Sir Raph Bagnolls raunsom; and in deede at that tyme Mr Butside was in my lord of Argiles custodye as in propertie for that effect." If this earl will "axe" him to his custody, it will be granted, and then the "titell" may be disputed. But before anything be "opened" to James MacConell, the man must be removed out of his "clowches," or else being "hard of the seare," the ransom will be greater than Butsyde's friends or kin can "performe." Whenever you set any other thing "abroche" in his favour, make me privy "for I am expert in help therunto." But first it must be known assuredly if he be "lowse" from promise of allegiance to Scotland—and then means may be found "to wyn you Heven, and him libertie." It were a marvellous good deed to free him, if "it maye stand with a saif concience, or ells 'better children weepe then old folkes.'" I have written somewhat to him, which you may send with your letter, but discretion in conveyance must by used to keep knowledge of your intent from his taker—for if he "smell" your favour, first punishment, then lack of liberty and "reysing" of the price, will follow. I return you his letter, and pray God for his deliverance. Your bows shall be sent you by Corbet when he comes thither next. Berwick. *Signed:* Yours *a jamais*, Tho. Hedley.

2 *pp. Holograph (?); also address:* "To Mr Thomas Randolphe the Quenes Majesties agent in Scotland." *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

[Sept. .]

1022. PETITION OF ADAM LOGAN, &c.

"Madame"—We your obedient subjects, Adam Logane, Cuthbert Litill, William Logane, Gilbert Forest, &c., owners of the *John* of Leith, humbly show that our ship with a cargo of salt and wines from France, on 19th August last "forgadderit" off Huntlie with the Queen of England's ships, the principal whereof "Maister Wolstok," first taking our master and part owner John Mortoun on board his ships, took our ship and her crew into Tynmouth haven and detains them there against all reason and justice. We being ready to give caution to answer all complaints, and refusing to enter any process in Enlgand, but only under your Majesty's laws, beseech your favourable letters to the Queen and Council of England for release of our ship and goods, sending your herald for the purpose at our expense.

Broad sheet. Scottish official hand. Addressed (in same hand): By the Queen of Scots to the Queen of England.

Elizabeth.
1561.
Sept. 24.
Cott. Calig. B. x. fol. 184.

1023. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I meant not to have written to your honour till my man returned from Court, whom I willed to be with me in 5 days after he left me. I hear he is stayed by Lord James about pursuit of a Scotsman that dwelt 15 years with M^r^ Rowland Leye of Yorkshire, who robbed him of 400*l.* sterling, being taken to be an Englishman and for "Duglas" took the name of "Dudley." He is taken and in prison. My man writes, and I see it confirmed, that at Stirling the Queen while asleep in bed, a candle burning by her, the curtains and tester took fire, and was like to have "smored"* her as she lay. Those who speak of prophecies, say an old one is now fulfilled—"that a Quene sholde be burnte at Sterlinge." It is as true as that of Lady Huntly—that she should never set foot in Scotland! On Sunday eight days, viz. the 14^th^ instant, her grace's devout chaplains in the Chapel Royal, by the good device of her trusty servant Alexander Erskine, would have sung "a Hye Masse." Argyll and Lord James so disturbed the "quyere," that some both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears! It was sport for some that beheld it, others "shede a teare or two," and made no more of it. She lay one night at the Earl of Rothes's, I know not if it is truth or malice, but it is said he lost both plate, and something else "easye to be conveide"—yet it is true that where they have been, saving in this town, "theie have payde lyttle for their meate."† At S^t^ Johnstons she was well received and presented with "a harte of golde, full of golde," the value I know not. She liked not the "pagentes" there, "theie dyd to playnely condemne the errors of the worlde." As she rode in the street, she fell sick and was borne from her horse to her lodging not far off. I hear she is troubled with such sudden passions after any great unkindness or grief of mind. She was at S^t^ Andrews on Sunday,‡ whence I have not heard but what I judge a lie, that a priest was slain. Huntly and Lord James greatly "dyscorded" it is said—for Huntly saying if the Queen commanded him, he would set up the Mass in three shires. The other said it was past his power, as he would find whom he gave the first "mynte"§ thereto. To approve the Queen's proclamation, upon the 14^th^ instant M^r^ Wyllock was admitted superintendant of Glascowe—the Duke, Arran, Glencairne, Ruthven, Boyd, and "Ocletre" being present—little I assure you to the content of those that thought neither to have left M^r^ Knox or him in Scotland. In Clydesdale, "harde under the Dukes nose, one Roberte Stewarde receved the Erle of Mongommerie with a Masse." The Duke says he will put him out of that "rowme" or take shame. It is express against the proclamation. Order is taken by the Queen's direction for payment of the preachers' stipends, and proclamation thereon. The men at arms keep Melrose against Bothwell and his friends. They are all taking up their tithes, "bothe well armed and horsed." In 10 days the provosts and "baylives" of the burghs shall be chosen. The Queen elects the provosts, the commons the "baylives." Of this is great expectation. On Sunday next Knox declares the duty of all kind of magistrates in a good reformed commonwealth. He has received your letter by Lething-

* Smothered.

† *On margin.*—The Duke and Arran remain at Hamilton.

‡ 21^st^.

§ Attempt.

Elizabeth.
1561. ton, and purposes to write to your honour by next. I spoke with Lethington as he passed to Court and know by him how much I am beholden to you. He was as "gryddie" to hear news of this country, as I was desirous to hear of mine. His absence has not hindered his credit, yet he stands in "tyckle" terms, for either must "she" be reclaimed from the "Masse," or his credit with her will hinder his reputation with "other that are honeste." Those nearest about her speak so of him, as of the other. God knows what bruits "these two" sustain of what they are little "gyltie of," as if her whole power and will rested "in their handes." It is suspected that Lord James seeks too much his own advancement, which hitherto little appears for anything he ever received "worthe one grote"; and that Lethington is too "pollitique." Take those two out of Scotland, and those that love their country shall soon feel the want of them! The Papists think they favour England — others that they are too affectioned to their own. Some judge them too far off from that they would have them at—and thus these two bear the "brunte" of whatever is done thought or spoken. A thousand other tales, *e.g.*, 10,000 men coming to Berwick—Arran now in England—Scottish ships stayed there and in Flanders for spoil of Portugales. Yesterday a Scottish man from Tynemouth passed to Court, who said at Berwick and here, that the Queen's horses "are stayed that landed ther." It is said all Ireland is lost and Sir James Croft slain—I think he is not there. The Portuguese ambassador's secretary has sped well—the letter of marque is called in on account, and the Queen for her part has 8000 "ducates." He returned by sea as it was put in his head, there was danger by land. He had my letters to you, but gave them back. Great search was made for William Cante that spoiled the Spaniards: the Laird of Bargany appears before the Council on 3d of next month, for adjudging it lawful prize. My countryman sent from Mr Jo. Babtista is very diligent in the pursuit. I intend to move the Council that the "maiors shippe of Nocfargus,"* that Bargany stayed for the ship that "Perce" took of "Handsoms," may be released. Many bales of linen cloth are recovered, and great search here for divers of my countrymen who took them. I inclose a poor gentleman's letter of his miserable case; I pray your counsel herein and the letter again. I sent it to Mr Hedeley, as he was in same case; he gives me his opinion, as your honour may see. He has not sworn further than to be his true prisoner, as the Earl of Argyll once told me, who will do anything reasonable. I would to God the poor gentleman might be recovered by me. The Frenchmen's departure not yet known: I seek daily for knowledge to advertise Berwick. One calling himself Tomson, came lately here by sea from Newcastle: "a man of nothynge in my judgement, that in imagination passethe the whole worlde; the lykeste unto one Postella (that I am sure your honor hathe harde of) in conditions, savinge that he lackethe of his lernynge." He is now gone to Court, to utter his gifts and knowledge: would God he were where he might recover his wits, or elsewhere "tyed faste in chaynes," where his "fonde and shamfull tawlke" might not reach so many ears! This day I received your letters, and Lethington's, which I despatched to him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

* Carriekfergus.

Elizabeth.
1561. Mr Knox earnestly requires me to say he will answer by next. I must commend Sir Thomas Dacres' sending your letters to me. I humbly beg a license for 3 or 4 geldings which I greatly need, trusting my lord Grey has made my motion.

5 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 4. **1024.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Inclosing the supplication of certain of her subjects of Leith against Mr Holstok, &c., for wrongfully taking and detaining their ship, goods, &c. Requests that they, the ship and goods, may be set at liberty. Under her signet. Palace of Holyroodhouse, "ferd" of October, 19th of her reign. *Signed:* Your gud sister and cusigne Marie R.

Broad sheet. Indorsed (by Cecill's clerk): "*Primo* (sic) *Octobris* 1561," &c.

Oct. 5. **1025.** ARGYLL TO CECILL.

Having lately written to your honour to be a mean for the Queen's gracious pardon to Cormok Oconochar, gentleman of Ireland: whereto I was moved not so much by his earnest suit, as by the good opinion I had and have of his true and unfeigned repentance, and disposition "to ane quyetnes and anefald service" to the Queen—his expectation is that I may not only obtain the same, but also a reasonable life in his native country for the poor gentleman, "now vereyt and irkytt of lang troubillis and banisshement." Wherefore I am bold to burden your honour as my special friend, to move the Queen's Majesty for her mind therein, taking my homeliness in good part. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Ard. Ergyll.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Stained by damp.*

Oct. 7. **1026.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Heartily thanking her for purposely sending Sir Peter Mewetas to congratulate her on safely arriving in her own realm—who has so wisely and discreetly expressed the sincerity of his mistress's affection toward her, that he is a fit messenger to convey her answer, whereby her desire for continuance of tender amity and affection shall appear. Under her signet. Palace of Holyrood House, 19th of her reign. *Signed:* Your gud sister and cusign, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 7. **1027.** LORD JAMES TO LORD ROBERT DUDLEY.
Egerton, 1818, fol. 13.

I have received your letter from the Laird of Lethington, whereby I was not a little comforted, seeing you to bear in "fresch memour" those things in my judgment most necessary for both realms, "which I communicated with your lordship at our last discoursing in Greinwich." And further to see you so earnest to further the same, wherein I am bold to exhort you, seeing the credit you occupy with your sovereign. I let you understand by Lethington "sic ouvertur" as

Elizabeth.
1561. my judgment presented to me to further the amity of these two realms. You have well considered "that the signification of good successe of the treu religion, meanyt be our souveranis proceidingis heir, doyth minister good hope in this mater. I truist in God from tym to tym the same salbe augmented to the full contentement of sic as with oupryght hartis do seik the advancement of the treutht of God, quhilk is the doctrin of peace to all that treuly dois imbrace the same. Peace is the fruict of Christian luif, the suir mark of all treu disciplis of our Salveour Christ, quhome it becummeyth abowe all utheris to seik." It is our duty to our sovereigns, every one according to his power and place, to further peace, as I for my part shall do, looking for the same of you. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Stewart.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed:* "To my verray good lord, my lord Robert Dudley, maister of the Quenis Majesties horses." *Indorsed.*

Oct. 7. **1028.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

It appears by your letter sent by Lethington, what earnest affection your honour bears to advancement of true religion in this "wholle Ille," and the perfect amity of our sovereigns. I mean to continue as I have begun, in furtherance of both, following your most godly advice, and do what I can with all lenity and gentle demonstrations, to induce my sovereign to consider the matter aright, according to her duty to God, having received at his hand such high honours and pre-eminence, with other good gifts innumerable. And am of good hope that the faithful subjection and good obedience of her subjects "professouris of the treu religion" here, as her highness shall from time to time perceive, shall occasion her "to allow the doctrin of the Evangell quhilk we professe, and hartly to imbrace the same."

Touching the matter motioned by Lethington, it is not unknown to your honour, that before my sovereign's arrival, I moved it by letters to the "Quenes Majestie," moved by necessity as the only way to assure love and intelligence betwixt these two realms. I leave it to your honour, "whom I take to se als far thairin as ony other in the whole Ill"! I presented (as you desired) your commendations to my sovereign, who received them in as good part as I could wish. I must, according to my accustomed homeliness, burden you to present my humble service to the Queen your sovereign. Holyrood House. *Signed*: James Stewart.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 8. **1029.** RANDOLPHE TO ELIZABETH.

Though your ambassador Sir Peter Mewtes, is better able to report of things since his arrival, yet in discharge of my duty as to your Majesty's letters, the self same day that it pleased the Queen to give audience to your ambassador, after she had "fynysshed" such purposes as his "legation" required, I presented to her grace your Majesty's letters. On receiving them, she said to me, before opening them—'I am beholdinge unto the Quene my dere syster, that she hathe sent hyther to viset me, so good and anciente a

Elizabeth.
1561. 'gentleman; he tawlkethe wyselye in all purposes, and by hym I understonde farre other wyse of the reportes of thynges, then theie are brought unto my eares. I am glade to here of her good wyll towardes us, and good [incly]nation to peace and amytie, and I truste that all those thynges whear in before thys tyme we dyscordyd for, shall in shorte tyme be brought unto a good ende.' "Unto thys I sayde, that I knewe your Majestie desyered nothynge more, then to lyve in the feare of God, amytie and peace with all godlye and vertuus princes of the earthe, and that I was glade to se her graces good inclination therunto; of your Majestie, experience hathe byne had sence the begynnynge of your hyghnes raigne, and so I dowted not but sholde contynnue. 'Yt is fetter for none' saythe she, 'to lyve in peace then for women: and for my parte, I praye you thynke that I desyer yt with all my harte.'" The other "purposes" are too long to trouble your Majesty with: they tend only to this,—that what she may do with honour, fit for a princess occupying her place, shall be performed to the uttermost.

After she had read the letters, she said 'My syster your mestres wrytethe unto me that you maye contynue here for the mayntaynance of amytie and intelligence betwene her and me. I am glade therof with all my harte, and you shalbe welcome to me when somever you have occasioun; and yf you be molested anye waye by anye of my subjectes, yf I maye knowe yt, I wylbe evle contented, and fynde yt remedyede.' I had no further communication till after the next coming of the ambassador: when she said to me, 'You shall have lettres unto the Quene your mestres, and shall yourself be welcome at all tymes when you come, howe ofte so ever yt be.' I reminded her of a letter that before the ambassador came, I had given to her from Sir John Forster warden of the Middle March, for redress of attemptates—wherein she referred me to her Council. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1¾ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 8. **1030.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

I wrote yesterday to your honour by Maister Randolphe, and now am a suitor for pardon—"not that I do lyik sic swyttis for thaym selves, but is moved thairto through compassion." It has been moved most heavily to me by one Thomas Nycolson "marchant tailleour" of London, a banished man, who says he is known well by his neighbours as an honest quiet and sober man, and has there an honest woman his wife, destitute of all comfort, "and to cunlie to speik, ane vidow," with 8 young children, now fatherless through his "exyill." He says on "thortour" of words, strife arose between him and one Roger Tempeste; they "chanced to meddell," and Roger gave the first stroke, hurting him on the head, and he wounded Roger on the body, whereby death ensued. The first inquest impanelled by the coroner, found it was "chance medley"; but Roger's friends laboured a new inquest most secretly and deceitfully, which found that Thomas had killed Roger through "malice pretentit." These are the circumstances, wherein "of pietye" I have been induced to ask your honour to cause the poor man's case be examined, and if it stand so, to move the Queen's Majesty for a pardon conform to this herein inclosed, and

Elizabeth.
1561. grant his wife access to you, to instruct inquiry. I like not such suits "in sic crymis," but this particular case has obtained thus much of me. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Stewart.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 12. **1031.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting a passport for Maister William Cranstoun and 12 companions to pass through England to France, and back—to endure for a year. Under her signet. Palace of Holyrood house, 19th of her reign. *Signed:* Your gud sister and cusign, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.

Oct. 13. **1032.** MAITLAND TO RANDOLPHE.

The Queen's Majesty my "maistres" has written certain letters to "Monsieur la (*sic*) Grand Priour and Monsieur Danville," commanding me in her name to desire you to send the pacquet with expedition to Mr Secretary to be delivered to them at coming to Court. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

½ *p. Holograph; also address:* "To the rycht worshipfull Mr Thomas Randolph, the Quenes highnes off England agent in Scotland." *Indorsed.*

Oct. 17. **1033.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

This day it was debated in Council by what ready means the border thieves throughout the Scottish wardenries might be suppressed: and thought good that certain days be appointed in each for inquisition of offenders, that punishment ensue. So commissioners and certain days were appointed; but as execution can not follow unless their reset in England is prevented, the Queen herself and her Council desired me to write to the English wardens to that effect—as the inclosed copy of my letter to Sir John Foster shows. As it may be doubted whether these wardens will act on their own authority, the Council asked me to write to the Lord President of York to command them to that effect, seeing it tends only to the end of peace. I advertise your honour hereof that further be done, or all omitted as you think best; and as expedition is required, it may please you to advertise the wardens, that speedy answer may be returned hither.

This day the Master of Maxwell, Lord Dacre's opposite warden, confirmed by the Queen's grace here, tells me he can get no justice of him, and warned me he will declare it to the Council. Other things remain as when I last wrote, saving that Lord James is nominated Treasurer—which is "the proffytable" office in Scotland. The Queen has spoken good words of the honourable receiving of "her uncle" and M. Danville at Berwick. I gave "as good agayne," attributing it to the noblemen's worthiness.

For news—I presented to her grace the "Oration of Theodore Beza," which I received from Sir Nicolas Throckmorton; "yt ys nowe in hande to be translated. I made her previe, thoughe not

Elizabeth.
1561. "verie merrie, of the happie procedinge of matters of religion in France. God sende us here well to retayne that that we have, for farther liklyhoode* we have not." I send you a letter which I received from M^r Willock, and hear of the like otherwise. The man I suppose, is not unknown to you; he lacks no will to work more mischief than his wits serve. Understanding he has a safe conduct, I know not what mischief he may do, and purpose to write to the wardens, that he may be seen to, and convey no horses out of the country. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.
2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 24. **1034.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Certain of our merchants of Edinburgh "being of lang tyme haldyn in pley" before your Admiral, for recovery of their ship the *Bonaventure* and goods, "spuilyeit" by one Thomas Clavering and others of Northumberland, have at last obtained the admiral's "decrete" at great charges. But Clavering and his colleagues having no defence, appealed to the Keeper of your seal, before whom it has long depended. We pray you command the cause of our subjects may be looked into, and order taken with expedition. Under our signet. Palace of Holyrood House, 19th of our reign. *Signed:* Your gud sister and cusign, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet: Scotland (as before).

Oct. 24. **1035.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.
Cotton. Calig., B. x. fol. 188.

I trust your honour understands by Sir Peter Mewtes the success of his journey: when I left him I would have written more, but for his sufficiency. Since my return here I wrote as required by the Queen's grace here, to your honour, the Lord President at York and the wardens, for proclamation against fugitives from this side: answer is looked for with speed.

Two days past Knox desired me to write for the Queen's passport to 2 merchants of this town into Flaunders: by whom you shall be informed "by mouthe" from him, what is judged like to issue of the doings here. I commended them to you as my friends: and they can report the occasion of the change of the Provost and "bayles" here (having part therein) better than I can write. On 21st instant I received your letters of 13th, also those of the Council: to which last I have made answer of the Queen's "wordes," also as to the Lord Dacre. There are some points in your own letter, as also the "purposes" between the Queen and me, which I cannot pass over in silence. On receipt of your letter I advertised Lord James—my purpose being to see and know from him, if the Queen would take it ill, if I presented to her grace (when before her Council on Lord Hume's slackness, &c. as appointed) "the accorde at the Assemblee at Poysy in the controversie upon the *Cene*"?† He assured me she would accept it well: saying that she had read to the end, the Oration of Beza which I gave her. Lest I should seem to "tempte"

* Substituted for "hope."
† The Lord's Supper.

Elizabeth.
1561. her and exceed my commission, and so "dashe my credyt at the fyrst," I thought best to give him the copy. After supper that night, he presented it to her: "she dowted fyrste of the sinceritie therof," I was said to have received it from your honour. I hear many disputes arose upon it: the Queen said "she coulde not reason, but she knewe what she ought to beleve." The Marquis affirmed that he "never thought Chryste to be otherwyse in the Sacrament, then as was ther wrytten, but yet dowtethe not but the masse is good." Against this much was said, but little good done.

Next day I was sent for to the Council chamber, where she herself ordinarily sits most part of the time, "sowinge some worke or other." She said to me: 'These thre dayes I have done nothynge els but devised with my Consell howe to dantin the theeves and revers upon the borders: I have charged the Lord Hume to do your countrye men justice—yf he do otherwyse I wylbe evle contented therwith, and se yt reformed. You knowe' saythe she, 'that I am nowe in hande to sende the Lord James and some other lordes unto the borders for that purpose; whearfore I praye you, reporte well of my mynde, and fynde the meanes that proclamation maye be made as I spake to you, that no theeves be receaved within England, for otherwyse yt wylbe in vayne what somever I purpose agaynste them. You have also the byll of complaynte of the Master of Maxwell which I praye you procure to be answered.' Then the Council being dissolved, and her grace departing, I offered myself to speak to her. 'I wyll,' saythe she, 'tawlke with you aparte in the gardayne.' When there, she said, 'Howe lyke you thys countrye? You have byne in yt a good space and knowe yt well inoughe.' I said the country was good and by policy might be made much better. 'Thabsence' saythe she, 'of a prince hathe cawsed yt to be worce, but yet is yt not lyke unto Englande.' I said there were many in the world worse than her grace's [country?] that were thought right good, but I thought few better than England, which I trusted "som tyme her grace sholde wytnes." 'I wolde be content therwith' saythe she, 'yf my syster your mestres so lyke.' I said it was what many of her grace's subjects desired, and I trusted would well content my mistress. Thus we long talked, she saying many "honorable" words of the Queen's Majesty in entertaining "all noble states"—of her mother's passage through England, and the good "recuelle" her uncle the Grand Prior and M. Danville had at Berwick. Speaking of the stay of her horses, she was assured it proceeded not from the Queen's Majesty, but the warden did it to avoid blame, as they had no passport. 'And thoughe' saythe she, 'yt ys daylie tolde me that the Quene my syster intendethe not to deale with me but under coleur, yet I assure you I beleve yt not, nor gyve no thankes unto them for their reportes.' I asked her to think of the Queen my mistress, as she had ever showed herself in word and deed to her grace as all others, and she says these reports shall never make her think the contrary. This "fell in" on the report of Liveston master of her horses, who said Sir John Forster would not deliver them unless the Grand Prior and Danville were bound for them *corps et biens*—which I think a false report—also that 3000 soldiers were coming to Berwick out of hand.

I durst not for fear of disclosing my "autour," say what I thought; my heart burned to leave it unspoken. I said she should have store

Elizabeth.
1561. of such reports, and the more she believed them, the more trouble and grief to herself to find so many flatterers about her. I hear Huntly "tycklethe her in the eare with some untrothes."

She asked then my news from France; I confirmed what Lord James showed her of the "accorde"; whereof she has no great liking. In long talk hereof she said she trusts the Queen her sister will not "tayke the worce" with her, that she is "not resolved in conscience in those matters that are in controversie, seinge yt is nether of wyll nor obstinacie agaynste God and his worde." I said I was glad to hear it, and trusted to see both Queens in one mind and accord "in that" as all other matters. I guessed she spoke on this occasion—"some have of late reasoned whether a prince that professethe Chryste, maye entre in league with one of the contrary beleve and religion"—only my conjecture.

I told her of the late kindness showed by her uncles the Duke and Cardinal to the Queen: she was glad to hear and very "inquisityve" of what was said. Then she asked if Sir Peter Mewtes was returned at the writing of the letters I had received? I said he was not. 'Nexte' saythe she 'unto the Kynge their soveraigne and master, I wolde that my uncles sholde beare good wyll unto the Quene your mestres: you knowe howe sybbe* we are, and our kyndenes muste be increaced.' I gave her such good words hereto as came to my mind: it were too long to trouble your honor with all that passed in a "large howers tawlke," I have done my duty in noting the chief points. Her grace at all times gives me good words, and those nearest about her, as Lord James and Lethington, say they are "ment as theie ar spoken." These two are above all in credit, some complain they yield too much to her "appetyde," which yet I see not. Lord James deals after his nature, "rudelye, homelye, and bluntlye."—Lethington "more delicatlye and fynelye," yet in effect swerves not from the other. She is "patient to here, and bearethe myche." The Earl Marshall is "warie," but sometimes speaks to good purpose; his daughter is late come to this town, we look shortly what shall come of the "longe love." Lord John of Coldingham has not least favour with his "leppynge and dansinge," and is like to marry Bothwell's sister. Lord Robert "consumethe" with love for Cassillis' sister. Earl Bothwell "hathe geven unto hym olde landes of his fathers in Tivedall, and the Abbaye of Murosse. Some saye that he is nere sybbe unto her grace." The Duke is at Kinniel [Kenele] and will not come near Court, unless sent for. I hear of nothing purposed against him, it is thought he may be well enough spared. Arran passed yesterday to Dunfermline and will from thence to S^{t} Andrews: he purposes not to be at Court, so long as the mass remains. Few come "at yt, but herself, her uncle, and trayne." There are three causes for Arran's absence—(1) the mass; (2) the presence of his enemy; and (3) "lacke whearwith to mayntayne a port." By the 1st he maintains his credit with the "precyse" protestants: the 2^{d} argueth less courage in him than many thought, that his enemy yet lives to have that place he is unworthy of. "The thyrde manifestethe unto the worlde the beastlynes of his father, that more then monye hathe nether faythe nor God!" The lords now return to Court; the bishops flock "apace." The metropolitan of S^{t} Andrews arrived

* Nearly related.

Elizabeth.
1561. on Monday last with a train of 80 horse; and to be seen, he rode half a mile out of his way, through the "whole Hye streate of Edenbourge"! We do not know what mischief he comes for; he had only 2 Hamiltons with him. The Abbot of Kilwinning met him here the first night, but came not with him. I have given the book you sent me to have "moo prented"; the "Accorde" of the sacrament is also translated and copies given to divers. The Queen herself saw that you sent me, and read it walking in the garden in sight of many. She said it was a French hand, and I affirmed it came from thence to your honour, to give it more authority. She asked if her uncle the Cardinal's Oration was printed? I said I looked daily for it. She required me to give her news when I had any; I promised this as you think good. I have troubled you long, but can hardly end: S[t] Colme's departure to France is more uncertain, it is said an ambassador from thence comes hither. Villemont late controller, leaves soon for France through England. The Marquis has his table allowed 50*s.* sterling daily; he offends many by his liberal talk. His horse was sent to the Queen and so delivered to him, without "ether thankes or fayer looke." M[r] Knox cannot be persuaded "but maynie men ar dysceaved in thys woman; he fearethe yet that *posteriora erunt pejora primis.* His severitie kepethe us in mervileus order; I commende better the succes of his doynges and preachynges then the maner therof, thoughe I acknowledge his doctryne to be sounde. Hys prayer is dayly for her, that God wyll torne her obstinate harte agaynst God and his trothe, or yf his holly wylbe* otherwyse, to strenthen the harte and hand of his chosen and electe, stowtly to with stonde the rage of al tyrantes, &c., in wordes terrible inoughe." [Edinburgh.] *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

I trust my letters by Lindsay the herald came to your hands. I pray your honour remember me to the Treasurer for the Queen's warrant.

7 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Oct. . **1036.** ELIZABETH TO MARY.
Lansd. iv. 132.

Signifying that one Alexander Dowglas a Scotsman retained in the service of Reynold Lee, her servant, having robbed his master of 400*l.* "and odd money," is fled to Scotland. Hearing that Mary, on the motion of Thomas Randolphe, has been pleased to order his speedy apprehension, commends her zeal to justice, offering the like when necessary. Desires credit for Randolphe in the matter. Under her signet. Manor of S[t] James, [ ] October, 3[d] of her reign.

Broad sheet. Corrected draft. Indorsed (by Randolphe): "Coppie of a lettre to the Quene of Scottes," &c.

Oct. 25. **1037.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I understand by your letter to M[r] Randolph that the Duke of Guise has broken with Sir Nicolas Throckmorton the matter motioned by me to the Queen's Majesty. I wish it may be so received

* Will be.

Elizabeth.
1561. by you, that both realms may enjoy the fruit of so godly an accord. I would be glad to know her Majesty's determination, since she understands by Sir Peter Mewatas the Queen my mistress's disposition to join with her in tender amity. If by means of "ws two" such a conjunction can be procured, we shall be esteemed happy instruments. I know how unwilling you be to enter on matters of such consequence, yet when you consider what surety, quietness, and commodity this motion imports to your Queen and country, I suppose you will utter your opinion frankly in it. "God hath by tymes offred many meanes off a godly conjunction—by what providence it hath chansed that none hath taken effect as yet, I cannot tell!" This has most likelihood, as grounded on equity, and neither party can think "hymselff gryefed." Surely, if overthrown as others heretofore, "it may be juged that God is not pleased with ws, and will that one off ws shall ever be a plague to the other"! Let us do our duty and commit the success to Him. I pray you in your next to write amply your opinion. The Queen my mistress behaves herself so gently in every behalf as reasonably we can require; if anything be amiss the fault is rather in ourselves. "Yow know the vehemency off Mr Knox spreit, which cannot be brydled, and yet doth sometymes uter soche sentences as can not easely be dygested by a weake stomach. I wold wishe he shold deale with her more gently, being a yong princess onpersuaded. For this am I accompted to be to politik; but suerly in her comporting with him, she doth declare a wisdome far exceading her age! God grant her the assistance off his spreit. Suerly I se in her a good towardnes, and think that the Quene your soveraygne shall be able to do moche with her in religion, if they ones entre in a good familiarity." Commend me heartily to my lord of Penbroke. I pray you show the bearer, who solicits the poor merchants' suit, your accustomed favour. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 27. **1038.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

If I knew in what better sort to inform you of the state of things here, than I do, I would willingly employ myself thus; but as I protested when first commanded to serve here, that I had nothing but good will to commend my service with, so I can find no augmentation either in wisdom or knowledge, to give better assurance of my doings. I see daily that more occasions increase to exercise my wits, than when I was first charged to this "rowme"; for those of this country with whom I then had to do, either by long continuance with them, or by my instructions from others how to use them and govern myself among them, made me think some effect might issue of my travail. "This trade is nowe cleane cut of from me; I have to trafique nowe with other kynde of marchantes then before. Theie knowe the value of their ware, and in all places howe the marquet goethe; and yet yt semethe wonder unto maynie that the whole state of thys realme sholde be altered by one heade or two, by a woman and one man,* of whose excellente wysedomes ther was

* D'Elbeuf?

Elizabeth.
1561. "never yet ether great opinion or fame! Theie that thus thynk, fare begylde them selves; theie lyttle remember whear these barnes had their bringynge up, what pedagoges theie have daylie followinge them at their feete—what lessons theie have be roote, and howe well thaye knowe, when anye matter is to be executed or commethe in deliberations, whear to fynde their resolutions! I saye therfor, that theie but abuse them selves, for what so mever pollice is in all the cheaf and beste practysede heades in France, what so mever crafte, falced, or deceayte ys in all the suttle braynes of Scotlande, is ether freshe in thys onlie womans memorie, or she cane fette yt with a wette fynger!" How my simple wit can counterpoise the wisdom of these long "beaten" in weighty affairs, or answer the craft of such as daily lay "baytes" for me, either to discredit myself, or deal falsely with those I am bound uprightly to serve—I refer to your wisdom (seeing I was never in place to learn, or always so craftily occupied, "that I cane incontinent dyscover the fynesse that is nowe used amonge these schylfull sorte of men)." What was meant, when within these six days "yt was saide to me by one (whoe thynkethe hym self in no smale credyt with me) that my mestres was good unto all Scottyshmen, and whye myght not I honestlye inoughe tayke a quiete pencion of thys Quene, as Lidingeton dothe yerlye of my mestres?" I am sure he meant little good to one of us. 'Yf you lyke' saythe he, 'to marrie, ther are here, yea in the Court self, with whome a man myght have a good lyf.' I discourage no man who likes to talk with me. It has also been devised what fit minister might be found about our sovereign, on whom "a good torne" might be bestowed. I know not if the French ambassador has been moved herein, by some one or other gone from hence of late. If it were in me that men thought, that neither fair words, large offers, "allurementes" what so ever, torments of the worst sort ("yf yt came to that)" could move me from my duty, I could think myself a happy man. But as men's opinions differ, it is sufficient that I mean to serve faithfully here, or where it please the Queen's Majesty to employ me. But I would that for her Majesty's better service, either that some "well experimented men" occupied this place, or that I might have "in store," besides those with whom I have to do, whereto to resort by letter "or privat instruction," when any unwonted matter comes up.

The Queen here is determined to have one to serve her in England: there has been some privy mention of M[r] Henry "Balvanis" or David Forreste. "I knowe not what credyt those men cane have to serve her in that rowme; I knowe she lovethe nether of them bothe." I know no other here to the effect she desires; but whoever he be, I trust to find means to make him known to you "for the fyrste." Thus much I thought to write, besides that I wrote yesterday: I have troubled your honor long enough herein, yet am forced to be so bold as to open in as few words as I can my own poor estate, not here (where I have found her Majesty's liberality "abundantlye") but for all the time I have lived, I have no assurance how to live, when some other, "or none at all," shall occupy this place. Though the remembrance of this has often times made me think, and "serche maynie corners which waye I maye deserve"; yet it never came so near my heart as within these 20 days, that I had word of my father's "departeur to God." By him, so long as I professed a scholar's life,

Elizabeth.
1561. I had sufficient for that estate—when I "travayled," I found him somewhat more liberal. Since I came here, I had his fatherly good will and favour, for he knew well enough from whence it came whereon I live—and it was some comfort to him to see me thus employed. "Nowe he hathe lefte me, as my brother Edwarde wrytethe unto me, the wyde worlde." The inheritance is great for him that could get it in quiet possession. My brother's meaning is, that either he has left me nothing, or that all is too little for himself. I wish as heartily that my brother should have enough, as I would be loth myself to lack. I have also a "ferme" in Kent, the house where I was born—procured without my father's charge, whereof he had the lease in keeping. It has been often sought at my hands, and now perchance may be had against my will. My mother is old, my brother is near her, his wife "tender to her owne," and I far from the place where "I myght do for my self." I have also a suit depending between Sir John Zuche and me for a pension that his father my uncle gave to me of 10*l.* by year. I am also co-executor with another, of a friend's testament, where I hoped for some profit. My absence thus casts me "sore behynde hande"; yet loss of the whole is nothing to the remembrance that for 8 years I never had two days together to enjoy the sight of father and mother, and now God has taken one, and I little hope to see the other, unless I be spared a few days without hindrance to the Queen's service here.

I have another grief as great as any of the rest. In the beginning of your honour's last letter, you thought much of my long stay in writing, and judged it was to inform you all at once by Sir Peter Mewtas. I may be negligent enough, but never so forgetful of duty that way. This letter from M^r^ Hedeley makes me think that true, that once before I had cause to suspect, that either my letters come not to you with such diligence as they should, or that by the way others have made "proffyt" of them. What else moves this man my friend so to write? or what makes Lethington more careful of his letters, when sent away with mine, than by any other man? and sooner in England when I think them safest, than in Scotland, where I ever imagine some misfortune, and cast most doubts!

I remember how I was dealt with and your honour deceived, and the Queen offended, that no speedier advertisement came from hence of this Queen's arrival: where I wrote the "self same" day, by two divers ways, one letter to your honour, the other with "credyt of mouthe" to the Treasurer. This is the way as your honour knows, greatly to hinder the Queen's service, and as further inconvenience may arise, I write presently. I thought good to say thus much for your honour's consideration: for my part esteeming not so much the praise or commendation, though I would be "lothe to lees of that," so much as her Majesty and you think me worthy of—as I do to have my sovereign and mistress served to her contentation. I am required to commend the bearer to your honour. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

5 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Oct. 31. **1039.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Hearing of the Lord Governor's return, and knowing the necessity for the Queen's service that I should confer with him, especially at

Elizabeth.
1561. some day of truce, where I might witness and report to this Queen what inclination or good will I find in Lord Hume to fulfil her commands for justice and amity on the Border, as in my hearing I heard her grace expressly charge him—I came hither with little hope thereof. But I return with as little comfort that any good will ever be had from him. How uncourteously he behaved himself the day of meeting towards the Lord Governor, I doubt not your honour shall understand by his letters. Of what I have to report at my return, I assure your honour nothing shall be left unspoken—the more for the assurance I now have of the Queen's Majesty's letter, which I received here from my Lord Governor. Yesterday I arrived here, and to-morrow I return with more speed, to be there before S^{t} Colme's departure, who attends my return. Berwick. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Nov. 8. **1040.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

Albeit he wrote not long ago of the affairs depending between their sovereigns (whereof he abides answer), yet finding this opportunity of his "cusingis" * coming to England, thinks good to remind Cecill of the foresaid affairs: assuring him of the good towardness of all things at writing, as his cousin the bearer will declare particularly. Being lately appointed to keep a diet of justice on the Borders, he found such promptitude and assistance from the Queen's officers, that he concludes it proceeded from her Majesty's special command, for which he is deeply bound. Desires nothing so much as mutual intelligence and hearty love between their countries. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Stewart.

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

Nov. 11. **1041.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Cotton. Calig., B. x. fol. 192.

In such matters as I have had of late to do with this Queen and her Council, I have informed my lords of her Majesty's Council, whereof your honor cannot be ignorant—and if any thing be omitted, I trust their honours will attribute it to my little information rather than lack of diligence.

The Duke's absence from Court caused such bruits among the people of his mislike to the Queen's proceedings, with something else unadvisedly reported, that was meant to him, that his friends advised him to appear, and by his presence make void all such vain talk. On Tuesday last the 4th he arrived—saw and was well received by the Queen on Wednesday, and (as he tells me) no manner of misliking offered by her. Since then he has been daily in Court and Council, but will not remain above 6 or 8 days more. He greatly fears the Queen intends to take Dunbarton from him, and thus will be void of a place of succour, if she take a quarrel with him. 'For' saythe he, 'when ever she have that owte of my handes, I knowe that her mynde towardes me and my howse cane not be good. I wyll therfore assure my self by all meanes that I cane to keape that, which,' saythe he, 'I shall not be hable to do excepte your mestres at that tyme stonde

* S^{t} Colme.

Elizabeth.
1561. 'gracieus prynces unto me, whoe hathe promised me by her lettres never to se me nor my howse wrecked.' Though I know he "dowtethe" more than he need, yet I thought it not good to discourage him of the Queen's favour, so long as he persevere in maintaining "Godes trothe, obbedience to his soveraigne, and affection towardes my mestres accordinge unto her demerites upon hym and his sonne." He spake enough hereon, requiring me very earnestly to advertise you, that you might open it to the Queen to see what she will do for him, if he be forced to take refuge in "that place." I asked what right he had to do it, or pretence to refuse delivery? He said he had "none," but when he took it from the Earl of Lennox, this Queen's mother made him a promise by mouth he should have it "in ferme" for 19 years. Hereon he has been twice in hand with me, and I could do no less than promise to write to you. Arran remains at S[t] Andrews —he knows not, and I cannot conjecture, the meaning of his abode. He wrote of late to the Council, "that he myght be answered of the reveneus of S[t] Androws, Domfermelinge, and Murosse, by the Quenes autoritie, as theie had put hym in possession, addinge thys clause, that other wyse he wolde complayne unto his brotheren whoe from the begynnynge had byne of the congregation." This was found very strange, his bill was rejected and nothing said thereto. It is now called in question whether, "the princesse beinge an idololatre, may be obeyede in all civile and pollitique actions? I thynke mervileusly of the wysedome of God that gave thys unrulye, inconstant and combersome people no more substance nor power then theie have, for then wolde theie runne wylde"! Now they think the Lord James grows cold, he aspires to great matters, he is lieutenant on the borders, commander of the Queen, like soon to be Earl of Murray and Treasurer of Scotland! Lethington ambitious and too full of policy! So there is no remedy say they—'yt muste yet come to a newe daye.' Against this I persuade all I can with those with whom I have to do. They are all wrong as to Lord James, and when Lethington is removed, they shall not find among themselves any man equally fit. Arran has been often argued with to conform to this estate and time. My sayings have always been to him that the greater tokens of obedience he shows now to his sovereign, the better shall he govern, and the people know their duty, "yf God sende hym unto that place." But my words are better "allowed" than "followed." He desires greatly to speak with me, but neither time nor place serves now.

I told you the provost and "bayles" were deposed: we look for them daily being restored, "and the self same confirmed that theie were put out of their office for." On Allhallow day the Queen had a "songe masse." That night one of her priests was well beaten for his reward by a servant of Lord Robert's. We look to have it proclaimed again that no man on pain of confiscation of goods and lands, hear, say or come "unto her owne masse, savinge her owne howseholde that came owte of France?" The ministers are to have their livings by her authority. Lord James on Friday takes journey towards Gedbrough, along with Morton, Erskine, Bothwell, Seton and Liveston. I trust good will ensue, for all the English wardens have answered me that all fugitives are proclaimed.

As I thought to end thus, your letters of 26[th] November* brought by

* *Sic.*—Must be "October."

Elizabeth.
1561. La Crock were sent to me; who Lethington tells me, has made very honorable report of the Queen's Majesty. Lord James confirms the same "with maynie merrie wordes, that thys Queen wysshed that one of the two were a man, to mayke an ende of all debates. Thys I trowe, was spoken in her merrie moode." Yesterday I sought to speak with her, but she was busy about S^{t} Colme's dispatch to France who departs in 2 days, her grace purposing to write to the Queen's Majesty "in her owne hande." His "arrant" is to understand things there, that he may fashion them here accordingly, give kind words, and "fette" new instructions for government here. He is gentle and honest enough, yet suspected of ambition, that may move him by all ways to serve her "appetyde." We keep our old familiarity, so I must needs commend him to your honour. This Queen longs greatly to hear the Queen's resolution on Sir Peter Mewtes "legation." I can now say something after your letter, if she enter on it, as she has done twice or thrice since he left. I made Lord James and Lethington privy to Lord Bedford's courtesy to the Grand Prior and M. Dampville, which they report fully to the Queen. The news she hath of the Cardinal and Duke leaving Court pleases her little. The time of year for the King of Sweden coming is judged by all passed, though the bruit was great he was at Dunkyrk. I have commended your honour to Lord James and Lethington; and also "saluted" the Duke's grace in your name, thinking it "requisyte."

The Lords whose hostages are at Newcastle, purpose soon to write to the Queen for their release, as the year is near expired. Though I "perswaded with" Lord James to let the year run out, I am not sure till to-morrow whether they write by S^{t} Colme or not.

Nothing remains but to thank most humbly for my licence for horses, and augmentation of my "diettes" here, whereof nothing shall be "unspent" to the Queen's honour. Unless it please you to remind me to M^{r} Treasurer, "I shall fynde hym harde and slacke inoughe: he hathe as maynie fayer wordes as good deades." I am much cumbered here by a mischievous man one Tomson, of whom I wrote long since. He is a "playne Anabaptiste" and almost out of his wits.

I trouble your honour no more till you see S^{t} Colme. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

4¾ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Nov. 15. **1042.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I am required by this Queen to write to the Queen's Majesty for licence to buy in the south parts of England 16 or 12 ambling geldings, to send to her friends, noble women in France—which favour she will requite with any pleasure at her command. Trusting her Majesty will not deny this, and your honour will procure the licence. Though her grace desired me to write to the Queen's Majesty, I thought for this time I would rather "be bolde" upon your honour. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

½ *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Nov. 16. **1043.** MARY TO EIZABETH.

We have directed this bearer "oure servitoure of Sanct Colmys

Elizabeth. 1561. "inche to the partes of France," on our affairs, and commanded him in "this wynter seasoun" to journey by land through your realm. Praying you favour him in his passage and return. Under our signet. Palace of Holyrood House, 19th of our reign. *Signed:* Your gud sister and cusign Maiie R.

¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[1561. Nov. 18.] **1044.** RANDOLPHE TO HENRY KILLEGREW.

I wrote to you from Berwick: and since my return have had little matter. I "wotte" not yet what trouble this mischievous mass may turn us to. It is [rather] for despite than devotion; for those that [use it care] "not a straw for yt, and geste some tymes" . . . against it. Either it will soon come to [nought or] make some ado. The Duke [and Earl] have no will of Court as long as [it last]. They lie 12 miles off, and will come no nearer unless sent for. So doing, they have lost no credit: their friends, seeing they do not "fayne," think best they [keep] in their own nature—yet do they nothing against law, conscience or duty. It is proposed to make war on the Border thieves. The [ladies are] "merrie, loppinge and dansinge, lustie and fayer." Commend me as you please: let me know if Mr Sommer remain at home. I love Mr Cecill for his sake, and as I am [before] hand, he fares better for my sake. Cause him to write and tell him I received [a] volume of letters from Sir N[icholas], none for him. "I sende you herewith unto [hym a] Schottes whynnyarde and a payre of knyves [with] his bokes and as maynie mo as he wyll sende [for]." I know [not if] my letters come to your hand, and that makes me "madde." Commend me to F. Wals[ingham] to my cousin Mistress Sandes in the Courte. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. R[andolphe].

1 *p. Holograph; also address:* "To my lovinge and assured frende Mr Henrie Killegrewe at his house in Paules churcheyarde the nexte doore to the Deane of Paules. Delyver herewith a dagger and a payre of knyves." *Much damaged by damp at right side, and date partly lost.*

[1561.] **1045.** MEMORANDUM AS TO SCOTLAND.

[An undated paper—as to the advantage of uniting the Crowns. Notwithstanding the "way putting" of the Queen—for the desire the noble blood of England and Scotland have to be allied together as King and Queen—and touching on many other matters.]

