

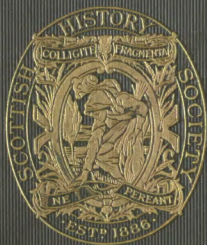
SCOTTISH  
CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
MARY OF LORRAINE

1543 - 1560

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THE SCOTTISH CORRESPONDENCE OF  
MARY OF LORRAINE

1927





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**THE  
SCOTTISH CORRESPONDENCE OF  
MARY OF LORRAINE**

INCLUDING SOME THREE HUNDRED  
LETTERS FROM 20<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY  
1542-3 TO 15<sup>TH</sup> MAY 1560

Edited by  
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## INTRODUCTION

THE Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, preserved in the Register House at Edinburgh, includes some three hundred letters, dating from 20th February 1542-3 to 15th May 1560. It does not pretend to be a complete and rounded history of the period: rather, it is a quarry in which all kinds of historical investigators may find rich seams. The Correspondence, indeed, touches upon all aspects of the national life during critical and formative years of Scottish history. The unity in the midst of this diversity of interests is supplied by the central figure of Mary of Lorraine. Not all the letters are addressed to her, but, directly or indirectly, they all have a bearing upon her fortunes, and through her upon the destiny of the nation.<sup>1</sup>

The curtain rises upon a gloomy situation, and one, moreover, that was of international significance. Professor Hannay has shown that it 'was in part created by the turn of European politics. Francis I. declared war upon Charles V. in 1542, and, while he would have preferred the active support of England, he was determined to preserve, if possible, at least her neutrality. The Scots, on their part, looked with apprehension upon negotiations which might leave Henry VIII. free to mature his plans of conquest. Cardinal Beaton failed to secure French aid in a Scottish war against England: he failed even to bring about an understanding between Francis and Henry which would secure his own country: and

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<sup>1</sup> Except Nos. CCXCVIII-CCCI.

finally he was induced to believe that war was preferable to a peace which might be rudely broken when Henry saw his opportunity.'<sup>1</sup> These brave hopes soon went out in gloom. Hard upon the disaster of Solway Moss followed the death of James v., bequeathing to his infant daughter a kingdom divided against itself and a heritage of strife.

Scotland, rent by heresy and unrest, seemed likely to fall an easy prey to the snares of England. The Correspondence, which shows how this fate was avoided, likewise indicates a strange cycle in the affairs of history—an intermingling, as it were, of destiny and human agency. It is seen that Scotland escaped from the nets of England only to be enmeshed in the toils of France, until, in the end, she cut the strangling bond with the help of an English knife.

Politically, the cycle was complete. The Auld Alliance had died a violent death, and in its place there was born a new friendship between the auld enemies. Nationalism and religion were the two pillars of the bridge that spanned the gulf between the sister kingdoms. The Correspondence traces an ecclesiastical, no less than a political, cycle of events. As far as England was concerned, it was nationalism, identified with the Protestant succession, that forced the hand of Elizabeth to support the Scots insurgents. In Scotland, at the beginning of the period, the Roman Church was identified with the cause of independence: at the end of the period the movement of the Reformation swept away the barriers of opposition on the flood tide of patriotism.

Nationalism, indeed, is the dominant note struck by the Correspondence. It was perhaps inevitable that politics should crowd the canvas to the exclusion of

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<sup>1</sup> *Papal Legate in Scotland, S.H.R.* xi. 2.

religious matters. Mary of Lorraine was primarily interested in securing her own position, and her correspondence kept this definite, practical purpose in view. It largely ceased when she cut herself adrift from Scottish influences, —at the very time ‘during the which the Evangell of Jesus Christ begane wonderouslye to flouriss’<sup>1</sup> and the professors of the Reformation to wax greater in confidence and strength.

Hints are not wanting, however, that the Auld Kirk was moribund. Although there is no reference to the immorality and inefficiency of the priesthood, yet there are many indications that the interests of the prelates were mainly secular. John Hepburn, rector of Dalry, for example, was no distinguished scholar. It was not in the cure of souls that he had acquired his great ‘experians of lauburis and cumiris of this wairild.’ [No. CCX.] In the game of politics scant regard was paid to the spiritual welfare of the Christian flock.

The vexed question of Glasgow is the most flagrant case, but not the only example, of how the disposal of benefices had become matter of expediency. Over the succession to Aberdeen there arose ‘sum discence betuix Huntly Ergile and George Douglas; for George sayis . . . thai suld have devisit his slauchtir at the consecracioun of the bischop of Abirdene.’ [No. CXXIX.] The solemnity of episcopal ‘consecraccioun’ was lost to sight in the bitterness of party and family rivalries.

It is significant that in the end a pension to a Hamilton was charged upon the fruits of the see. Churchmen themselves recognised this as ‘plaine symony,’<sup>2</sup> but, although they stigmatised the practice, they were unable, or unwilling, to remedy an evil of which they themselves

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<sup>1</sup> Knox, *History*, i. 256.

<sup>2</sup> *Catechism of Archbishop Hamilton*; edited by T. G. Law, 99.



enjoyed the fruits for a season. The noble families looked upon the Church as an endowment for their sons. Alexander Gordon, for one, was perfectly frank in acknowledging that he sought ecclesiastical preferment for the sake of a 'suir lyffing.' [No. CLXII.]

The sons of Lord Erskine were less buffeted about than the brother of Huntly in the pursuit of emoluments. The case of Thomas and John, successive commendators of Dryburgh, illustrates the tendency for Church lands to become hereditary in the possession of territorial magnates. It was only putting the seal upon established fact when the estates were erected into a temporal barony after the Reformation. [No. CLV.] In much the same way the Stewarts of Beath secured the monastic lands of Inchcolm. [No. CLII.] The destitution of the Church was here the opportunity of the magnate. This was one more result of the English devastations, which had also deprived the commendator of Coldingham of all 'proffett of my benefice in Scotland sen the begynnyng of the weiris.' [No. CCXXXIII.]

But, quite apart from the scourging of fire and sword, the ecclesiastical fabric was in decay. In 1558 the Bishop of Aberdeen, on the ground that his own living was 'under grite pensione,' sought to hold the priory of Monymusk 'quhilk is ane sobir benefice, the place and religion therof distroyit, for releif of my benefice.' [No. CCLXXVI.]

When the organic body of the Church had become thus effete, it is little wonder that it had lost its spiritual hold upon men. Ecclesiastical censures, for example, had notoriously become a commercial commodity, devoid of all efficacy. The Governor was able to raise 'ane cursing' on Huntly, his political opponent, 'bot my lord wes informyt that syk lettres wes to cum and hes gottin ane absolucion fra my lord cardinall in aventuyr of the samyn.' [No. XVII.]

In this connection Methven makes some pregnant observations upon the unhappy state of 'haly kirk.' By 1545 heresy had become so prevalent that 'it is now dowsom to punes be the law as the sammyn requiris.' [No. XCVIII.] In 1548 he stated what Mr. John Campbell had hinted four years earlier, that the 'new apoynzionis of the scriptour' were drawing Scotsmen into friendship with England, and into two-fold rebellion against 'the autorite,' and against 'the law and ordinance of haly kirk.' [Nos. LII, CLXXII.]

On the more positive side, the activity and energy of the reformers themselves is illustrated when they brought a canon of St. Andrews 'til Celso be the sone raying in the mornying . . . and maid ane sermond.' [No. CCXLIX.] The cumulative effect of the evidence therefore goes to show that the Auld Kirk was grievously sick. A reformation of some kind was imperative, although the actual form and nature of that reformation were moulded by other circumstances.

It was also, for example, a social movement inspired by the 'pepill' as well as by the 'gentillmen.' This fact in itself suggests that the Commons must have been progressive and energetic in spite of the ravages of war and domestic factions. The scattered evidence of the Correspondence bears out this estimate of the burgesses and the lesser lairds. The town of Edinburgh refused to 'condiscend to sic unresonable desyreis' as would content 'the kingis majestie of England . . . to grant ws restitoun of oure shippis and gudis.' [No. XXVIII.] After the outbreak of war with the Emperor in 1544, the merchants of Dundee and Edinburgh were clamorous 'for delivering of the sadis presoneris [apprehended in Flanders] and thair gudis.' [No. LXXII.]

There was, indeed, no social barrier between wealthy merchants and impecunious nobles. William Bell,

burgess of Stirling, the 'cusing' of Sir George Douglas, found that his 'mony' was the golden key to the confidence of princes. [Nos. LXXI, CLV.] Similarly, George Forrester, bailie of Leith, and his correspondent, W. Meldrum, were apparently substantial merchants who did business for the Governor and 'my lord of Paslo.' [Nos. LVII, LIX, LX.]

Wars and commotions were bound to interfere with the pursuit of trade. Thus, in November 1545, merchants were 'nocht travalyng in the cuntreth as in pesable tyme' [No. CX.]; but indications are not lacking that commercial activities suffered less than might be supposed. 'Dyvers marchandis and otherris' were passing between Scotland and France during the troubles of 1543 and 1544. [No. LII.] It is interesting, also, that after the catastrophe of Pinkie the very first document in the Correspondence should be a safe-conduct, granted by Protector Somerset, then at Leith, to a Scotsman who was apparently a merchant. [No. CXLII.] Special 'letteris of safe conduett,' moreover, could be obtained to protect the fishing industry, which one would naturally expect to be specially hit by the cruising of enemy ships in Scottish waters. [No. CL; cf. No. CLIII.]

The Luttrell Correspondence gives the impression that Scottish mariners were a hardy race who thrived on piracy. This, indeed, was a constant charge, which seems to have vexed the anxious heart of Sir Adam Otterburn. [No. CXXXIX.] Trade appears to have been maintained, more or less continuously, with Flanders; and John Barton had 'besines,' probably piratical, 'anent the Portingallis.' [No. CCXXXIX.]

Before Mary of Lorraine became absorbed in dynastic ambitions, she seems to have been the influential friend of the merchants. She may have secured their financial support in return for advancing their interests at the

expense of the craftsmen. [No. CCLXVIII.] As concerning trade itself, it is indicated that she meant to give effect to the letter of the law which, on grounds of national policy, prohibited exports to England.

In 1546, under the Governor's administration, Lord Borthwick 'hes sauld his woll to men that hes put it in Ingland like as all the merchandices and vittales on this syde of the watter passis thair.' [No. CXX.] In the early years of the Queen's regency, however, William Mudy found it less easy to evade the law. He could have found a better market for his 'schipe and fysche . . . fra the Inglis man and youre grace hed grantit me licence to sell.' [No. CCLXV.] We may believe that she was sincerely anxious to promote prosperity, although it was an additional inducement that as an individual she would reap the fruits of her labours as a public patron. William Mudy was alive to this double aspect of the situation when he informed the Regent that 'I compt my scayth in ane part youre graces, for gif I hed gottin reddy money for my gudis and schipe the samyn wauld have bene halele at youre grace command.'

The Correspondence shows that poverty constantly dogged the steps of Mary of Lorraine. We have seen that it threw her into alliance with the monied classes: it was one factor in the failure of her bid for office in 1544: and it burdened her with 'affarris and cummerris' during a crisis in the English wars. [No. CCXIX.] The wages of her servants were in arrears; and she was forced to borrow from friends like the Countess of Montrose, who could herself ill spare 'the twa hundretht crounis I lent your graice.' [Nos. CCXC, CCXCVI.] Poverty also forced her to turn the screw on her own debtors. Thus, peremptory demands 'to mak gud and haiste payment' were laid upon the Countess of Moray, the harassed steward of the Queen's lands of Ross. Her

letters of protest throw a flash of illumination upon the economic state of the country. [Nos. CX, CXI.]

Money was no way plentiful, and payments were made in kind. The same picture is painted by the commendator of Kelso and Melrose in his letter of grievances concerning teinds. [No. CVI.] Sheep, cattle, fishings and the fruits of the earth yielded a revenue that was not readily converted into coin. Alexander Gordon represented to the Dowager 'quhow I can gett na way off sylver fra my gud sister my lady Hwntlye ; and trewly, madame, schew can nocht instantlye have price nor sell of gwddis be merchanddis.' [No. CLXII.] Methven's observations pointed to the same conclusion that 'this realm is pwyr and the greit men can na way beyr greit expens of thar awn leving. All greit men in this realme has, and utheris efter thair greis has, folkis to sarve tham in thair awn bowndis but ony mone bot allanerly gud tretim and greit housse to be haldin of daly expens ordynar of meyt and drynk.' [No. CLXXII.]

This financial poverty must have added brightness to the golden bait with which the kings of France and England competed to buy the support of the Scottish magnates. The pensions, however, may at no time have been regularly paid, and at the best the glitter of the gold was more dazzling than profitable. Alexander Gordon, for one, although he 'had rady payment of the four thousand merkis your grace obligatioun bearis, [was] sofar super-spendit be interesse of schifting silver' that his pension afforded small relief in his embarrassment. [No. CCLVII.] Patrick, Master of Ruthven, a stranger in Paris, for another, found himself in a difficult position, at once serious and ludicrous. His grant was paid in 'ane certane of testanis with ewill sousis that is cryit down in this cuntre.' The money, indeed, was useless. When he 'desyrit the gud man that I am lwgit with to have re-

savit that money . . . he refusit this same becaus it wes nocht gud.' [No. CCXXXV.] The circulation of debased foreign currencies in Scotland, together with the deterioration of the national coinage, must have led to serious financial confusion and instability. [No. CCLVII.]

Ruthven's letter hints, however, that this chaos differed in degree, rather than in kind, from the difficulties of France: and the Correspondence shows that England was likewise in desperate economic plight. It was because 'the kyngis mony and treasure' were exhausted that Luttrell had to send away his German mercenaries, and himself to 'lie there as you were ded for the while.' [No. CXCIV.] Wages fell months in arrears: and economic unrest was a factor in the Protector's fall. [No. CCXVI.] Apart from these financial sidelights, the Luttrell Correspondence provides an interesting commentary upon English social history and the art of war in the Tudor period.

As a counterpart to the dilapidation of the patrimony of the Auld Kirk in Scotland, we have the appropriation of ecclesiastical property in England after the breach with Rome. Thus we find the Protector in residence at Syon, part of the plunder acquired by the dissolution of the monasteries. The men of Watchet utilised 'the playt of Saynt Dekans to make a pere,' while their jealous neighbours of Minehead 'ar content to gyf [Luttrell] ther playte' to promote their interests in opposition. [No. CCXV.] The letter from Eaglescliffe throws a curious sidelight upon the problem of poor relief which became acute after the dissolution of the monasteries, while to the student of the art of war it provides an illustration of military conditions. Apparently it was within the competence of the Captain of Broughty to send home soldiers, and to regard his prisoners as a personal perquisite. [No. CXCVIII; cf. p. 254.]

The whole tenor of the Correspondence goes to show that this was an age of transition in warfare. On the one hand, the English occupation of Scotland was an organised military undertaking, directed from headquarters; on the other hand, to the individual captains it was partly a private enterprise. The German mercenary was the professional soldier, while Mr. Rendall, with his 'handsom bande of fotemenn,' was something of a volunteer. [No. CCXVI.] Luttrell himself, although responsible to the central authority, enjoyed much discretionary power.

His correspondence probably fell into the hands of his captors at the taking of Broughty. If his letters were preserved for their value to contemporaries, they have not lost any of their interest with the passing of the years. In themselves they are a curious addition to our knowledge of the conditions of warfare in the sixteenth century, while the glamour of personality makes an appeal to our imagination. Luttrell's attitude of arrogant defiance to his enemies: his complaints to the Protector: the charges against him of carelessness and neglect of duties: his 'over greate famylyaritie': his 'extreme dettis': his perils and clamorous unhappiness in the post of duty and of exile: all these add a real human interest to the historical value of the documents.

What is true of the Luttrell Correspondence is true of the collection as a whole. The letters are largely concerned with affairs of state, but they are impregnated with the spirit of personality. The hopes and fears, the ambitions and disappointments of the writers, are unconsciously laid bare. We can feel the exultation and self-gratulations of Lennox on the final accomplishment of his marriage to his 'plesowr and desayr.' [No. LXXVII.] More disinterested is the unfeigned earnestness of Otterburn's solicitude for the safety of his country. There is pathos

in his presentiment that he had warned in vain, that the heedless Government 'will nocht gif credence quhill ye see [the enemy] cum in at the dur.' [No. CXLI.] For all their subtlety, the letters of Sir George Douglas 'vaysely med and vith gentill vourdis' do not disguise the diplomacy of an adventurer skilfully playing for his own hand. [No. LXXI.] Hepburn of Dalry unwittingly paints for us the character of Bothwell as a man sadly lacking in 'the wit of Salomon,' wayward, extravagant and easily led. [No. CCX.]

The letters not only reveal personality, they are often also vivid and graphic in their descriptive power. One almost hears the roar of battle during the 'continwall carmosche fra the sun past till this day at iiij in the morning' when in the early dawn Methven, eagerly expectant 'of the wyning of [the] town and all therintill,' wrote to the Dowager in the fever heat of excitement. [No. CLXXVI.] We are eye-witnesses of the storming of Ferniherst, when the Scots, impatient 'to byd of fordar prowision,' impetuously 'laid fyre to the irne yett and handelit tham swa scharply as we culd . . . that thay cryit at all tymis for mercy.' [No. CXCIX.] We can feel the palpable hesitation of the Protector when, in the consciousness of momentous issues, he 'pausit upoun better ways to be had than the effusioun of blude and distruction of the pure pupil.' [No. CXLI.] We can sympathise with the irritated burgesses of Berwick who 'ar werray crabyt . . . and nocht content off the takin down off thar howsis . . . for defens off the castell' against the French navy. [No. CLVI.]

The realism of these pen pictures owes much to the piquancy of the description: and it is here that the philological importance of the Correspondence becomes marked. There is a force and vigour, a refreshing sense of originality and unexpectedness, about the phraseology. In part



this arises from the difficulty of self-expression, in part from the use of archaic or curious words.

From a literary point of view, indeed, the Correspondence has an inherent value as a study in the evolution of the language. It was written on the eve alike of the Reformation and of the reign of the printing press, two events which made for the anglicisation of Lowland Scots and the standardisation of spelling. In 1548, the author of the *Complaynt of Scotland* lamented that 'diverse translatoours and compilaris in ald tymys . . . tuke grite pleseir to contrafait ther vlgar langage, mixand ther purposis viht oncoutht exquisite termis.'<sup>1</sup> Winzet, again, the champion of the Roman Church, accused Knox of forgetting 'our auld plane Scottis, quhilk zour mother lerit zou.'<sup>2</sup>

In light of these allegations it is interesting to observe the diction of the Correspondence. Even when the letters are written in the hand of a scribe, they still embody the habitual speech of the sender: and that speech is found to be closely akin to the English. Knox may have had regard to a public south of the border, but he spoke in the voice of the majority of his countrymen. Gaelic, or 'Ersche,' was no longer the 'plane Scottis' language of literary intercourse. As a Gallovidian, Campbell of Corsewell may have been bilingual, but if he spoke familiarly in the Celtic dialect, he wrote to the Dowager in intelligible, though not in scholarly, English Scots. Any intercepted letter in the Correspondence, indeed, could be read by an educated Englishman. Luttrell would have less difficulty over the communication of James

<sup>1</sup> *Complaynt of Scotland*, 16. (Early English Text Society; edited J. A. H. Murray.) It is Murray's verdict that the *Complaynt* itself is 'an extreme specimen of the Frenchified style' which 'we can hardly accept . . . as "domestic Scottis langage."' (*The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, 64-5.)

<sup>2</sup> Niniane Winzet, *Certain Tractates*, 118. (Maitland Club.)

Cullan, or his Scottish scribe, than in deciphering the certification appended by 'Thomas Sprengel,' English mariner. [No. CLXXXI.] The difference was a case of literacy rather than of language.

At the same time the influence of French words and forms is extensive. It can be traced, for example, in the letters of Lady Home and of Alexander Gordon, although in the case of the prelate it is particularly remarkable that words of French and Anglo-Saxon derivation stand almost side by side. [No. CXCIX.]

He may mix his 'langage . . . vitht oncoutht exquisite termis,' but it is certain that 'this lang dischowrs' written in the heat of the moment was not a pedantic dissertation. On the contrary, its literary interest lies in its spontaneity. It shows that philologically, no less than in the sphere of politics and religion, Scotland was passing through a period of transition and readjustment. There was the same struggle between French and English influences; and in so far as the Auld Kirk was hostile to the southern speech,<sup>1</sup> the Correspondence hints that the impetus towards the Reformation and the English alliance was likewise a movement towards the anglicisation of literary forms.

It is interesting to catch glimpses of the approximation to the English style. Ormistoun, Brunstoun and 'Ye wait Quha,' three active promoters of Somerset's 'godly purpose,' have adopted the characteristic epistolary courtesies of the auld enemies that had become new friends. [Nos. CL, CLIII.] Lord Methven, a Scot of the old school, would not have addressed the Captain of Inchcolm as 'gentill Mr. Luterrel.' His cousin, Master William Stewart, was presumably a clerk. The curious 'salutation' and the subscription of the letter sent in the name

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. D. Patrick, *Statutes of the Church in Scotland*, lxxx.

of Thomas Stewart, Scottish refugee at Newcastle, show how, in accepting the religion and friendship of the invaders, Scotsmen likewise assimilated their literary expressions. One who mixed his dialects by subscribing himself 'your maisterschippis assurit frend' was probably the greater, because an unconscious, victim to anglicising influences. [No. CLXXXIII.]

This state of flux is indicated not only in the vacillation between English and French forms and structure, but also in the capriciousness of the orthography. Well-educated Scots like Moray, the pupil of Erasmus,<sup>1</sup> Methven and Otterburn show no consistency in spelling even the most common phrases. With Moray, 'eftir maist hwmill commendatioun of servece' becomes 'after humlie commendations of service,' or 'after commendatione of servic.' [Nos. V, IX, XXXIV.] On 3rd June 1548, Methven signed himself 'youris graice mast humill and obedyent servitour,' a week later, 'youris grace maist obedient and humell servitour.' [Nos. CLXXII, CLXXIV.] Otterburn comes nearer than most of his contemporaries to a standardisation, yet he addresses three successive letters 'To the Qwenis grace,' 'To the quenis grace,' 'To the Quhenis grace.' [Nos. CXXXI, CXXXIII, CXXXIV.]

When scholars observed no strict rules, we need not wonder to find rich and astonishing variety in the average letter of the collection. From a grammatical and orthographic point of view the value of the Correspondence lies in this very capriciousness, with its abundant manifestations of the characteristics of the so-called Middle Period of Scottish literature.<sup>2</sup> The student of philology will detect a thread of evolution where the uninitiated finds

<sup>1</sup> *Archbishop of St. Andrews*, i. 238, 269.

<sup>2</sup> For the enumeration of these characteristics, see Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary Supplement*, Introduction, xxvi-xxvii; J. A. H. Murray, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, 50-71.

only hopeless chaos. It is refreshing to discover that even contemporaries 'plengzeit upon the ortographye' of their letters, and blithely made a scapegoat of the 'servant quha wret thame.' [No. CCXX.] If 'Jakis' was a professional scribe, he was apparently a poor one, but the fact that servants wrote the letters of their masters has another interest. It shows the danger of dogmatising upon the question of education.

The fact that a man does not write does not necessarily imply that he could not write. Want of inclination and lack of practice must often have made the art appear a drudgery. 'Madem,' wrote Methven, 'becaus I ma nocht gudly tak sa greit payn as in tymes past I haif ben at all tymmis humelle to writ unto your graice the best I can . . . efter my understanding.' [No. CXLIX; cf. No. CLXXII.] If it were a question of substituting mental toil for bodily service, most Scotsmen would have preferred to wield the sword rather than the pen in the service of the Queen. In this respect Huntly and Douglas are typical of their class. They were not apt to write, but they could do so when occasion demanded, in times of special crisis or in matters of intimate secrecy. [Nos. LXXXVII, CLX, CCLXIII.]

Men of affairs were themselves perfectly conscious of the deficiency of their 'rude dyting.' [No. LXXXVI.] Lennox, for one, is naïvely apologetic for his 'ewel hand': his scholastic attainments certainly left much to be desired. [No. LXXVII.] Perhaps he had been inspired to herculean efforts by the fact that the miscarriage of previous communications had raised up difficulties for himself and his confederate. Indeed, so long as men 'dar nocht be plane' in their writing for 'feir it haippin in vrang handdis' [No. CLI], so long the gentle art of correspondence could not take root and flourish. It was a holograph letter that the Queen was begged to 'ryf,' lest

it should incriminate the sender. [No. CXXXII.] In such circumstances the kernel of the nut was often contained in verbal credence. Thus, in the crisis of October 1559, we should like to know what were the high and secret matters which the Master of Semple had 'schawin to this berar wyt my mynd at lynth.' [No. CCLXXXIV.] The impolicy, quite as much as the labour, of writing, prevented him from compromising himself on paper. We cannot, therefore, judge the standard of education solely from the results as seen in this Correspondence.

Merchants, like Meldrum, and archers of the Scots Guards, like Barclay, act as their own scribes, while Patrick, Earl Bothwell, in all his vicissitudes never does more than sign his name. Marion, Lady Home, could express herself with more vigour than legibility. If the holograph letters of Lady Huntly and the Countess of Errol were actually penned by themselves, then they were not only fairer scribes than their husbands, but the former acted on occasion as the secretary of the Earl. [No. XVI.]

Lady Huntly, indeed, seems to have been the faithful helpmeet of her husband in foul weather as in fair. The Correspondence indicates that she laboured strenuously to effect his escape from his English captivity, and it is hinted that she was his accomplice in darker crimes. [Nos. CLXII, CXCIII, CCLIV.] She thus provides an illustration of the family solidarity that counted for so much, both for good and ill, in Scottish history. Only by reason of fortuitous circumstances does the case of the Gordons stand out most conspicuously in the Correspondence. All men, in their degree, were loyal to family interests. Instances might be multiplied of the times when Mary of Lorraine 'hes knawying the cowmon weill perreche . . . consederane the partecularaty and effection' bred by the clan spirit through the length and

breadth of Scotland. [No. CCLIII.] This, however, was not the last word.

Personal interests were powerful and often mischievous, but they might be beneficent and conducive to 'gud rewill and concord' [No. CLXX]: moreover, the nation was greater than any of its parts. The Scottish nobles were poor, self-seeking, unscrupulous, but they were not altogether 'a band of ruffians' to whom 'gold and steel were . . . arguments more powerful than the welfare of Scotland.'<sup>1</sup> English pensions were a welcome source of revenue, but for the most part the recipients had small intention of earning their money by the fulfilment of their bond. [Cf. p. 259.] In that age of swift and mysterious death, the life of the infant princess was safe while she remained in Scotland. Neither she nor her strong places passed into the hands of Henry.

The morality of double-dealers like Huntly and Sir George Douglas cannot be defended, but if it was not above neither was it beneath the standards of the age. It was not so much the moral depravity as the successful wiliness of the Scottish lords that enraged their outwitted southern rivals. Somerset had no compunction in bribing Huntly to promote the 'godly purpose' by ungodly means: it was the exasperation of a foiled schemer that gave edge to his invective against 'the false and subtyll departure of the Earle of Hontly who so mych did dissemble with us to favour the kyngis majesteis provydingis with all his harte.' [No. CXCIV.]

Comparisons are hazardous: but it ill became the 'cameleon statesmen'<sup>2</sup> and time-serving English adven-

<sup>1</sup> Pollard, *Protector Somerset*, 151, 167. The light of the Correspondence shows some errors of detail in the narrative of Scottish events. Langholm, for example, was captured before, not after, the capitulation of the Castilians. (153, cf. Nos. CXL, CXLI.)

<sup>2</sup> Tytler, *Edward VI. and Mary*, 32. The lives of many of the politicians and soldiers who appear in the correspondence do not make pleasant reading in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. See, for example, Rich and Palmer.

turers, who figure in the Correspondence, to vilify their neighbours. The 'partecularaty and effection' of the Hamiltons, with all its selfishness, was no more sordid than the unnatural conduct of Admiral Seymour, whose plots against his brother jeopardised the public safety. The hand of Lady Margaret Douglas drew the renegade Lennox into England, but it severed him from his fellow-countrymen and erstwhile confederates. Scotland had no inducements to attract English malcontents: France was the candle for such moths. One who singed his wings was Captain Hugh Luttrell, brother of the commander of Broughty. He was certainly a deserter: it was thought that he had the mind to betray Boulogne to his country's enemies.<sup>1</sup>

If the Scottish lowlands were scourged at the hand of the invader, the fairest parts of England were visited by domestic insurrection, while France was scarcely in a better plight. Her soldiers served in the English ranks; <sup>2</sup> the land was torn by economic and religious troubles, and by the jealousies of faction. In critical days her arm was shortened to interfere in Scotland by insurrection in Guienne and the massacre of Amboise, while some at least among contemporaries believed that in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis and the marriage of Francis and Mary the national interests of France were sacrificed to the rivalry of Guise and Montmorency.<sup>3</sup> Not only England, France and Scotland, but all western Europe was seething in unrest, religious, political and social.

It is little wonder that, when old standards and con-

<sup>1</sup> Selve, 308, 311; Pollard, *Protector Somerset*, 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Contemporary opinions on the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis are cited in Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, v. ii. 176. During the insurrection in Guienne an agent was sent from Bordeaux to negotiate with Somerset. (Selve, 447, 455-8; Lavissee, v. ii. 137.) For the situation in France, resulting in the tumult of Amboise, see also *Cambridge Modern History*, ii. 296-7.

ceptions were in the melting-pot, the general uncertainty should be reflected in the conduct of the Scottish nobles. On the whole, they were astute men who seem to have enjoyed playing with edged tools for the excitement as well as for the profits of the game. Yet, in the long run, they were true to Scottish interests. The spirit of nationality was more powerful than the disintegrating forces of selfishness. If patriotism had not been stronger than self-interest, Hugh Campbell of Loudoun would not have allowed a quarrel with Lennox to lead to an estrangement with England in the days succeeding Pinkie. [No. CLXIV.] Rats do not cling to a sinking ship; but Cassillis and Glencairn,<sup>1</sup> Lutheran in sympathies and anglophile in antecedents, and others with them, rallied, like Loudoun, to the national cause in the hour of extremity. Above the warring interests of faction, of religious and social discontent, of petty ambitions and personal jealousies, the Correspondence discovers a prevailing loyalty to the 'commoun wealth and libertie of the realm.'

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<sup>1</sup> William, fourth Earl of Glencairn, died in March 1548, but he was then in receipt of a French pension. His successor had been identified with his father's English schemes in 1544. (Nos. LV, CCXXXVI.)



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Addenda . . . Calendar of State Papers, 1601-1603, Addenda,  
1547-65.
- A.D.C.S. . . . Acts of the Lords of Council and Session. (MSS.  
Register House.)
- A.P. . . . Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland.
- A.P.C. . . . Acts of the Privy Council of England.
- Beaugué . . . Histoire de la Guerre d'Escosse.
- B.P. . . . Balcarres Papers. (Scottish History Society.)
- C.S.P. . . . Calendar of Scottish Papers.
- E.R. . . . Exchequer Rolls.
- H. . . . Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.
- H.P. . . . Hamilton Papers.
- Leslie . . . History of Scotland. (Bannatyne Club.)
- P.C. . . . Register of Privy Council of Scotland.
- R.M.S. . . . Register of the Great Seal.
- R.S.S. . . . Register of the Privy Seal. (MSS. Register House.)
- Selve . . . Correspondance Politique.
- S.H.R. . . . Scottish Historical Review.
- S.P. . . . Scots Peerage.
- T.A. . . . Treasurer's Accounts.

## THE SCOTTISH CORRESPONDENCE OF MARY OF LORRAINE

### Nos. I-XXIII: INTRODUCTORY

THE following twenty-three letters, dealing with the events that culminated in the coronation of the infant Queen at Stirling on Sunday, 9th September 1543, introduce the principal actors, and the problems that they had to face, in the crisis arising out of the defeat of Solway Moss and the death of James v. When the Correspondence opens, on 20th February 1542-3, Henry VIII. had already launched his schemes for the marriage of Queen Mary to his son, and for making himself master of Scotland. His action provides the pivot round which swings the tangle of Scottish intrigue and faction during this period. In Scotland, the Cardinal, the Governor, and the Dowager are the outstanding figures in the complicated drama: the Cardinal by pre-eminence of position, of intellect, of force of character and determination of purpose; the Governor by reason of his official position, his ambition, and his moral weakness and irresolution; the Dowager in virtue of her rank, her character, and aims. In this phase the Cardinal and Dowager are united in a common policy in opposition to the Governor: the result is a victory for the Cardinal at the coronation of the Queen.

The first letters deal with the Dowager's efforts to effect her emancipation from control. In Linlithgow her position was exposed, accommodation was limited, and she was not fully her own mistress: in Stirling she would be in her jointure castle, a strong place of strategic import-

ance. To Mary of Lorraine a change of residence was a necessary move preliminary to the elaboration of an independent policy: for this very reason the step did not commend itself to the Governor. The Dowager's interests were with the Catholic, French party; and he had committed himself to a Lutheran, anglophile policy. His faction was at this time in the ascendant: the Cardinal was in custody, and the Dowager, in her isolation, had to have resort to subterfuge. Thus to Suffolk, the English Lord Lieutenant, she protested her 'good towardness and conformity' in the matter of the projected marriage between her daughter and the Prince of Wales. [Nos. I, III.] It is characteristic, also, of her trimming policy that her agents in this case were two French gentlemen of her household, and Maxwell, the Lutheran lord and Solway captive who had signed the secret bond to promote Henry's vaulting schemes against his country's freedom. [No. II.] She was compelled to seek partisans where they could be found. Her summons to Lochinvar may have been with a view to securing an adherent in the approaching parliament, where matters so nearly affecting her fortunes were to be decided. [No. IV.] It is clear from the letters of Moray and Huntly [Nos. V, VI] that the Dowager's dissimulation was with the chief aim of 'passing to Streviling'; but as this was a matter which parliament had committed to the decision of the Council, Douglas was enabled to bring counter-pressure to bear upon the vacillating Governor.

The Memorandum with respect to the coming of Lennox [No. VIII] opens a more active phase in the policy of the Cardinal and Dowager. Intimidation was to be used to bring round the Governor. The secrecy, urgency, and devious sea-route planned for Lennox are indicative of the importance attached to his advent, and the dangers to be encountered in accomplishing this stroke of statecraft.

There is no direct reference to his arrival, nor to the Cardinal's liberation, nor to the vigorous measures by which he secured the 'transporting' of the Queens to Stirling. The letter of Kincaid, however, gives an interesting picture of conditions immediately after Beaton's triumph of 26th July. [No. XII.] Notwithstanding this success it was still thought necessary to stand well with England: hence the Dowager's continued assurances of compliance in the marriage schemes of Henry. [No. XIII.]

This, indeed, had become the burning question of the moment. The Treaty of Greenwich had been the work of the English faction, and the Correspondence shows the unsuccessful efforts of the Governor to secure Beaton's consent to the ratification. He tried diplomacy with the Cardinal and intimidation with the Dowager. Beaton was able to blunt the edge of the ecclesiastical weapon which Arran apparently sought to use against Huntly, whose letter shows the energy and resolution of the anti-English party, animated with the hope of French support. [Nos. XVI, XVII.] The negotiations that led to the diplomatic triumph of the Cardinal are made clear in the letters of 16th and 17th August. [Nos. XVIII, XIX.] How completely Arran had been deceived or had allowed himself to appear deceived is apparent from the record of events immediately after the ratification of the treaty. The Communication of 27th August shows the failure of the earliest efforts to accomplish the policy to which he had committed himself. [No. XXIII.] His complete discomfiture, however, is not recorded in the Correspondence. The utter unpopularity of his English policy, the pressure of his brother, John Hamilton, and the subtle stimulus of Beaton to his dynastic ambitions, these led to the submission of the Governor to the Cardinal. He was solemnly absolved from the errors of heresy, and his

son was handed over as the pledge of his political good faith. On the Sunday following his absolution Queen Mary was crowned in the castle of Stirling, on 9th September.

Although throughout this period the international aspect of the Scottish question seems to be in the background, yet this was in appearance rather than in reality. Early in the year the Emperor Charles v. and Henry VIII. had concluded an armed alliance against Francis I. Scotland and Boulogne were the grand objects of Henry's imperialistic ambitions, and Beaton knew that France was bound in her own interests to come to the support of Scotland. The despatch of Lennox was a move in the game of international politics. All the dissimulation of the Cardinal and Dowager was to deceive Henry until the time was ripe, while the aggressive policy advocated by Huntly in the crisis of August was inspired, at least in part, by the expectation of speedy support from France. The fact that the coming of Lennox was so long delayed ; that he arrived without the great army with which rumour was busy ; that the Pope was reported to be assisting Francis in sending the reinforcements for which Huntly looked ; these are several indications that the hour was not yet propitious for France to strike effectively in Scotland.

## I

*Suffolk to the Queen Dowager*

Newcastle, 20th February [1542-3].

TO THE QUENYS NOBLE GRACE DOWAGIER OF SCOTLAND.

Please it your noble grace tunderstond that where as I have been infourmed that lyke a good and vertuous ladie ye doo shewe yourself conformeable to suche overtures as the kyngis Majeste my most gracious soveraigne lorde hathe sett.fourthe touching the mariage of my lorde prynce his graces sonne and your yong daughter whiche as with the grace of God who settith fourthe all good purposes shall nowe take effect. Soo shall it be not onelie to the heighe advancement of your saide daughter but also thereby shall ceasse moche trouble and effusion of bloode whiche hertofore hath been betwixt bothe thiese Realmes. I cannot therefore bot rejoyse and be most glad to heare tell of your good towardnes and conformytie in that bihaulfe speciallie consideryng the greate weale and benefite that shall ensue of the same universallie to bothe realmes whcrof I coulde no lesse doo hearyng of your vertuous inclynation and good wyll in that parte then wryte unto your noble grace and therwith instantlie to beseche the same to contynewe therein your gracious purpose whiche in my poure opinion your naturall zeale to the wealthe of your daughter and that Realme must nedis of consequence enforce and move yow to embrace— Assuryng your noble grace that for my parte I shall at all tymes shewe myselfe as in dede I am for the causes before expressed most wyllyng to have the same accomplished and broughte to good effect and therwithall most readie to doo unto your grace suche lefull service and pleasour as it shall please yow to comannde me, as knowith our Lorde who

## 6 THE SCOTTISH CORRESPONDENCE OF

sende your grace your noble hertis desyr. From New-castell, the xx<sup>th</sup> day of ffebruarye

Your gracis to comannde in all lefull causes  
CHARLYS SUFFOLKE.<sup>1</sup>

## II

*Lord Maxwell to the Queen Dowager*

Carlisle, 4th March [1542-3].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame in the moist humyll commendatioun of my service it will ples your grace that I convoyit your gracis servant Anatint to Carlell and thair the warden <sup>2</sup> send his sone wyth hym onto the kingis grace of England; and ilikwis your wther servand Otinze <sup>3</sup> come to Carlell and the warden <sup>4</sup> causit ane servand of his to pas and conwoye him to the duke of Suffolk <sup>1</sup> in New cassell, and howe sone as I have libertie to pas oute of England I salbe at your grace in all haist; and almychtye God have your grace in keeping eternalie. At Carlell, this fourth of Marche.

Your gracis maist laulie servand  
MAXWELL.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, appointed Lord Lieutenant on the Borders, 2nd January 1542-3. (*H.* xviii. i. 5.) He was succeeded by Hertford at the beginning of March 1543-4. (*Ibid.* xix. i. 158.)

The signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Wharton, deputy-warden of the West Marches, and captain of Carlisle.

<sup>3</sup> Claude d'Autigny, *pannetier* of the Queen. (*Balcarres Papers*, i. xxxii.) Maxwell had been commissioned by the Queen to have her messenger conveyed to Suffolk. (*H.* xviii. i. 238.) The Privy Council acknowledged receipt of the Dowager's letters on 10th March, and instructed Suffolk to ascertain her proposals for compassing the English marriage.

<sup>4</sup> *The warden*: words originally omitted and added as an interlinear insertion.

<sup>5</sup> Robert, fifth Lord Maxwell, Scottish Warden of the West Marches. As Great Admiral of Scotland he escorted Mary of Lorraine from France in 1538. He was one of the ten Solway prisoners who signed the secret agreement to forward Henry's designs in Scotland.

Only the signature is autograph.

## III

*Suffolk to the Queen Dowager*

Newcastle, 6th March [1542-3].

TO THE QUENES NOBLE GRACE DOUAGIER OF SCOTLAND.

Please it your good grace to understand that I have receyved your letres credentiall by your servant berer hereof<sup>1</sup> and also harde at good lenth his credence, renderyng myne humble thankis to your grace for suche advertisementis as it pleased yow to sende unto me by him whiche I shall not fayle to signefie unto the kyngis Maje[s]te and for my parte I am right gladd to perceyve your good zeale and affection to the kyngis Maje[s]te my sovereigne lorde with your good conformitie and inclynation to his noble desier and godlie purpose, assuryng your grace that if yow shall soo procede and contynewe towardis his highnes unfaynedlie ye shall fynde him soo noble and vertuous a prynce as will consider the same in suche sorte as shalbe not onelie to your honor commoditie and greate benefite and the highe advancement of your daughter his Maje[s]tes pronepte<sup>2</sup> and nere kynneswooman but also to the universall weale of the Realme of Scotland for thadvancement and perfection wherof I shalbe as glad as any man a lyve to interpone my labors and industrie. Praying your grace to doo the semblable and thus remaynyng at your commandement in all thingis wherein I maye doo your grace pleasour or lefull service I shall beseche our Lorde to preserve your grace in long lyef and healte to his pleasour. From Newcastell the vj<sup>th</sup> of Marche  
at your graces commandement

CHARLYS SUFFOLKE.<sup>3</sup>


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<sup>1</sup> See preceding letter.

<sup>2</sup> *pronepte*: great-niece.

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph.



## IV

*James Gordon of Lochinvar to the Queen Dowager*

7th March [1542-3].

TO OUR SPECIALL MARIE THE QWENE GRACE.

Efter hewmell recommendationis on to yowr grace quhar yowr grace wryttis to me to be at yow in to Lythquo on Fryday that next is <sup>1</sup> yowr grace sall wnderstand at I haif bein seik this fyfe wolkis or mair and as yeit continewis in to the seiknes at I may nodir ryd or gang and to the samin effek I haif had wryttingis fra the gowvornor to be at the parliament <sup>2</sup> and of the lord Maxwell, and thar servandis hais seyne quhow I am tryblit with seiknes and may nocht trawell; and geif I nicht haif trawellit be onye way I suld haif bein at yowr grace service prenspallie to the quyne yowr grace dochter with all at I may do; and forther Crist haif yowr grace in his keiping, the vij day of Marche be youris at powir

JAMES GORDOUN OF LOCHINVER.<sup>3</sup>

## V

*Earl of Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 25th March [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mademe eftir maist hwmill commendatioun of servece maid to your grace pleis wit I have spokin with my lord governour anent your grace passing to Streviling and findis him weill myndit to do all thingis conformand boyth to your gracis weill and honor sic lyik hes schauin hyme

<sup>1</sup> 9th March.<sup>2</sup> Parliament met on 12th March. Lochinvar was not present.<sup>3</sup> Lochinvar is in the stewardry of Kirkcudbright and barony of Maxwell: other lands were held of the king. See *R.M.S.*, 1513-46.

The letter is holograph.

as ye heve hwsit towart this Inglis inbassat<sup>1</sup> quhairof my said lord is sa weill contenttit that thair is na thing possibill that he may do for your grace bot he will applie him to fulfell the same in all guid. Fordir in thir and all uther materris hes ordinit this berar to schauae all thingis at lyntht quhome to your grace will pleis giff crychtandis and to my wyif;<sup>2</sup> and almychtyie God heve your grace in keipin. At Edinburghe the xxv day off marche be

Youris grace at command and power

ERLE OF MURRAY.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Du conte de Murray.]

## VI

### *Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 28th March [1543].

Madame efter humill commendacione of my service it pleis your grace my lord governour and the lordis of counsall has direckit my lord of Meffen<sup>4</sup> to your grace with onsuer of your gracis vritin and thinkis that your grace can nocht depart to Stiruling<sup>5</sup> quhill the plaice be deliverit to the lordis at ar ordinit to keip the quenis grace,<sup>6</sup> quhilk beand done my lord governour will keip all at he said to your grace in affect quhilk I sall solist to your gracis plesour with all uder service I may do as

<sup>1</sup> This may refer to the embassy commissioned by the Scots parliament in March to conclude the marriage contract between Queen Mary and the Prince of Wales; more probably it alludes to the Dowager's reception of Sadler, the envoy sent at this time to promote English interests in general and the matrimonial alliance in particular. See next letter.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of Colin, third Earl of Argyle.

<sup>3</sup> James Stewart, natural son of James IV. by Janet Kennedy, daughter of John, second Lord Kennedy.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Methven was appointed a lord of the Privy Council by the parliament, on 15th March 1542-3.

<sup>5</sup> The Queen went to Stirling on 26th July 1543. (*H.* xviii. i. 949, 952.)

<sup>6</sup> These were the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Montrose, Lords Erskine, Ruthven, Livingstone, Lindsay, Seton, and the Laird of Calder, or any two of them quarterly. (*A.P.* ii. 414, 415.)

pleis your graice charge me, as knawis God quhaw preserve  
your graice eternallie. At Edinburcht the xxviiij day of  
Merche be

Your grace mast humyll serwyttour  
ERLL OF HUNTLY.<sup>1</sup>

## VII

*Sir Ralph Sadler to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 10th April [1543].

Please it your noble grace to understonde that I have  
receyved your gracis letres by this gentilman berer heirow  
your comptroller and also have harde his credence: the  
contynne whereof I shall not faile to accomplishe with  
the grace of God, and therefore shall omytte for this tyme  
to trouble your grace with any lenger letre beseching that  
it may please your grace in that parte to give further  
credite to this saide berer. Thus our Lorde preserve  
your noble grace in long lif and good helth, with increase  
of honour with also thaccomplishment of your noble  
hertis desyres. From Edenburgh the xxix<sup>te</sup> of Marche

Your noble gracis at comandment  
RAFE SADLEYR.<sup>2</sup>

## VIII

*Memorandum*

[Stirling, February-March, 1542-3 ?].

Remembir that contennall lawbouris be maid that  
Lennox be had gif it ma be but inconvenyent, and gif he  
can nocht be had haistilie depesche in France and howbeit  
the king of England caus awayt apone the schippis tha ma

<sup>1</sup> George Gordon, fourth Earl of Huntly. He had procured permission for the Queens to be conveyed to Stirling, but the enterprise was frustrated by Sir George Douglas. (*H.* xviii. i. 338.)

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Ralph Sadler was the English commissioner in Scotland from March to December 1543. He had had an interview with the Queen at Linlithgow on 22nd March and returned to Edinburch on the 23rd. (*H.* xviii. i. 313.)

The letter is holograph.

at the west se depart surly : and remembir that thar departing be sacret keptit : and quhen ony schippis cummis agan out of France that tha cum about the Illis and up this wattir : tha ma cum to the Powis of Artht and gud lying thar and the sam is wythin vj mylles to this town.<sup>1</sup> Gif my lord of Levynnox cummys it will pleis you advertice ; and to advertice gyf he cummis nocht and I sall thar efter cum and speik wyth you and quhat sarvice I can salbe don wyth deligens.<sup>2</sup>

## IX

*Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 10th April [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mademe efter humlie commendations of service maid to your grace hes dyrekit this berar to your grace to wit your mynd of all materis quhat your grace will I do eftere the brut of all thingis now last done<sup>3</sup> and as ye will advertice I sall do in all thingis bayth to your grace plesour and weill of the quene your dochter. Forther at lenth hes ordanyt this said berare to schaw your grace all materis quhomto your grace will ples gif credens and

<sup>1</sup> The Pows of Airth in the Firth of Forth, within six miles of Stirling. In the end, Lennox landed at Dumbarton. (*H.* xviii. i. 374.)