3 *pp. In a contemporary Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "A Scottish lettre." *Conjecturally marked in pencil* "1589." *At end of MS. Vol. VII.*

1561. Nov. 23. **1046.** ELIZABETH TO MARY.

By your letters brought last month by our servant Sir Peter Mewtas, we are glad to see our good will is so well interpreted. To the answer (as he reports it) we see no cause to be so well satisfied as we looked for, yet considering (we trust) your meaning is sincere and

Elizabeth.
1561. just, as ours is, and for perpetual amity, we cannot permit so good a matter to remain unperfected. And we only require the ratification of the treaty passed by your commissioners, authorised by your hand and seal. When princesses treat by open assembly of ambassadors, the world, specially the subjects of both, judge the amity not sound, but shaken or crased, which we would no wise to be conceived of ours. So we think you should communicate privately to our servant Randolphe or by letter to us, the cause moving you to stay the same. You shall see we require nothing but justice, honour, and reason. Under our signet. At our manor of S^{t} James, 4th of our reign.

1½ *pp. Contemporary copy. Indorsed:* "Copye, &c." *Much mutilated.*

[Dec. .] **1047.** ELIZABETH TO MARY.

Although the last conclusion of peace and amity "betwixte us two" has been well maintained and observed to the honour of God and weal of our subjects, yet we understand that "one James MacOnell, some tyme named the Lorde of the Oute Isles" in the west of Scotland towards our realm of Ireland, has of late entered the parts next adjoining him, committing robberies and depredations on our subjects and maintaining rebellious people, thieves and murderers, against our said treaties, good order and law of arms, especially in usage of prisoners. We have thought good to signify this barbarous demeanour and outrages, requiring you under our treaties to constrain the said James MacConnel to cease all such incourses by himself or others into our said realm, and answer to justice for his acts against the law of all nations; also to restore the pledges he holds for certain of our subjects taken by him at the isle of Raghlyn and kept by pretence as prisoners till these pledges were delivered—a thing most strange and unheard of in time of peace.

3 *pp. Corrected draft. Indorsed.*

Dec. 7. **1048.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

By the letters of my lord of S^{t} Colmes Inch to the Queen and to myself, I understand the gracious "proposses" it pleased the Queen's highness to hold with him touching the Queen my mistress, whereby the sincerity of her affection well appears able enough to "kyndle the lyke fyre off love on this part, if none had bene off before—but off treuth I have off long tyme perceaved soche a reciproque goodwill in my maistresse towardes youris, that I think for the present she hath no frend in whome she doth put more confidence, and not many to whome she will more frankly impart any her affaires off consequence. God is my juge, I mak the mater appeare no better then it is in the selff, and if I thought not my selff assured that it shold thus prove in the end, I wold not hasard to write thus far. Her franknes in wryting may serve for a sufficient argument off a singular trust—if she did not take the Quenes highnes to be a deare frend, she wold not (I warrant yow) being soche a one as she is off jugement and discretion, frame her lettres in that sort. I know her Majesty doth loke for fryendly and good advise from your maistres, and upon hope theroff, now doth communicat so far off her

Elizabeth.
1561. "mynd onto her, and meaneth hereafter to follow this same trade. In anywyse I pray yow advise her Majesty to answer these lettres so playnely, friendly, and with soche spede as the mater requireth.

"The Quene my maistres hath good caus to love dearly my lordes her oncles: they be so nygh onto her, that besides theyr good deservinges, nature must bynd her therto; she knoweth theyr honesty, and must maneteyne theyr innocence if they be charged. It wilbe no small consolation to her Majesty, to understand that for her respect, the Quene your maistres will forbeare to conceave ane evill opinion off them, if theyr onfrendes wold charge them with any thing. They be so far at her devocion that,—theyr dewty being reserved to the Kyng theyr soverayne—for the love they perceave your maistres sheweth towardes her Majesty, they will alwayes esteme themselffes bound to do her highnes service. I pray yow, in the answer off her Majesties lettre presently sent to the Quene, let some mencion be made off them, that my maistres may onderstand that not onely youris doth love her, bot also for her sake, all those that be her friendes. I se her Majesty in nothing delyt more then often to visite and be visited be lettres of soche as she doth love—but cheefly wold be glade that soche a mutuall intelligence wer continued betuix theyr two Majesties. Let it not, I pray yow, be neglected on your part onto suche tyme as it shall please God to grant thoccacion that ane entervew may be betuix them, which I know for her part, the Quene my maistres most ernestly wisshed with all her hart to be sone. If yow se the lyke disposition in youris, let ws I pray yow, avise the moyens theroff, and begyn by tymes to conferre by lettres how in what maner it shalbe—the tyme and place—for therupon me thynketh, doth depend the felicity off both the countreyes. Weary not by your credit to intertein thamity begonne; yow never did anything more worthy off yourselff, nor more praysible in the syght off God and man! the litle moyen I have shalbe employed to that end. But in deade my burdeyn shalbe therin very portable, fynding my maistres so conformable. I must think it eyther a naturall instinction, or that God hath put it in her hart; otherways her love could not sodeynly have bene broght to soche a hygh degre." It will please you to have me heartily recommended to my lord of Penbroke and my lord Robert, and by your next letter impart somewhat of your mind in these matters. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

The Queen commands me to present her hearty commendations to my lord Robert, my lord Penbroke, my lord Chamberlain and yourself, thanking you all for the "good visage" made to S[t] Colme.

3 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (partly by Cecill).

Dec. 7. **1049.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.
Cotton Calig., B. x. fol. 197.

I doubt not your honour has looked to hear from me: but I stayed till Lethington answered your letter of 10[th] November, whereby you shall understand his opinion of the amity, and of "the sincere meanynge" of his mistress therein. Though he has more privity with all her doings than is possible for me, yet I never have access to her grace, but her words show she means no less than to do her utmost to unite the two realms, as your honour shall see by my last talk with her when it comes in place to be spoken of. Since my last of the

Elizabeth.
1561. Duke and his arrival, &c.,—"this befell." The next day after Lord James left this for Jedburgh, the Bishop of S^{t} Andrews came here—in 2 or 3 days after came the bishops of Dunblane and Caithness. The Bishop of Ross was "before" made a privy councillor and lord president of the Session: and with them and their company, the whole town in 6 days was "packed and pesterde with papystes." All in whom hope of good is, were with Lord James. About 9 p.m. of Sunday after his departure, the 16th November, the Queen being yet out of her bed, all men ready to depart, "ther commethe amonge them so soddayne a fraye withowte ether nowes [noise] of men, horses, or armeuur, that scharcly any man wyste whear to bestowe hym self. Whear men ar thus bolde, beinge some of them reputed olde and valiant soldiars, what dothe your honour thynke of the poore damoyselles that were lefte alone, whyleste other sought corners to put their heades in"? They come to themselves—take counsel what to do—every man takes his armour—watch appointed, scouts put forth, nothing seen or heard! Of this arose next morning an unlucky bruit without certain author, that Arran had crossed the water with a "starke" company to take away the Queen, and had his friends lying quietly here to join him. This bruit runs fast, the repair of papists is great, the watch deliberately set and every lord lodging within Court to watch night about with "jacke and spere." Places visited where entry might be, and passages to the Queen's chamber stopped, and new made. Meantime the Duke comes to town and complains to the Queen of this slanderous report—saying if true he could not be guiltless, and demanding punishment of the authors. He brought forth an old statute (whereof I send the copy) and desired right and justice at her grace's hands. No excuse would serve him, though occasions were shown moving her, and many good words given him, but he dissatisfied, returned on 25th of the last, to his house of Kinniel, whence he will to Hamilton to remain all winter. I am uncertain whether he will come to the Convention on 15th. This is the verity of this great "horlyburly," without reason or occasion for her so distrusting any subject, or lightly crediting any report, which discloses her mind "unto the whole race."* I have done what I can to find out the likelihood of Arran having it in his head. He was never worse furnished for such, without horses, men, or money. He came (they say) to Kinneil the night before, but he brought only 2 men and a page, and left the rest at S^{t} Andrews. He wished all the papists in Scotland hanged: "so do maynie mo bysydes hym." She had never less occasion to fear, with so many papists then in the town—"whoe thoughe I am sure ther is not one of them that wyll dye for Chryste, yet to save their Quene from stealinge I trowe wolde not stycke to stryke a strooke or two." There are more things to consider herein than I can write.

"The hatred I perceave in thys Quene towardes my lord of Arrane is mervileus greate, and he hym selfe to slacke in doynge of his dewtie," though far enough from danger saving in his own belief. He rather gives ear to these bruits, than stirs on hearing them. He rejoices more (as he sent me word) in his innocence and to see their follies, than if he could do what they suspect.

All bishops here have retired, save Rosse, and Caithness the Earl

* Hamilton?

Elizabeth.
1561. of Lennox's brother who comes daily to the sermons and is reputed "honeste inoughe." The Earl of Sutherland who married his sister is here with him. Whatever they seek is earnestly "applied." I know yet only common bruit and that not with credit.

The bishops sought to be restored and the matter is to be considered at this Convention. They offer large contribution to be put in possession. "She" says what is done by order and good advice may longest continue. They know not yet "for all her masse," what they may well think of her. They say Lord James bears too much rule; Lethington has a "craftie heade" and "a felle tonge." They like worst the accord like to be between the two Queens, which will quite overthrow them; and say plainly that she cannot return a "trewe Chrystian woman." Before God, neither Lethington nor I believe she will give over her mass, till she has spoken with the Queen's Majesty; so that it might seem she rather does it on such reasons as the Queen shall use to her, than to be forced by her people—which I best allow, and most heartily wish. The bruit of her good will to go into England is much spread, and commended here—but these are their divers judgments. Some measure it by gain and profit they may get there, or at home by the quietness of both countries. Others by zeal and affection to both countries—the third, chiefly respecting God's honour, weigh things according to the rule prescribed by him—to consider well how far his will is to make alliances, &c., and with whom. I need say no more herein for one word is as good as many.* They also fear that in giving this princess too great assurance and security, she may with more boldness discharge her "collor" on those she mislikes, or exercise any severity she will upon the ministers "and trewe professors of Chryste." I write this that many say—'We have so lately tastede of the Quenes Majesties of England goodnes towardes us, that we are addetted unto her for our lyves, and must never shewe ourselves unmyndefull. Yf we do not duely honour her, whear is our refuge when somever we ar in dystres? What shame tayke we to our self? Yf she provide not for us, whear shall we become?'

Of Lord James' doings at Jedburgh and meeting Lord Grey and Sir John Foster at Kelso, I doubt not you heard. He burnt many houses, hanged 22 or 23 and brought here 40 or 50—23 of them in the castle —2 in Dunbar, 2 in the Inch, 3 in the north, and 2 like to be hanged here. The chiefest Border clans are come in to take the Queen's order to stay theft. The first night he arrived, the watch was discharged—I know not whether by his advise, or that she would not M. de Foys the ambassador should see any distrust. She talked "a whyle" with de Foys the first night he came. Next day after dinner she communed with him very long, wherein I being sent for, was commanded to her presence, "theie two yet tawlkinge togyther. After that she had made countenance unto me, she saythe—'Here is Monsieur de Foys come owte of France unto me, whoe hathe seen my good syster your mestres, whoe is in healthe and merrie, wheareof I am verie glade; you muste bede hym welcome unto Scotlande.'" I showed myself willing, and so did. He desired me in her hearing, not to be strange one to the other—"which she semed to allowe well inoughe, and I myche better." Then they return to their purpose.

* This sentence added on margin.

Elizabeth.
1561. "Incontinent the Marquis (which never before savinge in ordinarie salutations gave token unto me of kyndnes) commethe towardes me. I had moe caresses then I lyked for the noveltie of them, seinge that maynie oportunities had byne offered before and nothynge done! He saythe unto me, stondinge in the syghte of thembassadeur, 'Monsieur Ran[dolphe], you deserve well of the Quenes Majestie and of us all, for the good reporte you have made unto the Quenes Majestie your mestres of her the Quenes doynges, and of us all. We are her Majesties moste affectioned servantes and reddie to be imp. (?) at her commaundement.'" I answered it was my part, and my honour to report of all princes honorably, 'and of thys Quene in speciall' knowing her doings so honourable and her meaning so upright. "Lyke wordes unto these I had maynie. 'Yt is pyttie,' saythe he, 'that ther sholde ever be dyscorde betwene these two princesses.'" I affirmed it, and he said he would be glad to see the Queen and her country. I assured him he would be content with both. Then we talked of the "pastymes" the Sunday before, where he, Lord Robert, Lord John and others ran at the ring, 6 against 6, "dysguised and appareled thone half lyke women, and thother lyke strayngers, in straynge maskinge garmentes." The Marquis did well, but Lord Robert and the women won the ring. The Queen herself saw it and as many others as "lyste." So we talked till the ambassador took leave. Then the Queen called me to her, and said 'I am myche addetted unto the Quene my syster, I perceave by thys gentleman howe well she thynkethe of me; I have not yet receaved the lettres thys gentleman broughte me from your mestres, but knowe her good wyll unto me bothe by hys reporte and other wayes. I have harde of the good treatment that she made unto my uncle the Grande Priour and Monsieur Danvile, I wylbe righte glade at all tymes tacknowledge her kyndenes, and do what lyethe in me that we shalbe good frendes for ever. I fynde also her good wyll towardes me by the good parte that the Lord Graye and other her officers upon the Borders have keapte with the Lord James, at thys tyme agaynste the theeves, which I purpose so to handle that there shalbe no farther cawse of troble betwene her and me. You must do me that pleasure' (saythe she) 'when you wryte unto your mestres, to reporte unto her what my good mynde is towardes her, and howe wyllinge I am that we maye lyve in perpetuall peace and amytie, and that above all other thynges I do desyer to see and speake with her.' I told her I was glad to hear her grace's words, and would not fail to report them. I reminded her of what "was purposed by her father," and that some still lived who would labour with her grace as they did with him, to stay that purpose. "She saythe agayne, 'Yt shall passe their powers yf yt seme good unto your mestres, for some thynge is reserved for us, that was not then. Well,' saythe she, 'as you are good servant unto your mestres, so muste you be good frende to me, to reporte the beste; you knowe the state of my countrye, you knowe my people, and you shall knowe me better then you do.'" I answered that nothing would please the Queen whom I served, but truth in all things wherein I shall be charged. And if I failed therein, when I saw two such princesses inclined "by all godly and honorable meanes" to peace and amity, and I by false reports should cause discord and debate, "thoughe I coulde so shyfte with the worlde, that never man gatt knowledge therof, yet God wolde not suffer that unplaged in

Elizabeth.
1561. me.' She saythe—'I wyll my self wryte unto my syster, and wyll speake with you agayne—remember what I have sayde unto you.' Many other things "fell in"—the beauty of the country, of the Court—the Queen's Majesty's "exercises"—what town York was, and the like. I answered as I could, and after "allmoste one howers tawlke" with her grace, took my leave.

Out of the countenances of princes, he that can judge "may pycke owte" some likelihood of their thoughts and disposition. While she talked with "Monsieur de Foyes, yt was marked by other before I came in, and aftre I sawe my self, maynie alterations in her face, her coulleur better that daye then ever I sawe yt. The c[h]amber was full of compagnie and a great fyer. When I tawlked with her, she was verie merrie and spake with suche affection as I thinke yt came from the harte."

After this, communing with Lord James thereon, he liked them well and is of Lethington's opinion, "that she wyll never come to God before the Quenes Majestie drawe her." I then went to M. de Foyes, who spoke honourably of the Queen's Majesty and her letters to this Queen: "commended the religion," lamenting "the contrarie in dyvers realmes, and dowted the dayngers that were eminente." I commended his zeal, and said "what men thought of hym for that he had indured for Chrystes sake, and desyered hym that he wolde so deale with the Quenes grace in those matters, as the worlde myghte be judge of hys erneste mynde and upryghte conscience. The nexte daye after, notwithstondinge, he was with the Quene at the Masse"! I have not seen him since, we ended with good words. That night the 3rd instant came Monsieur Moret, but spake not with the Queen. Both dined next day with Lord James, "and then had Monsieur Moret audience." Of their affairs and doings her Majesty shall have better information from this Queen than I can report. I have not yet seen M. Moret, or know the Queen's Majesty's pleasure, but "at aventure" I will make a way to him, "thoughe lyke inoughe to lyttle effect, or better undone," yet I trust without evil result.

Yesterday the 6th the Queen sent for me. On coming thither I found M. de Foix, and after ending with him, she said to me, 'I have receaved my syster your mestres lettres, and for that kyndnes that I fynde in her, I wyll mayke her previe of all my newes. You shall also saye some what in your lettres, from me unto her, with good assurance that I wyll performe yt to thuttermoste of my powre.' I have written "her mynde," and send her grace's letter to your honour. Thence I went to M. de Foix, who told me of his departure on Tuesday next. We had long talk of "the facte" of Monsieur Nemours. "He is lothe but under coverte termes, to touche thother Duke or hys brother, thoughe ther be matter sufficient to brynge them in suspicion as he saythe, of greate matters." He pities the troubles like to ensue, and finds in this princess such readiness towards amity and concord with all princes, that he is very glad. Talking of religion, "I was not so uncourtess as to tell hym that he had byne at the Masse, thoughe for hys reputation yt had byne worthe hym a thowsande crownes not to have byne! He repented hym self afterwarde, beinge admoneshed by some frende, and came not unto the *Diredge* nor Masse upon Frydaye and Saterdaye laste, to the great myslykynge of the Quene. Moret was ther at bothe. She observed tholde maner in all her doynges: she coulde not perswade

Elizabeth.
1561. "nor gette one lord of her owne to weare the deule for that daye—not so myche as the Erle Bothewell!" The whole burden hereof lies on Lord James. Immediately after the service, she caused a proclamation to be made at the cross by a herald of arms, "hys cote armeur upon his backe," that no man on pain of his life, should trouble or injure any of her chaplains that were at mass, and all should "answer them their lyvinges in tyme to come as before." This was without consent of the Council, and the people greatly offended, being against the old proclamation that things should remain "in tholde state."

I assure your honour there is not yet such security but she has good cause to take heed how she proceeds in matters of religion, "and nowe in speciall where their [her] uncles autoritie and credyt hangethe in balance." I know nothing of M. Moret's departure, and you know more of his errand than I do. "She" purposes sending shortly to France her own secretary M. Grandrye, he passes by you. M. de Foix required my letters to you, which I cannot refuse.

This is another day of mirth and pastime on the sands of Leith, where the Queen will be herself, "to signifie the sorrowe of her harte after her sowle masse." I know not what more to write, "but of the shamfull lyf of the bysshope of S[t] Androws, which your honour shall knowe by thys lettre inclosed—I assure your honour, spoken withowte malice, and no les reported unto the Quene then is of it in deade." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

By next, your honour shall receive the lords' request for the hostages. Lord James desires me to present his commendations thus—"that he is not growne so greate that he sholde myskene* you."

Among the articles agreed between him and Lord Grey at Kelso—one was concerning prisoners. It is here thought good that "barons" should be comprised as well as "inferiors"—that was done it is thought in favour of some one or other against Lord Gray† and the Master of Marshall.

Additional leaf:—

I reserve the pastime between "the ministers and the Quenes doctour of Sarbone‡" till I can write more at length.

My lords of Council commended to me a cause of John Baptista's here—wherein I have laboured to my pains and charge—the cause well heard and favour shown. But the man he sent here, had no commission to sue, and being put to "proffe," has nothing to say. This I found at the first, and made him write to Baptista 5 months ago, with no answer yet. I have now written by his own man to him, that he return him better instructed, or that he admit the fault is his own.

Hearing that M[r] Valentyne Browne will soon be with you, may it please you to command him to see me better paid. Since the last of August, "I never receaved grote; I lyve upon credyt, bothe to my hynderance and shame." Your honour knows how unfit it is for me in this "rowme." I thought he would have better answered your letters in my behalf.

11 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (partly by Cecill).

* *i.e.*, not know. † *i.e.*, of Scotland. ‡ Sorbonne.

Elizabeth.
1561. Dec. 10.

1050. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Monsieur de Foix has made honourable report of the Queen my sovereign, not only to this Queen, as her grace showed me, but to all other where he had occasion. Whereas at coming he spake but once with her Majesty, he will be suitor for "ofter acces," all things so pleased him "at his beinge ther." With your honour he desires to use familiar friendship. I have oft times repaired to him and found him well inclined to further amity and peace between all princes, "which well agrethe unto all those that professethe Chryste, for whose cawse your honour knowethe what he hathe indured."

The Queen is in health and merry. On Saturday last she solemnly celebrated the "exequies" of her husband, "unto the which" Monsieur Moret assisted." None of the nobles of Scotland wore the "dewle."* Huntly came the morrow after the "feaste"; and yesterday Argyll arrived here. The punishment of the thieves has been great, putting us in good hope that hereafter the Queen's Majesty's subjects shall live in assurance to keep their own. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Dec. 17.
Cott. MSS. Calig. B. x. fol. 203.

1051. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the 11th I had your letters of 30th November with letters from the Queen's Majesty to this Queen, which I presented to her grace next day, and within 2 days after by her command, repaired to her for answer, which was deferred partly for great affairs in hand (being the first day of the Convention) partly as I saw, she much desired to learn the receipt of her last letter to the Queen. I had both times very good words, and see by Lord James and Lethington that she likes well the Queen's letter, "which she purposethe to use moste secretly." As time and occasion serve, I will make means to know her own mind. By my last your honour will understand "the verie trewe occasion of the wache," now no more talked of. Nothing since of importance—the Duke arrived on the 15th, Arran remains in Dunfermline. Bothwell sent the Duke an assurance for the time of this Convention; the Duke refused it, and sent him word it became him little to send assurance to him that was his better. "He rejected hys wrytinge and wolde not subscribe yt." I see no likelihood of further "adoe" between them. The Duke is not "quareleus," and the other stands "in dowte inoughe" of himself. The proclamation also inhibits all such at this time.

Yesterday M. de Moret departed from this town to Seton "to his bedde." He goes in journey, and I trust my letters shall be with you before him. We first met on Leith sands at the running of the ring, and soon made acquaintance, talking of divers things. He spoke much and well in praise of the Queen's Majesty, her court and country. That was all he did here, or things are kept secret. He was only sent from the Duke of Savoy "to congratulate her saulf retorne, and to signifie unto her of the ingrossement† of the Dukes wyf, to confirme her what he coulde in her opinion touchynge religion,

* *i.e.*, mourning. † Pregnancy.

Elizabeth.
1561. "which he dyd bothe in worde and deade more to hys shame and discredyt then ever he shall gette honour of hys viage." Our next meeting was in the Queen's chamber in her sight. "I lamented and pyttied to see suche a princesse of suche yeres unmaried, and merrilye asked of hym what good newes he had broughte her grace from some noble prince or other of mariage"? The bruit then was he came to prefer the Duke Nemours' cause to her, or "the Duke of Florence (I knowe not whether he be maried or not)." He said he was no fit man for such affairs; and by his talk I saw he had not seen Nemours long before his departure, yet showed good affection to him, wishing him no less honour than a Queen to his wife. The Queen took him well, and the Marquis made him very welcome; better liked than M. de Foix among the French. M. de Crock accompanied him always, and he lodged at Lord Robert's house beside the Court. He received at his departing a chain of 30 ounces, I hear, and 3 geldings. Bonart is also gone with him, he hopes for a gelding or two in England. I have written by him to your honour, to no such purpose as I care what becomes of my letters, nor that you should weigh him above his deserts. The Queen has written "her owne haude" to the Duchess of Savoy: if there be any matter of Monsieur Nemours, it is rather in credit than writing. When marriage is talked of, she says "she wyll nonother howsbonde" than our sovereign. "He is righte nere abowte her that hathe oftayne tymes harde her speake yt, 'I desyer that yt maye be in perfet neighbrode, seinge it cane not be in perfet mariage.'" I have received your letters of 4th instant, and pressed this day for access to the Council touching Lord Dacres and Maxwell. He is willing it be heard, and offers to be held a traitor if Lord Dacre's account of him be true. When heard you shall be advertised.

Lethington's letter which I should have had to-day will come to you with next, also a letter from the lords to her Majesty on return of the hostages. I write a word or two touching Glencairn and Monteith, whose necessities I know are so great, that they cannot pay the charges of their sons if licensed to return. Lethington, I know not on what assurance, promised these should be borne,—though not plainly spoken to me yet, it is "muttered" among them. The rest are well able, but these are most to be pitied, as godly, friendly and honest above many.

As it pleased her Majesty to grant licence to this Queen for 6 or 8 geldings, Lethington prays you be a mean that they be 15 or 16 at least—as he deducted 4 of those I was desired to write for,—seeing this is her first request since her home coming, and entrance on amity.

I delivered your "Oration" to Lord James who thankfully accepts it, as you shall know from himself. I desired him to report to this Queen the apprehension of Linneroles, doubting not he has. I reported it to Lethington. Thus I take leave, desiring God long to preserve your health, with his gifts, to set forth the renown of your native country, where you have deserved no small praise by your last act as reported here, "in the newe fundation of St Johns."

3 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Dec. 21. **1052.** CHATELHERAULT, &c., TO ELIZABETH.

By the last treaty at Berwick between the Duke of Norfolk in

Elizabeth.
1561. your name, and some of us, it was "capitulat" that we should enter pledges in your realm, to remain during the marriage between the King of France and our sovereign, and one year after. The marriage being now dissolved and the year complete, it may please you to order your officers to set the pledges at liberty, we "outredding" their charges. Edinburgh. *Signed*: James Hammylton, Ar^{d}. Ergyll, James Stewart, Alex^{r}. Glencarn, Menteht.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.

Dec. 26. **1053.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I wrote to you the 15th instant with letters sent to Lord Grey at Berwick. Till I hear from you with answer to these, I delay the Queen my sovereign's answer to the Queen's Majesty's last letter, "for I wilbe glade to worke by your advis," and doubt not but intelligence and mutual conference by our letters, shall serve both their Majesties to good purpose, and specially increase their amity, whereof both seem most desirous. "Write me" plainly your mind what answer is most convenient—"by me you know my maistres intention, and by long experience, how youris must be dealt withall." Persuade her Majesty sometimes to write with her own hand—be the letters never so short or of small moment, her highness will much esteem them, coming from thence.

We are here in a corner of the world, separated from the society of men, and so do not hear what others are doing abroad. I would crave the favour when you receive letters from France, Spain, &c., to make one of your men extract for me what you think convenient, whereby I may satisfy my desire to know the common state of Christendom. I hear some whispering that the nobility of "that realme" is assembled—if for the purpose we hear "noysed," pray let me know if you think anything ought to be sent or written from us.

You remember the time of our pledges' continuance with you is fully run out. Some of my lords presently write to the Queen's Majesty, that it may please her to release them, as I doubt not her highness will do under the covenants—for though they continue no more, I trust her Majesty shall ever reap the fruit of her benefits. Lack of leisure I am assured is the cause I hear not so often as I wish: if it serve, I pray you let me hear oftener. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1½ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Dec. 31. **1054.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

"all my formar requestes." All things here, praised be God, are quiet, as "M^{r} Randolph doth well enforme yow." You find fault with my short and seldom writing, and yet this is the 5th letter I have written this month, viz., one on 7th, on 15th, on 26th, and on the 27th before this. Give my commendations where they are due. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

½ *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecil): "Ult. Decembris 1561. L. of Ledyngton." *Only the concluding part of a letter.*

Elizabeth.
1561.
Dec. 26.
Egerton 1818, fol. 15.

1055. LORD JAMES TO LORD R. DUDLEY.

"Your gentle ansuear unto that my wrytting sent by my lord grande prieuris servand, tuiching my lord Marqws Delbuiffis horses, I laitly receaved by the handes of Thomas Randolphe"; and saw that as I was bold in my request, you had taken more pains than I would have desired, so render you most hearty thanks. I also understand the favour shown by the Queen to those gentlemen that passed lately through her realm, which as I am assured being for my sovereign, I doubt not such mutual offices shall kindle that affection "which natuir hayth planted in one bluid amangis so neir cusynesses as thai be, and augment the freindship and luif which must spring of the lyklyhode of these two princesses so excellent in dyvers gyftes of natuir."

The great favour shown without measure to these personages that took the pain and hazard to convoy our sovereign to her realm, so plainly manifests the Queen's affection to her highness, that it needs no explanation, and has so much moved my sovereign, that as we never looked for such, the like shall be found on her part. I must desire you in all time coming, to make account of me as one of your "most special," whom you may command in all things, that may stand with my duty to my sovereign. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Stewart.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed* (*as before*). *Indorsed:* "Dec. 1561. The Lord Ja. Regent." *Wafer signet: the Scottish lion and tressure* (*unabated*).

Dec. 27.
Cotton. Calig., B. x., fol. 205.

1056. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

This is the only notable matter resolved on at this Convention, among divers propounded. On the 22d the "Churche" offered to the Council a supplication with humble suit to this Queen (1) to put away "her masse" herself, and out of her realm; (2) to establish the Book of Reformation and Discipline; (3) that order be taken for sustentation of the ministers; and (4) that known open and manifest papists, enemies to religion, be removed from the Session. These being weighed, &c., the request for the ministers was thought most reasonable, yet they would travail with her grace for the rest. After many days' consultation was accorded, *invitis et repugnantibus Episcopis*, that bishops, abbots, priors, &c., should "departe yearlye from vij partes of their lyvinges, wherof iiij shalbe imployede to the mayntaynance of preachers, fyndinge of schollers, and supportinge of the poore, and the other iij to the increace of the Crowne, or more yf neade be (for those are the wordes!)" The 24th of next month they are appointed to bring in their "rente rowles" truly, on pain of imprisonment. The Act is subscribed by all the lords temporal present, and ratified by the Queen, and the Convention is dissolved. The papists storm, now thinking the meeting of the Queens will overthrow mass and all, which yet she keeps as solemn as ever, not sparing "her masse upon Chrystmas daye in the mornynge before daye!"

There was of late some disorder in the town. Arran is known to have had company of a "good handsome wenche" a merchant's daughter. Whether it was suspected he was privily here, or that "the Marquis" hearing of her, wished to see her—he comes with Bothwell and Lord John, "in a maske" to the house, and they were received

Elizabeth.
1561. the first night. Next night they were not admitted, and in despite broke open the doors and did some other discourtesies. On complaint next day to the Queen, she sharply reproved the doers. Bothwell and Lord John hearing this, in very contemptuous words "swhore" that next night they would do the like, in despite of any friend to that house "that wolde saye naye." These words were thought meant for better men, and at 9 o'clock p.m. divers of the Duke's servants assemble in jack and spear in the market place; Bothwell in his lodging gathering his friends—both parties increasing, the Duke's growing great. The town assembles at sound of the common bell, and the news flies to Court, whence came Lord James, Argyll and Huntly, and on proclamation that all men depart on pain of death, "within one half hower after ther was never a man seen." Coming from Court I found great courtesy, those on the street convoyed me to my lodging; and the Provost sent 20 honest townsmen to keep my house. Whatever was purposed, "I thoughte yt as myche wysedome for me to beholde them owte of a wyndowe as to be in their compagnie."

Next day the Duke and Bothwell being sent for to Court, the protestants convoyed the one and the papists the other. To avoid cumber, Bothwell leaves town till 8th January, and we are since in quiet, unless the bishops work mischief to save their livings.

I send you the lords' letter to the Queen's Majesty as to the hostages—wherein they hope by your means for speedy answer. Most say, though their sons return, their hearts remain. Though their charges have not been great, they are more than divers of them can long sustain. They all commend their service to the Queen, the Duke in special; he has had good words of this Queen, and goes home in hope to enjoy her favour. She would willingly take up the controversy between Bothwell and Arran, it is said; but as I see, Bothwell is in more doubt of Ormistoun and his friends than of the other.

It has been told me that Arran makes his way again to France, and spoke secretly with M. de Foix when here. I hear for certain that he was this last night here very secret—for what I know not, exeept to speak with some friend that might not come openly to him.

Some part of this Queen's mind to the Queen's Majesty's last letters to her, you shall know by Lethington's writings, which I send herewith, as also a letter from Lord James to yourself, and one to Lord Robert, with one from the Master of Maxwell and another to the Master of the "Rowles," with his defence against Lord Dacre.

Lord Robert was married upon "Sondaye was viij dayes,"* to Cassillis' sister, and my Lord John upon "Sondaye nexte"† to Bothwell's sister; not here in Court, "but wheare the women are at their frendes howses."

There is nothing I call to mind but a poor cause of my own. Within those 3 days I had a letter from the treasurer of Berwick, that since the 25th August he never had warrant to pay me anything, nor heard but by me, of my allowance augmented from that day; so these 4 months I have not had "one grote" of him. He says what is due me must be paid from Exchequer. Your honour can consider my life here without money! I pay above 20 in the 100 for what I borrow. The

* Dec. 13 (?) † Jan. 3 (?)

Elizabeth.
1561. treasurer promised to lend me 40*l.* or 50*l.*, which will not pay half my debts. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

1561–62. Jan. 1. **1057.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

Your honour knows what occasion of favour stands between the Master of Marischal and me, wherefore I trust you will take in good part my desire that order be taken either by the ministers of the Borders, or by indifferent men of both realms, whereby his reasonable ransom may be fixed. He is driven thereto, being continually called to enter to his great trouble and vexation. The several claimants for his ransom, when it is "anis sett" as above, and consigned in neutral hands, may debate their rights—but this need not stay his delivery in this time of so good intelligence between the realms.

M^r^ Randolph has let me know some part of your letter to him, whereby I give your honor hearty thanks for remembrance—and am "not ane lytill rejosyt to knaw your honour so fervent as nou to exhort him to the religion, whome uther tymes you haif taking for to precise ane Protestant; and yit do I prayse your wisdome or rather experience heirin, that wyisly doyth weye the alteration of occasiounis, and what harme hant of Court and great affayres bringeyth unto ane religious hart! Quhilk hart God mot augment and strenghten in ws boyth." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James Stewart.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 2. **1058.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the 28^th^ I received your letters of 21^st^ December and next day delivered to this Queen the letters therein addressed to her grace —and whatever she found, she gave "in the tyme of the redinge" sufficient occasion for all that stood about her to think she was well enough pleased with the contents. She has herself answered the Queen's Majesty's letter, also your honour's, willing me to write she was much beholden to you. She was well pleased to see Monsieur Linnerols' confession, thinking it rather a "purgation" of the Duke Nemours, than anything his adversaries may "wrythe"* against him. She speaks "that waye" affectionately enough. She asked me whether it came to your hands from Sir Nicolas Throckmorton or the French ambassador? I said I knew not, but as like the one as the other. She thinks what comes from the French has more probability, than if by other hands. He is thought not evil affectioned to her friends, and therefore nothing pleased at M. de Foix succeeding him, as said here. I had other purposes with her that day, both before her mass, as after, long walking in the garden — also with "the Marquis," whereof I have written to her Majesty.

Your honour so well considers what is necessary for the amity, that I need add no more to what I wrote in my late letter—"but that whear I then touched yt in one worde or two, ther are maynie godly and of the greateste, that by your meanes had thought to have made their sute unto the Quenes Majestie, to have regarde unto that,

* Twist?

Elizabeth.
1561. "and to have had farther pyttie upon them nowe beinge in lyke parell, thoughe not so nere as then theie were." Herein I am now able to resolve them, and put them out of much care: assuring you there is not one "so nere unto her, that wolde wyshe that she sholde receave farther kyndnes then myghte be measured with the lyne of the trewe knowledge of Chryste." This is since receipt of your letters, "commende of betwene her grace, the Lord James and larde of Lidingeton." More good will likely come of this than either of the two can yet tell how. Your honour knows Lethington's judgment by his letters, and Lord James does and will earnestly persist therein.

The troubles amongst us seem all "peaced"; Bothwell is moved by some to own his "fayle" to Arran, as far as a man can do with honour. Arran seems willing to lead a quiet life, but finds himself so injuriously done to, that he sees not "indyfferent" conditions. Lord James and Argyll will shortly commune of the means; "the issue wylbe nothynge, and the hatred I see is immortall." Bothwell seeks but to have a quieter and better life in Court, the other scarcely finds to whose hands he will commit his cause. This is told me to have been the occasion of his last secret visit to this town, when he spoke only with Argyll, and is now with his father at Hamilton. It appears to me there was some ground for the sudden "troble" in Court, for it is secretly known that some "unadvised" words had passed Arran, as, 'Whye is yt not as easye to tayke her owte of the Abbaye, as ons yt was intended to have byne done unto her mother?" This was said not long before his crossing the water, though few with him—his father and friends being on this side, and order for Forbes, &c., to follow, made the suspicion not "vayne"; though it was impossible, unless he had brought a cannon on his back, and shaken 500 good soldiers out of his sleeve! She has now 12 halberdiers, but purposes to add as many—Captain James Steward is their leader.

For Lennox, I hear the Queen will do nothing without the Queen's Majesty's privity.

For her going to England, "howe, when," &c., your honour knows Lethington's judgment, who rules these matters to the best end. Of this Queen's direct dealing herein, I have often been frank with Lord James and Lethington, that seeing the weal, profit, gain, honour, &c., shall be hers, there should be no more "precysnes" in seeking it, than difficulty in the Queen's Majesty yielding to what may be for her honour and weal of both realms.

I showed this Queen how effectually the Queen's Majesty dealt with the ambassador in "demenysshinge" the Duke Nemours' case: and she heard with good will. I spared not to let her know that in her favour the Queen's Majesty "myght forbear that towardes her uncles, that other princes wolde hardlye do." She answered 'As then the tyme was other then yt ys nowe, so are all our cases'; hoping the Queen should not repent it.

I made your commendations to Lord James, whose letters also I send. He is in religion most constant and of his word most assured. As you commanded, I desired this Queen not to look always for the Queen's Majesty's letters "in that hande," but sometimes in another more familiar to her "or les paynefull to wryte." She said she was ashamed of her own, in comparison of that "that she saye [saw?] in hers," but nothing from her Majesty should not be welcome. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

Elizabeth.
1561–62. Mr Hedelye has been here on some private suits of "my lord" [Grey?] touching Lord Gray of Scotland, and Border matters. He spoke with the Queen's grace, and was satisfied in all his requests.

4 *pp. Holograph. Flyleaf and address gone.*

Jan. 4. **1059.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Having heard a report that my uncle "Monssieur de Guisse" is to be at the Court of France the 15th of this month, I despatch this bearer to him with my news; but as it is long since I heard from him, and know not the cause of his coming, I am in some anxiety lest it give his ill willers opportunity to make a disturbance or do him some mischief [ou luí dresser quelque trousse].

So I can do no less than employ the credit of all my good friends, of whom I hold you the first, praying you to cause your secretary to recommend your ambassador in France, to confer privately with the bearer, or my uncle, if he needs any help, as you would he did for myself. You see, my good sister, that as you assured me you would take it in good part, I speak frankly to you, as I would you did to me on like occasion. And credit the bearer in what he says from me. Seton. *Signed:* Marie R.

1¼ *pp. French. Autograph; also address:* "A la Royne dangleterre Madame ma bonne Sœur." *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "4 Januarij 1561. The Scottish Quenes privat lettre to the Quenes Majesty."

Jan. 5. **1060.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Whereas by your letters of 23d November, we understand that our answer given to Sir Peter Mewtas, as he reported it, is not so satisfactory as ye looked for: we cannot imagine any lack therein. As our meaning is and has been sincere and upright, we so tempered our answer as we thought might well stand with your content, and quietness of us both: wishing to that end that the treaty might be reviewed by some commissioners sufficiently authorised on both parts—whereto you have in your letter "opponed" such a just and necessary consideration, that the world shall not by our dealing by open assembly of ambassadors, judge that the amity is not sound, but in some points shaken or erased. This we well allow and take as a plain declaration of your good mind, and token of your natural love to us. Therefore where ye think it better we should either communicate privily to Randolph your servant, or rather by our own letters to you, the just causes moving us to stay the ratification, we willingly embrace "that same," and presently mean so plain to utter our mind to you, that ye shall well perceive the memory of all former strange accidents is "clere extinguisshed" on our part, and that now without reservation we deal frankly with you in such sort as is convenient for two sisters professing such firm amity to treat. We leave to touch in what time the treaty was passed—by whose command, by what ministers, how authorised, or the sufficiency of their commission—though the least of these is worthy consideration—but will only touch that head which is meet for us to provide, and on your part not inconvenient, but such as in honour justice and reason ye may well allow. How prejudicial that treaty is to such title and interest

Elizabeth.
1561–62. as by birth and natural descent of your own "lynage," may fall to us, by inspection of the treaty ye may easily perceive, and how slenderly a matter of so great consequence is wrapped up in obscure terms! We know how near we are descended of the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to make us as it were a stranger from it! We trust being so near your cousin, ye would be loth we should receive so manifest an injury as "all utterly" to be debarred from that title which in possibility may fall unto us. We will deal frankly with you, and wish that ye deal friendly with us. We will have no judge at present of the equity of our demand, but yourself. If we had such a matter to treat with any other prince, there is no person whose advice we would rather follow,—such is the account we make of your amity, and opinion of your uprightness in judgment, that though the matter partly touches yourself, we dare adventure to put much in your hands, and will require nothing of you but what we could find in our heart to grant to you, if the like case were ours. For that treaty, so far as concerns us, we will do all that in reason may be required, or rather enter into a new one, such as may stand without our prejudice, in favour of you and the lawful issue of your body; provided that our interest to that crown, failing yourself and the said issue, may be put in good surety. Whereon the matter being so knit up, and all seed of dissension uprooted, we shall present to the world such an amity as has never been seen. We having written thus to show "the bottom of our mynde nakedly," trust to be answered in like fashion. Under our signet. Seton, 5th January, 20th of our reign. Marie R.

3¼ *pp. Official copy. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Jan. 5. **1061.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

Though my purpose was to have delayed the Queen my mistress's answer to the letter sent by yours of 23d November, till I had received your answer to mine of 15th December, yet seeing by yours of 20th December, that if we begin not betimes to fall to work, time will not serve, I have advised her Majesty to answer as you will see. Wherein if anything has been neglected—"more or les spocken then aneugh"—it will be reformed on your advice. My mistress has directed this bearer Montaignac one of her gentlemen and "escuyers descuyrie," purposely to France, as her uncle M. de Guise is to be at Court on 15th instant, and sent by him a letter to your sovereign written with her own hand, craving her highness's favour by her ambassador, that may stand her uncle "in steede," which pray procure at "your utermost," and persuade her Majesty to answer the bearer gently "as she well can," whereby he may "advertis bak in the best sort." For her Majesty's frank offer of good will shall not only lay his mistress under a further obligation, but bind the Duke himself to requite it with offer of his service. The gentleman will give you his letters to be sent back—which I pray we may receive by your means with speed. Seeing these two princesses are "thus far entred in amity," I pray you let us not "weary to pousse fordwart" till they have met, when I doubt not one of them shall so govern the other, that they shall thereafter need no mediators; "and then will I say *Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine!*" If you think this matter

Elizabeth.
1561–62. should be prosecuted by special messages rather than by writing, it shall be followed as you advise me. But as I know in that case her Majesty will always employ me therein for one, "and that no excuse wilbe admitted, I pray yow let me tak no voyage on hand, onelesse the succes may fall out according to my desire, for I list not alwayes travell in oncertaynetees—he that will alwayes hasard, must sometymes lose." Whatever advancement comes to me, I take the beginning and root to spring from you, for your favour has ever stood me in more stead than my own means. I boldly ask you to finish the building you have begun in me. I have willed the bearer to address himself to you, and given him "esperance" you will present him to the Queen, and pray you favour my request. If anything "hard to be digested" ever pass betwixt their two Majesties at any time, let us first confer by letters plainly, and our credit I trust shall make it easy. Seton. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

You shall presently receive your letter of 10th November, which you wished returned by any trusty man.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Jan. 5. **1062.** THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO [THROCKMORTON].

As her good sister the Queen of England has offered that he shall do what secret service he can in France towards her uncles, she prays him to "embrace the besines" with the care and diligence he shows in other affairs. Seton. Marie R.

½ *p. Contemporary copy. Indorsed* (by Throckmorton?): "The Coppie of the Quene of Scotlandes lettre to me," &c.

Jan. 14. **1063.** ELIZABETH TO MARY.

The bearer hereof St Colme, on his return from France finding by Montegnac, &c., his mistress's longing to hear of him, passes in all haste to Scotland. She therefore cannot reply to the letters received the day before by Montegnac on Mary's negotiation with Mewtas, nor can she send her portrait as desired, the "party" that should draw it being sickly and unable "to sett it out"—but both these shall be despatched as soon as they may. Thanks her for another autograph private letter, and has given Montegnac special letters to her ambassador in France.