<sup>2</sup> If the handwriting is a clue, the Memorandum is probably the draft of a letter by Lord Methven. The date may be February or March, 1542-3, when negotiations were on foot for the recall of Lennox from France to be a counterpoise to the Governor. This was a move of high political significance, because, after Arran, Lennox stood nearest to the throne, and Arran's position depended upon the dubious validity of a divorce. At the beginning of February it was rumoured that Lennox and Guise were on the point of departing with French troops for Scotland. For a month things hung fire : the Governor was nervous and sent an envoy to spy out movements. On 17th March, news had been brought to Argyle that the Sheriff of Ayr and the Earl of Lennox were on the way. (*H.* xviii. i. 113, 140, 261, 289, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> He is probably alluding to the removing of the Cardinal to a nominal captivity in St. Andrews, and the arrival of Lennox at Dumbarton with supplies from France. Lennox was with the Queen at Linlithgow on 5th April. (*H.* xviii. i. 374.)

the eternall God haif your grace evir in his keiping. At  
Edinburgh this x day of aprill be

Your grace at command and service

JAMES ERLE OF MURRAY.<sup>1</sup>

## X

*Robert Stewart, Elect of Caithness, to the Queen Dowager*

Perth, 25th May [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, eftir humile commendacioun of my service to  
your grace for samekil traistis that your grace knawis  
quhou I wes and is lefullie providit in Rome of my benefice  
of Cathnes and Dunbartane at the kingis grace desir,<sup>2</sup>  
quhais sawle God assolze, and hes gottin upoun my  
provisioun the vicar general letters of Sanctandris and  
the quenis grace leters your grace dochir auchtorite  
deliverit be the lordis of consell conforme to my bullis  
and uther leters; and by<sup>3</sup> all way of justice the saidis  
leters of the auchtorite ar stoppit at the signet be privet  
wais. Heirfor humile beseikis your grace for the zeile  
of justice and luf that your grace had to him that gaif me  
the said benefice considir quhou ewill I have bein doin  
to this tyme bigane and caus the saidis leters have passage  
undir the signet according to justice. Madame, Maister  
Villame Stewart schew to my sistir countess of Erroll<sup>4</sup> the  
xxij day of Maij instant that my compeditour Maister  
Alexander Gordoun<sup>5</sup> had said to your grace that I hed  
offerit him the provestre of Dunbartane with certane  
pensioun quhilk wes nocht in verite. Bot for concord,

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> James v. wrote letters to Rome in his favour in April 1539. (*Royal Letters; Elphinstone MS.*, 41, 42.) On 27th January 1541-2, Paul III. granted administration of the Church of Caithness. (*Bps. of Scot.*, 242.)

<sup>3</sup> *by*: contrary to.

<sup>4</sup> Helenor Stewart, widow of William Hay, sixth Earl of Erroll, and married in August 1548, to John, Earl of Sutherland.

<sup>5</sup> Second son of John, Lord Gordon, and brother of George, fourth Earl of Huntly.

quhilk I wald nocht be fra, my lord of Sutherland <sup>1</sup> Robert Carnegy <sup>2</sup> and other frendis of my compeditouris convenit in Pertht the twenty fourt day of Maij and at the request of gud frendis I wes content to gif my said compeditour the provestre of Dunbartane and that for na titill of rycht he hes bot to saif your grace fra molestatioun of his injust complent tyme cummyng. And quhair your grace wes informit that I departit in Cathnes to saw discord and mak breik amangis gret men in thai partis, veraly Madame the contrer is trew, quhilk salbe maid manifest to your grace or ellis I sall tyne credit for evir, and vald your grace help and fortifye me to my awin I salbe als rady to serf the auctorite and your grace trewlie eftir my powar as ony sielik within the realme and salbe rady at your grace charge quhou evir I be doin to. Thus beseikis answer of your grace quhom God conserve. At Pertht the xxv day of Maij be

Your grace oratour with service

ROBERT ELECT OF CATHNES.<sup>3</sup>

## XI

### *Ninian, Lord Ross, to the Queen Dowager*

Halkhead, 21st June [1543].

Madeym efter maist humyll commendatione of my service to your grace becaus I belevit your grace wald have had passage to your wyn <sup>4</sup> at the sammyn mycht

<sup>1</sup> John Gordon, tenth earl.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert Carnegy, fifth of Kinnaird. (See *Carnegies of Southesk*, i. 24 *et seq.*)

<sup>3</sup> Second son of John, third Earl, and brother of Matthew, fourth Earl of Lennox. He afterwards succeeded as seventh Earl of Lennox (1578-80), but was brought to renounce this title for that of Earl of March (1580-86). (*S.P.* v. 355.)

The letter is holograph. In some parts the ink is more faded than in others.

<sup>4</sup> The wine may have been intercepted in transport from Leith to Linlithgow, as a French ship had brought a cargo of wine to Leith about the beginning of May. (*H.* xviii. i. 503.)

have cumit suyrlye to your grace and I hard it murmurit in Strewelyn that thai wald stop it quhilk causit me to wryt to the lord of Kilmawaris<sup>1</sup> to wit the werate of my awin behallff and in sum part reprowan hym, sayand it wos nocht the erll of Lenox honor nor his to do sua ; and the ansur he hes send to me it pleis your grace to resaif and se. And gyff your grace thinkis ye wald have ony of it away apone syk souerte thai have send be this wryt-tyng, I sall labour in that behallf is your grace wyll adverteis me, and gyff ye will thoill ony wyin to be lettin to tham for payment pleis your grace till adverteis. Your grace may saye with part and I sell send part of servandis with your graceis servandis and se the maner, with what oder servis I may do is your grace plesis to command me ; and eternal God have your grace in everlestyng keipeyn. Of Halkheid the xxi day of Junj be your graceis humyll servitour

NINIANE LORD ROS.<sup>2</sup>

Madem I besek your grace to writ ane tykktet to my lord off Argyll to lane me v or vj hagbuttis and ane litill powder, for my hous and my self is bath youris at command.

## XII

*Richard Kincaid to Lord Fleming, Chamberlain*

Edinburgh, 27th July [1543].

My lord efter maist hartye commendation of service plesit your lordship I haif spokyn with my lord Maxwell

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Cunningham was a pledge for his father after Solway Moss, but in April 1543, urgent solicitations were made for his deliverance. He probably returned about the time when Glencairn proceeded to England as one of the commissioners to negotiate the Treaty of Greenwich.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Ross was a staunch adherent of the Cardinal's party, and along with Argyle, Eglinton and Semple continued in opposition to the Governor after the meeting of parliament in March. His lands of Halkhead, in the bailiary of Cunningham, although in the superiority of Eglinton, were in close proximity to the territorial sphere of Glencairn.

The letter is holograph.

and hes deliverit your lordship wrytinge<sup>1</sup> and schawyn my credite to hym as your lordship commandit me. [The writer here seems to refer to domestic matters, but his meaning is obscure. Maxwell 'wald do for your lordship as he wald do for hym self. I beleif your lordship misteris noht to be in his accommowne [*sic*] at this tyme.'] Word is cumyng to this towne that my lord governowr and the cardinall hes noht spokyn the gydder nor na guid purpos of agreance as beleif bot wer nowe nor it was afoyr.<sup>2</sup> Thaj ar advertes that your partye is gadderand and purposis to be in Styrlinge on Frydaye<sup>3</sup> with the powart thai maye be; thai gar the word gange heyr that ye haif begylit thaim and causit thaim to skayll thair fokkis and now hes gadderit oder souerance; thai feyr yow noht that ar heyr as I heyr thaim saye quhow be it thai be noht sa monye as ye ar. Thai beleif in guid helip quhowme in I can noht wryite to your lordship; your frendis that ar heyr consellis yow all to hald furht your purpos and keip your daye affixit yow. My lord Maxwell and my lord of Glencarne the erll of Cassillis and the sherefe of Ayr rayd furht this Tyisdaye at iii howris to meyt the governowr; I thinke thaim all weill contentit that my lord governowre and the cardinall is noht agreite. For wther nowellis thair is nain heyr at the makyn of this wrytinge; it is belef heyr sa fer as I can heyr that ye maye do onye besynes that ye haf ado in Styrling at this tyme for thai will noht cum thair hostile wyth out mayer helip nor thai haif at this tyme; forder as your lordship advertesis me I sall do and sall spere all thythingis that I can heyr. My ladye Bohwell your

<sup>1</sup> Probably on family matters. Although both Solway prisoners, Maxwell and Fleming were at this time in opposite political camps. Fleming was a signatory to the 'Secret Band' of Beaton at Linlithgow on 24th July, while Maxwell was one of the Governor's ambassadors in arranging the 'good agreement' of the 25th.

<sup>2</sup> The rumour was false. Although on the 23rd the Cardinal and the Governor lay in hostile guise at Linlithgow and Edinburgh, yet emissaries passed between them, and on the 25th a settlement was reached. (*H.* xviii. i. 940, 950, 951.)

<sup>3</sup> 28th July.



guid moder<sup>1</sup> and the guid wifis of Edynborcht ar all guid Scottis women and sayis stoutlye that thai sall supplie yow sa fer as thai maye; noht ellis, bot God keip your lordship; wrytinge in haste at Edynburgh the xxvii daye of Julii be

Your servand RECHE KYNCAID<sup>2</sup> quha  
ever thingis to be.

[*Endorsed*: To his speycall lord and master my lord Fleming, chalmerlan of Scotland.<sup>3</sup>]

### XIII

#### *Sadler to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 2nd August [1543].

Please it your noble grace to understand, that yesternyght I receyved your lettres<sup>4</sup> and wolde this day have observed the contentis of the same, ne had been suche cause and impediment as this berer can declare at lenght whome I have purposelie sent unto your grace for because I wolde not trouble the same with over long letres beseching your noble grace to gyve unto him firme and undoubted credence, and what soever it shall please yow to communicate unto him, your grace maye be assured that he wooll faythfullie reaporte the same. And thus tholie Trinitie preserve your grace in long lyef and helthe with increase of honour and send you thaccomplishment

<sup>1</sup> Agnes Stewart, widow of the second Earl of Bothwell.

<sup>2</sup> It is a holograph letter, but the identity of the writer is not clear. A certain Richard Kincaid was a student at Glasgow University in 1533. (*Monumenta*, ii. 160.)

<sup>3</sup> Malcolm, third Lord Fleming.

<sup>4</sup> On 9th August, Sadler wrote to Henry VIII. that he had been to Stirling in answer to a summons from the Queen Dowager, who 'said she had sent for him that he might know she was still of the same good mind to accomplish all the King's pleasure, especially the marriage of the Prince with her daughter.' (*H.* xviii, i. 22.)

of all your noble and vertuous desiers. From Edenburgh,  
the second of August.

Your gracis humble servyteur at comandment

RAFE SADLEYR.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* : To the Quenes noble grace douagier of Scotland.]

#### XIV

##### *Memorandum by Methven*

[c. August, 1543.]

This Monunday befor nun eftir lang disputatioun quhill it was an efter noun it was concludit my lord governour wyth him my lord Maxwell to depart to Sterwilling to the quenis graice and lordis thar. The first poynt, tha to be content that an qualifeit person war send to the king of England, first to York quhar is the duk of Suthfolkis sir Antone Brown the lord Par the principall of creditt as commysionaris anent the peix and weyr; and gif that thai thocht exspedient fra tham to pas to the king of England, the effect to procur an abstinence fra weir and all attentatis for an tym, in the quhill tym wayis to be fwnd wyth avis of the lords sperituall and temperall the dependence of the peice ma be fynelle obtemperit.<sup>2</sup> Secundly to dysyr at the quen and the lordis in Steruilling that my lord cardinall will return to his awn placis of Sanctandros and Arbroth<sup>3</sup> and all wtheris sperituall and temperall men ma conveyn wythout exception and concur for the comon wele. I trast my lord governour be wele myndyt for my lord cardynall as farther the beschop of Orknay<sup>4</sup> can tell.

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> obeyed.

<sup>3</sup> He was in St. Andrews before 15th August.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Reid. About 31st July he and Lord Fleming had been sent ostensibly to propose conditions for the representation of the Cardinal's party if the Governor insisted on holding the convention to ratify the Greenwich Treaty at Edinburgh, rather than at Stirling. (*H.* xviii, i. 974.)

Treit wele Maxwell and sa wele to hym ; gud wordis ma help. Bewar of the thingis that I wrait last to yow and tak gud tent ye ordour all thai thingis as I wrayt. Gif ye spek wyth the quen commend my service to hyr grace. My lord governour wyll cum haistile agan as I belef. Writin this Monunday at iii efter noun.

kep sacret.<sup>1</sup>

XV

*Sir James Stewart of Beath to the Queen Dowager*

Innermey, [c. 15th August, 1543].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE, MY MASTRES.

Madam, efter mast humill, mast lawle recommendioun unto your grace of my sympill servis.

Madam, plesit your heichnes, the lard of Duntreth<sup>2</sup> quham your grace hes presentle your capitan in Dowin hes this last Wednisday, the Assomcion Day of our Lade,<sup>3</sup> being ane solemnit day, and by the order of law hes, as he sayis at your gracis command, arrestit my beyr that was in the manis of Dwin rede till hef bein sald, and hes ther throwth hynderit me of the prysis therof and doin me gret wrang by mone uther grete wrangis as your grace kenis now, and your grace kend nocht befeyr : and I

<sup>1</sup> This communication seems to be a hasty despatch in the handwriting of Lord Methven, with reference to a resolution of the Privy Council, of which he and Maxwell were both members. There is no record that the Governor and Maxwell carried out their mission, but this letter seems reliable evidence that the idea was projected. Arran would naturally not divulge his intention to Sadler, and the air was thick with rumours that the Cardinal was secretly bribing him by the promise that his son should marry the Queen. (*H.* xviii. i. 978.) The Governor was evidently in a strait ; and the official embassy of Marischal, Paisley, and Lermonth may have been not the only one. The recipient of this communication may have been Lord Erskine, one of the four Guardians of the Queen. He, Orkney, and Maxwell had all been engaged in the negotiations which preceded her removal to Stirling.

<sup>2</sup> William Edmonstone of Duntreith. Edmonstone and Stewart both claimed the right to the captaincy of Doune and the stewardship of Menteith. (*R.M.S.*, 14th July 1528 ; *S.P.* iii. 186.) See No. CII.

<sup>3</sup> Wednesday, 15th August 1543.

knaw perfytle your grace gud mynd to me at this tym. Praying your grace cawis this litill mater be remedit quhilk is doin to me of malis, as ferther I hef vrytin to my bruther Alexander in this mater to be schawin to your grace, and all uther thingis I sall inform your grace at mayr lynth at my cuming to your heichnes.

Madam, eternall God mot hef your grace in his blissit tuission and government. Vrytin at Inermey [?]<sup>1</sup> be your grace mast hwmill, mast lawle and mast obedient servitour,

JAMES STEWARD.<sup>2</sup>

## XVI

### *Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Huntly, 16th August [1543].

Madame, eftir maist humill and hartlie recomendacioune of service wnto your grace, it will pleis your grace I have resavit twa of your grace writingis, ane daytit at Striveling the nynt day of this moneth with ane serwand of my lord cardinalis and ane uther daytit the xij daye of the samyn with your grace servand this berar makand mentioun that the governour is to cum to Striveling to your grace displesuyr, desyrand me to haist me to your grace with deligens.

Madame, it will pleis your grace I have maid syk deligens as wes in me possible sen my hame cuming<sup>3</sup> for the performing of all your grace besynes and hes spokin with my lord erll of Murraye quha hes condescendit eftir greyt lawbouris to cum in cumpany with me to your grace and, will God, we sall keip the tryst affixt afoir your grace at departing, and gif the governour makis ony

<sup>1</sup> Probably Innermeath, the home of his stepson. Sir James Stewart married Margaret Lindsay, widow of Robert, third Lord Innermeath.

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Stewart of Beath in Fife was an elder brother of Lord Methven. His son (Commendator of St. Colme's) was raised to the peerage as Lord Doune. (*S.P.* iii. 188.)

<sup>3</sup> On 5th August, Sadler wrote that Argyle and Huntly 'must go home to stay their countries.' (*H.* xviii. ii. 14.)

scharp perswyt apon your grace in the meane tyme it pleis your grace haist me word and I sall cum with syk deligens as is in me possible. Madame, beleyf suyrly tha sall na thing fail on my part that we commonit afoir your grace, bot sall at the uttermost of my power perform the samyn nocht withstanding the greyt lawbouris and persuasionis maid to me in the contrair, praying your grace as ony novellis occurris or gif your grace gettis ony wrytingis of France till advertteiss me with deligens.<sup>1</sup>

Madame, my consell is, gif the governour makis scharp perswyt on our soverane Lady and your grace that ye wryt to my lordis of Argyle, Lennox and Bothwell to caus thame to persew all thame quhilk ar in cumpany with the governour, thair landis, freindis, and placis and gudis, be fyre and sword in maist extreme maner, and gif ony of thir cuntrethis be north Taye beis in his cumpanye I sall do syklyk with quhat uther service your grace pleis command me, helpand God quaha mot conserve your grace eternally. Of Huntlie the xvi daye of August, subscrivit be

† Your grace mast humyll and obcdyent serwytour  
 GEORGE ERL OFF HWNTLY.†

[*Endorsed* : To the quenis grace.]

## XVII

### *Countess of Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Huntly, 16th August [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, I commend my hartly service to your grace. It pleis your grace I have resavit your grace writing fra

<sup>1</sup> On 31st July Sadler had reported that the Cardinal's faction had grown aggressive, 'with the hope of aid from France (which is bruite to be coming in 19 or 20 great ships with ambassadors from the French king and Bishop of Rome . . .)' (*H.* xviii. i. 974.)

†† Holograph. The body of the letter is in the handwriting of Huntly's wife.

your servand this berar, makand mentyoun that my lord governour hes rasit ane cursing on my lord and done be his awyn avyce to stop that he cum nocht to your grace at this tyme as your grace is informyt. Madame, I assuyr your grace ye will fynd that informacione als fals as utheris quhilkis hes bene maid to your grace abefoir. Thair is na syk lettres cumin on my lord as yit as ye wrayt ; bot my lord wes informyt that syk lettres wes to cum and hes gottin ane absolucion fra my lord cardinall in aventuyr of the samyn. Madame beleif na uther thing bot my lord wilbe the samyn man he promist to your grace, and hes gottin greyt laubouris be the governouris waye to brak hym fra your purpois : and had tha bene any alteratioun of purpois I suld nocht haf falit till adverteis your grace with deligens and aye salbe redy to do your grace syk plesuyr and service as I ma at all tymes, as knawis God quha mot have your grace in keping eternalye. At Huntlie the xvj daye of august be

Youris grace humill servatrice

ELIZABETH COUNTESS OF HWNTLYE.<sup>1</sup>

## XVIII

### *Sir George Douglas to Cardinal Beaton*

Edinburgh, 16th August, 1543.

Plesit your gud lordschip that I com to my lord governour this Thurisday the xvith of August at efter noune and hes declarit your gud mynd unto his grace<sup>2</sup> and thereafter in his presence has schawin to all the counsall the writing maid betuix your lord and ws, and it was wele acceptit be my lord governour and all the counsall. And his grace with all diligence has directit furth proclama-

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Keith, sister of William, fourth Earl Marischal. The letter is holograph, in a small, distinct hand.

<sup>2</sup> For Sadler's report of this meeting, see *H.* xviii. ii. 49. On 17th August Sir George informed Sadler that 'the Cardinal desired Douglas's help to obtain him the King's favour and the Governor's.' See next letter.

cionis accordingle as was commonit betuix your lord and ws and has scalit the fute band ; and sa all thingis is and salbe performit on my lord governouris part conforme to oure promis, nocht doubting bot your lord will in symlable maner do for your part, and the rest of my lordis. Praying your gud lord to advertis me of the samyn that I may the mair directlie speik in thai effaris. And according to your lordschippis plesour I have spokin with my lady,<sup>1</sup> quha has commandit me to writt to your lord that the samyn salbe sur of hir gud mynd, trasting that ye will stand gud unto my lord governour hir housband quhilk I have said larglie on your behalve unto hir. And als my lord governour has writtin for all the lords to be in Edinburgh the twenty day of this instant that his grace may have thare advise and counsale for the setting forwart of the materis of England<sup>2</sup> according to your lord communicacioun and myn. Thar sall na tym be pretermittit in all the busynes (as your lord and I commonit at lenth) on this part, desyring your wysdom to pacify all materis for your part and to have in your remembrance God and the common welth of this realme, nocht doubting bot your gud lord will. Praying for advertisment of thir premissis in writing with your lordschip gud counsale quhilk I sall glaidlie fulfill to my litle power as knawis God, quha have your lord in his eternale tuitioun. Writtin at Edinburgh the said xvi day of August 1543.

† Be your lord wyt serves  
GEORGE DOWGLAS.<sup>3</sup> †

[*Endorsed* : To My gud Lord, Cardinall of Sanctandrois.]

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Douglas, daughter of James, third Earl of Morton. The Cardinal complained to Douglas that he feared the 'lightness and inconstancy' of the Governor, and especially 'the malice of the countess his wife.'

<sup>2</sup> Ratification of the Treaty of Greenwich, 25th August 1543.

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, brother of Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus. Father of David, seventh Earl, and of James, fourth Earl of Morton, Regent of Scotland, 1573-8.

†† Holograph.

## XIX

*Cardinal Beaton to the Earl of Bothwell*St. Andrews, 1<sup>4</sup>th August [1543].

TO MY LORD ERLE BOTHUILE.

My lord in my maist hertlie maner I commend me unto your lordship quham plesit to witt that I have hard this day that your lordship is cumin to Scone and belevis suirlye that your lordship is advertist be the Quenis grace of all sic thingis as hes occurrit sen our departing of Striveling and how the erle Marshall Georg Douglas and thesaurer<sup>1</sup> wes heir at me this last assumptioun day<sup>2</sup> sollisting me to meitt with my lord governour quhilk I culd na way grant to do by<sup>3</sup> all your lordship avisis. And efter lang commoning it wes concludit be the saidis lordis for my lord governouris part, and me and sir Johne Campbell of Caldir knight for the remanent of my lordis and noble men that convenit last at Striveling, that the futt band suld skaill incontinent; and als lettres suld be direct furtht to discharge the congregatioun of the Quenis liegis chargit be my lord governour to be in Edinburgh the xx<sup>ij</sup><sup>4</sup> day of this instant moneth, and als that we suld caus my lord of Lennox and all utheris convenit this tyme at Striveling be occasioun of the said fut band and thair gaddering forsaid to skaill, and all to be in reddynes upoun xxiiij houris warning with xv dais furnissing. And thai put me in suir beleve at thair departing that thai suld bryng my lord governour to this toun within thir twa dais and gif he cumis your lordship salbe advertist how I fynd him in all behalvis.<sup>5</sup> And this my lord I

<sup>1</sup> James Kirkcaldy of Grange. As Treasurer of Scotland he ratified the Treaty of Greenwich on 25th August. He was superseded by John Hamilton before 15th January 1543-4 (*R.M.S.*).

<sup>2</sup> 15th August. See last letter.

<sup>3</sup> *by*: without.

<sup>4</sup> A convention was appointed to convene at Edinburgh on 20th August to ratify the Treaty of Greenwich. (*H.* xviii. ii. 14.)

<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence that this meeting took place, although on the 19th it was rumoured that the Governor was about to meet the Cardinal at Dunfermline. (*H.* xviii. ii. 63.)



thynk best that your lordship dress yow in all reddyne  
conforme to our commoun at our departing of Striveling  
for I traist that salbe the best. Praying your lordship to  
advertis me of your nouvelles and dettis and gif your lord-  
ship plesis to tak the payn to cum heir ye salbe als welcum  
as I may mak yowr lordship, and God conserve your  
lordship. At Sanctandrois the xvii day of August.

Your lordship at all powar,  
CARDINALL OFF SANCTANDROIS.<sup>1</sup>

## XX

*Lord Drummond to the Queen Dowager*

Drumman, 17th August [1543].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Plece your grace efter commendatioun of mast humill  
service hes sene your grace writingis to me and my lord  
Ruffane dischargeand ws of haste cummyng towartis your  
hienes at this tyme, bot to be in reddines upoun twenty-  
four houris warnyng as your grace will charge. As to  
that, plece your grace I sall do conform to your hienes  
writingis and salbe redy wyth service I may at all tymes  
to your grace, quhom eternal God have evermayr in  
blessit keping. Of Drumman this Friday the xvij day  
of August be

Your grace servitour  
DAVID LORD DRUMUND.<sup>2</sup>

## XXI

*James Stewart of Beath to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, Sunday, 19th August [1543].

TO THE QWINIS GRACE, MY MASTRES.

Madam, efter mast hwmle and mast lawle recom-  
mendacion of my sympill serves unto your grace.

<sup>1</sup> David Beaton, son of John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife, Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews. The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> David, second Lord Drummond. Only the signature is autograph.

Madam, I hef send this berar agan to your grace till schaw quhow, and it pleis your grace, master Jhone Thornton and I wald that your grace comptrollar<sup>1</sup> com heyr till this town of Edenburgh to the effek I may mak hym till hef cassion and souerte of the mone that I desyr master Jhone till furnis me in Frans in the sort as he hes vrytin to the comptrollar and send wyth this berar; praying your grace to lat the comptrollar cum heyr as saidis till resaif the souerteis and efter the tenor of the said master Jhonis vryting, for the schip is amast rede till depart that I wald send my besines into. And I beseik your grace pardon me that is sa hevile till cwmmyr your grace wyth my small effaris. God willing, I salbe als rede tildo one serves that I can do to your grace, and trastis tildo in sic sort that your grace sall thynk gud efterwartis in sic maner as I can nocht weill vryt presentle quhill I may spek wyth your grace, and thynkis lang quhill I ma do swa, as this berar will schaw your grace.

Madam, eternall God mot hef your grace ever in his blissit tuission and government. Vryten of Edinburgh this Sunday the xix day of Agust be

your grace mast hwm[i]ll mast lawle and mast obedient servitour

JAMES STEWARD.<sup>2</sup>

## XXII

### *Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Dunfermline, 20th August [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mademe, efter commendations of service maid to your grace, I haif bene merwellus ewill wexit with my infyrmetie this v dayis passit and is nocht weill as yeit, and hes

<sup>1</sup> The Dowager's accounts at this date are signed by 'Jhean de Campbell.' (*Despences de la Maison Royall*, 1543-4, in Register House.) In the *Treasurer's Accounts* for December 1543 the Queen's Comptroller is mentioned, but his name is not stated. (*T.A.* viii. 144.)

<sup>2</sup> Holograph in the hand of Sir James Stewart of Beath.

great are displesour that I may nocht trawell to be at your grace for sik affaris as is ado ; quharfor hes send this berare to wit your grace mynd quhat ye will I do in ony mater your grace will advertteis tweching ony pourpoyis is tane ther<sup>1</sup> amangis the lordis and how sone I may trawell sall nocht fayll be at your grace. Forther the berare will schaw your grace at mayr lenth quhomto ye will ples gif credens ; and eternall God haif your grace in his keiping. At Dunfermyng, this xx day of August be  
Your grace at command and service

JAMES ERLE OF MURRAY.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Du cownte de Murray.]

### XXIII

#### *Communication (by Methven ?)*

[Cupar (?), 27th August, 1543 (?).]

My lord governour com to Sanctandros this last Sondag<sup>3</sup> at vj houris at evin, lugit in the abbay ; lordis Mercyall, Settoun<sup>4</sup> and thesaurer<sup>5</sup> passit to solist my lord cardinall spek with my lord governour ; last of all was don that Sir Jhon Campbell of Calder knycht com as pleg to my lord governour, and Georg Dowglas passit to my lord cardinall, and Drumlanrik : na meting nor convenyng forthar betuix my lord governour and cardinall. This Monenday my lord governour departit of Sanctandros to Cowper and on this nixt Tuesday to Edinbrugh. It was dissirit at the writing herof that gif the quen wald be con-

<sup>1</sup> At Stirling.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> 26th August. For an account of this visit of the Governor to St. Andrews, see *H.* xviii. ii. 79, 94.

<sup>4</sup> George, fourth Lord Seton. After his arrest on 27th January, the Cardinal was committed to the custody of Seton ; and it was largely through the good offices of his nominal warder that the prisoner contrived his liberation. (*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 97-8, 102.)

<sup>5</sup> Probably Kirkcaldy of Grange. See No. XIX, note 1. Hamilton, his successor, was however a chief agent in the negotiations at this period. (*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, v. 12.)

tent that thar war elyk mone personis in the castell put therintill of my lord governouris as thair is now of tham beand in the sam, that my lord governour suld conveyn in Sterilleng or in Glaskow,<sup>1</sup> the castell therof doand siclyk ; sa na fynell conclusion is tain at the writing heyr of bot in maner forsaid, and sa my lord governour and tha wyth him purpossit to lawbour na mayr. Gif ony uther thingis cummys ye salbe advertissit. Writin in greit haist. Your frend, ye sall haif uther word haistly, has maid proclamation at the cros of Sanctandros this day that under the payn of deid ony person assist to the cardynall, and this Tuesday passis till Edinbroch and makis all folkis rady wyth all delygens to cum forward ; Ye sall send this berar agan to Edinburgh hastile.

I mycht nocht get lesor to wryt at length.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This was perhaps meant as a step towards the 'accomplishment of the treaties and delivery of the strongholds.'

<sup>2</sup> The circumstantial detail suggests that the communication was made by an eye-witness of events at St. Andrews ; the handwriting conveys the authorship of Methven. As he and the three emissaries sent to the Cardinal had all been present at the ratification of the Treaty of Greenwich in Edinburgh on 25th August, it seems likely that several members of the Council had accompanied the Governor on his errand 'over the Frythe.'

## Nos. XXIV-XLIX : INTRODUCTORY

THE twenty-six letters in this section deal with the situation that arose out of the 'revolt' of the Governor to the Cardinal. In this phase the Government party, represented by Arran, Beaton, and the Dowager, are pitted against the English faction.

The new situation is forecasted in Lennox's letter from Glasgow, on 17th September. [No. XXIV.] His 'reasonable excuses' could scarcely cloak the true cause of his hurried departure from Stirling after the coronation: Henry had lost the Governor, but he had thereby gained Arran's rival. Lennox had gone to the west in anticipation of the coming of the papal legate and the French ambassadors, bringing money and munitions to the Cardinal. The Correspondence shows the success of his scheme to subvert 'all mone artalyery and utheris thingis that com out of France to his awn particular efecttis.' [No. XXXII.] Glengarnock seems to imply that a belated effort was made to recover the gold, but that Lennox succeeded in frustrating the design. [No. XXXVIII.] Doubtless the loss of the supplies was a serious matter for the Cardinal, but at least the envoys were safe; and Cardonald's visit to his uncle at Aberdeen may have been in the hope of securing a port on the east to compensate for the loss of Dumbarton. [No. XLII.] Although Lennox's manœuvre had crippled the Government, this was more than balanced by the rash actions through which Henry himself contributed to the undoing of his own laborious policy. The Correspondence throws no new light upon the dark matter of the repudiation of

the English treaties. On the other hand, Otterburn's letter of 13th October reveals the bitterness of the feeling aroused by the seizure of Scottish ships and Henry's 'unreasonable desyreis' which cut off all hope of restitution. [No. XXVIII.] Beaton was thereby assured of the support of the commercial class and of such Scots who put patriotism before religion or self-interest. The Correspondence shows that he was minded to bring these latter elements into subjection.

If Moray's letter of 30th September implies that the Governor made overtures to Douglas [No. XXV], these were not successful. The apprehension of Somerville and Maxwell on the ground of treasonable intercourse with England, the capture of Rothes and the 'exploit' against other heretics in Fife provided a more forcible, and momentarily effective, demonstration of the Cardinal's supremacy. It is seen, however, that this policy defeated its own ends. Glencairn's Memorandum [No. XXXV] stresses the unconstitutional nature of these actions, while the Dowager feared that even Moray had been driven thereby to waver in his allegiance. [No. XXXIX.] Subsequent letters show that, as Glencairn had feared, the result of these arbitrary proceedings was indeed to 'mak impassemant bayth for the commoun weill of this realme and for the afferis of Franche.'

It may, however, be noted here that Maxwell in his captivity enlisted the services of the Dowager [Nos. XL, XLI, XLIII], and that the captive friends of Glencairn desired to submit their cause to 'the quenis grace gif it ples hir grace to tak that pyn on hir.' The seed of subsequent trouble may be detected in this fact, that the victims of the Cardinal and the Governor addressed themselves to the Dowager in their distress. Fear of the English faction, however, delayed the rupture.

Otterburn's letter of 26th November indicates the

strength of Angus and the more subtle resources of his wily brother. [No. XXXVII.] The Government probably owed a greater debt to the good offices of the Provost of Edinburgh than to the more ostentatious services of its accredited agent. The opposition was, at any rate, unable to prevent parliament from meeting in December to repudiate the Treaty of Greenwich in favour of a renewal of the French alliance. Their armed demonstration was too late to be effective, and they came to terms early in January. Otterburn's letter to Bothwell [No. XLIV] hints at mysterious transactions which cannot now be ascertained. The Correspondence, however, throws greater light upon the Agreement of Greenside, which an acute observer attributes in large measure to the good services of Argyle, while Otterburn would 'ascribe na thing to our doyngis bot to Him that governis all to his plesour.' [Nos. XLVI, XLVII.] This may have been his personal opinion, but had he gone as an ambassador to the English court, he would have found it difficult to persuade Henry to accept this view of the divine dispensation. His communication with the Cardinal towards the end of January probably had reference to his projected mission for such a purpose. [No. XLIX.]

## XXIV

*Earl of Lennox to the Queen Dowager*

Glasgow, 17th September [1543].

[The writer acknowledges a letter from the Queen Dowager expressing her astonishment at his departure from Stirling (after the coronation). He marvels that she should dislike his action since he can offer reasonable excuses. These are the illness of his sister and the press of other business which necessitates a visit to Glasgow before going to Edinburgh to set his affairs in order. He will be with the Queen on Wednesday evening, when he hopes to vindicate his conduct.]

A LA REYNE.

Madame, Jay receu la lettre qui vous a pleu mescrire et quant a ce que me mandez que ne pouyes trouves asses estrange mon departement de Sterlyng. Madame je trouve encore plus estrange dequoy vous avez trouve mauvais mon departement veu que mes escuses estont sy resounables, et vous assure que la malladie de ma seur estoit cause en partie de ma venue ensemble beaucoup daultres affaires que jay a adreser comme je vous ay aultres fois dit et pource que voiois que esties deliberee de fere quelque sesjour a Lilebourg<sup>1</sup> il m'estoit force de venir icy premier que daller la pour metre ordre a mes affaires ; et ne faudray destres devers vous mecredy au soir esperant asteur<sup>2</sup> la de vous fere entendre que ce que jay fait na point este par ligier conseil sy non que de moy mesmes ; et quant a ce que jay jure aveqs vous, je vous assure Madame quant je neuse jamais jure ; je vous sere toujours loyal en toutes choses la ou je vous pouray fere service, priant nostre Seigneur, Madame, de vous avoir en sa sainte garde. De Glasquo ce xvij<sup>e</sup> de septembre<sup>3</sup>

Vostre treshumble et tresobeisant serviteur

MATHIEU STUART.<sup>4</sup><sup>1</sup> Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup> *A cette heure.*<sup>3</sup> The letter is written in a French hand ; only the signature is autograph. Lennox was still surrounded by French influences at the very time when he was negotiating his revolt to the 'King's Friends' of England.<sup>4</sup> Matthew, fourth Earl of Lennox of the line of Stewart. There was inherent opposition between Lennox and Arran. By challenging the Governor's



## XXV

*Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 30th September [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mademe, efter commendatione of service maid to your grace, sene your departing<sup>1</sup> I wes in the abbay this last Mychelmes day<sup>2</sup> and thair spak with the governour at lenth anent all materis and fand him mervellus weill myndit in all sortis and wes in porpois to haif cum our the watter that same day, to that effek causit ane bot to be hadin one flot, and incontynent efter I wes payrtit fra him ther wes uther pourpoys tane and that wes he suld pas and spek with Georg Dowglas betwix this and Dalkeyth, and ther thai met and spak togydder and hes rydyng fordwart to Dalkeyth with him; and all this done be the consaill of maister Dave Pantere<sup>3</sup> and abbat of Peslay as said is. To quhat effek this tormis [*sic*] to I cane writ to your grace how sone as I heyre: ony novations I sall advertteis your grace as thay occure. Johne of Clydisdail<sup>4</sup> and all his freindis hes left him. All uther thingis hes ordanit this berare to schaw your grace at lenth quhomto ye will ples gif credens and quhat your grace will ples command me salbe obeyit, will God, quaha haif your grace ever in keiping. At Edinburgh this last day of septembere be

Your grace at command and service

JAMES ERLE OF MURREY.<sup>5</sup>


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legitimacy, which depended on the doubtful validity of a divorce, Lennox could press a strong claim to the regency as the first subject of the realm. Added to this, he had a blood-feud with the house of Hamilton, in that his father had been slain by Sir James Hamilton of Fynnart.

<sup>1</sup> The Queen, Cardinal, Huntly, Argyle, and Bothwell left Edinburgh for St. Andrews on Friday, 28th September. (*H.* xviii. ii. 238.)

<sup>2</sup> 29th September.

<sup>3</sup> David Paniter, Secretary. See No. LVII.

<sup>4</sup> John Hamilton, Sheriff of Clydesdale, natural brother of Arran.

<sup>5</sup> The letter is holograph.

At the writting of this bill Jhone of Clidisdaill wes at me sayand the governour will be heyre this nycht ;<sup>1</sup> gif swa beis, quhat pourpos is tane sall advertes your grace.

[*Endorsed* : M. le conte de Murray.]

## XXVI

*Glencairn to the Queen Dowager*

Glasgow, 3rd October [1543].

[The writer thanks the Queen for her letter, and protests the good will of himself and his associates to do her service.]

Madame, Jay receu la lettre qui vous a pleu mescripre per ce porteur et entendu le credit que luy aves donne charge de me dire, vous remerciant treshumblement de la bonne volonte qu'aves envers moi. Madame, vous me trouveres tousjours celluy qui ne vous sera jamais daultre sy non que vostre treshumble et tresobeisant serviteur, et vous aseure que Je ne voy homme en ceste compaignie qui nait la volonte bonne pour vous fer service comme ce gentilhomme, present porteur, vous dira plus au long, vous supliant le vouloir croire, qui sera la fin, dapres mescrire recommande treshumblement a vostre bonne grace ; priant nostre Seigneur, madame, vous avoir en sa sainte garde. De Glasquo, ce iiij jour doctobre.

Vostre treshumble et treis obeisant servitour

GLENCARNE.<sup>2</sup>

## XXVII

*James Stewart of Cardonald to Cardinal Beaton*

Greenock, 4th October [1543].

TO MYE LORD, MY LORDE CARDENALL OF SANCTANDROYS.

My lord, I commend mye hartlye serves to your lordschip. Your lordschip sell understand that I landit in

<sup>1</sup> Compare the statement of Sadler under the same date, that 'this night the Governor is in Lythcoo intending to be to-morrow with the Cardinal.' (*H.* xviii. ii. 238.)

<sup>2</sup> William Cunningham, third Earl of Glencairn.

The signature is autograph, but not very clear.

Grinoc thes Furis<sup>1</sup> in the nycht and sax scheppis vyth me and ane patrearche<sup>2</sup> vyth me quhilk the payp hes send in Schotland quhae sell do na thing bot as your lordschip plesses command hyme, and the kyngis inbasatouris quhilkis ar monsieur de la Bras<sup>3</sup> ane of his aschansonis and ane oder, monsieur de Minag,<sup>4</sup> consoleyr of the court of parlement of Rowane, na gret personages, quhilkis sell nocht steir all the gydder oder out of Dumbartayn or Gleskaw quhill I hayf vord fra your lordschip agayn quhedder at I sell bring thame to your lordschip or geyf I sell cum and speik vyth your lordschip first. And thes is thar hayll commissayon, to sye geyf ve vell mak veyr on Yngland, and to that effek thai and I the gedder hes brocht sellvar and artellyery monesyzonis pekes and halbardes quhilkis velbe dylyverit be us quhedder ve mak veyr or nocht. I can nocht vrit to your lordschip the theng at I hayf to saye to your lordschip vyth lettres of eradit fra the kyngis grace to your lordschip bot I praye your lordschip to advertes me vyth dylygens quhat I sell do mye seyfl. I hayf vyrtyne [*sic*] to the quhenis grace to that samen affek: your lordschip maye adverteys her grace of the answair at ye vrit to me. And ferder I praye God hayf your lordschip in his kypyne. At Grynoc this Furis in the nycht the iiiij daye of October

Your lordschip humyll obaysant servitir

JAMES STEWARTH.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Furis*, Thursday.

<sup>2</sup> Marco Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia, sent to Scotland by Pope Paul III. to collect an ecclesiastical subsidy and dispense it for the defence of the kingdom and of the Catholic faith, and for the liberation of the Cardinal, if not already released. (See *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xi.)

<sup>3</sup> Sieur Jacques de la Brosse, one of the cupbearers of Francis I. 'Aschanson' is French *échanson*, a cupbearer.

<sup>4</sup> Jacques Menages. These two ambassadors were present in the parliament at Edinburgh when the old alliance with France was ratified by the Estates on 11th December. (*A.P.* ii. 431-2.)

<sup>5</sup> James Stewart of Cardonald. He was an officer in the Scots Guard of Francis I., and had been sent by the Cardinal and Lennox to expedite the sending of aid from France. (*H.* xviii. *ad indices.*) On the defection of Lennox the French king seized Stewart's 'estates and wages to the value of 3000 francs,' and thus drove him into the arms of the English party. (*H.* xxi. ii. 695.)

Only the signature is autograph.

## XXVIII

*Sir Adam Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 13th October [1543].

TO THE QWENYS GRACE.

Madame, plesit youre grace that thir lordis that hes bene here hes callit me and the men of gude of the toune sayand that thai will lauboure for restitutioun of the schippis and gudis,<sup>1</sup> desyring ws to send oure writingis to the king of Ingland with ane nychtboure<sup>2</sup> of our aune and thai wald send ane of thairis to lauboure in the mater : quhilk we thoct verray gude. Nochtwithstanding we will nocht send oure writingis without youre grace my lord governoure and the lordis being with yow se and consider the said writing of the quhilk we have send the copy presentlie, and to have your help and avis heirinto ; praying youre grace that ye will gife youre help in the mater and sollist all the lordis to that effect for the skaith sustenit be this toune is mervalous greit and as I can persaiff thare is litill hoip of remeid or restitutioun, becaus I spak with this ambassatour of Ingland<sup>3</sup> quhilk schew me ane artikill send fra the counsaill of Ingland berand in effect thir wourdis : The kingis majestie of Ingland can be content, upoun oure gentill and humyle persute, to grant ws restitutioun of oure schippis and gudis, swa we will favoure him and be of his party and mak protest therupoun hes he will devis. Thir wordis I red in the writingis send to this ambassatoure fra the counsaill of Ingland and becaus we can nocht condiscend to sic unresonable desyreis I have na hoip of restitutioun. Forther plesit youre grace that my lord governoure hes writtin to

<sup>1</sup> The breach that led to the repudiation of the English treaties in December was largely due to the seizure of certain Scottish ships in English waters before 16th August 1543. (*H.* xviii. ii. 46 ; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 29-30.)

<sup>2</sup> *nychtboure* : townsman.

<sup>3</sup> Sadler sent a report of this meeting to the Council on 13th October. Henry had written to the Town of Edinburgh on 9th September ; and at the same time the Privy Council wrote to Sadler. (*H.* xviii. ii. 154, 155, 276.)

me to gife na credence to thame that said his lordschip reportit evill sayngis of my lord cardinale anent me, howbeit thai be ma nor thre men of gude that herd the contrare. As to my lord cardynale I beleiff surelie that he wald never fail to me considering my gude mynd to do his lordschip trew service. I am verray sary at my herte to se samony that suld be noble men gevin to mak lesingis. Madame, quhen it plesis youre grace to command me with ony service I salbe reddy therto with all my harte. Praying the virgyne Mary to preserve your grace. Of Edinburgh the xiii day of octobre

Be your gracis humyll servitour

AD OTTERBURN.<sup>1</sup>

## XXIX

### *Glencairn to the Queen Dowager*

Dumbarton, Saturday [September-October, 1543 (?)].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE OF SCOTLAND.

Madame, eftyr recommendation of my humlye service to your grace, I ressavit your gracis writtingis fra Walter Costland<sup>2</sup> your serwand, to gidder with credens for the deliverans of the Francheman Bertonar the quhilk was halding becaus he brocht nocht his schip to the portis of Glasgow and Dumbertan quhar thai war frachtit to, and the us of all strangearis and speciale Bertonnarris ar to cum and to discharge and mak thar traffic of merchandis at the said port ;<sup>3</sup> and becaus your grace requestit I haif

<sup>1</sup> Sir Adam Otterburn of Auldhame and Reidhall, elected Provost of Edinburgh in October 1543, but deposed by the Governor after the English invasion. (*H.* xviii. i. 483.) He was one of the original senators of the College of Justice on the temporal side. This letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably Walter Cousland, an indweller of Stirling. (*R.M.S.*, 1513-46, 2509.)

<sup>3</sup> A reference to the act of James IV. 'that in all tym to cum all Maner of schippis strangearis & utheris cum to his fre burrowis sic as dumbartane . . . & thar mak thar merchiandis.' This statute of 1488 was re-enacted in 1555. (*A.P.* ii. 207, 499.)

deliverit hym to pass frelie to his schip to mak your grace service. Prayand your grace that ye think nocht bot your wyn or ony thing that pertenit to your grace suld be als sur is it war in your castel of Stirueling as this berar your serwand can schaw; and my lord Lennox has certan gentilmen tan quhilk and your grace may haif tham for request. It pleiss your grace labour, and failzeand therof that we may [*sic*] lettres be your grace and your consale upon the haldaris of tham in best sort for justice and ferdwertht I pray almychty God conserve you and youris. At the castel of Dumbertan, this Saturday be

Your gracis humble servitour

ERLL OF GLENCARN.<sup>1</sup>

### XXX

#### *Memorandum [by Methven?]*

Edinburgh [c. October, 1543].

Ye sall undirstand the erll of Angus Cassillis and Maxwell raid this Settirday <sup>2</sup> to Glaskow. I traist Levnox sall nocht cum to Steruillnng. Gif ye can draw him to you it war best, and gif ye can nocht caus him cum to yow, speik wyth the ambassadour <sup>3</sup> and undirstand be tham the will of the king of France. Hald all gud company wyth you. I traist to speik wyth you wythin v dayis and than sall inform you forthar. I am sum part seik <sup>4</sup> or ellis I had cum to you. Writin of Edinbrucht this Settirday. For verate all the mone is in to the castell of Dumbartan <sup>5</sup> and all arttalyery lossit upon land this day.

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps 13th or 20th October.

<sup>3</sup> De la Brosse.

<sup>4</sup> This is inferential proof that the writer was Lord Methven. The handwriting, moreover, and the monitory tone of the communication are characteristic of him.