1 *p. Corrected draft by Cecill. Indorsed.*

Jan. 15. **1064.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

Your letter of 3d January mentioned my former, but nothing of what answer should be made to the Queen your sovereign's letter. How is the answer made by mine to you with Montaignac taken? If misliked, the fault is mine, yet I meant well. The intention of the Queen my mistress is always "just and sincere." My great desire to see their two Majesties joined in a "strayte knot" of friendship, and thus the continued quietness of their realms, makes me enterprise more boldly than my well willers wish, "and to hasard so moche, as my best frendes require in me discretion and more care off

Elizabeth.
1561–62. my selff." The matters betwixt them are such as may not be communicated to many, so I am forced to take on me the whole advising of my mistress, without the assistance of any with whom I dare freely confer, but only my lord James; for some who have received greatest benefits from the amity of England, have not the greatest desire for some private reasons, to see assured friendship betwixt their two Majesties. Since I first entered "in any trade off publik actions," I have ever been a minister of peace, and bent myself that way, as a thing pleasing God and most profitable to both. "He who searcheth the secrets off hartes knoweth the treuth off my meaning." I will not yet weary, but go forward without respect of danger: yet you can well judge how dangerous it is to counsel a young princess on matters of such consequence—specially where calumniators may find ample matter to misconstrue a man's doings. "The nature off the world is commonly to mislyke those things wheronto they be not prevey; and for that they juge rather the counsell by thevent, they do examyne the soundnes theroff if maters fall not out aryght, then to fynd falt with the counsell! it may be that yow have er now had some experience off this"? By your letter you are "something offended" that in this matter I would have you "aventour" to write! When last with the Queen your mistress, I understood it was her mind, that for secrecy and bringing matters to good end, before uttering them to the world, that you and I should write freely to each other thereon. On my return, my mistress approved of it, and I have since continued "that trade," thus making me bold to crave your advice and to write plainly as I do. "We shoot both at one scope," union of this isle,—and should not deal as strangers, one seeking advantage of the other, but rather go forward to the consummation of that work which we both wish were finished. You see my meaning, so pray judge it favourably, and be not offended if I continue the "formar trade"—I trust your sovereign will not take it ill, nor yet mine. "Many things may pas betwix ws two upon theyr knowlege, which neyther off them both will for the first face write to thother." Once again write plainly to me what you would have spoken or done on our part, to what end, and what hope you have of success. It shall be used as you direct, and communicated to none other. You know the furthest point we demand, and how far we will go towards yours—so that the matter be accorded, we will not stick for forms or ceremonies. If the Queen's Majesty can be "conformable" in the purpose itself, I trust my mistress may be induced "to suyte it in soche sort as yow will devise," and not stand too much on reputation; for I see the love of your mistress has so possessed the heart of mine, that she wishes her as much honour as herself. To be plain: unless "the other poynt" follow the interview, I see not to what purpose it can serve, but rather hurt than do good. "Mary! if thentrevew must be the meane whearby the other shalbe obteyned, then I trust we will neyther spare letires nor embassadouris to that effect."

Lennox's practices here shall do no great harm, I trust—so I was answered yesterday by the Queen, when I mentioned them. I thank you for the summary of advertisements, though not so ample as I could wish, having no word of France. Few things pass there, but we hear in time,—but it would be a singular pleasure to hear first by you. Command your man not to omit France. Till receipt of your answer to the despatch which Montaignac carried, I can resolve

Elizabeth.
1561-62. nothing. I thank you for the advice on our papists, which has yet been "metly" well followed—they have obtained no great advantage since the Queen's arrival—to be plain, they are in a great deal worse case than before. I thank you for your gentleness to this bearer, and still commend his case to you. Your countrymen will not like your favour already, but pity to a stranger is pleasing to God. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

3½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Jan. 15. **1065.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since my last, I have had little to write. In this Christmas time all men have given themselves to pastimes and mirth—in this Court "comlye and good inoughe." All suits ceased, and every man given to that he likes best. Foreign news none, and our own scarce worth reporting.

On Sunday last* Lord John's marriage with Bothwell's sister, was honoured with the Queen's presence at Crichton; much good sport and pastimes "I here saye ther was." Next day the Queen was with Lord Borthwick. Lord James, notwithstanding the unkindness with the "Erle"† about hurting the Laird of Ormestoun, was there by the Queen's command. His "pagient" is next with Earl Marshall's daughter: the day appointed on "Shrove Sondaye,"‡ and the marriage kept at Court. I doubt not that many will do him honour; the Queen likes well his wife, and his choice in my opinion to be preferred to any of his other brethren before him. Men now begin to wish the Queen might be next, though they hear of no fit person, nor see appearance: where they most desire, her "fantasie" is furthest off. In a day or two she purposes to be at Lythcow for 8 days, and here again at the Convention on 24th instant. Then we look for the utter overthrow of the Pope's ministers, despite all their practices to the contrary since last Convention, to frustrate the late decree against them. The only lords of Council of their part are Huntly and Atholl: the one has utterly lost credit, the other can do them no good. The Duke is purposed to give Arran a sufficient portion of his lands to maintain "an honeste port." I think this Queen will be as well content with that, as to let him go back to France, which is not yet "owte of his heade." If he seek it otherwise than by her advice, she will hinder it what she may, and do him what displeasure she can—so is it said. One is looked for to him from France; his councils are too patent, and of that he will never be broken. I keep credit with him as I may, avoiding suspicion of doing anything further than I have charge.

It is reported the Scottish men at arms shall be levied again in France: Lord Seton makes great labour here with the Queen to be their chief: a young man late from France could report little. What pleased this people best, was a Frenchman coming through England to call "the Marquis" home: if so, it is beside his determination—for he said to me (as assuredly as though the day were appointed) he would be at the meeting of the two Queens. He said also he has sent to France for armour "to ronne at the tylte." His running at

* 11th January. † Bothwell? ‡ Quinquagesima, 8th February.

Elizabeth. 1561–62.

the "ringe" is very commendable, and I assure your honour, not many better than Lethington. I must not trouble you further in your weighty affairs with these trifles: yet cannot omit that the Master of Maxwell is nothing satisfied with Lord Dacre, and has of late written again; as the inclosed letters show, and what is done to keep them quiet till the Lords of the Queen's Majesty's Council by your good means, signify their mind therein. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph. Continued in the following number.*

Jan. 15. **1066.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

When I had ended my former letter, a new packet came from your honour with books and letters, which I despatched as directed; I need not doubt the excellency thereof, considering by whose means it came to light. "The argument so necessarie as none coulde be fetter for the tyme."

I have conferred with Lethington at length on those matters that you wrote unto him, and have required him as earnestly as I know it imports him, that he so deal with you that his sincere good will for amity appear, and persuade his sovereign "that all suspicion of doblenes" in her be utterly set apart, and such resolutions speedily taken, that they may appear to proceed from her own desire, rather "then leade therunto by persuations, as a chylde that ever dependethe upon her pedagogie."

I find in him great goodwill to "all godly purposes," but he says the danger is so great, and the event so uncertain, that it behoves him warily to proceed—for as the felicity shall be great, if success come of the two princesses meeting, so the least thing that frames amiss is his utter ruin. He finds no such maturity of judgment and ripeness of experience in high matters in his mistress, as in the Queen's Majesty, in whom both nature and time have wrought much more than in many of greater years; therefore thinks it harder dealing with her in these, "and the more parill to be thonlye autour, conseller, and perswader in so wayghtie a matter! Whoe is ther also with whome he maye so dieplye wade in these matters, as ether wyll tayk equale parte of the burdayne, or wyll not hastelye shyfte owte hym self, yf anye dysadventure arrive?"

He would therefore so proceed by your advice that that "myght be soneste imbraced" which were furthest off from danger, and best for both realms. We have disagreed in opinions—he looks for assurance in all things—"*Audaces*, I saye, *Fortuna juvat, et non fit sine periculo facinus* (sic) *magnum et memorabile.*" What can be more noble than this—who would not gather courage in hope of the issue? The King her father sought not so much "the gayne present," as the sight of him to whom he was so near of kin, though the sequel was greater than he conceived when he promised it. I think Lethington will write at length hereon.

I must be shorter in answer to your letter, for the bearer is in haste. Your honour likes better the diminution of the bishops' and others livings than augmentation of the Crown therewith: what can I say better than is written—*Merx meritricis, et ad meritrices reversa est?*" It is neither done from zeal to Christ's religion, nor

Elizabeth.
1561–62. hatred to the "viciusnes" of their lives that had it. If she did it for need, they themselves "to have inyoyed the whole, offered myche more." I find others besides the kirkmen not pleased. The Duke now begins to "grone," he must part from seven parts of Arbroath, the bishop of St Andrews from as much of his livings, the Lord Claude (the Duke's son in England) *futurus successor* to Paisley, also the seventh—the Abbot of Kilwinning as much—besides others of "that race"; so many a Hamilton "shall shortlye be torned a beggynge." I assure your honour I know not if this will make the Duke a papist again, "for nowe *conferunt consilia* the bysshope and he."

The bishops are so "intollerable licencius" that it was not to be endured, and no better way to plague them, than pluck at their livings by her in whom their whole hope and trust was! There is a merry tale that Cardanus the Italian took upon him the cure of the bishop of St Andrews of a disease judged by all incurable. He practised on him divers strange inventions, hung him certain hours a day by the heels, to cause him "awoide at the mouthe" what nature could not otherwise expel—fed him many days with "yonge whelpes," used him with extreme heats, and as many days with extreme colds. Before his departure, he "roundeth" daily for 6 days certain unknown words in his ear, and used no medicine after. It is said he then put a "dyvle" within him, for he has since been better, and that this "devell was geven unto hym of credyt but for ix yeres," which being near expired "ether he muste go to hell with his dyvle, or fawle agayne into hys olde myscheif to poyson the whole countrye with his falce practyses." In token of repentance, besides his old concubine "taken from her maried housbonde, then, he hath thys yere had (his dyvle I trowe was father to thone or bothe) a cople of chyldren." His bastard brother the bishop of Argyll has now 2 women with child besides his wife. "Of the byshope of Domblane, yt ys shamfull to speake yt, sparethe not his owne dawghter." The rest are alike. The prelates and clergy offered as much for one year as she has taken for herself, but it seemed less than this Queen now needs, her charges being great, and things extremely dear, herself brought up in that "licentius" country, where charges are measureless, "and we so accustomed unto those maners that nothynge lykethe us, that ys not as that ys." Therefore the wiser sort thought better "to be bolde upon the kyrkemen," than to take from her people or burden the realm.

Though the hostages were written for by those that sent them, I know others pressed the demand rather to try who favoured the country best, and by the answer it might be judged how other things are sincerely meant. This Queen was thus amply shown the necessity for sending them, whereby she now so freely possesses her own realm.

I wrote a word or two of Lennox in my last. To-day before her grace departed to Lythcowe, I spoke with her on Lethington's motion, who had made her grace privy to your letter to me. She said whatsoever Lennox intends, and comes to her knowledge, shall be advertised to the Queen's Majesty, and his persuasion against their meeting is contrary to her wish, if otherwise found good.

The occasion of Lord James writing to you for the laird of Barre, was "in respecte of the honestie of his father, and no suche cryme suspected, as he is nowe worthylye charged with." I also wrote by request, to Lord Grey and the Bishop of Durham to release him on

Elizabeth.
1561-62. bond to re-enter when called, so there is now more apparent matter to stop the suitors.

This Queen has written her own mind to the Queen's Majesty on the ratification of the treaty, as you know. She thinks she has good reason to stay it, which being weighed by the Queen's Majesty as occasion shall be, "so wyll she playnelye and sincierly wryte her mynde."

Your honour's purpose on the General Council must be "notably allowed of all godlye men." M. de Moret travailed with the Queen to send a man thither, but being willed to confer with Lethington, he otherwise persuaded her, little to the other's contentment. Both in that, and more apparent favour to be borne to the Duke Nemours, "he was more wylfull then resonable."

Her grace gave me as good words this day to the Queen's Majesty as ever I had: she likes marvellous well to hear of the quiet and obedience in the realm; is desirous to hear of France, whence of long time she has heard little, and longs sore for S^{t} Colme's return. She told me she saw those advertisements from divers parts beyond seas, and marvelled at none from France.

I have written to Argyll the news of "Shan Oneyle," and know he will be glad to hear. He has ridden to Glascowe to accord MacConel and Maclene that lately fell out about the slaying a man. I trust to hear from MacConnel touching Butheede; Argyll has promised his friendship therein. I see no cause for Sir Ralph Bagnall coming to the Borders, but rather to have some money ready. Argyll has taken on him to "dresse the cawse as my privat sute."

Lord James in many merry words requires me to make his commendations. He has more cause to thank you than many of his countrymen. He has promised on his honour to drink unto you in the Queen's presence, on his marriage day, and willed me to write for Tremayne to be here; and many more things I will not trouble you with. Edinburgh, "at nyght." *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

5 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Jan. 16. **1067.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

The "Maister off Maxwell" has oft and sore complained of Lord Dacres, not only as "ane evill justeciar," but also that he has reported more of him to my lords of your sovereign's Council than he can prove true. This is not allowed by my lord as a public officer: and how he has answered the Master on that point, you will judge by the copy of his letter which I trust M^{r} Randolph has sent. The Master of the Rolls knows most part of their doings. Lord Dacre's excuse contained two points—neither receivable. The former touching the Grahames' allegiance, himself appears to confess is untrue—the other, that the offenders of England must answer so many complaints amounting to so great sums, and have so little to demand, is so "impertinent," that it is shame for a prince's officer to speak it. "For the magistrat caryeth not the swerd in vayne," but for terror of offenders; and the more praise is it that our officer has so well contained those under his charge. The officers on our other frontiers have not been slack, but done more than was looked for—so much so, that when offenders could not be apprehended, gentlemen of worship their

Elizabeth.
1561–62. masters, have been entered for the offences, and the Queen herself has and must pay great sums of "her owne purs" for discharge of fyled bills. I pray you let not Lord Dacre's "frivoll" excuses take further place, but either he be ordered to make and receive full redress, or another officer be placed in his charge who will. "Yow know how onwilling a man the Maister off Maxwell is to beare long a manifest injury." M[r] Randolph has written to my lord Dacre to appoint a meeting; it were well some gentlemen were sent to assist his doings. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1 *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "16 Jan. 1561," &c.

Jan. 25. **1068.** ARGYLL TO [RANDOLPHE].

I received your letter, and if any pirates come to the west seas I shall do my diligence to stay them, not only as it is our sovereign's pleasure, but also you certify me it is the Queen of England's. I have communed with James MacConill concerning Butshyd, and offered him 100 "angellis"; he would not "condiscend" without 200, therefore the communing is continued till he comes to Edinburgh, where I shall travail further with him.

I thank you heartily for your "novellis" as to the expectation of the meeting of the Queens; "and wald be glaidlie content to los the hunting of Ergyll this symmer, and ferder to haif thair meting to tak sik effect as I luik for, quhilk I hoip in God it sall, to the glorie of his name, the confort of all thair subjectis, and tranquillite of thair realmis." Trusting to speak shortly with you in Edinburgh. Linlithgow. *Signed:* Your asswrit frind, Ar[d]. Ergyll.

½ *p. Address leaf lost.*

Jan. 28. **1069.** LORD JAMES TO CECILL.

Though he has no particular occasion to write, yet he cannot "pretermit" refreshing the memory of their happy acquaintance, and signifying his desire for the continuance of amity, wherein Cecill has been a chief instrument. Considers it to be the surest means to promote true religion through the whole isle. "Being (after my maneir in the same ship)," he writes that some discourse may be entered between them, "of the gude and evill, best aud worst of this mater." Linlithgow. *Signed:* James Stewart.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 29. **1070.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I have received your letter of 15[th] instant by my lord of S[t] "Cosme," and still look for your sovereign's answer to my mistress's last letter—not doubting it shall be as she expects. You think the matter of meeting "ower slyghtly passed ower, as off nether playnly moved, thogh they seeme both desirous, and yow think the first mocion must comme from ws." I see my sovereign so transported with affection, that she respects nothing so she may meet with her cousin; and needs no persuasion, but is a great deal more earnestly

Elizabeth.
1561-62. bent on it than her councillors dare advise her, having respect to the sequel, unless matters were so in the mean season digested, that they were assured of a good consequence in the end. It imports us her servants greatly, "and off all, most myselff," how to advise her in a matter of such moment. It is "in the selff" plausible, good, and comfortable to all, if brought to a good end," but (as God forbid) if it shuld fall owt amis, as it is like to dissolve the mutuall good intelligence and endanger the peax, so shall it not faill. greatly to discredite and disgrace those that have bene the chief promotars off the propos." I leave you to consider if my mistress, "offring so great reason, propounding so just a demande, bestowing in her meaning, actions, and intent, her whole love upon youris, neglecting or rather forgetting for the same to procure els wheare the suerty off her selff and her realme, shold find her selff frustrat in the end, and the succes nothing corresponding to her expectacion: in what part she myght take it, and what opinion she myght conceave off those that had bene ministres in the propounding off this accord." I touched these in my last sent to you by Grahame, and now write them for your judgment, what her councillors should advise her on the meeting—though herself most earnestly inclined thereto. We wish thereby their two Majesties be indissolubly united—if assured it shall produce such fruit—but if the accord "shall alwayes hang in suspens," and the interpretation of men's doings depend on an uncertainty, they will forbear to deal so frankly as they would. "I pray yow eyther let theyr two Majesties (as my maistres hath begonne) write frankly and playnely the one to the other, or els by theyr commandiment and upon theyr knowlege, let ws be plane with other, and begyn by tymes to digest theyr materis by our mutuall lettres, so that thay may draw to some conclusion; for my maistres I se evidently, her trust and confidence is no lesse in youris then she wer her naturall sister; she loveth her as entierly! She desyreth nothing so moche as ones to se her, and to that end will stick for no ceremonyes." But she must ask advice of her Council: and as I know and touched before, the opinions of those soundest and whom she will most trust, "will rest upon some assurance off thintended accord and hope off a finall end. This must comme from yow, and I think will be suyted as yow will devise." Now I will "merely" complain of yourself—"yow write alwayes to me parables—at least bref and derk sentences—and yow have experience off my simplicity, *Davus sum non Œdipus.* I wold be glade yow shold uter your selff onto me more playnly, I offer franknes on my part, and wishe that by your soveraygnes commandement, at least permission, I may fynd the counterpayne with yow." I was once determined to have written to the Queen's Majesty, wherein after excuse for my presumption, "I wold have complayned on yow," that though it pleased her highness to say to me, that by letters we should digest and put affairs hetween their Majesties in towardness, yet ("me thinketh") you forbear to deal liberally with me. Unless hereafter you "open" yourself more at large than hitherto, I will be "bold" to write thus. Yet I pray you keep on writing, "for I had rather ges at dirk lettres then have none"! You write that you found such "strangenes and nycenes" in S^{t} Cosme touching "thentervew," that you begin to doubt either that he has advice from France to alter it, or is against it himself. I assure you neither is true. It may be his "lack off through familiarity," or wish not to be busy in things not in his charge; but how-

Elizabeth.
1561–62. soever he spake with you, he is not evil affected—and the French will never dissuade her from your amity so far as stands with the surety of her own state, and by their letters to her they are greatly bound in service to your sovereign for her gentle usage. You know what personages of wit and judgment they be, and worthy to be kept in friendship. "Feare yow not that eyther Scottishe or Frenshe shall trouble the purpos intended, if the Quene your maistres wilbe conformable, and follow furth the trade begonne."

I most heartily thank you for the offer of sure conveyance for my mistress's packets, wherein you may be assured there shall be no matter "noyfull to your conceyte," as you write, nor prejudicial to the Queen, her realm nor yourself: "otherwyse I wer to incivill, and I mak not so small accompt off your friendship, that I will so lychtly haserd it." Our resolutions now depend on the answer to my mistress's last letters, which I pray you haste. I pray you remember my commendations where due, not forgetting my lord Robert and my lord of Penbroke. Linlythqw. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

The Queen commands me to direct this packet to you for safe conveyance through your ambassador in France to her uncles.

4 *pp. Holograph, closely written. No flyleaf or address.*

Jan. 30 **1071.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Having received by S^{t} Colme your letters of 15th instant, I am put in mind to write what I would otherwise have passed over in silence.

Of this Queen's affection to the Queen's Majesty, either it is so great that never was greater to any, or it is "the diepleste dissembled, and the beste couverde that ever was"! Besides the good words I have heard of her mouth, what she has written and caused others to write, her doings also testify her good will, as her charge of late to her border wardens to minister justice without delay, or "sutinge" truce days, &c., to redress on their "previe" information without an "advouer"—as yesterday she addressed letters to Cesford to give Lord Grey justice for 5 horses of his own lost, and could get no "advouer for them." I also do what I can with those nearest about her grace, to find if her disposition that way "be *ex natura aut ex industria*," and truly it passes my judgment and their wits "to conceave yt, or her meaninge is as her tonge utterethe yt, and as her hande wytnessethe." Hearing of late that Lord Grey had sent hither for a physician, it pleased her to offer to send her own; and when I was absent from the Court on "Twelf daye" being sick, next day she sent me her physician. I thus rather conjecture her meaning to be good, than suspect the contrary to what I both hear and see. I report to your honour as I find and conceive it, for your judgment, myself attending "the sequele, for *nihil simulatum diuturnum*."

Touching the Earl of Lennox, this befell: Lethington (by this Queen's consent) sent to me the Queen's Majesty's letter to her grace by S^{t} Colme, and your honour's to himself, requesting me to let her grace understand what I heard of Lennox, for it was said here that the Queen's Majesty had sent for him to Court. I answered as in your honour's letter—that he went of his own accord, on the apprehension of Lockarde the young laird of Barre. I understand that

Elizabeth.
1561–62. neither is there great account made of him, nor any of his advice will be followed for any thing to be done here by him, further than stands with the Queen's Majesty's pleasure. For Lord Darnley [Darlye] "to be playne with your honour, under correction, I beleve that she wyll never mache herself agayne with anye of his agee,* though no nother impediment were."

I have not yet spoken with S^t^ Colme, or know French news, but by report. He makes the best of all things, and would have it that it is better with the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal, than men can believe. He speaks much of the Constable's favour to them, and hopes they will not lack the Queen mother's good will. He is reported author of one thing which I will not conceal, though hard to believe—viz. that the Cardinal has persuaded this Queen to embrace the religion of England; it is common in men's mouths, many wishing it true, others think us "so farre from the marke," that they say, "as good never a whyte, as never the better." By my next, I shall have occasion to write further hereof, "by reason of some purposes that of late I have had with M^r^ Knox and other of our mynisters,—to be playne with your honor, as wylfull as lerned, which hartelye I lamente."

Of "thadvancemente of my lorde Roberte," the little time I have makes me omit what I could write of his good report "here" and worthiness. Whether it be his good fortune or deserts, I never heard better bruit or desire in men, than the best and wisest here, to see him preferred to the highest state of honour that ever any man of our nation was called to. Why I know not, but they think nothing too much for him.

Now having written on occasion of your letter, I will not spare as to occurrents since my last.

On the 17^th^, the 3^d^ day after the Queen arrived at Lythcow, thither came Arran from Kenele about 4 p.m. to present his service and acknowledge his duty. He was received of her grace very well "with a kysse bothe at metinge and departeur"—very good words between them, all to his contentation. He made three requests, all accorded to—(1) to be free of all cumber for intermeddling with the bishoprics of S^t^ Andrews and Dunfermline, (2) to have his father released of 6000*l.* Scots levied of the Queen's rents, when the ambassadors came to England, to thank the Queen's Majesty," &c., (3) that her grace would make him some state of living that he might better serve her. We look therefore shortly to see him great in Court. He tarried with her not above 4 hours, both before and after supper; and next morning departed towards Hamilton. Both his father and he will be at Lord James's marriage, and so continue in Court "as theie tayke in heade." The Duke is very desirous to have his son at home. I wrote to Arran as from myself that I thought it much for his father's honour, that his brother Lord Claude should give thanks "to the Quenes Majestie" &c. "*Antiquum obtinent*, as yt shall appere by his answer which herewith I sende unto your honour." The Duke purposes (if answer come not) shortly to send a servant to you. It is commonly said with no great sorrow, and written to me by Lethington, that the Marquis shortly goes to France through England.

This night the Queen arrived from Lythecowe. I know not what

* A bad forecast.

Elizabeth.
1561–62.

stayed her journey—but on Sunday * last she purposed to have been at Commernalde a house of Lord Fleming's and stayed 2 days. On Monday the whole hall fell down and 7 of 8 men in it were slain—the Earl Atholl, Lord Semple and others being at their pastime in the fields, had departed the house not 2 hours before. It is now again thought upon who is fittest to be sent from this Queen to attend on the Queen's Majesty for better intelligence. Of any I know, David Forreste is likeliest, and most desires; he is restored to his office. There is with her "one cawled M^{r} George Bowhanan, a Scottyshe man verie well lerned, that was scholle master unto Monsieur de Brisack sone, verie godlye and honeste," whom I judge fitter than any other I know.

Divers of the Popish bishops refused to bring in their rentals on the day appointed, 24th instant; so proclamation is made that whosoever fails between this and the 10th proximo, shall be put "unto the horne." I have received with yours, the letter of my lords of Council with the cause why their answer is not yet come as to the articles agreed between the Lord James and Lord Grey at Kelso, and will do as they order. It is greatly desired their honours' minds might be known to satisfy the Master of Maxwell touching Lord Dacre.

I am almost at a point with James MacConnel for release of Butsheade, as appears by his and Argyll's letters, which your honour will consider, and write your mind by the next. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

4 *pp. Holograph. No address leaf.*

Inclosed in the same:—

(Arran to Randolphe.)

I thank you "graitumly of your panis" in writing, and if the French news be "sa commonyd as ye say, I am swir we sall haif sum of thame." You are well informed of English news: and I would ye advertised me if it is true that the Earl of Lennox and his lady are both put in ward—for I heard it. For my brother "that wes pledge" in England, my father is "sa desyrous to see him, and siclyk be reason that he is nocht in ordours bot as ane scolar, he will nocht na ways that he past to the Court, bot wald haif him the sonest he could at hame." Hamilton, the 28th of January 1561. *Signed:* Yowrs alwais at his small powar, James Hammylton.

½ *p. Addressed* (to Randolphe as the Queen's agent). *Indorsed.*

Jan. 30. **1072.** JOHN WILLOCK TO RANDOLPHE.

"Grace and peace for salutacion."

You marvel at not hearing from me "all this while." You may judge I would have been glad to have heard from you. But my "barennes" was the cause—"excuse yow as ye maye." These 14 days past we have had a great convention of the "Irishe to agre Jamess Mackonell and Mackcleane," but they are parted without any agreement or "lyke" of it. So as my lord of Argile's friends think to

* Jan. 25th.

Elizabeth.
1561–62. travail with the Queen of England, that "he" * have no places of refuge on that side. He and his have of late slain 30 persons in their houses —and so far as I see farther mischief is begun.

I have received your book and thank you. "But for the lard of Barr his sonne, I am hartelye sorye that he haith so unwyselye usid him self." I mind to see you shortly, God willing. Glasgow. *Signed:* Johnne Willock.

¾ *p. Holograph; also address.*

Feb. 3. **1073.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

The Marquis Delbœuff returning to France has desired me to write that it may please the Queen by your means to grant passport, and commission for post horses for him and 25 in company. Being sorry if he were retarded, I pray you for it with speed. I leave to write on other matters till I hear from you, wherein I pray you write as plainly as you may. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

Feb. 4. **1074.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

This present day I was earnestly required by the Marquis Delbeuff, as was Lethington, to write to your honour for the Queen's safe conduct for him and 25 horses to pass to France, whither he is sent for with great expedition, for his wife is "mervileus" sick and like to die. He desires so much to be there, and we so well content to let him go, I trust his request shall not be stayed. He looks for it within 12 or 14 days, with some earnest charge to the Queen's officers to have him better served by the way. This is my chief occasion of writing, but I enclose a letter whereof you shall have further knowledge when I have spoken with Argyll, not yet arrived.

A pirate went to sea lately from Leith, towards Emden it is said: some Newcastle men suspected to have furnished him—the captain's name is John Smythe. It is "inhibyted" here that hides be sent out of the country for 3 years: I hear great store of English leather comes in at the Borders, and also great means made for our money, which I know not how to remedy. The "Apologie" is so well liked, that many are wished in this country, or some man able to set forth so profitable and needful a work. I have caused one to be given to the bishop of Rosse, and purpose to send another to the bishop of S[t] Andrews, not to do them good, which I know is "unpossible," but to "heape" mischief on their heads. Lethington will report anything else. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Feb. 9. Egerton, 1818, fol. 12. **1075.** EARL OF MAR, &C., TO THE LORD WARDEN OF EAST MARCHES, &C.

Understanding that our dearest friend Patrick lord Gray prisoner in England, is required to find sureties for his not "eschewing furth"

* MacConnel?

Elizabeth.
1561–62. of Northumberland, and Lord Grey of England being pleased to permit him, we James Stewart earl of Mar, William earl Marshal and John earl of Atholl, bind ourselves conjunctly and severally for the said lord Gray, upon our honours and "payn of repruif"—the said band to endure for six months following the date. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Stewart, Wyllyam erll Merschall, Jhon, erll of Atholl.

1 *p.* *Damaged at beginning, and warden's name lost.*

Feb. 9. Harl. 289, fol. 73. **1076.** THOMAS BYSCHOP TO CECILL.

"Being unlooked for charged witht slandarous and untrew instructions against the rule of honestrie: I have this last Setterday* sent in the cuntreye a servant of myne for some lettres to answer that infamie." I shall be well rewarded if your honour and one or two of the Council may be appointed "throoughtlie" to hear my answer, and doubting not to discharge myself, I shall then study to serve her highness without fear. Meantime I have drawn some special notes of my services, not for my "vane glory," but to declare my demeanour; which I most humbly desire your honour at "lasar" to read, and when ready, look to prove every point. Where in one article I am "twoched" with George Hammylton, if he were sent for by my Lord President "as no presonar," I think he will not only discharge the trifling objection, but also I shall thereafter cause him do good service "for thinges in hande, being in place wheare he may boetht heare and see, and knowetht more nor he dar sende worde"; at my cost only, for he shall have my gelding and servant to wait on him at my charges. "Written thys ix of Februarij 1561."

My special services in England.

At the "jorney" in Dunbarton Castle, on disclosing the treason against the King's Majesty and us, "openlie in the chapell, I willed thErle of Levenax tak a marrishe pyke," and fight rather than return with shame.

"For my harde eskaping, dowblett alone, witht my lyef," and my good policy after the betrayal, in preserving the King's power on land 8 miles from their ships, munition and victuals: "and the exploettes done at Arrane, Bewte, Dynnone in Argile," &c., for which I am "attented": at "Bullen I was embrased in the Kinges Majesties armes, witht wordes of conforte, before his hole previe counsale in his previe chambre": and had 25*l.* annuity, 200 crowns, many letters to the Council in England, and 10*s.* a day for diet abroad.

His Majesty besides all this (a little before his death) and after the breach with my lady Levenax, gave me and my heirs 20 mark land called Fangbye (?) "withoute sute," and caused tell me "I should be called to another vocation nor I looked for." If he had lived, all I received had been "butt triffilles."

His son King Edward, for my services under my lords Wharton and Dacre, specially "in tranyng thould erle of Glencarne" after his treason at Dunbarton, to this realm again—my service at the siege of Langhome by "the hole army of Scotlande," at Castelmylk and

* 7th.

Elizabeth.
1561–62. Annande, gave me in lease Newbyggyng beside Carlisle, worth 100 marks a year.

For the notable exploit done on Drumlanrig, "devysed by me" and executed by "Syr Hary Wharton" and me in the field, "therle of Levenax xvj myles from ws sleping in his bed"! I had 100 French crowns in reward, and the abbacy of Holywood, worth 1000 crowns a year. "I was at thys jorney, yf evill fortoun had chansed, betrayed to the Duke and Douagere by the proktour of Luce for ij^{c} crounes and a ferme of x*li.* a yeare."

For my service at Durisdeer [Dusdeare] where the Earl of Angus was chased and escaped with 5 men, my good advice in saving the wardenry, betrayed by the assured in that journey, Sir Hary Wharton was knighted: I was taken with the Earl of Arundel [Arrandale] to the King's closet at Westminster, who openly thanked me, promising reward, before the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell "my cuntrayemen, kissed his hieghnes hande; either of ws had in rewarde foure hundretht crownes a pece." Meeting the Duke of Somerset by appointment in his way to "Musselbrught feilde," tarrying a day at Newcastle, the forenoon in council, afternoon openly in his garden "from denner unto mete was apoun the table at nyght, conferred his hole entent witht me, understude my knowledge and intelligence, devysed at the same his entre and lyke invation upoun the west. After whose returne from Scotlande, to his deying daye ever used me in all affayres for Scotlande lyke a counsalour." I lost by his death 100 mark land promised. My advice at Shene to him and the Duke of Northumberland, stopped Lord Grey entering Scotland with 6000 men mostly horse, the flower of England—a journey devised by George Douglas to bring them "to the bowchery," as after well known.

From the Duke of Northumberland "in his latter tyme, I had the secrete garde of therle Boithvile" on the Marches, where he intended to "stollen away and brokin the pale, and for tranyng him from thense at the Counsales devyse to the Court: the secrete whereof to this houre I have kept from thErle of Levenax and him also."

Queen Mary, though Lady Levenax told her I was "an heretyke," gave me (unknown to her who would have had me forsaken) my pension anew, and to the end of her days trusted me in Scottish affairs, "wheare she dyd not her deare cousinge of Levenax"!

What "plattes," "bookes for knowledge," what "oratioes" for suppressing the French in Scotland, sent to the Dowager to damage me, yet remain, some with councillors, some with myself! As for allegiance to England: "yf I have not at my poore powar above all others my cuntraye men, been moste earnest, moste inventyve, moste cruell and carefull, to subverte that realme of Scotlande: lett our trumpett be blowen upoun the Marches," requiring any Scot or Frenchman to charge me! I seek not Scots to try my acts, but English noblemen under whom I have served.

Whenever the Earl of Lennox for intelligence, gave a crown to a spy, I have given "fourescore"! Wherever besides the prince's "dyet," to him 5 marks a day, and for that sometimes 8 servants under him, "spent one croun," I have spent of my own goods "franklie," 100*l.*! "Wheare my lady and he to the ewill brute of the cuntreye, haitht defaced castellis and manouris, and sould awaye the lede, tymbre, byrk [brick ?] and stones, and as I think never in

Elizabeth.
1561–62. "there dayes spent one hundretht markes in beilding; I have spent for planting me and my poore case eight hundretht markes and above! Noo mervelle seing Newbigging gotten away from me by Doctour Smytht deyne of Carlislie, Holywood, my cheif preferment, by the Scottes; the deatht of the two dukis my frendes; my displeasoures sustened for my dewitie by my lady Levenax above a thowsande poundes throought hir, and other wayes to long to resyte"! And that no man alive saw my sute in council for relief, though "I be some thing behynd the hande." Let my lord President inquire where I dwell, and elsewhere in England, if in honsekeeping, apparel, train of men, horses, "and all that belongetht to a jentilman," I do as my living will bear. Where of late the Earl has practised my slaughter in Scotland, where he knows I dare not go and no money will save me, for my service here, and as I hear has done the like in England; and now with "infamye untrewlie by his wyeffes procurement," goes about to "unable" me, I trust in my honest trial the Queen's Majesty will be as good sovereign to me as her gracious father my master was, and her predecessors have been: "whom without fear of my lady Levenax" or others I shall truly serve. *Signed:* Thomas Bischop.

3 *pp. Very closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

[*Possibly a P.S.*].—One Elder a Scot my acquaintance told me he had letters from my lord Obenye [Aubigny] to my lord of Levenax, lord Dernlie and I think, to my lady. In talks, he said lord Dernlie was much spoken of in France, and lord Obenye told him the King of Naverne asked him of lord Dernlie, his stature, age and upbringing? Elder said he showed the Queen of Scots in France, Dernlie's handwriting when 8 years of age. He seems to sue for his pension, and if he speed not, thinks he shall be welcome to the Scottish Queen. I know the man, and have gone no further with him yet. He might "be traited" a little in his despatch. He confessed he had 50 crowns at his departure from the Cardinal of Lorraine. He has wit to play the spy where he list.

Feb. 12. **1077.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I have received your letters of the last of January, with 2 pacquets for this Queen, and such news as it pleased you to give to Lethington and me. For answer—what judgment so ever you have that the Queens' interview will grow cold, except it come hotter from hence—either by this time your honour knows from hence how earnestly this Queen desires it, or else you must by your good counsel help our judgment, that are "all moste at our wyttes endes" to know how it may be brought to pass. Your letters to Lethington are earnestly looked for: he trusts as well in your advice as his own wit. For procuring the sentences of divorce, "in that matter your honour wrytethe of,"* I will use the best means and diligence I can; but it is hard, for only the "Clerke of the Regester" has them to whom I am not very "sibbe." It is not lamented that I can hear of any, "no not of the beste," that the Earl of Lennox is prisoner, he deserves as well here, as where he is. It is yet unknown to many very near about the Queen that he had a servant at Stirling with her; I know

* Between the late Queen Margaret and Angus.

Elizabeth.
1561–62. his friends have little hope that he or his shall get great good here. The more blame he lays [lathe] to Lord James, the less likelihood has he ever to do any good at this Queen's hands. Thus much to your letter, for this bearer will report what he has heard and seen at this "notable mariage of the Erle of Mar." One thing I can certify with my own hand, viz.—"that upon Shrove Twesdaye at nyght, syttinge amongest the lordes at supper in the syght of this Quene, placed for that purpose, she dranke unto the Quenes Majestie, and sent me the cuppe of golde which waythe xviij or xx unces." After supper in giving her Majesty thanks, she uttered in many "effectueus" words, her desire of perpetual amity, and talked long with me thereon in hearing of the Duke and Huntly. I thought it my duty to signify this for your honour to report to the Queen's Majesty.

Things remain in their wonted sort. Our Papists greatly mistrust the meeting: our Protestants as greatly desire it. "Our preachers, to be playne with your honour at one worde, more vehement then dyscryte or lerned, which I hartely lament. The lyttle brute that hathe byne here of late, that thys Quene is advised by the Cardinall to imbrace the religion of Englande, makethe them ronne allmoste wylde; of the which theie bothe saye and preache, that yt is lyttle better then when yt was at the worste! I have not so amplye conferred with M^r^ Knox in these matters, as shortlye I muste; whoe upon Sondaye laste * gave the crosse and the candle suche a wype, that as wyse and lerned as hym self wysshed hym to have hylde his peace! He recompenced the same with a mervilus vehemente and persinge prayer in thende of his sermonde, for the contynuance of amytie and hartie love with England."

Arran came to this feast, and on the day of marriage "shewde" to the Queen both dinner and supper. Next day he fell sick, and so continued the whole time of the "triumphe"; some say, as much from misliking as any other disease. I have had little conference hitherto with him, and fear we shall grow over strange for such as have been so well acquainted—"*Nemo lœditur nisi a seipso*—or els Aristo[t]le was not wyse." He has sent Captain Forbes to France, I know not yet where about. The Queen nor none about her were privy till he was embarked, which she was "right angrie" at. Buttencourt departs shortly to France through England; and the "Marquis" now only attends his own passport. We are well content he goes, and know that your honour will more consider this Queen's desire to have him "well looked upon of the Quenes Majestie for her sake, then that he cane well deserve." This Queen purposes to send the Queen's Majesty, either by him "or by whoeso mever bringethe the picture, a fayer ringe with a diemonde made lyke a hart." To this I dare only make your honor privy. I refer the rest to my good friend M^r^ Tremayne. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Feb. 12. **1078.** ARGYLL TO CECILL.

I am informed by M^r^ Randolphe that Shane [Seane] Oneill has made submission to the Queen, whereof I am "werray glaid," trusting

* Feb. 12th.

Elizabeth.
1561–62. that country will be brought to quietness. "Becaus the Calwach Odonill and his wyiff quha wes sum tyme wyiff to my fadir,* ar bayth oncurteslie and ongentlie demanyt and haldin as presonairis be the said Seane Oneill, nochtwithstanding that the said Calwache hes bene as I ondirstand, ane trew and obedient subject unto the Quenes Majestie and unto hir deputeis in Ireland"—I trust her Majesty and you by her ministers, shall find the means by this Shane Oneill's submission, to put the said Calwach and his wife to liberty. And I trouble you with this reasonable remembrance "of my frendis the Calwache and his wyf," that you will remind the Queen's Majesty "that I mak yow this my ernistfull request in ane guid and honest caus, that is for the Quenis awne honour," and am ready to do the like when in my power. Holyrood House. *Signed:* Your honwris most asswritly Ar[d]. Ergyll.

I look for your honour's good answer with the next that comes hither.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 14. **1079.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for Luke Wilsoun merchant of Edinburgh to trade between Scotland and France or elsewhere, for a year. Under her signet. Edinburgh, 20[th] of her reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusign, Marie R.

Broad sheet. *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 16. **1080.** [THROCKMORTON] TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

The Queen his mistress having lately charged him to have the Queen of Scots' and her uncles' affairs specially recommended; signifies that he will do his best therein, however much his judgment, &c., may fall short of her expectation.

½ *p.* *Fair contemporary copy.* *Indorsed:* "To the Quene of Scotlande 16 Februarij 1561."

Feb. 21. **1081.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I lately received your honour's two letters, one of 5[th], the other of 10[th] instant, and with this latter the passport for the Marquis, and a letter for Lethington. S[t] Colme accompanies the Marquis, which may stay him 5 or 6 days. Lethington will very shortly answer your honour's letter, desiring meanwhile to be excused, "for the matters are to be advised upon." Touching your device in your former letter for the Master of Maxwell's declaration to the Queen his sovereign, "in that that he was charged by the Lord Dacres," I wrote at length to him with copy of your letter; and his answer you receive herewith, both unreasonable and far from what he knows to be true. I told him also what I knew myself, "that travailed with hym beinge at Glascowe," persuading what I could that "Donelanricke whoe longe laye backe," might have been ridden upon. I wrote also to him that

* His father's second wife, a daughter of the Earl of Menteith (*Peerage*).

Elizabeth.
1561–62. I had the copies of his own letters to Lord Dacre importing the same —and that unless he could prove that those things he demands redress for, were taken either before or since the late troubles, or "upon" such persons as indeed took part with the lords of the Congregation, it were better for his honour quietly to pass it over (specially his sovereign being satisfied and he "in good opinion" with her) than to move anew in a case having little "apparance of veritie," and the issue "undowtfull" if matters called further in question. His answer being far other than I looked for, or could have judged to come from him, your honor will consider what farther is to be done, speedily to prevent "combers." Redress being once made by view of such as are appointed on either side, the "privat quarell" may be easily arranged, wherein Lethington has promised his endeavour. Lord Dacres gave ample proof of goodwill to concord, in a late letter to me, which I reported to the Council here. He sent also a "cople of verie fatte does unto the Lord of Mare agaynste his mariage," who required me that he might receive thanks at your hands, or at least you would acknowledge hearing they were sent.

Your request as to the divorce shall be satisfied, though not so soon as I desire; "yt is farre owte of this towne and harde to come by. What for suspicion and for daynger to have the matter disclosed, I durste not have to do with hym your honour advised me." But you shall have it, and what else by secret means I can come by. "S^{t} Comes uncle by his father maried her* after the divorcement, whose name was Henrie Stewarde brother unto the lorde of Endermethe."

The Queen's Majesty's answer for delivery of the hostages so contents the Lords, they declare themselves bound to her at all times as her "leefull serviteurs."

It was lately reported to the Duke that Arran spoke "unreverentlye" of the Queen's Majesty, and it had come to her ear, by whom I know not. He asked what I had heard? I said that never such thing came to my hearing; "allwayes as some thynge ther was that I founde straynge in my lorde of Arrane, so dyd I not wonder thoughe other men marked as well as I the same,—which is an opinion over greate of his owne doinge, to suddayne a conceate taken ether of good wyll borne towardes hym, and lyttle meanes to intertayne the amytie and frendeshipe of those, that have and cane at all tymes do hym good." I told him it was not yet out of many his friends' minds, how suddenly, without likelihood or cause, he gave up his suit to the Queen's Majesty, the ambassadors being yet in earnest travail for his advancement. Since then he had never written either to her Majesty or any other his well wishers; while the greatest suitor to her did more than this: he, of all most bound and most in danger, did less than all! Wherefore I thought some others noting these things, some man might speak and report "largelyer" than ever I did. Whereon the Duke declared that next to his own sovereign, he was most bound to the Queen's Majesty, praying me so to think and report. 'But nowe' saith he, 'I praye you let me knowe your opinion, yf by suche meanes as I cane mayke with the noble men of this countrie unto the Quenes grace my sovereigne to marrie my sone, whyther beleeve you that the Quene your mestres wolde be agaynste

* Q. Margaret.

Elizabeth.
1561–62. "yt, or whyther yf meanes were made unto her, she wolde not be contente to forwarde yt'? I answered, that no man was willing to lose a good turn done to any, but finding a thankful receiver, he would augment his benefits: and both he and his son had tried my mistress's doings to them, and I doubted not, if honourably sued to, she would continue and increase her favour and friendship.

This was the effect of our long purpose; what is in their heads I know not, but I am sure it is the least part of "her" thought, nor who among the nobility would have it, unless it were possible to frame another nature in him, and shape a new personage in him, "greatlyer to her contentation then anye thinge she lykethe in hym."

Yesterday arrived here a "Sweden" out of Flanders he says, he landed at Aberdeen. I think, as described to me, it is the same who was at Berwick. His "trafiques" are not yet known, but I trust not so secret but some "wytte" may be got of them.

There are new controversies between Lord Grey and Lord Hume for receipt of money for attemptates. Grey looks to be paid as money is current in England; Hume stands on an old custom to pay 4*l.* Scots for 1*l.* English. The matter having been debated in Council, their opinion is that as the custom is ancient and never otherwise, and when the English twopenny pieces were worth no more than the "babye" * of this country, which is in value but 1½*d.*, yet they received "the ii*d.* peece as yt was then courrant," † losing a halfpenny on every piece they took. They say also it is impossible for them to get English money, and the gold of Scotland is no more current in England than their silver. "Becawse ther is more presentlye to demaunde owte of Scotlande,‡ then is to be geven from thence (as upon Mondaye nexte iij^{xx} *li.* sterling to be payde for one byll, and shortlye for iij horses of the lord Grayes, beinge swhorne to xxx schore nobles) theie thynke that theie are the hardlyer dealte withall"—and not according to the Queen's Majesty's pleasure, which they doubt not my lords of her Council will consider. It has also been complained to the lords here, that poor men bringing victuals to Berwick have had their money taken from them—receiving it there 3*d.* sterling dearer the shilling, and 7*s.* sterling the French crown, "beinge onlye viij*li.* sterlinge betwene iij men, and beinge proved not to be commen conveiars of monye, as I my self alleged theie were."