<sup>5</sup> On 16th October the French money was said to be in Dumbarton.

## XXXI

*Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 16th October [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mademe, efter maist humlie commendations maid to your grace, hes rasavit the last writtingis<sup>1</sup> send be your grace, and therefter thocht this last Monunday to haif bene in Lythqw and one Tuisday in Stryvelyng at your grace; and the gravell hes tane me sa veament that I may nocht travell, bot how sone I may sall nocht fail to be at your grace, God willyng. Novellis ther occuris nane. Quhat your grace will I do, adverteis and it sall be obeyit at poware as knawis God, quha haif your grace ever in his keiping. At Edinburgh, this xvj day of Octobere be

Youre grace at command and service

JAMES ERLE OF MURRAY.<sup>2</sup>

## XXXII

*Communication [by Methven ?]*

c. October [1543].

Gif ye can adres my lord Lennox to your intent and the laif of the lordis apoun this party it is the maist sur way. Gif ye ma nocht adres tham your way, avis and do the best your self and the lordis that is apoun your party to eschew inconvenyent for the present tym and in safar as is for the common weill to assist and do your part. Sen apperandlie it sall nocht failze gif Levynnox cummis nocht to you and usis nocht your counsall bot he has ane

<sup>1</sup> He had probably been summoned to the Queen's councils to take measures on the arrival of the French ambassadors. The Patriarch had reached Stirling on 15th October. (*S.H.R.* xi. 19.)

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

hey purpos as to be princepall and to ws all mone artalyery and utheris thingis that com out of France to his awn particular efecttis; heirfor be vigillent in all maner of lawbouris to you possibill that ma be don wyth your honour and caus the ambassadour of Fraince<sup>1</sup> do his delygens be all gud perswasiounis, and or it failze, to be scharp, resonable in honest wordis, as to remembyr my lord of Levynnox apon the greit luf and traist Scottis men has had and has wyth the kingis of France, thar lawte and service don, quharof in France and all cuntreis remanys the faym therof, and now gif he wilbe the instr[um]ent to tyn all, and memoriall be maid that he suld caus all sic honour luf and gud brut be changit in maist vill and hodious vice, it is an mast hey misfortoun that has ben hard thir mone yeris. Gif all thir thingis can nocht adres my lord Levynnox till remayn at yow and your counsall, than lawbour at him and all lordis beand wyth him that tha do na thingis till Inghland that ma be prejudiciall and hurt to this realm or liberteis therof, and to uphold the stait of haly kirk<sup>2</sup> and the common weill, and to pesife the pepill of this realm and that the quennis auctorite be nocht contemmyt and justice ministrat; advertissing, he and tha doand in that maner, that ye will assist and your partakaris to fortife the sammyn, and thus ye to haif yow sa resonable that tha sall haif na caus nor maner occassioun bot to sarf yow and till think you sa neidfull that tha sall seyke you. And howbeit that thar suld be don or sad thingis contrarious for the present tym, ye to beyr yow als plesandly as ye ma gudlie; and be contenewall lawbouris, as I hop your wisdom can better do nor an hunderatht of men can devis, ye sall bring thingis to gud adres and effect that now apperis nocht to cum. And treit all the lordis beand wyth you, and treit the governour, and tak na displesour bot think to ourset this, and efter

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<sup>1</sup> De la Brosse.

<sup>2</sup> This solicitude for the state of the Church is characteristic of Methven; cf. Letter of 3rd June 1548. The handwriting strengthens the inference that he is the present writer.



to haf all at your dissyr ; and almychty God presarf you.  
Writin this Sondag.

The Inglismen was burnand in est Tevidail and thre  
scor of tham takin presonaris ; an Scotis man slan.<sup>1</sup>

## XXXIII

*James Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Innerpeffry, 1st November [1543 (?)].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, pleis your grace be remembrit I schew your  
grace in Lychquho how I ame prowidynt to the benefice  
of the Cherterhous,<sup>2</sup> and thair is ane monk that departit  
to France<sup>3</sup> in my contrair and is now laillie cumit hame  
agane and brocht with him twa Franche monkis and ane  
Scottis monk to wesye the place and be prowidynt to that  
benefice thame selfis in my contrair, I haveand the un-  
dowtit rycht therto. And I ame informit that tha ar  
cumit to Stirling to labour at your grace in my contrair ;  
beseikand your grace to stand my gud lady and maistres  
in this mater as my lord my brother and I salbe ever rady  
at command to do your grace faithfull and trew service.  
And Jesu have your grace eternally in keipin. At Inner-  
peffre, the fyrst day of November

† be yowr graceis hwmill oratwour and serwand

JAMES GORDOWN.<sup>4</sup> †

<sup>1</sup> There were frequent raids about October 1543. On 7th October, 'Row-castell within a mile of Jedworth' was burned. (*H.* xviii. ii. 263.)

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Mary to Paul III. on behalf of James Gordon, 'nobilis adolescens clericatus' rector of Crieff, to be prior of the Charterhouse at Perth. Dated 20th April 1543. (*Royal Letters*, Register House; *Elphinstone MS.*, 55.) (On the ground that he had 'purchest private writtingis of my lord governour' the Lords of Council decreed that they were invalid. (*Acts and Decrees*, 21st June 1543; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 114.)

<sup>3</sup> 'A prior of Chartreux of Scotland' was at Antwerp in August 1543. (*H.* xviii. ii. 97.)

<sup>4</sup> James Gordon, youngest brother of the Earl of Huntly.

† † Holograph.

## XXXIV

*Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Dingwall, 2nd November [1543].

TO THE QUEENIS GRACE.

Mademe, efter commendatione of servic maid to your grace, hes writt[en] to your grace of before syndry tymes schawand quhat poynt I am at, for the quhilk caus mycht nocht be at your grace . . . becaus of my infyrmete and is now nere the poynt to be in the will of God and handis of the surgeane, therefor nessesere to send ane servand to your grace of advertisement and to haif your grace mynd and command towart the service I may do heyr, the quhilk I will never be slowthfull to fulfill gif God fortonis me to be relewit at this tyme, and in the meyne sall tak quhat pyne I may indure to keip the cuntreth at rest<sup>1</sup> nocht withstanding [the ?] cuntre men is uncertane of pourpois and strange be . . . of the fredome of the Lord of Ilis<sup>2</sup> quha bostis . . . cuntre by ony uther as said is, therfor wald your grace command sum way in haist for part of monesyone to the hous of Dyngwel that it may be the better keipit fore it is the key of the cuntreth, and will God I sall do the best to my part to mak the cuntreth men [?] rede to defend aganis one invadouris of the same. All uther materis at lenth the berare will schaw your grace quhomto ye will pleis gif credens, and eternal God

<sup>1</sup> Moray was created Lieutenant in the North in 1530-1 (*A.D.C.S.*); Justice-General within his Lieutenandry in 1526, and Justiciar in 1539. (*A.P.* ii. 315, 353.)

<sup>2</sup> Donald Dubh, Lord of the Isles, escaped from Edinburgh Castle in 1543. He was the son of Angus of the Isles by a daughter of the first Earl of Argyle 'and was kept in close confinement by the family of Argyle almost all his life.' (*Clan Donald*, i. 363; *S.P.* v. 47.) His grandfather, Donald, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, had surrendered the Lordship in 1494. Accounts are contradictory concerning the parentage, legitimacy, and many biographical details in the career of Donald Dubh. (See *S.P.* i. 335; v. 47; Gregory, *History of Western Isles.*)

haif your grace in his eternall keiping. At Dynguel this second day of Novembere be

Your grace at command and ser[vice]  
 JAMES ERLE OF MUR[RAY].<sup>1</sup>

## XXXV

*Memorandum by Glencairn*

[c. November, 1543.]

Thir ar the thingis to be said [to my lord] of Lenax.

Item, in the first schaw to his lordschip quhar at he has desirit me to conteneue the court <sup>2</sup> for the weill of his materis and at my lord of Argile writt to Robert Boid to do siclik, ther is na continewatione of court nor na uther thing that I may do to bring his lordschip to honour and weill bot I will do the samyn, prayand his lordschip at sene at I skaill my folkis and frendis at the quenis grace requiest and his lordschip at ther cum na convocatioun upone me to disaw my contre under traist.<sup>3</sup>

Secundlie, to schaw to his lordschip at quahr at he desiris to wit quhow we will haif ws towert this, hes lordschip sall mak it sein platly : first, we leif guid cristin men towart God ; secundlie, gud and trew servandis to our soverane lade and princes and hir realme ; thridlie, nevir nevir to brek the auld anseant amete and alliance quhilk hes bene sa lang kept betuix the realme of France and this realme bot to interteine evir the samyn efter our utirmest powir. Howbeit we ar namet and haldin as uther men, God willing, the contrar therof salbe verite.

Thridlie, ye sall schaw to my lord at he man [mak ?] informatioun to the quenis grace and the laif of the lordis

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph. The right-hand margin of the page is destroyed.

<sup>2</sup> This probably refers to a Court of Regality. The Cunninghams continued to hold Bailiary Courts until the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in 1748.

<sup>3</sup> The sense seems to be that the writer prays that, seeing that he has disbanded his followers [sene at I skaill my folkis], pressure shall not be put upon him to disown [disaw] his country. He had apparently observed the proclamation to skaill the foot-band.

quhow haiffle we ar done to be the governour and hes prive consele in thir caces as efter fallowis: that is to say that he has gart tak twa nobill men of the realme<sup>1</sup> imputand to thame ane crime of tresoun quhilk we suld be particepantis therof, for sending of my lord Somervale to Ingland with ane letter of credett subserivit with certane of our handis. My lord sall understand cleirlye and souerlye that my lord Somervales sending to Ingland was nocht to lane for he was commandit to schaw the governour hes passage, for his principale ganging was to ber ane respons of the king of Ingland writtingis send to ws quhilk writtingis the quenis grace and lordis sall se and consider gif ony ewill mycht cum of the ansering of the said writting consernyng the pointts of [the poynttis of] the samyn.<sup>2</sup> Alsua the said governour has faltit to ws in the cuming and taking of the hous of Dalkeith unordourlye without ony ordour nane beand therin at evir faltit to him, bot ane agit lord of the realme and ane young man soun to Georg of Dowglas our counsing quhilk nevir had offendit to na body leiffand, and sene at the governour has done this without ony autorite and had na power by his office to do the samyn.<sup>3</sup>

Becauss it is notablie knawin at the convensioun at Wincheburgh quhar at ther comperit for my lord governour my lord of Cassillis my lord Maxwell my lord Sanctjohnne and I<sup>4</sup> havand his commissioun to trett conclude and end certane grett materis of the realme with my lordis Orkney Montros Arskin and sir Johnne Campbelle of Calder commissioneris for the lords beand in Linlythquhow; in to the quhilk trette amangis divers

<sup>1</sup> Maxwell and Somerville.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Governor, Somerville's correspondence contained high treason. (*H.* xviii. ii. 364.)

<sup>3</sup> The Governor captured Dalkeith about 7th November. (*H.* xviii. ii. 350.) James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, was Arran's father-in-law, but the place of Dalkeith was being held in the Angus interest by Sir George's second son, James Douglas, who on his marriage with the third daughter of the Earl, had been recognised as Master of Morton by a family agreement.

<sup>4</sup> The fourth commissioner was Glencairn, whose identity is thus revealed as the writer of this letter. (*H.* xviii. i. 951.)

utheris grett materis it was concludit ther suld be ane counsale chosin of noble men of the realme, the quhilk counsale my lord governour was ordinit to be boundin to bid at, and that na grett materis nothir within the realme na without the realm that suld pas bot be handlit ordanit and devisit be the said counsale; thereftir at the said governour cuming to Striveling to yow appreivit and ratifiit the samyn and convenit and satt on divers grett materis concirnyng the realme eftir the said counsale was chosin and nameit. And therfor sene the governour has done ther thingis by the said counsale and nothir actis nor charges gevin first be thame for warrandice of the samyn bot alanerlie the abbot of Paslay commanding ther to be done [ther to be done] therfor at your lordschip speik to the lordis to have e to thir grett and weichty materis, for and this be nocht providit and lawborit or the parliament<sup>1</sup> it will mak impassemant bayth for the commoun weill of this realme and for the afferis of Franche, praying your lordschip to speik to the quenis grace therfor and the remanent of the lordis to writ to the governour [send his advocat to accus ws in the scharpest maner he can]<sup>2</sup> that thir gentillmen that is tane may be lattin to souerte apon liffis and heretage to entir thame at ane day befor your lordschip at is notrale and the quenis,<sup>3</sup> we and thai bayth to cum in quhat place ye will name quhar we may souerle cum and quhat day your lordschip plessis to assign ws, and ther to admit yow juge in all thai lordis actiounis and ouris at may be imput to ws, and lat the governour send his advocat to accus ws in the scharpast maner he can of all thing sa that we be fundin culpable at we may be maid knawin befor all the realme and to be haldin sic men, and summondis tobe gevin on ws

<sup>1</sup> Parliament met on 3rd December.

<sup>2</sup> The words here bracketed have been struck out in the original. The frequent repetitions and erasures afford evidence of haste and perturbation. The communication was probably a draft.

<sup>3</sup> The request seems to be that the prisoners should be released on bail until the day fixed for their trial 'before your lordschip' who is neutral and in the Queen's interest.

agane the parliament in the scha[r]pest maner conforme to our demeritis; and gif we be funding innocent that we ma be restorit to our fame; and ewill brwtt at is causit be evill avisit personis to gang upone ws may be stanchit and thane that we may concur with yow at the parliament for the grett affect baith within the realme and without.

Item, we pray your lordschip to speik to the lordis that this mater for the commoun weill of the realme may be haistle sped and to advertteis ther upoun bayth day and place quhar ye think best at we sall convene befor your lordschip and gif the governour will nocht tak this souerte for my lord Maxwell and lord Somervale and for my lord Dalkeith and hous and personis being therin, allegeand that we ar under the samyn crime, we sall find uther barrounis of the realme quhilk na crime ar imput to, prayand your lordschip at for the commoun weill of the realme and to try ws quhat men we ar, at your lordschip wald convene to quham we admitt to try our caus quhas names ar underwrittin that is to say the quenis grace gif it ples hir grace to tak that pyn on hir, the bischop of Glesgow Arbirdene Downblane and abbot of Cowper, the erlis and temperale lordis Huntlie, gif he may be heisstele gottin, the erle of Argile, Lenax, Murray, Merschell, Rothos,<sup>1</sup> Montros, lordis Flemyng, Erskin, Lyndsay, Levinston and lord Sanctjohnne.

Item, gif he will nocht lat thame on souerte at the quenis grace may haif thame in keping on to the day at thai salbe triit quhilk is of your convensioun. Gif it be nocht sa done ther salbe finding grett truble following the samyn.

[*Endorsed* : Articles pour le conte de Lenex.]

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<sup>1</sup> As Rothos was apprehended between 13th and 25th November, this communication must have been written before the latter date or, more improbably, after his liberation in December. The prelates are Archbishop Gavin Dunbar, Bishops William Stewart and William Chisholm, and Abbot Donald Campbell.

## XXXVI

*Catherine Bellenden (Wife of Oliver Sinclair) to the  
Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 23rd November [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter maist humill commendationis of my puir service to your hienes I am adverteist that your grace belevis that my husband and I ar awand greit soumes of money to your grace for Orknay and Zetland<sup>1</sup> and will nocht pay your grace, and to that effect maister Thomas Makcalzen<sup>2</sup> your graces man of law hes arreistit our schip and guddis and haldin the samyn this moneth bygane, quhairthrow we haif tynt the mercat that we suld haif maid money of our penny worthis to our greit skaith and dammage be ressoun that I mycht nocht cum to get souerte to lows the said arreistment becaus I haif bein under greit seiknes and wthir trublis this lang tyme bygane; the quhilk I traist and your grace had bein weill informyt your grace wald nocht haif gart trubill our geir in the maner as it was. Madame, your grace sall wnderstand we haif nocht tane wp ane penny of Orknay nor Zetland nor will nocht get quhill efter this nixt Belten<sup>3</sup> and we are informyt your grace hes set the saidis landis to my lord of Huntlie<sup>4</sup> the quhilk purposis to be thair or than, and to tak wp the saidis frutis gif sabeis we suld pay na thing; thairfor, will your grace be sa gracious to ws as to ratife our fyve yeris tak quhilk our maister quhom God assoilze set to ws,<sup>5</sup> we sall mak

<sup>1</sup> The lordship of Orkney and Shetland was comprised in the Queen's terce.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thomas MacCalzean of Cliftonhall.

<sup>3</sup> Beltane, 1st May.

<sup>4</sup> Huntly's lease began at Lammas, 1st August. (*State Papers*, MS., 41 (A).) This grant was probably in return for services rendered. Cf. No. VI.

<sup>5</sup> 31st August 1542. (*A.P.* ii. 432.) The Queen complained that Sinclair was withholding her castle of Kirkwall, and her dower portion. The account of Orkney and Shetland was rendered in the name of Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn in the Exchequer audit of August 1543. (*E.R.* xviii. 3.)

your grace thankfull payment at your grace plesour as I wrait to your grace of befoir, for we think greit lak to gang fra our native rowmes quhilk my husband and his surname hes brukit thir thre or four hundreth yeris,<sup>1</sup> considering that we ar in will to mak als gude payment to your grace as ony that can dissyre it. Beseikand your grace to schaw this gentill man, the berar of this bill, quhat your grace intendis to do to ws and quhat we sall lyppin to; and Eternall God keep your grace and your graces successioun in all hail and weifair. Writtin at Edinburgh the xxiiij day of November be

Your gracis humill servatris

KATHERINE BELLENDEN.<sup>2</sup>

### XXXVII

*Sir Adam Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 26th November [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter maist lawlie commendatioun of hartly service, plesit your grace to be advertist that the erle of Angus send to ane gentil man of this toune to knaw my mynd gif I wald suffir him to cum heir accompanyt with his frendis to the noumer of thre thousand hors quhilk I refusit<sup>3</sup> and wrait that he behufit till haif patience for divers causs. George Douglas hes bene in Beruik all

<sup>1</sup> The St. Clairs were Earls of Orkney from 1379 to 1470.

<sup>2</sup> Daughter of Patrick Bellenden, ancestor of the Lords of Broughton. Sir Oliver Sinclair was her third husband. She married first, Adam Hopper, and secondly, Francis Bothwell, each of whom had been Provost of Edinburgh. The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> About 18th November, on which day Angus wrote to Sadler that 'I am stopped of my purpose in coming to Edinburgh.' (*H.* xviii. ii. 400.) It was apparently his intention to dominate Edinburgh with a view to the approaching parliament. On 18th November, at any rate, Sadler had information 'that the Governor and Cardinal, probably finding their intended exploit upon the Northland lords not so facile as they supposed, have gone to Stirling and will come shortly to Edinburgh, to keep their parliament, if not impeached by Angus's party.' (*Ibid.* 399.)



this last oulk doand as I suppone lital gud.<sup>1</sup> The erle Bothuel com to this toune of Friday<sup>2</sup> with sextene or twenty hors and we are chargit to concur with him in halding furth of convocationes houbeit he is nocht accompanyt in that sort, quhilk wes nocht weil regardit. We had befor our toune to keip, and now we haif nocht anerly the toune bot ane noble barroun and young gentil man to keip fra his inymeis. I wil nocht infest your grace in this mater forthir at this tyme bot with the grace of God sall do the best I can to the plesour of God the service of our soverane your dochter and of your grace. I think it veray strange that the erle of Angus and that sort suld mak ane greit convocatioun without your grace my lord governour and cardinale knaw the samin and war in als grete reddyne as thai; assuring your grace that ther cuntre folk ar strikand men and nocht like the folkis that my lord governour mett last with, tharfor the gretar cur wald be takin in all behalfis. Madame I thoct I wald advertteis your grace of sic thingis as occurris heir being sur that I am and salbe your graces faythful servand ay reddy at command, prayand God to preserve your grace. Of Edinburgh this Mononday the xxvj day of November

Be your graces rycht humyll servitour

AD. OTTIRBURN.<sup>3</sup>

### XXXVIII

*William Cunningham of Glengarnock to the Queen Dowager*

After 25th November [1543].

TO BE GAWEN THE QWENYS GRAYS.

TO THE QWENYS GRAYS.

Madam, I commend mj serves to yowr grays. Pleset yowr grays me lord of Glencaryn com to hes plays in the

<sup>1</sup> He was in communication with England and in receipt of English money. On the 25th he proffered his service to Henry. (*H.* xviii. ii. 407-8, 417, 424.)

<sup>2</sup> 23rd November. He had been sent by the Governor and Cardinal 'to keep the town until the Parliament.' (*Ibid.* 425.)

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

Lenayx<sup>1</sup> thes last Sunday and to hef met with me lord Ersken<sup>2</sup> as I schow yowr grays; and in the men taym com word to hem the erl of Rothas and the lord Gray was tan be the govornor<sup>3</sup> and he is reden abak to Glesgow and thar metes with the erl of Lenayx and met with hem as he cam trow Dombartan. I trast yowr grays hes hard fow [how?] the Frans man had brocht an gret part of the gold foret of the castal of Dombartan to the town and the erl of Lenayx gat spayal<sup>4</sup> thar on and tan et agan. I hef me lord of Glencarnes maynd to schaw yowr grays with the lawes mandes<sup>5</sup> as he schew me. Madam pardon me the heland men es gaderet to hare mi land an of ther twa nettes and I watan<sup>6</sup> tharon. I sal be at yowr g[r]ays on Tayesday, wel God, qwa hef yowr grays in kepen.

Be yowr grays sarwand of

GLENGARNOK.<sup>7</sup>

### XXXIX

#### *Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 5th November (*sic*) [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mademe, efter commendations of service maid to your grace, hes now laittlie rasavit wittingis fra my wyf makand

<sup>1</sup> The movements of Glencairn at this time were a mystery to Sir Ralph Sadler, who 'cannot tell what purpose Angus, Cassells, Glencarne and Sir George Douglas have, but they sit still and do nothing' after the apprehension of Rothes and Gray.

<sup>2</sup> John, fifth Lord Erskine, keeper of Stirling Castle, and one of the guardians of the Queen.

<sup>3</sup> George Leslie, fourth Earl of Rothes, and Patrick, Lord Gray, were two of the Protestant lords apprehended by the Governor and Cardinal between 16th and 25th November. (*H.* xviii. ii. 425, 428.)

<sup>4</sup> *spayal*: (?) information: probably from the same root as 'espyal.'

<sup>5</sup> *mandes*: (?) demands.

<sup>6</sup> A Highland force has gathered to harry his lands one of these two nights, and he is waiting to resist their raid.

<sup>7</sup> William Cunningham of Glengarnock, in Cunningham. He entered into a bond of manrent to the Dowager in September 1543. (*Inventory of State Papers*, Register House.)

The letter is holograph.

mentione that youre grace suld be discontentit with me becaus of the speking with Georg Dowglas quhartrow ther is ane murmure of me in your gracis cumpanye ; marveland gretlie therof that ony thing suld be suspek of me bot gud consyderand your grace hes knawin ever my mynd towart the weill of this realme and to the service of your grace and the prynces ; and now sa haistely for spekin with ane gentill man quhilk desyrit sa oft spekin with me suld be haldin inconstant and suspek. Your grace sall beleif surlie quha that ever hes said or thoch ony ewill in that behalf or ony uther thay sall nocht be fund sa trew nor constant as I haif bene and sall be for the weill of this reallme and lyberte and to do your grace service sa lang as ye will ples except the same. At mayre lenth hes send this berar to schaw your grace quhomto ye will ples gif credens. In all sortis your grace will command me sall fynd I sall be rade to fulfill the same with help of God quham haif your grace ever in keiping. At Edinburgh this v day of Novembre <sup>1</sup> be

Your grace at command and service

JAMES ERLE OF MURRAY.

[*Endorsed* : M. le cownte de Murray.]

## XL

### *Maxwell to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh Castle [December 1543].

Madame, plesit your grace to be remembrit how I am heir haldin in ward in the castell of Edinburcht at command of my lord governour <sup>2</sup> and hes remanyt heir this lang

<sup>1</sup> The date of writing was possibly 5th December, for on 12th of that month Sadler reported that Argyle and Moray had 'partly promised to join' the English faction, 'they being with others offended at the Governor and Cardinal detaining the barons lately taken without trial.' (*H.* xviii. ii. 483.) See also No. XXXIV.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Maxwell and Somerville were committed to ward in Edinburgh Castle on 1st November, on the charge of treasonable intercourse with England, although

tyme for quhat caus I knaw nocht, and now, Madame, the tyme of parliament is now present, and gif I have committit ony faltis I am content glaidly to underly the sensament therof and gif I be culpable to [be] punissit, and utheris wayis gif I be innocent. I beseik your grace for the service that I haif done to yow and sall do at my power all my lif, that your grace will speik to my lord governour and lordis of oure soverane ladyis counsale that I may be putt to fredome and restorit to my fame and to that effect I haif gevin in ane byll at mair lenth to my lord governour and lordis of counsale, praying your grace to caus reid the samyn with ane deliverance ther-upoun according to resoun, for I think werray hevvy to be abstractit fra making of gude service to our soverane lady your dochter and hir realme and specialie at sik tymes as this. And almychti God to keip your grace eternaly.

Be your graces maist laulie servand

MAXWELL.<sup>1</sup>

## XLI

### *Maxwell to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 25th December [1543].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mademe, eftir humill commendatioun of my maist lawly service thankand your grace of the laubouris it plesit your grace to tak for me your servand for my releif out of this ward and presone I am in quhen your grace was last in this toun of Edinburgh,<sup>2</sup> and with the grace of God your grace sall nocht laubour for me for na shamefull caus. How beit it hais plesit my lord governour be wrang informatioun to put me in captivite as knawis

it was suspected that Maxwell 'was taken by his own consent.' The Abbot of Paisley was largely instrumental in compassing their arrest. (*H.* xviii. ii. 328, 343.)

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> For parliament, at the beginning of December. The Queen Dowager and the Governor spent Christmas at Stirling. (*T.A.* viii. 242.)

your grace, I wald besik your grace as I haif done afore that ye will stand my maist gracious lady in the helpin of me to my releif that I may serf the quenis grace our soverane lady your grace and hir realm quham I haif servit trewly and evir sall do induring my lif: and forthir I pray God conserf your grace eternaly. At Edinburght this yuill day at ewin

Be your gracis maist lawly servand

MAXWELL.<sup>1</sup>

## XLII

*James Stewart of Cardonald to the Queen Dowager*

Aberdeen, 28th December [1543].

[The writer is at Aberdeen with his uncle, the bishop, who is still unwell. He sends the bearer with professions of his services, at the Queen's power to command.]

A LA REIGNE.

Ma dame, je suis en ce lieu de Abbardein avec mon oncle <sup>2</sup> le quel nest pas encore bien guerre. Il ma charge de presanter ses treshumbles commendations et prieres a vostre bonne grace.

Ma dame, je vous envoye ce present porteur expressement pour seavoir sil i a quelque service quil vous pleit me commander, la quelle ne fauldra a obbayer, Dieu ciddant que sera la fin.

Ma dame, je prie a nostre Seingneur quil vous donne en sainte tresbonne et longue vie. De Abbardein, le xxviiij jour de december.

Vostre treshumble et tresobbaysant sarviteur

JAMES STAVARTH.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph. The letter is in the hand of a different scribe from that of the previous communication.

<sup>2</sup> William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen, a son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Minto: died April 1545. (*Bishops of Scot.*)

<sup>3</sup> The identity of the writer can be proved by the characteristic signature, which is the same as that of the letter dated at Greenock on 4th October. Bishop Stewart was in Aberdeen on 1st September 1543, and on 14th May following, but fled to a retreat of greater safety during the English invasion of 1544. (*Reg. Aber.* i. lvii.)

## XLIII

*Maxwell to the Queen Dowager*

Callander, 1st January [1543-4].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

[The writer, from his captivity, again solicits the intervention of the Queen on his behalf, more particularly as he is informed that she 'hais service ado'] quharfore I wald beseik your grace . . . that it wald pleis your grace to mak my lord governour and the laif of the lordis nou being with your grace to that effect [*i.e.* to restore him to liberty] and geif thai tak ony suspicioun of me that I will nocht be the man to serf our soverane lady hir realm and yow als trewly as sall ony u[ther] gentilman of Scotland, I pray your grace to be sa gu[d and] gracious lady to me that ye will tak it apou yow that I sall be the samyn man and I promis yow be my fayth geif it cumis to ony punct of scharpnes your grace sall fynd me the samyn: and gef thai wald postpone this tyme and nocht put me to my liberty to the intent foresaid I will nocht desyre your grace to laubour mair eftirvart be me, bot thankis your grace humely of it that ye haif done and sall byde till God send me bettir fortoun; and Jhesu to preserf your grace evermair. In the castell of Calendar this new yeir day

Be your graxis maist lawly servand

MAXWELL.<sup>1</sup>

## XLIV

*Otterburn to the Earl of Bothwell*

Reidhall, Friday [4th January 1543-4 ?].

TO MY LORD ERL BOTHUELL.

My lord, eftir maist hartlie recommendatioun of my service, plesit your lordschip to remember of our common-

<sup>1</sup> Maxwell's supplication was not in vain. According to his own representation, he was released from his imprisonment 'by the Queen, without condition.' (*H.* xx. i. 626 (3).)

The writing is in the same hand as his last letter, and is signed by Maxwell,

yng betuix Corstorphin and Edinburgh and that I wes  
 determit to do you service and follo your consaill. I  
 assur your lordschip quhen it come to the poynt I mycht  
 nocht fynd iii<sup>xx</sup> personis to debait the mater. The thing  
 I did wes for gude quhowbeit I be murmurit saikleslie.<sup>1</sup>  
 It was far ware done to gyf our the towre of the abbay  
 and leif it afore or I maid me to ony appoyntment.<sup>2</sup> My  
 lord the men of gude and dekynniss send honest men to  
 me desyrand me to cum to the town and tak the cure on  
 me, and therupon I past to the town this Thursday and  
 spak with thaim all quhem I fand weill myndit and to  
 serve me in that cure abone ony man ; nochtwythstandyng  
 I have gevin gude wordis and deferrit the mater quhill  
 I have your lordschip consall and help accordyng to the  
 promis maid betuix ws. Your lordschip knaws quhow  
 my lord governour hes done to me and therefore I dreid  
 he be my wnfreind. I beseik your lordschip to declair  
 my part as I heir ye have done lyke ane nobill and trew  
 lord and schaw my part to the qwenis grace and, will  
 God, your lordschip gyff ewir I may do ony steid sall fynd  
 me ane trew servand ; and to send me answeir and your  
 awys the sonest ye may. This mornyng George Dowglas  
 is ryddyng by my place, quether to Strevelyng or to  
 speik with the governour I can nocht weill say,<sup>3</sup> bott the

<sup>1</sup> *murmurit saikleslie*: complained against, though innocent.

<sup>2</sup> This apparently refers to some capitulation during the troubles at the beginning of January, when the opposition lords were in arms at Leith. The lack of other records makes this letter somewhat unintelligible. According to the *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 30), however, 'George Dowglas came fra Berwick, with v<sup>o</sup> of Merss men to the governour, and come that nycht to Mussilburgh. And thair the erle of Bothwill with the toun of Edinburgh chest the said men out of Myssilburgh.' The date is given as January, but is not further specified. It may be noted that Bothwell, who had been holding Edinburgh in the Government interest in December, does not appear in the negotiations that led to the Agreement of Greenside on 13th January.

For 'towre of the abbay,' see *Facsimile of a View of Edinburgh in 1544*. (Grant, *Old and New Edinburgh*, i. 5.)

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Douglas was at Stirling before 10th January. (*H.* xix. i. 33.) The *Diurnal* states that he fled from Musselburgh to the Governor at Stirling. According to this letter, however, Arran had by that time departed from Stirling. Reidhall is near Colinton, in Midlothian,

gouvernour desyrit George to cum and speik with him  
wyth mony gude wordis as is writtin to me. God conserff  
your lordschip. Of the Reidhall this Friday

Be your lordschip servitour

AD OTTERBURN.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Adam Hotberne.]

## XLV

*Lord Drummond to the Queen Dowager*

Drumann, 4th January [1543-4?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, I commend my service to your grace in my  
hertliast [maner, plesit your?] grace be remembrit I  
have done your douchter the quenis grace and yow g[ud  
service?] sene the first besines begane of your transporting  
furth of Linlitho. . . . Madame, I am chargeit agane to  
be in Striviling with my frendis houbeit I am bot ane  
young man <sup>2</sup> and mony of my lands liand in wedset and  
als my fr[endis will] nocht pas with me bot gif I mak  
thair expenss. As for myself I sall [? be aye] weill willit  
to mak the quenis grace and yow service and to that  
effect [have?] send this berar with my mynd to your grace  
at mair lenth quhomto pleis give credence; and God  
conserve your grace eternally. At Drumann the fert day  
of Januar

Be your grace servitour

DAVID LARD DRUMUND.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> His age is uncertain. David, second Lord Drummond, was served heir to his great-grandfather on 17th February 1520, and was married before 5th March 1535-6. (*S.P.* vii. 45.)

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

The top right-hand corner of the sheet is torn away.



## XLVI

*A Despatch of Monday [14th January 1543-4].*

I wrait this Monunday to you the verate that all was to be finelly apoyntit and the maist part of the folkis beand wyth my lord Levynnox departit except the men of gud and part of gentilmen, and at Georg Dowglas was departit. All the poyntis forsad was of verite except the departing of Georg Dowglas, bot at the writing of my sad first byll sic word com of his departing quhilk was nocht of verate; Georg is remanyt still. Ye ples understand this sad Monunday at efter noun rad out of this toun to the Capell of Greynsyd my lord cardynell erllis of Argaill Murray Biscop of Orkynnay lord of Sanct Jhonis sir Jhon Campbell of Calder knycht;<sup>1</sup> meyt tham erllis of Lennox Angus Glencarn Cassillis and Georg Dowglas and commonyt lang. At v houris at evyn com all to Edinbrugh in this maner: fyrst my lord of Argayll and his folkis convoyit in my lord of Angus and Glencarn,<sup>2</sup> next efter my lord of Murry the erll of Cassills and shereyf of Ayr, last my lord cardynall and the erll of Levynnox. Lychtit all at my lord governouris lugeng and hartle resavit be hym. Georg Dowglas com last. This I saw my self. I thocht gud advertice yow as I belef the first. I assouer yow my lord Argaill has don the quen greyt service at this tym quhilkis is lang to wryt. I trast to God all sall cum to your intent and common well of this realm. Writin hostile betuix ther entres in the

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<sup>1</sup> With the addition of the Cardinal, these were the commissioners appointed by the Government finally 'to compose all disputes' with the English lords at the Chapel of Greenside on 13th January. According to the appointment, all the lords bound themselves to be true to the Queen and to assist the Governor in the defence of the realm and of Haly Kirk. Angus, Lennox, Cassillis, Glencarn, and their confederates were to be received into favour: the 'pretended summons of treason' against George Douglas to be discharged. (*H.* xix. i. 24.)

<sup>2</sup> *and Glencarn*: these words are inserted in the margin.

town and ther lychting of thar hors this Monunday<sup>1</sup>  
at v houris.

## XLVII

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 16th January [1543-4].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Plesit your grace to be advertist that I haif been sa occupyt nicht and day that I had na lasor to write to your grace quhar for I desir hartlie to be excusit. The besinis ar swa procedit that your grace and we all hes mater to thank God and ascribe na thing to our doyngis bot to Him that governis all to his plesour. George Douglas at the writing of this bil is enterit in the castel of Edinburgh<sup>2</sup> and the uther plegis to be enterit as is devisit with hartlie obedience, and dout nocht bot all is weil and suirly done to your plesour. This uther sort has but fail tynt England quhilk is grete rejosing. My lord governour and the lordis heir wilbe at your grace incontinent and mak the finale resolutioun and ordour with your graces avys and consale and lois na thing bot at your plesour. The lard of Cefurd<sup>3</sup> hes unvorthely takin ane hous of my lord Bothuellis in Tyvedale callit Ancrum quhilk hous nocht beand haistely deliverit my lord governour with all his cumpany wil pas to the recoverance therof. Madame, gif I haif servit [truly?] the deid schawis; praying your grace to hald me that man that wil by na vyis mak lesingis nor mak hiech promisis bot, will God,

<sup>1</sup> Apparently 14th January. On the ground of the characteristic handwriting this despatch may be assigned to Lord Methven. It was probably sent to an absent lord of the Queen's party: perhaps to Bothwell or to Lord Erskine at Stirling.

<sup>2</sup> In terms of the Agreement of Greenside, Douglas was warded for the loyalty of Angus; and for his own loyalty his son James, Master of Morton, had to enter as hostage. As to the sincerity of Sir George's 'obedience,' he notified Suffolk that his party had acted in self-preservation and were still minded to serve the King of England. (*H.* xix. i. 30, 33.)

<sup>3</sup> Walter Kerr.

my deid salbe ay abone my sayings and salbe reddy to  
 serve your grace at all tymes as ye sal ever mair know  
 be deid. And God almychty preserve your grace. Of  
 Edinburgh this xvj day of Januar

Be your gracis humell servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>1</sup>

### XLVIII

*John Ross of Craigie to the Queen Dowager*

Malar, 15th February [1543-4].

TO MY SPECIALE MAISTERES THE QUENYS GRACE.

Madame, pleis your grace to be remembrit at my beyng  
 in Strivilyng effor Ywill I schew your grace effor my lord  
 Bodwell without I servit in court I wald be scharply put  
 at be the auctorite quhilk I haif fund<sup>2</sup> now and is abill  
 to contynew, heirfor I pray your grace to help me at this  
 tyme sen I haif wakit on your grace service as my speciale  
 maisteres at your grace command sein my maister the  
 kyngis grace decess, quhom God assoilze, but gair<sup>3</sup> of  
 ony man or woman as this barer will schaw, quhom to  
 pleis your grace gif credence as to my selff quhay sall  
 contynew in your grace service as knowis God quhom  
 haif your grace in kepeyn. Of Malar<sup>4</sup> the xv day of  
 Februare

Be your grace servand

JHONE ROS OFF CRAGY.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably a reference to the events at Perth during the visit of the Governor and Cardinal in January 1543-4. Ross of Craigie, keeper of the Spey Tower, the chief fortalice of the town, was one of the officials who fell under the displeasure of these inspectors. On 25th January, when Provost John Charteris was extruded from office, Craigie on his part had to deliver up the keys of the Spey Tower. (R. S. Fittis, *Ecclesiastical Annals of Perth*, 59.)

<sup>3</sup> *but gair*: without gear.

<sup>4</sup> The barony of Craigie-Malar is near Perth.

<sup>5</sup> John Ross of Craigie, in Perthshire, had been 'familiaris servitor ac supremus hostiariorum regis' (*R.M.S.*, 1513-46, 2019), and was in attendance on the Queen in September 1543 and in November 1544. He was a Solway prisoner and had been in English pay, but signed Beaton's bond in July 1543. He figures largely in the disturbances at Perth during this period.

The letter is apparently holograph.

## XLIX

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 27th February [1543-4?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, plesit your grace to be advertist I have maryit ane dochter laitlie and as youre grace knawis sik materis requiris coist and expensis quhairfoir I wald desyre youre gracis supporte in that mater gif ye may gudelic; and gif your grace be nocht disposit at this tyme I will ever mair stand content to abide youre pleser. Ferthir I dout nocht bot Sir Johnne Campbell of Calder<sup>1</sup> hes schewin youre grace quhat comunicatioun was betuix my lord cardinale and me at his departyng out of this toun.<sup>2</sup> Nochtwithstanding I have had writtin fra his lordeschip sen his departyng in cotures and gentill maner.

[With commendations of service] Of Edinburgh the xxvij day of Februar

Be your gracis humyll servitur

ADAM OTTERBURN.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On 19th January the Governor wrote for a passport for Orkney, St. John, Calder, and Otterburn to repair to Henry VIII. to make a representation of affairs. (*H.* xix. i. 44.)

<sup>2</sup> Beaton left Edinburgh between 19th and 27th January.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

## Nos. L-XCIII: INTRODUCTORY

A CERTAIN unity of theme is given to the Correspondence in this section by the attempt of the Dowager to oust Arran from the governorship in favour of herself—a scheme which is seen to proceed as a natural sequence from the events of the preceding months. Thus it is significant that the first two letters are from Lord Gray, another of the Governor's victims, and from Lennox, who was in open insurrection at the time of writing. If the Correspondence here hints that Mary sought to recruit her party from the ranks of the disaffected, it also shows that she counted on aid from France and on the embarrassments of the Governor. Although it is doubtful if Mr. John Campbell, who wrote from Dieppe in March, was a member of the Queen's household, yet it is plain from his lament that he put the Dowager's service before that of Lennox. [No. LII.] When she made overtures to Angus in that same month of March, she had letters to prove that French support was at her back. [No. LIV.] Arran, on the other hand, was then preoccupied with the sedition of the English lords.

It is significant that Glengarnock, while hinting at the trouble brewing for the Governor in April, at the same time assured the Dowager that he and his friends would serve her truly. [No. LV.] Here, again, she was skilful in the choice of her agents: family feuds secured her the support of Glengarnock, who was useful at least as a spy upon his neighbours. In the same way it was no doubt profitable to conciliate the Provost of Edinburgh, who was out of favour with the Governor. [No. LVIII.] If

this advantage could have been maintained, the projected *coup d'état* might have had greater success. Otterburn was deposed: Arran secured Edinburgh, and Douglas's letters in October show that the possession of this central position was one of his greatest assets.

Although there is no direct reference to Hertford's actual invasion in May, the Correspondence proves that a crisis was precipitated by that catastrophe. It was clearly understood in the Councils of Europe that Scotland was to be the cockpit in the struggle between Henry and Francis at this juncture; but the Scottish Government was caught at unawares, while if Mary of Lorraine had looked for immediate supplies the English invasion cut the ground from under her feet. It is significant, however, that five French ships arrived at St. Andrews about the middle of May, and that on the 16th Alexander Gordon informed the Queen through a French scribe that he had published proclamations for the Dowager in Dundee and Perth. [No. LXIV.] These towns were hotbeds of heresy and unrest: and aggrieved lords formed the nucleus of Gordon's party.

Of more practical importance than the French succours at this time was the Dowager's ability thus to turn the discredit of the Government to her particular advantage. Cessford's letter of 25th May seems to suggest that she had tried to rally 'the lordis of the realme at Newbottill for defens and weil of the realme.' [No. LXV.] The effort, if it was seriously made, proved futile; but probably she put her own personal ambitions before the care of the public safety. Behind the letters of Cessford, Buccleuch, and Home there lurks the suspicion that she would take the risk of leaving the Borders exposed, if the presence of these lords at the Convention would secure the deposition of the Governor. [Nos. LXV, LXVIII, LXIX.] The Correspondence is silent concerning

the negotiations that led to the signing of a bond at Stirling on 10th June to maintain the Dowager in 'the office of government.' At best, however, her victory was only partial; and subsequent letters afford an insight into the difficulties which ultimately brought about the collapse of her ambitious schemes.

Whereas she had previously profited by the unconstitutional actions of the Governor, now her own position lacked legal sanction, and it is abundantly clear that this was a fatal weakness. Much shrewd wisdom pointed the counsel of Sir George Douglas, that if 'ye suffyr the governor and thaym to convene befoyr yow the mast part of Skotland will cum to hym and than have ye lost yowr purpos.' [No. LXXXVI.] In spite of all her efforts, the Governor's parliament did meet first and the Dowager's 'pretended' administration received its death-blow.

Some reasons for this collapse are indicated in the Correspondence. In the first place, no effective help was sent from France. Not even the 'gentill vourdis' inspired by Sir George Douglas could persuade the King of France that 'all the helle noble men off the rawme' were knit together in unity. [Nos. LXX, LXXI.] With the Emperor and the English king planted within his borders, Francis had neither the will nor the means to lavish resources upon the divided government of Scotland. If the secret mission of Alexander Gordon to the Governor on 1st July was prompted by a desire to present a united front to the world at large, then the effort was unsuccessful. [No. LXXIV.] The capture of de Bauldreul with his despatches was truly 'greitt damage.' [No. LXXX.] It revealed the duplicity of the Dowager in seeking a truce with England for a month. As far as diplomacy went there were advantages in having the services of such a consummate double-dealer as Sir George Douglas;

but it is characteristic that, despite his high protestations of his honour, he thought no shame in pocketing a bribe. [No. LXXXV.] A man who, as Otterburn clearly saw, had his own reasons to prefer peace to war, one who had previously been the Dowager's opponent, and who still succoured his kinsmen so that they might help him later when he had need of them: such was not the rock upon which to establish a stable government. [Nos. LXXI, LXXII.]

Dryburgh's letter of 12th September implies that another source of failure was the outbreak of dissensions among the ranks of the Dowager's adherents. Glencairn, also, had deadly feuds to compose. [Nos. LXXXIII, LXXVI.] Even had they been united among themselves, however, they would still have suffered from various disabilities. Whereas the Governor enjoyed the advantages of a central position in Edinburgh, his opponents were scattered and detached, with no assured means of communication. Douglas and Bothwell both complain of the difficulty of concentrating forces and keeping open lines of communication. [Nos. LXXXVII, LXXXIX.] The border lords were distracted by English raids; in the crisis of November Huntly was summoned from the Borders to quell disturbances in his northern lieutenandry [No. XCII]; Glencairn, in the west, was preoccupied with the Lennox problem. His correspondence, indeed, throws new light upon the movements of that earl, their influence upon Scottish politics in general, and Glencairn's own action in particular. [Nos. LXXVI, LXXVII, LXXXIV.]

Apart from advantages of position, the lawful Government had greater resources; and Douglas, Gordon, and Bothwell all declare that bribery was a potent force at this juncture. The nature of the 'large proffetis offerit' by the Governor and Cardinal is nowhere stated; but



Arran had the disposal of political patronage, while Beaton was legate and prince of the Church. The Dowager, on the other hand, had but scanty resources to meet her ordinary expenditure, without the additional drain of satisfying suppliants or bribing adherents.

It is not so easy to account for the 'slak handlyng' of her affairs, but the fact is clear that her administration was outdone in the matter of promptitude and energy. The Clerk of Register was apparently with the Queen on 16th June [No. LXXI], but he went back to his lawful obedience at the command of the Governor; and on 13th October, Douglas complained that, despite much talk of obtaining possession of the seals, 'nathyng is dwyne.' [No. LXXXVI.] Arran had obviously a strong initial advantage in being legally at the head of the executive administration; while his natural propensity to vacillation was counteracted by the energy and resolution of the Cardinal. Thus, in the matter of apprehensions, as in all else, the Governor struck first. Douglas's dramatic seizure of Borthwick was admittedly by way of reprisal for the capture of Sandilands of Calder and his companions. [Nos. LXXXII, LXXXVIII.] The established authority had the heavier purse and the longer arm, the greater power of endurance, a more unified command, and the advantage of a superior strategical position: in the Cardinal it had a leader who was a match for Douglas in diplomatic skill, and towered above him in disinterestedness and patriotism.