It is so needful that Berwick be victualled from Scotland, and so all things are "the better cheape," they trust their honours will provide how the poor men shall be paid, and a conference be had to settle any points of difficulty.

I told you of Forbes' departure to France, and that more was thought than spoken by this Queen and others. His errand is pretended to seek the revenues of Chatelherault and the Duke's pension, who has written "to bothe the kynges, and constable." I see Arran is so bent to recover his place in France, that he cannot content himself with life at home, or think himself secure. He so torments himself with such imaginations, that for these 8 days he has kept his bed: and in a day or two will depart this town "with as good leave to goe as to tarrie." His controversy with Bothwell will be accorded; he is better content to let it pass under "the lawe of oblivion" than

* Bawbee. † Originally "for one babye."
‡ Originally "Englande."

Elizabeth.
1561–62. commit it to the Queen his sovereign, though earnestly required thereto. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp. Closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Feb. 26. **1082.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Requesting that the bearer Monsieur Buttencourte, to whom he is much beholden, and his company, may have license to carry their "pystolettes" that they brought with them out of this country into France for more security. He is much bent to farther the amity, and has no small credit with the Queen of Scots. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Feb. 28. **1083.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

The oftener I write the "mo" occasions I have to trouble your honor. The Marquis departs with better will of all than he came—I mean by "all" both Papists and Protestants; these were against his coming and his long abode—the others hoped he would advance their cause, but seeing his credit fails him, are now equally content to be quit of him. I doubt not the Queen herself may spare him—he was ever thought better soldier than councillor, or man to have "manimente" of weighty affairs. What she spares by his departure, who spent at his table daily 3*l.* sterling, it little pertains to me to write. He has received great gifts and honour, and such presents as the country brings forth—as hawks, hounds, "greuhoundes" and horses, all gone by sea. He greatly desires to do service to the Queen's Majesty, as the good entertainment of the Grand Prior his brother, and M. Danville, has put in him a marvellous conceit how welcome he shall be to her and her nobles, especially as he can more amply report of this Queen's good will to her Majesty, having both seen and heard, what the others could not in their short stay. "Looke also howe myche he is inferior unto the other two in judgemente, and, I adde no more—so is this Quenes desyer that the usage of hym may be the more familier and kynde," so that he may justly report it to her uncles in France, and see that she may worthily seek kindness with our sovereign, and be rather in fault to neglect it, than now when time is, not to seek it. He has commission to talk at length with her Majesty on continuance of their good will. Thus much she writes, and often and in many words utters, to the ladies and lords about her.

Touching the interview, I trust Lethington at this time has plainly "dyscovered" to you what he thinks, and his sovereign's disposition. "Whatso mever ther lackethe of that," if it were not given me "for a greate secreat," I could assure you it is so far resolved and concluded between this Queen, Lord James, and Lethington, "that yf yt be not utterlye refused at the Quenes Majestie my sovereignes handes, yt shall passe anye mans power in Scotland to staye yt." Hereon there have been many consultations and devises, and nothing found nor alleged that can make it unhonourable or unprofitable to either; all danger and suspicion quite set apart. It was said to myself not long since that the dishonour of her father in breaking his promise, shall

Elizabeth.
1561–62. be repaired with the affiance and trust his daughter has in our Queen's virtue and honour. As some points must be resolved upon, before these things can be brought to pass, some man it is thought, should be sent from hence by this Queen to treat with our sovereign and take order therein. The Queen has already twice or thrice pressed Lethington to go in post with her full commission to demand an interview and accord the manner. But if the success of so great a matter is doubtful, and if not profitable to his sovereign, very dangerous to him—he shifts the burden from him, or at least delays it, in hope of hearing from her Majesty herself, or from your honour, what good may appear to either realm, to which he seems to bear "so equal and indifferent" favour, as if the misfortune of either were utter destruction to himself. I know therefore and assure you, that so soon as our sovereign's answer to this Queen's letter sent by "Montenack," comes to her, if it any way give her comfort, or at least not so "dyscomforte" her as to change her purpose, she will dispatch Lethington to the Queen's Majesty, to consider in what honourable sort these matters may be contrived, and to desire her and her council will find it good, as she doth, "that theie maye see thone thother." As I am earnestly desired by the Queen herself, so am I by the Earl of Mar, that by your advice her Majesty will give so favourable an answer, and he and others may thus be encouraged to deal the "boldelyer" for the perpetual uniting of these two realms in amity; the sooner also and with better will, "that the governeurs of France are become mortall and professed ennemies to Chryste, and yet seeke daylye to renewe their old league and bande agaynste God, honour and wele of the whole Ilande." I cannot possibly as I desire tell your honour of my daily conferences on these matters. Some think nothing so fit "as a bande offencive and defence[ve]—those I lyke beste. Other, to speake playnlye of them, *qui haud stulte sapiunt*, thynke good to mayke yt defensive *tantum*—'so' saye theie 'we may lyve in peace with our neyghbors, and retayne frendshipe with our olde acquayntance.'" I only mention these for your wise judgment; as they have greatest appearance of "fructe." Others daily "beate into my heade" the great charges to this Queen and realm, of such "solemne meetinge," the poverty of the noblemen, and expenses men have been at these years past. To this it has been said that this Queen for her own household has wherewith honourably to do; and those that attend her shall either have enough of their own, or good means to come by it. Also because it tends as much to the Cardinal's honour as the Queen's own, to be out of doubt that his "nice" shall live in amity and quietness, "&c.," it is thought that he will either give or lend an "honeste portion" of money to its performance. The nobles to be appointed to this journey shall be those that she thinks most danger to leave at home. The Duke or Arran shall assuredly be one: very few of her prelates, though some way will be found to "wrynge" out of their benevolence. So thus your honour may see this princess's mind: and further within these three days she said to me, talking of my sovereign's picture (which daily she looks for) 'Yt wyll,' saythe she 'do my good to have yt, but yt wyll not contente my harte untyll I have bothe seen her and spoken with her'; "addinge also that the fawlte shold not be in her." I answered, impediment there might be, but fault none in my mistress. The matter thus stayeth only upon the Queen's answer—and as I have also reported, the good that

Elizabeth.
1561–2. Lord James thinks the cause might receive, if the Marquis have "some good wordes of my sovereignes owne mouthe" both to write back here and tell his brethren in France.

I have lately talked much with Arran, as also with his father before his departure. It grieves me to say, "*Quid cum illis agas, quibus neque mens neque consilium?* The father is so unconstante, savinge in covyteusnes and gredenes, that in iij momentes he wyll tayke v purposes! his sonne so drowned in dreames, and so feedethe hymself with fantasies, that ether men feare that he wyll fawle into some dayngerus and incurable sycknes, or playe one daye some made parte that wyll brynge hymself to myschef." To be plain with you, his mind is nothing but to be French; for which purpose he has sent Forbes, and pretends to his secret friends that this Queen would he were there or rather any where than here. He muses also on this—that those professing Christ are less favoured, and not so friendly looked on, as his enemies and murderers of his people! What alteration the changes in France lately, and the revolt of the King of Navarre,‡ may breed in him, I know not: but his mind is wholly that way, he says to recover an honest state of life, to live freely in conscience, and out of hazard of his person.

The papists here rejoice not a little of their "noble champion" the King of Navarre; they hope now they know not for what: the day they looked for here is past. There came lately a book from the abbot of Corsrogell, "the lypperie" abbot that made the book the old bishop of Durham so greatly delighted in—sent unto M^r^ Knox, containing 83 articles to be answered, wherein Knox and most of the noblemen of Scotland are accused of sedition, murder and treason. "As yt maye be gotten, your honour shall receave yt, with the answer." The Swede has had presence; it is he that was at Berwick. I send you copy of his master's letter, the answer is such as is commonly given, which I read. He departs shortly. There has been much ado to agree Bothwell and Arran: for lack of time I omit the circumstances "as good never a whyte as never the better." I have concluded with James MacConnel for Sir Raphe Bagenal's "pleage"; and am bound to pay him 120 angels and my best horse, and he within 40 days to deliver the man, or all to be void. For this and other matters, I send a man of my own, this bearer Robert Arskewe, to wait for your commands. I desire he may see "my olde mother" in Dover Castle. I charged him to do the Marquis all pleasure he can on the journey. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

I have in continual mind the "divorcement." I am surer to have it than I can "poynte" a certain time—it is far off and hard to come by.

Lack of time prevents the looking over my letter; wherefore pardon me.

7 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

Feb. 28 **1084.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

By M^r^ Randolphe's man, I send you answer of your letter of 10^th^ instant, whereby I trust you will be fully satisfied. I see the Queen

* Anthony, father of Henry 4^th^.

Elizabeth.
1561-2. my mistress in "these caases" she has with yours, will employ none other but me, although I have earnestly pressed the contrary; "but I comme no speede," and see, unless I will offend her "(which I meane noways to do)," I must yield, and so be a minister "for this entervew and clearing off soche pointes as wold be considred before." Though I allow and will further this matter with all my heart to my uttermost, yet see I my peril in it if anything chance to fall out amiss. "I am suer yow considder in what caas I have sometymes bene with her Majesty—in what caas I am presently—and how many if they could fynd any grownd, wold be glade to tak occacion, were it never so small, to disgrace me ones off new"! These dangers shall not stay me "if I may have any confort from yow" that good is like to succeed of my labour. Herein I trust you "will not stick to speake frankly onto me by your lettre, upon my promesse that no man shalbe prevey onto it. If you will go no farther with me but write thus ('Comme, yow shalbe welcomme') I will boldely proceade." But I trust you will be loth to see me employed in a matter whereof no good is like to follow. "Yow have alwayes bene a father onto me, and whatsoever good luck shall fall onto me, is dew onto yow: acheve that yow have begonne, and mainteyne that yow have already made. I am thought here to be one off your creatures, and I will never desadvow it." Rather than this amity I have so long travailed in, be not brought to pass, "I shall geve a shrewde ventour," trusting God will prosper all works laid on so "juste a fondation." I have "in a maner" consecrated myself to uniting this isle in friendship, and have long shot at that "scope," whereto my actions have been directed these 5 or 6 years. I pressed it in Queen Mary's days, though *frustra*, in your mistress's time many divers ways; "and ever as one occacion doth fayle me, I begyn to shuffle the cardes off new, alwayes keping the same grownde." I shall not weary while hope remains: I enclose your letter, and pray that the Marquis may perceive the Queen's Majesty by her communication, as well affected to my mistress as he knows her to be to yours. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

March 2. **1085.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for her lieges James Wallace, Robert Abirnethy, John Clerk and 8 others, to pass and repass through England to France, &c., on their lawful business, for a year. Under her signet. Palace of Holyrood House, 20th of her reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusign, Marie R.

Broad sheet. *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* ". . . for Capten Wallace and others, &c."

March 16. **1086.** THE EARL OF MAR, &C., TO LORD GREY.

As divers of the Merse have complained, that after long serving the garrison of Berwick with victuals on credit, and being paid when the pay came down from London, it was taken from them and brought to him as governor, as in breach of some statutes of the realm. Having moved the matter by Randolphe to his lordship, they beg

Elizabeth.
1561–2. him to consider the poor men's case—and either see them paid in the "cowrse monye" of England, or if he thinks the exchange of Scottish money may be had, they will be glad "to see them paid in the same." Or if he will have no furnishing to the town from Scotland, they can easily stay it on his advertisement. From Scotland. James Stewart, Morton, W. Maitland.

1 *p. Contemporary copy. Titled:* "Copie to my lord Grey governour of Barwic."

1562.
March 26. **1087.** ELIZABETH TO THE KEEPER OF HER PRIVY SEAL.

Commanding him to direct letters to the keeper of her great seal to issue her letters patent for a year, licensing Luke Wylson Scottishman to trade between England, Scotland and France. Under her signet. Palace of Westminster, 4th of her reign. *Signed:* Jo. Sommers.

Broad sheet. Vellum. Addressed (to the keeper of the privy seal). *Wafer signet on paper:* shield, France and England quarterly; close crown above; "E.R." at sides. *Leg.* "ELIZAB . . . INA A. F. H."

March 31. **1088.** THE MASTER OF MAXWELL TO CECILL.

Desiring to be employed in anything whatsoever his "lordship" may command him, that lies in his power. Dumfries. *Signed:* Jhonne Maxwell.

½ *p. Addressed* (to Cecill as "prencepall lord secretar," &c.). *Indorsed.*

March 31. **1089.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On 28th March "late," I received your letters of 14th, whereby I understand how well it pleased you to accept my letter by my servant, whose "fayle" to attend you deserves no small blame. There is so much spoken here of the Marquis's good entertainment, that the Court thinks England equal with any nation. He left nothing unreported in his letters to this Queen, who was pleased to honour me by letting me read them. He wrote also to the four principal ladies, of his entertainment from day to day. In a letter to the Earl of Marre, I received the Queen's Majesty's letter to this Queen, which he delivered himself in my sight. Whatever the contents, she laughed heartily all the time of reading it, and then said to me—'I am myche beholdinge to my good syster your mestres, she hathe taken great paynes to wryte so longe a lettre with her owne hande to me. When we see eache other I truste that she shall knowe my harte better then she cane judge of my wrytinges.' After this she continued many purposes of her desire to meet, to which I can add no more than in my last; and trust Lethington shall shortly be sent with ample commission therein. This bearer passes to France with command to do his duty to the Queen's Majesty, to whom he has letters from this Queen. To her uncles she writes "absolutlye," that it is a thing resolved in her heart, and is so expedient and necessary, that she can neither maintain her state without "that," nor keep her people

Elizabeth.
1562. in obedience. But, as your honour writes of some in England, so I am sure there are many here "that envie greatlye that ever anye suche interveue sholde be." Some allege the hasard of herself and nobles, many are loth for the charges; others say that amity once made, her power will be greater, and she free to exercise it on such as "at other tymes have lyved and ruled at wyll." Though in verity the charges will be great, and a hard matter to find so much gold in men's hands here that is current in England, to furnish the voyage. This last point is more feared by many in Scotland, than either of the others. Such shall be appointed to come, as are most suspected to practise at home, and have most money in their purses to work mischief with. The difficulty is the exchange, for many here have great sums of silver, but little gold. Lethington shall have commission to confer with the Queen's Majesty's Council hereon and other points. "Ons more" he desires to hear from your honour again, and "so to cease" till he see you.

I am no less grieved than your honour is, that it is so long before you have the divorce. I trust to have it very shortly, but have no other means but by the "Justice Clerke" now here, who has promised it within 4 days: and I "for a reciproque benefyte," have promised him a horse, or to get the Queen's Majesty's licence "for a cople." It is not lamented here that Lennox is in the Tower. All the practices ever made here with this Queen that came to knowledge, for the marriage of "Lord Darly," she likes not, "nor never determinethe to mache with that race." This I know from those that know most. Your honour's opinion of "Shane Onell" for wisdom, is confirmed to me by Argyll now here. He knows "your wysedoms and experiences of those kynde of men to be suche, that yt shalbe easyer for hym to begilde hym self then to goe by yonde you." Since his arrival in England he sent his commendations to Argyll as his good friend, trusting for the like if he had need. The Earl desires your honour to remember his last letter to you for Odonell and his wife, who are yet prisoners, and the Queen's Majesty's subjects. It may please you to have it in mind and give me some what to say here in it, as you command.

Having conferred with Lethington, it passes our wits to accord Lord Dacre and the Master of Maxwell, unless the Councils of both realms appoint some one or two to hear their debate and order their controversies.

I have written thus much on your own letter. Here are our news, whereof the danger is past, though the peril was great. Your honour knows the Earl Bothwell's long usage of Arran, and the means taken to accord them, wherein Arran was more obstinate than became a subject when required by his sovereign, refusing reason. All that could be got from him was to let it pass in oblivion, which I thought meant nothing less than ever to agree.

Within these 14 days, Bothwell and 8 companions lay again in wait for the Laird of Ormiston, with whom the first quarrel was for the money your honour knows of. The Laird, his wife, and eldest son (about 23 years of age) riding about the fields hunting, spied those 8 horsemen, and retiring himself and wife to a little town of his own, willed his son to ride and "see farre of" what they were. He approached so near, that being within "Bothewels daynger," discharged his "dagge" * at the Earl himself, and being well mounted, thought to

* Pistol.

Elizabeth.
1562. escape, but fell into their hands, and was led away till near Crichton, where the neighbours of the country (the laird's friends) rescued him, driving Bothwell into his own house: this "facte" miscontented the country, specially the Queen and her Council. Within 3 days after, Bothwell wrote to Arran he was sorry he had offended him, but if it pleased him to accept his offer he would put himself in his will, "reserving his lyf," and could do him notable service to his great advantage, if his counsel were followed. Arran liked this so well, that they embraced each other, as though no unkindness had ever passed; and in 4 days all Edinburgh and most of Scotland spoke of their sudden familiarity, "at preachynges, huntinge and other wher." The Queen thought it very strange, and ordered further intelligence of their doings. The Duke being at Kenele, "theie tayke purpose to ryde from Edenbourge to see hym." When there, Bothwell began thus to Arran—'I knowe,' saythe he, 'that you are the man most hated of anye man in Scotlande with the Quene, and the Lord Mar and Lidingetone in speciall. I knowe thys to be trewe upon suche conference as I have had with the Quene self and other, therfore yt stondethe you upon to see to your self. Yf you wyll followe my consell and gyve me credyt, I have an easye waye to remedie the whole, that is, to put the Quene into your handes, and to tayke away your cheif ennemenes (*sic*) therle of Mar and Larde of Liddington!' Yt was concluded betwene them that the Quene sholde be taken by force and broughte to Dombriton, and the Erle of Mar and Lyd[ington] slayne."

Many other things were devised that time serves me not to write. This befell—Arran moved in conscience, and "touched with the feare of God," detects the whole practise with letters "of his owne hande" to the Queen and Mar, written from Kenele on "Ester eeve," * desiring the Queen's order what he should do? Answer was given to continue in his duty, and good should "insue" to him, &c. Arran seeing his father "overmuche bent" to Bothwell's persuasions, does what he can to revoke him to his duty to God and his sovereign, but seeing him so addicted thereto, that nothing could prevail, he declared plainly it was wicked, and he had "detected" it to the Queen. This put the Duke in such a rage, that he would have slain his son; who that night kept his chamber, "and the nexte whole daye which was Ester daye"; and at night seeing his father's continual rage, wrote a letter in cipher to Lord Mar, giving it to his chamber servant to give to me to present to Mar. I received it on the Monday riding in the fields with the Queen "a huntynge," and seeing only his own name "playnely wrytten and my name under nethe," as in the inclosed copy, and the servant telling me I must again save his master's life, I drew apart, and knowing the cipher, saw it was for Mar. After I had declared much of the contents, at his desire I showed it to the Queen. When devising with her grace, Mar and Lethington, comes the Abbot of Kilwinning, who declared to her, that Arran having offended and falsely accused his father, "was that nyghte escaped owte of his chamber with cordes made of the scheetes of his bede, and that no man wyste whear he was become." He desired her Majesty to give ear to nothing he had written or should report at his coming, for it was all false both of his father and Bothwell. On the Queen coming

* Altered from "daye."

Elizabeth.
1562. home and "advicement" taken, the abbot was committed to safe custody. Within an hour after, arrives Bothwell to purge him self, who was also put in ward, being found guilty on his own confession in some points. Next morning "this Twesdaye" comes to Court the laird of Grange to declare to Mar that Arran had come over the water to his house late in the night disguised, on foot, desiring to speak with his lordship, and so to come to the Queen's grace "with ample declaration of the premisses." Mar is ridden to him, and to-night they will both be here. Trusting this "hastie scribled" letter shall be sufficient for the time. I received presently your other letters and those of the Council wherein I shall do as commanded. I have also the Queen's Majesty's letter to this Queen with the pacquet to her grace. The Frenchman who I thought should have taken this, departs not for 3 days longer; by whom I shall again write to your honour. Falkland, upon Tuesday in Easter week, at 4 o'clock after dinner. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

April 7. **1090.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

At length, not without "some what adoe," I have obtained the divorce your honour so earnestly and often wrote for. I am required by the Justice-Clerk * (by whose means I got it) that nothing should be wrought thereby prejudicial to the Earl of Angus here in Scotland, to whom he is a special friend. So as much as I might, being altogether ignorant of the purpose, I have promised him, "wherin he assurethe hym self more in your honours discretion in the well usinge of yt, then he dothe in his owne wysedom in yeldinge unto my requeste." I am fain otherwise to use his friendship; and your wisdom best considers what such a friend is worth. If the Queen's Majesty will give him licence for a couple of geldings, he will think himself much bound to her.

Your honour understood by my last how the treason against the Queen, Mar and Lethington, was discovered. The "self same" was intended to as many nobles as were in company at the time of execution, as resisted. For Arran being asked by Argyll, what they would have done with him? Answered, that he should have gone with his "marrows."† After Arran came to Grange's house, whether it was fear of his life from his father, lack of sleep, meat, &c., after he had taken some rest, he began to rave and speak strange purposes, "as of divels, witches and suche lyke," fearing that all men about came to kill him. The Queen hearing, sent Mar who brought him that night, Tuesday Easter week, to Court. When at supper with Mar he showed many tokens of an unquiet mind both in his talk and doings, and so continued all night. Next day the Queen removed from Falkland to S^{t} Andrews, with Arran in company, Bothwell and the Abbot being sent before under guard to the castle. They have been examined, but confess nothing; and Arran is very well come to himself, but not so constant in affirming what he wrote, as he promised. The Queen has herself spoken with him, and he says

* *Marginal note.*—His name is Sir John Balendine, Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland.
† Friends.

Elizabeth.
1562. under conditions, he will affirm the verity. "He imaginethe to myche in his owne conceate of that, that is impossible, and pyttie that ever sholde comme to passe."* She will receive none such; either he must justify his own letters or confess his evil disposed mind and great fault in writing thus to his sovereign. He is quietly attended on, not by his own. The Queen willed me to speak with him on Friday last: and in "all commen purposes" I found in him, as before, good and resolute answers. When I spoke of the cipher which he willed to be deciphered by me, he said "all those thynges ar but phantasies, I knowe not howe God hathe suffered me to be diluded with dyvels and witches." When I asked what witches they were? He said 'the Lord James mother,' and had said it before to Lord James and others. In all matters except the verity of the conspiracy, his answers are plain and ready. His father is still at Kenele, he never yet wrote word to the Queen, but (it is reported) laments sore that his son "is owt of hys wytte." It is now said he has twice before been in the same case; and takes it of his mother, "whoe in deade, with bothe her systers (of which the Erle of Morton hathe maried one, and thother was wyf unto the Lord Maxwell) are certeyne tymes or the most parte of the yere distempered with an unquiet humour."

It pleased the Queen herself to talk with me, who shows herself not a little offended with Bothwell, to whom she has been so good, and doubtless I think shall find little favour. She reads daily after dinner, instructed by a learned man M^r George Bowhanan, "somewhat of Lyvie." She found lately there in an oration of Cato against "those that would have had *legem Opiam abrogatam*, these wordes—*Hominem improbum non accusari tutius est, quam absolvi.*" I believe if Arran had behaved himself well since he came to Court, and confirmed with his mouth what he wrote to the Queen, he had won great favour, but now is out of credit with all men. Some would make it a forged matter, for the hatred that is borne to "the howse"; † but the appearance hereof is very small, and the end will show the contrary. By her grace's will, I have promised to inform her Majesty of the case, by the gentleman that shortly comes to you, and so to France.

The ministers are here assembled to confer on matters touching appointment to livings "for them" in every shire. On the 20^th^ also the most part of the nobles are warned to be in this town, before which there will be no resolution taken as to the interview or any envoy to you thereon. When I had written thus far, I received your letter of 27^th^ March—the chiefest points whereof I have answered herein, so return your instructions for that matter.‡ If your honour requires it more "attentique," the matter must be more open, "wherof nether you nor we have anye great good wyll: yt is coppied by the Justice Clerke hym self, and I harde yt conferred with the principall. Yf more be required, yt shall be a harde myscheif that we cane not fynde a shyfte for."

I look daily for Butsheade, and am advertised by Argyll that MacConnell is lother to part from him, "bycause of the knowledge of his countrie." I purpose sending to Berwick for the "angels," to

* His pretension to marry the Queen?
† *i.e.*, of Hamilton. ‡ The divorce.

Elizabeth.
1562. have them ready, and incontinent will send the man to your honour. I am required again to remind you of the Earl's "mother in lawe" and her husband. It is bruited that Lord "Darlie" is conveyed to France, and the young laird of Barre has lost his head. Both the one and the other have little appearance of verity. S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

This day Arran was sent to the Castle here, I judge it rather *ad terrorem quam ad pœnam.* He would now go from all that he wrote. Before he wrote to the Queen, "in as good healthe as ever he was, he broke the same matter unto M[r] Knox, and by his advice and perswation reveled yt, and that dothe M[r] Knox verifie to his face."

5 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill).

April 7. **1091.** RANDOLPHE TO [THROCKMORTON].

I wrote to your lordship by Captain Wallace, and sent to my good lady "a dosayne of knyves; whoe nowe I here is arrived in Englande, and your lordship lyke to receave a successeur." This gives me hope shortly to see you at the interview of the two Queens, which now stays on so little, that I look daily for the dispatch of Lethington hence to my mistress, with this Queen's request, and to take order for time, place, &c. Before you leave, I trust you will so acquaint me with your successor, that we may use the like "reciproque" friendship in the Queen's service that I have received at your hands. As Sir Thomas Smythe is utterly unknown to me, but by "name and face," so unless acquaintance insue, and conference by letter, the Queen's service may suffer.

[Here follows the substance of his letter to Cecill on Arran and Bothwell's conspiracy with some slight details. The authors "*inciderunt in foveam quam fecerunt*" . . . "*Pilatus et Herodes amici facti sunt ex die illo.*"] Arran escaped from Kinneil, by his "sheetes blanketes and other thynges above xxx fadome owte of a wyndowe in his hose and dubled, and so travayled from Ester evee at nyght upon his feete untyll Ester Twesdaye * in the mornynge," to Grange's house. The abbot of Kilwinning is . . . "one of the Duke's chief consellors," . . . "Chryst flocke shalbe never the worce fedde thoughe hys hedde were from his sholders." The Queen behaves herself honourably and stoutly, neither over remissly nor too rigorously. "Scribled in haste." *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

April 9. **1092.** RANDOLPHE TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Though your Majesty is fully advertised by my letters to your secretary, "yet for that I am ernestlye required by this princese the Quenes grace to signifie unto your Majestie self as presentlye I do see occasion, bothe the imprisonmente [of] the Erle of Arrane and Erle Bothwell, as also howe woide her grace is of that, that perchance somme surmise, which is a desyer to be revengede of suche as at other tymes she hathe conceavede evle of"—I thought myself bound

* Originally "Mondaye."

Elizabeth.
1562. in duty to give the effect in few words, without rehearsing the whole circumstances. [Here follows the substance of his letter to Cecill of 7th. It is added that Arran had formerly refused the Queen's mediation in his quarrel with Bothwell, insisting on the latter publicly denying his words at the Market Cross "with sounde of trompet."] In proof that the Queen has no ill will to the Duke or his son, "I wyll onlye declare that unto your Majestie, that I myself (havinge maynie tymes had suspicion hereof) have observed and marked." Ever since her arrival, she has more sought to win their good will, than they have shown willingness to their duties as her subjects. They are no way separated from her other subjects, but by disobedience and transgression of her laws. She knows the affliction of many to that house, how many they are and how allied, and that unjust dealing with them would be her own ruin. She has used the Duke his son and friends with gentleness, to show that she loved them as kinsmen, and esteemed them as her successors, if God gave her no issue. She lately promised the one a reasonable support to his living for his father's life, and remitted to the other many things, both by law and conscience due by him both in body and goods. Even after detection of this crime, she so well thought of Arran and his sincere meaning, that she devised with her Council what yearly sum of money or other thing she might bestow on him. Without your Majesty's advice I believe she will determine nothing hastily against one or other of them. I report nothing to your Majesty but before God I think true, and dare verify in your presence. Her benefits to Bothwell have been so great, that no man thinks anything intended to him, but more favour than he deserves. The abbot has long deserved much more than it is judged he shall receive. St Andrews. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

4 *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

April 9. **1093.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

In a word, I give you warning that you shall shortly hear some news of "our Metropolitane" for saying mass on Easter Day. I wish he were "in handes, with one or two mo untyll the enterveue wer paste." I was required to write to her Majesty and trust more in her pardon than my well doing. This bearer is servant to the Grand Prior, his name is Malvasier, not credited to say much to her Majesty, to whom he has this Queen's letters, as some other is purposed to be sent. Her grace heard of two Almaynes returned from Berwick to the Court; and wished they had arrived before this man's departure. I shall have to write shortly more at large. St Andrews. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

April 24. **1094.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

In the wars "led be youre umquhile sister Marie aganis this our realme,* the Lord Gray our subject chanceit to be takin presonere," was detained by his takers, and then "lattin hame upoun ane band."

* The raid of Swynton.

Elizabeth.
1562. We caused him to re-enter lately on the suit of Lord Grey your subject, where we hear he was extremely "handillit," and put to greater charges than he can bear. We desire you command two gentlemen to confer with two of ours on the border to modify a reasonable ransom that he may pay, or to let him come home on band to re-enter when called. S^{t} Andrews, 20th of our reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusignes, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.

April 25. **1095.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I understand by your letters sent by M^{r} Hume the Scottish gentleman, how desirous you are to know if Arran is clear of the conspiracy with Bothwell, and the charge of murder against his father? I wish I could say all as I conceive it after long conference and talk with those that know the truth. I verily believe he is distempered in his wits, and as I last wrote was sent to the castle. Whence after 5 or 6 days, he again wrote to the Queen, that if he might, he would before her, avow to Bothwell's face what he had spoken before. On the 10th or 11th in presence of the Queen and Council, Bothwell was charged with treason, Arran to his face confirming it, the other constantly denying it. Many words passed between them, Arran's behaviour most commended. Bothwell required the combat, or to be tried by the Session: one the law of arms, the other the law of the country. Arran referred himself to the "princese" will, accepting either as seemed good to her Majesty and Council: he doubteth not God would give him as great strength to maintain truth, as to the other seeking to cover "a moste heineus" treason. So they were dismissed, Bothwell to the castle, Arran to Lord Mar's house. For his plain dealing, and "reverent and modeste usinge" of himself before her grace and Council, and her hope he would deal as frankly in confessing the charge against his father: after he had at reasonable liberty passed 2 or 3 days in Mar's house, as his father was expected, he was again brought before the Council. He confirmed what he said to Bothwell's face, and being examined of his charge by letter against his father, also spoken to the Queen herself and divers other, he utterly denied that his father knew of the conspiracy, that he ever spoke to his father of it, or that his father ever threatened him; but what he did came of a foolish fantasy without cause, that he had offended God and his sovereign, and was ashamed of himself. But suspicions were so great, it was thought good to deliberate further, and not proceed with rigour yet; wherefore he remained 3 days more in Mar's house, and being sent for on the fourth, the Council finding nothing could be got, sent him again to the castle where he still is, "nothynge altered."

On Monday * the 19th instant, the Duke arrived with a good company of his friends; most part of the nobles being assembled to judge this cause, and some others in hand. He had that night presence of the Queen, and declared his great grief at her suspicion of him on his son's false accusation, and had come for trial of his innocence, refusing all pardon or grace. He thanked God his son was there, that the verity might be tried, and he had brought the chief of his surname with him

* "Sunday" by Bond's Calendar.

Elizabeth.
1562. to underly the law and be in her Majesty's will. This moved her not a little, others pitied his case, "the more also to see tholde mans teares tritlinge from his cheekes as yt had byne a chylde beaten." He received comfortable words, and promise of favour, however the matter were.

Next day the Council assembled, the Queen present, and rehearsal was made of the whole "facte" of Bothwell, the Duke accused of privity, and his own son's letters and words put in writing laid before him. He denies the whole, and persists therein. Touching the violence offered to his son, he desires him brought before his face, assuring the Queen and "their honours" that the night his son departed from him to bed, he was in as good charity and fatherly love to him as any day in his life. Some thought Arran should be sent for: others knowing how obstinately he had before denied that he said of his father, would have it deferred till the morrow, and proceed deliberately.

But next day revolving it, nothing more could be had, and as there were no proofs but the son against the father, "the Quene herself thought not good to rigoreuslye to procede, and the same well allowed of her whole counsell, and her grace worthylie commended." She then leaving the place, it was friendly moved to the Duke, that as Dunbarton might always give her grace suspicion of him (as the place of her imprisonment if the treason had taken effect) they advised him to deliver it to her hands, whereto incontinent he accorded, and it is this day delivered. Thus far on this matter.

Regarding the interview, it was accorded by the noblemen assembled, that nothing could be more profitable or needful for the country: only one great difficulty alleged, whereof I must write before I end. The Duke offered with any or all his sons, as the Queen pleased, to attend her, with body, goods and all. I talked twice with him at good length, besides his first meeting with the Queen, "drawne in I thynke of purpose to beholde the maner." Next day after the Council was risen, "the Quene grace, as she dothe ofte, dyd in her previe gardayne shoote at the buttes, whear the Duke and other noble men were present, and I also admytted for one to beholde the pastime." The Duke wishing to speak with me, asked leave, and that some of her Council might be present. "Her answer was that her opinion of us bothe was that we wolde her no evle, which he assured for his parte, and saide that he thoughte no les of me." He then began to lament to me "that yt had pleased God to plague hym in that, that in the worlde he estemed moste, and more (as he knowethe nowe) then that God was pleased with." For I have often heard him say: "that he had rather see all the chyldren he hathe deade at hys foote, then that his sonne the Erle sholde be sycke." He desired my advice, and I thought nothing so fit for him, as to show his obedience to his sovereign, so the world might see whatever befell him, it came not of his deserts, and God would sooner send him relief of his sorrows. Touching the accident befallen his son, he must patiently wait what time works therein; whose case is harder as accuser of his own father "in a case whear nether lykelyhoode nor apparance of truthe is." He here rehearsed (as many times before) the Queen my sovereign's benefits to him, and he had no other help or refuge. I confirmed him therein, showing him there was no such danger as he feared, as his Queen could do no less than she has in so important a matter. So we ended our talk, and gave ourselves again to behold the

Elizabeth.
1562. pastimes. It would have well contented your honour "to have seen the Quene and the Master of Lindesaye to sute * agaynste the Erle of Mar and one of the ladies." Our next meeting was in the Duke's own chamber next day; I being lodged in the house before his coming. He asked my advice what to do if the Queen took Dunbarton from him? I advised him not to stand against her therein, seeing he had no right but at her will. Also to offer himself to attend her to England, rather than be required, as I know it is already determined by her and the Council. The third was of more difficulty—being whether after he had delivered Dunbarton, the Queen would not put him into the castle of S^{t} Andrews? I seemed to be much grieved at this suspicion, he knowing his sovereign's clemency and his own innocence; and gave him as comfortable words as I could, "in a matter that then I stoode in dowte of myself, but nowe am resolved that no suche thynge was mente towardes hym." He is now well pleased to set forward the "yornay," and begins to take some comfort to himself, "he ridethe, tawlkethe, lawghethe with the Quene when so mever he please." Though your honour can judge the issue better than I, this is not to be omitted. Arran at all times since the Queen's return has so behaved, that she has a marvellous suspicion of him, "and I am sure ofte wysshed in her harte for no worce occasion then nowe she hathe, to do with hym as she dothe; yet by cawse she hathe no juste cawse to tayke awaye his lyf, seinge he hym self reveeled the treason, yf any were, she wolde be contente to be in good assurance of hym in tyme to come; not that I wyll saye, *Morte la bestia, morte il veneno*, but other wyse as I trowe I wrote, *improbum hominem, &c.*" So I think he is not yet like to escape: his friends are ashamed of him, and wish him out of the world; his enemies rejoice and wish him worse than they know how to procure him.

Bothwell sues daily to have his innocence tried: if by "a syse," there lacks probation, and if he be "quytte," then by law Arran must be convicted of false accusation, "and sustayne the same payne." If found good that it be "lefte to God," and they debate it with their hands, whatever of manhood there be in both, the issue will be uncertain.

The full resolution for the interview of the two princesses cannot be taken till S^{t} Colme's return; but as the Qneen is advertised that her uncle the Cardinal finds it so convenient, order is taken to consider all things needful in this Convention. The Council to remain is appointed, the number assigned of "all sortes" to go with her, and order taken for quiet on the borders, &c. The greatest difficulty of all is the scarcity of all kinds of gold here, current in England; and if some mean be not devised for exchange of their silver, her grace and whole company shall sustain great loss. Here they think no way so reasonable as this—if it please the Queen's Majesty to send to Berwick so much treasure that they may leave their Scottish money there ("onlie golde or testons of good sylver") and have for the same, English money to spend in the country, leaving their own for the Queen's Majesty's use there—as to pay soldiers, workmen, &c. It is said plainly to me this will be the only stay unless the Queen's Majesty and her Council will consider it. Lethington desires excuse

* Shoot.

Elizabeth.
1562. —he is behind hand with you for three letters, which he will recompense with one, and presently excuse himself "by mouthe," he hopes immediately after S[t] Colme's return.

This day comes news of a Swedish ambassador who landed at Leith. It is said he is a Duke, his name yet unknown, "but one that married the Kynges mother, or at the leaste kynne unto the kynge"; and in his company not above 18 persons. Those that have spoken with him say, "a man of a good agee, longe berde torninge to whyte." He has not yet sent to the Queen. He came in a very great "houlke" well furnished with men and munition. S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

April 25. **1096.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I have "presently" received your letters by my servant. I pray your honour remember me to M[r] Noel, whose kinsman M[r] Lawrence Noel I often times wish in this country for 3 or 4 months. When we were both "schollers" in Paris, and he then partaker of "that smale thynge" I had, he travailed by help of some Scottish men I acquainted him with, to set forth the marches of England and Scotland. If it were now thought worth his travail, opportunity serves better than ever, and I know he can do it well.

For the interview, I have written as much as I can in this other letter.* To avoid expense, it is determined that all men shall wear black cloth, for the Queen herself has not cast off "her murnynge garmentes which wyll holde in verie myche monye." The Bishop of S[t] Andrews, of whom I wrote a word or two by the Frenchman, ever since Easter has kept his house sick. I find them lother to have to do with him till the castle of Dombriton be out of their hands; "yt is not good also to have to maynie irons in the fyer at ons"!

A Frenchman that was a captain in Leith, arrived here by the west seas, sent by Martigues to desire the Queen to be godmother to his daughter. Martigues married a gentlewoman of the Queen's, whose mother is presently here with her.

Your honour may remember the Queen's Majesty wrote to this Queen in favour of certain merchants, which I received a good space since, with others from the Council and your honor. They were presented to her grace, who desired me to move it again when she came to Edinburgh, as I purpose to do. I write to show it is not neglected. S[t] Andrews. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

May 3. **1097.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I have received your letters with the "pacquette" from the Marquis to this Queen, who thinks herself much beholden to Lord Robert and you that they came so speedily. She finds the news you committed to me, as true as the other she received from her uncle, who writes favourably in his own and brethren's cause. I find she judges this enterprise of theirs more rash than wise, specially much against the

* The preceding.

Elizabeth.
1562. reputation of her house, and her desire of no innovations, the King being so young. If they succeed with it, the envy of others in divers countries professing contrary religion, will at length be their ruin; if the contrary happen, she knows how greatly it weakens her, to lose the honour "of suche a stoocke as she is descended of." I hear some "mutteringe" of other things she surmises and counts with herself, that import not a little her estate: these she has said to others, "but the reste" to myself.

There is nothing altered of what I wrote last. We attend hourly the coming of S[t] Colme, and make full account that nothing can "let" the interview. All men are gone home to make provision.

The Swedish ambassador sent hither on Friday * two of his gentlemen to know the Queen's pleasure where he should attend upon her grace? The answer by Lethington was that she would be in Edinburgh within 8 days. The bruit is great of marvellous treasure that he has brought. He remains in Leith and has not been in Edinburgh: he is called "Erle of Wismiere," † is cousin german to the King, and been sundry times lieutenant to him. The castle of Dunbarton is delivered, and answer come from thence. Arran and Bothwell shall be transported to the castle of Edinburgh. Lord Fleming shall be married on Sunday next ‡ to a gentlewoman of the Court, "heier unto the lorde Rosse: the Quene makethe the feaste."

Glencairn requires me that your honour will make his humble service to the Queen for her favour in defraying his son's charges at Newcastle. Your honour knows if there were any others, better than I can learn.

The money the Swede has brought is all new coined "jocundals, hys § owne image upon thone syde, with a worlde and crosse in his hande, with this tytle 'Ericus 14 D. G. Sue. Got. Van. Qr. Rex'; upon thother syde ar his armes with a crowne, with an order abowte yt, I knowe not of what; the title is 'Deus dat cui vult.'" In the next you shall receive one, as it is said they are the first of this "stampe." S[t] Andrews. "Sondaye mornynge" 3[d] May. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

May 10. **1098.** MAITLAND TO RANDOLPHE.

Though I supposed the Queen's grace should have been shortly in Edinburgh after S[t] Colme's arrival, yet her highness has been in "sic cace sence hir last accident, that we durst nott oppin ony grawe or wechty matter unto hir to this hour." Yet I trust we shall be with you on Tuesday. And being informed by S[t] Colme that present affairs shall procure my hasty departure to London, I thought good to advertise you, to signify with haste "thaym quhome apparteynis heirof," lest they find fault with our delay, on this "unforseyn accident." Lochleven. *Signed*: W. Maitland.

½ *p. Addressed* (to Randolphe as servitor to the Queen of England, presently resident in Edinburgh).

Inclosed in next.

* May 1st.
‡ May 10th.
† Wismar in Mecklenburg.
§ The King's (?).

Elizabeth.
1562. May 11. **1099.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

As your honour looks, now that S^{t} Colme is come, for full resolution of this Queen's mind to the interview, I send the inclosed letter, by which you may judge what is like to be—the "self same" being signified to me from the Queen's self by a gentleman of her own. The accident that befell her grace, was this—8 days past, riding between Falkland and Lochleven, her horse fell with her, hurt her arm very sore, and somewhat the right side of her face. Wherefore she remained "ther" ever since, but being well recovered, purposes to be in this town on Tuesday or Wednesday next—against which time the noblemen are commanded to be here, to resolve on all things "behovefull" for this voyage.

The King of Sweden's ambassador on Saturday last, was convoyed by the Provost and many merchants of this city, from Leith to this town. Seven days past a ship arrived with a Frenchman, the same that was in England; it is thought he shall remain and the Duke himself depart shortly. He has brought another "coingne then the former, suspected to be basser then the fyrste that came abroade." The prisoners in the castle here shall separate shortly—M^{r} Gawen Hamilton to Inchkeith, and Bothwell to Dunbarton—Arran to remain where he is. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1 *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "xj^{o} May 1562. M^{r} Randolphe to my master, with the Laird Ledington's lettre." *Wafer signet.*

May 23. **1100.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Desiring passport for her lovite David Waus, "induellar" of Leith, to trade between Scotland and France, &c., through England, for a year. Under her signet. Palace of Holyrood House, 23^{d} May 20th of her reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusignes, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.

May 23. **1101.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

This present morning the 23rd, there came to me very early and secretly a servant of the French gentleman that is in commission with the Swedish ambassador, who opened to me at good length a matter which he says is contained in these letters, as well to the Queen my sovereign, to your honour, and Lord Robert; requesting me earnestly to have them conveyed to your hands. He that brought them writes his name thus—"Germain Truffleau," a very little young man, who was with his master the Frenchman in England. He assures me with many oaths, that he is moved only with pity to the poor man, and loth to have the honour of so noble a man stained with so false a report as he believes this to be. The circumstances, as he declared them to me, are—he arrived in Sweden last Lent, and nothing found about him that might argue any such intent, only the Queen my sovereign's passport favourably written. He is not laid in irons, only in safe custody of men attending on him. He has been divers

Elizabeth.
1562. times examined, but denies all he is charged with "touchynge that matter." Thus much I communicate, and send the letters to your honour only, letting none else know the matter. He that brought the letters promises from time to time secretly to resort to me, and keep the matter "as close as anye man alyve." He desires the poor man may have some comfort from me, wherein I can make no promise further than I shall receive command; but I give him no discouragement against returning, for this and some other causes. I know the danger of conveying letters to the Queen's Majesty or her Council at any man's request, unless surer of their contents than I am of these—saving by the bringer's report. Yet I thought rather to adventure sending them, than to refuse; and if before this ambassador's departure, your honour's pleasure may be known, all things shall be done as you direct.

I thought not to have written till Lethington came to you, who without fail (he says) departs hence on Tuesday* next—howbeit I thought that beforehand I would tell your honour that not above 3 days past this Queen said to me, I should not marvel at Lethington's delay; for she thought it expedient first to take order at home, especially on the Borders; and that the Queen my mistress should be advertised by him of all things touching the Swedish ambassador's legation. For her desire to see the Queen's Majesty so increases daily, that without it she can have no contentment to her mind, and trusts now "that ther shalbe no impedimente in my sovereignes behalf." These things I report to your honour as I heard them. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

May 25. **1102.** MARY TO CECILL.

"Right trusty and weilbelovit," &c. "Oure trusty and weilbelovit the lard of Lethingtoun oure principall secretar will report unto you quhat he hes in charge of ws towart oure gude sister the Quene your maisteres," wherein we desire you to procure him "haisty depesche." And give him firm credit on our behalf, "being ane man of ane lang tyme weill knawin unto you and ane quhom we specialie trust." Palace of Holyrood House. *Signed:* Marie R.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Small wafer signet: France impaling Scotland (the tressure entire); close crown above.*

May 26. **1103.** RANDOLPHE TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

As I have always wished that my reports to your Majesty of this Queen's desire to see your highness, might be confirmed by "some greater assurance therof," so now I trust the Laird of Lethington sent by his sovereign shall more amply declare her grace's mind. I am desired by her to signify how loth she would be that your two Majesties should not come to live in perpetual peace. "The waye and meanes ther unto shalbe opinede unto your Majestie at thys present. The desyer of all godlye ther unto is suche, as withowte

* May 26th.

Elizabeth.
1562. "that, theie see no waye to a happie or contente lyf. The hope theie have that your Majestie shalbe the instrument to converte their sovereigne to Chryste, and knowledge of hys trewe worde, cawsethe them to wyshe above measure that your Majesties maye see thone thother." Their own great desire to see your Majesty, who so speedily relieved them in their great misery, and almost utter confusion, is much more than I can write. I am either deceived in my judgment (and so unfit to serve your Majesty) or the self same mind to honour and serve you, rests "in as maynie of the godlye hartes, as at what tyme your graces benefytes was present in their syghtes"! Their state is not so assured but that they may be glad of your favour. To make it plain—"so long as thys Quene is in harte devided from her subjectes, throughe the diversitie of religion, theie nether have that quietnes of mynde, nor peace in conscience that ys moste to be desyered in trewe service of their sovereigne, nor yet see howe her state cane longe contynue; seinge the self same seedes remayne that was thoccasion of the former mischeif. Yf God sende yt into their handes, unto whome by righte of succession yt apertaynethe after her deathe, God knowethe what miserable state of a commenwealthe thys is lyke to growe unto! And God knowethe what wante ther is in them to sustayne the bourdane of suche a charge, or worthynes in anye of the whole race (I speake yt under your Majesties correction) to weare a crowne"! These things being considered and weighed by divers of the wisest and noblest here, with whom I sometimes confer, they see no fitter way for the preservation of their commonwealth or themselves, but a perpetual league between your two Majesties; so that they may be free of the danger of foreign princes' rule, and live in peace with those to whom they are most beholden, and at whose hands they are likeliest to receive most evil, if ever new discords arise.

Though Lethington will not peradventure "so dieaplye descende with your Majestie in thys poynte," my duty binds me to leave nothing unreported for your Majesty's excellent wisdom and judgment.

Of the Swedish ambassador I trust Lethington has sufficient commission to report more than I can write: with him I have not had to do. Of the Earl of Arran, besides what I have at times written to your grace's secretary, you shall understand also by Lethington. There rests nothing, but your gracious pardon for my boldness in troubling your Majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet (as before) damaged.*

May 26. **1104.** RANDOLPHE TO THE COUNCIL.

About the 17th March last it pleased you to send me the Queen's letters to this Queen in favour of William Cowson, William Smythe and other merchants for redress for their 2 ships, spoiled and taken by 2 Scotsmen Thomas Nicolson and James Hodge, lying in the King of Denmark's waters near the isle of Westemore*—also your own letters to myself to move the same to her grace's Council. Of the long stay in answer I wrote somewhat to Mr Secretary, and will now

* Wismar.

Elizabeth.
1562. inform you at more length. When the letters came, the Queen was at S[t] Andrews with not many of her Council then with her. At their arrival, I opened the case to them at length, which was well enough known to many of them, but as it was a question for "men of lawe," they deferred it till they had conferred with the "lerned of the Session," at coming to Edinburgh, and also to hear what the other party could allege. Since their being here, I reminded her grace and Council of it, the accused were summoned, men of law consulted, and much reasoning of either side. It came to that issue whereof your honours sent me the opinion of the "Doctours of the Arches," whether ships of two enemies lying in a "meane" * prince's waters, may be lawful prizes to either. "These men" hold no prince has that privilege, or that his territory or waters give surety from an adversary: which appeared (under correction) to have so little reason that it was determined that one of the wisest and most expert of the complainers should be commissoned hither to commence action against the offenders before the "Lordes of the Session," where they should receive justice and favour so far as in law may be granted, "whear in (theie saye) that the lawe of this countrie is more favorable then anye other, a straynger beinge partie, to anye man of the realme." When I required the said lords, in respect of these merchants' great loss, their great charges hitherto in pursuing the matter, and what it would mount to before ended—to hear it themselves, and not put it to the lords of Session, which will be a tedious and long suit; their answer was, that the nature of the case required it to go before the Admiralty, and they doubted not but justice should be ministered in the ordinary places for such cases. Thus I advertise your honours for your further commands. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.†

2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

May 26. **1105.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I think it not needful to say more than Lethington will inform your honour more amply, of this Queen's and her nobles' desire for perpetual amity.

Lethington will also make the Queen's Majesty privy to the matters proponed by the Swedish ambassador, as in her grace's own letters. He desires my acquaintance and I hear sent twice to my lodging in my absence, I know not to what purpose. "At the Lorde Flemynges banckquet he dranke unto me a large cuppe of wyne, whearof I dyd hym reason, but as yet never spake togyther." Of Arran's case you shall hear more than I can write, "I beleeve so indifferentlye and withowte affection as in all these cases wyse men ought to be." The Duke's hope remains great in the Queen's Majesty, as he desires me to witness. Argyll requires me to remind your honour to have O'Donell and his wife in remembrance. MacConnel repents now his promise, so I shall be fain to force it on him; the money is in my hands, "and the Justice Clerke bounde to deliver me the man, whome I knowe that he ‡ dare not offende." Your honour knows how I came by the "Divorce": he will think him self well con-

* *i.e.*, neutral † Nearly all cut off. ‡ MacConnel.

Elizabeth.
1562. sidered with a licence for a couple of geldings. I am fain to use his friendship more ways than one. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

I am unwilling to conceal any request by such as have good opinion of your honour, and you likewise of their virtues—albeit ungrateful or difficult. The Earl of Mar asks leave if the Queens meet, to bring with him Maister Godman as their minister and preacher, without offence as he trusts, "seinge that he is in the whole number of the lerned amongeste us, the moste temperate and modeste; of other ther is no great stoore, and of them all thys is the beste." It may please you to answer him by your own writing, or my report.

I am also required by a very honest and goodly gentleman the Laird of Cawder brother to the Lord of S^{t} John's, to sue the Queen's licence for his son, a proper young gentleman of 18, very well learned, and well travelled since he was 14, to remain for 2 or 3 years in Oxford or Cambridge, to continue the knowledge he has got elsewhere, which I assure you is as much as ever I saw in any of his age in my life. It may please you to give the same to M^{r} Sommer if obtained, to forward to me.

2 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . by the L. Ledington."

May 26. **1106.** MAR TO CECILL.

Having both had some experience of what wealth shall redound to the whole isle, if the amity of the two realms continue, and how happy were the ministers that should procure the same from the fathers to the sons "unto the threid and fourt generation"—wherein some care has been taken "thir two or thre yeiris bygayn"—his sovereign presently sends the Laird of Lethington with such an overture as seems the surest and readiest means to bring it to pass. Requests credence for him as to himself. The Court. *Signed:* James Stewart.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* ". . . Erle of Mar to M^{r} Secr."

May 29. **1107.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the 7th [27th?] instant I received both your letters of the 20th and 22^{d} together. The next day having to do with the Council for answer of letters to me from Sir John Foster touching the Borders, I repaired to Court and communicated your news to the Earls of Mar and Marishall. Though we knew some things could not be "verie pleasant" to the Queen's grace, yet by their advice I let her grace know what I had heard, and it came to pass as we judged. She sees so great appearance of her uncles' utter overthrow, that she laments their "unadvised enterprince" as not only bringing their persons in danger, but also "in hatred and dysdayne of maynie princes of the worlde"; fearing also, instead of their counsel towards the uniting of these two realms in amity, that their doings shall alter the Queen's Majesty's mind, or at least make her colder in heart and good will to "her and hers." And therein blames them much more, than she can my sovereign, or any other prince adversary to them. But she trusts,

Elizabeth.
1562. as herself remains in the same mind, that whatever others do, her "credyd" shall not be diminished.

I answered as I thought fittest to comfort her, both to refer her uncles' doings to the will of "Good," and "that yf ther were no moe leefte of her graces kynne but her Majestie alone, yet yt were possible that in tyme she sholde fynde in her alone that, that in her uncles she never looked for; and seinge that God had placed her a Quene in thys countrie, whear her uncles had no righte, that she wolde delighte and tayke cheif pleasure in those whoe were beste hable to do her Majestie good, or moste of power to annoye, yf newe dyscordes (which God forbede) shulde arrise."

Then after "a good space" we talked of the interview, and I alleged "(as a conjecture of my owne)," that the time of year was far passed, the journey long and the train great, making fit preparation difficult. She admitted none of these, but trusted better comfort on Lethington's return, than from me. To prove her grace, I asked her what it were worse if it might be next summer? 'Yes' saythe she 'yt maye be, but never better nor so well as nowe, and those' saythe she, 'that wylbe thoccasion of the staye of thys at thys tyme, I feare wylbe lyttle hable to do me good the nexte yere.' I believe she meant her uncles, and that the Queen's Majesty would not go far from London till matters in France were appeased. In uttering these words ("before God yt is trewe) the teares fell from her cheakes, which she coulered not so well," but some though far enough off, perceived them, and judged that my news had been heavier than they were. 'You maye not' saythe she agayne unto me, 'thynke myche of yt thoughe I tender the cawse of my uncles; you knowe howe dere theie are to me, and what honour theie have receaved of the Quene my good syster for my sake, and now,' saythe she, 'I wolde be lothe ether to leese them, or that theie sholde leese the favour of so worthye a princesse as my good syster is.' She is in great doubt if she shall see the Queen's Majesty this year, and many here are of mind it will not be. I send by her grace's request, a packet of letters to be delivered to Lethington, wherein I believe is a letter to the Queen with somewhat in favour of her uncles. She earnestly requested, if I had more news, to make her participant; I said I doubted doing so, as I saw her grace so sorrowful with the others. Then she departed to her cabinet where "she weapte a good space," and then wrote these letters, which she sent to me by 5 o'clock this morning. I conferred long with Mar on these; he finds as you write, that the time for the interview is far spent, but the necessity thereof is great. "The fortune, howe sharpe so mever yt be, that maye chance unto her uncles, cane not be greatlye lamented amongeste us." He heartily thanks you for your friendly advice to beware of "ligier de maine," whereof we have many pretty parts played. On Wednesday afternoon* the Swedish ambassador talked long with the Queen, and after him the French man "verie longe alone." Their purposes are not yet come to light; wherein I trust Lethington will be plain with you. They dined with Mar next day: I know not when they depart, though they earnestly "solicite" it. Edinburgh, at 7 a.m. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

* May 27th.

Elizabeth.
1562. May 29. **1108.** JOHN WYLLOK TO CECILL.

At my friends' request, I was "contented" to resign my parsonage of Loughborowe to M^r^ Whittingham, and to obtain my Lord Hastings' good will, he caused my lord of Bedford, my lord Robert, and M^r^ Goodryk to move his lordship, who answered, that having already granted the "advousion" of same to one of his chaplains named Adams, he could not with honour revoke it. "Albeit our state is here uncerteyne and I very unable to lyve here without that whiche I have of it, yet if it might have been bestowed upon soome honest lerned man, I coulde have ben contented to have departed with the same." But as my lord would otherwise bestow it, I shall most humbly desire your honour, that "I may be here and kepe the same for this v or vj yeres, and I trust it shalbe soo used as God shalbe there served, and the frutes bestowed to his and the worldes contentacion." Edinburgh. *Signed:* John Wyllok.

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). Inclosed in next.

May 30. **1109.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Though I have little will to sue your honour in any private cause, either my own or another's—yet the friendship I have found "at thys bearers brother handes M^r^ Willockes," makes me bolder. Your honour knows what labour has been made to the Lord of "Loutheborrowe" that M^r^ Willockes might resign his benefice to some fit worthy man to enjoy it, seeing his vocation is now in Scotland: which the said lord has always been against ("I wyll not saye with what zeale") and will place a papist priest therein to the great slander of the Queen's godly proceedings. Seeing therefore he cannot "by hys owne presens" enjoy it, or come by my lord's favour to bestow it, his humble suit and mine in his behalf is, that your honour be a mean to her Majesty for her gracious licence to him to enjoy it for 5 years, in his absence finding a sufficient man to discharge his duty, "and bestowinge the reveneus therof within the realme to godlye uses, not desyeringe for the tyme of his beinge here, to fare one pennye the better for yt, as the worlde shalbe judge therof." For the friendship I have had of him, and his good will to the country, I am thus bold. Edinburgh. [*The signature cut off, ante* 6 *Oct.* 1826.]

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

June 1. **1110.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for Arthur Granger merchant of Edinburgh, his factors, &c., to trade between Scotland and France, &c., through her realm, for a year. Under her signet. Palace of Holyrood House, 20^th^ of her reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusignes, Marie R.

Broad sheet. *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

June 3. **1111.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Though I doubt not you have heard more by Lethington of the

Elizabeth.
1562. occasion of the Swedish embassy coming, then I write: one thing I can report not yet come to his ears. On Sunday last * the ambassador took leave of the Queen's grace without "longe purpose"; he received letters to his master, with safe conduct for the King with 60 ships to arrive on any "coste" of her realm, for the space of 2 years. The ambassador was presented with "ij fayer basins and eauers, ij broode cuppes, and two standinge peeces of silver." To Monsieur Varrance there was given a chain worth 140 crowns, and to the Secretary another worth 100.

They embarked on Tuesday † "rathe" in the morning with a fair wind, and by this time judged well on their way. He had the honour to "banckquet" six of the Queen's chief ladies, as I hear, very "honorablye" treated. To one of them (I know not yet to which) he gave the King's picture to be presented to the Queen, "the verrie whole boddie, as I thynke your honour have seen the lyke." However she likes it we cannot yet judge, but I am assured it is placed in her "secrete cabinet" among things she esteems, "ether for antiquetie, noveltie, or that she dothe tayke pleasure in." This I write to none but your self, being committed to me in assurance of my silence. Monday before they left this town for Leith, at 4 p.m., the Frenchman that brought me the letters from his country man the prisoner, came he said, to bid me farewell in name of his master Monsieur Varrance, who was sorry he could not at least speak with me. I questioned him further of the prisoner: he assures me it is true, and the Queen's Majesty shall shortly hear otherwise. He thinks the ambassador that was in England advertised it from thence, "for he‡ was xiiij dayes in the Courte before anye suche crime was laide unto his charge." As I thought it should be kept very secret, I asked if he thought that the ambassador or others, since they came to this country, have ever talked of it in hearing of those that might spread it? He assures me he never spoke of it, nor heard word of it since he came from Sweden. He said he thought his master would have spoken to me (if opportunity had served) but he could not without suspicion, "whear unto (he saythe) that the whole nation is farre inclined." For his apparent good meaning, and further promise if he chance to be here again, as his master trusts to be shortly—I gave him a couple of angels for a remembrance; advising him to comfort his countryman in his trouble, with the assurance that if innocent, and a noble man unjustly suspected "of a shamfull crime," God will deliver him.

On Monday last there was a new proclamation against the sayers or hearers of mass, to the great regret of the miserable Papists. The occasion arose on certain in the west country as the Earl of Eglinton and bishop of S^{t} Andrews, that have their daily masses. The pain is death, "reservinge all wayes her owne libertie within her howse."

On Monday next she goes to Dunfermline—there to abide Lethington's coming. Many doubt the interview this year—it is so far past. Others think that the Queen's Majesty so respects "the furtherance of Chrystes cawse and the necessitie of those that are nowe travailinge in France to the mayntayninge of his trothe," that she will this year take no long voyage. Yet this Queen will hardly think it was earnestly meant unless it take place this year. Though I know it will

* May 31st. † June 2^{d}. ‡ The prisoner?

Elizabeth.
1562. be more for her subjects' commodity, less charge to herself, and more honorable to have it next year, yet on this point we depend on your wills, and desire only to let it appear the stay is not in us, if it take not effect out of hand. All men that shall go are warned, as in the enclosed copy of the Queen's letter. This afternoon, Tuesday, the Earls of Mar, Morton, &c., went to the castle to visit Arran; who is in good health, his wits serving him as well as ever they did, and greatly desires to be at liberty. How expedient this is, you can judge by what Lethington has told you. They did not speak with Bothwell and "Mr Gawen." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp. Holograph*; *also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Inclosed in the same:—

(The Queen to the Laird of Ormistoun.)

Commanding him or his son to be ready against the 15th July next, well furnished for 2 or 3 months, to attend her to meet the Queen of England near the Borders: and as her whole train will be "cled in dule," to dress himself and his company in that sort. Requiring his answer in writing with diligence. Edinburgh, "the penulte daye of May 1562. Mari R."

1 *p. Copy in Scottish contemporary hand. Addressed:* "To oure traist frend the Lard of Ormistoun."

June 8. **1112.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for David Betoun of Melgund to pass through England to France and back, with letters close and patent, &c., for half a year. Under her signet and hand. Palace of Holyrood house, 20th of reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusignes, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed

June 9. **1113.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the 8th I received a pacquet directed to this Queen by your order from Lethington, which came to her in so good season that she was right well contented. She rejoices at what he writes of the continuance of amity, whereof she says she makes greater account than anything else in the world; and her desire to see her continues "all wayes one," though she mistrusts it cannot be this year, wherein she refers all to her grace's will. This day she passed to Dunfermline, where I think she will attend Lethington's coming. She required me to send your honour these letters from herself to be delivered to him.

Fettiplace, Whyteheede and others are arrived in Lochryan [Loughe Rien] in the west seas, with great prizes of wine and sugar. On my motion, order is taken to apprehend them. They are very strong, and come not "aland," but have men of the country that repair to them. If this comes to hand before Lethington's departure he shall know your mind herein. Lord Mar requires me to write his hearty commendations. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1 *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Also by Cecill:* "To Whaddon, xij: to Grafton vj: to Northampton xvij, or Mr Spencers houss: to Stamford, Sir Thomas Cave, xj." (*Calculations for a journey.*)

Elizabeth.
1562. June 10. **1114.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for Pompe Cynthie and two companions on horseback, to pass to France through her realm, with five "halknay" horses; to endure 4 months. Under her signet. Dunfermline, 20th of reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusignes, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.

June 12. **1115.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Commending to his favour Signor Pompeo Cyntheo Italian, a gentleman in good credit with the Queen's grace and her Council, for a passport to France "with certayne horses sent from the Quenes grace to some frendes of hers ther." Further that he might receive the honour to have presence of the Queen's Majesty, whom he honours and is always ready to serve. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

¾ *p. No address or flyleaf.*

June 17. **1116.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I have received your letters and the packet from Lethington to his sovereign: the long space between their date and delivery to me—8 days—makes me think the posts do not their duties, and many times I have marked the like. Being "delivered me" at Edinburgh at the end of my dinner, upon Sunday * I gave them myself to the Queen at her rising from table after supper at Dunfermline. In the packet from Lethington there was a letter to her from the Queen's Majesty, which first she read, and then put it "into her boosame nexte unto her schyne [skin]," which I did not so well mark then as after. After she had read Lethington's letter, containing his whole discourse with the Queen and her Council, she declared to Lord Mar and me the effect of both these letters, and seemed so well contented that neither of us needed to add anything more. As in her letter from Lethington there was no news of France, she desired to know what we heard, wherein we had as little to say as she, and showed both our letters. Then she entered with me privately whether the interview was like to take effect this year or not? Whereto I said that Lethington more than I could give judgment on, being so far from the chief place of resolution. The chief impediments were (1) the shortness of time, and (2) the troubles in France—I knew no others. With this she seemed somewhat satisfied; 'And above any thinge' saythe she, 'I desyer to see my good syster, and nexte that we maye lyve lyke good systers togyther, as your mestres haythe wrytten unto me that we shall. I purpose' saythe she, 'to sende La Crock to your mestres, and then farther abowte some busynes of myne owne. I have here' saythe she, 'a ringe with a diamonde fasshiond lyke a harte: I knowe nothynge that cane resemble my good wyll unto my good syster better then that—my meaninge shalbe expressed by wrytinge in a fewe verses, which you shall see before you departe, and whatso mever lackethe therin, lette yt be reported by your wrytinge. I wyll' saythe she,

* 14th.

Elizabeth.
1562. 'wytnes the same with my owne hande, and cawle God to recorde that I speake yt as I thynke yt with my harte, that I do as myche rejoyce of that contynuance of frendeshipe that I truste shalbe betwene the Quene my syster and me, and the people of bothe realmes, as ever I dyd in anye thynge in my lyf.' With these words she took out of her "boosame" the Queen's Majesty's letter, and after reading a line or two, put it in the same place, saying 'Yf I coulde put yt nerrer my hart, I wolde.' 'Nowe' saythe she, 'I have some what to do more then I hade, for nowe ether I must alter my lettre that I purposed to sende by La Crock, or els I muste wryte a newe.' Somewhat she also said of what Lethington had written of the difficulty found by divers of the Queen's Majesty's Council—allowing it well, considering their duties and place.

Next morning she delivered me a letter from Lord Hume, advertising that my sovereign had her ships ready with 8000 men, it was thought to support the Protestants, except under that "couller" there was any other pretence. When her grace saw me laugh at that, 'Well' saythe she, 'you knowe that my lord Hume hathe a castle to keape—I wyll not be verie hastie to beleeve, nor I dowbt no suche daynger as he meanethe, and I truste that for the matters of France, that theie wilbe accordede, so that your mestres shall not neade to be at anye suche charge." There are many such tales, and no day without some news to make her doubt the amity, or of tumults among themselves, or some mischief or other. But she is now so well accustomed to the like, that she promises to give no hasty credit to them. She required me to stay my writings one day, that La Crock might deliver them, lest I think some news of her present might reach my sovereign's ears before arrival of the bearer. So having taken my leave towards Edinburgh, because her grace removed next day to Allowaye a place of Lord Erskine's, and from thence to Stirling, she required me to meet her there in 4 or 5 days, as I purpose to do.

I gave your commendations to the Earl of Mar, who desires to be better thought of by you than he can speak or write—and be esteemed rather for his good meaning than words. He likes the resolution on the meeting "mervileus well. Thone maye be better dyfferred, then thother,* yf neade be, not releved; and as he saythe. *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, magis amica Veritas.*" All godly men hope this of the Queen's Majesty, "that seinge God hathe made her an instrumente to replant his trewe worde agayne in her owne realme, to be a comfort and a supporte unto those of thys nation that were in miserie and in affliction for Chrystes cawse, that nowe her Majestie wyll not see them destitute of her aide that are in the lyke daynger that theye before wer, and nowe God by her, hathe delivered." Though nothing can be more agreeable to "all honeste" of this country, than to have the two Queens see each other; yet the other so much "surmountethe the affections of men, that all other considerations oughte to be set aparte." This "in one mans person" I write to you as the opinion of all the godly I have spoken with since the "cawse" was first thought of. "Of my owne heade," I will remind your honour, what little appearance there is yet that this Queen will easily alter her mind in religion; and what assured concord may be grounded therein, you know better than I, which with Lord Mar and many others I lament

* The Huguenots.

Elizabeth. 1562. with my heart. Lethington's earnest desire for success of his legation, peradventure makes him little consider this; yet a great many hope that my sovereign may be a mean to change this Queen's opinion, which causes them to take the journey that would rather tarry at home. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

4 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer seal: quartered as before—"1561 above."*

June 20. Cotton Calig., B. x. fol. 209. **1117. THE MEETING OF THE QUEENS.**

Reasons for and against the interview.

FOR:—(*inter alia*). It would dissolve the old league of Scotland and France offensive and defensive against England, for these 478 years,* whereby England has sustained more losses than by any other means.

AGAINST:—Suspicions of the Scots' object—furtherance of their Queen's title, comfort to Papists, &c.

4 *pp. Corrected draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by him).

June 26. **1118. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.**

Since my last to your honour, I had advertisement that on the 18th instant a legate from the Pope to this Queen arrived at Dundee, conveyed by a Scottish friar of Louvain. Word was brought to the Queen's grace, and for the time he was secretly kept in a house of the "sheryffe of Arrell," a fit host for such a guest. The Queen at first hearing, not considering so far as she did after conference with Mar, purposed to send the Lord Seton, to bring him here and lodge him safely in the town near her. This soon altered after some contradiction: for Mar showed how loth he would be to be noted to remain where any such person was received, who might be occasion of "subvertion" of the state, and of more danger to her person than all the force she had could withstand. Herein somewhat more was said to her grace, both of the Queen my sovereign's liking, and also how she herself stood at present with her subjects at home, and neighbours abroad.

It is resolved that he remain where he is, till the lords assemble on the 15th of next month, and then, as thought good, he shall either be sent for to Court, or returned back from whence he came. She knows I have been made privy, though her grace never spoke to me of the matter: yet she knows by the Lords of Mar and Erskine, and the Justice Clerk my misliking that any such man should be received gratefully in her country, who I have good cause to suspect was brought in by some papists to work mischief, or hinder the good purposes now in hands between the two princesses; and if that should be, I could do no less in duty to God and obedience to my sovereign, but retire myself till my mistress's further pleasure was known. I would be glad to know my sovereign's pleasure, if this Queen be so far bent against the advice of her Council as to speak with him herself, though little may follow of it.

* Thus since 1084!

Elizabeth.
1562. Whether his coming be to confirm her in opinion, to move her against haste in embracing amity, or to sue for any man's favour in marriage, your honour can judge better than I.

It has been often inquired of me what I have heard of the Duke of Nemours? and suspected there are some privy devices and conferences more secret between this Queen and him than the world knows. In Lent a gentleman who had served him, arrived at the west seas with a message that Martigues' wife was brought abed of a daughter; and was honourably received, shortly dismissed, and well rewarded. Within this month was sent away a son of the Cardinal's, "named by his father Beton, called with us Monsieur Mildrome," by the west seas to baptise in this Queen's name the said Martigues' daughter, who told a friend of his, he would see "Piemounte" before he came back.

The bruit is great of the King of Sweden's arrival this year, his great preparation and his ships in readiness. Whatsoever is told you, "I do beleeve that he wyll fynde favour inoughe, as myche paradventour for his substance as for hymself"!

About 4 months past, 2 gentlemen came to Berwick that called themselves "Allemaynes," and as they had neither passport nor safe conduct, were sent to the Court. I am often inquired at, and as it please you, will next time give answer.

M^r Colviche leaves for home this day, who has been here from Lord Grey on some Border matters, specially a cause against M^r "Nevels."

It is almost a year since I had Alexander Duglas Scottish man, in prison, at the suit of M^r Renold Lee of Yorkshire from whom he had taken 400*l.* sterling, but has proved nothing effectual against him: I have often written to Lee and his servant in York, but have not heard of either since 14 days before Christmas. The prisoner is like shortly to be "absolved," and I as pursuer, cast in damage and interest. As I had not "waded" so far herein without express command of the Council, and her grace's letters to this Queen in M^r Lee's favour, it is worthy to be considered of your honour. I have also been bold to write to the Lord President of York in whose jurisdiction he dwells. Stirling. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed. Wafer signet as before.*

June 30. **1119.** THE MEETING OF THE QUEENS.
Cotton Calig., B. x. fol. 207.

Arguments against and for the Queens' meeting.

AGAINST:—[*The same as in paper of* 20 *June—in more detail*] *Inter alia:*—The great wet that has fallen will prevent carriage by land to Nottingham.

FOR:—Their great desire to meet—time of year not so late as when Henry 8^th^ went to York on 12^th^ September—provisions ample except "wyne and fowle."

4 *pp. Holograph of Cecill, marginal notes by another hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Ult. Junij 1562," &c.

June . **1120.** INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR HENRY SYDNEY.
Cotton Calig., B. x. fol. 211.

Instructions by the Queen's Majesty to Sir Henry Sydney knight

Elizabeth.
1562. Lord President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, sent to her good sister the Queen of Scots—giving her reasons for deferring their intended interview till next year.

9½ *pp. Contemporary official fair copy.*

July 5. **1121.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the 3rd instant late at night at Stirling, I received yours of 26th of last, whereby I see how uncertain it is whether the interview take place this year—and the necessity otherwise so great. This Queen's desire I think equal with any others, but if I am not deceived, the furniture for such a voyage will hardly be found, not for lack of anything fit for her own person and household, but for many others commanded to find themselves ready in such sort as befits the honour of the country and their duty to their sovereign. To be bold: it were for some causes as good for the people of this realm to have it take place next year, when they may do things with good deliberation and ease, than to be pressed now, the time of year far passed, and many other impediments as you can better conceive than I can write. However nothing could be so grievous to this Queen as any man to seem to mistrust that it should not, or cannot be out of hand, though she should take her journey within 10 days, and not have 40 persons to attend her—such is her affection and desire to see my sovereign. I know not also what moves her ladies and gentlemen that so stir her continually up to hasten this voyage, as their goodwill thereto in nothing appears more. Hereof this present day I have spoken at good length with her grace, who resolves that whatever becomes of the interview this year, there shall be no change of her goodwill to my sovereign.

I find her as much grieved at the "discourtoysie" of Monsieur "Domall" [D'Aumale] as though the "lyke spyte" had been wrought to herself. Before I could disclose it to her (not having conferred with Mar who was absent), she hearing it from Lethington, told me herself and greatly misliked it. What she has written to the Queen's Majesty and Lethington, your honour shall doubtless learn from them.

The news you sent me are not yet so well believed of the Queen and hers, as I trust they are true. I thought after communicating them to Lord Mar, to have been the first reporter to her grace in as good words as I could; but meantime a packet from Lethington came to her, making such doubt of the verity as if "allmoste nothyng at all"! I was as well content to let her believe as she pleased, as to give her the news from you. For any talk I have heard hitherto either of her or hers, "ether she dyssimulethe trimlye bothe in countenance and wordes, that that she hathe harde of her uncles hurt and deathe of the Marshall St Andre, &c., or hathe harde nothynge of yt at all in the larde of Ledingtons lettres—which I beleeve not"!

Mar is looked for in a day or two: on advice he made a quiet "roode" on the thieves of Tividale and Lidesdale, who have a common resort on certain market days in some Border towns, thinking to set upon them so suddenly that he should take many "as ons his feither dyd vjxx at one tyme." So on Wednesday last* at night he

* July 1st.

Elizabeth.
1562. took horse from Edinburgh, appointing to be at Selkirk [Selcricke] "(xviij myles from thence)*" next day at the chief time of market —but no news has yet come of his doings.

It is a comfort to hear news from your honour—for such as comes to "the Frenche eares is so metamorphosed that yt bryngethe us all moste to our wyttes endes to here them."

I hear now that the "noble ambassadeur" is a "Jesuiste" sent from the Cardinal of Ferrara [Farrare] to make entry for some more honourable personage; and is still at the sheriff's house of Arrell. The men of Edinburgh "have no wyll of hym"; he landed first at Leith, convoyed by a Scottish man "for a fryer that had loste his frocke in Lovane," and finding it incommodious, went to the other place.

There is lately a quarrel fallen between Lord Ogilvy and a son of Huntly's named the "Larde of Finlater," and Ogilvy is sore hurt on his right arm.

Monsieur de Crock has made very honest report by letters to this Queen, her gentlewomen and his friends here, of his good contentment and the Queen's Majesty's present to him. It pleased her grace to show me some verses in "Italion" from the Queen's Majesty to her, so "mervileus fayer wrytten" that all who saw them wondered, which she requites with a "fewe mo in number, wrytten in the beste sorte she cane." Stirling. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

The Earl of Eglinton is divorced from the Duke's daughter for "advouterie," and married to the old sheriff of Ayr's wife "not above xiiij dayes," and now she begins to repent her bargain!

Monsieur de Varrance that was with the Swedish ambassador, lately wrote that the King is fully purposed to be here before winter. He is now sent again to France, as we conjecture to take advice with the Cardinal and others. I saw a letter he wrote to a gentlewoman here in Court, desiring to have "hys sute" preferred to the Queen's grace. I think he means rather his "master's sute" to her mistress, than any of his own.

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

July 7. **1122.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Knowing most part of these whose names I inclose to your honour,—all officers in the Queen's grace's house, desiring to return to France their country, with her grace's leave, I pray they may have favourable passport. Stirling. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 8. **1123.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

In my last of the 6th I wrote of Mar's enterprise. It came to pass so well, that he arrived at Hawick on Thursday last† about 10 o'clock, surrounded the town, and himself from the market place caused a proclamation that no man on pain of death should receive a known thief in his house, or hide any suspected. Whereon all in the sheets or hidden, were taken to the number of 53—whereof 20

* Distance as the crow flies—35 miles. † July 2d.

Elizabeth.
1562. were "quytte" by the Assise, the rest condemned; whereof 22 were presently drowned there "for lacke of trees and halters," 6 hanged at Edinburgh yesterday being Monday.* Four of the Master of Maxwell's own men were sent to him to be executed, and the rest presently in the castle of Edinburgh in the Queen's will. The example is good, and the honour not little to those that executed it; and another is shortly purposed in no less good hope, except that the thieves assure themselves of reset in England—to avoid which the Queen's Majesty's Council will be written to for instructions to her Wardens. Divers of the prisoners confessed the names of the common receivers in England both of the West and Middle Marches, whereof the wardens shall be advertised. Besides being enemies to all "vertu and pollicie," those Tividale and Lidesdale thieves are those in whom Bothwell most trusts, if he gets his liberty.

James MacConnel and I are at full accord—the money is in the Justice Clerk's lands, and I look daily for Butshede. He is marvellous poor, and as he wrote to me, I paid his debt of 20*l.* sterling to two merchants of Ayr and Irvine, trusting to the "gentlenes" of Sir Raphe Bagenal, with whom your honour's word may do much good. I know the man may do his country service, and therefore more desire his liberty. This day 4 of this Queen's officers departed to France, with my letters to your honour for their passport. I see not that this Queen yet understands of her uncle's hurt or the overthrow of the rest, and find none so hardy as to tell her, though the news is common in this country. We attend daily Lethington's return, and despair of the interview, but not discouraged for the year to come. Stirling. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

July 10. **1124.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I am required by the Earl of Marre and Lord Erskine to write to your honour in favour of those named herein, for the Queen's Majesty's licence to pass to France, where some "have charge" and others necessary occasion to be. Stirling. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(List of names.)

"John Arskin, Thomas Douglas, Hary Balfowr, Johne Neisbeit, Wilyam Lewistown, Wilyam Schaw, Robert Crechtown, John Lyvystone."

In a Scottish hand, on small scrap of paper.

July 15. **1125.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

As I received no letter by Lethington, I have the less to write on. There could be no more joyful news to this princess than assurance from my sovereign that the interview should take place—whereto she makes all possible preparation, and this day again sent

* July 6th.

Elizabeth.
1562. her letters to all her nobility to meet her with speed at Edinburgh, whither she departs to-morrow.

It pleased her grace, immediately after receiving my sovereign's picture from Lethington, to send for me, and after rehearsing what by his report had been said of her by her Majesty, &c., she showed me the picture and asked 'Howe lyke thys was unto her lyvelye face'? I answered that I trusted her grace would shortly "be judge therof her self, and fynde myche more perfection then coulde be sette forthe with the arte of man." 'That' saythe she, 'is the thynge that I have moste desyered ever since I was in hope therof, and she shall well assure herself ther shalbe no staye in me, thoughe yt were to tayke anye payne or to do more then I maye well saye, and I truste that by that tyme that we have spoken togyther, our hartes wylbe so eased that the greateste greef that ever after shalbe betwene us, wylbe when we shall tayke leave thone of thother; and let God be my wytnes, I honor her in my harte, and love her as my dere and naturall syster.' Believe me I do not feign.

Next day being present at her dinner, she said to me that Lethington told her that morning, that the Queen's Majesty had been "for a space evle dysposed," and asked what I had heard? I said I knew only by Lethington's report, and somewhat otherwise. 'God forbid' saythe she 'that anye suche thynge sholde be'! She asked me further of the "habilitie" of her body in time of health, of her exercise, diet and many more questions, that I could not answer, save by report. 'Well' saythe she, 'I truste that God wyll do better unto us bothe then so that ether of us sholde be sycke, and for my parte yf Godes wyll be so in her, I wolde that I myghte beare half the payne rather then that sholde staye our yornaye. I praye you' saythe she, 'advertyse me so sone as you cane what you here farther; for trulye' saythe she, 'I shall not be merrie untyll I here that she be well.'

Since Lethington's return, and assured knowledge that the interview shall take place, I have communed with divers for their opinions and judgments as of a thing now resolved on. As I have found in England, so do I continually here, many more against than for it, more for private respects than good reason or public weal. Her grace knows them, and will provide I trust against them. Many also, who doubt that their desire for inordinate liberty shall be bridled, wince [wynche] continually, and shift how to continue to live "withowte feare of God or due obbedience unto their sovereigne." I hear that the Duke and Earl Huntly for all their "franckenes and free offers before," trust now to put off this journey, the one "with a dyseased arme," the other with "a soore ledge" [leg], which, however, true it be (yet I believe neither) imports little to their princess's honour, or are greatly to be doubted, if they tarry at home. Seeing then the two princesses' hearts are so wedded together, and the purpose so godly, but to live in love, I doubt not however the world rage thereat, the greater will be their glory, and success the happier. This Queen and many of her subjects so desire it, and I think little account need be made of the rest in hindering it. It may please you to know that as there are 200 and "oode" Liddesdale bills to be redressed for, the Laird of Cesford warden opposite to Sir John Foster, is straitly ordered to make it, and "in fawlte" thereof, to deliver two Eliotes "the principall and cheif of that clane," to Sir John—an example not lately used, I am sure. These two have long been in the Castle

Elizabeth.
1562. of Edinburgh, with 2 others of their surname of less value. They remain prisoners for all attemptates that shall be done by their surname hereafter; and the others that are released, to satisfy for all past, or else suffer by the law of the Border. This Earl of Mar is become so terrible to these thieves, that it is expected before 20 days pass, many will come with "wytheies" about their necks to put themselves in the Queen's will—"Amen"! I have received by Lethington, the Council's letters, and copy of their letter to Lord Dacre for redress to be made to the Master of Maxwell. On declaring it to her grace, she has willed me to assure my sovereign, that as her father was ever an enemy to offenders here, so will she not spare whosoever he be that disturbs the common amity between them.

Within these two days she had advertisement from my lord of Argyll that there was apprehended in the Isles an English pirate with some Scottish men. The Queen commanded to hang the Scots, and advertise what English men they were. I hear they are of the company of the Fettiplaces, Johnstone, and Whythede, with divers of Ireland, 3 great vessels in good equipage, and much mischief will insue if their "dyvilyshe" purposes be not stayed.

I am required from the Queen's self to send this pacquet to your honour to be sent to Sir Nicolas Throkmorton for delivery to a servant of hers with diligence. You have I am sure heard of him that came with Lethington, to be sent to France for her grace's provision—it is hoped he will make good diligence, for the time is short.

She purposes to make her train as short as she may, though divers desire to see my mistress—at least I assure you they are "glad to beholde her pycture." She purposes to show herself "verie liberall"; hereof you shall know more by next. I am ashamed at so "unadvisedlye" writing, but my meaning is to do my best, and I trust your honour will pardon the rest. Stirling. "Scribled in haste . . . rathe in the mornynge." *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

6 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

July 15. **1126.** POSTPONEMENT OF THE TWO QUEENS' MEETING.

The Queen of England, reciting the Articles concluded at Greenwich on 6th July instant, between her commissioner Lord William Howarde baron of Effingham, K.G., and chamberlain of her household, and William Maitland principal secretary and commissioner for the Queen of Scots, agreeing that the Queens should meet at the city of York, or in default thereof at some convenient place between the same and the river of Trent, betwixt the 20th August and 20th September, providing (*inter alia*), that neither Queen should be moved to any thing prejudicial, though the Queen of England might require ratification of the treaty at Edinburgh on 3d July 1560—that the Scottish Queen's train might be 1000 persons of all ranks, to be carefully recorded, named, &c.—that she might pass through Berwick with not more than 200 at once, the rest entering by Norham or Wark. She and her household using the rites of their religion as at home—provision as to exchange of 10,000*l.* Scottish gold and silver for English money, the gold not under 21 "carettes" in fineness, the silver not under 10 oz. per pound weight, &c., &c. But the Queen having since

Elizabeth.
1562. the conclusion of said accord, for divers weighty and great considerations presently imparted to her good sister of Scots, the lets and hindrances whereof from foreign parts are beyond her power to remedy,—has postponed the time of their said meeting "to the springe of the next yere," trusting God will by that time remove said impediments, pledging herself to meet her said sister at York, or her castles of Pomfret or Nottingham, at any time between the 30th May next and the last of August following, the time and place to be appointed by her said sister, and signified in writing before the last of August next to the Queen, who will accept before the last of October. Ratifying the accord, and also the safe conduct already granted to her said sister, &c. Subscribed with her own hand under her great seal. Manor of Greenwich, 15 July 1562, 4th of her reign.

5 *pp. Copy in an English official hand. Titled* (by Randolphe): "Contracte at Barwicke. Contracte for metinge of the two Quenes at Yorke." *Indorsed* (by him): "Contracte of the two Quenes metinge that shode have byne at Yorke 1562."

(1) Another copy of same.

4 *pp. Another English official hand.*

July 25. **1127.** SIR HENRY SYDNEY TO CECILL.

Leaving London the 16th at noon, I arrived at Berwick the 19th about "the lyke ower," came to this town the 21st, and had audience the 23d. "With great greefe my ambassade was hard concerning the dyfferring of the entervyu, as well apered by dyvers manyfest demonstratyonys not only in woordys but in contenans and watery eyes"; and had she not had some "inkling" of my message before by Mar and Lethington, "whych deferred the hering of me one day, and drave her into such a passyon as she dyd kepe her bed all that day," her sorrow they said would have showed much more. But now she is so well satisfied of our sovereign's perfect amity, that she accepts the considerations for delay as reasonable, showing great joy in hope of it to come, and knows the form of "oure mastres" offer, which Mar and Lethington have seen, but yet keep me in suspense of the "acceptatyon partycularly," or of my departure hence. I will write more from Berwick. Edinburgh. *Signed:* H. Sydney.

1 *p. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk). *Wafer signet: quartered armorial shield:* 1st and 4th *quarters a pheon.*

July 29. **1128.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

I received by my lord ambassador your letter of the 10th instant, whereby and his report, I understood the stay of the interview, whereat I am most sorry, both for itself and the impediments "growing" upon the Protestants' state in France, "being a greate deale worsse then I eyther wis or did look for." How religion stands here, the ambassador can report—"which by Godis grace shall admit no change nor alteration, whatsoever be thoght or wroght in the other places, at least so far as shall ly in ws, or anything we may do eyther by wit force or credit." It was easy to judge by your letter, "that your cholerr wes styrred: yet I pray yow let it not be further extended

Elizabeth.
1562. "then is reasonable; be therin ane imetatour off God, who sayth that *filius non portabit iniquitatem patris.* Let not your good will towardes the Quene my maistres be diminished for anything yow think amiss in her onclees, at l[east] so long as yow shall see her affection towardes your soveraigne remayne alwayes one—which I dare well ondertake will still continew." Let no stay be with you for next interview, there shall be none on our part. The Queen would out of hand have delivered to the ambassador her acceptance of the accord, and appointed the time and place for next year's interview; but as there was almost none of her Council with her, it was thought fit in a matter of such moment, that it should first be communicated to them. This but *pro forma tantum:* for it will behove them all to yield to her earnestness, and "I dout not by Godis grace" you shall have full resolution to your content within this month; for she has sent already for the principal nobility, who had retired to their own houses to prepare for the journey. I will remit the report how this realm stands, to my lord ambassador. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Aug. 1. **1129.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I will not take on me to relate anything of the negotiation of Sir Henry Sydney lord president, with this Queen: but will make you privy to some other things. The pope's messenger, of whom I wrote before, was so misliked amongst "the beste sorte of men," that the Queen was in doubt openly to receive him, and he also to adventure showing himself. So he kept himself quiet for a time, as though little account was made of him, or to let the wonder of so "strange a monster as a Jesuiste" in Scotland, might be blown over, commonly as men say "not above ix dayes." On Friday last the 24th July, he was very secretly convoyed across the water to Edinburgh by the laird of Kilsyth, and kept very quietly in a house very near the Court. Next day while Mar and others were at the "sermonde," he was conveyed to her secretly, and they continued so long "in purpose," till Mar returned from sermon, who came so suddenly that he had almost taken them together. He was "shyfted" off, but not so secretly but suspicion arose; as I myself standing that day with Lethington, saw "so straynge a visage that he semed to be the self same man that before I dyd here subscribed." Talking with Lethington more at length of the "venerable prelate," he said his mistress greatly desired to speak with him, and in honour could do no less, yet not wishing her subjects to conceive worse of her than she means, and avoid the malicious reports of those that interpret all her doings to the worst, she determined to speak with him secretly. His legation was to know if she would send to the General Council, and to persuade her not to alienate her mind from the religion of her ancestors. This is only Lethington's judgment, and I report it not of any assurance, for I think there was more in it than either he or any other Scotsman yet knows. For she keeps well her own counsel, when she has no will that any man be privy to her doings.

Lethington assures me of his certain knowledge that he shall return in vain, and whatever the purposes were, nothing shall be

Elizabeth.
1562. yielded to her "that may be agaynste Chryste or his gospell," or the amity of the two Queens. Time will show how he is able to perform it. "Yt stayed onlye in the Erle of Marre that he had not byne kylled before he came unto the Quene; I knowe not whether he * maye repent yt hereafter, yf hys beinge here have wraughte farther evle then yet we cane perceave."