Yet, according to Sir George, the disposition of parties was fairly even in October; and Methven, unfortunately, does not explain the means adopted for 'the stopping of effusion of blud that apperit to be.' [No. XCIII.] He implies that the Governor came over to the Dowager; and the terms of the settlement suggest that although Mary had to capitulate, she did so upon honourable

conditions. Contradictory accounts ascribe the part of mediator both to Beaton and to Douglas. The Correspondence does not conclusively clear up this point: but Gordon's letters of 6th and 20th August suggest that while the Dowager's quarrel was primarily with the Governor, she remained upon working, if not intimate, terms with the Cardinal. [Nos. LXXX, LXXXI.] Beaton was willing to co-operate with, but not to be subservient to, Mary of Lorraine. For political reasons, moreover, he must have been anxious not to push matters to an extreme, and there would be many others who, putting their country before a party, desired nothing better than to unite the hostile factions for the sake of the common weal. Douglas reported, on 18th October, that Marischal was assured to the Dowager, yet he was one of the commissioners appointed by the Governor's parliament to open negotiations with the Queen's lords in Stirling. Montrose, his fellow-envoy, had signed the bond of 10th June in favour of the Dowager. Marischal, Montrose, and Methven may well be representatives of a substantial middle party who were sincerely anxious for peace.

## L

*Patrick, Lord Gray, to the Queen Dowager*

Blackness, 2nd March [1543-4].

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE OF SCOTLAND.

Madem, pleis your graice wit that I cawsit mak all the lawboris for my releif<sup>1</sup> at my lord governouris handis sene your gracis departteng of Eddinbrwchte and hes cum na speid bot gettis fair worddis and promissis wythe ofputeng, and hes promissit now lest of all that I salbe ralewit at his cumming till Styrlenge.<sup>2</sup> I beleif my lord governour is gwid bot there is in his cumpany that will lat hyme do na thying that is gwid to me as I beleif. Nochtwythstandene all promissis maid to me be my lord governour I beleif to cum na speid of ony thying that is gwid or proffetable withowt your gracis help and that be your gracis dres, beseikand your gwid grace to be fawarabill to me my wyf<sup>3</sup> and puir bairnis and tak the service and prayeris with wder gwid deid that may be done be me and my frendis. Your gracis ansuer I hwmblye beseik with this barar qwhome to your grace may gyf credens in this mater as to my self. The eternele God mot haif your graice in his everlestyng keypyng. Of Blaknes the ij of Marche

Be your gracis hwmblye serwand

PATRYK LORD GRAY.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gray, Rothes, and Henry Balnaves were captured by the Governor and Cardinal about the middle of November. For a circumstantial narrative of the arrest, see Knox, *Works*, i. 114-16 (Woodrow edition, 1846).

<sup>2</sup> It was reported that on 10th March an Assembly 'shall be at Stirling, of Arran, the Cardinal, Argile, Murraye, and utheris.' The Lords of Council were in session there about the 21st, when Richmond Herald demanded the redelivery of the Solway prisoners, including Gray. (*H.* xix. i. 159, 229.)

<sup>3</sup> Marion, daughter of James, fourth Lord Ogilvie of Airlie.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick, fourth Lord Gray. Only the signature is autograph.

## LI

*Lennox to the Queen Dowager*

Glasgow, 7th March 1543-4.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, ples your grace I am havely murmurit be my lord governour and his consell that I am the principell man that causis division and braik be in this realme and makis daly insurrectionis and disobeance contrar the autorite.<sup>1</sup> And to caus my part be knawin in the contrar I have send this day to my lord governour praying him that he ples causis ane conventioun be maid of the maist nobill men of this realme in onsuspeck place quhair my innocence may be tryit first; and quhair I have falyt, to be reformat be the awis of the generell consell of the thre estatis. Quhairfor I beseik your grace to be sa gud to me as to writ to my lord governour solisting him that the said conventioun ma be maid to caus my part be knauin in all behalwis tueching the thingis that ar laid to my charge. And this praying your grace to do for the service I have doun to your grace and yit ma do forther, praying God to conserve your grace eternaly. Of Glesqw<sup>2</sup> the vii day of Merche, 1543.

Your graicis humbyll serwand

MATHEW ERL OF LANOX.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He is doubtless alluding to his capture of Glasgow Cathedral and Paisley Abbey, and to the hanging of a Hamilton in revenge for the 'thre vagers' captured on the way to Lennox and hanged out of hand by the Governor. (*H. P.* ii. 251.)

<sup>2</sup> The Governor had ordered the siege of Glasgow two days before the date of writing of this letter. According to an English spy in Edinburgh, Lennox had an interview with the Queen at Stirling on Friday, 17th or 24th March, and it was thought that the Governor and Lennox would be reconciled. If such negotiations did take place, they were abortive; on 5th April the Governor was besieging Lennox in Glasgow. (*H.* xix. i. 143, 253, 294.)

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

## LII

*Mr. John Campbell to Lennox*

Dieppe, 15th March [1543-4].

TO MY LORD ERL OF LENOXE.

My lord, eftyr commendacioune of my service to your lordship quhom plesyt wyt that I presentyd your wryttinis to the kyngis grace heir<sup>1</sup> wyth syk credance as was subcriwyt with your hand and fand the kynngis grace as apperyt to me weill myndyt baythe to your awancement profeit and honor, quhowe beid I heir sayeand large report cumin in this partis be dyvers marchandis and otherris that ye ar rycht habyll tyll tyn all this throwe your awyn mysgydyng and that ye haif had your self merwelus ewyll to the quenis grace in mony casis sen my departin ; quhylk, my lord, wyll nocht fayll tyll cum to your gryt displesour. It is said heir that ye ar all the caus of the hayll brek and dewysyon that [is] in Scotland quhylk, war nocht ye, all wald be weill ; and at the quenis grace has nocht sa gryt ane innymye or onfrend as ye ar, and that ye haif waystyd and spe[ndyt ?] and daly spendys and waistis the kyng of Francys monye haldand ane gard of thewys and brokyn men about yow and wyll nocht answer the quenis grace nor ambassadoris of nane of the said mony. My lord, gif thyr thyngis [be of ver]yte ye haif gydyd your self lyke ane myschant . . . and wyll nocht fayll to be the causar of your awyn distructioun [and of] mony otherris of your frendis baythe in France and Scotland the quhylk displesys me grytly for my part and I mycht mend [?] it . . . And, my lord, as to my part ye haif done rycht ewyll to me for throwe your doyngis ye ar rycht habyll to gar me tyn the quenis grace my gud maistres quhilk I beleif at my departin fra hyr grace was my gryttast frend I had in this warld and yyt I traist sall be wyth out it be throwe your caus and for

<sup>1</sup> Francis I.

your sayk ; quhylk God and ye knawys my part tharintyll and quhat I said to yow at my departin and quhowe ye promyst me tyll uis yow thereafter to the quenis grace and ambassadoris . . . swa that na falt suld be fundin in yow quhylk suld be . . . tyll mak ony impedymnt of syk thyingis . . . in this cuntre. My lord ye ra[member that I ?] besocht you at my departyng to be ane gud serwand to the quenis grace and tyll uis hyr consayll in evere behalf and tyll do na thying by hyr awys and the ambassadouris of France in na gryt materris quhar throcht thai mycht haif the occasyon tyll be myscontentyd wyth yow, and that ye suld nocht mell yow wyth na brokyn men and specyally wyth tham that faworyt the cast of Yngland or thir newe oppynyonis, quhilk your lordship promyst me faythfullye tyll do the samyn ; or ellis beleif suirly, my lord, that for yow and all the lordis of Scotland and I had knawyn your mynd otherwys that I suld haif tane syk schargys for yow as I haif done at this tym. For and [it] be of veryte that is said of yowe heir ye haif done [all ?] ye can tyll tyn your self your broder and mony otherris your [lordship] frendis and servandis. And, my lord, as to me the service that I haif done yow at this tym was be the quenis gracys command ; and nocht be your solistacioune nor nain otheris in Scotland and I had knawyn hyr gracys mynd had bene to the contrare. Tharfor my lord gif the thyingis be [of veryte ?] that is said of yow heir lat me knawe the . . . and quhowe the quenis grace is [myndyt toward ?] yow, for I assure yow my lord and I ma knaw [hyr ?] grace be your onfrend, pardon me I wyll nocht mell [me ?] na fordyr in your materris on to the tym that I haif sum wryttin fra hyr grace tyll knaw hyr mynd toward yow. And gif the kyngis grace wyll gif me . . . answer [I ?] man on neid depart wyth it for I ma nocht weill tare heir : and gif all thyingis be of weryte that I heir I wald I had bene presonare to the Turk that houre I tuk syk chargis for yow or ony Sco[ttis] man bot, wyll God, quhowe ever it be wycht your [lordship I sall ?] be fund guid and honest.

[The writer goes on to give news of the country. War-like preparations are being made on all hands, and Darnley, the brother of Lennox, is preparing to join the campaign in Picardy: it is thought that he 'sall mary a damosell de la Queillze.'<sup>1</sup>] I haif nocht gottin na thyng as ye wrayt for as yyt fra my lord Obyngy<sup>2</sup> and gif ye thynk that I suld tare heir ony langar swa that the quenis grace be contentyd wyth yow ye man send me sum mair sylver, otherwys nocht. My lord as for the gentylnen that ar wyth yow in Scotland baythe of the Gard and company caus tham tyll speid tham heir for the kyng has ado with tham and als fayll nocht tyll caus Da[vid] Murray haist hym heir for syk causys . . . wrytting to hym for hys gryt weill. [Send ?] me answer wyth the fyrst schype at . . . anent all thyr thyngis and specyally quhowe the quenis grace is myndyd to yow swa [that] I ma haist me thare efter. Forder, God haif your lordship in hys kepyng. At Deipe the xv day of Marche be

Your lordship servitor

MAISTER JHON CAMPBELL.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Monsieur Jehan Camail au comte de Lenex.]

### LIII

*Angus to the Queen Dowager*

Douglas, 26th March 1544.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, aftre maist humill recommendioun of my service unto your grace, plesit the samyn I ressavit your

<sup>1</sup> De la Quelle. The *Scots Peerage* dates this marriage 'about 1542' (v. 352). From the evidence of this letter it was not earlier than March 1543.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Robert Stewart d'Aubigny, Marshal of France. See No. LXI.

<sup>3</sup> Lennox sent John Campbell 'one of his special freindis to the Frenche king . . . to put him in hope that he sall do such service as sall be answerable to his expectation.' Francis was preoccupied with the Guises, and could not give Campbell an audience. (Calderwood, i. 178.) A John Campbell appears on record about this date as the 'noble youth' whom the Prior of Ardochattan designated as his successor. (*H.* xix. i. 358; cf. *Epistolae Reg. Scot.* ii. 198.)

writing this xxvj day of Marche in Douglas, datit at Strveling the xxiv day of the said monethe, togiddir with ane othir lettre fra the kingis majeste of Francc. Thankand your grace greitly of your gud mynd towartis me at all tymis and sall evir be afald<sup>1</sup> and of bettir will to deserve the samyn, at thutermost of my power treuly to serve my soverane the Quene your grace and my lord governour for the commonwelth and libertie of this realme as forther I have send instructioun to my lord Maxwell of my desyirs.<sup>2</sup> Beseking your grace that I may have ane uter resolutioun therintill now at this present tyme gevand me occasioun to performe all that evir was commonit of befor.<sup>3</sup> And the almychty God preserve your grace eternaly. Writtin at Douglas the xxvj day of March 1544

Be your gracis humill servitour

ARD. ERL OF ANGUS.<sup>4</sup>

#### LIV

#### *Angus to Maxwell*

Douglas, 26th March 1544.

TO MY LORD MY FADER,<sup>5</sup> MY LORD MAXWELL.

My lord, I commend me hertly to your lordship, quham plesit wit I ressavit your writing this day datit at Stryveling the xxv day of Marche togidder with ane writing fra the king of France and ane other fra the Quene. And in all thir materis I have schawin yow my mynd at grete

John Campbell of Lundy signs the Dowager's household accounts as *maître d'hôtel* till late in 1543. His signature in *Balcarres Papers*, iv. 106, is different from that of the present writer.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>1</sup> *afald*: single-minded.

<sup>2</sup> On 21st it was reported that 'Maxwell has undertaken to bring Angus to the Governor's devotion.' (*H.* xix. i. 228.) Cf. No. LVI.

<sup>3</sup> Angus was also communicating with England for a 'main army' for their relief. (*H.* xix. i. 226.)

<sup>4</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>5</sup> Angus married, as his third wife, Margaret, daughter of the fifth Lord Maxwell.



lenth and send Wille Inglis to yow with my mynd now at this tyme to have uter anser of all my desyris. Tharfor I pray your lordship, as in quham my firme confidence is, that I may have ane honest answer without ony forther delay or ofputting for aftre this I will lippen to have nane as I desyr. Praying your lordship to haist Wille Inglis to me with respons in every behalf; and God conserve yow eternaly. Writtin at Douglas the xxvj day of March 1544.

Yours

ARD. ERL OF ANGUS.

LV

*Glengarnock to the Queen Dowager*

Bendalo [Ballindalloch?], April 1544.

TO THE QWENYS GRAYS.

Madem, I commend mi serwes to yowr g[r]ays in my mast ewmel maner. Plesit yowr grays to wet as for tayandes the lord of Kelmawris and the beschop of Catanes broder to the erl of Lenayx on Fowresday last <sup>1</sup> was within the necht past foret of the castal of Dombartan owr the water of Klayd and rayd trew the west land, and es reden to England bot fayl as I am sowerle informet, and trew et is to breng in Englesmen; and afor tham send an son of hes and an, Tom Beschop,<sup>2</sup> serwand to the erl of Lenayx to England. I pray God tha com newer haym for layk he wald dow to owr sornem,<sup>3</sup> qwelk sal not lay in hes power. Madem I hef mi frendes maynd qwa wel seryf

<sup>1</sup> Probably 17th April. Lord Kilmaurs, the heir of Glencairn, and Robert Stewart, Bishop-designate of Caithness, arrived at Carlisle on Tuesday, 22nd April.

<sup>2</sup> Hew Cunningham, son of Glencairn, and Thomas Bishop, secretary to Lennox. Bishop was sent about 14th April, and had an interview with Hertford on the 18th. (*H.* xix. i. 332, 356, 522.)

<sup>3</sup> 'For the strife he would do to our surname': a reference to the hostility between the houses of Lennox and Glencairn. This usc of the word 'surname' occurs in the Acts of the Lords of Council in the years immediately succeeding Flodden. (Cf. *A. D. C. S.* xxx. f. 171, 'the surnemmis of the Mers.')

yowr grays trowle and desayres bot yowr grays wel  
 exsapp thar serwes and be master to ows ; and that we  
 may gar yowr grays ken owr lawte and trow serwes,  
 wel God I sal be at yowr grays betewyx and Sunday and  
 soner as yowr grays commandes me with sek tayandes.  
 As for the saym qwayr I doel, thar es an schep comen in  
 Clayd afor the castel of Dombartan anent the Nowork  
 on Saterdag last was, and qwat schow es or qwayr fra  
 schow com fra I can not gat wet at the wrayten of thes.  
 Part sayes, an Necol of Rowen<sup>1</sup> es in her qwa was send  
 be the erl of Lenayx to the kenges grays of Frans afor  
 Lenten. I say thes to yowr grays for na warete becawes  
 I am not sower herof. God be yowr grays kepar. Of  
 Bendalo.<sup>2</sup>

Be yowr grays sarwand  
 OF GLENGARNOCK.

Yowr grays pleses to lat nayn wet I send ther tayandes  
 exsapp me lord cardnal for cawses as I sal schaw yowr  
 grays.

## LVI

*Maxwell to the Queen Dowager*

Hamilton, 21st April [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mydame, plesit your grace I rasavit your gracis writyne  
 this xx day of Aprile. I thank your grace that hes  
 writyne to my lord governour in my fawyr, and als sayand  
 me in your gracis writyne that ye will be my gud and  
 gracius lady sa that I be trew and serff the quenis grace  
 your dochter and the autorite lyke as I haiff promist to  
 your grace and your grace hes promist the samyn in my  
 name. Mydame, or your grace found it utherwaiis nor

<sup>1</sup> Nicol Ruthven ; see No. LXI.

<sup>2</sup> Bendalo is probably Ballindalloch in Stirlingshire ; and the date of writing  
 between 17th and 20th April 1544.

The letter is holograph.

sa or ony lewand man myeht mak it gude, I had lever do the maist wile deid in this warld ; for and I haiff done utherwais nor I haiff promist to your grace I will haiff na uther positione bot deid. Mydame, thar will na man sa utherwais as I beleiff for I had na thoecht that tyme I was put heir <sup>1</sup> bot to serwit [*sic*] my lord governour the quenis autori[t]e aganis ony man that wald asorpit aganis the same, quhilk I sall be ay rady to wair my liff in that eaus. Your grace knaws quhat pount I am at and alsua sall clerlie onderstand that I haiff maid na fail and hes na uther to do for me ; bot quhat your grace will do to me I am hartlie content of the samyn. And fardar my wiff <sup>2</sup> hes sehawyn your graces mynd quhow your grace standis to me quhar of I hwmilie thankis your grace ; prayand almychty God to be your kepar ever mair. At the eastell of Hamiltone this xxi day of Ap[ri]le be

Your gracis maist lawly serwand

MAXWELL.<sup>3</sup>

## LVII

*Secretary David Paniter to George Forrester of Leith*

Caudebec, 22nd April 1544.

TO HIS TRAIST FREND MAISTER GEORGE FROSTER OF LEITH <sup>4</sup>  
IN SCOTLAND.

Traist frend I commend me to yow. Ye sall resaif heir writingis inelusit to my lord governour and eardinale and my lord of Paslay quhilkis ye sall direct in all haist aftir

<sup>1</sup> Thursday, 3rd April 1544. The English considered that he had been arrested 'with his own consent,' in order to evade the summons to re-enter England as a Solway prisoner whose 'assurance' seemed doubtful. (*H.* xix. i. 180, 221, 294, 297.)

<sup>2</sup> His second wife, Agnes, natural daughter of James Stewart, Earl of Buchan, and widow of Adam, second Earl of Bothwell, and of Alexander, third Lord Home.

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>4</sup> George Forrester, bailie of Leith, a merchant with whom the Governor had dealings. See *Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. viii.

the resett of thame be yow ;<sup>1</sup> and this fair ye weill. At Codebek<sup>2</sup> the xxij day Aprile 1544.

Maister George, all tithandis heir I haif writin to my lord of Paslay at leinth. The king heir hes wyn ane feild agane the emprour in Pyemont.<sup>3</sup> We ar weill tane with as ony men can be ; traistis in God to do guid service to the realme and to my lord governour. I pray yow write me all newis as every schip cumis betuix. Commend me to Maister James ; and God keip yow at ane guid point.

Youris

PAINTER.<sup>4</sup>

I had na lasour to write for the haisty departing of the berar of ther letteris to Diep, therfor ye sall schaw the samyn tithandis to Maister Laurens and excuis me that I wrait nocht to him at this tyme.

[*Endorsed* : D. Paniter.]

## LVIII

### *Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 28th April [1544].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Plesit your grace that upoun Setterday that last wes<sup>5</sup> my lord governour direckit ane writing under the signet and his subscriptioun to charge me to warde quhilk

<sup>1</sup> These despatches were received by the Governor on, or before, 25th May. (*T.A.* viii. 296.)

<sup>2</sup> Caudebec, on the Seine ; formerly capital of Pays de Caux.

<sup>3</sup> Battle of Ceresole, fought on Easter Monday, 14th April 1544. It was not, however, a victory of the magnitude which Paniter seems to have believed. Francis had almost immediately to recall troops to protect his northern frontier, and in August the Emperor penetrated to within twenty miles of Paris. Peace was made by the treaty of Crespy on 18th September. See Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, v. (2).

<sup>4</sup> David Paniter, Chief Secretary of Scotland. Sir John Campbell of Lundy and the Secretary were sent on 31st March as ambassadors to France, to renew the old treaties and alliances, and to make a representation of the state of Scotland. (*Epistolae Reg. Scot.* ii. 195.)

A holograph letter.

<sup>5</sup> 26th April.

writing his grace at the sollistatioun of my lord of Orknay<sup>1</sup> principaly dischargit. I traist your grace and my lordis will think that sic charge suld nocht haif bene gevin without your avis, bot at this tyme thair hes bene counsalouris that hes bene planely in my lord governouris contrar. I neid nocht to write all at lenth how the mater hes procedit and be quhais menis: your grace wilbe sufficientlie advertisit be utheris. Your grace salbe assurit that as to my particular actioun I never offendit to na erdlie man sen I com to mannis aige. And as for the commoun actiounes of this toune thai salbe fundin honest, and gif your grace findis utherwys quhen the verite is knawin ye sall help to our punitioun: and gif we be fundin honest men baith towart God and our princes your grace will defend our honest querelis as accordis, and to be to my simplines as my gud maisteres, I alwys being fundin honest.

Madame, the blissit Virgine be your support. Of Edinburgh this Monenday the xxvij day of Aprile

Be your graces humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed*: A Sire Addam Hotbourne.]

## LIX

*W. Meldrum to George Forrester of Leith*

Dieppe, 29th April 1544.

TO ANE HONOURBILL MAN, MASTER GORGE FROSTER BAYLE  
OF LEYTHT.

Rycht honourbill sir, I commend my service to you. I ressavit your letris and send tham away incontina[n]t to my lord am[ba]ssadouris quhar the kingis grace vas besyd Rowan.<sup>3</sup> I vrat to your mastership affor of all

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Robert Reid.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> Rouen. The Scots ambassadors were Secretary Paniter and Sir John Campbell of Lundy. See No. LVII.

your fyna[n]s I deliverit to master Jhone Douglus<sup>1</sup> bot  
I ressait nen fra Jhone Birton.<sup>2</sup>

Item, I vrat to your mastership affor qhow I had  
ressait my lord of Paslo fyna[n]s<sup>3</sup> and passit incontona[n]t  
to Paris vif the samyn and put in the bank lang or master  
Jhone Stivinson com; and I spak wyth your son and  
James Hammilton. Ye sall rissave her vryttin fra my  
lord ambasadour; and I pry God kep your mastership.  
At Diep in haste the xxix day April 1544

Youris

W. MELDRUM.<sup>4</sup>

## LX

### *Meldrum to Forrester*

Dieppe, 29th April 1544.

TO ANE RYCHT HONOURABLE MAN, MAISTER GORGE FROSTER  
OFF LEYTHT.

[He recapitulates his former letter and encloses letters  
from the ambassadors.] Item I vrat to yow affor quhow  
I had send my lord of Paslo fynans away to Rome be  
Rechart Dalbin bank or maister Jhone Stevison come  
heyr. Also as ony word cummis agan fra Rome I sall  
hast it hame to my lord, vill God.

[The writer's son, George Meldrum, is a prisoner in  
Newcastle. He was captured in the *Little Martin*<sup>5</sup> by  
English ships.] And he was on Rollyne Trahorne [?]

<sup>1</sup> The identity of this John Douglas cannot be established. The Laird of Drumlanrig had a brother, John Douglas, who was in the payment of the Governor in August 1545. (*T.A.* viii. 224.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably Captain John Barton of Leith. (See *T.A.* viii.; *H.* xviii.; *Bps. of Scotland*, 88.)

<sup>3</sup> The money was being sent to Rome in connection with Hamilton's promotion to Dunkeld. See *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, v. 23 ff.; and compare following letter.

<sup>4</sup> The writer was possibly William Meldrum, a pensioner of the Governor. (*T.A.* viii. 106, 487.) The holograph betrays signs of haste.

<sup>5</sup> On 3rd December letters of marque were issued 'against the English for Nic. Hay with his ship the *Little Martin*.' (*H.* xix. ii. 793.)

quarter and is haldin he the tent man for ther marynellis.<sup>1</sup>  
 [If Forrester can ransom Meldrum for twenty or thirty  
 crowns, the writer will refund the purchase money.] At  
 Depe the xxix day of Apr[i]ll 1544

Be youris

W. MELDRUM.<sup>2</sup>

## LXI

*Nicol Ruthven to James Barclay, Archer of the Scots Guard*

Dumbarton, 4th May [1544].

TO MY RYCHT TREST BROTHER AND COMPANZENE JAMES  
 BARCLAY, ARCHER OF THE CORIS DU ROY.

Broder and companzene, I commend me rycht hartly  
 to yow, and as for samekyll hes I maid yowr recom-  
 mandassyons to my lord Darle and to all yowr gud com-  
 panzens in the cort<sup>3</sup> ye ar better prowydit na ye trow be  
 my ald lordis command<sup>4</sup> or he dessestit; the quhilk I  
 hef schawin to my lord of Lenox, baith the gud wyll of  
 my ald lord and of my lord that ys presant this day.<sup>5</sup>  
 Ther for my consell is, and prayis yow ther to, to cum  
 oder to Glasqu or illis to Dumbartan and spek with my  
 lord for I aswr yow that my lord wald be content ther of,  
 hes I am well asswret, that ye wald cum to him for I  
 promes yow, and ye wyll cum ye wyll be waray welcum  
 to his lordschip, and als ye sall hef yowr twa companzens,

<sup>1</sup> *marynellis*: mariners.

<sup>2</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>3</sup> *the cort*: the court of Francis I. The writer is presumably the 'Nicol of Rowen . . . qwa was send be the erl of Lenayx to the kenges grays of Frans afor Lenten.' See No. LV.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Stewart, fourth Seigneur d'Aubigny, Maréchal de France, fourth son of the first Earl of Lennox. He is stated in the *Scots Peerage* (v. 350) to have died in 1543, but he was apparently alive in March 1543-4. Cp. No. LII.

<sup>5</sup> John Stewart, Lord Darnley, brother of Matthew, fourth Earl of Lennox, and adopted by the Maréchal as his heir. He was imprisoned on the defection of his brother.

that is to say I and your companzen Georg Tillacht<sup>1</sup> that wald fane that ye com for your profeit. All wder novillis I refer to your metyng of the quhilk ye sall be contentit of: ther for I pray you be rycht sune at us for your awne well; and God kep you. At Dumbartan the iiij day of May be

Your broder and companzon

NYCOLL RWVEN.<sup>2</sup>

## LXII

### *Lord Home to the Queen Dowager*

Home, 11th May [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit your grace to be advertissit that the lardis of Cessfurde, Farnyhirst, I and divers utheris of the Mers and Teviotdaill hes convenit to gethir the x day of Maij instant to se how we might best keip and defend thir bordouris within our officis of wardanrye of the eist and middill merchis<sup>3</sup> becaus ther is mony greit men of England with garysonis of men lyand aganis us: and quhat your grace my lord governour and utheris noble men of this realme will devis for the resisting and out putting of our ennymeis advertise us at sum haste that we may provide our powaris and tak our utter part therof, and lat us nocht think to tyne sa noble ane realme to our ennymeis that our foirbearis hes sa lang kepit and defendit. Lat us tak ane cumfortable curage heirin and put our hail confidence in God considerand it is in our defence and our ennymeis sa crewellie persecuting us; for better it is to us to de with honour than leif with perpetuall schame

<sup>1</sup> In the lists of the Scots Guards in France in 1543 appear the names of George Thullac (en Ecosse et cassé) and of Jacques Barquellay (en Ecosse et cassé).

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Kerr of Cessford was Warden of the Middle Marches, and Lord Home Warden of the East Marches. The Laird of Fernieherst was Andrew Kerr.



of all cristin regionis, and to our pouir powaris we salbe trew Scottis men and never consent to the desyre of our ennymeis sa lang as we may be ony party<sup>1</sup> to thame or keip our self out of thair handis or leif in ony part of this realme. Heirfoir we beseik your grace that with the avice of my lord governour and uther noble men ye will advertise ws quhat ye will do heirin ; and the Eternall God preserve your grace. Of Howme the xj day of Maij

Be your gracis humble servitour

GEORGE LORD HOM.<sup>2</sup>

### LXIII

*Mr. William Barclay to Mr. James Barclay*

Glasgow, Wednesday, 14th May [1544].

TO ANE RYCHT HONORABLE AND HIS GREIT FREYND MASTER  
JAMES BARCLAY, ARCHER OF THE GARDE DU ROY DE  
FRANCHE.

Cusine, I commend me hartlie to youe. Pleis youe to wit my lord off Lewnax come furth off Dumbertane this Settirday<sup>3</sup> to Glasgu, tua hundreth men or thareby ; quha commandit, as Nichole Rewene schauis me, to vryt for youe and Hereules to cum to him to Dumbertan : and in my absence of this toun, I beyng in Striveling x dayis togidder, the vritingis come heir and la in the master Cukis housse quhill my cumyng, and now I haif gottin the vr[i]tingis send to youe and als commonit at lynth baith with the said Nicholle and George Tullocht your brothir, masteris off my lordis fut band, quha prayis youe cum in all gudlie haste \* to my lord quhare evir he be \*

<sup>1</sup> *party*: opponent. Home's powers of resistance, however, were not in accordance with the patriotism of these sentiments. On 17th May, Home, Seton, Bothwell, and Buccleuch drew up their forces to stop the English at the Pease ; yet, despite their strategic position, they 'abode but two shots of a falcon.' (*H.* xix. i. 531, 533, 534.)

<sup>2</sup> George, fourth Lord Home. Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>3</sup> Saturday, 10th May.

\*\* These words, originally omitted, have been added as interlinear insertions.

and bring Hercules with youe. My lord hes gottin the castell of Glasgu and all his guddis deliverit him agane be the lard off Pollok<sup>1</sup> except twa gownis quhilkis John Cliddisdaile grantis the samyn quha hes bund hym to send tham to his lordship agane. Crukestoun is haldyne as yit fra hym. This day the lettres of Paslay wnder tresone var heir to Glasg[u] to my lord,<sup>2</sup> and the abbot as his folkis and all the cuntre gadrit to have betrasit[?] my lordis folkis in the meyne tyme. I heir say certane naveis of Inglys schippis ar to cum<sup>3</sup> with men of veir at the vest se with ane gentill voman to my lord and my lord of Glenearne in the said cumpany; and utheris sayis my lord of Glencairn cumis with vj thousand men land gait at the sutht bordour. I thynk my lord hes litill vill to pas forwert to the Inglis band eftir his lordship resavit the kinge off Francheis last vrittingis this last Sunday.<sup>4</sup> Sir, I traist now ane litil help of Franche men to cum to my lord vald mak mekill help nochtvithstanding my lord of Cathnes, beyng plage in England for my lord, hes now, and the Inglis men cum nocht in at the vest, his inimieis baith vest and est. Sir, I pray youe give my hartlie service to the lord and the persone your brother and use thar counsell, quhidder thai think best ye cum to my lord or nocht. Nicholle Rewen schawis me he commonit

<sup>1</sup> 11th May 1544, when Maxwell of Pollok delivered the keys of the castle to the Archbishop of Glasgow. (*Maxwells of Pollock*, i. 285-6.)

<sup>2</sup> The meaning here is obscure, and the script difficult. It is probably a reference to letters issued by the Abbot of Paisley, Treasurer and Lord Privy Seal. Lennox, Glencairn, Angus, and Sir George Douglas were summoned to underlie the law for treason on 7th May. (*H.* xix. i. 414.) In the issue, Hamilton's warlike preparations, here alluded to, stood him in little stead: Lennox had 'already taken the Abbot of Parseleis house' before 15th May. (*Ibid.* 510, cf. 143.) As there is no punctuation in the original, it is difficult to say whether the phrase 'in the meyne tyme' refers to the doings of Paisley, or whether it introduces the new topic of the rumour which the writer proceeds to narrate.

<sup>3</sup> The report proved to be false. The 'gentill voman' may have been intended to designate the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Angus and Margaret Tudor, whose hand Lennox was then seeking in marriage.

<sup>4</sup> These letters may have been brought in the French ships which arrived, about the second week in May, at St. Andrews, with news of aid. (*H.* xix. i. 570, p. 316.)

and schew at lynth all the mater and beginnyng betuix youe and the stewardis to my lord Johne Stevard monsieur Ebonze <sup>1</sup> and tharefor, Sir, I traist ye ar send for; and [commend? <sup>2</sup>] me hartelie to frendis; and God keip youe. Writtin in haist at Glas[gu] this Vednesday the xiiij day of Mai

Be youris evir at powar

MASTER VILLIAM BERCLAY.<sup>3</sup>

#### LXIV

##### *Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

[The writer had arrived on Friday morning, 16th May, at Perth, where he had published the Queen's proclamations, and he had sent to have them read likewise at Dundee. In Perth he had found Lord Ruthven and his following, but they were unwilling to issue forth until the arrival of Gray and Glamis with their company. It was hoped that they would arrive that evening: he would await their coming and cause them to depart with him immediately thereafter. His diligence would prove his zeal to serve the Queen.]

Perth, Friday, 16th May [1544].

A LA ROYNE.

Madame, Je suis arrive ce matin sept heures en ceste ville ou jay fait faire les proclamations <sup>4</sup> quil vous avon pleu me commander. Je les ay envoye a Dondy pour en faire autant. Jay trouve icy le Sire de Resvein <sup>5</sup> avec ses amys et subjectz lequel ne veult point passer oultre jusques . . . ce que messieurs de Grez <sup>6</sup> et de Glasmes <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Stewart, Lord Aubigny.

<sup>2</sup> *commend*: word omitted in the original.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the convention summoned for 28th May, with a view to the deposition of the Governor.

<sup>5</sup> William, second Lord Ruthven.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Gray was set free on the occasion of Hertford's invasion at the beginning of May.

<sup>7</sup> John Lyon, seventh Lord Glamis, was another of the intended victims of the 'exploit' of the Governor and Cardinal in the preceding November. There is no indication, however, that he was apprehended; and he was certainly at large on 15th January. (*H.* xviii. ii. 378; cp. 425, xix. i. 33.) The Queen was apparently making a bid for support among the lords and districts peculiarly disaffected to the Governor.

soyent icy avec leur compaigny que jespoire estre icy ce soir. Je les attanderay pour incontinent les faire partir et acompaigner ou je feray toute dilligen a moy possible pour vous monstrier laffection que jay de vous faire service.

Madame, apres mestre recomande treshumblement a vostre bonne grace je suppliray nostre Seigneur vous donner en sante tresbonne et treslongue vie. De St. Jehanston ce Vendridi xvj<sup>me</sup> May.

Votre treshumble et tresobeissant subget et serviteur

A. GORDON.<sup>1</sup>

## LXV

### *Kerr of Cessford to the Queen Dowager*

Halydean, Sunday, 25th May [1544].

TO THE QWENNIS GRACE.

Madam I commend my hartlie service to your graice, quham pleis your grace and your grace be remembrit ye send me ane writing quhen the army of Yngland wes in Scotland desyrand me to meit the lordis of the realme at Newbottill for defens and weill of the realme. Your graice sall understand that I was reddy and my freyndis with me to haife met the saydis lordis and as yit thai com nocht. Bot nocht withstand[ing] I and my freyndis vesit and prekit at the army quhill<sup>2</sup> thai departit furth of the realme and nevir culd be partye. And nowe, madame, my lord governour hes send for me to be at hym in Lynlithqw the xxviiij day of Maij instant and the weill avysit consall of the realme.<sup>3</sup> Your grace sall understand that the army as yit is nocht departit of the bordour and

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Gordon. It is noteworthy that this letter is written in French, and that French ships had arrived a few days previously. (*H.* xix. i. 516.) Only the signature is autograph. The initial letters are intertwined to form a peculiar and very characteristic monogram.

<sup>2</sup> *army quhill*: originally written *tham quhill*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the only reference in these letters to a summons by the Governor to this convention; and even here the writer addresses himself directly to the Dowager.

ane cumpany of Yrysmen ar cumit to the Newecastall<sup>1</sup> and yit thai purpois to mak ane uther rayde within Scotland and as I trest apon Teviotdaile baith eist and west, therfor I may nocht cum in to my lord governour and the consall at this tym for that caus. Bot howe sone the army departis and cumis nocht in Scotland I sall cum to your grace and quhat evir your graice will charge or command me with or thinkis expedient that I may do it salbe don. And for defens of the realme I am reddy and salbe reddy at your graicis command to de ane trewe Scottis man and my freyndis and kyne that I may be. Therfor I beseik your grace and your weill avysit consall to fynd sum helpe and remeide to the realme. And I pray your grace to adverteis me agan with this berar of ony steid or service that I may do, the quhilk I sall nocht leife undon as knawis God, quha evir preserfe your grace in his keping. At Halydene<sup>2</sup> this Sunday at evin the xxv day of Maij instant be

your gracis at all power

WALTER KER OF CESFERD.<sup>3</sup>

## LXVI

*Sir George Douglas to the Queen Dowager*

Caldor, Monday, 26th May [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Eftir recommendatioun of my maist humble service unto your grace I did wrytt unto you be my cousing Henry Drummond<sup>4</sup> and send credence that I wauld be at your grace als schortle as was to me possible and so come furth of the Mers this Sunday and this day come to Caldor accompanyt wyth part of gentilmen my freyndis

<sup>1</sup> The report was authentic: Irish forces did serve upon the Scottish borders. (*H.* xix. i. 684 (1).)

<sup>2</sup> Holydean is in the parish of Bowden, Roxburghshire.

<sup>3</sup> Walter Kerr of Cessford, Scottish Warden of the Middle Marches.

<sup>4</sup> Douglas's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of John, first Lord Drummond. (*Scots Peerage*, i. 187.)

towart your grace; and for suche causis as this present berar my trusty freynd will schew unto you I mycht nocht gudelic come to you at this present, desiring your grace not to thynk bot I am and ever salbe redde to do your grace service according to your honour and the common welth of this reaulme at the uttermaist of my power as knawis the eternall God; quha have your grace in his tuitioun. Writtin at Caldor this xxvj day of Mayi at foir houris eftir noine, most humbly beseking your grace to give ferme credence<sup>1</sup> to this berar as to my self and I war present.

Be your gravis humble obedient servitour

GEORGE DOWGLAS.<sup>2</sup>

## LXVII

*William, Lord Sinclair, to the Queen Dowager*

Ravenscraig, 26th May [1544 ?].

TO OUR SOVERANE LADE THE QUENYS GRACE.

Madame, I commend hartlie and himylie my service one to your grace and hes ressavit your gracys writing twechyne the intromitting with ane craar<sup>3</sup> with certane gudis laitlie cwme furtht of Orknay, quhilkis gudis wes Olyferis Synclaris and wes markit with his ane proper mark. Your grace sall wnderstand that Olifeir Synclar wranguslie hes intromittit thir four yeris last bypast with my landis of Scheitland and the proffeit yeirliche therof extending xxvj ß butter fyfty twa pak of wadmell,<sup>4</sup> ylk pak the price ane Ros noble,<sup>5</sup> by wther landis in Orknay

<sup>1</sup> We do not know Drummond's credence, but Douglas was wavering at this time between the English and the French faction. He was persuading Angus to go to Hertford, and negotiating for an 'assurance' for his servant. This 'assurance' was refused on 28th May. (*H.* xix. i. 575, 576, 594.)

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>3</sup> *craar*: a small vessel with one mast.

<sup>4</sup> *wadmell*: a species of woollen cloth manufactured and worn in Orkney and Shetland.

<sup>5</sup> Rose noble, an English gold coin, equal to 44s. Scots in 1524 and 54s. in 1555. (Cochran-Patrick, i. xciii.)

and small chetis. Madame, your grace knaws perfytlie I have the kings grace letteris with his signet and subscrip-tioun direkit to Olyfeir to enter me to the saidis landis, quhilkis letres your grace red and saw in Stirling; and fordar I have the princes letres and ane decreit of the lordis of our counsell to enter me to my ane: quhilk he objeckit and wald nocht do as yit one na wys, quhilk is grit hurt and skayth to me the want therof, and may nocht do your graice service nor yit defend my ane place quhilk wilbe the destructioun of all Fyfe, it beand wone. Heirfor I beseik your grace caus Olifeir come to compt and rakneyn and mak me pament of the rest that I want: and to the geyr I have intromittit, it salbe furtht cumand gyf I have na richt therto. Your grace sall wnderstand oder be the sycht of frendis or be justice that na man hes richt to tha takkis bot I alanerlie; and the blissit vergen Mare conserf your grace in cternall prosperite. Of Ravens-craig the xxvj day of May be

Your gracis humill servitour

WYLLZAME LORD SYNCLAR.<sup>1</sup>

## LXVIII

*Scott of Buccleuch to the Queen Dowager*

Branxholm, 28th May [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madam, efter maist hartly commendatione of my hwmill serwes one to your nobill grace plesyt wyt I ressayffit your gracis wrytin fra Patryk Crowmbye and deliverit hym ane answr in wryte to be gevin to your grace. I intendit to have beyne at the conventione now to be halding in Lynlythqw and was all rady for the saming, and now I am informit that our alld inimeis of Ingland with ther

<sup>1</sup> William St. Clair, fourth Lord Sinclair. He signed the bond of 10th June 1544, for the deposition of the Governor. References to this dispute are noted in *Acts and Decrees*, 22nd June 1543; *R.M.S.*, 1513-46, 3275, etc.

The letter is holograph.

army quhilk was last in this realme, quhilk the comone voce allegit was to depart in France, intendis betwyx this and Wytownday to invaid the Merce and Tewidall with all maner of dampnegis and herishopis that salbe abill to tham to dow without thai get sum stoping or impedime[n]t; and therfor I my kyne and frendis mone awayt upone ther incuming and mayk tham sic stope and rescistance as we may gwdly, beseykand your grace heirfor to have me excusyt. And as to the conventione, quhat so ewir be downe therat conserning the comonweltht and liberte of this realme, your grace sall promit in myne nayme that I sall stand fyrme and stabill at the saming and wair my lyf with all my kyne and frendis for the fowrthbering therof to the wtermest of my powar. Farder geve your grace thynkis it necessair that I leyf the bordowre and cum to the sayd conventione advertes me with this berair and I sall hayst me to your grace with all possibilitie, beseykand your grace to chargis [*sic*] me for I sall evour be at your gracis command to the wtermost of my powar, as knawis God, quha mot preserf your grace fra all perell baytht of sawle and body. Of Branxholme, the xxviiij day of May

Be your gracis serwand with all powar at command  
 BWKCLWCHT KNYCHT.<sup>1</sup>

## LXIX

### *Lord Home to the Queen Dowager*

Home, 28th May [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Pleis your grace to be advertissit I have ressavit your gracis wryting to be at Linlithqw the xxviiij day of this

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm and Buccleuch. The summons would appear to have been peremptory, for Buccleuch thought fit to write a twofold reply. In the other, shorter, letter he does not bind himself and his friends to observe all the decisions of the Convention: with this reservation the letters are practically duplicates. Both bear traces of the seal, and are holograph.



instant moneth of Maij;<sup>1</sup> and, as I am informit, ane hors oist of our ald ennymeis ar in reddines to invaid and ourrin all this cuntre<sup>2</sup> sua that I may nocht be absent for resisting of thame and will quhill that I may se forther of ther propose. Quhairfoir I beseik your grace to hald me excusit for the caus foirsaid that I may nocht keip the said day of conventioun, bot betuix this and Monunday nixt cumming<sup>3</sup> I sall nocht fail to be at your grace quhair ever ye be, God willing, and forther plesit your grace gif ferme credence to this berar quham I have ordanit to schaw my mynd at lenth. And the eternal God preserfe your grace. Of Howme the xxviiij day of Maij

Be your graceis servytur

GEORGE LORD HOM.<sup>4</sup>

## LXX

*Sir George Douglas to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 11th June [1544].

TO THE QUEINNIS GRACE.

After mest humble recommendations on to yowr grace and plesit the samning that I hawe send on to yow this berer Rose Harret<sup>5</sup> for to go vith yowr lettris to the king off England and that ye vill mak vith all expedition yowr letter and hest hym away, for the suner he go the better

<sup>1</sup> This was a summons to the Convention appointed to convene at Linlithgow on 28th May. On the 29th it was 'transported to Sterling,' where steps were taken to remove the Governor from office. (*H.* xix. i. 673.)

<sup>2</sup> Hertford had devised a warden raid to destroy Jedburgh. The plan was carried out on 10th June. The inhabitants asked for twelve hours' respite to send for help to Home and the others who 'had willed them to keep the town and promised aid': apparently they looked in vain for succour. (*Ibid.* 593, 684.)

<sup>3</sup> Whit Monday, 2nd June.

<sup>4</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>5</sup> Rothesay Herald. The letter was sent on 21st June narrating events and requesting a safe-conduct for ambassadors to treat of peace. (*H.* xix. i. 841; *H.P.* ii. 276.) See following letters of Douglas and Otterburn, of date 16th June.

it is. Make his letter vasy and vith gentill vourdis. I have send yow ane clarke off the signet vith syke newis as incurrit (*sic*) for the present, and qwhat service I ma do for yowr grace sall be redde at all tayms as knawis the Eternell qwham have yow in his kayping. Vraytting at Edinbruchg at fowr efter nwne the xi day off Jun.

Post scripta : plesit yowr grace to remember to heste . . . off yowris away vith the fyrst schipe in France and that . . . to the king off France dissaying hym that he sen[d na ?] maner off thing to the guvernur, bot adres all m[ony to ?] yowr grace and to yowr consell, for ye knaw qwh[ow ?] . . . it dede yow the last mony that com to the e[rll off ?] Lenos ; ther for I vald not put the king off France . . . schargis and than the mony to be put in yowr ennemis handis to howrt yow vith. Gud it is that ye vrayt ane letter to schir Jhone Campell<sup>1</sup> dissaying hym to dress yowr materis vith the king for he is yowr awne servand and ville be trest anuch to yow.

\* Be yowr gracis wyt serwes

GEORGE DOWGLAS.\*

## LXXI

*Sir George Douglas to William Bell*

Dalkeith, 16th June [1544].

TO MY CUSING VILZAM BELLE.<sup>2</sup>

Cusing, efter hartly recommendations I resavit yowr vrayting this Sondag the xvi day off Jun vith ane letter fra the qweinis grace, qwhar be I parsawe that hir grace maynd is that I sould returne towart Sterling to gew hir may aways and consell for the sending bode in Ingland and in France and gud it var that hir grace be awayss off

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Campbell of Lundy, ambassador to Francis I. He was the Dowager's *maitre d'hôtel*. See No. LII n.

\* \* Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cusing' is probably a familiar form of address. William Bell appears as a burges of Stirling in 1542 and in 1546 (*R.M.S.*, 1513-46, 2779, 3301).

the lordis dereckit away the harret in Inland vith hir vrayting on to the kingis mageste and that the letter be vaysely med and vith gentill vourdis: the clarke off the register <sup>1</sup> can make it veille and he ville at commendement off the qwein gar vrayt it. And als swa I valde it stude vith hir <sup>2</sup> grace plesur for to send away ane trest servand off hyrs to the king off Franse <sup>3</sup> maken mension qwhow the guvernur wsis hym and qwhow schw hes junde to geder all the nobile men off the rawme for the serving off the qwennis grace hir doucter and diffense of this rawme agennis the alde ennemis, and qwhow hir grace is put in authorite hir selfe, and declare on to the kingis grace off France all maters as tha hawe procedit at this tayme dissaying his graceis gud consell vith supportasion off syk nissessers as hir grace and the guvernur hes vrayting for vith hir imbassaturs, and at the support that tha mycht hew sowlde be hestit on to hir grace, and that mension be mede on to the king off France that hir grece hes all the helle nobile men off the rawme unit togeder qwhilke vas never afor sen the dyde off the kingis grace qwham God assolze, and ville be redde bode sche and tha for to do the king off France bode plesur and servis as fermely as ewer the king off Scotland vas. Thir presentis rehers in the qwennis letter qwhilk I doute nocht bot schw ville do better nor I can dewayse ane gret deylle. Nocht the les this is my pure consell according to my mest bundent dewte qwhilk sall ewer be redde to do hir grace servis: and if ony prewet person syk as the guvernur or the cardenell valde vrayt to the king off France in contrare off hir grace, he beand adver-

<sup>1</sup> James Foulis of Colinton was Clerk of the Register from 1532 to 1546.

<sup>2</sup> *hir*: originally written *yowr*.

<sup>3</sup> Compare postscript of the previous letter. The communication to the King of France may, like the English letter, have been 'vaysely med and vith gentill vourdis,' but it would scarcely have deceived Francis I. The inconsistencies could not be reconciled. On the one side the Dowager was represented as having united all the nobility in the common cause of the defence of the realm against England: yet on the other hand Francis was to be warned to have no dealings with, and to place no faith in, 'ony prewit person syk as the guvernur or the cardenall.'

tiste afor qwhow vaysely sche hes orderit hir maters he vill nocht estime ther infurmasion nor disdynis leis. This is may dewaysse and consell and gewe I var vith hir grace I cowlde do no more, and make ye may excuse that I cum nocht presently that the sychte off hir<sup>1</sup> graceis letter for I have mony gret maters ado<sup>2</sup> and I vald put sowm order or I departit towart hir and tham to remen according to hir mest gracijs plesur. Ther is taking at this rede<sup>3</sup> dyvers gentillmen off the Mers beand my freindis and servandis; ther is taking the lard off Cokburne<sup>4</sup> and his broder, the lard off Langton broder vith dyvers uder gentill men and ane gret numbre off tham and ther for I most in the Mers to se gewe I can helpe to borro thir men onder bandis<sup>5</sup> and I have ane syster sown off my awne, the lard off Vedderburneis broder<sup>6</sup> taking, and gew I sowld nocht helpe thir men now in ther neide tha vald nocht serve me eftervart qwan I mistert<sup>7</sup> tham; thar for I pra yow mek may excuse on to the qweinnis grace for I sall be at hir grace schortly and dispeche my bissenes vith als gret diligence as sall be to me possibille and ther efter cwm and ramen vith hir grace as lang as hir plesur is, preand yow to advertis me off the sam qwhilk I sall fulfille to the utermest off my power as knawis God, qwham have yow in his kaypping. Vrayting

<sup>1</sup> *hir*: originally written *yowr*.

<sup>2</sup> Douglas's own conduct gave the lie to his professions of the solidarity of the nobles in the French interest. At this very time he was negotiating with England. On 10th June he signed the bond at Stirling to maintain the authority of the Queen Dowager: on the following day he was in Edinburgh, where he wrote a vindication of his actions for the English Government. He desired a secret meeting with an English envoy at Berwick, and advised Hertford that there was 'no gret hurt' in hearing the Dowager's herald. (*H.P.* ii. 264.)

<sup>3</sup> A warden raid of 9th and 10th June, in which Jedburgh was burned by Lord Evers and his son, Sir Ralph.

<sup>4</sup> The laird of Cockburn and the laird of Langton both bore the same name, William Cockburn.

<sup>5</sup> To give security for them under a bond.

<sup>6</sup> George Hume of Wedderburn was the son of Alison Douglas, Sir George's sister.

<sup>7</sup> *mistert*: needed.

at Dakecht the xvi day off Jun. I dissayre yow to schaw hir grace this letter be caus I rafarre all maters to yowr vrayting.

\* Be yowr cowseng  
GEORGE DOWGLAS.\*

## LXXII

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 16th June [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Pleis your grace to be advertist that George Douglas come to my hous of Reidhall that samin nycht that I departit fra your [grace?] and remanit quhill on the morne that he had dynit I commonit with him in all materis at lenth and fand him verry weill myndit to serve your grace and to stand ferme at your opynioun and alswa to be ane gude Scottis man. Bot his mynd is that your grace seik be all menis pece of England, and gif it can nocht be obtenit to defend stoutly aganis thair ire. Youre grace may weill undirstand that he wald rathar have peax nor were, gif it mycht be had, for divers causis as your grace can weill consider. Thairfore it is verry necessare that ya direct ane herald with all diligence to the king of England for ane conduct to ambassiatouris and to insert in the writing to be send to him that your grace exhortis him to grant the said saufconduct, and at thair reparing to his grace thai sall have sic comis-sioun with thame that his grace of ressoun salbe satesfyit.

Forder thair is ane Flcmyng schip that wes tane be Franchemen redly to departe in Flandris and the merchandis of Dundee and this toune hes thocht rycht hevvy that thair nychtbouris ar lyand in presoun in Flandris and ar abill to peris and de in presoun without help.<sup>1</sup> Thairfore thai have desirit your grace humlie to direct

\* \* Holograph.

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor, as an ally of England, issued a declaration of war against the Scots, dated at Brussels, 7th May 1544. (*H. xix. i. 480.*)

my lord of Sanct Johnis<sup>1</sup> incontinent for delivering of the sadis presoneris and thair gudis; and, gif the said lord can nocht be na wayis be sped away, to send for Snawdoun herald and direct him to excuse all materis and to schaw the impedimentis quhairthrow our ambasiatouris mycht nocht cum: bot is neidfull that the said lord pas for the comoun weill, for at the fyne the said lord or sum uther grete man man pas. It is mair expedient to mak ane expensis nor to mak doubill and alsua our erandis will nocht be perfityly endit and sped be ane herald.

Alswa pleis your grace to be advertist that the erle of Levenax is forgane the north coist havand twa schippis quhilk come with him furth of Dumbertone about the Ilis. I spak with the man that saw him.<sup>2</sup> Your grace sall beleif surelie that he will byde at the avys and counsale of George Douglas quhilk I know perfityly. Thairfore it is verray expedient that your grace send with all diligence to the said George to solist the said erle to remane in the contre for the weill of the samin and to accept gude wayis and to concur with your grace and the remanent of the lordis. The said George is in Dalkeith and I sall send writing to him to solist him to the samin effect, and the rathare that the said George hes schewin me his mynd in that mater of befoir. Your grace and counsale had grete neid to be besy for the weill of the realme. I saw ane bill that come fra James Henrisoun furth of the New castell, makand mentioun that he wes sary for the damage that we had gottin of England bot mekle mair trist and sorrowfull for the damage tocum, counsaland thairfore his companzeoune, Francis Aikman,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Lindsay, Preceptor of Torphichen and Chief of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland. On 30th April he had been sent to Flanders to return the insignia of the Golden Fleece, and to seek restitution of certain Scottish ships. He signed the bond in favour of the Queen Dowager at Stirling on 10th June. (*H.* xix. i. 435, 436, 664.)

<sup>2</sup> The report was unfounded. Lennox did not come to Scotland at this time.

<sup>3</sup> See *Treasurer's Accounts*, viii. 118, where there is an item, under date 15th September 1541, to the effect that 'James Hendersoun' transacted business 'in Frances Aykmannis lugeing' in Edinburgh.

nocht to repair nor big his hous for this yeir for we stand at ane evill poynt. My lord governour sayis he sall seik help at hell or he want his purpois ; and alswa the mater standis hevvy to me for my parte, for as George Douglas hes schewin to me that he sayis he sall entir throw the castell and sla me, and gif the toun resyst he sall byrn the remanent of it that is unbrynt.

Madame, thair is ane certane of mysdoaris in Domglas quhilk levis apoun reif and spoilze. Gude it war that your grace wrait to George Douglas and caus my lord Boithuile to cum here and stanche thift and to keip the cuntre fra thevis and tratouris. I assure your grace ye ar in gude estimatioun with all the hail cuntre and thairfore ye man be all menys to help the pure cuntre and repres thevis. Madame, the blissit Virgin Marie conserve your grace. Of Edinburcht the xvj day of Junij

Be youre gravis humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>1</sup>

### LXXIII

*Sir George Douglas to the Queen Dowager*

Dalkeith, 17th June [1544].

TO THE QWEINNIS GRACE.

Efter mest humblele recommendations off my service on to yowr grace and plesit this saming that ther is ane Scottis man callit Sanders Prinille,<sup>2</sup> and is it is sede betrasit all the men off the Mers to the Inglis men ; and ther sowld ane man off the lorde Hwmis callit Donalsonne that mette the sade Sanders rayden towart the Inglis men and ane sparde hors in his hand ; and this Donalde sade to Sanders Prynille that he sowld advertis the lord Hwme and the gentill men off the Mers that he vas rayden to be trese tham ; and he sade he sowlde repente his vourdis : and the nixte nycht comme ane compenne

<sup>1</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>2</sup> Sanders Pringle, a spy, active in the service of England and high in official confidence.

towart xvi or xx Inglis men to the sed Donaltis hows and hes scelen hym and his swne bethe. This vas ane crewall decht, fyrst to commit tresson and sayne morthur; ther for if it ma stand vith yowr graceis plesur that ye vald vith avaysse off yowr lordis off the consell gewe the sade Sanders off Prynnyllis eschite on to the lard off Blaketer<sup>1</sup> for he hes taking gret hurt at this tayme. He hes xl off his men ten and selain, he bein in yowr graceis service vith me in Sterling. The sade Sanders eschite is vert lytill or noucht, bot to punis hym to gew uders exemple to do so abominable dechts. Qwhat service yowr grace ville command me vith sall be redde at all tayms as knawis God qwha hawe yow in his kaypping; at Dakecht the xvij day off Jun

be yowr gracis humble serviture

GEORGE DOWGLAS.<sup>2</sup>

#### LXXIV

##### *Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 1st July [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madam, I besyk your grace hald this wryting sacrit. Your grace sall pleis wit I was redde to depart on Fryday<sup>3</sup> at fyf howris on the mornnyng that the governouris sarvandis cryit the proclamacion,<sup>4</sup> quhay met me be the

<sup>1</sup> John Hume, Laird of Blackadder, was the nephew by marriage of Sir George Douglas. His wife was Beatrice Hume, daughter of Alison Douglas. According to the *Register of the Privy Seal* (vol. xviii. f. 28) the escheat was granted to Blackadder at Linlithgow on 7th June. This date, however, is almost certainly wrong. The treason of Pringle apparently has reference to the warden raid of 10th June, and we have seen that, on the 16th, Douglas wrote from Dalkeith to William Bell that it was his immediate business to help the victims in their need.

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>3</sup> Probably 20th June. The Governor was in Edinburgh from 15th to 24th June.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps a proclamation by the Governor discharging the Dowager of her authority, as on 22nd June a macer was sent to Stirling with letters to this effect. (*T.A.* viii. 301.) This would be a counter-stroke to the Queen's effort formally to degrade him in parliament on 25th July. (*H.* xix. i. 756.)



way rydand and inquirit me quhayr I was rydand; quhayr efter, seand I culd nocht weill ewayd, I ansurit and said I was passand to my lord governour for certan besines I had ado. Quhayr efter my cuming to hym I dysirit his ansuir to the kyngis grace of France be rason that I was to depart to his grace, quha ansurit and said he was to depart to Homilton and thair efter wald depart to Sanctandrois<sup>1</sup> and suld thair gyf me ane ansuir be my lord cardenall dewis at my dysir,<sup>2</sup> assurand me of on thyng—that he suld debait<sup>3</sup> the ald alliens of France and was determit, he beand sarply put at, to deliver the strenthis of Scotland in the kyngis grace of France handis. Forder he dysirit me to hawe passit with ane sarvand of his to my brother the erll of Huntly to hawe dysirit hym to hawe bein his and debatit his querall or at the lest for tyll lyin by and bein equall, offerand many wayin profferis quhylk is nocht nessesar to wryt to your grace. I ansurit sayand I culd nocht mell me with syk materis be reson I was the kyng of France sarvand, bot quhat his lordship wald charg me to do for the comon weill of the realm or sustenand the ald allya of France his lordship suld fynd me redde efter my powar. Quhayr I departit plesandly fra his lordship and said I suld meit his lordship in Sanctandrois to rasawe my ansuir. Thair efter I past fordward to Tamtallowin to hawe spokin with my lord of Angws quha was nocht thair,<sup>4</sup> bot I spak with his brother George in the Quhyt kyrk, quhom I fynd gyfin to sarf your grace trewly; and hes comond with hym at lenth as I sall schaw your grace at metyng. He is departit to Pebylis to met my lord his brother and hes casit me to ramayn in this thown quhyll ther cowmin to Dacayth, quhair he sais that I sall hayf his brotheris my lord of Angus ansuir to

<sup>1</sup> The Governor was in Hamilton from 28th June till 3rd July; and in St. Andrews from 9th till 11th July. (*Liber Domicilii*, in Register House.)

<sup>2</sup> Letters from the Cardinal and the Governor were among the documents captured by the English on 29th July. (*H.* xix. i. 1010.)

<sup>3</sup> *debait*: strive for.

<sup>4</sup> On 21st June, Angus was at Dumfries, where he had the proclamation cried depriving Arran of the Governorship. (*H.* xix. i. 756.)

my disyr. Quhayr efter I salbe at your grace and adverteis your grace of the novellis I fynd or hydr. Ther is ane schyp cown furth of Denmark quhay sayis the kyng of Denmarkis armye ar departit to Swedin in feir of weir and is surly appointit with the emprior.<sup>1</sup> Prayand God, madam, efter my hartly commendacion [of] my hwmyll servis, preserf your nobyll grace eternely. Writtin at Edinburg the fyrst day of July

be your grace maist h[u]myll and maist  
obeysant sempill servitour

A. GORDON.<sup>2</sup>

## LXXV

*Lord Somerville to the Queen Dowager*

Peebles, 1st July [1544].

TO THE QUIENIS GRACE.

Mademe, efter my hartly commendatioun and service to your grace I resavit your grace writtin in Pebillis the fyrst day of Julij and sall, God willan, kep the day your grace affixt<sup>3</sup> and in the menetyme salbe deligent and lawborrws in thai materis efter my powar with ony uther service that your grace will command me. All the men of this cuntre bayth of Tweddale and Tewotdale is weill myndit for the service of your grace and the debait of the cuntre aganis Yngland bot thai man be helpit and an the sonar the better. It is gud your grace writt to my lord of Angus to haist hym in Tewedale.<sup>4</sup> Gif I get ony uther novellis in the menetyme I sall advertteis your grace.

<sup>1</sup> A treaty of peace between the Emperor and Christian of Denmark was made at Spires on 23rd May 1544. (*H.* xix. i. 567.)

<sup>2</sup> A holograph letter, with characteristic monogram.

<sup>3</sup> This may be an allusion to 'the Parliament to be holden at Edinburgh' on 31st July (*H.* xix. i. 939); or it may have reference more particularly to 'thai materis' in which Somerville 'salbe deligent and lawborrws.'

<sup>4</sup> On 12th July, Shrewsbury reported that 'because Angus and Sir George Douglas make some assembly of their friends (probably to make themselves stronger against the time of the Parliament) the Warden of the East Marches seems to mistrust some invasion.' (*H.* xix. i. 904.) Angus was Lieutenant of the Borders under the Dowager's pretended Government. (i. 673.)

Almychti God haif your grace in his keping. Of Pebillis  
the fyrst day of Jwlij

Be your grace hwmill servand at command

HEW LORD SOMV[I]LL.<sup>1</sup>

LXXVI

*Glencairn to the Queen Dowager*

Dumbarton, 23rd July [1544].

[TO THE QUE]NIS GRACE.

Madam, after maist hwmilie recommendatioun of my  
[service] to your grace I haif ressavit ane writing fra . . .  
xxii day of Julij; and quhare your grace dissiris me . . .  
parliament,<sup>2</sup> it is nocht unknawin to your grace that . . .  
bath of your graces syid and the erle of Erran[is] . . . I  
am onder deidlie feyd with and sua I dair n[ocht cum ?]  
wythout that I be my awyn vorthie to defend . . . ;<sup>3</sup> and  
or the day of your parliament I trest . . . Levnax wilbe  
at hayme<sup>4</sup> and sa I beleif tha[t with your ?] visdome one  
the ane syid and his guid mynd one toder, that all thingis  
may sa be dressit that we [sall] all be joynt to serve our  
soveraine and your grace peace to be had and sua the  
realme to be rewlit [for the] commowin wele of the same.  
Alsua, madam, I . . . that thare is part of Fraunche men  
taik[in ?] . . . in the park of Steruling quihilk as it . . .  
that thai suld allege that I was the . . . thame to pass  
thare. Madam, ye pleis to [wit ?] I ever was and salbe  
the pwniser of th . . . to be the arter;<sup>5</sup> as is notablie  
kend be all the g . . . of this cuntre, sen I cam heyr quhat  
I haif d . . . pwnissiou[n] of the same. Prayand your

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> A parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh on 25th July, formally to depose the Governor. (*H.* xix. i. 756.)

<sup>3</sup> The general drift is that he is isolated and has apprehensions for his safety.

<sup>4</sup> The English Council at this time was contemplating the return of Lennox to Scotland. (*H.* xix. i. 813; *H.P.* ii. 296.)

<sup>5</sup> *arter*: contriver. The writer evidently labours under a difficulty in self-expression, while gaps in the manuscript and the absence of punctuation add to the obscurity of his statements. He has apparently been charged with complicity in disturbances connected with Frenchmen at Stirling, but he protests

grace to caus . . . to speik with this berer that he may  
heyr thare say[ingis?], quhamto I haif schawin my mynd.  
And ferder, God preserve your grace eternellie. With  
my hand, aff Dunbertane, the xxiii day of Julij

Be your graces ser[vitour]

ERLL OF GL[ENCARNE].<sup>1</sup>

## LXXVII

### *Lennox to Glencairn*

[c. August 1544.]

My lord, efter all hartly commendaschown wnto your  
lordschip pleset the sammien to wet I rasawet your lord-  
schip wraytenys the viij day of Julij, qwayr bay I onder-  
stand ye hef nocht goten mi last wrayten send be me to  
your lordschip the xxviiij day of Junij, qwhelkis mayd  
menschown in qwat stayt I was in at that taym tw[e]chen  
mi mareages<sup>2</sup> and al mi oder besenes, qwelkes now fynal  
endet bayth to mi plesowr and desayr and to al wder mi  
frendes layk as your lordschip sal know be an sarwand  
of mayn qwelk sal com in contenent efter thes wrayteng,  
qwa sal declayr your lordschip and mi frendes the gowdnes  
of the kengys mageste to me and to al tham that ar mi  
frendes and sal tak part with me, togader with the cawes  
of mi slaw wrayten to your lordschip and frendes;<sup>3</sup> and  
en laykways sal schaw your lordschip the maner of my  
departeng qwelk, wel God, sal be rechtsowen<sup>4</sup> her efter

that he is the punisher, not the fomentor, of miscreants. The good men of the  
neighbourhood can testify to his work at Dumbarton for the maintenance  
of order.

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph. The page is stained by damp and the right-hand  
side completely worn away.

<sup>2</sup> Lennox was married to Lady Margaret Douglas, the daughter of Angus  
and Queen Margaret Tudor, on 29th June 1544. Their son was Henry  
Stewart, Lord Darnley, the second husband of Mary Queen of Scots.

<sup>3</sup> Wharton did not know 'what is become of Linoux, who has, however,  
arrived at Chester' (before 9th June). (*H.* xix. i. 652.)

<sup>4</sup> In the second letter, the words run: *my departyng quhilk, will God, sell  
be ressoun heir eftir in syk sort and maner as your lordschip selbe contentyt  
and conforme to my desyir and youris lordschip.*

in sek sort and maner as yowr lordschip sal se conform to mi desayr. Thawrfor I pray yowr lordschip to be on gowd comfort and ramayn with in the castal<sup>1</sup> qwel I com haym, qwelk salbe with al delegens as sayd es; and kep yowr lordschip self and trest with na man bot with in the sayd plays layk as I hef wreten of befoyr; assowreng yowr lordschip, gef ye and frendes knew the grascheownes of the kengys henes and sek honorabel poynt as I am at, al hartes and frendes that lowes me wald regoys to dow hes mageste serwes. And atowr at the wrayteng her of I had not schewen yowr lordschip bel to the kengys henes tw[e]cheng the lord Maxwal,<sup>2</sup> bot I sal do the sammen at mi power and trastes to opten som fawer to hem.<sup>3</sup> And na mayr of this as the prensenal bereys with my ewel hand be yowr grays sarwetor. As yowr grays commandes me I am rade at power. Jhesow be yowr grayce kepayr.<sup>4</sup>

## LXXVIII

*Thomas Erskine, Commendator of Dryburgh, to the Queen Dowager*

Haddington, Monday [July-October, 1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter maist humillie commendatioun of service it will pleis your grace witt this last Sondag my lord of

<sup>1</sup> Dumbarton Castle. On 30th June, Glencairn had written to Wharton that he would have to retire 'to his own country for safety' unless he had speedy news of Lennox's 'prosperity.' (*H.* xix. i. 809.)

<sup>2</sup> Lord Maxwell had been captured by the English, it was suspected with his own connivance, on 15th May 1544. (*H.* xix. ii. 531.)

<sup>3</sup> A second letter, practically identical in phrase but in a different hand, ends here, except for the concluding courtesy, *Be yowris at powr*. The additional note is crushed into the bottom right-hand corner of the sheet, as if added by way of postscript. The folds of the duplicate remain, but there is no conclusive proof that it was sealed for despatch. It may have been a draft or copy: more probably two letters were sent in order to safeguard against a second miscarriage in transit.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is unsigned and unaddressed, but it is holograph in the hand of Lennox.

Angus convenit the ge [*sic*] maist part of the gentilmen of Laudian in Hadingtoun and requirit thame to pas wyth him to the bordouris for resisting of the Inglismen,<sup>1</sup> quhilkis glaidlie grantit and wilbe redy this nixt Sunday to pas furthwart; and the [comm]issioun is send to your grace to be selit. Quharfor and your grace thocht expedient, gude war to haist the commissioun wyth furnissing and gud writtingis as your grace thinkis caus quhill thai and utheris ther freindis ar myndit to pas furthwart. For novellis ther is nane. I am past our to Dryburgh, and gif ony occuris in thay partis your grace salbe advertist therof wyth deligen; quhome God eternale haif in keping. Of Hadingtoun this Monunday<sup>2</sup>

be your grace most humill servitour

T. E., COMMENDATOUR OF DRYBRUGH.<sup>3</sup>

## LXXIX

. . . to the Queen Dowager

6th August [1544 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mademe, efter humlic commendatio[n]is of service maid to your grace, arryvit in this toun yeisterday. Sene syne hes hard na novellis except my lord of this place hes schawin me that the cardynall hes writting to him that my lord governour and Argill suld meit in this toun

<sup>1</sup> Angus was appointed Lieutenant of the Borders under the Queen's 'pretended' Government. (*H.* xix. i. 673.)

<sup>2</sup> The date of writing probably falls between the middle of July and the beginning of October 1544. On Saturday, 12th July, the English Warden of the East Marches feared an invasion, as Angus and Douglas were mustering their friends. On 5th September 'Angus is appointed Lieutenant and expected shortly to come to the Borders.' A month later the English were still not relieved from the fear of invasion. (*H.* xix. i. 904; ii. 185, 345.)

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Erskine, second son of John, fifth Lord Erskine. He succeeded as Master of Erskine on the death of his elder brother at the battle of Pinkie.

The letter is holograph.



within this viij dayis.<sup>1</sup> Gif swa be, quhat pourpois is tane amang tham sall adverteis your grace. Gif thayre beis ony thing occur sene my departing your grace will ples adverteis with this berare quharthrow I may do efter your grace mynd as ye will ples send word. Quhen I come furthe of Stryvelyng fra your grace suld haif desyrit sum wyne, and now fors causis me charge your grace, for I can get nane heyre for mone. Heyrefor prayis your grace to caus answeere the berare of twa ponsonis <sup>2</sup> of wyne. Ferther, hes ordanyt the berare schaw your grace at lenth all thingis, quhomto ye will pleis gif credens; and the eternall God haif your grace in his keiping. At . . . g, this vj day of August <sup>3</sup> be

## LXXX

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

St. Andrews, 6th August [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, yowr grace sall pleis witt my lord cardinall send ther synry writyngis to me to Innerpeffry,<sup>4</sup> prayand

<sup>1</sup> In August 1544 the Governor was in Edinburgh, and the Queen in Stirling. On 6th August, Wharton had been advertised by a Scots prisoner that Argyle had spoken with the Governor in Edinburgh 'and raid hiss way agane.' (*H.* xix. ii. 42 (2).) There is no indication as to the authority of the informant's statement.

<sup>2</sup> *ponsonis*: puncheons, barrels.

<sup>3</sup> The foot of the sheet has apparently been cut away along the lowest of the three original folds in the paper. It was probably damaged beyond repair, as what is now the bottom right-hand corner is torn, and there is a hole where the place of despatch has been written: it appears to end in . . . g. The hand has some resemblances to the holograph of Earl Marischal; but as there is no record of his movements at this date, the identity of the writer must remain matter of conjecture. Marischal was an adherent of the Dowager, but in November he was commissioned by the parliament of the Governor to open negotiations towards a reconciliation with the lords at Stirling. (See No. LXXXVII.)

<sup>4</sup> Innerpeffry, in Strathearn, the residence of Lord Drummond. Gordon's mother, Margaret Stewart, natural daughter of James IV. by Margaret Drummond, married, as her second husband, Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffry, who was tutor of David, Lord Drummond, during his minority. (*S.P.* vii. 45.)

me to cum and speik with his lordship, and in his last writyng advertesand me off writyngis wes cum owt off France fra monsieur de la Croix,<sup>1</sup> writyne the ix day off Junij; quowm fray I rasawit ane, schawand off his gud passag, and refreritt all nowellis to my lord cardinall writyng and the ambasadouris. My lord cardinall advertist me off yowr grace credit quhilk wes gyffin to master Jone Hay,<sup>2</sup> the gentilman that cowm laitlye owt of Denmarkthe, to schaw his lordship, off the quhilkis he hes maid yowr grace ansour in my [lord cardinallis<sup>3</sup>] ambasadouris writyngis. Madame, we ar advertist for sowr that monsieur de Wauldry<sup>4</sup> is tyn presoner and is in Berwyk, the quhilk is greitt damage; quharfor, gyf yowr grace and the ambasadour thynkis necessair for the weill off this realm and service off the kyngis grace my master to send ony uthyr haistelye in France, I sall be reddy at command for ther is ane schip hyr in this towyn that will be reddy to depart vithin xi or xii dais. Fordar I refer all uther newellis to my cummyng to yowr grace. Prayand God, Madame, efter my maist h[u]myll commendacion off hartlye service, preser yowr nobill grace eternaly. Writyn at Sanctandros, the sext day off August

be yowr graice maist h[u]myll servitour

A. GORDON.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He transacted business in France for the Duchess of Guise and the Queen Dowager. (See *Balcarres Papers*, i.) He was in Scotland as an envoy in December 1544. (*T.A.* viii. 335.)

<sup>2</sup> John Hay was a nephew of the Cardinal. He was sent as ambassador to Denmark (April to June 1544) to make a representation on affairs in Scotland and to seek a renewal of the ancient treaties. (*Epis. Regum Scot.* ii. xxxix.)

<sup>3</sup> These words have been struck out.

<sup>4</sup> Monsieur de Bauldreul: captured off Scarborough about 28th July, on his return from Scotland with despatches to France. These included letters of the Dowager showing 'why she required an abstinence for a month.' The prisoners were detained in Scarborough, not at Berwick, until they were despatched to the central government. (*H.* xix. i. 1010; ii. 40.)

<sup>5</sup> A holograph letter. The initial letters in this and the following signature are in the characteristic monogram sometimes adopted by the writer.



## LXXXI

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

St. Andrews, 20th August [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter my maist h[u]myll commendacion off hartlye service pleis yow[r] grace I am her with my lord cardinall quhar I can do yowr grace better service as with yowr grace, assurand yowr grace I sall do my detfull diligence to hald my lord cardinall at the best opinion for yowr grace affect; bot att the list my beyng hyr sall be to yowr grace awantage as yowr grace sall knaw at metyng at mair lentht. The end will schaw quha dois yowr grace best service; quhowm I pray God have yowr grace eternaly in his keppying. Writyn at Sanct-androis, the xx day of August

be yowr grace maist h[u]myll sugget and servitour

A. GORDON.<sup>1</sup>

I spaik with my brother, the erll off Huntlye, quha I am asswritt will nocht fail to keip ane gud part to yowr grace by all the wardyll as yowr grace will knaw.

## LXXXII

*Sir George Douglas to the Queen Dowager*

Dalkeith, 4th September [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Heifter most humell commendation off my servece on to your grace, this Turisday my lord Borthik cuming frome the cardenall till his awn hows I wes in huntyng, and ane part off my serva[n]dis fortunite tyll meit the sad lord Borthik and stopit hym, and he is ramaning in

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<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

your graceis castall off Dalkycht and sall on tyll your sad plesor be knawing;<sup>1</sup> besekand your grace to ramembar the ungentyll handling of your gracis servandis be the governowr and his frendis, trastyng that my lordis being bund on to your grace for the comonne weill weyll put rameid in his unrasonable handlyng off yowr gracis subeis [*sic*]; and I is on off your gracis servandis sall . . . langis to me efter my litill powar, disiryng your grace [advertise ?] me off yowr plesor and put ane charp ordor in thir he at[tenttatis ?] don to your gracis attorate, or illis it weill nocht be ragardit. I weill nocht truble your grace with lang wr[it]yng. Quhat service yowr grace weyll commend me with sall be rady as knawis God, quham presarf yow. At Dawlkycht, the fourt day off Septembar

\* be yowr graces howmil servand

GEORGE DOWGLAS.\*

### LXXXIII

*Thomas Erskine, Commendator of Dryburgh, to the Queen Dowager*

Gullen, 12th September [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter maist humellie commendatioun of service your grace hes herd of the greit skayth wes done be Inglismen this last oulk in Scotland, and specialie besyde my place quhar thai have distroyit all the teindis that I had in thai partis lyke as this berer can schaw your grace, and the thing that we haif for to sustene me and the convent bayth lysis in Lowdiane besyde my lord Bothwell; and I am in thai partis now and intendis to

<sup>1</sup> 'Upon the xvij day of August the governour tuik the lord Sanctiohne, the lairdis of Calder and Dundas, quha was put in Blaknes; and on Santcuthbartis day eftir [4th September], George Dowglas tuik the lord Borthvick and put him in Dalkeith, to freith the laird of Calder.' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 35; cf. No. LXXXVIII.)

\* \* Holograph. There are blanks in the letter where the document is torn.

put the sammin to sum proffitt, and my said lord intro-mettis wyth the maist part therof to his behuif wythout ony rycht of me and the convent, gevend occasioun to utheris in the parrochoin to do siclyk. Beseikand your grace herfor to write to him effectuouslie to desist and ces therfra and to suffir me to intromet and dispone ther-upon as I think best for weile of our place as he will report your grace thankis therfor wyth uther gudè wordis as your grace thinkis best for that sammin effect. For novellis in thar partis ar nane. Gif ony occurris your grace salbe advertist therof wyth deligens; quhome God eternall haif in keping. At Gulen,<sup>1</sup> the xij day of September<sup>2</sup> be

your grace maist humill servitour

T. COMMENDATUR OF DRIBURGH.<sup>3</sup>

#### LXXXIV

##### *Glencairn to the Queen Dowager*

Findlayston, 25th September [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madam, efter maist hertlie recommendatioun of my service to your grace, plesit your grace that I ressavit your graces writingis this Furisday in the morvinge,<sup>4</sup> maikand mensioun that the lard of Bischoptoun<sup>5</sup> come to your grace this last Tyisday with credence fra the capitane; and quhair your grace assignit Monunday to the capitane to fynd souerte, I thank your grace and

<sup>1</sup> Gullane contributed to the revenues of Dryburgh. See *Rentale*, in *Liber de Dryburgh*.

<sup>2</sup> The year is apparently 1544. Despatches of 6th September 1544 report destructive raids over the Scottish border. Bothwell was then in the Lothians: he was captured by Lady Borthwick on 16th September. The Earl and the Commendator were both adherents of the Dowager's 'pretended' Government.

<sup>3</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>4</sup> 25th September, the day of writing.

<sup>5</sup> John Brisbane.

praxis your grace to ressave the samin. This Furisday <sup>1</sup> the capitanes wife <sup>2</sup> and wderis of his freindis hes bene at me gifand me guid wordes, and I trest the wyit of this that he did was alluterlie be my lady Errollis cast <sup>3</sup> and my lord of Lennax freindis, the quhilk I trest sall failzie thare entent that thai wald haif had. I haif gifin gud wordes and put off the capitane quhill your grace may ressave the souerte. Alsua, I am advertist that the governour hes gart [proc]leme ane parliament the vi day of November and summondit my [lordis of Angus and] of Bodwell and George of Dowglas of tressoun.<sup>4</sup> The quhilk . . . thing, and it be wyislie handlit may twrn to his awin confusioun as I sall gar your grace clerylie understand, prayand your grace to send sum sacret servand to me that I may schaw him my mynd to infurm your grace in all behalfis of thingis that I will nocht writ for daunger of tayking be the gait.<sup>5</sup> Alsua, plesit your grace to advertes me of my lord Ergiles souerans, gif it be cumin to my lord of Cowpar <sup>6</sup> or nocht, and gif it be cumin that I may haif it, and I sall gif myn conforme to the samin. Plesit your grace, gif ye will send any word to Fraunce this schip is redy to depart. Ony uthir sted our service your grace will charge me I am redye, as knawis

<sup>1</sup> *This Furisday*: in the absence of punctuation in the original, there may be some ambiguity about the context of these words. As, however, the letter was apparently written in the evening, the inference is that they refer to events that had taken place during that day.

<sup>2</sup> Annabell, daughter of Sir William Edmonstone of Duntreath.

<sup>3</sup> Helenor Stewart, sister of Lennox. The reference seems to be to the design of Lennox to secure Dumbarton for the King of England. The Earl 'lately [before 20th September] with an English fleet of 18 ships, returned into Scotland, and being with a multitude of the English, received at a banquet in the citadel of Dumbarton, afterwards began to treat with the governor there for the delivery of the said citadel to England.' (*H.* xix. ii. 312.) Probably his sister was an accomplice who, with sinister intentions, prevailed upon Stirling to admit the treasonable guests.

<sup>4</sup> Glencairn's 'advertisement' was correct. After the reconciliation of the rival parties, in November, remission was granted for past treason to Angus, Douglas, Bothwell, Cassillis, Glencairn, and the Sheriff of Ayr.

<sup>5</sup> *be the gait*: on the way.

<sup>6</sup> Donald Campbell, fourth son of Archibald, second Earl of Argyle.

God, quhay mot haif your [grace] in keping. Off your grace place of Fyndlastoun,<sup>1</sup> the xxv day of Septembre

Be your graces servitour

ERLL AF GLENCARN.

## LXXXV

*Sir George Douglas to the Queen Dowager*

28th September [1544 ?].

TO THE QUEYNIS GRECE.

Efter mest humble recommendasions off my service [unto] your grece, I have rasavit your gentil letter vraytin vith your awne hande quiche promittis to me ane thousand crownis in pension for my service, quiche I have nocht dissarvit so gret revarde; bot I sal be redde to serve your grace at al tymes to the beste off my power, and sal nowther spare for feir off layffe nor guddis to do that thing according to my honner to the plesur off your grece and common veil off this ralme. For if ther be bot two men in Scotland that vil bayde at your opinion I sal be one and this is nocht for your greceis geir bot for my promes and h[onner ?], quiche I sal never fel quhil I be alaife a[s knawis ?] the eternal God, quho presarve your grece. . . . xxviii off September

\* be yowr gr . . . nd

GEORGE D . . . \*

## LXXXVI

*Sir George Douglas to the Queen Dowager*

Dalkeith, 13th October [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Eftyr most humyll recommendations of my sarves unto yowr grace, this Sondag, the xii of Octobar, I hayf rasavit

<sup>1</sup> Finlayston is in the parish of Kilmacolm, in Renfrewshire.

The letter is holograph.

\*\* Holograph. The letter is mutilated by damp.

ane lettyr of your gracis fra the parson of Ryne my lorde Boduallis saryand, with ane wryting of the yerl of Glen-carnis and sartan arteklis of his counsall, quhilk counsall me thynk werray gude. Your gracis lettyr was lang of cummyng to me, bot now sen at the tyme is dwyne, it is gud ye suffyr not langer, becaws the governor waxis prouwd and the cuntray fallis to hym mayr for feyr nor for luf. He garris the word gang that he hes the yerll of Huntly,<sup>1</sup> the yerll Marschall, the yerll of Argylle bund onto hym . . . ken this nocht of werrate. He brutis this to draw the [ha]rtis of the pepyll fray yow and to hym. Now, gud it [wer ?] me think that your grace wret to all the nobyll [men] of Skotland that wildo for yow, spretuall and [temporal], and desyre thame to cum to Styrlyng to your [grace] . . . awht days befoyr the parlament the gavernor hes [proclomit ?],<sup>2</sup> and at ye may with the adwyses of thay nobyll men [pr]osede forduart apon thame that assestis to the governor; for and ye suffyr the governor and thaim to convene befoyr yow the mast part of Skotland will cum to hym and than have ye lost your purpos to the grate deshonour of yow and all your part takars and the destrwksion of this hayll rewlme [?]. And quhayr your grace wretis to me that I suld send master John Ballantyn<sup>3</sup> unto you with the quarter seyll to derek precepts of the parlament, I send hym to yow to Strewalyng: and quhy wald nocht your grace than caws hym to dow that thyng thane at become hym to dow or ellis have tane the seyll fra hym and put ane wdyr in the office, for it was saide be your grace and all the lordis that the clarkkis of redgastair<sup>4</sup> and Jus[tice

<sup>1</sup> On 3rd October the English feared a raid on Holy Isle by Huntly and Angus. (*H.* xix. ii. 345.)

<sup>2</sup> The Dowager's parliament was summoned for 12th November, and the Governor's met on the 6th. (*A.P.* ii. 445, 447.) She had intended to hold a parliament in Edinburgh on 31st July. (*T.A.* viii. 308.)

<sup>3</sup> Master John Bellenden, Director of Chancery (*R.M.S.*).

<sup>4</sup> Sir James Foulis of Colinton, Clerk of Register. On 13th July a letter was sent to Stirling 'chargeing Maister James Foulis to cum to Edinburgh to my lord governour.' (*T.A.* viii. 308.) He and Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoule, Justice-Clerk, were both present in the Governor's parliament on 6th November.

with ?] all the hayll rest suld hawe bene send for, and if thay had nocht cum the day at ye apontit thayme, thay suld had beyn deschargit of thayr offecis and [wderis put ?] into the sam[en] and the selis suld hawe beyn . . . ; and gif thai had dissobeyt thay suld hayve beyne . . . and new sells mayd. All thyr thyngis war spokin . . . nathing is dwyne. The schame is gret bot the s . . . mayr aperandly be the slak handlyng of thyr aff[airis ?] . . . help yit and be deligent and gyf the lordis will . . . yow gar thame cum in ane substantiall manyr . . . may set fordwart thys mater with stranth and . . . to return haym agayn quhyll that thay stabyll . . . ate at thay hawe promest to yowr grace . . . to lois owr lywes forfat. Lat nodyr ca . . . be sparit bot charge all manyr of man . . . and thay that cummys, hald thayme as yowr [freindis ?]; thay that dowis the contrary, exteme thaym [ennemeis ?] to the quenis grace yowr dohtter and yow and brak[arris ?] of the commonn weyll of this rewlm. Your grace sall wit me lord of Angus is raturnit fra the bord[aris]<sup>1</sup> and hes performit his promes maid to yowr grace and the lordis . . . trastyng all the nobyll men at was pr[esent ?] well dow the samen, for we sall nocht fayll to perform the rest be the grace of God. It sall nodyr be for fayr words nor proffet that sall gar ws menis<sup>2</sup> ane grane of owr honor nor promes maid onto yowr grace. Thayr is gret delygens mayd be the [governor] and cardenall to brek the lordis and nobyll men fray yow and large proffetis offerit thame; and gyf thay can nocht get thayme to thayr purpos, offeris thayme proffet to ramane at hame; and als thay labor at all thayr frendis handis that ar gentilmen to thame to solest thay lordis and offeris thame . . . that is of souerte. Thayrfor yowr grace, with awys of the lordis, man wret awtentyk letteris to all the nobyll men and send wise gentilmen with the

<sup>1</sup> Angus and Douglas were both on the borders on 8th October when Sir George 'desires to show matters to the King's contentation.' On the 17th 'Sir Ralph Eure has commission to speak with Sir George, but they have not yet met.' (*H.* xix. ii. 387, 448.)

<sup>2</sup> *menis*: diminish.

sayd letteris to parswade bayth lordis and gentilmen to your graxis purpos. This day thayr is ane presepe of parlament derekit be the governor to my lord James<sup>1</sup> and ane wdyr is cum to the yerll of Mortown. A am swyr thay ar derekit ovr all the realm in lyk manyr, and thayrfor pro[sede ?] as ye thenk caws with deligens. I will trwbyll your grace na mayr with wretyng at this present . . . this[?] desyring yow to apardoun my rude dytyng bot fors constraines me swa to dw, as knaws God, quhaw consarwe your grace in gud halth. At Dalketh, this Monunday, the xiii of this mowneth of October

\* be your grases . . . servand

GEORGE DOWGLAS.\*

### LXXXVII

*Sir George Douglas to the Queen Dowager*

Tantallon, 18th October [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Efter most humell commendasion of my serwis to [your] grace, I rasaifit your wrytting with the presse[is of] parlament<sup>2</sup> the xvij of this instant and sall acor[dingly] adres the said pressepis, and in lykmaner sall . . . me lord of Angus acordyng to your grace . . . It is fair west to the erllis of Angus Bothwel [and me ?] to bryng our folkis to Styrl yng for y[our grace] and the nobeill men that cumis to yow most mu[ster ?] toward Edynbruch. We sall fors the gufu[rnor and] hes part takaris to cum furth to the feilddis and f[echt] with us or ellis we sall hungar tham to deith. W[ithin] vj dayis ane of ws thre sall be with your grace agan the conwenssion of the lordis. I

<sup>1</sup> James Stewart, Commendator of Melrose and Kelso, natural son of James v. by Elizabeth Shaw. Douglas would have first-hand information about this summons, as he writes this letter from Dalkeith, the seat of Morton.

\* \* Holograph. The letter is much destroyed by damp, and in places the writing is almost obliterated.

<sup>2</sup> A summons to the Queen's 'pretended' parliament in opposition to the Governor.



beseik yowr grac to be delegend and spar nodyr for cost nor lawbor at this present ; for geif this maitter cum [?] forwart with you ye weill haif no mor trubell be no Scottis-man. Plesit your grace I haif . . . wrytting that com fra ane kynis man of the lord Grayeis quho schawis on to me that the cardenell makis gr[et] lawbor tell haif the said lord bund on to him [and] to be inimye to your grac. I wald it suld sta[nd with] yowr plessur to wrytt on to the lord Gr[ay and] Jhon Charturrs and send ane cradabell g[entilman] with yowr wryttingis and offar tham prof-fattis [gyf the ?] maitter sall be drest tuchyng the town [of Sanct ?] Jhonstown<sup>1</sup> at the sycht of me lord Mar [schal ?]. Geif yowr grac well send ane wys man I tr[est it] maye be drest to your graceis purpos. It war ane greit weill to yow to haif tham, for the card[inal] has no man to tak hes part bott tham. [Gyf ?] this matter wald be down in hast and delegendle, mye cussyng Harre Drummuntt<sup>2</sup> war ane meit man to send to me lord Graye and Jhon Charturrs for he hes greit cradens of [th]am. He man ryd wyssle ; the guffornor and cardenell luffis [na] man wars. I sall wrytt to the said lord and Jhon Charturrs [quhi]lk I trest sall do gud. Your grac sall dres ane diffarrans betuex me lord Ruffane and tham and that sall be gret well for the haill contra.<sup>3</sup> I haif nocht hard how [m]e lord Argyll Glencarn and Cassillis and the westland men deid at ther tryst in Air,<sup>4</sup> for geif tha be sur to yowr grace and bryng ther frendis with tham your matter well ga with yow : for me lord of Huntle Marchell

<sup>1</sup> The records contain constant references to civic disturbances in Perth throughout this period ; but the evidence is fragmentary, the detail obscure. On 14th July 1544 a proclamation was issued summoning the lieges to the defence of the town, which was threatened by invasion from 'certain of the lieges.' (*Inventory of State Papers*, in Reg. House.) On 22nd July there followed an armed encounter, fostered by the Cardinal, between the rival factions.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently Henry Drummond of Riccarton.

<sup>3</sup> It would seem that the Queen did intervene in this matter. See No. CXXIX.

<sup>4</sup> Wharton reported that on 22nd October, Angus, Glencairn, and the Sheriff of Ayr had made an agreement 'to stand with the Dowager against the Governor, as heretofore.' Angus submitted the names of the Dowager's party to the English Government. (*H.* xix. ii. 490.)

and Arrell as wrytten on to me that tha well kype promes on to yowr grace. Gef ye haif the lord Graye ye haif fra Taye north. Gef yowr grac well gar me lord Askin<sup>1</sup> sand for the lard of Lochleifin<sup>2</sup> and at he cum and speik with yow and se geif ye maye haif hem to be yowrs, for he is bath throw and manle and well kyp that he promissis; it is said me that erll of Rothes well be the cardenellis, and the lard of Lochleiffin and he well nocht be bath on ane syd as [I] beleif. I wald yowr grace wald send for the lard of Rath<sup>3</sup> and caus hem to speik with all the gentilmen of Fyf and mak tham yowrs. I well trubell your grace no mor with this present. Quhat serwis ye well command me with sall be rade is knawis God, quhom haif yow in kyppyng. At Thamtallon, the xvij of Octobar

be yowr graces sarwand

GEORGE DOWGLAS.<sup>4</sup>

### LXXXVIII

*John Sandilands of Calder to the Queen Dowager*

Calder, 27th October 1544.

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE.

Emplesit your maist noble graice that for nay laubouris lesum and honest my father, brother, and gude brother can be gottyne to liberte,<sup>5</sup> hopyng in God that He sall

<sup>1</sup> Lord Erskine.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Douglas of Lochleven was married to Margaret, daughter of Lord Erskine. Regent Moray was the son of Margaret Erskine by James v.

<sup>3</sup> John Melville of Raith.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is holograph and much mutilated.

<sup>5</sup> 'Upoun the xvij day of August the governour tuik the lord of Sanctiohne, the lairdis of Calder and Dundas, quha was put in Blaknes.' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 35; cf. No. LXXXII.) The writer's brother was Sir James Sandilands, who succeeded Sir Walter Lindsay, his fellow-captive, as Preceptor of Torphichen in 1547, and founded the family of Sandilands, Lords Torphichen. Sir James Dundas was the husband of Margaret Sandilands.

yit provyd sum better way, nor is laitlie chansit this day of the capitane of the castell of Edinburgh <sup>1</sup> to be cummy n in our handis; quhairat, gif thai may do ony thing to this plaice to thair intent, it will nocht be deferrit. Besekit your graice in maist humyll maner (considering it is for the furth putting and avanceme[n]t of your graices auctorite) that gif this our plaice beis invadit be thame, that ye wald caus the nobles and men of gude of your graices attendance to adres thaim wyth deligence till our relief. And to the effect that we may resist the better it will pleis your grace caus len tuay cutthrottis <sup>2</sup> vyth certane pulder and bullettis to this berar, quhilk salbe at your graices command agane wyth our oblist dett and service that lysis in our power, as this ge[n]till man, Robert Bruce, <sup>3</sup> will schaw your maist noble graice; and to gif credeit. At Calder, 27 day of October 1544

Be your graices maist humyll and lawlie servitour

JOHNE SANDILANDIS.<sup>4</sup>

### LXXXIX

#### *Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Crichton, 4th November [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit unto your hienes, I have at lencht commonit with the potingar, <sup>5</sup> your grace servitour, tweching sundry

<sup>1</sup> James Hamilton of Stonehouse, captain of Edinburgh Castle. His history at this time is obscure. He had apparently been in ward, for on 4th November John and George Tenent found surety to 'underlie the law for the non-deliverance of the said Captain, and for putting of him to freedom.' (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i<sup>o</sup> 531.) Stonehouse, in his turn, apprehended the writer of this letter in January 1545-6. (*Diurnal*, 41-2.)