The Duke arrived at Edinburgh on the 25th of last, sent for by the Queen to consult on such affairs as my lord President propounded to her; he is very well taken with his sovereign and likes the accord of the interview, promising again to be there himself with any son it please her to command; as he said both to me, and to her grace in Council. "He mette by chance commynge from the Court, with my lord President as he went thyther." Of their purposes then, and at his lordship's departure, you shall know by the latter's report—all to the effect as I have before written of his good will to the Queen's Majesty and the amity. He sues for Arran's enlargement, but in vain, which grieves him very sore; and has accorded with the "venerable prelate" the bishop of St Andrews, which breeds suspicion against him, not without cause. Divers tales have been invented and carried between the Duke and Mar, causing greater mistrust and suspicion than ever. It is thought good that friends should examine the matter, and reconcile them; and Lethington has taken it in hand. The Queen I see has more mistrust than occasion is. Huntly remains sick of a sore leg; his son of whom I wrote to you that hurt Lord Ogilvy without occasion, broke prison and escaped the 25th of last month. Berwick, "rathe" in the morning. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Aug. 1. **1130.** PETITION TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS, &c.

To the Queen's most excellent Majesty and her most honourable privy council most humbly and pitifully complain, their poor orators, William Caustoun, William Smyth and other English merchants, that on 18th May 1558, their ships *The James* of Woldersweik in Suffolk, of 100 tons, and the *Primerose* of Woodbrige in same county, of 80 tons, lying at anchor in "the havin of Westmonie in Island," in the King of Denmark's waters, were violently taken by Thomas Nicolsoun of Aberdeen and John Hoge of Leith, &c. with their cargoes, &c. to the value of 2800*l.* sterling, as appears by an inventory—for which they have been long suitors in Scotland, France and Denmark to their great charges, for the offenders allege the said ships were taken as prizes, against all law. Praying for justice, &c.

1 *p. In a Scottish hand.*

(Deliverance thereon.)

"*Apud* Edinburcht *primo Augusti anno, &c. lxij°.*"

The Queen's grace ordains the Lords of Session to grant summons to the complainers, "to be callit upoun xxj dais without diet or tabill aganis the persounis complenit upoun, as thai pleis libell, or to

* Mar ?

Elizabeth.
1562. "grant thaim commissioun to advocatis or utheris cunning men to juge in this caus": or if it please them to pursue before the Admiral or his deputies, ordains the latter to do justice, as they will answer to her Highness. *Signed:* M[r] A. Hay.

Holograph. Indorsed on petition.

Aug. 4. **1131.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

If I could add to Sir Harrie Sydney's report, it should be made known to your honour. Nothing was left undone of his lordship's part appertaining to his duty; and the noblemen esteem the honour great that such a man "of place and credyt" should be sent to treat with their sovereign. By him you shall hear of the good will of others to our nation. I received from his hands the "contracte of the metinge" under her Majesty's great seal, and instructions from him how to use it. I am required to desire your favour in two special things: of the one I wrote before, viz. for the Queen's licence for a son of the Laird of "Cawder" to study in either of the universities for 2 or 3 years. He is not above 18 years, "prettilye lerned," and well travelled, his father as well affectioned to England as any man I know here. His uncle is the Lord of S[t] John's [Jones], and the Laird of Ormistoun married his sister. I need not tell your honour how it would avail the amity to have many noble and gentlemen's sons educated in England. My other request is from M[r] Knox, now as he says "a sole man" by the absence of his mother in law "Mestres Boes" [Bowes] who is willing to return again here, if she had her Majesty's licence for her self, her man and a maid, and passport for her 3 horses, whereof 2 shall return—and to take her own money, not exceeding 100*l.* sterling. He trusts this humble suit shall not be denied him, his meaning is only that she may be a "relef" in the burden of his houshold, and bringing up his children her daughter's sons. In these cases my lord President was moved at Edinburgh, and if it please you M[r] Sommer will remind you, to whom I have written to defray the charges appertaining, and if it please her Majesty to grant them, to send me the licences, with any charge as to their behaviour and usage, "as well of the lardes sonne in Englande as Mestres Boes in Scotlande."

I received your letter by one Pertrige in behalf of the merchants whose 2 ships were taken in Danish waters. My lord President and I moved her grace and Council divers times therein; and her answers by her own mouth, accorded by her Council, were such that my lord himself had little cause of misliking. I pressed as much as I could that it would please her Majesty to refer the hearing to her Secret Council; but so many reasons were given to the contrary, and so much offered to be done in the pursuers' favour, that I was content to accept, and have got "the Quenes decrete unto the Lordes of her Session" with much more favour than is commonly granted to any subject of her own. But I greatly marvel what kind of men these are, that cannot find a more sufficient man in their affairs "then thys" that was lately with me—neither instructed in the case, nor of wit to see reason, nor discreet in his doings! and so slenderly furnished with money, that he cannot tarry the needful time, nor pay the charges and fees of clerks and such like, as I have done for him. If he could have tarried, I would have given "his subplecation and

Elizabeth.
1562. answer" which now I trouble you with—not wishing the poor man's hindrance, who does as well as his wit serves him—but that the principals may work more substantially, to get any good of their cause; and they need not come or send any man hither before "Martimas nexte, for nowe is the tyme of their vacation." Let them at least send a man that can read and write, and do as he is advised. I never leave troubling you, with the unkindness of my friends and kinsmen, as when once I wrote of M^r^ Zuche of Codnor, and then of one M^r^ Renalde Lee of Yorkshire—[*as in his letter to Cecill of 26th June about Lee's absconding servant Douglas or Duddeley.*] Douglas has now been a year in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh—and there being no proof against him, a supplication was given in against me of false imprisonment, and I am condemned to pay his charges for a year, and those of his pursuit, as testified by Lee's own man, 30*l.* sterling—which I have disbursed. Notwithstanding as he is my near kinsman, nephew to the old bishop of York, D^r^ Lee, who was ever a special good friend to my father, and intended well to me as I have heard, "yf God hade geven hym lyf"—I would desire your honour that he be gently admonished by you, rather than sustain sharp reproof or other displeasure, only that I may recover what I have disbursed, and shall be forced to pay for Douglas's charges for this year in prison. Berwick. *The foot of leaf and signature have been cut off.*

5 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): ". . . by Sir Henry Sidney—with supplication of English merchantes."

Aug. 10. **1132.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Before the arrival of such as depart to-morrow for France, I thought good to advertise your honour of them; who indeed for the great credit they have with their mistress, may be the better spared. Pigilion is master of her houshold, chief in credit above any that serve her; and his wife as well favoured of the Queen as any woman that ever served her. Young Pigilion one of her grace's "kervers"; Raulet her grace's secretary your honour knows. The rest we are willing to be quit of, doubting more their return than lamenting their departure.

There is notwithstanding, a young French gentlewoman of her grace's chamber, whom she loves marvellous well, whose father is lately dead, and she unwillingly forced to return: I think her more worthy of honour than the whole company, and assure you she deserves well. They will be all recommended to the Queen's Majesty by this Queen, which she thinks no small honour for them to have a sight of her Majesty. Pigilion himself brings a dagger from her grace to my lord Robert, and recommendations to others as occasion is. To-morrow they depart, and also the Queen to Stirling, where the lords assemble the 15^th^ to take resolution for the interview next year or not. Thence she journeys as far north as Inverness [Ennernes] the furthest part of Murray—a terrible journey both for horse and man, the countries are so poor and victuals so scarce. She wills that I attend on her grace. It is thought it will be a 2 months' voyage and more, and is rather devised by herself, than greatly approved by her Council. All the Border wardens are presently here to devise with the Council for good order. What pleases me best is that the thieves have been "in hande" within these 5 days with the young

Elizabeth.
1562. Laird of Ferniherst (your honour has heard his father died lately), with the Laird of Cesford, warden of the Middle Marches, and with the Lord Justice Clerk, and taken above 1000 head of cattle. These "good fellows" are able enough for revenge, and some of the cattle are recovered and 5 thieves taken. The Master of Maxwell was also sent for, and is here; and yesterday gave in a new complaint against Lord Dacres (when I was present) that he can get no justice; for this whole year having met with him 8 or 10 days of truce, he could not get as many bills fyled as the late commissioners did in one day. And since the Queen's Majesty's last command to him (at Lethington's suit) the Master says he sent twice to appoint meetings—the first time without answer, and the second to meet the 4th instant, the Lord Dacres "shotte"; whence great disorders follow, and the thieves of either side grow proud. He also says Englishmen have sown corn growing a mile within Scotland, where is no controversy of the bounds. The Queen and Council have required me to advertise the Council or your honour that these matters may be weighed. As no day of truce is appointed, and the Master unwilling to seek any further, being so often delayed, by Lord Dacre, the Council here think good that I should write to his lordship to name a convenient day, when the Master will not fail to meet him—also it were well that some man of judgment and experience be appointed to hear their controversies. It is said, and not unknown to you, that Lord Dacres, partly with age, and other infirmities, is now almost past ability to serve; some discord there is also between him and his sons. The whole doings of that Border are guided by "one Mr Richarde Dacre, a man suspected to be nere inoughe unto hym self," that will sometimes over see what a severe man in justice would not let pass. Of the fitness of these men to minister justice and maintain amity, I will not write what I hear.

By letters to the Justice Clerk from his brother who has charge in Orkney, which I saw, he has taken 7 Englishmen of Johnston and Whitehead's company, that landed from their ship there for fresh water and victuals. I was required to know the Queen's mind by you what to do with them? Though I think 5 shall be hanged there for example, and the others sent to me here. Argyll also took some lately, of which part will be hanged, and the rest brought here, which will be cumbersome and chargeable; so I pray for speedy advice.

I thought to have stopped, but remember that the Queen's grace lately required me to write to Lord Grey at Berwick to apprehend one Captain Hepburn [Heiborne] who played of late a most shameful part with her grace, and fled into England, where she hears he is yet. "The tale is so unreverent that I knowe not in what honeste terms I maye wryte yt unto your honour—but as yt is, so shall your honour here yt. The daye before Sir Harrie Sydneis departeur, he walkinge with the Quene in the gardayne, thys Heiborne presentethe her grace a byll, which then presentlye she beinge in tawlke with Sir Harrie, tooke unopined unto the Erle of Marre to be consyderede. He not at the fyrste takinge great care of yt, at the lengethe looked in yt, and sawe ther wrytten iiij as shamfull—and, savinge your honour, as ribbalde verses as anye dyvleshe wytte coulde invent, and under them drawne with a penne the secreat members bothe of men and women in as monstrous a sorte as nothynge coulde be more shamfullye dyvisede." This offends her grace greatly, the more also that it was

Elizabeth.
1562. done at a time that might give occasion to Sir Harrie Sydney and the other gentlemen with him "to muse myche at his boldenes," or judge of herself otherwise than "occasion is geven by her or hers." She desires this man to be sent to her, and I have written therein to the Governor of Berwick. "For dyspleasure of thys, the nexte day when she harde of thys, she felle sycke," and is grieved at heart he is fled her country, not doubting but he will be apprehended, if possible. Yesterday being Sunday she fell very sick at her mass, but recovered in half an hour, and is now very well; the like has chanced to her divers times "at her cheif devotion." We hope, if it chance again, it will drive her altogether from her mass. She is greatly offended with the Duke, who has said both secretly, and openly in Council, that he thinks it not good she go into England, and that when "he graunted ther unto, he durste do no nother, bycawse his sonne was a prisoner, and he hym self knewe not what mynde was borne unto hym. Thys so lyttle agrethe with that purpose that he had with me not two dayes before, that I knowe not what I shall mayke of. I see that he seekethe so maynie wayes to his owne dystruction that I care not what becommethe of hym"!

It is above a month since the Queen had news from France; "she stondethe greatlye in dowte of her uncles, and I feare that yt is better with them then is expedient for us." Their doings are marvellously misliked here, there is "inoughe bothe saide and preached agaynst them." Word is come of some succour intended by the Queen's Majesty to be sent to the "Prince." * The love of this country to her highness daily increases, and "the godlye" pray heartily for her success in all her enterprises.

Mr Knox within 2 days, takes his progress to the west, to visit the churches "as farre as hys langage wyll beare hym," and Mr Goodman to the north, as far as the Queen intends her journey. I desire your answer on the things your honour thinks most worthy. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

6½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Some marginal notes by Cecill.*

[1562. Aug. 10.] **1133.** M. DE PINGUILLON, &c.

"Ceuls qui vont en France avecque Monsieur de Pinguillon."

M. de Pinguillon, "Madamoiselle" de Pinguillon, Mlle de Fontpertuis, and 2 "damoiselles," and 5 servants, 10 horses; M. de Pinguillon "le jeune," 3 horses; M. de Nagu, 2 horses; M. de Raulet, 2 horses; M. Benedicti,† 1 horse; M. Cheurette, 2 horses; "Le Febure," 1 horse; "le sauer (?) Bonnounour," 1 horse; "le sommeiller Debunour (?), 1 horse; "et deux chevaulx portans malles du man," 2 horses. In all, 25 horses.

½ *p. In a French hand. Probably inclosed in preceding.*

1562. Aug. 15. **1134.** MAR TO CECILL.

Representing that in the days of Queen Mary, his brother-in-law the Master of Marischal was taken prisoner and came in the hands

* Condé. † "Of Sorbone"—noted by Randolphe.

Elizabeth.
1562. of the Earl of Northumberland. Since then he has been now and then let home on band, but continually recalled and put to sore troubles and charges; and though he has "instantly" craved the Earl for it, he cannot get a reasonable ransom fixed. Requests that Cecill will procure from the Queen and Council the appointment of 2 Border personages of good estimation to meet with 2 others of Scotland to fix a reasonable ransom, and end this continual vexation. Stirling. *Signed:* James Stewart.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 16. **1135.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since I wrote on the 10th of things here, Lethington made me privy to his letters from your honour and my lord Robert, whereby he perceives well the miserable case of the Protestants in France, the cruelly used and further determined against them, "excepte that God do staye the dyvleshe rage of that wickede generation that are their persuers." Besides what comes by common report, I know this Queen has lately received letters from her friends in France, "full of greveus complayntes of the cruelties that are usede ther, which she semethe greatlye to lamente bycawse that her uncles are burdaynede therwith." Of all that you and Lord Robert wrote, no mention was made to her till my arrival "here at Sterlinge," when on conference with Mar and Lethington, we found best that whatever either of them said on that point, I should confirm on my "certayne" knowledge—as indeed I might well, having that "self same" day received the "self same" news from Sir Nicolas Throkmorton. Therein I had "longe purposes" with her grace, and left nothing unspoken, both to let her know in what danger her uncles are, the enemies "sturred" up against them, "and what miserable ende muste be of all those that are so cruell ennemies unto Chryste his people and his worde! My wyll served me farther to have saide, dieutie retayned me wheare I wanted sufficient warrant, and lothe also I was tadventeur my credit with her grace, whear I knowe yt coulde nothynge availe." I am required by her grace's self to desire your honour that these pacquets may be delivered to M. Pigilion, if possible before he leaves England: they contain only answers to her last letters, and she has no other assured means of convoy but by our sovereign's favour, for of late her letters have been stayed and opened by the Prince. Since then I have had divers purposes with many noblemen here, of the dangerous state they stand in, "yf God sholde permytte those hys ennemies in France to have the upper hande, whearby their sovereigne sholde be incouraged, and her power to put that in execution agaynste them the greater, which from the begynnynge bothe she and all hers have intendyd, which nowe moste manifestelye apperethe ther, as theie them selves shall fynde shortlye after here." They conceive much more than can be said to them, and see their own ruin, but find no remedy: "mythynkes also that theie runne hedlonge into the same." For they take no care nor confer with any, what can be done to support those now afflicted, "who travaile alone in Chrystis cawse" (whose overthrow will hazard the whole), or by what means their sovereign may be "allured" to know her duty, and live in the fear of God. For this cause Mr Knox hath both privately and openly said and written his mind to divers noblemen, and is presently in

Elizabeth.
1562. this town, and has framed a supplication to the Queen in name of the whole Church. "Whear your honour lykethe nowe so well hys ernestnes, the self same is better approved of other then yt was wonte also to be. I see not what thone or thother prevailethe."

It is known here that M. de Vielleville is arrived: we are so well assured of the Queen's Majesty's deliberate mind not to permit "the ennemies of God, the cruell ministers of the Divle, to have the government of the worlde" and exercise their cruelty as hitherto, that we fear not he can alter her godly purpose, "to be all wayes and in all places the defence of Chrystis quarell and his worde." The bruit has come to this princess's ears that preparation is "a makinge" in England to support the Protestants: but she never mentioned it to me or any other I can learn. So I judge it better to be "dyssimulede" than spoken of by me. She knows that divers of her subjects "allowe" it and would adventure their bodies if they had substance, or knew how "to come by intertaynemente." Divers have been in hand with me—able men of good service, that if her Majesty makes an army, they may serve either as private soldiers, or in charge of such light horse as they can bring, of the best who have served in France already. Farther suit will be made herein.

The lords are presently here assembled and your honour shall shortly hear their resolution touching the interview next year. I see the self same mind in the Queen's grace and divers of her nobles that ever I did. "What impedimentes yet God maye sende, yt passethe my judgement, but the lykelyhoodes are greate." [Stirling] at night. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

3 *pp. Holograph; also address:* ". . . vj paquettes from the Quene to Monsieur Pigilion." *Indorsed.*

Aug. 31. **1136.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

The Queen in her progress is now come as far as "Oolde Aberdine," the bishop's seat and also where the University is, or at least one college with 15 or 16 scholars. It stands within a mile of the other, which men report to be "more beautifull, and muche richer." Her grace in her return, makes her entry there and tarries 20 days to establish good order in the country and punish offenders, "as there are dyvers." Most of her nobility are with her, "the Duke accepted," with whom she is now well pleased, and Mar and he reconciled. Huntly is not well in his "princese favour," and how that man deserves it, your honour knows "by hys uprighte dealinge with all men that he hathe to doe"! The Queen will not yet "graunte" to go to his house, though it be within 3 miles of her way, and the fairest in the country. Her purpose will I know be broken, for so her Council find expedient. Her journey is "cumbersome, paynefull, and mervileus longe, the wether extreame fowle and colde, all victuals mervileus dere, and the corne that is, never lyke to come to rypenes." Religion remains as in my former letters; I never heard more "erneste and vehement preachynge." Mr Knox with the superintendent of Lodian is ridden to the west, and Mr Goodman with the superintendant of Angus, to the north, to visit the churches and reform the abuses "whear theie fynde cawse." I send you copy of the supplication to the Queen by the superintendants and preachers. Answer is

Elizabeth.
1562. promised in writing, but not yet come forth, "nor shall not in haste with her good wyll," though there is nothing there but she thinks obedient subjects "myght in humble sorte" require of their princess.

Because the contract of the interview is not yet sealed, nor can be conveniently, till the Queen is at more leisure on her return to Aberdeen, I forbear demanding it, at the lords' request, but send the copy of it, which I saw written on parchment and heard it read. I send also a letter from Mr Knox: what men they are he writes of I know not, but am assured they came in at the West Border. They may work much mischief: and divers are greatly offended with them. If my sovereign pleases, I doubt not to have them fast enough. Knox has often warned me of "practisers," but this is the first he or any other could assure me of, and yet says no more than in his letter. I know the young laird of Bar makes secret means to have this Queen's letters to my sovereign for a passport to France. I suspect some errand by the way, rather than any trafique in France, he being neither merchant, soldier, "or man of great wytte or honestie." I saw the letter he wrote to his friend to procure it, offering 20 crowns for the secret getting, which ordinarily is not 10*s*. There is still some doubt that Blanherne conveys both horse, men, &c., by his means on the Borders.

Whatever your honour thinks needful as to warrants to apprehend these 2 men, or others that Knox may write of, I shall attend thereto. Old Aberdeen. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

It is reported for certain here that the King of Sweden is ready to embark, and his ships furnished already.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

Letters Patent by the Queen of Scots Dowager of France, declaring her contentation to meet her dear sister of England at the City of York "about" the 10th of June next to come. Under her great seal, and sign manual. Perth, [ ] August 1562, 20th of her reign.

3 *pp. Copy in a Scottish hand.*

Sept. 2. **1137.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Praying that payment without farther delay be made to her subjects the bearers, for their goods spoiled in Northumberland, for which after long suit, they obtained decree before the Admiral, and the same having been appealed by the defendants before the Keeper of the seal, he has confirmed the admiral's decree, but the case is still delayed, to her subjects' great loss. Under her signet. Aberdeen, 20th of her reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusignes, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed: ". . . For Greme and his colleges."

Sept. 18. **1138.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Within these 8 or 10 days the Queen arrived at Inverness, the farthest part of her determined journey. Your honour has heard of

Elizabeth. 1562. the just causes she has had of long time to mislike Huntly and his doings in this country, his extortions being so great, and disobedience such as no longer to be borne—which she hoping to reform by good means, has found both in him and his "eldeste" sons the lord of Gordon and laird of Finlytter, who have taken arms and kept houses against her, when commanded to render them. The first occasion was this—the laird of Finlitter, being warded in Edinburgh, broke prison, and when summoned to "the syse" at Aberdeen, disobeyed her new command to render himself prisoner in Stirling Castle, which the Queen thinking done by his father's advice, refused to come to his house, though looked and provided for. "This argued sufficientlye her mynde towardes hym, and he unadvisedlye conceavinge the worste, tooke the worste waye that coulde be for hymself"—viz. to maintain his sons in open rebellion.

On arriving at Inverness on 9th instant, purposing to lodge in her castle there, Huntly being only keeper as sheriff "by inheritance" of the shire, she was refused entry and forced to lodge in the town. That night the castle being summoned, the keepers for Lord Gordon answered, that without his command it should not be delivered. Next day the country assembled to the Queen's assistance; "the Gordons also mayk their frendes, we looke everie hower what shall become of the matter," leaving nothing needful undone. The Gordons finding themselves not so well served by friends as they looked for, and not assured of those they had, not above 500 men—sent orders to render the castle, "which theie dyd, not beinge above xij or xiiij hable persons." The captain was hanged and his head set up on the castle, some others condemned to perpetual prison, the rest received mercy. So her grace came to quietness for the 5 days she tarried there, and is now on her journey homeward as far as Spynie [Spinaye] a house of the bishop of Moray's, well served by her nobles, obeyed of her subjects, and convoyed by great numbers of horse and foot.

All this time Huntly keeps his house, excusing his own part, and would have it thought it came rather through the youth and evil behaviour of his sons than his will: the Queen's grace herself is highly offended with him. I hear of no nobleman that takes his part; and the Duke "lyethe stylle," the others mostly here. If he intend anything, it will be on her grace passing the Spey [Spaye] which she does next Sunday,* this being Friday. She will be then "of her owne assured" 3000 fighting men. At Aberdeen she will take advice, and will then I think do somewhat as a terror to others, and teach them how to welcome their prince in time to come. "In all these garbullies, I assure your honour I never sawe her merrier, never disamayde, nor never thought that stomache to be in her that I fynde! She repented nothynge but when the lardes and other at Ennernes came in the mornynges from the wache, that she was not a man to knowe what lyf yt was to lye all nyghte in the feeldes, or to walke upon the cawsaye with a jacke and knapschall, a Glascowe buckeler and a broode swerde." Lest you should "speere" what I was doing, when so many were occupied? I was ashamed to sit still and did as the rest.

On the 14th I received your letters of the 1st, with many for the

* Sept. 20th.

Elizabeth.
1562. Queen in a packet. Some of Huntly's men took my man with it; a letter from Sir Thomas Dacres, and 2 others, they read and gave back, the packet not meddled with. I complained to her grace, "which she reservethe in store with the reste," and I also wrote to Huntly himself that I judged otherwise of him than to show his evil meaning to my sovereign in misusing me her servant. At the Queen's coming north, passing within 4 miles of his house, finding he could by no entreaty cause her to come, he desired her to give Argyll leave to bring me thither, where we were two nights. "His howse is fayer, beste furnishede of anye howse that I have seen in thys countrie—his cheere is mervileus great, his mynde then suche as yt appered to us, as ought to be in anye subjecte to his sovereigne." I received in the said pacquet the 2 licences I sued for: the news from France are such as "all godlye" ought to take comfort of; "Lorde prosper the reste to hys glorie"! The same mind remains in all "the godlie" here as before.

You are always judged "sore and extreme agaynste these that have the chieffeste doynges nowe amongeste the papystes in France, as yt appered by your tawlke with the lard of Meldron at his beinge ther, as also of late with Rawlett the Quenes secretarie, as she herself at bothe tymes hathe tolde me." She wishes it were in her power to bring matters to quiet, and fears more my mistress's aid if sent over than the strength of the party against her uncles. She believes "(and I am well inoughe content therwith, howe so mever yt be intended)" that my mistress will send no support, except the King of Spain aid the others; of whom the bruit is he has lately lost a town to the Turk. Monsieur Dandilot and his company are said to have taken Guise's mother, his wife and eldest son—not finding it in your letter, I believe it less. We remain in good hope of the interview next year, the desire increases and we talk of nothing more, or find anything more agreeable. The Queen has given the earldom of Murray "(which ons was Erle Thomas Randolps)" to the Earl of Marre—it is both more honourable and greater in profit than the other.

Since Bothwell's escape out of prison, we hear nothing, but that he fortifies the "Ermitage" in Liddesdale. I cannot but think there will be some ado before these noblemen, one in the north, the other in the south, be brought to order. As long as the Duke "lyethe bye" we doubt little, and while his son and "Mr Gawen" are prisoners, he will not attempt much. Spynie in Moray. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

The Queen's grace was determined to-day to have written to the Queen's Majesty, and Lethington to you, but some occasions cause them to defer it.

5½ *pp.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Sept. 24. **1139.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I wrote to your honour on the 18th from Inverness, of what party the Earl of Huntly had made against his sovereign, either to have got her into his hands, or at least to have cut off the Earl of Murray and Lethington, whose credit he thinks so great with her, that he could not prevail in any thing he aspired to, as chiefly to have been Earl of Murray, or have had a pension of some abbey, that he might be better able to attend Court and bear charges in her service.

Elizabeth.
1562. Finding himself disappointed, and taking it ill that his son was again commanded to prison, and the Queen determined to punish himself, he thought it better to enterprise somewhat, than yield to her will. When he heard that she had caused the captain of Inverness to be hanged, and others imprisoned, he thought there was no other way but execute his determination, or be utterly undone. So assembling such force as he could, he committed them to his son John Gordon purposing to have met the Queen on her return homeward at the water of Spey, a place of good advantage, if their power had not failed them, or if their enterprise had been executed as desperate men are wont to do. The Queen learning their purpose, and being unable to remain in Inverness, by advice of her Council mustered her subjects thereabouts, and by Sunday morning when ready to depart there were "of those thie cawle here Hylande men," &c. above 2000, so increasing as she rode, that at passing the water, we esteemed them above 3000 "and oode." Continual reports were brought on the way—some said she should be assailed as she passed the river, others as she rode through a wood within a mile or two of it, some said their number was great, others that there was not a man to be seen! which indeed was nearest the truth—for where the night before in that wood there were 1000 horse and foot, they had all departed and "schaled," whereof her grace had sure advertisement 2 miles before she reached the Spey, by those sent forth to discover the fields, who brought with them some of Gordon's company. So we passed on with better assurance, and yet were at no time discouraged, though we looked that day to have fought or never. "What desperate blowes wolde that daye have byne geven, when everie man sholde have foughte in the syghte of so noble a Quene, and so maynie fayer ladies, our ennemies to have taken them from us, and we to save our honours not to be berefte of them, your honour can easlye judge." That night (Sunday) her grace came to a house of the Laird of Banke,* was very well lodged and in good assurance. She passed by the house of Finlitter which John Gordon has in possession, standing hard on the sea, and not easy to take without cannon. She sent a trumpeter to summon it, and deliver to the Captain of the Guard there present, which they absolutely denied. There is another house there also summoned and kept against her. Thus her grace "cleane owte of daynger," upon Tuesday last † arrived at Old Aberdeen, preparing for entry next day into the New town, where she was very honourabjy received with many tokens of welcome, "as well in spectacles, plays, enterludes and other as theie coulde beste devise." This whole Thursday she reposes herself, and determines to tarry 40 days at least, wherein she trusts to put the country in quiet. Her nobles remain with her, and more daily come.

‡ They presented her with a silver cup double gilt, well wrought and 500 crowns in it; wine, coals and wax as much as will serve her while here.

Of the Duke I hear nothing but that he is quiet. The bishops of S[t] Andrews and Ross are sick—many trust they will not escape this winter. M[r] William Cranstons that lately passed by you, a great favourer of Papists, is happily dead "in thys myschevieus worlde." The abbot of Corsragell and M[r] Knox dispute this day, but I know not their questions. I send you the last letter I had from

* Banff (?) † Sept. 22. ‡ Written on margin lengthwise.

Elizabeth.
1562. Knox about 2 Englishmen that I wrote to your honour, that were with said abbot. They arrived at the West Borders, as I hear from the Master of Maxwell. If it please you to do anything against them, I desire your advice. Others are here, some for murder—some for theft—that if pursued, this country would be quit of. I received your letter of 8th instant with Pigilion's letters to this Queen; of whom there is a bruit he was in danger of robbing as he passed to Dover; but the greatest loss was of the "Doctours bookes," which has made us laugh more, than sorrow would have been if he had broken his neck. [Aberdeen.] In haste. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

Bothwell has written to the Queen submitting himself. Any thing he does or says can little prevail: her purpose is at least to put him out of the country. He wrote also to the Earl of Murray and Lethington.

4½ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Sept. 24. **1140.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

Summary of the Queen's proceedings at Inverness—execution of the captain of the castle—Huntly's sending 1000 men under his son John Gordon to intercept the Queen at the Spey—their flight, &c.

½ *p. Contemporary hand. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "News from Scotland"; (by Challoner): "sent in the packet xjo October 1562."

Sept. 30. **1141.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

From this town of Aberdeen I wrote to your honour the 24th instant of the Queen's arrival. Since that time after consultation how to reform the country, it was thought best to begin at the head, and "owte of hande" if possible, that Huntly shall either submit himself and deliver his disobedient son John Gordon (in whose name all these "pagientes" have been wrought) or utterly to use all force against him "for the subverting of his howse for ever." For this purpose the Queen remains here a good space, being the most commodious and very pleasant to rest herself in; and has levied 120 harquebusiers, and also sent into Lothian and Fife for the Master of Lindesaye, Graynge and Ormeston. Her purpose is to take the two houses held against her, for which she has a cannon within 16 miles already, and other "peces" in this town. It is worth writing how this cannon came to these parts. In the Duke's government, none was so great with him as Huntly, then lieutenant made by him—who to give this people a "greater terrour," obtained of him a cannon to lie in Strathbogie [Strayghboggie] a terrible sight to those that entered the house, or offended the Earl. This cannon, 3 days before the Queen should have come there, was dismounted and carried into the cellar that she should not see it; but she hearing this, and knowing it belonged to her, thought it fittest to be used, being within 12 miles of the place kept against her, and charged the Earl to have it carried 4 miles from his house to a place appointed, to avoid her further displeasure. On Friday last the 25th captain Haye was sent with this message, and returned next day, with this answer, that not only her own, but also his body and goods, were at her grace's command—

Elizabeth.
1562. it was strange he was so hardly dealt with for his sons' offence, whereto he was never privy or could correct them—and he would be the first to hazard his body to take the houses held against her, if she pleased to command him. These and like words "myngled with maynie teares and heavie sobbes," he desired to be reported to his "deere mestres" from her most humble and obedient subject "as none more nor never wolde be then he"—and though the time was short within 48 hours to mount and carry the cannon to the place, yet his obedience should appear therein. "The ladie hys wyf with hevye chear, leadythe the messenger in to her hollye chappell, fayer and trymlye hanged, all ornamentes and masse robes reddie lyenge upon the autour [altar] with crosse and candels stondinge upon yt, and saythe unto hym thus—'Good frende, you see here the envie that is borne unto my howsbonde; wolde he have forsaken God and his religion as those that are nowe abowte the Quenes grace and have the whole guidinge of her have done, me howsbande had never byne put at as nowe he is. God' saythe she 'and He that ys upon thys hollye autour, whome I beleeve in, wyll I am sure preserve us, and lette our trewe meaninge hartes be knowne; and as I have saide unto you, so I praye you let yt be saide unto your mestres, my howsbonde was ever obbedient unto her, and so wyll dye her faythefull subjecet.'" This message was heard at good length by the Queen, the first part told before her Council, the rest in secret to herself, to move her heart to pity. But she knows so many of their "conceates," that she believes not a word of it, and so declared herself to her Council, whereat there has been since "myche good pastyme." Whatever he fears, he has conveyed from his house the "cheiffeste" of his substance, and it is not yet resolved, "yf he byde ther," whether it or any of the other shall be first besieged. His friends have clean left him; quietly there favour him Atholl and Sutherland, both with the Queen from the beginning. Of the Duke I hear nothing, nor of Bothwell more than in my last. The Justice Court is appointed against 6th October; if so many be convicted as will be justly accused, there will be such reformation in these north parts as never was seen. Men hope greatly that Murray will do much good in this country: his power of men is great, and the revenue esteemed to 1000 marks by year. The country is pleasant, the place called "Ternawe" very ruinous "savinge the hawle, verie fayer and large builded," like many I have seen in England. The last earl was King James 5th's bastard brother, well beloved and much spoken of in these parts. Since that time the country has been under Huntly's government, and being given away from him, he has lost great commodity and profit, making him more offended.

Touching the laird of Finlytter, there is a strange history, which I believe true, because "spoken of maynie." Your honour may remember one Finlytter* master of household to the Queen mother, many times commissioned to confer with you and the other commissioners at your being in Edinburgh. This man was disinherited by his father and his land given to John Gordon 2d son to Huntly, for two principal causes—one that he solicited his father's wife, "hys mother in lawe," to dishonesty, not only with himself, but also other men. The other, and marvellous strange, is that "he tooke purpose

* *i.e.*, Ogilvy of Findlater.

Elizabeth 1562.

"with certayne as well conditioned as hymself," to put his father in a dark house, and keep him waking till he "became starke madde," and then to enter himself in possession of the house and land. This being revealed to his father with sure tokens of truth, he having no other issue, by persuasion of his wife (who was a Gordon) gave his whole land to John Gordon, who on Finlytter's death, married her and has the whole living. "To see also howe God hathe plaged the iniquitie of the same woman, within one monethe after her marriage, John Gordon castethe hys fantasie unto another, and bycawse that he wolde not departe from the lande, which was all hers for her lyf tyme, he locketh her up in a close chamber, whear yet she remaynethe." For her deliverance, and John Gordon's unjust dealing, there is much controversy in the country, and one of the chief causes for his enterprising what he has done, is his fear to be forced to put her to liberty and forego the land while she lives.

Your honour "perchance" thinks my letters long of coming? Consider how far off I am and the difficulty of conveying them. I assure you many times the sending of one paquet to Berwick costs me more than two days' allowance. My charge at this present is less by reason of this bearer M^r^ Greham, for whom many require me to write to your honour, though he says himself he was never more bound to any, than to you. The Queen herself presently writes to my sovereign, and Lethington to you—the bearer can report the rest. One special thing I am required to write of, wherein I am sure this Queen has been moved, though she has no good will to write to her Majesty or speak to me thereof, viz., that the Master of Marischal is prisoner to the Earl of Northumberland, where he has been four months at least, and cannot get the favour either to return on band, or be put to reasonable ransom, such as he can pay. Wherefore his friends, his father in special, the Earls of Murray, Argyll, and other, desire your honour to be a mean that Northumberland put him to ransom, that he be not forced "everie yere twyse or thryse" to come to and fro to his loss, the displeasure of his friends, wife and children. Whilst it was in controversy whose prisoner he was, he favoured the Earl of Northumberland's part, thinking to get more favour than at Lord Grey's, but finds it less. Aberdeen. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

7 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Oct. 1.

1142. MAITLAND TO CECILL.

As many bruits of our doings here are brought to your ears, and I fear not the truth, I have commanded this bearer to declare how every thing has come to pass. The matter is not so difficult as some would make it, for whatsoever has chanced contrary to our expectation, "I doute not shall redound to the Quenes Majesties both honour and commodity; and nothing hes bene so secretely conspyred but God with tyme will uter it." Huntly by his messages will plead not guilty, and seems to charge the youth and folly of his children with what has been amiss. How it will fall out is uncertain and her Majesty will not burden any innocent. "If any falt be his it may be thoght to have proceaded frome to greate simplicity rather then any craft or malice; specially by so many as have had experience how playnely sincerely and upryghtly he hes bene allwayes accustomed to

Elizabeth.
1562. deale!" I would be glad to hear what you have heard hereof and your opinion. We long sore to hear what issue this matter of France is like to grow to; God maintain the just cause. Here in religion all things go right, "no shrinking nor alteration." I must earnestly recommend this bearer and his cause which you know to be just, and how long his suit hath been, to his great charges besides loss of ship and goods, and unless by you he may get restitution, for poverty must leave pursuit of his just cause. I remit it farther to his report, whom please credit. He has a packet of letters from the Queen to M. de Peguillion, which she prays you to send to France. Aberdeen. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

1¾ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Oct. 11. **1143.** ELIZABETH TO RANDOLPHE.

Directing him in delivering her letters to Mary, to say they were written long since in hope of hearing from her. That sending her men to Normandy is only for the safety of her own country, and if she could otherwise have stayed the cruelties in France, she would not have thus proceeded. Seeing the tender years of the King, and his mother unable to order their subjects, and prevent ruin in their country, and also some she mistrusts intending to seize ports in Normandy, she has thus done two good deeds at once, for which the King will thank her when he comes of age. To assure Mary her love shall not be "any jott" diminished.

1½ *pp. Draft by Cecill. Indorsed* (by him). *Written on back of a letter to Cecill: "From Westminster Colledg this Fryday 1562." Signed: ". . ." (obliterated by Cecill).*

Oct. 12. **1144.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

The authors of the troubles in these parts have now gone so far, that they have no hope of their sovereign's favour, and she is determined to proceed with all extremity. As I wrote last, she sent for divers gentlemen, and also levied 160 soldiers, either to take the two houses, or pursue the offenders. As Huntly is the chief deviser of the whole mischief, it was resolved to apprehend him, easy enough had the enterprise been as well executed as devised. It was known to the Queen for certain, he never lay in his own house at night, nor never 2 nights in one place, but always in the day returned to his own home. So it was thought easy enough to take him there in the day, or at least to find means to keep him in, if entry were denied to those sent by the Queen to himself, to make his house patent to the Laird of Grange and Tutor of Pitcur and a dozen with them, searching whether John Gordon his son was received there or not. Under this "couller" their charge was to enter the house or keep it that none should go forth, and the lord of Cowdingham should follow with 40 horse, and after him the foot, either to have the house rendered, or remain till it was taken by force. So the Laird of Grange and the Tutor and company took horse in this town on Friday last the 9th "rathe" in the morning intending to be at Strathbogie by 12 o'clock, 24 miles off. An hour after, Lord John of Cowdingham follows with his 40, and not long after him, the Master of Lindsay and Fife gentle-

Elizabeth.
1562. men accompany the foot. Grange and the Tutor arrive at the hour appointed, when the Earl himself was in the house, and being few in sight was not suspected. While Grange questions the porter and servants, the Tutor rides about the house and garden, "which is a great space," that no man should escape at the back door. In the meantime Lord John shows himself almost a mile from the house with his men, who being discovered by the watchman in the tower, gave the earl "suche alarome that withowte boote or swerde with all speede conveythe hym self owte at a backe gate over a lowe walle of stone whear he tooke hys horse before that the Tutour could gette unto hym, and so rydethe awaye in dyspyte of as maynie as followed," he being well horsed and many of the others tired with their long journey that morning. The way also was better known to the Earl and his 8 or 9 companions, yet they were chased above 2 miles, some taken and brought back to Strathbogie. The Lady meantime kept the house, and when they returned from the chase, set open the gates and doors, and made them such cheer as she could. The house was searched, but no suspected person found, nor any stuff, save a few beds of the worst sort. Her chapel remains "garnished" as I last wrote, and she being asked why not disfurnished also? said she was sure the Queen would not be offended with that. Having thus refreshed, they returned and reported to the Queen as above. Whilst they were absent, 2 hours after their departure, a boy came to this town with 2 keys, one of the house of Finlitter, the other of Auchindoun [Ochendowne] sent by Huntly, he said, to Murray, and to tell him the houses are "lefte woide." These came so suspiciously and disdainfully, "sent as by a boye that, savinge your honour, kepethe horses," that the Earl and Lethington refused to receive them, and the Queen being advertised, said "she wolde none of them, and that she had provided other meanes to open those doores." On further inquiry, it was found they had been brought by a brother of M^{r} Thomas Kear whom your honour knows; who was also then present here, and being examined thereon, was put in ward, suspicious letters being found on him. He excuses his master by all means, and burdens John Gordon as author of the whole evil; yet he is certainly in his father's company and does nothing but with his advice. I do not see how he can be pursued, except the Queen had a greater force, and a better time of year than it is, for he can more easily shift from place to place than any can follow. So except betrayed by those he trusts, it will be hard to apprehend him. "Ther want in the Hyelande no good fellows to be instrumentes to anye suche purposes." I think shortly a parliament shall be called and he pronounced a rebel, when those that succour him must run into the like danger—and thus they think to overthrow him, for I see the Queen "utterlye determined to brynge hym to utter confusion."

There lately arrived here a merchant of Nantes who brought marvellous comfortable news to the Queen from her uncles of their notable victories over the Protestants, that many thousands were slain, and all the towns in France rendered, except "Orliance, Roan, Diepe, and Newehaven," for succour whereof the Queen's Majesty had sent 3000 soldiers, but in one month all the Protestants will be subdued, and these succours driven out of the country. These have made our Court so merry, that for 3 whole days we had almost no other talk, and have heard nothing to the contrary—which drives

Elizabeth.
1562. those that favour the Protestants into such fear that their pain is little less than theirs who are under the enemy's hand. We trust to have soon some better news: for I have never been so unprovided to requite the merry pastime they make of the matter, as I have been those 8 days. The Queen found fault that the messenger made the English so few. He reports that Dieppe sent over pledges for the safe landing of the Queen's army—that Sir Nicolas Throkmorton is in Orleans, but says nothing of the Duke of Guise's unkind usage of him, how his house was spoiled, or the injuries done to his servants in Paris—though the Queen has heard this otherwise. Pardon my hasty writing, for these 3 days I have been marvellous evil. Aberdeen. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

5 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Oct. 13. **1145.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct for Robert Watsoun merchant burgess of Edinburgh, his factors, &c. to trade with lawful goods in her realm for a year. Under her signet. Aberdeen, 20th of her reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusignes, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed.

Oct. 15. **1146.** ELIZABETH TO MARY.

"Coppie. Treschere sœur"—If it were not impossible that one should forget her own heart, I should fear you thought I had drunk the water of Lethe; but I assure you that besides there is no such river in England, you are the chief cause of the fault. For the long delay in the arrival of your messenger prevented my writing as formerly. And hearing you were on such "long pelerinage," I thought it would hinder you; as another occasion restrained me from writing of the tragedies every week brought to my ears. On my honour I assure you that until the ravens croaked, I kept the stopped ears of Ulysses. But when I saw that my councillors and subjects thought me too much beguiled, my intellect gone astray and mind improvident, I awoke from slumber thinking myself unworthy to govern my kingdom if I could not be Prometheus in my affairs, as I have known Epimetheus. And remembering how it greatly touched your's "(mon Dieu)" how I felt at heart—not for them, you know that well,—but for that one to whom I wish all the good she can desire, greatly fearing lest you think these old sparks may fan this new fire. Notwithstanding, when I saw that necessity had no law, and that we must guard our houses from spoil, when our neighbours' are burning, I had no suspicion but you would lift the veil from nature and look at the bare course of reason. For what hope can be in strangers when cruelty so abounds in a family? I pass over in silence the murders on land, the burials in water, and say nothing of men cut in pieces; pregnant women strangled, with the sighs of infants at mothers' breasts do not stir me. "Quelle drogue de rubarbe esvacuera la colere qui ces tyrannyes engendrent"? In these broils my own subjects have lost their goods, ships and lives, and received a new name formerly unknown to me, "cest Huguenotz." The faults charged on the poor soldiers, will remain on the wicked

Elizabeth.
1562. chiefs, who though daily admonished, instead of correcting one evil, do twenty! My letters from the King and Queen mother show me he is only king in title. I cannot suffer such evils, as a good neighbour. You shall have no occasion to charge me with deceit, having never promised what I will not perform. If I send my people to these foreign ports, I have no other end than to help the King. Think of me as honourably as my good will to you merits; and though I know what finesse has been and will be used, to draw you from the affection I am assured you bear me, yet I trust so much "en ce cueur que je garde"—that sooner shall rivers surmount their channels than it shall alter its intention. My hot fever prevents me writing more.

2¼ *pp. French. Contemporary copy. Indorsed:* ". . . the Quenes Majesties lettre to the Scottishe Quene."

Oct. 23. **1147.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

On the 19th instant arrived here from France by sea one John Beton brother to the bishop of Glasgow, who brought me these letters, delivered to him, he says, by "Monseur Mouret," with request if he passed not through England, to deliver them to me in Scotland. I did not refuse them, though the bringer is not of those I best trust, or desire to have much ado with. His news are—that the Queen's army is in France, placed at Newhaven and Diepe,—that M. Dandilot is come out of Almaine with 8000 men, and the King himself is coming to Rouen with 30,000, many towns are rendered, and all the rest like shortly to be at the King's devotion. His tale is framed as little as can be to the advantage of the poor Protestants—this is the favour they find of those bearing his name in Scotland! He chanced (I think against his will) to say that Sir Nicolas Throkmorton was spoiled of all he had and taken prisoner by the Guisians; while before it was commonly said here that the "Hugonetes" were the doers. Of Italy he says the Pope and other princes have promised the papists in France 400,000 "ducates"; and that the soldiers sent into France from Geneva, "Berna" and other cantons are revoked, as they that sent them "myslyke the cawse."