<sup>2</sup> *cutthrottis*: a kind of ordnance.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Robert Bruce of Binning. See *Treasurer's Accounts*.

<sup>4</sup> John Sandilands, eldest son of Sir John Sandilands of Calder. He was an opponent of the Cardinal and a supporter of George Wishart.

Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the French apothecary mentioned in the *Treasurer's Accounts* of 1542. (*T.A.* viii. 102.)

thingis quhilkis he hed in directioun from your hienes, and now the passage is sa full of perrellis that I durst nocht send writingis to accomplis your grace gud mynd in suche affearis as I have doun and yett laborand at my powir to putt fordwart your hienes besines: and sua I have schawin to the berar my mynd in your grace commandmentis quhilkis I sall fulfyll at my hichtast power, and in all thingis it will pleis your hienes to gyf credens unto him as to my self. Almychty God have your hienes in evirlesting keping. At Crechtoun, the iiij day of November be

Your hienes humill and subyet servitour

ERLE BOTHUIL.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Le conte du Baudouel.]

## XC

### *Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Crichton [c. November 1544 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit unto your grace, I have witht gret labouris brocht my lord Borthuik<sup>2</sup> unto your grace service, your hienes doand to him as I have apponcted, of quhilk this berar will gyff your grace informatioun. My lord Borthuik wilbe no ways content without sickirnes<sup>3</sup> be your grace hand writ and seill, and me and my landis oblist for the samen; sua it will pleis your hienes to send ane commissioun to me wnder your hand writ and seill to end with him in this behalf and to tak him oblist to your grace service only for all the days of his liff. This beyng doun, it wilbe occasioun to the residew of the gentill men of cuntra to cum hail youris for suche gratitudis as your henes plesis to do to tham. The berar can schaw how

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph, and the ink is greatly faded.

<sup>2</sup> John, sixth Lord Borthwick.

<sup>3</sup> *sickirnes*: security.

defissill it wes to me to bring him to this purpois becaus  
of the grett proffittis promissit to him be the governour  
and cardinall quhilk I have stoppit as yit and sall do,  
your grace haistand the commissioun as said is to me.  
Madam, I am dayly cummerit with the offeris from the  
governour of gret profitt bot always I sall serve your  
hienes conforme to my power and honour at your grace  
plesour in thir premis; and uther besines I have schawin  
my mynd unto this berar quhom to it will ples your grace  
gyff credens and to haist this berar with your grace mynd,  
quhen I sall addres me towart your hienes. Almychty  
God have your grace in keeping. At Crechtoun, be

Your grace hwmill and subgett servitour

P. ERLE BOTHUILE.<sup>1</sup>

## XCI

### *Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Crichton, 7th November [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit unto [your] grace, this vij day of November<sup>2</sup>  
I resavit your grace writingis wytht ane commissioun  
selit and subscrivit.<sup>3</sup> Madame, I sall fulfill your hienes  
commandmentis at my power; and with suche diligens  
as I ma mak salbe in Strivcling at your grace but ony  
impediment that ma happin, I beyng levand: howbeit  
that Ingland with the assistans of my unfrendis in Taviot-  
daill hes brynt heryt and distroyt my haill landis in  
Taviotdaill, and now on Woddinnisday hes tane my place  
of Ancrome and purpossis this nixt Sondag to sege my

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph. The date is probably about the beginning of November 1544, after 'my lord Borthwick was releivit [on 7th October] out of Dalkeith, quha come hame and friethit the erle Bothvill.' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 35.)

<sup>2</sup> Friday.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the commission to afford 'sickirnes' to Borthwick. See preceding letter.

hows of Langnewtoun;<sup>1</sup> and to the samyn effect Sir Rawff Everis<sup>2</sup> remanis now presently in Jedburgh weill tretit with the lardis of Farnyhirst and Sesfurd and utheris cuntre men. I am this day advertist surly that the governour and his frendis purposs to ly for me in the passage, bot nother he nor the tribull I have in Taviotdail sall be ony stoip to me: besekand your grace hwmilly that ye stop na thing in your grace purpos bot put it fordwart, nocht dowting bot all salbe as at your henes plesour. In suche uther thingis as occuris I have schawin my mynd unto this berar quhom to it will ples your grace gyf credens. Almychty God have your hienes in sur keping. At Crechton, the vij day of November be

Your grace hwmill and subjett servitour

P. ERLE BOTHUILE.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Du Conte de Baudouel.]

## XCII

### *Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Huntly, 13th November [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE.

Madame, it pleis your graice I ressavit ane vriting of your graicis in Huntlie the xj day of this instant moneth, daitit at Stiruling the vj day of the sam, desyrand me be in Stiruling the xvij day of this sam moneth for certain besines to be tretit concerning the commone weill.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Forays were made upon Bothwell's lands on 29th October and 4th November, but there is no mention in the despatches of the capture of Ancrum. Fernieherst's report shows that Langnewton was burned about 7th November. (*H.* xix. ii. 625.)

<sup>2</sup> Warden of the Middle Marches: slain at Ancrum, 27th February 1544-5.

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>4</sup> This probably refers to the overtures made by the Governor to the Queen in November. Earl Marischal, Montrose, and others were accredited by Parliament to open negotiations with the Queen at Stirling. (*A.P.* ii. 448.)

Madame, I belewe your graice has hard how all this cuntreth wes brekand,<sup>1</sup> hed nocht bein my haiste haym cumin,<sup>2</sup> throw quhilk I hawe beyn gritlie cummerit, and to that effect hes affixit ane lieutennent court in Abirdene<sup>3</sup> the penult of this moneth and utheris divers for appuntment to be hed betuix divers gentillmen of the cuntreth; quharthrow I may nocht haistlie depart of thir partis quhill the said court be done, and thereafter sall haste me with diligence to Stiruling to your graice and keip the first trist of the parliament.<sup>4</sup> Therfor prais your graice apardon me, and quhat beis thocht expedient for your graicis plesour and the commone weill [of the] realm be your graice and my lordis of counsall I sall conforme me [therto?]. Als, pleis your graice the bischop of Abirdene is verray ewill dispo[sit?], and gywe he hapnis to de I wald hawe his benefice and has ane pro[mise?] of my lord governouris of the sam in writ.<sup>5</sup> Therfoir pleis your graice desyir the sam of my lord governour to my behuif sa at I may understand your graicis labouris therin, assurand your graice that \*gywe it waikis I will nocht want it nor depart with it in na sort.\* I salbe ever redyie at your graicis charge as knawis God, quhaw preserve your graice eternallie. At Huntlic, the xiiij day of November

be your graice maist humill and obedient servitour

GEORGERLL OF HUNTLY.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *brekand*: in an uproar.

<sup>2</sup> He had been on the Borders on 6th October. (*H.* xix. ii. 360.)

<sup>3</sup> Huntly was Lieutenant of the North. It is probably to this time that we should ascribe the events related by Lesley. (*History*, 183-6.)

<sup>4</sup> During the negotiations at Stirling, Parliament was continued to 12th December.

<sup>5</sup> Licence was granted under the Privy Seal to William Stewart, Bishop of Aberdeen, to resign in favour of William Gordon, Chancellor of Moray, the uncle of Huntly. Stewart died in April 1545, and was succeeded by Gordon. Huntly's youngest brother, James, thereafter became Chancellor of Moray in room of his uncle. (*Bps. of Scotland*, 140.) Cf. No. CXXIX.

\* \* 'If it falls vacant, I will not be without it, nor share it with any one in any way.' In the end, however, a pension was granted to Arran's son from the revenues.

<sup>6</sup> The letter is probably holograph.

## XCIII

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

25th November [1544].

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE.

Madame, pleis your grace

To remembir my service don unto our soverane lord your umquhill deirest spous quhar of his graice had consideratioun and myndit to have rewardit me giv his graice had convelessit. Madem, pleis your grace to remembir my service consernyng our soverane lady your deirest dochtir in stopping the transporting.<sup>1</sup> Secundlie, the stopping of effusion of blud that apperit to be betuex the lordis and utheris barronis and leigis. Thridlie, how my lord governour com unto your graice and sen that tym has ussit him be your graice and counsall beand wyth you than chossin.<sup>2</sup> Madam, in all the poyntis forsaid and mone utheris concernyng the commone weill I haif at all tymmis don my hail cuer,<sup>3</sup> quharfor I sustenit greit expenssis throw the quhilk I am greitly superexspendit. Madem, I informyt your grace befoir alsweill how my leving was of small importance yerly, and that my confidence was your grace suld at gud tym mak me help of mone for recovering of my superexspenssis maid in maner forsaid, and als sum yerly help quhar throw I mycht the bettir await apon your graice service. Madem, this my remembrance of service and report maid unto your grace pleis except in gud sort as of your maist humell and

<sup>1</sup> He probably alludes to services rendered in his capacity as Master of Artillery, either in the crisis of August 1543, or more probably in October 1544: his second and third points seem to refer to the accommodation reached just before the date of writing. He may have taken part in the negotiations between the factions.

<sup>2</sup> According to the settlement of November 1544, 'the Queen is principal of the Council of 16 lords, without whose advice the Governor can do nothing,' (*H.* xix. ii. 657).

<sup>3</sup> On 21st June he had been named as an ambassador to treat of peace with England on behalf of the Government of the Queen Dowager. (*H.* xix. i. 750.)



obedient lawly servitor wyth hail power sa lang as lif  
 induris ; na les thinkand than be your gud graice humanite  
 your honor and consideratioun my help in maner forsaid  
 to be fynellie adressit, quhilkis beand, I sall do sic service  
 unto our soverane lady your grace and realm that nayn  
 of my power sall do bettir. Forthar, pleis your [graice]  
 your servitour, this berar, will mak informatioun of caus  
 quhy I com nocht presentlie unto your grace to await  
 apon your graice service. The eternell God haif your  
 graice in his evirlesting government. Writin this xxv  
 day of November

be your grace maist hummill servitour

LORD METHVEN.<sup>1</sup>

Madem, pleis your graice I hald your servant my brothir  
 Allexander, this berrar, belevand to haif cummyn my self  
 unto your grace, besekand your grace to pardoin hym.

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<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

## Nos. XCIV-CXX : INTRODUCTORY

THE twenty-seven letters in this section cover the period from the Cardinal's triumph of November 1544 until his murder in the early morning of Saturday, 29th May 1546. During these eighteen months it was his arduous task to steer the ship of state through the reefs of domestic faction and the shifting sands of a precarious international situation closely affecting the fate of Scotland. Henry VIII. remained the arch-enemy with whom he could hold no compromise : his policy towards France and his attitude to the Dowager and Governor were alike subordinated to his grand purpose of preserving the independence of the country. It would at no time have been easy to ensure the harmonious co-operation of Mary of Lorraine and the Earl of Arran as his fellow-workers ; but his task was made the harder by an undercurrent of religious unrest and political intrigue. In appearance the Scottish nation was again united, but Henry VIII. knew how to prick the hollow semblance of unity. The renegade Earl of Lennox was sent to Carlisle to bribe his native countrymen 'to tak the faith of England,' to sow dissensions among the Scots, and to put a premium on treason. [No. XCIV.] The Douglasses, however, outwitted Henry at his own game. Their double dealing, and the part they played at Ancrum, are not mentioned in the Correspondence, but the prevalent and well-justified suspicion of their conduct is expressed in the Dowager's exhortation to Angus to persevere in his 'gude and trew service towart the quenis grace and hir realm.' [No. XCV.]

Although the Scots victory at Ancrum, on 27th February,

is passed over in silence, the importance of its results is clearly indicated in the subsequent letters. The reason why the Governor did not follow up his victory may be read between the lines: the country was honeycombed with heresy, distrust, and private feuds. Methven had good cause to implore the Dowager 'to lawbour concord betuix all lordis and greit men' at the approaching Convention in April. [No. XCVIII.] It is significant that that Convention had itself to be postponed until Huntly and Argyle had returned from an expedition against the Isles, and that the Lieutenant of the North was ready on his own account to oppress the unprotected. [No. XCVI.] In the growing disaffection 'towartis haly kirk' Methven acutely detected another source of division in the country. The spread of the new opinions in religion was indeed one of Henry's greatest assets. Cassillis, his agent at this juncture, was himself a Lutheran lord: but the religious question was still subordinate: and the Dowager and Cardinal, concentrating on the main political issue, frustrated the attempt to reopen negotiations on the basis of the Greenwich Treaty.

When de Lorges and his French auxiliaries arrived in June they were accordingly welcomed in the name of a united Government. It is clear, however, that their coming was regarded with mingled feelings. The Dowager had pinned her faith to the effective support of her countrymen. In March she was fearful lest her hopes should be shattered; and it must have been welcome news that Moullins brought and that Croswell sent. [Nos. CI, CIII, CIV.] Arran, for his part, professed himself 'verray gretle rejosit' at the 'gude advertisement' which, in hot haste, she sent to him; but his protestations would have sounded more spontaneous if they had been made in person. It is noteworthy that he waited to learn the mind of Beaton before he answered the

Queen's impatient summons to her presence. [No. CIII.] As for the Cardinal, he, like the Dowager, had worked and waited for this day, yet there are signs that he felt constrained to curb in her a tendency towards independent action. To this end he doubtless schooled the Governor in the part he was to play. Moreover, the commercial agreement with Flanders and his appeal to Rome during this period may be construed as efforts to keep open other sources of support, lest Scotland should become entirely thirled to France.<sup>1</sup> Beaton well knew, however, that papal help must be specious rather than real, and that for the immediate necessities of an offensive campaign the support of the Most Christian King was indispensable. Thus, in the matter of broad policy, he and the Dowager were at one in hailing the arrival of the French expeditionary force.

The joy of the Scots was matched in a corresponding degree by the dread of Henry. Fighting single-handed, and with an impoverished exchequer, he had to face the prospect of a threefold attack by France—through Scotland, in the Channel, and against Boulogne. The defeat at Ancrum had created apprehension for the safety of the borders; but what Robert Maxwell and Lord Methven considered to be preparations for invasion the English Government represented as defensive measures arising out of the imminence of the French peril. [Nos. XCIX, C.] The magnitude of the Scottish menace may be detected not only in the mission of Cassillis and the strengthening of the border garrisons, but also in the projected expedition of Lennox, the Lord of the Isles, and the Earl of Ormond from the coast of Ireland. Although this grand design miscarried, the letter of Shaw of Sauchie hints that it had at least served to some purpose by

<sup>1</sup> See *Rentale Sancti Andree*, xlix-1; *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 170-1; Letter of Thealdini, No. CXV.

inspiring an uneasy suspense, born of uncertainty. [No. CVII.] During the summer campaign a war 'with the lordis of the Ilis' had deprived the Governor of the services of the experienced Argyle;<sup>1</sup> and when, in October, the tension had become 'leis nor it wos,' Henry had also been relieved from the extremity of his fears.

No reference to the failure of the Franco-Scottish offensive is to be found in the Correspondence. When, after a silence of three months, the tale is taken up again, the situation had greatly changed. In spite of the seeming unanimity, the Scottish host had been crippled by treachery and disaffection. This undoubtedly simplified the work of the avenging Hertford when in September, in time of harvest, he visited devastation upon the rich border country. The results, however, if not the incidents, of the war are clearly indicated. It had 'served chiefly to confirm opposition to an English agreement and to strengthen the position of the Hamiltons.'<sup>2</sup> Arran was not blind to the chances of building his own fortunes upon the ashes of Hertford's devastating fires. In October he is found vigorously prosecuting the scheme of the marriage of his heir to the little Queen, while endeavouring at the same time to build up a middle party attached to his interests. Naturally enough, the centre of his activities was in the west country, particularly in Hamilton and Paisley, where the family influence was strongest. John Somerville does not specify what were the 'greit offeris and fairr vordis' whereby he won over 'the maist pert of bayth temporall and sprituall astait' to support his dynastic ambitions. [No. CVIII.] Under the brief references to his visit to Irvine there lies, however, a significant indication of his policy. Eglinton signed the

<sup>1</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 39.

<sup>2</sup> *The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary*, S.H.R. xviii. 260.

Hamilton marriage bond; on 19th October he had the gift of a profitable escheat; and in December he had a charter of certain lands forfeited by Lennox.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, his 'besenes' with the Commendator of Kelso suggests that Arran strove to secure the sinister branch of the royal house [No. CVII]; and he could appreciate the importance of the Douglas connection. It is clear, however, that the heaviest purse, were it Arran's, Henry's, or the Dowager's, would be best able to buy the services of Angus and his brother. [Nos. CVII, CVIII.] Of her own resources Mary of Lorraine could not hope to outbid her rivals. Her demands upon the Countess of Moray indicate that she was in financial straits [No. CX]; but perhaps French gold and the skilful use of 'fairr vordis' enabled her to win adherents, even from the ranks of the Governor. [No. CVII.] Fleming seems to hint that she had endeavoured to play off the rivalry between the houses of Douglas and Hamilton [No. CXII]; and there must have been others among the nobles who would not willingly have seen a Hamilton raised above them. Further, if she could not easily substantiate 'greit offeris,' she was certainly not wanting in vigilance. It is significant that she had an informant in the heart of the Governor's household, and that in the critical juncture her supporters were mustered at Cowthally, on the borders of the Hamilton country. The result seems to have been a situation of precarious balance: the matter was shelved, and the Cardinal's predominance remained assured. [No. CXII.] Beaton was well aware that it was no time to push things to an issue: the matter of extreme importance was to recover the strongholds which Maxwell had caused to be delivered to the enemy.

It is noteworthy that Fleming's letter announcing the

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<sup>1</sup> R.S.S. xix. f. 51; *Memorials of Family of Eglinton*, i. 38.

capture of Lochmaben also told of the arrival of French supplies. [No. CXII.] The coming of the French money had apparently forced upon Arran the conviction that the time was not propitious for the prosecution of his schemes. Fleming reported almost immediately that he would be guided by 'your gracis counsall and cummand baith anentis the effaris of this realme and all uther thingis,' and that he would justify his conduct to the Queen. It is not unnatural that he visited his home at Hamilton before facing his ordeal at Stirling. His sojourn with the Dowager must have been more of a humiliation than a pleasure; and not even the company of his son would banish care during the Christmas season at St. Andrews with the Cardinal.

All knew that it was a time of uneasy peace, depending upon the uncertainties of the international situation. It was an age of self-centred opportunism, when not even the astutest diplomatists of Europe knew the whole mind of their masters. It is little wonder, then, that Scotsmen felt nervous and apprehensive. This was the justification of the cautious policy of the Cardinal in seeking to fortify himself against any eventualities. He was too wary to compromise himself in the Hamilton dynastic schemes. He could protest his innocence upon occasion;<sup>1</sup> but if he had not subtly suggested the policy, he was at least privy to it. It was said that he was endeavouring to secure the guardianship of the young Queen, as well as of the heir of Hamilton, 'looking prudently to France and telling Arran he would keep her for his son.'<sup>2</sup>

The concluding letters in this section are indicative of the state of tension in the spring of 1546. Finances were exhausted; the borders lay exposed; faction and heresy

<sup>1</sup> *Balcarras Papers*, i. 246-7.

<sup>2</sup> *The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary*, S.H.R. xviii. 260.

were rife. De Lorges had been recalled, and with him went the Scots ambassador to solicit the renewed support of France. [No. CXVII.] The answer to this appeal is seen to rest upon the turn of international affairs. Things tended to a *rapprochement* between France and England, and Francis would not prejudice his chance of peace by committing himself to a warlike enterprise in Scotland. The conclusion of the Treaty of Campe, in June, altered the diplomatic situation and gave Henry the advantage in his relations with the Scots.

His satisfaction at this turn of events was undoubtedly heightened by the removal of the Cardinal from the path of his ambitions. Significantly enough, almost the last reference to Beaton in the Correspondence is in connection with the disturbances at Perth, where civic and religious differences went hand in hand. [No. CXVIII.] It was a fusion of private, political, and religious opposition that led to his assassination on 29th May. Henry had long held sinister communications with the Cardinal's enemies; and they were not ignorant that in avenging the martyrdom of Wishart they were likewise striking a blow for the King of England. The passing of the Cardinal and the conclusion of the Treaty of Campe were events in close succession, and in their outcome they were destined to be interwoven in the subsequent history of Scotland.



## XCIV

*James Douglas of Drumlanrig to the Queen Dowager*

Drumlanrig, 3rd January [1544-5].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Mademe, eftir humile commendatiouns of my service, as for newis in thir partis ther is few, bot as your graec knawis the erle of Lynnox is cumit to Carilele in the intent to lawbour and solist the bordoraris of this part and utheris gentill men of thir eountreis that he may mak be his lawbour and the king of Ingland monye to tak the faith of Ingland :<sup>1</sup> and till eschew that danger the maister of Maxwell and I and all the gentill men of Nyddisdail, Gallaway and Annardaill hes had all the sowr noums<sup>2</sup> of Annardaill befor ws in Drumfreis in the haly dayis of New Yeir mes excepe the Johnstounis,<sup>3</sup> and hes thame bund and oblist to remane at the faith of Scotland and to tak na appointment of Ingland be na way. And inlykwis we all gentill men [of] Nyddisdail, Gallaway and Annardaill ar bund to wair our bodyis and gudis in defence of thame and ther geir speciallic aganis Ingland, sa I beleif your grace sall heir that this countre sall preif gude Scottis men. Farther, pleis your grace to be advertisit that the erle of Lynnox wrait to the maister of Maxwell and me to appoynt ane trust quhare he mycht speik with ws for affairis concernyng the weill of the lord Maxwell,<sup>4</sup> and incontinent the maister of Maxwell adwer-

<sup>1</sup> Lennox was despatched to Carlisle in December 1544, 'to practise with the Scots,' particularly with Angus, his father-in-law : to secure the delivery of the Queen : to sow dissensions : 'or at least to get intelligence.' (*H.* xix. ii. 719.)

<sup>2</sup> *sowr noums* : surnames.

<sup>3</sup> Lennox was practising, through a spy, to foment dissensions between the Johnstones and Maxwell. (*H.* xx. i. 167.)

<sup>4</sup> Lord Maxwell had been captured by the English, probably with his own connivance, on 15th May 1544. He promised his services to Henry, and offered to deliver Lochmaben conditionally. Hertford, however, doubted his good faith. (*H.* xx. i. 531, 575.)

tisit the govarnour and the consall therof. The govarnour send ane wrytting desyring ws twa to speik with him to kene his mynd, but the erle of Lynnox is sa ewill hurt with ane gowne that he may nocht trawell haistelic, and as I beleif he sall tyne of his ene.<sup>1</sup> Mademe, I am surlie informit that the caus is that the erle of Lynnox wald haif speking with the maister of Maxwell and me to seduce ws be his lawbour and the king of Ingland monye to tak the way of Ingland;<sup>2</sup> and gif we meit with him and aggreis nocht to assent to his intent, that the wairdene of Ingland<sup>3</sup> and he is myndit to tak ws be force gif thai be mair partye than we; for syndry Scottis men advertisat ws that the wairdene of Ingland offerit monye to betrais ws to him. Mademe, ther is na uther newis at this tyme, bot as thai occur I sall advertice your grace fra tyme to tyme; and war nocht the danger that this countre standis in I wald, and that I may leif it for schame, I suld remane with your grace for I haif na uther to mak service to bot your grace, as knawis God, quho preserve your grace eternale. Of Drumlangrig, the thrid day of Januare  
be your grace humlie servitour

DRUMLANGRIK.<sup>4</sup>

XCV

*Angus to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 9th March [1544-5?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madem, eftir humyll commendatioun of service I ressavit your gracis writing, and quhair your grace desiris

<sup>1</sup> *tyne of his ene*: lose his eyesight. This is an otherwise unrecorded episode in the career of Lennox.

<sup>2</sup> On 22nd January, the Privy Council of England authorised a 'hackney' to be sent to 'Lady Dunlanerike': presumably from no disinterested motive. (*H.* xx. i. 71.)

<sup>3</sup> Lord Wharton, warden of the West Marches. Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, was at this time Lieutenant of the North (June 1544—May 1545).

<sup>4</sup> The letter is holograph, in the hand of James Douglas of Drumlanrig,

ws to persevere in my <sup>1</sup> gude and trew service towart the quenis grace and hir realm your grace sall put na dout bot I sall serve be my self and kyn and freindis at the utirmost of my powr for the defence of this realme; <sup>2</sup> and ony uther thing that your grace desiris me to do, I salbe sur redy at your gracis command quhen I be advertist, as knawis God, quha haif your grace in his keping. At Edinburch, the ix day of Merche <sup>3</sup> be

Your graces humyll servitour

ARD. ERL OF ANGUS.

## XCVI

*Countess of Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Elgin, 14th March [1544-5].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Mademe, efter humill commendatione of my service to your grece I thank your grece of your guid mynd and deid schawyn to me be my eme of Calder.<sup>4</sup> As yit I am nocht obeyit of my hwis of Darnway <sup>5</sup> nor yit of your greis hwsis of Ros, nochtwithstandyng the quenis greis your dochteris schargis wsit on the withhaldaris of the said hwsis, quhilk causis me to be ewill obeyit of my hwsbandis restis <sup>6</sup> awcht to your grece and wderis. Nochtwithstanding, I haif wrytin owir to merchandis of Edinburch to caus your grece be answerit of thre hundret punde of

ancestor of the Dukes of Queensberry. He had formerly been an agent of Henry VIII., but in the spring of 1544 the English began to have suspicions of his good faith, and broke off communications in the following September.

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun 'our' was originally written, and then struck out.

<sup>2</sup> Angus and Sir George Douglas had taken part in the victory of Ancrum on 27th February. Their loyalty, however, was not beyond suspicion.

<sup>3</sup> The year is probably 1544-5. The letter is written from Edinburch on 9th March; and on 14th March 1544-5, Angus was in Edinburch on the Council. (*H. P.* ii. p. 581.) Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>4</sup> Her uncle, Sir John Campbell of Calder. Cf. No. CX.

<sup>5</sup> Her right was apparently contested by the Sheriff of Elgin and Forres. (*P. C.* i. 1.)

<sup>6</sup> *restis*: arrears, debts. The Earl of Moray died on 12th June 1544, and before 6th August 1546 the Countess was married to the Earl of Sutherland.

mwnye and the lawe <sup>1</sup> salbe had with diligens. Quhowbeid I had mwny in this cuntre I durst nocht send it owir be ressonne of my serwandis at war spwilzeit be the get.<sup>2</sup> Quhow swne I haif putt ordir heir sall hest me to your grece and mak compleit payment of all restis bygane. I haif ane tryist with my lord of Huntlie <sup>3</sup> in this wlk to se gyf I may pleis his lordship, and ther efter sall adverteis your grece of all thynges; quhome God mot haif in his keypyng. At Elgyne, the xiiij day of Marche be

Your grace at command and service

ELIZABETH CONTAS OF MURRAY.<sup>4</sup>

## XCVII

### *The Governor to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburch, 1st April [1545].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, eftir humyll commendatioun of service we have ressavit your graces writingis desirand ws to dispone the ward of Saltoun <sup>5</sup> to the erll Boithwile. Madame, the deliverance maid be youre grace in that behalf wes bot sobir; <sup>6</sup> nochtwithstanding, gif he had fulfillit the samin, or uther wis socht unto ws for the said ward, we wald haif glaidlie staid at your gracis deliverance; quhairfor

<sup>1</sup> *lawe*: lave, remainder.

<sup>2</sup> *be the get*: by the way.

<sup>3</sup> Huntly was appointed Lieutenant of the North on 30th March 1543. (*Spalding Club Miscellany*, iv. 142-4.) Argyle and he were at this time on an expedition for restoring order in the Isles. They succeeded in making a truce till the 1st May with the Lord of the Isles, who was in league with Lennox and the English Government. Huntly, however, was also promoting his own private business. On 25th March, James Grant of Freuchie and Ross of Balnagown bound themselves to aid the Earl to recover the tacks of Ross from the hands of the Countess of Moray, and to defend him in the enjoyment of the earldom. (*Lairds of Grant*, i. 115.) The design was not prosecuted.

<sup>4</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>5</sup> William, fifth Lord Saltoun, died in December 1543.

<sup>6</sup> *wes bot sobir*: not meriting commendation. Patten commented in 1549 that 'sober is the proper terme whearby the Scottes doo signifie smal, litle, easy or slender.'

we have partlie throu his negligence and for laik of money to perfurnis the commoun affaires of this realme disponit the said ward and hes tane compositioun for the samin.<sup>1</sup> Praying your grace to haif ws apardonit therof, for gif it were yit restand undisponit we suld do as we wald haif done of befoir to the satisfioun of your grace therintill : and thus almychti God haif you in keping. At Edinburgh, the first day of Aprile.

\* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng and serwetwr

JAMES G.\*

### XCVIII

#### *Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Sunday [April 1545 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GUD GRAICE.

Pleis your gud graice.

I purposit till have awaytit apou your graice service at this tyme of conventioun <sup>2</sup> war nocht impediment, quhilkis your graice servitour Allexander my brothir <sup>3</sup> will schaw your grace.

Madem, your graice is prinsipall mediatrix to lawbour concord betuix all lordis and greit men that cummis to this conventioun and to solist tham to mak unyte and concord wythin all thar boundis, ilk an for thar awn part, and in speciall my lord of Huntle and my lord of Argail,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The ward and marriage of Saltoun were granted to Sir George Meldrum of Fyvie by contract dated 19th March 1544. (*Calendar of Deeds*, Register House, ii. 13.) As late as 5th December 1554, Bothwell asked, and was refused, a copy of the obligation of the ward of Saltoun. (*Books of Sederunt of Lords of Council and Session*.) Cf. *R.S.S.* xviii. f. 119, 120; *P.C.* i. 20, 21, 82; *T.A.* viii. 211.

\* \* Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the convention which met in April 1545 to discuss the proposals submitted by Henry through Cassillis. It was resolved to open negotiations on the basis of the Treaty of Greenwich; 'but next day the determination was broken by the device of the Dowager and Cardinal.' (*H.* xx. i. 664.)

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Stewart, fourth son of Andrew, second Lord Avondale.

<sup>4</sup> Huntly, Lieutenant, and Argyle, Justiciar, were on a mission to pacify the

and to solist tham and every uther lord and greit barroun to caus ces all oppressiounnis ; and your grace and all my lordis to recounsall in tendir maner all greit gentilmen that be innorance is of ill mynd towartis haly kirk, becaus it is now dowsom to punes be the law as the sammyn requiris. Madem, gif the varyance betuix my lord Ruthven, Crage and Muncref<sup>1</sup> on the tan part, and the lord Gray, Jhon Charteris,<sup>2</sup> and Kilfawnis<sup>3</sup> mycht be reconsalit, it war an principall thing to unite thir partis.<sup>4</sup> The eternell God conserf your grace. Writin this Sunday  
be your grace maist hummill servitor

LORD METHVEN.<sup>5</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M. de Metfan.]

## XCIX

*Robert Maxwell to the Governor*

Dumfries, 5th [May 1545].

TO MY LORD GOWRNOUR.

My lord, efftir all humill commendation wnto your grace [pleis you ?] to be advertissit that efftir my departing off Edimburcht<sup>6</sup> [fra ?] your grace or I com to thir west bordouris the erell off Leonax wyth lord Quhartom, warden,

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Isles in the spring of 1545. The convention was postponed until 15th April to allow the Dowager, Huntly, and Argyle to be present. (*H. xx. i. 62, 477.*) Cf. No. XCVI.

<sup>1</sup> William Moncreiff of that ilk.

<sup>2</sup> John Charteris of Couthilgourdy, the Provost of Perth discharged by the Governor in January 1543-4.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Charteris of Kinfauns.

<sup>4</sup> An unsuccessful attempt had been made in January to depose Ruthven in favour of John Charteris as Provost of Perth. (*Laing's Knox, 112.*)

In March the Council was occupied with the litigation between Lord Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth, on the one side, and John Ross of Craigie on the other ; and between Ruthven, John Charteris, and Kinfauns. (*Acts and Decrees, ii., 20th March 1544-5.*)

<sup>5</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>6</sup> He went to Edinburgh on 2nd April. While there, he promised 'to further the King's purpose,' but on the 28th he arrived at Dumfries in great favour with the Governor and Cardinal. (*H. xx. i. 479, 642.*)

war departit at the poist to London ;<sup>1</sup> and tharefter the hale cuntreth off this west wardanry off England hes daly thir x or xii days last bipast preparit and maid redy all thair wittalis and hes brocht the samyn, sic as quheit ry malt, to Carlell and is daly makin wyth all expedition alle bere breid and furnissing that is in thair possibilte.<sup>2</sup> And as I can be advertissit or gett knaulege furth off England thai ar to inwaid thir partis off this west bordour wyth ane gret army . . . wter distruction and that wythin x or xij days. [Thar]fore I pray your grace that I may have part [of artill]yery and puldir for keping off thir houssis . . . certane gunnaris furnist, for wythout [fail we ?] will be inwadit. And als that your grace . . . the xx<sup>th</sup> gunnaris that is in the towin off . . . be anssuerit and payt off thair last monethis [wages ?] last bipast quhilk I have payt on my auin : and a[ls] that your grace wald caus the hale realm nixt adjacent to be in redines to supple ws inacee off gret invasion at thir partis ; and we off this cuntreth salbe, wyth Goddis grace, in redines to supple ouy wthir part that sall happin to be inwadit, efftir your graceis advertissment : and that your grace wald nocht forgett thir promissis becaus it concernis the hale commoun weile off this realm : and, wyth the grace off God, your artalzery puldir and gunnaris salbe wele warit, qua [preserve] your grace evirmare. Off Dumfres this fyfth day off . . .

be your gracis servitour

ROBERT MAXWELL.<sup>3</sup>

C

[*Methven*] to the Queen Dowager

Perth, 6th May [1545].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madam, eftyr maist humble commendacioune of my service [unto your grace] thiyis is to advertis your grace

<sup>1</sup> This is the only reference to this expedition. Wharton seems to have been at variance with the captain of the castle. (*H.* xx. i. 491, 518.)

<sup>2</sup> See following letter. The plan of invasion was not carried into execution.

<sup>3</sup> A holograph letter. The sheet is stained and partly worn away by damp.

that I haif spokyn this . . . man quhylk is laytlyc cumin out of Yngland . . . cuntre als fer as Doncastell quhar he saw . . . the makyng of thare mostrys<sup>1</sup> and the men all [furneisynt to ?] cum fordwartis to the bordoris. The mony and thesawrar<sup>2</sup> is cum fra [?] Donkcastell to pay the wageouris, and this is the maner of thar ordore as he sayis. Thar cumis xl<sup>m</sup> men be land to the est bordour and als mony to the west bordoure, and then thosand men be se to land quhar thai thynk best apone the est hand and othir x<sup>m</sup> wyth the erll of Lenoxe quhylk sall land othir at Dumbertan or in Argyll as thai thynk best; and baythe thir armys, as thai purpos, sall june togyddyr and meit at Sterlyng. Thar is of this forsaid army to the nomyr of xvj<sup>m</sup> lansknichtis,<sup>3</sup> Ytaleanis and Spanyardis.<sup>4</sup> Thar is gryt prowysyon makand in Carleill to rasaif the army at cummis in at that bordoure. All the quhyt and malt of Cummarland, Westmurland and Kendell is cumand as fast as hors ma cary it to Carleill. And abufe lx of myllaris, . . . mony wrychytis and fleggearis to dres arrowys and bow[is ar] cumin thar wythin thir vj dayis. Nocht wythstand[ing of ther pre]mysys [?] thai ar begone to cast ane gryt fo[ussay about the ?] thown of Carleill and makis ane plat for [reparation ?] of the setadell. Thay haif ane profecy that the [town ?] of Carleill and castell salbe won bot nocht the setadell,<sup>5</sup> and therfor thai mak all the strenthe thai can to keipe the samyn. As anent the pece at your grace hard tell suld haif bene tane for iij

<sup>1</sup> They were carrying out the mandate of 15th April for the 'taking of musters,' laying in of provisions, and strengthening of the defences. The local levies were to be reinforced by Spanish and German mercenaries. All these measures were 'to provide for' the repulse of the feared French invasion. (*H.* xx. i. 513.)

<sup>2</sup> Sir Ralph Sadler, 'treasurer of the wars' with Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> *lansknichtis*: German mercenaries, particularly foot soldiers, carrying lances.

<sup>4</sup> Rumour has magnified the numbers. The strength officially aimed at was 30,000 men to be raised locally, and about 6500 auxiliaries. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>5</sup> The citadel had been recently erected at the suggestion of the Duke of Norfolk. The state of Carlisle at this time was causing anxiety to the English Government. For remedy it was ordered that the defences should be repaired, and three months' supply of victuals laid in. (*Ibid.* 580, and Introduction, xl.)



monethys betuix France and Yngland be the empyouris cast, all that is bot falsset and collusyion tyll abus the kyng of France, to hald abak the kyng of Francys helpe fra Scotland ondyr hope of aggreance quhyll thar army ma be rady to cum apon Scotland.<sup>1</sup> And quhom be I haif thlis word your grace sall knawe at my cumin to yow and other thyngis quhylkis I wyll nocht wryt at this tym; praying God to conserfe your grace. At Perth, the vj day of Maye be

Your . . .

[LORD METHVEN].<sup>2</sup>

### CI

*John Hay to the Queen Dowager*

Brest, 15th May 1545.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, I commend my humle service to your grace. The x day of Merche be Flanderis with ane Jhone Cokburne I advertist your grace of the preparatione mayd heir till speid haim the kyngis help and support, the quhilk now is reddy in Brest in Monsieur de Lorges handis and, will God, salbe reddy till mak saille the xx day of this moneth.<sup>3</sup> Had the schippis beyne in syk reddines as the kyng and we beleivit or now this support had bein at haim. We tary on na thing bot on the schippis of Croissyk, the quhilkis in half a day, vynd servand,<sup>4</sup> wilbe heir. Be ther arrivyne we howpe till have our flotte of Bourdiaux, sua that schortly I traist your grace and the nobles of Scotland sall see the fairrest support come this

<sup>1</sup> In March the Emperor had opened negotiations for peace between England and France. If Henry was procrastinating, Charles desired peace, not so much to help the Scots as to facilitate commercial intercourse between the Low Countries and France. The negotiations were abortive. (*H.* xx. i. 406, 462, and Introduction, lvii.)

<sup>2</sup> The signature is effaced by damp, but the letter is in the hand of Methven. As Master of Artillery he doubtless felt a peculiar interest in these proceedings. The document is much mutilated, especially on the right-hand margin.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. No. CIV.

<sup>4</sup> *vynd servand*: wind serving.

v<sup>c</sup> yer in Scotland. The kyng sene our being heir hes . . . syndry postis commandand till mak diligens, and his grace in persone p[ast to ?] Newhavin to see the admirall ymbark, quha wilbe surely on the see or we be in Scotland. Thay luk dayly for the galleries [*sic*] of Marsailis. It is to be juggit and Scotland do ther devoir as thai have begone that ovr commune inemy sall have this symmer handis foule. Monsieur de Lorges hes presently large mony tilbe iussit be the consall of Scotland aganis our inemys with ane grit quantatie of poulderis artailzery bollett hakbuttis pykis vynis flour irne, with twa thowsand v<sup>c</sup> futmen, of the quhilkis ther salbe iij<sup>c</sup> hakbuttairis on hors, the Scottis men of arms weill monttit and in ordour with xl archeiris of the gaird. And becaus we have tariit heir langar nor we beleivit, the said Sieur Lorges and I thocht gud til send this present berrer Monsieur de Mollins his lieutenant till advertis your grace and the consall of Scotland of the reddines that this support is att,<sup>1</sup> and that thai be devisit quhow the horsmen ma be treittit, him self ressavit with his equippage and baggage. This Monsieur de Mollins is ane gud servand of your gracis, quhom to it will pleis your grace gyf ferme credens as to Monsieur de Lorges or me, quhilk knawis our mynd in everilk behalf, and is the caus that we writ presently [in ?] generall. I schew the kyng and his gracis [consa ?]ll syndry tymes the grit occatione your [gra]ce hes had and dayly hes till mak grit [exp]ensis, and beseikit him till have ec therto, quha [w]as glaid till knaw your wysdome and gud mynd to the weill of bayth the realmes and ordinit, by <sup>2</sup> the last x thousand frankis send your grace be the Newhavin, that ther suld be send you instantly viij thousand frankis, and as he gettis tithingis agane fra Monsieur de Lorges your grace wilbe helpit and furnist. I have the kyngis writingis and credens to your grace quhilkis I sall breng with my self. Monsieur de Lorges hes syklyk, and fra your fader <sup>3</sup> and brether quha ar gladder nor I can wret

<sup>1</sup> Mollins was with the Dowager before 30th May. Cf. No. CIII.

<sup>2</sup> *by*: in addition to.

<sup>3</sup> Claude, Duke of Guise. He had five sons.

to heir of the syndry victoriis hed be my lord governour and the nobles of Scotland aganis our inc[meis].<sup>1</sup> The kyng on his syd heir will nocht failzie to do conform as the consall of Scotland devisit and fand gud. Forther I refer to this berrer and to Monsieur de Lorg writingis and to our haim cuming. Beseik the eternall God til conserve your grace in body and saul. Of Brest, xv day of Maij 1545.

Your gracis humle servand

JHONE HAYE.<sup>2</sup>

## CII

### *Methven to the Quecn Dowager*

Methven, 28th May [1545 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame pleis your grace

It is writin to me how your grace hes gottin the eschete of William Edmistoun quhilik is veray proffetable unto your grace becaus all enteres and clame that William Edmistoun allegit to have of your grace is now indowtit youris : maist hummelie beseiking your grace, nocht withstanding ony labouris of our contray partiis, that thair be na part therof disponit to thame bot at all the samyn remane hail in your grace handis, quhilikis doand is your grace honour and proffett ; and als your grace may the mair esely help your servitouris, my brutheris wyff and bairnis.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The battle of Ancrum was probably the chief cause of their rejoicing.

<sup>2</sup> John Hay, the Cardinal's nephew, was often employed in diplomatic business. He had been an envoy to Denmark in the preceding year, and subsequent missions to France will be afterwards noticed. Cf. No. LXXX.

The letter is holograph. The paper has been partly worn away along the margin.

<sup>3</sup> The wife and children of Sir James Stewart of Beath, who was slain by Edmonston on Whit Monday, 1544. (See No. XV.) The Governor, under the Great Seal, granted a remission for the slaughter in September 1547. (*R.S.S.* xxi. f. 40*b*.)

Beaus of les pane to your grace of lang wryting, pleis to heir your grace servitour maister William Steward<sup>1</sup> to informe and remember your grace heirupon. Madame, it will pleis your grace to dó for the deliverans of your servitour my bruther<sup>2</sup> gif he may [be ?] had ony way without promit of favouris to our parti, for and I wer in his place I suld tak aventur of lyff and deid or the party had ony releiff uther wayis than the rigour of justice. Madame, we your grace hummele servitouris hes suir confidence in your grace concernyng the premiss and all uther ressonable efferis. The eternall God conserve your grace. Of Methwen, this xxviii day of May instant

be your grace maist humell servitour

LORD METHVEN.

\* Madame, pleis your grace, that all thingis parteinand to my bruther sone of rycht, that your grace will keip the samyn in your handis and na part therof to be disponit to na uther persoun mair nor till our partiis.\*

[*Endorsed* : M. de Metfan.]

### CIII

#### *The Governor to the Queen Dowager*

Kinneil, 30th May [1545].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, eftir humyll commendatioun of service pleis we ressavit your graces writing, understanding be the

<sup>1</sup> Brother of the writer.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably Alexander Stewart, the brother, or cousin, of Methven. It would seem that both the Stewarts were involved in the armed encounter with their rivals in or near Dunblane on the fatal Whit Monday, and that one was killed and the other taken prisoner. (See *Edmonstons of Duntreath*, 37.)

\* \* Madame, please your grace that, since all things pertain by right to my brother's son, your grace will keep the same in your own hands, and dispone no part of it to any one, whether to our adversaries or any others.

The letter is holograph.

samin that monsieur Mullingis<sup>1</sup> is cumin this Setterday at xii houris to your grace, and how monsieur Lorge<sup>2</sup> is presentlie on the sey and apperandly to arrive haistelic in thir partis; quhairof we ar verray gretle rejosit and thankis your grace of your gude advertiment. And quhair as your grace desiris ws to cum to Striveling, pleis your grace we ar heir verray quiet at this tyme; nochtwithstanding, we sall nocht fail, God willing, tobe at your grace this Sunday or Mononday befoir none,<sup>3</sup> and hes send this mornyng airlie to Sanctandros for my . . . Lord Cardinale quha will nocht fail tobe at your grace w[ith] all diligence.<sup>4</sup> We pray your grace to hald the gentilman still with your grace to our cuming. And thus almychty God haif your grace in keping. At Kynneill,<sup>5</sup> the penult day of Maij.

\* Yowr graceis hwmyll cowsyng and serwetwr,  
JAMES G.\*

## CIV

*Fynlay Campbell of Croswell to the Queen Dowager*

[1st-6th June 1545.]

TO MY MASTRES THE QUHENYS GRAYCE.

Medeme, I commend my hwmyll me serves to yow grayce in the mayst hartle wys that I can, and wit yowr

<sup>1</sup> Monsieur de Moullins, 'lieutenant' of de Lorges, and despatched in May as his forerunner with credence to the Dowager. (*B. P.* i. 111.)

<sup>2</sup> Gabriel de Montgomery, Sieur de Lorges, himself of Scottish extraction, and captain of the Scots Guards. He commanded the expedition sent to Scotland in 1545. His arrival had been expected since March. It was by his son's lance that Henry II. received his fatal wound in a tournament in 1558.

<sup>3</sup> *or Mononday befoir none*: these words have been added in the margin. The Governor was at Stirling on Monday, 1st June, and remained for six days. (*Liber Domicilii.*)

<sup>4</sup> Probably to hold council on the course of policy to be followed. After the arrival of de Lorges, a convention was held at Stirling at the end of June to take measures for the prosecution of the war. All factions were, nominally, united in a common policy. (*A. P.* ii. 594-5.)

<sup>5</sup> The barony of Kinnoul, in Linlithgowshire, had been granted by Bruce to Sir William Hamilton, ancestor of Arran.

\*\* Holograph. The paper is stained, and the edges worn away, by damp.

grayce that on Trinite Sundaye<sup>1</sup> at ewyn that thar com twa Bartanaris on your cost and had tayne ane prysis of Porttergayll,<sup>2</sup> and twa I[n]glis men folwynt thame and twyk the Portingayll and ane of the Bartenaris ladenyt with salt, and part of the men com to land and thai I seisit, and thai tald that Lo[r]ges of Mwngebre<sup>3</sup> had shpyt his hors and at the Franych arme was redde to cum in Scotland. And thai sae that daye wyll be in Scotland or Sateruris day at eweyne,<sup>4</sup> and the wynd hald, with the numbyr of tre schoyr of salis;<sup>5</sup> for this man partyt with thame on Mondaye eftyr Whitsunday<sup>6</sup> in Bryst. And forder, geyf thar cumis ony on your cost I sall werteis your grayce of tham in all posabyll haist. Nocht ellis; bot all mychty God haif your grayce in his kepeyne ever mayr. Be

Yowris hwmele servand at all power

FYNLAY CAMPBELL OF CROSWELL.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 31st May.

<sup>2</sup> In spite of the Treaty of Cambrai, the French galleys continued 'their pilfering as before.' (*H.* xx. i. 510.) The fact that the Scots participated in the piracy raised a difficulty when the time came to treat of peace in 1546-7. (See below.) Although still nominally at war with the Empire, favourable commercial terms had been arranged in April. (*Ibid.* i. 598.) 'The disastrous effects of Hertford's invasion . . . rendered it imperative to keep communications open with the most accessible Continental ports.' (R. K. Hannay, *Rentale S. Andree*, xlvi.)

<sup>3</sup> De Lorges.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly 6th June. According to this computation, the French forces could not have arrived at Dumbarton on 31st May as stated in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*. On 7th June they had 'lately arrived,' and the Privy Council was summoned at Glasgow. (*H.* xx. i. 887; cf. 909.) This was the occasion of the broil between the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow. It had probably a political significance, with reference to the conduct of the war. (Robertson's *Statuta*, i. cxxxii.; *Rentale S. Andree*, xlviii.)

<sup>5</sup> Accounts varied as to the strength of the forces, and the amount of financial assistance brought by Montgomery. (See *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, iv. 169; and authorities there cited.)

<sup>6</sup> 25th May. They were at Brest on the 18th waiting for favourable weather to embark. (*H.* xx. i. 767.)

<sup>7</sup> A holograph letter. Corsewall is in the parish of Kirkcolm in Wigtownshire.

## CV

*Thomas, Commendator of Dryburgh, to the Queen Dowager*

[Lauder, c. 16th-20th September 1545 ?]

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, pleis your grace George Dowglas was nocht heyr<sup>1</sup> bot the lard of Blakater<sup>2</sup> is cumand to your grace, quha will schaw your grace his mynd at lenth and quhat was the caus my lord of Angus cum nocht to this raid ;<sup>3</sup> and has schawin me that he and his broder wilbe contraynit to be Inglis men wythowt your grace mak tham ane honest support that thai ma lewe apon. I wald your grace dyd sa that thai suld haif na occasioun to do agane the common wayll :<sup>4</sup> your grace is wys enowch to discern apon sic materis. Farder, for the lard of Bucclewch, I haif gottin ane part of hagbutterris to hym<sup>5</sup> and sall do according to your grace mynd. The yowng lard<sup>6</sup> is heyr present ; I haif schawin hym your grace mynd, quha is werray glaid of your grace gud mynd towart his fader and sall do sic service as your grace sall stand content

<sup>1</sup> If the writer refers to the raid of 15th September, then the place of writing is probably Lauder, where the Governor had his headquarters from the 13th September until the 21st, when he departed to Linlithgow. (*Liber Domicilii*, f. 135.) Douglas was at Tantallon on 20th September. (*H.* xx. ii. 414.)

<sup>2</sup> John Hume. He was present in the parliament at Linlithgow on 14th October, when measures were taken for the defence of the borders. Along with other neighbouring magnates he bound himself 'to maintain good rule there.' (*A. I.* ii. 461-2 ; *H.* xx. ii. 534.)

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the raid of 15th September, when the Governor sent a force of Scots and French under Bothwell, Home, and the Commendators of Jedburgh and Dryburgh to create a diversion in Northumberland. They had thought to find the frontiers unguarded, but were repulsed with loss. (*H.* xx. ii. 400.) Melrose and Dryburgh had been burned on the 12th. (*Ibid.* 359.)

<sup>4</sup> On 20th September, George Douglas sought assurance from Hertford 'for his kinsmen and servants,' including Blackader, while at the same time he offered treasonable advice 'to bring ye Kinges Ma<sup>ty</sup> to his purpos.' (*Ibid.* 414.)

<sup>5</sup> Buccleuch had maintained garrisons as early as 8th February 1544-5. (*H.* xx. i. 161.)

<sup>6</sup> William Scott of Kirkurd.

wyth. Farder your grace salbe advertisit of all newis  
that occurris

be your graxis humill obeysand serwitur

DRIBRUGHT.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M. de Drebourg.]

CVI

*James Stewart, Commendator of Kelso and Melrose,  
to the Queen Dowager*

Melrose, 9th October [1545 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter maist humyble commendatioun of service unto your grace, we ressavit your grace wryting desyring ws to bring na new innovatioun upoun the Kerris teyndis, and siclyk ane uther vriting twiching the teynd of the Hanyng quhilk the larde of Grenheid<sup>2</sup> had in possession of befor. Your grace sall ken that howbeit the Kerris hes passit your grace commandment and nocht obeyng your grace charges and letters, yit, as we wraite afor, nochtwithstanding all thai disobedientis done to your grace and ws we have nocht failzet in na thing we promisit to your grace at our parting fra your grace in Linlythgow.<sup>3</sup> As towart ther awin teyndis, sa fer as thai occupy be ther awin pleucht tylthe and manis we have sufferit thame to intromet therwith themselffis and to intromet ther with at ther plesour, traisting suyrlie your grace sall gar ws have contentatioun therfor be thame, that we may be able to serfe your grace and the

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Ker of 'Greneheid' in 1557-8. (*T.A.* x. 339.) Greenshields of Greenhead, in Lanarkshire, in 1478. (*Laing Charters*, 171.)

<sup>3</sup> The Queen may have been at Linlithgow, 'quhair the maist pairt of the nobilis wes,' at the end of September. The Commendator may have gone to Linlithgow after the sack of the abbey of Kelso on 9th September; or in the company of the Governor on the 21st. (*Diurnal*, 40; *H.* xx. ii. 347; *Liber Domicilii.*) The Court of Session had been removed there in June because of the pest in Edinburgh. (*P.C.* i. 5.)



quenis grace your douchter. And as for uther teyndis occupyit be uderis our tenentis, of the quhilkis thai had possessioun, we have gart leid thame in justlie and treulie, and sall nocht be sterit nor handlit untill the tyme we meite with your grace. And as for the teyndis of the Hanyng quhilkis Thom<sup>1</sup> Scot hes intromettit with, your grace sall knaw we gaif na command nor wish of the intromissioun therof as your grace sall knaw parfytlie efterwart. And incontinent efter your gracis wrytingis toward thai teyndis we send for Thom Scot and ordanit be our servand thai teyndis be tane furth of his yairde and led to our yairde within the toun of Selkirk, quhair uther our teyndis ar gadderit, and sall remane still ther quhill we speik with your grace. Siclyke and forther quhair your grace writis to ws that the maister of Maxwell<sup>2</sup> hes schawin your grace that [there] is thre or four schore of nowt<sup>3</sup> and xiiij or xv naigis<sup>4</sup> of the Litillis of Eskdell unredrest as yit, your grace sall ken that we appoyntit ane tryst with thai Litillis to cum and ressave ther nolt and naigis, and thai promist to have cuming to ressave the samyn, and nother wald thai com to ressave their nolt and naigis, nor yit to satisfy ws for the compositioun thai maid with w[s] nother coackit<sup>5</sup> nor compellit bot of ther awin motywe will, quhilk, in respect of ther commoditeis thai have of ws, wes na thing, quhilk we sall gar your grace ken mair perfytlie. And to verifye all this the laird of Elphistoun<sup>6</sup> quha knawis the hale maner will testifye to your grace the maner of all thir premissis. And howsone we returne furth of the west land<sup>7</sup> we sall cum to your grace and schaw your grace the verite of all thingis. And gif ther be ony service

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Scott, laird of Haining, in 1557-8. (*T.A.* x. 341.)

<sup>2</sup> Robert Maxwell's representation must have been made weeks earlier, as he was captured by Wharton about 15th September. (*H.* xx. ii. 533.)

<sup>3</sup> *nowt*: black cattle.

<sup>4</sup> *naigis*: nags.

<sup>5</sup> *coackit*: constrained.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Johnstone of Elphinstone. (*R.M.S.*, 16th February 1544-5.)

<sup>7</sup> See following letter, which seems to establish the date of writing.

your grace plesis to charge ws with, we salbe ay in reddynes at your grace plesour, as knawis God, quha have your grace in his blissit keping. Of Melros, the ix day of October

\* Be your gracis humble and obeissant serviteur

JAMES COMMENDATOUR OF  
KELSO AND MELROSE <sup>1</sup>\*

## CVII

*Alexander Shaw of Sauchie to the Queen Dowager*

[Hamilton, c. 16th October 1545.]

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madeim, efter maist humill commendation of my serves pleis your grace wit I belew the besenes that lord James <sup>2</sup> her hais ado sall nocht weil be don this viij dayis. Therfor, as your grace plessis, advertis me for I am at command rady to do as pl[essis] your grace. For nowellis her <sup>3</sup> is nan that I onderstand as yit. My lord governour is in Paslay; the vord is that he rydis to Irewen <sup>4</sup> and cumis her agen and mettis with the erll of Angus and George this nyxt Vedinsday.<sup>5</sup> George is rydin est <sup>6</sup> and beis agen

<sup>1</sup> James Stewart, son of James v. by Elizabeth Shaw, daughter of Alexander Shaw of Sauchie.

\*\* Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> James Stewart, Commendator of Kelso and Melrose, grandson of the writer. See preceding letter.

<sup>3</sup> In Hamilton. The Governor left Hamilton for Paisley on 15th October, went to Irvine on 17th, and returned on 19th to Hamilton, where he remained until the 28th. (*Liber Domicilii*, f. 143.)

<sup>4</sup> Irvine was the seat of the Eglinton family, and in this month of October, Hugh, second Earl, was being served heir to his grandfather in Irvine. (*S.P.* iii. 438.) It was probably about this time that Eglinton signed the bond, dated 1545, in favour of the marriage of Queen Mary to Arran's son. (*Hist. MSS. Commission, Hamilton Report* (8), p. 36.) On the 19th he was rewarded by the gift of an escheat. (*R.S.S.* xix. f. 51.) Irvine was a centre of intrigue at this date. From there Angus, Cassillis, and Douglas wrote to Henry on 9th September: in December the French party were apparently also making overtures to Eglinton. (*H.* xx. ii. 329, 1018.)

<sup>5</sup> 21st October. The Governor and Angus were said to have met at Lanark on the 22nd, and to have agreed for the murder of 'Parson Lebberton,' a cousin of Angus. (*Ibid.* 676.)

<sup>6</sup> Sir George Douglas was at Calder on 20th October, in secret communication

bot fail as I am inform[i]t. I saw ane writing send to the abot of Paslay; I knaw nocht to quhat efet bot it vos belewit for the meting. Jhon Maxveill of Cowhill is cum ham<sup>1</sup> and hais ben in Lundown, as the word is, and sayis that my lord Maxveill will nocht geit ham quhill bayth his sunis be for him and his howsis delyverit; and than to cum. And the vord of the erll of Lenox is that he suld be at Cragfergus schipand men and vitallis;<sup>2</sup> bot it is leis nor it wos becas he is sa lang in cuming. George rad owt of Dowglais bot this Fersday that we com heir.<sup>3</sup> I cold nocht write mair at this tym becaus it is short sen our cuming heir, bot I haiw spokin with sum man that hais schawin me mony thyngis,—your grace man juge quha,—and sall forder consyder ilk thyng in the best sort I can, and hais schawin your grace gud mynd quhilk vos askit at me, in speciall that your grace vald be conform to the nowvillis and get men, for ye mon veill, or ony owther thing that thai vald devis, as I vait your grace vilbe; quhom allmychty God conserf. Be

Your grace servitur

ALLR. SCHAW.<sup>4</sup>

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with England through the agency of Brunstoun. Henry was to be informed that the Scots lords had 'signed an agreement for the marriage of the young Queen to the Governor's son'; but that Angus and his adherents would not subscribe until they had learned what price England would pay for their support. (*H.* xx. ii. 622.)

<sup>1</sup> Taken prisoner with the Master of Maxwell by Wharton in September, and used as an agent in an unsuccessful attempt to secure Lochmaben for the English. On 5th October it was reported that he had been sent to Scotland with a letter from his cousin, Lord Maxwell, and 'is now taken by Scottishmen in his return.' (*Ibid.* 505, 524.)

<sup>2</sup> This was a scheme for the invasion of Scotland from Ireland, by Donald, 'pretended' Lord of the Isles, and the Earl of Lennox, in co-operation with the Earl of Ormond. A rumour was spread that Lennox had landed in Scotland on 26th October; but not till 17th November did Ormond and he set sail from Dublin. (See *H. ad indices*, and Introduction.)

<sup>3</sup> The Governor was in Hamilton from 10th to 15th October. (*Liber Domicilii*, f. 141.)

<sup>4</sup> The letter is holograph, apparently in the hand of Alexander Shaw of Sauchie, in Clackmannanshire. The signature is cramped into the extreme right-hand bottom corner of the page, which is partly torn.

## CVIII

*John Somerville to the Queen Dowager*

Cowthally, 21st October 1545.

TO THE QUEENIS GRACE.

Madame, pleyis your grace rasaif ansuer of my lord Angus vrything; the ansuer of the lard of Dru[m]lan-nerikis <sup>1</sup> vrything I mycht nocht get to send to your grace at this tyme, bot I sall send the samyn to your grace so sone as it maye be gottyn vith oder advertissment as occurris in thir partis. Bot presently your grace sall understand for verite tuecheand sic thingis as your grace bad me inquir anent the quenis grace your dochter. I beleif your grace knawis the maist pert of bayth temporall and sprituall astait of Scotland hes consentit appliit to my lord gouverneris dissyir and geiffin thair hand vrittis thair apon. Nochtwithstanding, my lord of Angus, my fader and Georg Douglas vith all thair frendis favorouris and assisterris is determit fermly to ganestand and resist sic dissir off my lord gouvneur anent the quenis mariage to his sone, nevertheles and suppois thai be dayly solistit be greit offeris and fairr vordis to consei[n]t and appli to the samyn mariage; for this next Veddn[e]sday efter the dait of writting <sup>2</sup> the abbot of Pasley vith uder of my lord gubernoris frendis suld meit my lord of Angus, my fader and Geors Douglas to persuaid thame to thair affec, bot I knau perfyitly thai vill nocht consent to non of thair dissyris, quhairthrow your grace sall cleirly understand that my lord of Angus and his frendis sall do your grace and your dochter the quein gret plessir and service in that mater and all uder thingis concerni[n]g hir gracis vele. Quharfor your grace pleis to vryt to my lord of Angus and to my fader your grace

<sup>1</sup> James Douglas. He remained firm to the Dowager. (*H.* xx, ii, 1018; cf. following letter.) In the previous August, he, Angus, and Sir George Douglas had subscribed a bond of manrent to the Governor for the period of the Queen's minority. (*Hist. MSS. Commission, Hamilton Report*, p. 37.)

<sup>2</sup> 28th October; but compare following letter.

mynd and I sall bring your grace ansuer vith thair myndis agane,<sup>1</sup> God villand, quaha conserve your grace eternally. At Quotholc,<sup>2</sup> the xxi day of October, 1545 yeris.

Your grace serviture

JHONE SOMERVILLE.<sup>3</sup>

CIX

*James Douglas of Drumlanrig to the Queen Dowager*

Cowthally, Thursday. [After 21st October 1545.]

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Efter the humlie commendation off my service to your grace, I ressavit anc writing off yowris send to me be maister Johnne Symmervell, and I have done in that mater<sup>4</sup> that I can, as this berare will schaw you, quhom to pleis your grace giff credit in all behalfis; and almychty God preserve your grace. Of Cuthelic, this Fursday<sup>5</sup>

be your gracis humlie servitour

DRUMLANGRIK.<sup>6</sup>

CX

*Countess of Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Dingwall, 21st November [1545].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madme, efter maist hertle commendatione of my service to your grace, rasavit anc writting of your grace this xx day of Novembere daitit at Stryvelyng the xv day

<sup>1</sup> That the Queen did again write to Angus and Somerville is indicated by the letter of Drumlanrig.

<sup>2</sup> Cowthally, the seat of the Somervilles, in the parish of Carnwath, Lanarkshire.

<sup>3</sup> Second son of Hugh, fourth Lord Somerville. The letter is holograph; the paper much discoloured, and the writing faded. It is written broadwise on the sheet.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably, the efforts to thwart the marriage schemes of the Governor.

<sup>5</sup> Probably 29th October. John Somerville may have carried 'the ansuer of the lard of Drumlannerikis vrything' in the same post-bag as the 'ansuer' of his father and Angus to the Queen's second letter. Compare preceding letter.

<sup>6</sup> James Douglas of Drumlanrig. The letter is apparently holograph.

of Octobere, desyrand me to mak gud and haiste payment of this Martymes terme.<sup>1</sup> I beleif the maist effek of the Martymes terme in money is dischargit to me be your grace assingnaisons maid to Sir Watter Ogilby<sup>2</sup> and the knycht of Cauder,<sup>3</sup> quhilk is in the haille v<sup>c</sup> mark, quhilk thai haif tayne payment of at my hand, by uther allowans that is ordiner, quhilk your grace sall knaw at my comptes. As for your grace fermes, it is weill knawin the tyme of yeur is nocht as yeit to sell ony fermis and merchantis nocht travalyng in the cuntreth as in pesable tyme,<sup>4</sup> therfor can nocht get the money therof haistelic without I do my self gret inconvenyent and skayth, quhilk I wait your grace desyris nocht considerand [the] gret cost and cummer I haif tayne and maid in putting [your] grace landes and tennandis in rest and peis, quhilk I trast [I haif] done conformand to your grace mynd at my departing. [Nocht ?] the les, the money I may get sall do delygens and send to you. As for preceptis, beseikis your grace to send nayne to me bot sik as will gif me day that I may mak payment one [without ?] hurting me, and sall mak als thankfull payment to your grace as ony uther serwis you, will God, quaha haif your grace in eternall keeping. At Dyngwall, this xxj day of November be

Your grace at command of my service

ELIZABETH CONTAS OF MURRAY.<sup>5</sup>

## CXI

### *Countess of Moray to the Queen Dowager*

Cawdor, November [1545].

Mademe, eftere humle commendatione of my service to your gracc, I haif bene doand part of besynes and service

<sup>1</sup> The earldom of Ross was comprised in the Queen's terce.

<sup>2</sup> This may be Sir Walter Ogilvie of Boyne, who was in receipt of a pension from the revenues of Banff. From 1547 the customar of Banff was another Sir Walter Ogilvie—of Dunlugus. (See *E. R.* xviii.)

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Campbell of Calder, uncle of the writer. Cf. No. XCVI.

<sup>4</sup> The fact that the Queen's letter was so long delayed in the transit is, in itself, a silent commentary on the disturbed state of the country.

<sup>5</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

consernyng your grace and hes put your landis of Ros to the best poynt I mycht, swa that all the landit men and utheris inhabetaris of the landis of Ros are rade to do your grace service and honour as thai be chargit. And hes maid provesion for keiping of your tennandis fra oppressione and sorny[ng] the best I could, howbeit the same hes bene costlie to me as your grace may consider, quhilk I req . . . that . . . consider[ynge?] your grace mynd schawing to me at departing . . . understand that the martymes terme in money will be na thing . . . effek by your grace assingnations and the wittall sillver of this . . . in the yard may nocht be payit to eftere candillmes that schipis may haif passaig without ony gret skayth, quhilk I traist your grace desyris nocht. Therfor I beseikis your grace send na preceptis for na money to me quhill the said tyme, for I am weray layth to disobey ony thing ye will desyre me do, as knawis God, q[uha] mot haif your grace ever in his keiping. Of Cawder,<sup>1</sup> this . . . Novembere.

Your grace at command of my service

ELIZABETH CONTAS OF MORAY.<sup>2</sup>

## CXII

### *Lord Fleming to the Queen Dowager*

Dumfries, 29th November [1545].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter maist hertle commendatio[n] of service I wrait to your grace of sic novellis as occurrit her the xxvij daye of this moneth and gaif it to maister Jhone Haye, quhilk said he suld send it to your grace incontynent, and sen syne this Setterdaye, the xxviii daye of this moneth, my lord governour hes gottin the hous of Low-

<sup>1</sup> Cawdor, in Nairnshire, was the house of Sir John Campbell, who acquired the estates through his marriage to the heiress of the Thane of Cawdor, or Calder. (*S.P.* i. 336.)

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

maban<sup>1</sup> and the lard of Torwod Hed<sup>2</sup> can schaw your grace the maner of the gettin of it, and of the lord Maxwellis incumyn and of his furthganging agan,<sup>3</sup> for I haif schawyn him the samyn att lenth. And in lykwys my lord governour purposis to be this Monendaye at even in the Sanchquhar quhar he causis the monye to cum furth of the Kenmur<sup>4</sup> to him thar and takis it with him on Tysdaye to Hammylton, and on Wednisdaye garris convoie it to your grace to Stirling and bides in Hammylton twa dayes or thre with his wyf, and ther efter cummys to your grace to Stirling:<sup>5</sup> and he sayis he will do na thing by<sup>6</sup> your gracis counsall and cummand, baith anentis the effaris of this realme and all uther thingis, and sall gar your grace ken at his cummyn to yow quhat lawbouris hes bene maid at his hand till haif had displeour betuix your grace and him and quha was the doaris of it. And als he say[is] that the lard of Drumlanerik schew that your grace had direkkit me to my lord of Angus and George of Dowglas till haif maid a new band with thaim incontrar him. I haif gert him ken the contrar of that, as it is nocht of verite. His purpos is, efter he departis fra your grace, to ryd in Fyfe to my lord

<sup>1</sup> John Maxwell of Cowhill was holding Lochmaben on 28th October. (*H.* xx. ii. 676.) The castle had apparently been delivered to the English about the same time as Caerlaverock. (*Diurnal*, 41.) These were two of the strongholds which Maxwell had promised, whether or not in good faith, to hand over as the price of his freedom. Caerlaverock was again committed to the keeping of Maxwell by the Governor on 24th May, and Lochmaben on 11th June, 1546. (*A.D.C.S.* xx. f. 133; *P.C.* i. 28.)

<sup>2</sup> Forrester of Torwoodhead, in Stirlingshire.

<sup>3</sup> This may refer to the warden raid authorised by the Privy Council on 15th November: 'but what came of this we are not informed.' (*H.* xx. ii. 795, 800, and Introduction, xxiv.)

<sup>4</sup> Kenmure was the house of Gordon of Lochinvar. Perhaps the fact that he was one of 'Maxwell's greatest enemies' was considered a qualification for his appointment as keeper of Lochmaben, after its recovery at this time. (*Ibid.* 692; *Diurnal*, 41.) The 'monye' was financial assistance sent from France in the charge of John Hay. (*T.A.* viii. 400, 415.)

<sup>5</sup> The Governor went to Stirling on 11th December. (*Liber Domicilii*, f. 156.)

<sup>6</sup> *by*: contrary to.



cardinall; <sup>1</sup> therfor I consall yow quhen he cummys to yow to tak weill with him. He sayis he wilbe a gud servand to your grace and do nathing by your grace in na behalffis. Forther, Madame, I haif schawin the lard of Torwodheid all uther thingis at lenth quhilk wer our lang to wryt to your grace; to quhom your grace ples gyf credens. Madame, I porpos this Monendaye, quhen my lord governour departis, to ryd to Quhiterne <sup>2</sup> and gyf ther be ony uther service your grace ples command I sall ever be rady, as knawis God, quha preserf your grace. Writtin [at] Drumfreis, the xxix daye of November

be your grace humle servand at command

MALCOME LORD CHALMERLAN.

Alsua, madame, and your grace desyr my lord governour to be with yow at Yule <sup>3</sup> he wulbe with yow, for I ken sum thing of his mynd.

### CXIII

#### *The Governor to the Queen Dowager*

Hamilton, 3rd December [1545].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter humyll commendatioun of service, we haif presentlie send this berair unto your grace with the king of Frauncis thesuirar <sup>4</sup> and the money brocht be him into this realme, and hes gart convoy him surelie ay sen his landing unto this day. Forther, becaus we traist your grace hes hard ellis how all materis hes procedyt in the partis quhare we haif bene and that we ar purposit

<sup>1</sup> On 4th December a rumour ran that the Cardinal and Governor were about to come to France in pursuance of the Hamilton royal marriage scheme. (*H.* xx. ii. 926.)

<sup>2</sup> The Prior of Whithorn was the brother of Lord Fleming.

<sup>3</sup> The Governor spent Christmas at St. Andrews.

A holograph letter.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the official in charge of the money sent from France. A certain Daniele is mentioned as Treasurer of France in the *Treasurer's Accounts*. (*T.A.* ix. 21.)

to send the secreter schortlie unto your grace<sup>1</sup> and to monsieur de Lorges, we think it nocht necesser to mak youre grace langer writing at this tyme, bot referris the declaratioun of our mynd in all materis unto his cuming ; praying almychty God haif your grace in his keping. At Hammyltoun, the thrid day off December.

\* Yowr graceis hwmyll cousing and serwitwr

JAMES G.\*

## CXIV

*Malcolm, Prior of Whithorn, to the Queen Dowager*

Whithorn, 6th January [1545-6].

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE.

Madam, efter my hartye commendationis of humil service to your graice, forsameikil as I haif send this berar to adverteis your graice of siclic purposis as occurris, and at your graice think na thing in me bot at I think<sup>2</sup> to be ewir ane obedient serwand to yowr graice ; and quhat at yowr graice thinkis guid that I do sal vryt ther efter at your graice comma[n]d. And God haif your graice in prosperite. Of Quhitern, this vj day of Januar

Be your graice serwitour at command

M. OF QUHITERN.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paniter was in Stirling on 15th December. (*H.* xxi. ii. 986.) The Governor had nominated him to Ross after the death of Bishop Cairncross on 30th November. (*Bps. of Scotland*, 226-7.) The temporalities were bestowed upon him in December. (*R.S.S.* xix. f. 70.)

\*\* Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> *think*: written *thine* in the original. Various slips give the impression that the letter was carelessly or hurriedly written.

<sup>3</sup> Malcolm Fleming, brother of the Chamberlain, who bore the same name. Lord Fleming's visit was obviously dictated by deeper motives than the promptings of merely personal affection. At the end of December a force of 479 'French adventurers' was billeted at 'Quincorne en Ecosse' awaiting favourable weather to embark for France. (*H.* xxi. ii. 1034.)

The letter is holograph.

## CXV

*Alessandro Thealdini to Andrew Oliphant*

[The writer states that a servant of the Queen of Scotland came to his lodging and informed him of his speedy departure for Scotland. As a prisoner at Rye Thealdini had directed letters to Oliphant at Dieppe. He now writes to inform him of his safety, and how, by the grace of God and the King of England, he had been liberated on 5th December by the Privy Council. But because he was the servant of the late Patriarch of Aquileia, legate of the Roman See in Scotland, they were not willing to restore the clothes and money taken from him. Indeed, they handed him over again to his captors, with whom he had to make an agreement for sixteen angels for ransom money. As for expenses, he hoped to obtain some financial assistance from Dieppe. But not having had a reply to the letters which he sent there to Meldrum, he resolved to go on foot to London, where he met some Venetian merchants who liberated him. They compounded with his captors for forty scudi, and one scudo for his passport. For the rest, he was clad like John the Baptist: his friend would have pitied his destitution. The Venetian gentlemen had lent him money for clothing and to pay his travelling expenses into France, and they had maintained him in their house like a brother, to his eternal gratitude. He had also lived for about three and a half months in a Bishop's house, where he was forbidden to speak with any one, still less to write; but he was afforded excellent hospitality, and was allowed a mile's circuit to walk abroad. According to the advice of these Venetians he hopes on the following day [9th January] to embark on a ship bound for Antwerp; thence he will go to Paris. After he has passed Dover he will be safe, except for the risk of encountering the armies. In Paris he means to go to Mr. Richard de Albino and other friends, who may succour him with money. He will not write at greater length, but refers the rest to the bearer. He begs Oliphant to have him remembered to all his patrons and friends, and to write to him at his earliest convenience.]

At his departure from Scotland, Cardinal Beaton had asked him if he would go as his vicar to Mirepoix in Provence, but he could not promise until he had first written to the Patriarch in whose service he then was, and who has since died. He is in debt to the amount of 150 or 160 scudi, and he owes 66 scudi to the Venetian gentlemen, besides his ransom and money for clothing and expenses. If the Cardinal will renew the previous offer of a salary, he will serve him willingly. He asks Oliphant to use his influence with the Cardinal to procure letters patent, with an order for the payment of his salary and a subsidy for his maintenance. He concludes with professions of service. Written from London, on 8th January 1545-6.]

London, 8th January 1545-6.

AL REUERENDO MESSER ANDREA ELEPHANT AMICO CAR-  
ISSIMO ET HONOREVOLE.

Doue se ritrouj.

Reverendo Messer Andrea<sup>1</sup> honorevole, Essendo uenuto alla stantia mia M. . . . Seruitore della Regina de Scotia et hauendomi affirmato douer uenire di breue in Scotia oltre le littere che io essendo pregione alla Rye ue scrissi et mandai à Dieppe, mi è parssò scriueruj ancho le presente, et auisarui in primis de la mia salute, da poi come per la gratia de Iddio et de questo Serenissimo Re alli v̄ del passato io fui liberato dal Consiglio, ma per essere io stato seruitore della bona memoria de monsignor Patriarcha de Aquilegia<sup>2</sup> legato del Pontifice Romano in Scotia non me hanno uoluto restituire le robbe et danarj hauuti da me, immo me hanno restituito in potere de qualli me feceno pregione con li quali essendo conuenuto darlli Angellotj<sup>3</sup> 16 per la taglia, et chi [?] per le spese sperando per la uia di Dieppe potere hauere qualche aiuto de Danarj, Non hauendo dele mie littere scritte al Meldrone<sup>4</sup> pure risposta deliberaj uenire in Londra à piedi doue per gratia de Iddio ho ritrouato alcunj gentilhomeni Uenetianj merchanti li quali me hanno liberato et qualli me haueano pregione se sóno contentati de 40 scudi in tuto et scuto vno per la littera del passo porto, et oltre di questo per essere io uestito come san Giouanbapt<sup>ta</sup> che certo se me hauesti uisto ue ne sarebbe uenuto pieta. Detti (?) gentilhomenj me hano prestato danarj da uestire et per poter andare in Franza et tenuto in casa loro come fratello del che fino che uiuo li sarò

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Oliphant, notary public, vicar of Foulis. He had a long record of service as an agent of Cardinal Beaton.

<sup>2</sup> Marco Grimani, papal envoy in Scotland from October 1543 till March 1544. See No. XXVII. He was alive in November 1544. (*H.* xix. ii. 686.)

<sup>3</sup> An angel was an English gold coin, at this date worth 8s. The diversity of currencies must have added to the writer's financial embarrassment. The scudo and denarius were Italian coins.

<sup>4</sup> See Nos. LIX, LX.

obligato son . . . ancho circa 3 mesi et mezo in casa del uescouo de . . . doue quantunque me fosse prohibito parlare con alcuno et meno scriuere, tamen io son stato circa il mio uiuere op[ti]mamente et humanamente trattato et hauea vn miglio de circuito doue io me ne poteua andare a . . . per essere in vno suo luoco in villa, ve ho n . . . tuta la mia uita da poy che fui fatto pregione . . . adiruj come per consiglio de questi gentilhomeni . . . dimane a Iddio piacendo montero sopra vna scu . . . uogliate dire, Naue, et me ne passero in Anuersa <sup>1</sup> et de li andaro a Parigi Securissimo sarej passato Dobra ma per li exerciti <sup>2</sup> ce qualche pericolo . . . qualche giorno in Parigi, penso andare a . . . M. Riçardo de Albino et qualche altro mio . . . che me soccorj de Danari fino che da qualche . . . com . . . spero me uengha alcuna prouisione. Io non ui saro piu longo il resto supplira il presente latore, ui pregho siate contento racomandarmj à tuti li mej patroni et amici, et a scriuermj con la prima occasione in Fran[za]. Io non uoglio manchár de dirui come il Reverendissimo <sup>3</sup> v . . . nel partir mio de Scotia mi ricerco se io . . . andare per suo uicario in Mirapoyis in Prouenza et Io non li uolssi prometere se prima non scriueua à Monsignore Patriarcha per essere alhora al suo seruitio : hora hauendo inteso lui essere morto et ritrouandomj hauere persso senza la taglia tra robbe et Danarj alla sùma et ualore de 150 in 160 scutj et qui fatto vn debito con questi gentilhomenj de scuti 66 tra la taglia uestirmj et per spendere in uiagio, quando detto uostro patrone non fosse prouisto et me atendi à quanto alhora me offerse di salario io ui andaro uolontieri, vi pregho adonque che li parlati et essendo còsi il suo uolere che me mandì le littere patente con ordine che me sian paghati li Danarj per el mio salario con qual susidio che gli parera

<sup>1</sup> He arrived in Antwerp on 11th January. He said that he had been sent to tell the French king and the Pope that unless Scotland received financial aid it would have to yield to Henry VIII.

<sup>2</sup> The French and English armies in the Boulonnais.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Beaton, who was Bishop of Mirepoix in France.

per potermi uestire, promentandoli v. s. da mia parte bonissimo et fidel seruitio.

Ne altro : a v. s. mi raccomando.

Di Londra alli viij Genaro MDXLV.

SIGNORE ALESSANDRO THEALDINJ.<sup>1</sup>

[For the translation of this letter thanks are due to Mr. John Purves, Lecturer in Italian in Edinburgh University.]

## CXVI

### *Countess of Athol to the Queen Dowager*

Dunkeld, 14th January [1545-6].

Mademe, eftir maist hummill service and prayaris unto your graice, pleis be remembrit how your graice wrait to my lord governour and to my lord cardinall in favouris of your graice trew servitour Sir Adame Otirbourn and be your graice request that tym Sir Adem was contenwat.<sup>2</sup> Mademe, ples your graice ther is laitle an sommondis of tresson raissit on Sir Adem and apon his son Jhon Otirburn quha mariit the erle Athollis cister,<sup>3</sup> and surle Sir Adem is haldin innocent and sic thingis allegit be his small freyndis. Mademe, he is agit and of greit exsperienc and haldin evir [in] tymis passit of wisdom, quharfor it suld

<sup>1</sup> Thealdini, Secretary to Cardinal Beaton and formerly Secretary to the Patriarch, 'was captured by English pirates and detained some months' on his way from Scotland to France. (Letter of Cardinal Beaton to the Pope, dated 21st December 1545; *H.* xx. ii. 1020.) After his liberation he continued to do business at the Roman Court for Scottish patrons. In October 1546, he was active in the interests of James Beaton for the abbacy of Arbroath. The letter is holograph. The paper is destroyed by damp along the margins.

<sup>2</sup> In the following September, Otterburn himself refers to his imprisonment. (No. CXXIII.) This remains an obscure incident in the life of Otterburn, but it was probably not unconnected with the hostility between him and the Governor. This hostility had manifested itself in the deprivation of Otterburn in May 1544, and it culminated in his murder in Edinburgh, on 6th July 1548, by a servant of the Governor. (*Addenda*, 389.) This was probably Patrick Mure of Anneston or his son, both of whom were summoned in December for treason in the death of Otterburn. (*T.A.* ix. 263, 292.)

<sup>3</sup> Janet Stewart. (*R.M.S.*, 26th January 1548-9.)

no[cht] be an presumption nor synister information [that] suld hurt sic a man in his fayn nor [gud ?] is : attour, he is now veseit be infirmite. And for his son and your grace servitrice his s[pous], thar can nocht be imput to tham, quha suld [nocht ?] be trowblit. Thir premiss beand considerit [be ?] your grace gret wisdom, we all your grace servitouris, the frendis of Sir Adem his son and his spois, traistis surle in your grace help, and that now as of befor your grace will be his gracious pryncis and gud mastres, quham in to is his and ouris your servitouris confidens to get him and his son dischargit of all sic trowblis ; quhilkis we maist hum[i]lle besek your grace to do for his innocence and our pwre service. The eternell God conserve your grace. Of Dunkeld, this xiiij day of Januarye

be your grace mast humell servitricc

COMPTAS OF ATHOLL.<sup>1</sup>

## CXVII

*John Hay to the Queen Dowager*

Dieppe, 14th February 1545-6.

TO THE QWENNEIS GRACE.

Madame, I commend my humile service to your grace. This xiiij of Februar we landit at Deip quhar monsieur de Lorges<sup>2</sup> depeschit monsieur Douzy<sup>3</sup> toart the kyng beand for the present in Sanct Germainis, quhom with

<sup>1</sup> The letter is written in an adult hand, not that of the youthful Countess ; the signature, indeed, bears certain resemblances to her father's autograph. John Stewart, fourth Earl of Athol, married, as his first wife, Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntly. The date of the marriage is not known, but the marriage contract of the bride's parents is dated 27th September 1530. (*S.P.* iv. 536.) Athol was himself a 'pupile destitute of lauchfull tutoris,' when, on 6th February 1545-6, Huntly was appointed his tutor dative until he should attain the age of fourteen years. (*R.S.S.* xix. f. 76.)

<sup>2</sup> The return of de Lorges and his companions had been delayed by stress of weather. (*H.* xx. ii. 1034.)

<sup>3</sup> M. d'Ausay, *varlet de chambre* of Francis I. (*H.* xxi. i. 329) ; sent back to Scotland in June with news of the Treaty of Campe. (*B.P.* i. 139-40.)

I wret, and thocht best till attend on monsieur Delorges and Labrosse <sup>1</sup> to the effet that all our sayngis suld concur. The morne we pas to Rouen and therfra to the court with diligens ordinar. We beleive til fynd the kyng in Galzione <sup>2</sup> quhar I sall writ and advertis your grace of all thingis I can persaive and fynd. Monsieur de Ruiz <sup>3</sup> is presently in Paris cum fra the Impreor, be quhais novellis we will know surly quhedder ther sall be ferme paiche betuixt the Impreor and the kyng or nocht. Thar is certanc schippis of this toune and Newhaivin in reddines till pas toart the paiche, bot na grit armye as yit. Never ane schip of our cumpanye is yit cum heir, Freince nor Scottis. We passit throcht the Pais <sup>4</sup> at xij houris and saw never [ane] schip. All your gracis freindis ar blyth and glayd; as monsieur de Lorges cumis quar thai ar he wil nocht fail till schaw your gracis mynd and part to thaim as ye have gifin him charge. Forther I refer to my next writingis; and Jesu conserve your grace. Of Deip, xiiij of Februar 1545.

Your gracis humil servitour

JHO. HAYE.<sup>5</sup>

### CXVIII

*Ruthven to the Queen Dowager*

Perth, 15th March [1545-6].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Mademe, I commend my humile service to your grace in my maist hertlie maner: quhoim pleis to wyt that I

<sup>1</sup> De la Brosse was in Scotland at the end of December 1545. (*H.* xx. ii. 1018-19.)

<sup>2</sup> Gaillon, in the province of Eure, residence of the Archbishops of Rouen.

<sup>3</sup> Adrian de Croy, Comte de Roculx, Great Master of Flanders, Governor of Flanders and Artois. He 'had commanded the Flemish imperial auxiliaries with the English army during the war, and remained in the service with a certain number of Flemings; but was mainly employed in safeguarding the Emperor's interests.' (*Spanish State Papers, 1545-6*, p. 361 *n.*) In March he was called upon 'to do what he may to stop the Frenchmen' from passing through imperial territory, to attack the French possessions of England. (*H.* xxi. i. 343.)

<sup>4</sup> Pas de Calais.

<sup>5</sup> The letter is holograph.



am suirlye informit my lord governour cardinale and our nychtbouris beis all heir the morn or ewin,<sup>1</sup> and thair hail purpos is to devoyd us of this toun and to put in our nychtbouris quhilk wilbe werray displesand to your grace and grett trubill to us that is your servandis.<sup>2</sup> Quhairfor, mademe, it is best ye speid yow heir, for my lord governour feris your cuming and therfoir hes tane hasty purpos to cum heir to do his besynes, thynkand that your grace sall nocht be adverteist in dew tyme: therfoir thair is na remeid bot diligence, and war nocht the mater ryndis<sup>3</sup> to our maistres your dochtir and your grace mair nor to me, wald nocht solyst your grace to tak sic travell. Forthir, pleis your grace gif cridence to your servitour the berar; and God conserve your grace eternale. Of Perth, this monunda[y], the xv day of Marche  
 be your grace humile servitour

WILLIAM LORD RUTHVEN.<sup>4</sup>

## CXIX

### *Straton to the Scots Ambassadors in France*

Pont de Laich [1st April 1546 ?].

TO MY LORDIS, MY LORDIS AMBASSODORIS OF SCOTLAND.<sup>5</sup>

My lordis, the kyngis grace my master hes gifyn me charg this mornyn sortane<sup>6</sup> fray the mes to writ to your lordschipsis that the kyng of England hes tynt al is witailis

<sup>1</sup> The Governor went to St. Andrews on 13th March, to Perth on the 16th, and remained until the 21st, when he departed for Edinburgh. (*Liber Domicilii.*)

<sup>2</sup> In October 1545, the burgesses of Perth were ordered 'to chois ane neutrall man provest.' (*T.A.* viii. 412.) On 10th April 1546, Ruthven and Gray gave pledges to the Governor and Council to keep peace and preserve order in Perth (*A.D.C.S.* xx. f. 88). On the same day the provost was deprived for having shown himself a partisan of Ruthven. <sup>3</sup> *ryndis*: pertains.

<sup>4</sup> William, second Lord Ruthven.

Only the signature, which is very faint, is autograph.

<sup>5</sup> John Hay and his companions. The envoys between Scotland and France at this time were chiefly Frenchmen.

<sup>6</sup> *sortane*: departing. French, *sortant*.

and moniccions be se to the estimacion of twelf hundreth thowsand frankis, and now is new to begyn to mak is prowision agane. Alsuy he said that the Scottis men as tryhumphit aganis the Inglis men and slane xij hundreth of tham. Thar wes never ane prince mar glaid to tel thai thithandis nor he wes.<sup>1</sup> Alsuy he has ordane that ye find yow at Sanct Germain quhar he hes promyst to depech yow. As for al the laif of the depechis is ordant and salbe depechit I wil nocht mak your lordschipis na langar lettre be caus this berar wil informe your lordschipis of all the rest. Monsieur Dulorg commendis hym hartly to your lordschipis.<sup>2</sup> I wil nocht failye to mak my humble recommendacionis to your lordschipis, praiand God to haif your lordschipis ever in kepyn. At the Pont de Laich, the first day<sup>3</sup> of

be your lordschipis servitour

P. [?] STRATON.<sup>4</sup>

### CXX

#### *Otterburn to Cardinal Beaton*

Edinburgh, 8th April [1546].

TO MY LORD CARDINALL OF SANCTANDROIS AND LEGAIT.

My lorde, I commend my hartlie service humlie to your lordschip quham plesit to wit that I ressavit your writting

<sup>1</sup> The exultation of Francis seems to have been inordinate. Records do not confirm 'thai thithandis' of great English reverses by land and sea. The Scottish victory may be the magnified report of a border foray. French warships were active in the Channel at this juncture, and all may not have gone well with the forty vessels which were being made ready, on 22nd March, 'to convoy the wool fleet to Calais.' (*H.* xxi. i. 439.) The joy of the war-weary King may be explained by the hope that the English disasters would make them more amenable in the protracted negotiations for peace.

<sup>2</sup> De Lorges had separated from his fellow-envoys, and departed for Paris on 3rd March. (*Ibid.* 322.)

<sup>3</sup> The date is probably 1st April 1545. Hay and the Sieur de Mandosse had received their despatch from the King before 28th April; but the latter, at least, was still in France on 16th June. (*B.P.* i. 132, 139.)

<sup>4</sup> The writer is apparently a soldier serving under de Lorges in the Scots Guards. The names of Thomas Straton and Jean Straton appear among the lists, but the identity of this writer is doubtful. (See Forbes Leith, *Scots Guards in France.*) The letter is holograph.

makand mentioun that ye ar aggreit with Oliver Sinclare <sup>1</sup> of the quhilk I am content and desiris that all men satisfy and pleis your lordschip in all behalffis : and quhair your lordschip writtis that Oliver Sinclare menis <sup>2</sup> him to your lordschip that I am scharpe to him, quhilk is nocht of verite, for thir twa yeris bipast I have assolzeit him fra day to day and moneth to moneth in hoipe of payment and gif this be scharpnes your lordschip may juge : and quhair your lordschip thinkis I suld tak his land in payment I knaw nocht quhair he hes land in Scotland, and suppois he had land I wil tak nane becaus I have bene sua demanyt <sup>3</sup> in the kingis grace tyme and sen syne divers wayis quhilk war lang to rehers that I have na gude to pay my dettis and my dochteris tocher quham I have mariit laitie except that det. And as to my lorde Borthuik <sup>4</sup> he hes sauld his woll to men that hes put it in England like as all the merchandices and vittales on this syde of the watter passis thair and the said lorde gevis your lordschip litill thankis of thingis past, and Oliver his wyffe and he lvis cursit and aggregit <sup>5</sup> quhilk I traist thai wald nocht do without the hoipe of sum way by my satisfioun. My lorde I have bene and wilbe als trew to your lordschip as ony kynnisman or servand your lordschip hes. Beseiking your lordschip that ye will nocht gif ane absolutioun without I be satisfiit, for and ye do, ye will put me to uter hirschip quhilk I wait your lordschip will nocht do to me quhilk is your trew servitour. And almychty God preserve your lordschip. Off Edinburehit the viij day of Aprile

Be your lordschip himyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In March 1545-6, the Cardinal raised a summons before the Lords of Council against Oliver Sinclair and his wife 'for the alleged non-payment of the duties of the lands of Kilbeyth, which he held in feu-farm, for the space of two years.' (*A.D.C.S.* xx. fs. 18, 27.)

<sup>2</sup> *menis*: bemoans.

<sup>3</sup> *demanyt*: maltreated.

<sup>4</sup> John, sixth Lord Borthwick. Sinclair was party to a bond of obligation to Borthwick on 17th December 1547. (*Acts and Decrees*, iii. f. 19.)

<sup>5</sup> *aggregit*: ?aggravated.

<sup>6</sup> A holograph letter.

## Nos. CXXI-CXLI: INTRODUCTORY

THIS section covers the period of diplomatic negotiations for peace with England on the basis of the comprehension of Scotland in the Treaty of Campe. By reason of many complications this was no easy task for the diplomatists. For the Scots Government the question of peace was interwoven with the matter of the prosecution of the siege of St. Andrews. From an international standpoint, none of the European princes was heartily anxious to enunciate in clear terms the position of Scotland. Henry saw his chance of making profit out of the ambiguous words of the treaty. He meant to have a free hand to deal with his neighbours, and to have acknowledged the comprehension would have been to cut off a convenient pretext for intervention. Francis was anxious to maintain friendly relations with Henry; it was therefore his interest to act upon the fiction that, as Scotland was comprehended, he was no longer bound by his recent obligations. Flemish merchants would have favoured peace; but the Emperor's position was not strong enough to risk the possible results of alienating England. For the Scottish nation the acceptance of the comprehension would have been a blessing; but with the removal of the Cardinal's controlling hand, the Governor and the Dowager again began to strain in their several directions.