Troubles daily increase here and I see not how they can be soon appeased. Huntly on Saturday last, was put to the horn, as they "denunce men traitours and rebels to the prince." Two nights before, John Gordon with 140 or 160 horse, hearing that a captain and some soldiers lay in a little village apart from their fellows in Finlittor and Auchindoun, assailed them at night, took the captain in bed and 56 harquebusses from his men, dismissing them. The captain they have taken with them—little account is made of him—is one of the sons of captain James Steward now of the Guard.

Strathbogie was demanded for the Queen, and refused by Huntly; she purposes to take it by force, and has levied 200 more men. The nobles with her have sent for their tenants and friends—some more, some fewer, as they are able. Huntly for his part strengthens himself in his house in the "Hielandes cawlede Bagenaughe [Badenoch ?]," whither it is thought impossible to bring men or artillery in winter. He thinks thus to make the Queen weary of this country by the weather and dearth; and she resolves never to depart, till she leaves it so that she will be better known as their sovereign hereafter.

Elizabeth.
1562.

Mr Thomas Kere and his brother have confessed what they know of their master's determination three several times, to have slain Murray and Lethington; letters found on Mr Thomas import no less but what so ever was done by John Gordon was by his father's advice and counsel.

The Duke lately sent letters by a servant to move the Queen for Arran's liberty; who gave him gentle words without granting it. Huntly presses him to take his part, and I assure you it is doubtful. I spoke long with him that brought the letter, and suspect the matter more than I have ever done. Lord Gordon is with the Duke, whose daughter he married; either to persuade him to take part with his father, or else to remain with him as guiltless of others' enterprises.

On Tuesday last * the Earl's wife came within 2 miles of this town to present herself to the Queen, but being advertised by a gentleman she sent, that the Queen would not speak with her, returned to Strathbogie. Divers gentlemen of his surname have given pledges, and promised not to leave the town or support their chief, till these troubles are ended at the Queen's pleasure. And those with the Earl at deadly feud, as the "Forbois, Lislies, Grauntes, Machentoshe," &c., are at liberty to use force against him. So your honour may see what he is like to come to. Argyll leaves this day homeward to make all the force he can against him. So who will befriend him or take his part I know not, if the Duke do not.

Bothwell was lately at Leith with his friends, pretending good service to his sovereign—to little effect I think.

I pray your honour to weigh my great charges here; "assuringe you before God, that the Quenes Majesties allowance dothe not in this towne nor hathe not the moste parte of thys yornaye, defrayed the charges of my meate, my mens, and my horses." What other occasions there are of expense your honour can judge better than I can write.

Lord Hume lately wrote to the Earl of Murray against the porter of Berwick. However it be, his terms might be more moderate. I send copy of the letter, and have written to the marshal to answer it.

James MacConnel has advertised my Lord of Argyll that O'Nel is made one of the Council of Ireland. I see James has no great good will thereof; it may be he fears to have his brother chased out of the country. Aberdeen. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

May it please you to favour "my hoste" of Edinburgh Mr David Foster, in his safe conduct, for which I send this Queen's supplication to the Queen's Majesty.

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

Inclosed in the same:—

(Lord Hume to the Earl of Murray.)

At the last day truce with John Selby porter of Berwick, Lord Grey's deputy, he unreasonably refused to proceed in justice, alleging that a thief delivered for a bill of Scotland, and after 40 days should have been delivered again to the English warden, is stolen away, so the keeper's bill is unpaid and he is answerable to the Queen's grace

* Oct. 20th.

Elizabeth.
1562. and Council for negligence. And as the deputy has since written to me that if I will not deliver the escaped thief, and deliver for another bill, known to be unrighteously followed, being avowed by the man that sold the horse "therintill" to the party complained on—so I continued the day truce till 6th November next, that you may confer with Mr Randolphe on the porter's "vane allegeances"; as the thieves are glad of his justice, for now is the time "to lay their lardiners; and he is not converted yet from his olde natyve trade of upbering." So unless Mr Randolphe make redress therein, there will be no good justice "by the porters." Hume, the fyfte of October 1562. Alexander Hume.

1 *p. Copy by Randolphe's clerk. Indorsed* (by Randolphe), *and Hume's name in his hand.*

Oct. 28. **1148.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Considering the good success "yt hathe pleased God" to send the Queen here against Huntly, I thought good with diligence to advertise your honour "onlye the facte, as thys daye yt chanced," and give the circumstances as I learn the verity. The Earl assembling 700 men, marched towards Aberdeen, with purpose to apprehend the Queen and do with the rest at his will. She having good intelligence, found it best to send out her force to meet him before he came, so this day 28th, the Earls of Murray, Atholl, Morton and others here, with 2000 men or thereabout, march towards his encampment 12 miles off, and so environed him, that after some defence by his men, he yielded himself, "as also John Gordon his sonne the autour of all these trobles, and one other sonne named Adam Gordon xvij yeres of age," which two are brought here alive, but the Earl himself after he was taken, "withowte ether blowe or stroke, beinge sette upon horse backe before hym that was his taker, sodenlie fawlethe from his horse starke dedde, withowte worde that he ever spake after he was upon horse backe." He is brought to this town, as also his "other" two sons, the one of which it is thought shall be "justified" to-morrow, whatsoever favour be showed to the other, by reason of his years. What hope of support he had, only his friends, tenants and servants were with him—of whom divers stole away two nights before. Of those that remained near 120 were slain, of the other part not one man, but divers hurt and many horses slain. These news are assured, though I was not there myself, being required all day to attend on the Queen herself; but had 2 servants there to see the "maner," and besides have seen the "dedde corps of the Erle," and saw the others brought in. This afternoon I received your letters of 10th and 16th instant with the Queen's Majesty's letters to this Queen, and other advertisements and "bookes" from your honour. To-night I could not present her Majesty's letters, and doubt also how time will serve to-morrow, "for that I see her graces mynde sore occupied in those matters that are nowe in hande." There were found about the Earl letters "verie suspicious" against some; who they are I know not yet, nor their contents. This "defeate" was between 3 and 4 p.m., and "worde" brought to the Queen at 6 o'clock, and this letter written same night at 11 o'clock. I have received and will answer Lord Robert's letter with all possible expedition. Aberdeen. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. The date originally* "xxixth."

Elizabeth.
1562.
Nov. 2.

1149. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Your honour doubtless looks every hour for answer to your last letters, the one of 10th the other of 16th "of thys instant," which came not to my hands "before the xxix of the same." That night, being the evening of Huntly's defeat, her grace was so occupied, that I thought another time would serve better to present her Majesty's letter and "utter" my charge.

But meantime I let my lord of Murray know I had such, and awaited her grace's pleasure. On Thursday * at her supper, I showed myself, and "incontinent" as I entered the chamber where she sat 'Well sir' saythe she, 'I knowe that you have wrytinges for me from my good syster, howe wyll you answer unto your mestres that have keapte them from me so longe?' I excused myself as loth to trouble her when occupied. 'You myght knowe,' saythe she, 'that nothinge importethe me more then to here from her, in speciall in these tymes —you knowe thoccasion whye'! I answered I was not ignorant, and that delay could not hinder it. Her grace spoke this that those about might gather that good will between my mistress and her grace is so great, as to be disadvantageous to any wishing evil to either. 'Let me see' saythe she 'what you have for me': I said I had a great packet, too much for her to read before supper. 'Let me but have a syghte of yt, and I wyll ende my supper' saythe she. When I presented only a little letter; 'What' saythe she, 'yf yt be no more then thys, I wyll dyffer yt no longer, yt will helpe to digeste my supper; but' saythe she 'thys is not my systers owne hande.' I said whosover wrote the superscription, the letter was her own hand writing. She guessed "incontynente" the superscription was yours, and on opening the letter, said she knew the hand well enough. She read the whole "incontinent," her countenance being before prepared, that whatsoever was contained in it no alteration should be found in her in the reading. After she had done, she passed the rest of supper "in merthe," as at the beginning. Then she said—'Nowe Mr Randolphe I truste we shall the nexte yere travaile as farre sowthe as we have done northe, with as myche ease and more pleasure then we have had of thys yornaye.' I answered it would be much better, for the good success she had in that enterprise, and assured quiet at home, also a pleasant journey abroad, seeing nothing was intended but to the honour of God and weal of both countries, with my mistress's good will and, I doubted not, her graces. 'Ther wylbe nowe' saythe she, 'some better willinge to goe thys yere then was the laste.' She meant I suppose the Duke, who was "confederate" with the Earl against that purpose. After supper, she entered her chamber, and called me aside, "and saythe in thys sorte," 'Mr R. is my syster sycke?' I showed her by my lord Robert's and your letters, "that she had the smale poxe which were verie noyson unto her Majestie." She said it was a "hotte fever," and showed me the last line of my mistress's letter. When I "resolved" her of the truth, she said she was glad it was no worse, for though the disease were "combersome," yet the danger was not great if good attendance were given to her Majesty. 'But nowe' saythe she, 'to other purpose, we shall tawke of thys more here after. Your mestres my syster wrytethe unto me

* Oct. 29th.

Elizabeth.
1562. 'a longe lettre, of the which I tayke pleasure, thoughe the matter be suche as I am sorrie for thoccasion. She declarethe thentention whie she sendethe presentlye men into France, and her good wyll towardes the Frenche kynge my good brother and hys subjectes, whome she allegethe to be unjustlye done unto, by suche as have at their owne hande taken upon myche more then became trewe subjectes to their sovereigne; wher by the whole realme of France is dysquieted, and her owne state in daynger, yf suche have the upper hande, that have byne thoccasion of all these troubles; as thoughe ther were in tyme as myche intended agaynste her Majestie as is nowe in hande and practyse agaynste other. Wherfore she wolde that I sholde laye asyde all affection, and judge of her doynges with a symple yee [eye] of reson, that I myght be better hable to judge of the cawse with indifferencie, when all other motions were sette aparte. Well,' saythe she, 'howe so mever the matter be, God knowethe my intention and mynde I beare to my uncles, howe I favour their doynges; and what I thynke of my good syster your mestres in thys matter. God knowethe howe indyfferent I am to them bothe, but what I dowte maye be the succes of their enterprises. I wylbe playne with you, that I thynke thone dothe nothynge but by commaundyment and as by deutie he is bounde, and that thother myght have as well provided for herself as to have enterde into a newe comber in the tyme of a yonge prince, whearof howe good so mever her meaninge be, the worste wilbe allwayes spoken and thought! I do rather therfore feare the succes and dayngers that maye insue, then that I thynke ther is anye privat malice in your mestres towardes anye man ther. And yet I thynke not so evle of my uncles, but I muste saye thys in their defence, that I beleeve theie have no nother purpose with them then that, that oughte to be in trewe subjectes to their prince, and that theie do nothynge but that which is their sovereignes pleasure, and so to be judged of hym howe longe so mever he lyve. As I hartelye wyshe them well and by nature am bounde so to do: so wolde I be lothe to condeme all other that are not of my mynde, or to myslyke your mestres doynges so myche, that in respecte of anye of my uncles doynges ther, I wolde breake frendeshipe or gyve over kyndenes, seinge we are so farre enterde in amytie thone with thother. So maye you reporte of me, and you yourself maye be judge of my mynde, that knowe my doynges. As she requierethe me to waye the matter with reason, so dowte I not but she wyll fynde it resonable that I contynue in love with them bothe, as by nature I am bounde unto them bothe, and for their hartie kyndenes towardes me do love them equalie; and so longe as the action is commen to moe as well as yt is to my uncles, I dowte no more of her evle wyll towardes them, then I do to other that have travailed in thys case as fare as theie'!

I found her grace's reasons accord so well with that which I desired to bring her unto, that I thought better to allow her good affection to my sovereign, and discreet meaning and indifferent weighing these matters, than to say anything grievous against her uncles for the time, knowing how she favours them, and thinks there can be no error in anything they take in hand: but I could not forbear letting her grace understand what I had received in writing from my sovereign, viz. the whole occasions and motions of her doings are both so godly, charitable, and to be allowed of all "trewe favorers of Chryste and lovers of his Worde," that I am clean out of doubt that the success

Elizabeth.
1562. would be honorable, worthy to be commended of all princes, and that the King himself when he comes to years of judgment, will think himself much beholden to her Majesty for—"as her grace self hathe done in a case not farre unlyke to thys." At these words, she smiles, saying, 'We have inoughe of thys purpose, tell me nowe what newes you have receaved.' I concealed none of these your honour wrote to me—giving her none of the books, but shall find some other means to bring one of them to her hands, lest she think I did all things of purpose, and so should "crase" my credit, and hinder service. In these matters she spent a whole hour after supper on Thursday in sight of many of her nobles, ladies, gentlemen, &c., who judged the conference was only on some offer of harquebusiers from Berwick. Her grace was well content, and I also, they should think this, and we left off purpose as merrily as we began. On Friday * after dinner, knowing the Lords were sitting in the "Towebothe" in judgment on the prisoners, I presented myself to see if occasion might be of any purpose. She began to show how much she was bound to God that gave her enemy into her hands; declaring many a shameful and detestable part he thought to have used against her,—"as to have maried her wher he wolde," to have slain her brother and others he liked, the places and times for this, and how easy it was if God had not preserved her. After some time in this talk, her grace said in two days she would write again to the Queen, and willed me to remind her. I thought best not to stay my letter till that time, not knowing how she may be occupied, and would end this letter, were it not you look to hear further of Huntly.

After he was brought here, they consulted what to do with his "corps" —some thought he should be buried and nothing done—others that he should be beheaded. The last was that his bowels should be taken out, and the body reserved till parliament, then to be convicted of treason, and so they remain; his bowels being taken forth yesterday. His son John has confessed all, and lays the fault on his father, as doing nothing but his commandment. He is not yet condemned, but doubtless shall not escape; others are hanged, and more like to suffer. The manner of his talking was thus—they had encamped on the top of a hill, where horse could hardly come to them, and were driven by shot of harquebus into a low mossy ground where the horse dealt with them a good space, at length forcing them into a corner, where by reason of the hill and marsh ground, they could not escape. There were they set upon, and at the shock, the vanguard (either for faintness of heart, or other thing suspected) gave back, many casting away their spears ready to run. The Earl of Murray and his company being behind them, seeing the danger, came so fiercely on, that he caused them to turn again, and so stoutly set on the enemy, that "incontynente" they give place, and 120 and "moe" were taken, and eleven score or thereabout slain—Huntly's whole company was not above 500; some say he fought before he was taken—others the contrary. On Friday another servant came from the Duke, with assurance he would take no part with Huntly but obey the Queen's commands. Lord Gordon departed from him *infectâ re*; what has become of him is not known. Aberdeen. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

* Oct. 30th.

Elizabeth. 1562. Lethington desires to be excused; he will in 2 or 3 days answer your letter, when the Queen writes to the Queen's Majesty.

7 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

[1562. *c.* Nov. 2.] **1150. MARY TO ELIZABETH.**

I cannot but rejoice my fortune has permitted me not to receive more annoyance, and that so soon after evil, comes the good news by your own hand of your recovery, for which I thank God with all my heart, especially since I knew the danger you were in, and how you have escaped so well, that your beautiful face will lose none of its perfections. Randel has begged me to send you a receipt to keep it from coming back, which I cannot do as I would, for he who treated me is dead, called Fernel the King's chief physician, and would never give me the receipt for the water which he applied "au vissage," after washing me "tout descouspe" with a "canniuuet," and it is now too late to use it. But I would have sent you what I think better, and have used, assuring you of all that can serve you and a good sister can do. I must end too long a discourse, signifying the pacification of the troubles that have annoyed me for a little, more in pity of those whom God has so forsaken than for fear to fall in their danger, being assured of my subjects who have shown all I could have wished and hoped, more for the evident example of the anger of God which has fallen on these wicked ones. I doubt not Randel will amply advertise you of all, and only kiss your fair hands praying God will give you health. *Signed:* Votre fidelle e affectionnee bonne sœur e cousine pour jamays, Marie R.

2 *pp. French. Autograph; also address:* "Madame ma bonne sœur La Royne Dangletterre." *Indorsed* (in possibly later hand): "May 1566. The Q. of Scottes to the Q. Ma^{ty} by De Malvisier."

1562. Nov. 14. Cott. MSS. Calig., B. x. fol. 218. **1151. MAITLAND TO CECILL.**

Impute not my long forbearing to write, to lack of good will, or an intended breach of intelligence, but to our matters in the North giving me no leisure to think of any other thing. "Mary now (praysed be God)," they are in such terms, that no subject hereafter shall be found so unnatural as attempt the like wicked enterprises. I need not enter on long discourse, being assured that M^{r} Randolphe from time to time has advertised you. "This onely will I say—I am sory that the soyle off my native countrey did ever produce so onnaturall a subject as thErl off Huntly hath proved in the end against his soveraygne being a princesse so gentle and bening, and whose behaviour hath bene alwayes soche towardes all her subjectes and every one in particular, that wonder it is that any could be found so ongracious as ones to think evill against her! and in my conscience I know not that any just occacion off grudge was ever offred onto him." The event has made manifest his iniquity, and the innocence both of her Majesty and her ministers towards him.

Foreign affairs are now "commed to so hard tearmes" that I cannot live in security, for I see in time they must drive my mistress into a most "perplexed caas"—the war between two countries dearest to her next her own, France and England, being descended of the blood

Elizabeth.
1562. of both, one by her father, the other by her mother, having in both special interest to wish them well—in one, that she was once Queen of it, and is yet "Dowairiere," in the other what you can conceive without my writing. It shall be a hard matter for her "to hold the ballance juste betwix them"—she has friends in both, in France the most part of her kindred, chiefly her uncles with whom she has been from youth nourished and "upbroght," who honour and love her beyond all, and whom she has much cause to esteem. In England, the Queen her good sister, with whom though not thoroughly acquainted, yet her natural inclination can serve her to love her well, if the friendship and amity begun is followed out on both parts. I see she will soon be pressed by her uncles, as well as by the King and Queen mother, under the old league, not to forsake defence of the King her brother and his realm, against your invasion. Such persuasions must tend to breach of the amity with England, which I know France will not digest as prejudicial to them, and I will not fail to persuade the contrary at my power, and have good hope to find her own mind conformable. Yet I see some arguments will be laid against me, hard to answer, *e.g.*, If she, thus required, shall forsake the King her brother and uncles, in their necessity, shall she not lose them for ever? If she require their aid hereafter, what favour can she look for at their hands whom she has first shaken off? What "appuy" * shall she have when forsaken of her own old friends? Meanwhile shall she not endanger loss of her "drowry"? To countervail all these dangers, I have nothing "to lay in ballance foranent thame, but onely the Quene your maistres love—which although is worthy to be moche esteamed, yet is but inclosed in her owne harte, *et non transgreditur personam*: so that not being ane amity contracted with the realme publiquely, or approved by any open fact or certane demonstration, but onely a fameliarity contracted privately betuix themselffes, if God shold at any tyme call your maistress, then shall myne be left destitute off all friendes when she shall have most nede"! I have ever wished, and yet do, that their amity were so solemnly confirmed and "utered to the world," that to gain a greater friend, "my maistress cared not to hasard all others," and that her change "in that behalff did not proceade off any chyldish or rash jugement, but rather that off wisdome she had made a good choyse, and did best love that person who did show greatest token off love towardes her." The danger I hear the Queen your mistress has been in of late, makes me write more "affectionately" hereon, for I would be sorry in case death should take so dear a friend from mine, leaving her destitute. Doubt not your mistress by love shall have more power over her than all the world, and she will rather be directed by the advice of the Queen her sister "then off all the oncles she hath! . . . I have hard it whispered that in this late storme of youris a devyse was intended thear to preferre some other in the succession to my maistress, which I can not think to be trew, seing none is more worthy for all respectis, nor hath so good a title. If her relligion hath moved anything, seing her behaviour soche towardes those that be off the relligion within her owne realme, yea! and the relligion it selff, which is a greate deale more increased since she came home then it wes before—I se no raison why those that be zealous of relligion shold suspect her." I would be

* Support.

Elizabeth. 1562. glad to know "how far hath bene proceaded" therein, and also that you consider the matter touched in this letter, which I write rather to be weighed by yourself than any, except those you know can digest it. I am assured whatever comes from me, shall be used by you to the best. I shall always remain "one" that those two realms shall be joined together, "more for common charite then for particular advantage for our syde—for let others judge as they list, I am assured, men that will judge indifferently shall perceave that your gayne is as apparent therin as ouris." Dundee. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

5 *pp. Closely written. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 18. Cott. MSS. Calig., B. x. fol. 221. **1152.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since the troubles in the north began, Lethington left to me the report of them to you—but now they are ended, he has promised to renew his old course of intelligence, and has written to you at good length on the best course in those dangerous and suspicious times, for uniting the hearts of the two Queens in a firm league. So I merely write of things here. On Huntly's defeat, it was resolved his body should be kept till parliament, and judgment given against him by the three Estates. Three days after, his son John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdeen, and some others executed. "He confessed that at iiij dyvers tymes, he and his compagnie tooke purpose" to have slain the Earls of Murray and Morton, Lethington and the Justice Clerk. The places, times, number of men were so convenient, that only the hand of God stayed it; for the Queen's force was then small, having also in her company the Earl of Sutherland "(whoe is a Gordon) whome she trusted, and is nowe dyscovered for to be one of the contrivers of the whole mischeif." John Gordon confessed this, and also if his father had taken Aberdeen as he intended, "he wolde have burned the Quene and as maynie as were in the howse with her. So cruell an acte I beleeve that never man harde of! At Olde Aberdyne whear the fyrste purpose was to have slayne the laird of Lidington in the nyght, I was his bedfellowe, in the daye for the moste parte in his compagnie, and at all other tymes of daynger whear so mever the Quene was herself; so that yf the howse had byne sett a fyer, yt had byne hotte beinge for me ther"! Lord Gordon is held guilty in most of these matters, whom by the Queen's command, the Duke apprehended and keeps him prisoner in "Kenele." On the Queen's return towards Edinburgh, there meets her, first Villemort, by whom I had your letters; and a few days after, your advertisement sent to Sir Thomas Dacres for me, wherein I have omitted nothing in my power. He lacks no good will to do mischief, but I know he has no commission and little credit. In token of his wish to diminish the credit of the Queen my mistress and all her Council with this Queen, he declared at his first entry, that it was fully resolved "that yf God had done his wyll with her Majestie when* she was sycke, that this Quene was barred from all succession"—only one councillor favouring her right, which he learned from one of the clerks of the Council, "with whom I dare take yt upon my conscience, he never had anye suche purpose." Lethington being happily called to hear this,

* Some interlined words here rubbed out.

Elizabeth. 1562.

being before informed of what I know, reproved his untruth. He brought no letters of importance I am assured by "her graces self" and others. She was pleased to show me one letter written by the Queen Mother "with her owne hande"; the occasion was this—one day I lamented the case of the poor King and the Queen his mother, "that he beinge yonge, and she in her harte favoringe the protestantes, were forced to yelde unto that myght bringe his crowne in hazarde, and she to do greatlye agaynste her conscience! Her grace, having resoned with me in the contrarie, assurethe me that ther is not [in] France a verier papyste then the Quene is, nor a greater ennemye unto the Prince and his adherentes." And having received a letter from her by Villemort, greatly complaining of the Prince, and greatly misliking my mistress's determination to send support to those "that have taken armes (as she saythe) agaynste their sovereigne," thought to confirm her words by showing me the letter. I rather yielded to her—it sufficed me to know how well minded the Queen Mother was to my sovereign, as I report to your honour, also that Villemort's credit is not what he looked for here. Under pardon, he is esteemed a false flattering "varlet, &c.": his wife ran away with another man in France, and he is come hither to follow his olde trade "of a villaynes lyf." A few days after him, came Chartelet from Monsieur Danville: his first report was he was stayed 8 days at the Court. On the Queen herself telling me, I said it was to make him good cheer for his master's sake! He presented to the Queen only one very long letter from his master; little is known what it contains—but Lethington assures me he has neither errand, letter, commission or credit to move her against our sovereign, and even if her grace were willing, there are other impediments "that are immovable." His errand I trust shall not be long secret; he is well entertained and has great conference with the Queen, riding upon the "soore geldinge" that my lord Robert gave her grace. He presented her "a booke of his owne makinge wrytten in myter [metre] I knowe not what matter." I was present when her grace received the letter; her countenance signified good liking of the contents. We have not yet spoken, not for lack of knowledge (for his master's sake I did him courtesy when here)—but I think it as reasonable for him to offer as me to receive it; and if he require it not, my sovereign will pardon me if he gets a "slender commendation" to Berwick or elsewhere.

The Duke met the Queen at Dundee to sue her for Lord Gordon's pardon, but got little comfort, and nothing shall be done before parliament. In talk I found him as before; he desires his service commended to her Majesty.

On the way from Aberdeen came to her grace "one Donel Gormunde" that pretends right to be Lord of the Isles, putting himself in her will and promised true obedience, and is commanded "to attende." He was in England in Queen Mary's time and by her sent to Ireland. He is like to receive a gift of lands, in hope of good behaviour henceforth.

I wrote to you of certain English papists that run from place to place here, greatly suspected of practises with confederates. I suspect them more for what I heard of "Fortescude and the iij Poles" passing to France. Their common passage is through the West Borders: M^r^ Knox met one not long since at Dumfries, purposely

Elizabeth.
1562. brought thither to meet him; who said he had learning, but then would in no case reason. He called himself "Whyte," but his true name is "Graye," brought up in Oxford, and is or has been he says "principall of some howse ther." After speaking with Knox, the Master of Maxwell suspecting him, he stayed not 3 days in the country. He was at Corsrogell, but most with the Abbot of New Abbey within 6 miles of Dumfries.

Maxwell has again written to the Queen complaining of Lord Dacres, and to me to move the Council therein: and the Queen herself spoke to me. I once suspected it was agreed on between Lord Dacres and the Master to complain, to show both princes the difficulty to keep order—but now know that Maxwell has good cause, and would do justice if there were one to answer him for England. It is not my part, though much pressed, to complain of any nobleman the Queen's subject neglecting his duty—but the opinion here is that there will never be quietness on that border so long as he or any of his occupy that charge—and I know great good would ensue, especially if this Queen roots out the Liddesdale thieves as she purposes, if the Queen's Majesty removed Lord Dacres, and placed a fit man there. I will be bold to remind you of Sir Thomas Dacres, whose credit is good, served before, "and put owt by Quene Marie," knows his neighbours well, and is much desired by those that favour the amity. How many can be found fit for such a charge your honour's wisdom can better judge than I that thus boldly write.

I send herewith a letter from this Queen to the Queen's Majesty: when she gave it me she desired me to "wytnes" what I had seen and heard of her good mind to my sovereign: I trust it be as well meant as spoken? I desired her again not to be too easy of credit, nor over doubtful when no evil is meant. I have often feared these two things in her grace, and said "a lyttle worde therof bycawse of the Frenche, that are daylie roundinge in her lugges* sum trittle trattels or other"!

For more commodity in writing to you I took my leave of the Queen at Dundee on Sunday last,† to get here before her; who purposeth to be here on Saturday next,‡ when we shall know when Parliament begins, which will be sore against her will, for she fears "her lovelie masse shall goe to wracke"! My mistress was never in greater credit here. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

7 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 11. **1153.** GEORGE BUTSHYDE TO CECILL.

Pardon my boldness in troubling your honour with my "reud and symple wretynge," but I am so greatly bound to you, that if I did not acknowledge it some way or other, "I war unwoorthye to be counpted a man." Mr Randolph has shown me your goodness, with out whose help I had ended my life a prisoner, "as I have doun most mysserablye thes xj yeres past withe Jamys Maconell," and now humbly offer your honour my service during my life. The cause of my remaining with Mr Randolphe is till I hear from my friends for the discharge of my debts to some merchants that were good to me: and till then I have promised not to leave the country. I trust by

* Ears. † 15th. ‡ 21st.

Elizabeth.
1562. your honour's means, Sir Ralph Bagnall will consider what I have "yndeuryd" for his sake, and my needs accordingly. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Butshyde.

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

Dec. 12. **1154.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

My desire to satisfy your honour how all things stand in this country, has caused me utterly to forget my own estate, which is presently "so meane and poore," that I am ashamed to utter it; and where to seek redress, with my small deserts, I know not. Since my return from the north, I find by my accounts, I am above 400 crowns in debt. At first it seemed as strange to myself as it doth now to your honour. I have besides spent 50*l.* yearly of my own. When I think to call down anything of my charges in time to come, I find daily new occasions to increase them. Continual attendance at Court, appointing myself fitly therefor and the honour of her Majesty, the resort of friends and acquaintances, charges sending letters (which one thing has cost me since coming to Scotland 40*l.*, "and never had grote allowance") consumes me utterly. Yet to leave anything undone, that another in this place should do, I had rather die as poor as any that ever so served. This last journey to the north was costlier to me than if the Queens' interview had taken place. I never came in so dear a country, nor had so many misfortunes in so short time: I buried my best servant, left another sick behind me, my horses "marde," my charges so unreasonable that I spent all I have, so that less pleasure I never took of journey, nor worse country I never came in. My expenses in meat and drink only, exceeded my allowance, and I doubt greatly if it will be less here. The more supicions in men's heads of discord and breach of friendship, the more tales and rumours spread of this Queen's mislike of the Queen's Majesty's doings towards her uncles, and the more some mislike to see me yet ride, go in the street, or haunt Court as I do, the more I withstand their malice, and bear such countenance that I care not with what mind they look me in the face or think of my doings, so the same be for the Queen's Majesty's service. By such occasions I am burdened more than otherwise I should be, so I doubt not your honour will be mean for my relief. I "flye" as much as I can being in any man's danger here: and owe but to those who have more commodity by lending, than any other traffic they use. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph. No address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk): "... M^r^ Randolphe to my master."

1155. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Since the divers complaints of Lord Dacres by the Master of Maxwell, some of late more grievous have come to her grace, whereto I have been made privy by herself and Council. It was thought good herself should write to the Queen's Majesty to put order, and I send your honour these letters, &c. received from her grace, also a letter to myself from the Master. I am also requested to write to my lords of Council to take order with Lord Dacre's slackness.

Elizabeth.
1562. I wrote of Butshede coming to me from James MacConnell: he is for ever bound to your honour. He owes 20*l.* that he borrowed while with James, and remains here till he hears from Sir Raphe Bagnall in reply to his letter. "He came to me without ether monie in his purce or other apparell then the custome of those men is to weare wheare he was." I have furnished him with what he needed; and find the man honest in conversation, wise and discreet enough; he knows the country and Isles where he was both by sea and land marvellous well, and that is the cause why James was so loth to let him depart. He is a tall stout man, able to endure travel and pains.

Touching "James self," I had by his servant this message, that he is the Queen's Majesty's "affectioned servitour" to his uttermost, both with heart and body, saving only his duty to his sovereign. He has been of late solicited by Shane O'Nel to be his friend, with request to have his wife again, who is James's bastard daughter: but the messenger reports he will agree to nothing or assist him, till Argyll, he, and I have talked together. James is sorry for the murder of two of his kinsmen by Master Bruerton in Ireland in his house without law or justice; of which matter he wrote also to Argyll, to signify to me. Both report that most part of Ireland is like to revolt, and the 74 hostages in Dublin Castle are escaped, and O'Nell is more "myschevieus" than ever. At New Year's tide James will be here with Argyll; as I know not how the Queen's Majesty's pleasure is to use him, I can only deal with him with good words.

Forbois lately arrived at Bamborough [Banbroke] with some Scottishmen—one a merchant of this town and a young boy of 16, that came from the University. Clavering stayed them all, and word coming to the Queen, she caused me to write to him for their deliverance, and promise on her behalf that if any are justly charged of breach of law or offence, they shall be re-entered to answer. I send also the Duke of Chatelherault's letter to same effect, desiring for my assurance to have it back. Murray and Lethington also desire that Forbois's last "fayle" in taking the pacquet may pass in the law of oblivion, seeing it is remitted by him who had good occasion to be offended. It is said he has brought with him 10,000 or 12,000 crowns of the Duke's money, owing him for Chatelherault. I think there is as much spoken as is in verity. He that brought it was also in Clavering's hands, but being a servant, not so narrowly searched as the rest,—but dismissed. They "tooke testimoniall" at Bambrough how long they had been at sea, and as the Queen was told, would have gone again aboard, but were not suffered, for the great bruits of late on the Borders of wars between the realms.

M^r^ Knox has often told me he is to blame for not writing to your honour of long time, and lately required me to convey a letter to you. I know his good zeal and affection to our nation, and his great travail and care to unite the hearts of the princes and people in perpetual love and kindness. I know that he mistrusts more in his own sovereign's part than he does of ours. "He hath no hope (to use hys owne termes) that she wyll ever come to God or do good in the commen welthe; he is so full of mystruste in all her doynges, wordes, and sayenges, as thoughe he were ether of Godes previe consell, that knewe howe he had determined of her from the begynnynge, or that he knewe the secretes of her harte so well, that nether she dyd or culde have for ever on good thought of God or of hys trewe

Elizabeth.
1562. religion"! Of these matters we commune oft; I yield as much as in conscience I may unto him, though we in some things differ in judgment. His fear is that new strangers be brought in to this realm. I fear and doubt the same, yet see no likelihood, nor can give any reason why, more than he. Whom she shall marry I cannot think, nor hear of none that go about her. Those that talk with me of Spain, can never make it sink into my head; for the Sweden, she says herself, she will not, and the others farther off are like to take great pains for little profit! So that by marriage I see not what number shall come to possess this realm again as before, or able to make party against so many "confirmyd Protestantes" as are now here. If the "Guysians" be victorious in France, the matter is more to be doubted, and that we fear most; "but God I truste hathe styrred upe suche a partie agaynste hym, that that shall passe his power, and no lesse befawle hym then in thende God sendethe unto all suche bludethrystie tyrantes as he is! As Mr Knox hathe opined unto your honour his feare: so am I bolde also to let your honour wytte my opinion, bothe what cawse he hathe not so dieplye to feare, nor so farre to mystruste in the goodnes of God, but that thys woman maye in tyme be called to the knowledge of hys trothe, or at the leaste that she have not that force to suppresse his Evangell here, or to breake that amytie and concorde that is so well begone, and I truste shall tayke suche progresse, that hys glorie maye be knowne, and the posteritie of bothe the realmes reyoyce for ever, and gyve hym thankes for the workers of the same." On Sunday last "he inveied sore agaynste the Quenes dansynge and lyttle exercise of her self in vertue or godlines." The report being brought to her ears, yesterday she sent for him, and talked long time with him; "lyttle lykinge ther was betwene them of thone or thother, yet dyd theie so depart as no offence or slaunder dyd ryse therupon." She willed him to speak his conscience, as he would answer before God, as she would also in her doings.

Certain "wycked friers" start out of this country for fear of punishment, and are received (it is reported) for "mynesters" in England. Mr Knox has written thereon to Sir Henry Sydney, and I shall also have occasion to write to your honour.

I saw this day a letter written to the Earl of Murray from the Laird of Cesford that the thieves begin to ride 40 or 50 in company with jacks and spears, and drive 100 head of cattle at a time. I am warned to be at the Court this afternoon hereon. You shall receive the Queen's letters by the next, for they are not ready. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

6 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed* (by Cecill's clerk).

Dec. 24. **1156.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Lately a gentleman of this country named "Manon"* Hogge, was advertised that his son Alexander Hogge was apprehended at Tenby [Tynebie] in Wales for suspicion of piracy in a ship named the *Sundaye*, and by order of law divers in her are executed, and others, including his son who is owner of the ship, reserved for the Queen's mercy. The said Manan* Hogge having sued divers of the noblemen

* This name in Randolphe's hand.

Elizabeth.
1562. here to be mean to the Queen and your honour for his son's pardon, and delivery of his ship being his only substance, on condition of service hereafter in taking pirates on this coast, which he promises to do,—the said lords having required me instantly to write to you of their hearty desire, considering the father's honesty, grief at his son's offence, and wish to bring him to virtue and honesty of life—therefore, and for the good will I bear the gentleman, I am a humble suitor to your honour therein. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 30. **1157.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I thought little to have troubled your honour with my writing now, saving for this Queen's request to me last Sunday, viz., to write to my sovereign, that she thinks it very long she hears not from her, fearing either her Majesty is not in perfect health, or conceives "so diepe a dyspleasure" against her uncles, that the same is extended further than to their own persons! To both "purposes" I gave such answer as I thought good, chiefly hoping well of her Majesty's health, and next, that whatever her uncles' doings were, so long as her grace bore a good mind to my sovereign, and took no part with those with whom she is justly offended, I doubted not her Majesty's mind would be found more assured to her grace than I could speak or think. At my departure she willed me to make her hearty commendations to her good sister.

I learned that day, that the night before she had received letters from France—one from the Queen mother, "with moe gentle wordes then ever she dyd wryte before. We tooke suspicion (knowinge before what unkyndenes ther was betwene thys Quene and her good mother not longe before her departeur owte of France) that for some occasion she courriethe favour." Men here begin to dream of this Queen's marriage with Spain; the Papists "I trowe," speak it as they would have it. But I am assured that whensoever any such thing shall "burste owte (as I wyll not saye but yt is in her harte, and farther as in tyme you shall knowe) *posteriora erunt pejora premis.*" Another letter was from M. Doyzel of the King's being in Paris, and her uncles were in good opinion of many men for their valiant acts in recovering so many towns as had rebelled. Then news came by sea that the Prince has taken Paris, and has the King in his government; letters there were none to be seen hereof, and therefore it was less credited. For verity of all news, we depend only on such as come from you. Except it be the "Kynge of Moscovia," there is not a prince in Christendom that has fewer news from France than this Queen. Since Chattellet arrived, she has had but one paquet and 2 letters. Of things here not much to write; on Friday next many nobles will be in Edinburgh, when it will be known when Parliament shall be.

This day the Queen is in Dunbar to be merry with my lord John of Cowdingham—on New Year's [Newers] day again in Edinburgh. The 10th January she will be at "Castle Cambell in Fyfe" at the marriage of S^{t} Colme to Argyll's sister. M^{r} Knox is "so harde unto us, that we have layde a syde myche of our dansinge. I dowte yt more for heavines of harte that thynges procede not well in France, then for feare of hym"! Thrice in the week there is an ordinary sermon

Elizabeth.
1562. in the Earl of Murray's lodging within the Queen's house, "so nere to the masse, that two so mortall ennemies cane not be nerer yoynede, with owte some deadlye blowe gyven ether upon thone syde or thother! One of the Quenes prestes gotte a couffe in a darke nyght, that made some what a doe. Her musitions bothe Scottes and Frenche, refused to playe and synge at her masse and even songe upon Chrystemas daye; thys is her poore soule so trobled for the preservation of her syllye masse, that she knowethe not whear to torne her for defence of yt"! Bothwell is departed by sea either to Flanders or France; and yesterday a sergeant of arms was sent to summon the Hermitage, but is not yet returned. The Border wardens are charged to see good rule kept, for it is thought the Liddesdale men will ride now Bothwell is away, for whose sake they abstained. The Duke has again written to me earnestly for Captain Forbes: I have answered no more is done than he deserved, and he shall shortly be at liberty.

At the laird of Ormeston's house, attending the Queen's return from Dunbar. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

Lord Grey's death is lamented by many for his good justice on the Border. I have found M[r] Treasurer "frendlye" to me at your request, for which I most humbly thank you. I run daily into his debt, not knowing how to come out of it, but as your honour thinks fittest.

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

1562–63. Jan. 3. **1158.** MAITLAND TO CECILL.

"Schir, I can not think it to be without some hyd mistery, that thentrecours off lettres (which were wont to go frequently as well betuix the two Quenes as ws theyr ministers), is thus ceased on your part; and I am sure yow have not broken off without some grave and weighty considerations." I take myself as fully answered, in your not answering my letters sent to you at our return from the north, and conceive of no answer a full resolution; "whearupon I trust I shall do yow pleasour to quiet myselff without troubling yow any farther with those maters—which I meane to do (oneles yow be off the contrary opinion) and content me with the Italian proverbe—*Quello che è da esser non puo mancar.*"

The Queen's Majesty my mistress has presently written to yours, desiring reformation of the lack of justice and great disorders on the West Border—long continued and of late increasing—and commanded me to send you the special heads of the "Maister Maxwell his complayntes," enclosed. I pray you give order that justice never cease—*vinculum societatis humane.* Your officers I trust "will beare ws record" that on this side such order has been taken as never seen in any age before. Her Majesty has also written in favour of my man Grahame, whose matter I once more recommend to you, as unless earnest commandment be given to the commission to see him satisfied, "he shalbe alluterly frustrat," being in such poverty with drift of time and charges, as he is scarce able to follow his suit. This country is quiet, no alteration in outward apearance or "inward affections" of persons. "For foreiyn maters, seing (as apearethe to me) they be off verey purpose kept so close frome ws as may be, I will not be curious any more to inquire off them; knowing that with tyme I shall know

Elizabeth.
1562–63. "ynough and perchanse more then I wolde! *Quia nihil tam occultum quod non revelabitur.* God confound the counselles off his ennemyes and off all those whose meaning is not true and oupryght." I pray to be heartily recommended to my lord of Penbroke and all other my good lords. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Maitland.

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

Jan. 5. **1159.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

The Master of Maxwell warden of our West March, has often complained that he can by no means obtain justice from Lord Dacre your warden for attemptates continually committed these 3 or 4 years past, whereby offenders are encouraged in their wicked life, and we have divers times required M^r^ Randolphe to signify the same to you for redress, without effect. We earnestly desire you to take speedy order for the rule of that march, and have commanded Lethington our secretary to send to yours the heads of our warden's complaints. We also wrote before in favour of our subject named Grahame, who by your command obtained a commission to Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Dacres, Sir John Foster, and the Treasurer of Berwick, to make him full restitution of goods spoiled from him and his colleagues by the inhabitants of Northumberland, conform to the decreet in his favour by your Court of Admiralty, wherein as yet there is nothing done, and the poor merchant is reduced to extreme poverty and almost out of hope—praying you earnestly to command them to proceed with all speed and see him satisfied. Under our signet. Palace of Holyrood house, 21^st^ of our reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusignes, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer seal: Scotland (as before).

Jan. 5. **1160.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I received your letters, &c. at two several times, and bestowed the news on such as I thought worthiest. We thought ourselves happy till we heard of the Prince's taking, but despair not "as longe as the Admirall kepethe the feeldes."

The letters I had of Captain Cokburne [Colborne] I thought fittest to give to his wife to deliver to this Queen, who was not content till she spoke with myself. I then told her what I had heard, but gave her as little comfort of any good like to ensue to her uncles, as I could. "She hathe weapte her fyll, and yet she knowethe not herself (as she sayethe) whye she is sadde." We live in hope of better news. A greater sorrow, I am sure, there was not of long time amongst "those that feare God" here, than to hear the Prince was taken; always we think ourselves much bound to you, "that howe so mever the state of thynges be, that we have some intelligence."

Her grace learns by Cokburn's letters, that Rowlet her secretary is coming, and desires he may have good expedition, for as Chartillier Monsieur D'Anvil's man reported he was stayed 8 days, she fears the like for the other. Her mind, she bears me in hand, remains always "one" to the Queen's Majesty. I send you her letters and the articles

Elizabeth. 1562–63. containing the disagreement between Dacre and Maxwell, which she desires to be considered for amity and the relief of her subjects. You shall at length hear from Lethington. I told him he was "in greate collour" when he wrote. It is suspected there will be "somewhat wraughte thys parliment amongeste you, that we shall tayke lyttle pleasure of—for the brute is all reddie here that some thynge shalbe done at thys tyme for the establyshement of the crowne." It proceeds I suspect, rather from the Queen's self than any other. We are now greatly given to policy, frugality, and good government. We have made laws that no victuals saving fish, nor hides, skins, nor wool, shall be carried out of the country: no wine sold above 6*l.* the "tunne." Laws are also made against "great hose" and costly apparel. The most difficulty will be to put order to the beggars; the ground I believe will not bear many other. The necessity next year must be very great, all kind of victuals are already grown so dear. Of this parliament I yet hear nothing. "Our ministers" have been there 6 days past in consultation what articles they may give in then for establishment of religion. I know not what will be the success. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 7. **1161.** BOTHWELL TO NORTHUMBERLAND.

While on my way to the Queen my sovereign's uncles in France, I was driven by storm in at the island beside Berwick, in which town I am kept by Sir Thomas Dacre knight the Queen's officer there. Having some little acquaintance with your lordship, and fearing lest my "onfrendes" in the Court of Scotland may labour to get me delivered there to my utter ruin, I pray you solicit the Queen's highness your mistress in my name, to retain me under her protection, and I would "rathest" by your "moyen" have the commodity to offer her my humble service personally. Excuse my hamely writing. Berwick. *Signed:* Your lordshipis luffing frend leffully, Boithvill.

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

Jan. 22. **1162.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

Requesting safe conduct to Scotland for Adriane Maucheare relict of Patrick Kirkcaldy, Marie Ros relict of Gilbert Logane, her subjects, and James Logane, with the rest of their bairns, families, &c. 12 persons in all,—who on their voyage homewards were driven by storm into Lowestoff [Lasto] and left behind there by their ship. Under her signet. Palace of Holyrood house, 21st of her reign. *Signed:* Your richt gud sister and cusignes, Marie R.

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed: ". . . certen Scottes persons driven to lande at Leistof."

Jan. 22. **1163.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

It was no small comfort to us to hear the true state of things of late in France, by your two letters, one of 16th December received at Stirling, the other of 11th instant. I proceed first to answer

Elizabeth.
1562–63. some points, in special concerning James MacConnel, whom thinking to find at Castle Cammell at S^{t} Colme's marriage to Argyll's sister, I passed thither with the Queen's grace. There I understood that a new controversy risen between MacLane and him, kept him at home. I understood by my lord of Argyll that James is well affectioned to my sovereign's service, the more as he heard that the Lord Deputy earnestly pursues M^{r} Bruerton for the murder "of James two kynsemen." Nothing he says can please James better than to be enemy to O'Neill, who married his daughter and within these 2 years sent her home again; so he thinks it an easy matter to persuade him to anything. The Earl himself will be "used therin" as my sovereign commands. He and James will shortly be here, if not I purpose writing to James for his mind.

This Queen is much contented that nothing shall be done this parliament to her discontentment; and is now angry with herself I hear, that she was so suspicious, and glad she shall shortly hear from the Queen's Majesty. I made her privy to the Provost of Paris' evil purpose against the Italian: she disallows as well as him the Spanish ambassador. Severity in punishment of that may give good example to other princes, especially here who now imitate many of your manners in government, though we cannot yet heartily confess or afford in our hearts to acknowledge whence we take it! I am required by Lethington to ask your honour for a copy of any statute containing all cases of a *premunire;* it is meant for the weal of the prelates. It is said M$_{r}$ Elmer * made answer to the "Terrible Blaste of the Trompet"; Lethington heartily desires to have it.

After I had knowledge that the ship wherein Bothwell departed, was at Holy Island, by advice of Murray and Lethington I wrote to the Queen's officers to stay him till her grace's will was known. The same morning she was ready to journey to "Cammell" to the marriage, word was brought me how he was found; and by the way I told her that it was done of good will, he being known an offender to her grace. I stood long in doubt (to be plain with your honour) "whether she dyd cunne me anye thanke for my newes or not," at last getting this answer, that she would advise with her Council and then talk further. I "slipped" many days, but heard no more and meanwhile conferred with Murray, Argyll, Lethington and Patarrowe, what was best to be done. They suspecting her mind to be more favourable to him than there was good cause, thought best to have him out of the country, rather than brought back (even to prison) in store to be employed in any mischief that the Queen or their enemies may move, and have resolved with me that whatever the Queen request, your honour will be a mean that he never return.

I stood long with them, thinking they had more authority with the Queen, and seeing his great offences, could dispose of him as they would. They say the Queen is persuaded that what they say against him "is rather for hate of hys person then and [anye ?] love that theye beare otherwyse (meaninge to the Duke) then that he hathe deserved." So in no way should he return but be disposed of as her Majesty pleases, either dismissed or kept prisoner as they think he justly may be.

At [Castle] Cammell, Murray fell sick of a "fluxe," next day her

* John Aylmer.

Elizabeth.
1562–63. grace removed to Stirling, with whom he went, but finding his disease increase, asked leave to remain there and me with him. After some rest, he got well and we repair to Edinburgh; I saw her that night and next day came to Court again, thinking to know her mind to Bothwell. After some advice taken she spoke thus—'I tayke yt in good part that the Quene my good systers officers for good wyll towardes me, have apprehended the Lorde Bothewell who hathe over greatlye fayled towardes me, wherfore I praye yow wryte unto the Quene your mestres that I do desyer that he maye be sent hyther agayne into Scotlande, so shall the pleasure be great and I wyll with gladde wyll requite the same.' I answered I would do as she requested, and sought occasion to talk of other things, and took leave. So your honour knows both her grace's desire and the lords'. One thing I must not omit—"I knowe hym as mortall an ennemie to our whole nation as anye man alyve, dyspytefull owte of measure, falce and untrewe as a divle; yf hys power had byne to the wyll he hath, nether the Quenes Majestie had stonde in so good termes of amytie with thys Quene as she dothe, nor menester lefte a lyve that sholde be a travailer betwene their Majesties for the contynuance of the same. Yf I had made anye accompte of hys threatnynges, or coulde have dowted hys malice, your honour had harde before thys tyme what juste occation I have had, not onlye to esteme hym as here I reporte hym to be, but also to seeke that revenge that justlye I owght to seeke of ane ennemie to my countrie, a blasphemeus and an unreverent speaker bothe of hys owne soveregne and the Quenes Majestie my mestres, and one that the godlye of thys whole nation hathe a cawse to curce for ever, that by that unhonourable and (not to offende your honours eares) thevyshe acte that he commytted agaynste the larde of Ormeston, adventured the losse of the cheif nobilitie of thys realme." You will pardon me "thus angerlye" to write, it is much less than I think or have good cause, or he should find if my power were to that mind I bear to all of his sort.

That night after I left the Queen, Roulet the secretary arrived by sea—"the house soundethe incontinente for assured newes" that the Rhinegrave had defeated 5000 of our sovereign's soldiers, and that the whole world was their own! At 9 p.m. either for courtesy sake or to please me well, it pleased her grace to send me a writing, whereof I send you the copy, and would speak with me next day, having more to say. If I had not before conceived opinion that I would never believe at first all I heard spoken by a French mouth, or written by a French hand, I dare say for very spite it was sent me in such haste, I had cast myself into a fever. I promised to wait on her grace next day, but desired her by the messenger not to believe hastily all that was written, that I had heard as lately from England as her grace's servant came from France, that the wind had been contrary, and he had been long at sea. Next morning happily the Berwick post arrives with your letters of 11th to me, to Lethington, &c. that I thought should be to good purpose. After dinner I "mayke me to the Courte," but found the Queen kept her bed. After talking with Murray and Lethington, I return to my lodging. Next day her grace being evil disposed, took physic, and this day also keeps her chamber. This morning she sends to me by Lethington's servant this letter to her uncle—that for as much as she heard Sir Nicolas Throkmorton was taken prisoner, she would (in respect he

Elizabeth.
1562–63. is her good sister's servant and worthy of favour) write to the Duke her uncle for his deliverance to her. Both Murray and Lethington assure me of their honours that it came of herself without motion of any person, "and before God, I knewe yt not before I sawe the lettre and harde the message."

To requite M. Roulet for his news, there is a good fellow or two in this town that cause it to be reported, and show writing for it, as sent from trusted friends at Antwerp, by a Flanders ship that reached this yesternight, that Monsieur Mongommerie is in Dieppe with 3000 Englishmen, and that Caen [Canne] is like to come into their hands; that Baron des Adrets [Desadresse] has joined the Prince at Orleans with 7000 horse and foot, "and the whole Protestantes in as great courrage as ever theie were." Though some part of this be true, "and more perchance of thother then wyllinglye we wolde," may it please you to favour us as you think convenient with what "we maye moste assure our selves of, ether to our comforte, or to praye to Good for the better, as his hollye wyll is that governethe the whole."

I find no alteration here; the Queen's good will remains "one" to our sovereign, she says it oft. The nobles and people are content to live with us in peace, and doubt more their old allies than their old enemies! The Duke is here with his 3 sons, but cannot get the 4th out of prison; he assures me "he is all waye one man," and I commend to him constancy as a "great vertu in a nobleman." Your honour will take it a great wonder when I write "that Mr Knox shall marrie a verie nere kynsewoman of the Dukes, a lordes daughter, a yonge lasse not above xvj yeres of age"! I rather think you will laugh at my madness to write so unlikely a matter, than believe it true. "One Paule Meffane a preacher brought up under Mr Coverdall, whoe maried an Engleshe woman, menester of Gedbroughe, is convicted of manifeste advouterie"! He escaped to England, or some say drowned in a boat going over the water thither. The Earl of Morton is created Lord Chancellor; I doubt not now we shall have justice. The Master of Maxwell has been here 8 days, and showed me a letter from Sir Thomas Dacres, Lord Dacre's son, that he was so cumbered with the Grehams since his father's departure to London, he could do no justice for agreed on bills. In answer to me, the Master said there was no such difficulty, but it was either for lack of good will or to get aid from the Queen's Majesty. Whatever I report of the Master's words, do not conceive worse of any nobleman my mistress's subject.

Though some fear Bothwell's taking cause Tividale men to ride faster on us, I know they will be more afraid, so long as they know him to be where he is. The continual bruits of wars, are not meant on this side, for "we have not wheare with." The bruit that this Queen means to fortify "Aiemouthe," came out of the "walled towne" of Berwick, who fear their garrison reduced. The "venerable" prelate of St Andrews has been here; I thought to have heard of his committal to the castle for saying and hearing mass, and refusing to pay the third of his benefice for maintenance of the ministers and poor. He is dismissed in hope of amendment, "and for suche faultes with us are sildome puneshed." Of Fettiplace and Johnston the pirates, I have written to my lord Admiral. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Elizabeth.
1562–63. Jan. 31.

1164. RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I received your letter of 14th instant with one from the Queen's Majesty to this Queen, which I presented immediately on her recovery from sickness, which we conjecture was nothing but "a will" to keep her bed for 5 or 6 days after her evil journey at Castle "Cammell." She took it in good part, "and redde yt quite over twyse in my syghte"; requiring me to excuse her to the Queen's Majesty for a few days, as she minds to send her servant shortly to her Majesty. If the matter be important, Lethington is "lykeste" to go. I have written to her Majesty what I know—not of assurance, for her grace may alter her purpose, or things "hastelye come into heade may slowlye inoughe be put in execution."

Things otherwise as I wrote, in quietness. I took occasion to commune with the Queen on the state of France: she seems much to lament it, and I believe fears now her uncles' success more than ever. I declared her Majesty's proceedings there from the beginning —her pains and care by ambassadors, letters, messages, &c. to quiet the country and accord the Prince and the Duke, wherein seeing she could not prevail, she used the next mean, viz. "to defende her owne right, and further to do as all godlie princes ought, in defence of Godes cawse and hys worde." Her answer was—"that yf her uncles coulde persuade themselves that that which the Prince and his accomplices have taken in hande to defende, were ether the pure worde of God, or that their were not a better religion then that which the Protestantes do professe, theie wolde as willinglye adventure their boddies for that as theie do nowe for thother; but for my sovereigns parte therin, she thought that some other respectes myght move her to do as she dyd, and wysshed that she had her contentement, and therunto wolde willinglye travaile yf she knewe the meane"; with more to like effect. I commended her grace's good mind, doubting not her Majesty felt the same. Yesterday the 30th, a servant of her grace's departed for France through Flanders; not yet gone for contrary wind. Herself required me to give him a testimony under my hand, that he was her servant, in case he touched in England. She took it unkindly that her letters found upon the Bishop of Ross's servant were sent to Court; that they contained no matter of importance, but as the bishop lies sick like to die of the stone, and sent to France for a "chirurgian," much time is lost and his life in danger. She thinks it rather the fault of the Queen's Majesty's ministers, than any suspicion in herself. I tempered it with good words, and think her grace well pleased. It is well known here where Bothwell is, but over much feared by some that he shall receive at the Queen's Majesty's hands, either by good treatment there, or by suit made for him, more favour than such an enemy to her deserves. I shall write more, after conferring with those whom it chiefly concerns here.

Touching James MacConnel: I can write with more assurance than before, after conference with himself here. He is well affected to her Majesty's service, and against no man "sonner then Shan Onel." He is greatly grieved with the slaughter of his two kinsmen Alester Macrannalde Boye and Gelaspicke his brother. He hears that the Lord Deputy is determined to see it punished, and that Mr Bruerton will take to sea. As Argyll will be here in a day or two,

Elizabeth.
1562-63. he desires we may commune again; so I shall be better satisfied. There arrived here on Saturday Angilo Manello an Italian, and in his company a servant of my lord of Arundel's. I shall write as I see occasion.

Many lusty and able gentlemen ashamed to lie still knowing "what ther is adoe in France," sue to me daily for entertainment at her Majesty's hands; and I cannot answer them. Many are known men of service specially on horseback. I pray for your advice; it can be secretly and well enough handled. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Jan. 31. **1165.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

There arrived here on Tuesday last* this bearer William Pertrige with letters from her Majesty to this Queen in favour of his suit for his ship taken in Danish waters. These I presented next day, and her grace recalled somewhat, I informing her of the rest. She is willing to justice, and referred me to the Council: who gave the same answer as formerly to Sir Henry Sydney, viz. that if Pertrige began his suit at law before the Lords of Session, he should receive justice and all favour: if not, it should be his own default. But Pertridge dissatisfied, prefers to return, requiring me to signify the answer he has received, as I do to your honour. I have advised him as I would in my own case, rather to pursue it here before the Session, than lose the whole, unless he has some better means to come by it than I see. I wish some other were conjoined with him, that has more experience in suit of causes; her grace and Council are willing the poor man should get justice. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

1¼ *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed:* ". . . M^r^ Partriches case."

Feb. 6. **1166.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I received your letters of 27^th^ ult. and such other as you commanded M^r^ Somer to write, whereby we stand yet in good hope that the Guisians' rage against Christ and his word shall end in their own destruction and perpetual ignominy of all their partakers. The murders committed upon the Landgrave of Hesse's son and the Duke of Lunenbourge have so kindled men's hearts here against the whole race, "that scharce cane men refrayne to put yt in wrytinge and to clappe yt up uppon the Quenes owne yates or doores of her chambers"! What the preachers have said in the pulpits, and the talk in open assemblies, cannot but be come to her ears. "What faythe maye be geven unto their promesses, warninge is geven to all Protestantes, by that honorable and godlie othe that the Mother, the Duke, the Constable and other, made amongeste them selves, that what so mever theie promised, their sholde not one jote of yt be performed." This is come to the Queen's knowledge. "For the faythe of yonge Pigilion, what can ther be looked for otherwyse of a man

* 26^th^.

Elizabeth.
1562-63. "dyscended of so noble a race? Certayne of our fayer Maries heringe that Pigilion sholde be delivered for Killegrewe, thoughte hym to be of over smale valeur to be geven for so great a personage. Thys matter came so farre in contention, that comparison was made of their worthynes. Theie were bothe stowtlye defended. Yf Flemynge had had at that tyme knowledge howe honorablye Pigilion hathe keapte his faythe, withowte dowte Liveston that daye had put hym cleane owte of service." These are but "smale triffles" to trouble your honour with, yet serve good purpose sometimes to be known.

I have communed long with James MacConnel in the hearing of Argyll; he promises if the Queen's Majesty be gracious lady and grant him on reasonable conditions the lease he has long sued for, he will serve her against her enemies in Ireland, present or future, his allegiance reserved. He finds the articles sent by my lord Deputy very hard, and desires two or three mitigated. He has them not here, but will send them shortly and how he desires them amended. Two days past, he got knowledge that Captain Pers of Nougforgus * was arrived in Kyntire commissioned by the Lord Deputy to speak with him on that matter. He has written to him to tarry his coming, and asked me to send George Butshede to keep him company, which I have done. He earnestly required me to sue your honour to be a mean to her Majesty, that the slaughter of his kinsmen be punished; assuring me it would greatly help her service, for till then it will be hard for him to persuade his brother to serve in person, though otherwise he will not fail in his promises. To all this Argyll has been privy; who for himself will do all he can to her Majesty's contentment, and if she attempt anything against Shan O'Neill, he will assist her to the uttermost. If your honour please to write to him, I am sure he would be glad.

It is now resolved that Lethington shall visit the Queen's Majesty, how soon I know not. He never took charge with worse will, especially if he pass to France. He hears now-a-days of so many murders and men shot with "dagges," that he has no will to come to these dangers.

One thing your honour may know assuredly: for the advancement of his mistress's service he will do and say whatsoever lies in his power. He is charged here as "over good servant to her," and his advice followed more than any other. A man in such place ought to have many wits and "well tempered."

I hear of a letter from the King of Sweden to this Queen, requesting that none of her ships sail to Moscovia or her subjects traffic there. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Feb. 6. **1167.** RANDOLPHE TO LORD ROBERT DUDLEY.

There is nothing to write of things here that you are not privy to. It is purposed Lethington shall shortly visit the Queen's Majesty from this Queen; she would very gladly be a mean to accord the controversies in France. I have sought to find if it comes of herself, or by advice of her uncles; but know not what to think. I doubt

* Knockfergus or Carrickfergus.

Elizabeth.
1562–63. not Lethington will be plain enough therein with your lordship. He will travail the most he can for her advantage, and her affection is not small for her uncles. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

½ *p. Holograph; also address.* (To Dudley as of the Queen's Council). *Indorsed.*

Feb. 12. **1168.** MURRAY TO CECILL.

I send this by Lethington, going to Court for occasions you will amply understand by him; but for which I would have "recompanced" the long delay of our mutual writings, "too long forborn." Your honour remembers in what terms we left, and we must nourish (as good ministers may) "the luif anis kendlyit" betwixt our sovereigns and their subjects, wherein I persuade myself you will never "relent" your labours, nor will I leave off setting forward so godly and profitable a work. I leave all other things to Lethington, whom credit as myself. With hearty commendations to my lady your bedfellow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Stewart.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* ". . . Erle of Murray to M^r^ Secretarie, by the Larde of Leidington."

Feb. 15. **1169.** MURRAY TO CECILL.

The bearer having committed "ane slauchter upon ane of his countrie men," has by the Queen's grace had the penalty exchanged from death to "exill"; and having made "gryt instance" that I may recommend his present estate to your honour, which I will not "nay" him—I pray you let him have "sic favouris for my saik as for his qualite I may justly requyir, and your honour may leifully grant." Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Stewart.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* ". . . for William Forbus."

Feb. 15. **1170.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

Desiring to advertise your honour speedily, you will pardon my hasty writing. Not to keep you in suspense—"Chartellet, Monsieur Danville trustie servant, hathe by violence attempted thys Quens dyshonour in the moste shamfull sorte that ever the same was donne unto anye lyke personage." I will not take upon me to "open" the whole, for the verity is known but to few, and the matter kept very secret. But of this be assured, "that yester nyghte the xiiij^th^ of thys instant, the Quene beinge at Burnte Ilande byyonde the water, in her waye to S^t^ Androwes, goynge to her bedde, Chartelet retired hym self to a secret corner, and onlye two of her gentlewomen present, commethe forthe, and ther settethe upon her with suche force, and in suche impudent sorte, that the Quene herself was fayne to crie for helpe, and the matter so manifeste that no couller coulde founde to hyde the shame and dyshonour." The Earl of Murray was sent for out of his lodging, whom the Queen "incontinent commaunded to put hys dagger in hym"; which had been done "yf God had not put into hys mynde," to reserve him to be justified according to law. So this day the Lord Chancellor, Justice Clerk and other councillors are sent for over the water to meet her at S^t^ Andrews.

Elizabeth.
1562–63. Thus much I know by a secret message from "an assured nere previe frende"; you shall know more by next. "Thus your honour hearethe the begynnynge of a lamentable storie, whearof suche infamye wyll arryse as I feare howe well so mever the wounde be healed, the scharre wyll for ever remayne. Thus your honour seethe what myschef insuethe of the over great familiaritie that anye suche personage showethe unto so unworthye a createur and abjecte a varlet, as ever her grace used with hym. What couller so mever cane be layde upon yt, that yt was done for hys maisters sake: yet I cane not but saye, yt had byne to myche to have byne used to hys maister self by any princese alyve"! Lethington is not privy to it, for it was since he took leave of the Queen, nor have I written to him, that you may use it as you like. This morning I received a letter from my lord of Murray to Lethington, willing him in the Queen's name to send back all letters he had of Chartellet to his master or other, without mention of the cause—so it is impossible he should know it.

What is already suspected by some of Danville's great desire to be here, was long since conjectured by the good usage of his servant. How welcome he shall now be to this nation your honour shall find.

Before I leave this (which will be within 3 days for S^{t} Andrews), you shall be further advertised. Edinburgh. "Late in the nyghte." *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Feb. 28. **1171.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

I promised in my last, I would write more amply of Chartellet's bold attempt; but there were so many divers reports, and contrary judgments what should become of him, that for long time I could come by no certainty. I also absented myself from the Court, lest I had been required to be "suter" for him, whom I judged even more worthy of 500 deaths than of one "jote" of the favour I saw was borne to him. I arrived here on Ash Wednesday, and heard by the way that on Monday before, he was beheaded. After conferring with some friends I understood for certain that this was proved—"that the nyghte before the Quene departed owte of Edenbourge towardes thys towne, he was founde lyenge under the Quenes bedde with hys swerde besydes hym and hys dagger abowte hym, the Quene being reddie to goe into her bedde: whear of the Quene not beinge made previe untyll the morrowe for dysquietinge of her that nyghte, and in the morninge beinge advertysed, she commanded hym owte of her presence. He notwithstondinge followed her to Domfermelinge, and ether by some worde or token fyndynge (as he thought) her wrathe appeaced, tooke newe courrage upon hym, and at her commynge unto Burnte Ilande (the thyrde daye after her departeur from Edenbourge) the Quene beinge in her chamber, no man in her compagnie, onlye certayne of her gentlewomene abowte her, he commethe in alone and desyerethe that he myght purge hym self of that crime that he was charged with, denienge that he was founde under her graces bedde, but saide that beinge in her graces chamber late, and fyndinge hym self hevie for wante of sleape, gotte hym unto the nexte place that was at hande, which was unto the moste secrete place of the whole howse, whear her grace dyd

Elizabeth.
1562-63. "resorte unto abowte her moste previe affayres—in playner wordes (savinge your honour) in the previe."* Though this was evil enough, and greater boldness in him than any man of "a farre greater callinge" ought to have done—yet he was convicted by sufficient witnesses that he was not found there, but under the bed. He was then committed to ward, the next day sent to S[t] Andrews, and 5 or 6 days after, his head cut off in the open market place on market day. He died repentant, confessing privately more than he spoke openly. His purpose the night he was found under the bed was, "to have tried her constancie, and by force to have attempted that which by no perswations he coulde attayne unto," whereby ensued the reward of so rash an enterprize of such an unworthy creature ever to think "to come by that which she herself (I beleeve) judgethe verie fewe in the worlde worthie of." Thus your honour understands the matter as truly as any man can report it. She has taken "some greef" of mind, but begins to be merry again. Hereof she never had purpose with me herself, but divers of her gentlewomen and women have, with no small regret that such a thing should have chanced. Their sorrow will pass and the wonder blown over in nine days. The man that takes most sorrow is the Earl of Murray, lest worse be judged of it, and of the familiar usage of such a "vallet," than was meant by her.

Much is hoped of Lethington's "travaile"; the godly trust her Majesty will never desert the poor Protestants for any persuasion made—though it is long since we heard from your honour how things prosper among them. Since Raulet's arrival here, never came letter from France to this Queen, for all the fair promises and offer of service to her grace by the venerable "Cardinal of A., I meane the bysshope of Arras," who in his last letters hither wrote very despitefully of our sovereign's doings in France. There lacks no good will in him to work mischief.

It is vehemently suspected there is some practise of marriage—your honour knows which way, if so be. Others fear if the Duke have his way, there will be another alliance with France. We can only conjecture, for in this realm no man knows her mind. Our preachers pray daily that God will keep us from the bondage of strangers, and for herself in effect, "that God will ether torne her harte, or sende her shorte lyf! Of what charitie or sprite thys procedethe, I leave to be dyscussed unto the greate divines." The country is quiet, the Duke and his three sons remain here. How the fourth † enjoys not the liberty of the Lord Gordon and abbot of Kilwinning, Lethington can inform you. There is great partiality thought, and Lethington, though unjustly charged, is judged the deviser. Others say he † may have more liberty but will not. Sir John Foster has complained divers times of no justice for Liddesdale—this altered on reasonable respects.* I have solicited the matter with the Queen and Council; and it is resolved that Murray or another shall in 12 days go to Jedburgh and call in offenders—riding on and destroying those that come not. I have written at the Council's request to the wardens of the Middle and West Marches that no reset be given to man wife child or goods, in their bounds.

Since Bothwell's apprehension, the thieves spare both Scotland and England—we take it done by his advice, knowing he continually

* This clause added on margin. † Arran.

Elizabeth.
1562–63. confers with the veriest thieves. His liberty except with my sovereign's pleasure, tends but to small effect; I marvel how he has gained so many friendly hearts. Two men in Scotland (as he says) he doubts most—Murray for his credit with the Queen, and Randolphe to solicit here and in England what others have "mortallye" intended against him. He might have said no less of Lethington, whose life he has divers ways sought, and has no less credit than many others. I confess myself to my power "as well in tonge as boddie," to be his enemy, as an enemy to God my sovereign and country.

This Queen purposes I hear within 2 or 3 days, to speak to me again of him; I know not her grace's mind, but how little needful his return here is, Lethington will be as plain with you as with me, or else he shall hereafter use another interpreter. She writes now to him to speak to her Majesty to have him rendered. What bargain Angilo the Italian made here with the Queen for making salt, I doubt not he has or will make you privy. Some men without cause think he came on another purpose.

Andrew Tremayne my fellow, kindly bestowed 2 or 3 days with me in this Court. It pleased the Queen and Court to take very well with him.

Lord Ruthen by Lethington's "meane" only, is chosen of the Council; it mislikes many, but most of all Murray for his "sosserie." I fear a breach of kindness, for there is not an "unworthyer" in Scotland. I might speak more than I dare write in this and other matters, and heartily wish I could have leave (were it never so short) to declare by mouth what I may not write. Parliament is proclaimed against 20th May, till which time the Queen will be little in Edinburgh. The purpose against the thieves is stayed, as there yet no wardens appointed on the opposite Marches to concur. St Andrews. *Signed;* Tho. Randolphe.

You shall receive herewith letters to Lethington from his sovereign.

5 *pp. Holograph; also address. Indorsed.*

March 8. **1172.** MORTON TO CECILL.

"This berar my freind William Forbes of Corsynday, upoun suddantie happinnit in cummer with ane gentill man, and committit ane slaichter," for which he has been long in strait prison. Having made satisfaction to the "partie," it has pleased the Queen to spare his life, but to "exterminat" and banish him this realm. He concludes "to entir rathes" in your country, to pass over the beginning of his exile, hoping for greater favour there than elsewhere till the Queen's highness's favour be obtained. So I most humbly desire your honour to show him friendly assistance for my sake, as I shall be "deitbound" to do the like for your honour. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Be your frend, Mortoun.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 10 **1173.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

In answer to your honour's letter of 28th ult. desiring to hear at

Elizabeth.
1562–63. good length of Chartillet's enterprise: I trust by this time you are fully satisfied, and more than I wrote in my last "never came unto my knowledge." The Queen ever since has taken "Marie Flemynge to her bedfellowe"; she is now in health and merry, most commonly riding about the fields, as the time will serve. Her care is continually great for her uncles, and her desire "wonderfull" that France was at quietness. It appears now there is some more doubt in her than was wont to be "of the succes." Captain Colborne has not discomforted her with his report that Orleans is besieged; but it will advantage him little here, to speak everything as he finds it. Lethington has written nothing to her grace of her uncle's hurt; and I have left it to Murray's discretion, purposing if she inquire of me, to conceal nothing. Lethington would rather it came to her ears by another than him; he has written very honestly of the honour he received from the Queen's Majesty, and entertainment by all the nobles. She gathers little hope that any good will be done in the matter he goes about: "God sende yt also to better passe then she desyerethe." There is great expectation here of the Queen's Majesty's doings; her "brute, fame, and honour is great in all mens hartes and tonges that fearethe God . . . mo good wordes spoken of her grace then of all the kynges and quenes alyve!" Of things here I can write no farther. Necessity forces me to sue your honour for myself; in no manner of way can I bear out my daily increasing charges; I am greatly in debt, and nothing of my own rests unspent. My weekly charges since this Queen's voyage to the North, have mounted to "verie nere x^{li}. sterling." And how many ways I have "to dysbource silver, bysydes myne ordinarie charges of my owne meate and drinke, iiij servantes, vj horses, and two fellows to keape them, your honour cane easlie consyder"! and I have never had "grote" more than my allowance. And to "ronne" into any man's "daynger," I think it the greatest shame that can chance me. May it please you to be a mean to her Majesty to consider my case, that I may serve her (while it please her) to her honour, which before God I regard more than my own profit. Considering how greatly her grace is charged, there is no man lother than I to seek anything, yet I would rather lead my life in her grace's presence with a small living, than continue my unpleasant life here with a great entertainment. Whensoever it please your honour to give me answer, that I may cast off my care and wholly give myself to the service wherein "my harte delitethe," I shall ever think my self most bound as always hitherto. S^t Andrews. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

[Postscript].—I have before written of the desire divers of this nation have to serve her Majesty beyond seas. I make not account of every one that comes, but I can find 200 as able honest men as are in Scotland, under a leader of honour, who shall find favour at divers noblemen's hands to set them forward. They feel ashamed, after the favour themselves have had of God, and seeing all Christian people taking part with "the poore afflicted," to lie back and give no help. Some gentleman will soon be with your honour to be a mean for them; assuring you they shall be well horsed and such as have served before. "Howe evle willinge so mever thys quene be therunto, the matter is easie inoughe to be brought to passe withowte her knowledge." It may please you for speedy answer herein for those that are "so instante." The Duke and Glencairne are gone to their houses, and Argyll and Atholl come in their places; Ruthven also present "not

Elizabeth.
1562-63. yet admitted." Lady Sutherland Lennox's sister, is here suing for her husband, more pitied for her own sake than his. Colborne shortly receives his despatch. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

[2d Postscript].—You shall receive herewith letters from Murray to Lethington, and therein a letter from the Queen to M. Danville in favour of Harrie Killegrewe at the suit of Lethington. "Of thys I am certayne of other and not by herself." This night at 9 o'clock, she was not privy to her uncle's hurt. To-morrow she takes her journey 4 or 5 miles out of this town, to pass 3 days. *Initialled:* Tho. R.

3¼ *pp. Closely written. Holograph. No address or flyleaf.*

March 18. **1174.** RANDOLPHE TO CECILL.

There is great sorrow here for the death of the Duke of Guise, and many of our fair faces at Court are "greatlie impayred: the Quene herself mervileus sadde, her ladies shedinge of teares lyke showres of rayne; some other for compagnie (thoughe their hartes be never a whyte hevie) mayke maynie a fayer offer, to lette the worlde wytte what compassion theie tayke to see other so sadde"! Before Monday last the 15th no knowledge came to the Queen of the Duke's hurt; at which time we were assured by your letter to Sir Thomas Dacres, that he was dead. Murray and the Justice Clerk were the first openers of the matter; assuring Lethington to be the advertiser, and confirmed by your letters. "Our comforte is nowe that as we have passed greater sorrows, so shall we also do thys"!

It pleases her grace to send this bearer Monsieur Rowlet her secretary to Lethington with command immediately to pass into France with the letters she has sent him, for the Queen mother, for her grandmother, for the Duke's wife and others her friends to comfort them as he can, and also to see by what means to further the accord. This I know by others not her self. Her grace shall shortly find how much more the Queen's Majesty's friendship may stand her in stead, "then anye that ever boore the name of a Guyse"! As they have occasioned in times past great misliking between our sovereign and this Queen, "so nowe seinge God hathe taken awaye the cheiffeste autour of that dyscorde, I hope well that he wyll so yoyne their hartes togyther, that the kyndnes betwene them by no meanes shalbe dysseverde"! I am earnestly required by Murray to ask your honour to move the Queen's Majesty to write to this Queen "some comfortable lettres and good wordes, whearof he knowth that great good wyll insue." His whole purpose is to bend all her affection that way for concord and peace; with this bearer's return he trusts her Majesty will write somewhat and also give me authority to say what seems good to her Majesty. Murray, Argyll, Marshal and few other than those ordinarily in Court, are with her grace; who this day rides to Fawcklande for 8 or 10 days.

We have heard nothing of things in France since the Duke's death, nor what is become of him that slew him. May it please you that Mr Sommer or other may sometimes advertise us, at more length than we know the business you have gives your honour leisure for. St Andrews. *Signed:* Tho. Randolphe.

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

Elizabeth.
1562–63. Inclosed (?) in the above:—

(Arran to [Murray].)

"My lorde I am here in daynger of my lyf for revelinge the treason ment agaynst the Quenes Majestie and yourself; therfore succour me and as ye tayke care of me your traiste brother and the innocent bloude and mayke you to come and seme as yf I were giltie, other wyse I wyll have my throte cutte here." Have compassion on me as ye would God should have on you "my lord my brother," for so long as I live I shall be true to you as you have some experience. James Hamilton.

Show this to M[r] Randolphe and bid him "trest" (?) me.

½ *p. Copy by Randolphe.*

March 21. **1175.** DECLARATION BY WILLIAM BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

In the 26[th] year of Henry VIII., when sent by his Majesty in embassade to the King of Scots, I had instruction to travail with his sister that King's mother, to renounce Lord Meffyne her husband, and be reconciled with her former husband the Earl of Angus.

When I disclosed my message in presence of Lord Meffyne "(for other wyse she wolde not heare me)" for all my persuasion, she referred answer to be made by him—who in 2 or 3 days after in the Black Friars of Edinburgh "commoned with me a partte," declaring how the Queen for just causes was divorced from the Earl and lawfully married to himself; showing me also an authentic instrument of divorce formally made at Rome, "whiche I did rede." The cause of divorce was granted on allegations and proofs that the Earl before he married the Queen, was married to another gentlewoman of the country "whose name I do not remember." Lord Meffyne earnestly requested me to certify the King hereof. Afterwards when in commission with Lord William "Haward" now Lord Chamberlain, his lordship told me he had a special command from the King's Majesty diligently to inquire for the said gentlewoman, and after sundry talks obtained from her a letter of her own hand specifying her marriage with the Earl, which he told me he would deliver to the King. Thus I have testified my knowledge, occasioned thereto by a "pretensed title, mocioned in the Parliament House for the Ladye Margarett Douglas."

"To this declaration before the Lordes of the Counsell, the xxj[st] of Marche the v[th] yere of our sovereigne ladye Elisabeth Queene of Englond, &c." *Signed:* W. Cicestren.

1 *p. The attestation is holograph of Barlow. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "21[st] Martij 1562. B. of Cicester, Barloos declaration of his knoledg in the case of the Lady Margaret Lennox."

(1) Another copy of same.

1¼ *pp. In a later hand. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
[1562–63. Jan. .]

1176. ARGUMENTS BETWEEN ARRAN AND LENNOX.

"The alegacyons and reasons of James Hamelton pretended Erll of Arran toching the tytell to that Erlldom, and the crowne of Scotland: and the aunswers of Mathue erll of Lenox to the same":—

HAMILTON.—It is certain that Lady "Marrion"* Stewerd sister to King James III., married James lord Hamelton, and bare him a son and a daughter, viz. James, earl of Arran my father, and Margaret † Hamelton your "good dame,"‡ Countess of Lennox. As the brother succeeds before the sister, "therefore ye doo me wronge to qûarell me."

LENNOX.—If you had been lawfully begotten, I should have had nothing to say. But it is most true that your father was married to Elizabeth Hume daughter to Lord Alexander Hume, about the year 1493, and she lived till the year 1543. Many years before her death, your father "tooke to his company" Dame Jenet Beton, by whom he had you, and was not his lawful wife.

HAMILTON.—But there was a divorce between my father and Dame Elizabeth, and he married Dame Jenet my mother.

LENNOX.—Some lawful cause of divorce must be proved, or it is of no avail.

HAMILTON.—The cause was that said Elizabeth was first married to Sir Thomas Hey son and heir to the Lord Yester, and Sir Thomas and my father were near of consanguinity, a lawful cause of divorce, *rebus stantibus ut tunc.*

LENNOX.—Your allegation is most untrue, for there was "never suche a thinge" as a marriage between Sir Thomas and the said Elizabeth, as ye affirm.

HAMILTON.—The divorcement proves the marriage. How then can ye disprove it?

LENNOX.—I prove the contrary thus—as ye allege the cause of divorce "to growe upon" the marriage of the said Elizabeth and Sir Thomas, and it is true they were never married, how could there be a divorce between the said Elizabeth and the Earl of Arran, "when there was never suche a thinge *in rerum natura*"?

HAMILTON.—It is hard to prove that, for my father took a dispensation for the first marriage of the said Elizabeth "and maryed hir agayne," which proves that she was married to the said Hey, "and that there was cawse of devorsment."

LENNOX.—"Dispensacyons and remissyons taken for thinges that was never, proves nothinge."

HAMILTON.—"Yet all this is noo proffe that the sayd Sir Thomas Hey never maryed the sayd Elizabethe."

LENNOX.—I will prove it thus—"fyrst Allexaunder Hume the fyrst Hume, maryed the dowghter of the Carrs, and hir name was Nicolas. She was an inherytryx of Samiston and Huton Hawle, and was maryed in Berwick in the yere of God 1478 yeres, and abowt ij yeres after, in the yere of God 1480, was the aforesayd Elizabethe Hume borne. Now the sayd Sir Thomas Hey maryed Dame Kateryn Burtyke [Borthwick] sister to William lord Burtyke, abowt the yere of God 1489 yeres, and the same Sir Thomas was slayne by the

* "Mary." † "Elizabeth" was her name. ‡ *i.e.* grandmother.

Elizabeth.
[1562-63.] "theves of Asedale in the yere of God 1491, and lefte a sune behynd him of a yere olde, and that wyffe of Sir Thomas Hayes after his slawghter, maryed Sir Oliver Sinclar lard of Roslinge, and hir sune by the sayd Sir Thomas lyved tyll he was 18 yeres of age. Thus I prove Elizabethe Hume was not ix yeres old, when Sir Thomas Hey maryed Kateryn Burtyke, and therefore cowlde not be Sir Thomas Heyes wyffe."

HAMILTON.—But if all this were true, yet you have prejudged your right, for that I was entered heir to my father without any contradiction by you or any for you, and continued so till the "disseace" of King James the 5th, and after his death I was admitted Governor of Scotland without impeachment of you or yours.

LENNOX.—I answer I was under age and out of the realm, and as to my curators, their negligence or evil dealing could not prejudge me—for by the law of Scotland, a curator may wyn (?) but can lose nothing to the pupil. Also after the King's death, the Cardinal wrote to the King of France for me to come home in Scotland to receive the right that "aperteyned me," and raised a summons of bastardy against you; for when ye were declared governor, you proclaimed that the word of God should be in our "volgar tonge, but to stop the Cardinals mouth," you showed to repent your [doing ?]* and made a new command to the contrary, barring all men from that benefit, and prosecuting any that "was forwarde thereto." And thereupon the Cardinal left off prosecuting the summons of bastardy against you. And I conclude you have no right to the earldom of Arran, much less to the crown of Scotland, for whatsoever is set down here is to be proved substantially by records.

2½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Argumentes *pro et contra* betwixt James erle of Arren and the Erle of Lennox In favour of Lennox."

(1) Another copy of same.

2¾ *pp. In a later hand. Indorsed.*

(2) Another copy.

2¼ *pp. Partly in same hand. Indorsed.*

[March 21.] **1177.** LENNOX AGAINST ARRAN.

The Earl of Arran, called Duke "Chatillaroo," bastard born, gotten upon the Ladie Wemes concubine to James earl of Arran his father, doubting the objection of bastardy by James Hamilton his base brother, who "mannassed" the same, to save the earldom of Arran, resigned his whole possessions to the late King James the 5th for new infeftment to be made again to him and his son, which passed, and paid his fine for the same according to the laws of that realm; "and by thys colour saved his landes, whatever should chance after." On that King's death, Arran, more by the procurement of some noblemen his friends, "nor of his own curage or any just right he had —thErle of Levenax that now is, also being in Fraunce absent—tuik

* Word left out.

Elizabeth.
[1562–63.] "the place of governament," and by their assistance kept a parliament, whereat was contracted the marriage of the young Queen of Scotland, "to that worthy prence" King Edward 6th, and restored the Earl of Angus to his lands. The late Cardinal of St Andrews "being by him and his assistantes in captivitie there, the Douagere and the young Quene lykwyse in Linlithqw captive—caused draw in forme thordre of the said erle of Arranes bastardrie to have been put in execution: and by there meanes procured therle of Levenax by Fraunces the Fraunce King, to be sent home as moste laufull governour, whiche he dyd. Arran being thus placed dowbting ever bastardrie: partlie by force, partlie by rewardes, procured the seales and hand wryttes of the moste part of the nobilitie (yett not all) to allow him secund persone of that realme; and by these meanes and upoun the revolt from the excellent prence King Henrye theight, having afterwartes the Douagere and the Cardinalles favour, contynewed in office." Where perhaps some think Arran was "re-abled": the truth is in King James's time, he did not seek for it, but used the colour of infeftment foresaid. "In his owin regne being his owin juge, and butt an tutour to the young Quene in the law: nether went aboute to be re-abled nor durst ony ferther plonge or open his unlawfulnes: butt contented him self witht the wsurped rowme: and never by no parliament in the said late King James tyme: nor in his owin, as said is, was reabled nor made laufull. And besydes that: the ordre of reabling in that realme passetht by lettres patentes upoun bill assigned from the prence, called an Legittimation, and not by Act of Parliament."

Arran has been not only reputed and called "bastarde" by all the subjects of that realm, "in there pryvet greiffes by him to them ministred," but also the most famous, worthy, and of "immortale and digne memorie" King Henry 8th: who by his lieutenant Charles Duke of Suffolk and his ambassadors to Scotland, &c. was fully satisfied of Arran's bastardy. Francis the French King, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, and the late Cardinal his friend esteemed and knew him for the same.

1½ *pp. Copy in Scottish hand. Indorsed:* "A note of informacyon"; and (by Cecill): "*Inter Comitem Aranie et Comitem Lenox.*"

[*c.* March 21.] **1178.** MAITLAND ON LENNOX'S INFORMATION.

I cannot see why this James Hamilton should object bastardy to his brother the Earl, seeing he could not thereby come to any preferment himself, or any part of the lands, being himself "ane bastarde in very deade"; and in so doing should have driven the succession of his father's inheritance to his mortal enemy the Earl of Lennox, whose father he had killed. It is so unlikely, that I think no such matter was ever "in heade."

It is most vain to think, for fear of laying bastardy to him, he resigned his possessions, for such could have served to no purpose, as by the law of Scotland the resignation is the "fundament" of the new infeftment, so if the "resignant" have no right to the land or power to surrender, the new infeftment grounded thereon is always "reduceable upon that heade." But it is "notour" that the same cause moved Arran to seek new infeftment, that moved the other nobility, who did

Elizabeth.
[1562-63.] the like, not that they feared bastardy. The procurement made to the French King to send Lennox home, "if so wes," yet proves nothing —and though the Queen, Cardinal, and French fortified him, their counsels were frustrate and unable to prevail against the right.

As to the seals and hand writings, it was done in Parliament by consent of the whole Estates, and if two or three nobles were absent by sickness, they joined afterwards. So it is no "privey band" but the law of the realm. He needed no legitimation, being lawfully born.

He has been ever reputed lawful by the people, the law of the realm, and by "enquest retourit to the chancellary," lawful heir to his father's inheritance, acknowledged in plain parliament lawful tutor to the Queen's grace [second person in the realme and ?]* and heir apparent to the Crown. So esteemed by the Queen his sovereign, Henry and Franceys kings of France, as appears by their letters patent to him. I believe not that Henry 8th was satisfied of his bastardy, nor that his lieutenant or ambassadors would say so, being most untrue.

1¼ *pp.* *Holograph of Maitland.*

[c. March 21.] **1179.** MEMORANDUM AS TO THE COUNTESS OF LENNOX.

"Archenbold erle of Angoys" married Margaret Queen of Scotland and had issue, now Countess of Lennox: born at Herbottle in Northumberland. After the solemnization of the marriage "and issue betwen them had," the Lady of Trakquayre did by process of ecclesiastical law, procure a sentence of divorce between the said Queen and Earl, by force whereof the "lady of Trackquayre enjoyed him as her lawful husband and contynued with hlm during her lief. And living therle and the lady of Trakquayre, the Quene toke to her husband one Steward, and contynued with him during her lief, and died without issue."

½ *p.* *Indorsed* (by Cecill): "Erle Angus ageynst the legitimacy of Margaret Contes of Lennox."

Inclosed with the same:—

(Letters Patent of the Cardinal of Ancona.)

"Petrus episcopus Sabinen," &c. Cardinal of Ancona, attests that as papal commissioner in the Roman *Curia*, he on the 11th day of March previous, pronounced sentence in the divorce moved by the most serene lady Margaret widow of James 4th King of Scots against Archibald earl of Angus: declaring the pretended marriage between the said Queen and earl null and void—commanding the earl to restore all the plaintiff's dower, goods, &c., imposing on him perpetual silence, and condemning him in the expenses of the suit as hereafter taxed.

Being unable from his absence from the *Curia*, to issue executory letters, enjoins all and sundry to yield implicit faith to these in the tribunal, or the church. Appends his signature and seal. Palace of Ancona, A.D. 1528, 2d day of April, pontificate of Pope Clement 7th the 5th year. Per Car. Sabin.

1½ *pp.* *Contemporary copy.*

* Damaged.

ADDENDUM.

1547. May 17.

1180. MARY TO EDWARD VI.

Complaining of the late capture of her well beloved clerks Master John Hay, commissioned to the King of France, with the abbot of Dryburgh, going thither on his own affairs, still kept prisoners in time of peace; also of the Laird of Johnston's taking in his own ground in defence against an English open foray; exhorting and praying him to set all three at liberty. Praying credence for her ambassador therein, Sir Adam Otterbourne. Stirling, and subscribed by her cousin and tutor at Edinburgh, 5th of her reign. *Signed* (*The Governor's signature torn off except a word or two*).

Broad sheet. Addressed. Indorsed (by Thynne). *Wafer signet:* (Scotland).

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