The House of Hamilton were the chief gainers by the murder of the primate. By a judicious distribution of offices and dignities vacant by his death, and by a successful expedition against the strategic stronghold of Dumbarton, the centre of Lennox intrigue, the Governor contrived

to secure adherents and to strengthen his position. If, however, the Dowager had to cloak her disappointment, Arran on his side had also to clip the wings of his ambition; the result was an ostensible, but hollow, alliance dictated by necessity. That constraining necessity was to reduce the insurgents in the castle of St. Andrews. If the government had been strong and united, the castle might 'haif beyn won be force of the sobir arttalyzerij that was brocht to it' [No. CXXVII]; but the case was not so simple. The Castilians had two adventitious sources of strength: the Master of Hamilton was a hostage in their hands, and they looked for aid from England. It is clear that the Governor's policy was profoundly influenced by these considerations. The rebels defied the summons of treason raised against them on 30th July; in September, they were confidently expecting the arrival of an English fleet for their relief. [No. CXXII.]

This challenge to Scottish sovereignty the government could not afford to despise. Hence, at the end of September, Otterburn was summoned 'to cum to Sanct-androis: and the effect was to pas in Yngland, and the secreter and I to be in commissioun and gif we agre nocht, he to pas in France to knaw the kyng of Francis mynd.' [No. CXXIII.] This letter, taken in its context, is indication of the underlying differences which sapped the effective power of the Scottish government. [Cf. No. CXXI.] In view of the divergent interests of Arran and the Dowager, much depended upon the personnel of the embassy. It is significant that the chief commissioner, the 'creature of the Governor,' was to have the ear of the King of France 'gif we agre nocht'; while his colleague suspected that 'thai luke to na honeste that hes devisit me to this lawbour.' [No. CXXIV.] Otterburn was avowedly the Queen's man, and his appointment suggests that the rival parties had found it expedient to come to a

compromise. One wonders if the Governor sought to dispose of his bitter enemy, the Dowager's experienced counsellor, by despatching him upon a thankless mission.

His letter of 5th December indicates the stormy course of negotiations when, at last, the envoys did reach London. [No. CXXV.] The situation was little changed by the death of Henry VIII. at the end of January. On 3rd February the commissioners found, 'as we fand at all tymes, that thai wald be at ane trefy of pece with sum trefy of the mariage bot nocht with sa strait and rigorus conditionis': and that the 'ambassatouris of Sanct-androis' continued to be 'wele herd heir.' [No. CXXVI.] Otterburn perceived that international considerations remained of paramount importance. For fear of the Emperor, France and England were drawn together 'in mutuale kyndnes mair surelie than of befoir: and, as I suppose . . . we stand in ane hevye cais.' [No. CXXVIII.] How far this confidence of immunity emboldened them to 'tak na cure of ony prince or natioun' is seen in their 'evill' treatment of Otterburn 'that it is bayth schame and pane to rehers'; and in the more serious matter of the seizure and retention of Scots ambassadors bound for France. [Nos. CXXVII, CXXXIII, CXXXVI.] One, at least, of the envoys bore a special commission from the Dowager, and suspicion lurks that, to the Governor, the taking of the *Lyon* was not altogether 'rycht evill tithandis.' [Nos. CXXVII, CXXVIII.] This situation was, however, soon to change.

The death of the King of France was more momentous for Scotland than the death of the King of England. After the accession of Henry II., 'the ald reularis baitht men and women ar passit,' and in their stead the Dowager's 'fader and freyndis standis in guyd fawwor wyth this kyng of France.' [No. CXXX, CXXXII.] Marischal's veiled utterances themselves intensify the central fact

that this was a revolutionary event, received with very different feelings by the Queen and the House of Hamilton. The assured supremacy of her kinsfolk brought the attainment of her ambitions perceptibly nearer to Mary of Lorraine. She had played a waiting game, and the rebound of her curbed spirit is seen in her feverish anxiety to have the sensational report converted into certainty. [No. CXXXII.]

It is equally clear that, in good truth, the Hamiltons were 'bot sobyrly content' with the new aspect of affairs. The Secretary seems to have acted on the principle that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Thus, news of such fundamental importance to the Dowager was kept hidden from her, but revealed in the secrecy of credit to the Governor, while to the Bishop of Dunkeld it was obscurely hinted that the French king meant to 'dyssyr . . . the mariaig of owr maistres.' In spite of the official renunciation of their dynastic schemes,<sup>1</sup> the whole tenour of their procrastinating policy goes to prove that the House of Hamilton would not willingly see the matrimonial prize snatched irretrievably from their grasp.

There is no indication that steps were actually taken at this juncture to compass a Stewart-Valois marriage, but the rumour is in itself sufficient indication of the trend of events. Naturally, Henry II. was warlike and ambitious; politically, he was under the combined influence of the House of Guise and Madame de Valentinois. Scotland and Boulogne became the two grand objectives of foreign policy, and it was decided in the first place to concentrate on Scotland; Boulogne might be redeemed on foreign fields. It is clear, then, that Henry was no disinterested knight-errant, breaking a lance for the sake of chivalry. His deliberately conceived policy was the mother of the rumour that he sought 'the mariaig of owr maistres'

<sup>1</sup> *P.C.* i. 27.

with the kingdom for her dower. As this was equally the goal of Somerset's ambition, Scotland was destined to become more than ever the cockpit of an international quarrel, in which the successful reiver would snatch the crown from the feeble grip of a Hamilton.

Scotland, a prey to misrule, torn by religious and political differences, seemed to present an easy prize, while the ambiguity of the comprehension question allowed the contest to be fought at first without the formal declaration of hostilities between the governments of France and England. Not without reason did Otterburn 'drede sair Sanct Androis.' [No. CXXXIV.] That mature diplomatist, fully alive to the international aspect of the situation, perceived that the whole object of English diplomacy was 'to put all thingis to delay,' until the hour should come to strike effectively. [Nos. CXXXIII, CXL.] In May, he reported 'daylie wappynschawis'; in June, that spies were taking observations in Scotland. [Nos. CXXXIII, CXXXVI.] In July, the Protector sought a pretext for his warlike actions by complaining 'of mony and divers attemptatis done be Scottismen aganis Yngland bayth be se and land.' The ambassador was too cautious to comment upon Somerset's offer 'to treit pecc,' but he gave the significant counsel 'to tak cure for the defence of the realme.' [No. CXXXVII.]

Arran and the Dowager were both alive to this necessity. Before the death of Francis, there was talk of sending an embassy to Flanders and to Denmark. Measures were taken to put down 'slauchir and thift and dissobedience' and the feuds of private factions in the country. [No. CXXIX.] The expedition against Langhope, projected in March, and carried into execution in July, was a counter-thrust to the English designs upon St. Andrews, while, as a national enterprise, it was calculated to divert men's minds from domestic troubles. This is the inference



contained in Bothwell's letter [No. CXXXVIII], but the conduct of the writer at this juncture is itself a commentary upon the difficulties which beset the Scottish government. Otterburn realised the extent of the covert menace; but it was more momentous for Scotland that the King of France, likewise grasping the situation, outdid the English government, and struck effectively.

French galleys rode in St. Andrews bay, 'and thairefter quhen the sam casteill was ordourlie persewit culd na way be defendit be the wyth haldaris.' [No. CXLIX.] Although Knox, for one, would not concur with Methven that the capitulation proceeded 'in maist honorabill sort,' yet there could be no doubt as to the magnitude of the event. It spurred England into more immediate action. Within eight days Otterburn saw 'verray gret preparatioun of weir,' and received his own 'licence to depart.' [No. CXLI.] His letter shows that both sides made a final effort to maintain diplomatic negotiations; but the good faith of the Protector, at least, was held in question. It was unfortunate for every one, not least for Somerset, that he failed to discover 'better wayis to be had than the effusion of blude and destructioun of the pure pupill.' The unhappy ambassador, who had so long pined for his recall, departed at the last with a heavy heart, as one who had prognostication of impending calamity. In his own sphere he had laboured 'for the honour of God and commoun wele of the realme.' He had forewarned his government, and they were not unprepared. But he could not inspire the Scottish leaders with his own cautious prudence, nor curb the spirit of emulation and jealousy. Well might he 'repent sair that ther is sa grete respect to particular proffit' [No. CXXXIX], for this was one chief cause of the crushing defeat of his countrymen at Pinkie on Black Saturday, 10th September 1547.

## CXXI

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

[c. August 1546.]

TO THE QUENYS GRACE.

Madame, it is of verite that thair is ane conduct writtin for to the lordis Ruthven and Paslay and secretar, and that Brunstoun suld have passit in cumpany with Paslay. And the impedimentis and argumentis that the secretar maid aganis the comprehentioun was to the effect that thir personis mycht have past and interit in ane trewis or peax with Yngland be oure awin way,<sup>1</sup> bot thair ar marvilus displeisit that knowlege is gottin of this mater and hes send to Dunbar for the messinger to returne ; and quhidder it be to brek that purpois and to ressave the supplicatioun agane that was send for that conduct or nocht, I can nocht say. I sall writ to your grace as I can fynd occasioun. Madame, the virgyn Marie be your supple.

Be your gracis humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>2</sup>[*Endorsed* : M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

<sup>1</sup> The terms of the letter are cryptic, but the writer seems to fear that the Secretary had opposed the acceptance of the comprehension, in order that his party might make a secret agreement with England. On 14th August, parliament had consented to the comprehension of Scotland in the Treaty of Campe. (*A.P.* ii. 473.) Opinion was divided, however, in the selection of the ambassadors who should convey the acceptance to the English government. 'In the hope of keeping England passive till the rebels were crushed, the Governor arranged to send the Bishop of Dunkeld to the court of Henry. On August 30 a request for a passport was lodged, and as early as September 3 one of the foreign residents in England reported that a safe-conduct was to be issued for "the Scottish Privy Seal, a great master and a secretary, to come with a train of 50 horsemen to treat for peace."' (*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, v. 33.) A safe-conduct for different envoys—Dryburgh, Otterburn and Alexander Hume—was dated at Westminster on 10th August, but there is no evidence that it was delivered. (*H.* xxi. i. 1537, 14.) Cf. No. CXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

## CXXII

*James Cockburn of Langtown to Bothwell*

Langtown, 12th September [1546].

TO MY LORD ERLI BOTHWELL.

Mi lord, I commend mi service to your lordship. For surte the armye off England is cumand be sey and as I am informmyt cumis for the raleif off Sanctandros, the quhilk sal be abowt Mychalmes. My lord, beleif nocht that this is wane<sup>1</sup> for in tymis bygane I haif maid your lordship trew advertysmentis. Had I beyn sure quhair I mycht haif gettyn your lordship I sulld haif beyn at your lordship and schawyn forder; quhilk sal rest quhill I speik with your lordship. And gif it ples your lordship advertys me with this berar I nocht fayll be at your lordship, God wyllyn, quhome mot haif your lordship in kepyn. At Langtown, the xij off September

be your lordship servetter

JAMES OF LANGTOWN.<sup>2</sup>

## CXXIII

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

Wemys, 26th September [1546].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, plesit youre grace my lorde governour send me twa divers writtingis to cum to Sanctandros: <sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> This rumour was perhaps premature; but it was not ill-founded. On 18th September, the King in Council issued orders 'to set forth six vessels for St. Andrews, with charge to scour the seas in their way thither and make a show of landing in the Fryth to draw away some of the enemy's force from St. Andrews,' and, if possible, to secure the Master of Hamilton. (*H.* xxi. ii. 122, 123.) Apart from personal considerations, the intelligence here communicated would be of interest to Bothwell in his official capacity as Admiral of Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> A holograph letter from James Cockburn of Langtown, in Berwickshire.

<sup>3</sup> The Governor was at St. Andrews prosecuting the siege. Otterburn was present at a meeting of the Privy Council there on 2nd October. (*H.* xxi. ii. 211.)

the effect was to pas in Yngland, and the secreter<sup>1</sup> and I to be in commissioun and gif we agre nocht, he to pas in France to knaw the kyng of Francis mynd.<sup>2</sup>

Madame, I am agit and seiklie throw my prisamynd and evill tretin,<sup>3</sup> and is unable divers wayis, as God kennis. I have nocht acceptit that charge as yit nor will nocht without your graces avis and command, praying your grace to send me your mynd heirto<sup>4</sup> and to excus me, I cumin nocht my self, becaus force it is, to speik with your grace or I departe out of this cuntre.

Madame, the glorious Virgyne be your kepar. Off the Wemys, this Sunday, the xxvj day of September.

Be your gracis humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>5</sup>

[*Endorsed*: M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

#### CXXIV

##### *Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 20th October [1546].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, plesit your grace to be advertist that I ressavit your writting direct to my self and ane uther direct to the king of Yngland quhilk is nocht closit, and the use of this realme is to send all letteris closit quhowbeit thai be

<sup>1</sup> David Paniter, prior of St. Mary's Isle, bishop-postulate of Ross. The final selection of Paniter and Otterburn as ambassadors seems to have been a compromise between the rival factions of the Governor and Dowager.

<sup>2</sup> Selve, the French Resident in London, was informed by 'secret instruction' that the Dowager and D'Oysel, the French ambassador in Scotland, distrusted Paniter as 'a creature of the Governor,' and possibly the bearer of 'some private and secret charge.' (*Ibid.* 380.) Officially, he was to seek the help of France, if England refused to accept the comprehension.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. No. CXVI.

<sup>4</sup> *heirto*: to Wemys. He begs to be excused in that necessity forbids him from coming to a personal interview with the Queen before his departure. Wemys was the residence of Otterburn's son-in-law. (*Memorials of Wemys*, ii. 281.)

<sup>5</sup> The letter is holograph.

letteris of credence ; thairfoir, madame, I have send the writting agane to your grace to be closit gif your grace think it expedient, and to send it agane in all haist. Your credence I have put in writting.

Madame, thair was grete solistationis and fair hechtis<sup>1</sup> bayth with hors and geir to tak this mater on hand : I have gottin na hors and na money that will furnis me to Mussilburght. And suppois thai luke to na honeste that hes devisit me to this lawbour, yit nocht theles and I suld pas upoun my fute I sall do my parte, and at my power procure the plesour of God and wele of this realme : and gif I de in the pane, my dede salbe meretable and honest. And God preserve your grace in prosperite. Off Edinburgh, the xx day of October.

Be your graces humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

## ĊXXV

### *Otterburn to the Qucen Dowager*

London, 5th December [1546].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Madame, plesit youre grace tobe advertist that efter your directioun I movit sik thingis to the king of Yngland as ye commandit and findis litill effect to my purpois as yit.<sup>3</sup> He said he cutht mell with na persoun in Scotland sa lang as my lorde governour was in autorite. I persaisf his grace luffis yow the war that ye ar in ane accorde with my lorde governour. We have writtin tweching our besynes at grete lenth to my lorde governour quhilk wilbe schawin to your grace. Schortlie, my counsale is yee writt with deligence to the kyng of France to luke weill on oure materis : for other it will cum to that poynt that

<sup>1</sup> *hechtis* : promises.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> The ambassadors had arrived in London on 10th November (*H.* xxi. ii. 380), but the course of negotiations did not run smoothly.

the comprehensioun may be exceptit, as thair is litill apperance therof;<sup>1</sup> or ellis enter in ane new pece quhilk the counsale of Yngland desiris; or ellis seik outward alliance. We have writtin all reddy to the kyng of France of the proceeding heir, and quhow it is said heir that the comprehensioun was maid conditionalie,<sup>2</sup> and ferther hes referit the rehers of the mater to the ambassatour of France quhilk was present at<sup>3</sup> our disputatioun togidder with the empriouris ambassatour quaha schew him party.<sup>4</sup> I refer all uther thingis quhill my returning. I traist ye may have writtingis to France be this ambassatour than to send be see.<sup>5</sup> I pray your grace remember to help me with expens;<sup>6</sup> and God kepe youre grace. Off Londoun, the fyft day of December

be your gracis humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>7</sup>

[*Endorsed*: M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

<sup>1</sup> According to Selve, 'the King of England claims to be quit of the comprehension clause in the treaty of peace, both because of his treaties with the Emperor, and because of new cause of war with the Scots; his object being to make the Scots abandon the comprehension clause and seek alliance with England by other ways.' (*Ibid.* 455.)

<sup>2</sup> The Emperor cavilled at the phrase *sine prejudicio tractatum*, and the interpretation of these ambiguous words with regard to treaties between England and the Emperor. The Scots, also, 'brought forward sundry subtleties with regard to the words *nova occasione data*.' (*Ibid.* 455, 459.)

<sup>3</sup> Odet de Selve, the French Resident, 'alleging his master to have been a worker in it, desired to be present.' (*Ibid.* 478.)

<sup>4</sup> *party*: antagonistic. Van Der Delft, the Imperial ambassador, was invited by the English Council to be present, because the 'Emperor had been enemy to the Scots for our sake.' He had a bitter altercation with Paniter, whom he suspected of seeking 'to breed distrust' between the Emperor and England, in order to gain time 'for reasons which will be obvious.' (*Ibid.* 478, 459.)

<sup>5</sup> Otterburn's letter was enclosed in despatches from Selve to the Queen and French ambassador, and on 5th December, the day of writing, a passport was granted to Bute Herald, probably to carry a report of this interview to the Scottish government. Selve advised D'Oysel to send any important communications to him to be forwarded to France. (*Ibid.* 498, 500-1.)

<sup>6</sup> On 10th February 1546-7, the sum of £110 was sent to Otterburn 'to beir his expensis.' (*T.A.* ix. 56.) His continued lamentations proclaim that the relief was entirely inadequate.

<sup>7</sup> A holograph letter.

## CXXVI

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

London, 4th February [1546-7].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Madame, sen the departing of Cumbo<sup>1</sup> with quham I wraitt at lenth to my lord Erskyn,<sup>2</sup> the kyng of Yngland decessit on Wedinsday at nycht the morn efter Sanct Paulis day;<sup>3</sup> and within thir xx dayis the young kyng beis crounit and the auld kingis beriall be solempnisat. He hes ordanit in his letter will that the erle of Heirfurde<sup>4</sup> salbe governour to the young kyngis persoun and protectour of the realme of Yngland, and nammyt xvj personis to be counsalouris be quhais awys all thingis salbe orderit.<sup>5</sup> We spak on Thurisday the thrid day of Februar with the erle of Hertfurde in his logyn, and na persoun with him except Pigett, secretar,<sup>6</sup> and findis as we fand at all tymes that thai wald be at ane trefy of pece with sum trefy of the mariage bot nocht with sa strait and rigorus conditionis as was in the first contract. I fynd that thai will nocht suffer the secretar pas in France. I pray your grace gif it be thoct that we suld nocht trefe upoun pece that ye will counsale to mak provisioun, and spetialie for the strenth of Edinburgh and the qwenis housis of Lothiane,

---

<sup>1</sup> Captain Pierre, Sieur de Combas, who set out as a courier to Scotland, about 26th January. (*H.* xxi. ii. 743.)

<sup>2</sup> John, fifth Lord Erskine, Sheriff of Stirling, Keeper of the Castle, and one of the guardians of the Queen.

<sup>3</sup> Wednesday, 26th January. The actual date of the King's death was the night of 27th-28th January, but 'the thing is still [31st January] kept so secret that no man dare mention it, and the exact time when the death occurred is not yet certain.' (*Ibid.* 760.)

<sup>4</sup> Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, maternal uncle of the young King, Protector of the Realm, was created Duke of Somerset at the distribution of honours on the accession of Edward VI.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Pollard points out the 'curious' similarity between this provision and the settlement of November 1544, in Scotland. (*England under Protector Somerset*, 3 n.)

<sup>6</sup> Sir William Paget, created Baron Paget, chief Secretary and Comptroller.

for gif thai be wele regardit thair is na danger of conquest or that thai will wesy youre grace at Striveling. Quhat is done of Sanctandros I can nocht say bot that ambassaturis of Sanctandros ar wele herd heir<sup>1</sup> and labouris for the plesour of Yngland as befoir or the concorde.<sup>2</sup> I wrait to my lorde Erskyn with monssieur Cumbo quhairof your grace is sufficientlie advertist be the said lorde. I traist your grace sall have gude caus to be content with my service quher I may avance your honour or plesour; and God almychty kepe your grace. Off Londoun, the ferde day of Februar.

Be your gracis humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed*: M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

## CXXVII

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

London, 8th March [1546-7].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Madame, pleis youre grace I have spokin with monsieur Cumbo this berar; becaus he was to cum in Scotland I thocht it gude to salute youre grace with this bull. This Setterday the fyft day of Marche my lorde secretar departit furth of Londoun. Thair is nyne schippis of this cuntre past to the see and as I can have informatioun to await upoun oure Scottis schippis. I mak na lang lettres becaus I wrait laitlie to your grace. I wait nocht

<sup>1</sup> John Leslie, Master of Rothes, and Henry Balnaves, who had escaped from St. Andrews 'under cover of the artillery of ten English ships.' About 29th November they reached London, where they were 'greatly caressed,' and entered into negotiations for the overt and covert support of England. (*H.* xxi. ii. *ad indices*.)

<sup>2</sup> This concord of December, stigmatised by Knox as 'the Coloured Appointment,' granted an armistice until the arrival of a papal absolution for the murder of the Cardinal, whereupon the Castle was to be surrendered upon very honourable terms. Neither side was acting in good faith. (See Knox, *History*; and compare *H.* xxi. ii. Introduction.)

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.



quhow it sall succede betuix France and Yngland<sup>1</sup> bot the ambassatouris of France ar wele tretit and as freyndis and we as inmyis.

Madame, gif youre grace will command me with ony service ye sall fynd me obedient; praying God to conserve youre grace in prosperite. Of Londoun, the viij day of Merche

Be your gracis humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Adam Hotbourne.]

### CXXVIII

#### *Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

London, 14th March [1546-7].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Plesit youre grace to be advertist that heir is rycht evill tithandis. I think the *Lyon* be tane and mony of the men slane. Dryburgh is saif.<sup>3</sup> My lorde governour was sufficientlie informyt that thair was ten schippis of weir maid to the see. As for uther besynes, your grace sall surelie understand that the pece betuix France and Yngland was contractit for the kingis and thair succesouris, and now the samyn is renewit within thir thre dayis and, as the ambassatour<sup>4</sup> sayis, we are comprehendit as of befoir; bot we ar nocht off counsale thairto. The empriour triumphis in Almanye<sup>5</sup> and thairfoir I beleev

<sup>1</sup> The death of the English King had jeopardised the recent peace. See following letter.

<sup>2</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>3</sup> The *Lyon*, a Scottish warship bound for France, was wrecked, or captured, near Dover. The Abbot of Dryburgh, Scots envoy to France, carrying a special 'commission apart' from the Dowager, was taken to London. (*C.S.P.* 3, 4; *H.* xxi. ii. 695; Selve, 164.)

<sup>4</sup> Odet de Selve, Ambassador Resident of France in England, 1546-1549.

<sup>5</sup> In July 1546, Charles v. had declared war against the leaders of the Protestant alliance known as the League of Schmalkalde. A successful campaign culminated in the victory of Muhlberg on 24th April 1547.

that France and Yngland hes jonyt thame self in mutuale kyndnes mair surelie than of befoir ; and, as I suppone, for feir of the said empriour we stand in ane hevy cais. Thairfoir your grace man tak the mair labour to gif gude counsale. I assure your grace that I persais sik kyndnes betuix France and Yngland that France will nocht displeis thame. Monsieur barron de lay Garde<sup>1</sup> and ane Blanchet hes sped thair erandis heir and ar departit glaidlie. This that I writt to your grace is verrey treuth. The secretar is now with the courte of France. And gif your grace will command me with ony service, advertis me ; and almychty [God] preserve your grace. Off London, the xiiij day of Marche

Be your graxis humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Adam Hotbourne.]

### CXXIX

*Lord Ruthven to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 18th March [1546-7].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, eftir maist hertlie commendatioun of humile service to your grace ; as for our efferis heir, the writingis the secretar send hame last wes desirand to wit quhat he suld do gif the king of Franch wald nothir caus Ingland to comprehend us nor yit ansueir us of support conformand to our desyre bot stand undir the fair wordis of Ingland without ony uthir securite : and we have biddin hyme do conformand to the first articulis<sup>3</sup> and remane

<sup>1</sup> Antoine Escalin des Aimars, Baron de la Garde, dit le *capitaine Paulin*. (See Selve, *Correspondance Politique*.) He was taking back to France 'the treaty of London concluded between Edward VI. and Francis I. on the subject of the boundaries of the Boulonnais, and very certainly also the treaty of defensive alliance previously prepared between Francis I. and Henry VIII., and retarded by the death of the king of England.' (Selve, 115.)

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> The 'articles' were—(1) the French King to cause England to recognise the comprehension of Scotland in the Treaty of Campe ; (2) 'to declare

still thair quhill he adverteis us agane of the king of Franchis utir mynde quhat we may lippyn to and tak sic support as he will gif. Schir Johne Campbell is devisit to pas to Flandris as we commonit of befor, and sum utheris to Denmerk.<sup>1</sup> It is concludit be my lord governour and counsale that we sall persew the hous of Langop ;<sup>2</sup> bot we will nocht be haisty will [? quhill] we get word furth of Franche as your grace and I commonit. Thair is certane ackis and statutis maid tuiching slauchir and thift and dissobedience of the quenis officiaris that na respit nor remissioun salbe gevin for thre yeiris.<sup>3</sup> The bordoraris beis all in within thir tua dais and giffis plegis. This day thair is sum thing commonit betuix me and the lord Gray sua that we sall send for our frendis to be heir on Monunday nixt for sum ordour to be thercinto : thankand your grace of your membrance, for my lord governour schew me that ye haid writin to hym for the samyn effect. Forthir, pleis your grace to be remembrit ye gat the l[ard] of Cragy ane remissioun in Sanctandrois undir ane cond[ition ?] that your grace suld keip the samyn and nocht deliver it to the [lard of] Cragy and he refusit to fecht with Johne Charteris. A[nd] . . . madame, or Monunday [?] at cvin nixt to cum the [lard of Cragy] and Johne Charteris [ar ?] bayth writin for to be heir<sup>4</sup> . . . venientis that may fall I pray your grace to send me . . . remissioun with the berar,<sup>5</sup> and as I am trew gentilman the samyn s[all nocht ?] be usit in na sort and the lard of Cragy refus to fecht with Johne Charteris ; bot in eventure he be put

the King of England enemy if he refuse to accept that article'; (3) to make himself master of the sea ; (4) to furnish support for the defence of Scotland. (*H.* xxi. ii. 451 ; *P.C.* i. 54.)

<sup>1</sup> There is no record that envoys were sent to Flanders and Denmark at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Langhope Castle, in the east of Dumfriesshire, a stronghold of the Maxwells, had been captured by Wharton about December 1544. (*H.* xix. ii. 760.)

<sup>3</sup> See *P.C.* i. 59-62.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 64. Cragy was summoned as a partisan of Ruthven, Charteris as a partisan of Gray.

<sup>5</sup> *with the berar* : these words have been inserted in the margin. The blanks in the manuscript occur where the page has been torn away along a fold in the paper.

at without ane caus I wald have the samyn in reddynes  
and trow weill your grace sall nevir be reprevit therof.  
On my honour I sall handill the mater sa I beleif your  
grace will gif me credence of a[ne] gretar mater. Thair  
is sum discence betuix Huntly Ergile and George Douglas ;<sup>1</sup>  
for George sayis thair wes ane writing send to him furth  
of the northland that thai suld have devisit his slauchtir  
at the consecracion of the bischop of Abirdene,<sup>2</sup> and  
thai say it wes werray fals and wald have him findand ane  
auctor to it. As ony utheris thingis occurris your grace  
salbe advertest ; and credence to the berar. And God  
conserve your grace eternale. Of Edinburt, the xvij day  
of Marche be

Your grace humile servitour

WILLAM LORD RUTHVEN.<sup>3</sup>

1545.<sup>4</sup>

CXXX

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

[London, April 1547.]

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Madame, plesit your grace to wyt that ther is ane  
servand cum in fra my lord secreter and brocht me ane  
letter makand mention that his commission is tynt<sup>5</sup> and  
that he hes spokin with this young kyng of France. He  
hes writen this mater be syfferis,<sup>6</sup> quhobeit it nedit nocht

<sup>1</sup> These three noblemen were all present in the Privy Council.

<sup>2</sup> William Gordon, uncle of the Chancellor. (*Bishops of Scotland*, 142.) This letter helps to fix the exact date of his consecration. The alleged attempt against the life of Douglas had a political significance, because Gordon was said to have been appointed by the Cardinal's interest, and was opposed by the Angus faction, 'quhilk wes the caus of gret divisoun in the realme.' (Leslie, 188 : cf. No. XCIL.)

<sup>3</sup> William, second Lord Ruthven, appointed Lord Privy Seal in 1546.

<sup>4</sup> This date, in the left-hand corner of the page, has been crossed out by two pencil strokes, probably because it is obviously wrong.

<sup>5</sup> After the death of Francis I., Paniter sent to Scotland for a fresh commission, accrediting him to the new Council of France. (*C.S.P.* i. 7.)

<sup>6</sup> *be syfferis*: in cypher.

for the protector hes the commission, and it is na mater of secreitnes to schaw that he spak with the kyng of France. He hes nocht written ony uther thing to me and I ame content to ken na forther for he that kennys na thing may keep consell. This servand sayis that your freyndis ar gret consaloris and reularis.<sup>1</sup> Lord Dernly<sup>2</sup> is in curt and the ald reularis baitht men and women ar passit. I cane writ your grace na thing of the emprior, bot sum sayis he is deid and sum utheris that he is seik. As for tydingis heir, I see na thing bot as the ald kyng wer levying and ilk day I heir of our infelicite. My lord Maxwell and Driburgh ar lik to go mad, quhobeit Driburgh is heir daly with me bot he hes ane kepar and at gret charge. I had gret pane to gett this litill liberte to him. I cane gett na help to M. Johne Hay<sup>3</sup> and the utheris. I have written to my lord governour that I will cum hame for I have nocht ado heir. I am seikly and is nocht abill to wait apon curtis and specialy in this cuntre. I pray your grace humlie that yee wald sollist my lord governour to suffer me to returne for saifty of my liff. I think that my lord secreter may uis ane commission heir as in France, for I ame nocht in haill nor uther wayis to tary apon ther lang besynes. I pray Jhesu that all be weill rulyt to the weill of our pur realme. Madame, I ame

<sup>1</sup> The ascendancy of the Guises in the Councils of France became assured on the accession of Henry II. Besides their own predominating influence, they had the support of the King's all-powerful mistress, Diane de Poitiers, Madame de Valentinois.

<sup>2</sup> John Stewart, Lord Darnley, Sieur d'Aubigny, brother of Lennox, and a captain in the Scots Guards. He had been imprisoned by Francis I. for his brother's defection, but released before 18th April 1546. As early as September 1544, the Queen Dowager had written in his favour, on the ground that he was untainted by the treason of Lennox; and on his return from Scotland de Lorges, his 'mortal' enemy, added his effectual intercession for the restoration of d'Aubigny. Self-interest had presumably given a spur to his magnanimity. (*B.P.* i. 128; *H.* xix. ii. 311; De Thou, *Histoire*, 200.)

<sup>3</sup> John Hay, postulate of Sodor, nephew of Cardinal Beaton; accredited ambassador to France by the Governor and Council. He was sent in place of John Hamilton, and was captured with Dryburgh in the *Lyon*. Stewart of Cardonald sent a copy of his 'articles' to be revealed to the English government. (*H.* xxi. ii. 695, 740.)

reddy with all the humyll service that I cane or may do ;  
 praying God to conserff our masteres and your grace in  
 prosperite

Be yore graxis humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Adam Hotbourne.]

### CXXXI

#### *Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

London, 29th April [1547].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Plesit youre grace, I have writtin to yow of all sik thingis as heir occurrit and doutis nocht bot or the cuming of this gentilman youre grace is wele advertist of the kyng of Francis dede<sup>2</sup> als wele be my letteris send to youre grace as to my lorde governour with uther sik thingis as occurrit ; and for this tyme I have nocht to writt bot it is rycht neidfull ye tak grete deligence to await apoun oure doyngis that hes commissioun in uther cuntreis. It is nocht neidfull to declair all thingis at lenth. As for tydingis heir, I think thir men sall nocht invaid oure realme this yeir bot thai mak grete preparatioun in all partiis, quhilk the protectour allegis done for na invasioun bot to kepe thair cuntre bot I tak nocht my jugement apoun thai sayingis.

Madame, I am rycht seiklie and remanis heir without ony besynes, quhairfoir I beseik youre grace that ye wald dedene to solist my lorde governour to suffer me to return hame that I may de amangis my freindis. My lorde secretar may do all that I persaif is tobe done.

Madame, gif thair be ony service I may do to your graxis plesour I salbe reddy at my power ; praying God

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Francis I. died on 31st March 1547.

almychty to preserve youre grace. Of London, the penult day of Aprile.

Be your gracis humyll servitour

AD. OTTERBURN.

Master Henry Bannayis and capitane Borthuik ar cumin to this tone. I dreid sayr the end of this mater of Sanct Androis.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

### CXXXII

*Earl Marischal to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 2nd May [1547].

TO MY SARWAND.<sup>2</sup>

Madame, in maist hwmyll manar I commend my hart and sarwyce to your grace. It will pleis your grace tyll be advertyst it was this Monunday layt or I come tyll Edynbrowcht and ther rasavyt your grace letter quhayr your grace dyssyris to be advertyst quhow I haif this advertisment that your gracis fader and freyndis standis in guyd fawwor wyth this kyng of France. Madame, the governour schew me the same and schew me hye hed the same derecit to hyme in credet be the sacreteris sarwand<sup>3</sup> that brocht hayme thir last writyngis ; and forder I traist

<sup>1</sup> The papal absolution had been proclaimed in Scotland at the beginning of April, but the Castilians, pleading the insufficiency of the guarantee, had determined to continue their resistance. Henry Balnaves, who had returned during the armistice, and Sir John Borthwick left St. Andrews on 14th April on an embassy to London. (*C.S.P.* i. 10, 14; *T.A.* ix. 52, 69.)

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to account for this address, unless it was meant to serve as a disguise, should the letter be intercepted. The fact that it was written late at night, immediately upon receipt of the Dowager's letter, indicates that the Queen was peremptory in her demand for more detailed information. The post-script makes it equally clear that the writer was afraid of compromising himself. On the other hand, the communication is signed, and the contents would be sufficiently intelligible to any one who might have the temerity to break the seal.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Alexander Anderson, who had 'laitlie' come from France, and was sent back again at the beginning of May. (*T.A.* ix. 72.)

the sacryter hes menynt in hys syfeyris writin to the beschop of Dunkell<sup>1</sup> that this Frenche man that is to cum presentlye heyr will dyssyr in his maistyris nayme the mariaig of owr maistres,<sup>2</sup> quhayr wyth I traist my lord governour standis bot sobyrye content. Madame, I cane writ na forder of thir materis at this tyme bot rafaris the same to my cumyng to your grace; prayand your grace to tak na les opynyoun nor the small serwyce that my hart or bodye cane do is and salbe radye at your grace commandment as knawis God, quha mot presarve your grace in honour and guyd haille. Off Edynbrucht lait this Monunday the sycund of Maye writin be  
 your gracis hwmyll and radye sarwand

MARSCHALL.<sup>3</sup>

Pleis your grace ryf this wrytyng.

[*Endorsed*: Le conte Mareschal.]

### CXXXIII

#### *Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

London, 17th May [1547].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, pleis youre grace to be advertist that monsieur Cumbo<sup>4</sup> like ane honest gentill man hes done his divore twecheing Driburgh and his servandis like as your grace wilbe ferther advertist. The said monsieur Cumbo hes declarit your gracis gude mynd towart me quhairthrow I think me gretelie oblist to do your grace all service to

<sup>1</sup> John Hamilton, Bishop of Dunkeld, had been nominated by the Governor for St. Andrews immediately after the vacancy occurred, but he was not provided by the pope until 28th November 1547. (*Bishops of Scotland*, 43.)

<sup>2</sup> The correspondence of Odet de Selve has no reference to such negotiations at this time.

<sup>3</sup> William Keith, fourth Earl Marischal. The letter is holograph, but the handwriting and the signature do not closely resemble those of the other letter written by him in this collection. Attendant circumstances may account for the dissimilarity.

<sup>4</sup> Combas had brought letters from the Dowager to Edward VI. and Protector Somerset. (*B.P.* i. 160; *C.S.P.* i. 15.)



me possible. And as for this cuntre I se na thing as yit bot stabillite like as the auld kyng war on lyve. This cuntre preparis for weir aganis ws and it is for certane that thair is daylie wappynschawyngis in the cuntre. Preistis of small leving ar compellit to fynd harnes for ane man, quhether it be to invaid or defend I can nocht say. I marvell that capitane Borthuik and doctour Durame<sup>1</sup> war sufferit to cum heir. As for master Henry Balnavis, he is wele servit be se and land and is returnit in Scotland with the best gunnar in Yngland.<sup>2</sup> I drede sair Sanct Androis. It is quietlie said heir that thair brocht with thame the writtingis of xxvij noble men oblying thame to this kyng: quhilk I beleve nocht tobe of verite, quhowbeit the ambassatour of France hes writtin to the kyng that sik thingis is of verite and schew me ane tykktet of the names of thre grete men.<sup>3</sup> I traist that efter the cummyng hame of my writtingis your grace sall knaw the verite quhairthrow ye may advertis the kyng of France, quhilk is verray necesser to be done, with grete diligence for the honour and wele of our realme, for I suspect thir lesyngis be maid to put ws out of consate with France.<sup>4</sup> I have writtin sum parte of this mater to my lorde governour bot nocht sa plane as to your grace, makand na rehers quhat this ambassatour of France hes

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<sup>1</sup> Doctor Michael Durham, apparently of the house of Grange, a Protestant, late physician to James v. As he was warded in Edinburgh Castle from 1st October to 22nd November 1546, he had probably gone thereafter as a refugee, like Knox, to St. Andrews, during the armistice. (*T.A.* ix. 36.)

<sup>2</sup> Selve was informed that Balnaves left London on 8th May, was the bearer of 'presents to each of the said xxvij personages.' (Selve, 141.)

<sup>3</sup> Selve's informant was 'le Dieppoys Jean Roze,' to whom the news had been confided 'en grand secret par ung escossoys renyé.' He specified four names of signatories: those of the Sheriff of Ayr, the Earl of Cassilis, Earl Marischal, and Erskine of Dun. (*Ibid.* 141.) Whatever the truth of this report, it is not surprising that rumour should be busy. About February or March, the Master of Rothes, Lord Gray, Kirkcaldy of Grange, Balnaves and Alexander White-law had pledged themselves to the English cause. (*C.S.P.* i. 3, 4.)

<sup>4</sup> It was well intentioned, but transparent, diplomacy that caused Otterburn to represent to Selve 'que les scellés doibvent estre d'aulcuns qui ne sont paz de grande autorité en leur pays,' and that the whole episode was purely of religious and domestic import. (Selve, 142, 144.)

writtin. Uther materis I refer to my lorde Erskyn and Driburcht.<sup>1</sup>

Madame, I am sa evill tretit mony wayis that it is bayth schame and pane to rehers, and war nocht that sum Scottis men induellaris of Depe happynnit to cum heir I had sauld my hors for fawlt of money, for I have na credence heir becaus the Inglismen dar nocht do me na curtesse : bot your grace salbe assuryt that I sall rather suffer poverte than to be abandonyt to ony in this realme for quhatsumevir necessite.

Madame, I am and salbe reddy with all faythfull service, praying the eternall God to preserve your grace. Of London, the xvij day of Maij

Be your gracis humyll servitour

ADAM OTTERBURN.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

#### CXXXIV

##### *Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

London, 4th June [1547].

TO THE QUHENIS GRACE.

Plesit youre grace to be advertist that I ressavit wittingis fra my lorde governour to the kyngis hienes heir for delivery of the presonaris<sup>3</sup> as your [grace] knawis, quhilkis I presentit to the protectour and counsale quha sayd thai wald avys and thairefter gif mc anser. And on that samyn day thair come ane gentilman<sup>4</sup> fra the kyng of France with commissioun to present our acceptatioun

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, Commendator of Dryburgh, was the second son of Lord Erskine, Keeper of Stirling Castle. He succeeded as Master of Erskine on the death of his elder brother at the battle of Pinkie.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> *the presonaris* : Hay, Dryburgh, Johnstone. The commission, dated 17th May, was probably sent by Peter Thompson. (*C.S.P.* i. 1180; *T.A.* ix. 73.)

<sup>4</sup> François de Scepeaux, seigneur de Vieilleville, comte de Duretal, maréchal de France. He arrived in London on 24th May, and had audience of the Protector on the 26th. For an account of his mission, see Selve, 147-9; *B.P.* i. 160.

of the comprehensioun and for delivery of Driburght and master Johnne Hay, and swa oure erandis was to ane effect; bot the gentilman hed sum thing ellis in commissioun anent the bildin at Bullonze by thair trefy. The said gentilman had anser that thai wald nocht ressave the said acceptatioun nor gif documentis therupoun for mony caussis litill to effect.<sup>1</sup> Nocht theles thai said thai wald observe the said comprehensioun and wald move na weir, we doand siklike; and as for the presonaris thai gaif anser that thai wald be contentit that thai war deliverit fyndand cautioun athir to enter or to pay ane ressonable ransone. This was ane anser of deservance and quhen I offerit tobe cautioun sua I mycht return hame or I war requirit for ther interes thai wald nocht agre therto bot that or evir I suld departe out of Yngland the saidis abbot and master Johnne suld be enterit agane or ellis pay ane ressonable ransone, and swa I to remane as ane plege quhilk war to me ane nyscheif and dishonour sundry wayis. Sa fer as I can consider be thair procedingis and sayngis according therto thai tak na cure of ony prince or natioun. Quhow it will stand betuix France and Yngland I can nocht say bot it apperis nocht to be unite betuix thame. The Inglismen hes biggit ane wall of xix or xx fute thycht at the hevin of Bullonze on the Frenche syde. The cardinale of Lorane<sup>2</sup> with uther grete men of the realme hes vesit the said wark and I traist be nocht content therwith. I have informyt my lorde governour quhow thir folkis wald I suld return hame and laubour for ane commissioun for my self and utheris to tret upoun peax. I traist this war ane ganand way to put all thingis to delay; and in the menetyme to avys the best the gentilman departit the secound day of Junij toward France.

The kyngis grace heir hes writtin ane anser to my lorde governour of sik writtingis as was send heir for delivery

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the Scots, Somerset represented 'qu'ils avaient les premiers rompu la compréhension et avaient fait invasion avec sept ou huit cents hommes en Angleterre.' (Selve, 148.)

<sup>2</sup> Jean de Lorraine, Cardinal de Lorraine, uncle of the Queen Dowager.

of the prisonaris bot I think thai salbe fund strange and rycht hicht.<sup>1</sup>

Madame, I am your humyll servitour reddey to do your graces command in ony thing that lyes in my power, praying God to conserve your grace. Off London, the ferd day of Junij

Be your gravis humyll servitor

ADAM OTTIRBURN.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Me Adam Hotbourne.]

### CXXXV

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

London, 4th June [1547].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Madame, plesit your grace that efter the closin of my letter the ambassadour of France send ther letteris quharby your grace may persaiiff that I did deligence, as I have done at all tymes. I wald rather cheis ony pane of my body or I suld fail to do your grace all the service that my body mycht suffer. Madame, I beseik the glorius lady be your supple. Of Lundon, the ferd day of Junij

Be your gravis humyll servitour

ADAM OTTIRBURN.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Me Adam Hotbourne.]

### CXXXVI

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

London, 29th June [1547].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Plesit your grace tobe advertist that ther is na apperance of motion in this cuntre except aganys ws. Ther folkis

<sup>1</sup> Somerset's letter was dated 2nd June. (C.S.P. i. 18.)

<sup>2</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>3</sup> The holograph of this letter bears traces of haste.

proposis to bryng graitht<sup>1</sup> and werkmēn to sett up fortillis quhar thai think best in Fiff or Lothiane and quhar thai have moniest fawveraris, of the quhilkis I dreid thai have our mony. Thair hes bein ane Italiane<sup>2</sup> twyis in Sanct-androis to devis quhar it is mest ganand to byg in Fiff on the see cost. He is laittie returnyt, and as I cane be advertist he hes pete in his hart of our cuntre and of the ordour therof: I pray God put remeid. This Italiane seand tham that ar innymis to the realme at gret liberte and weltht he marvilis. My lord sec[r]jetar hes send ane writen to me sayand that he wes to gett his anser about mydsomer. I dreid and we speid ws nocht hestele we sall be convoyt with greter cumpany then we brocht with ws heir.

Madame, I ame and salbe reddy at all tymis to do your grace all humyll service at my power, praying God to preserff your grace. Of Lundone, the penult day of Junij

Be your gracys humyll servitour

ADAM OTTERBURN.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed*: M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

## CXXXVII

*Otterburn to the Queen Dowager*

London, 13th July [1547].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Plesit youre grace tobe advertist that this Tuisday the xij day of July the protectour of Yngland did send for me and complenit of mony and divers attemptatis done be Scottismen aganis Yngland bayth be se and land, and efter lang altercatioun he desirit me to writ to your grace and the counsale, makand mentioun that the kyngis hienes and counsale of this realme was content to depute certane commissioneris apou the bordour to tak and mak redres of all attemptatis conmittit on other syde sen the trete of pece betuix France and Yngland and the comprehen-

<sup>1</sup> *graitht*: accoutrements for war.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably Sir John de Rosset, the Italian engineer, who was employed on fortifications at Broughty during the English occupation.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

sion of ws contenit thairinto ; and in the menetye thai sall purches the empriouris consent to the foirsaid comprehensioun, quhilk he understandis salbe eiselic optenit becaus the empriour led the waris aganis ws for thair caus alanerle ;<sup>1</sup> and hes nemmit the bishope of Durame and sir Robert Bowis to be commissionaris for the parte of Yngland ;<sup>2</sup> and ferther the said protectour and counsale hes offerit to treit pece with ws in sik sorte that of resson we suld be content and to send commissionaris to the bordouris to that effect.

Madame, I can nocht say of quhat intention the protectour hes proponit thir materis bot gude it is to tak cure for the defence of the realme. I writt nother to perswaid nor disuade, bot anerlie for discharge of my dewite.

Madame, I beseik your grace for Godis saik to laubour that I may return hame for I am heriit and distroyit mony wayis. And almychty God conserve youre grace. Off London, the xiiij day of July.

Be your gracis humyll servitour

ADAM OTTIRBURN.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

### CXXXVIII

#### *Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Blackness, Wednesday, 13th July [1547].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Eftir maist humyll recommendioun of service, plesit I haif send my servitoure Oliver Sinclare to youre grace

<sup>1</sup> The French King had been making overtures for peace between Scotland and the Netherlands, in order to deprive the English of a recruiting ground for the Scottish wars. Cf. No. CXXXIX.

<sup>2</sup> Commission by Edward VI. of date 8th July, 'appointing Cuthbert [Tunstall] bishop of Durham and Sir Robert Bowes, lord warden of the Middle Marches . . . to ratify and confirm the treaty of peace and marriage . . . and settle all other differences.' (C.S.P. i. 24.) The intention was probably to drive time.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph. The Correspondence also contains a copy, in French, of this letter, with the omission of the final salutation.

with my mynd at lenth tuicheing all besyness concernyng me at this tyme ; quhom to ye pleis gif credence. And almychti God preserve youre grace eternalie. Of the Blakness <sup>1</sup> this Wednisday the xiiij of Julij be

your graces humill subgett servitour at power

AMIRALL.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M. de Baudcuel.]

### CXXXIX

*Otterburn to the Governor*

London, 17th July [1547].

TO MY LORDE, MY LORDE GOVERNOURIS GRACE OF SCOTLAND.

My lorde, sen the closing of my writing I am informyt that thair is ane Spanyert send in Flanderis to bring Flemyngris in our contrar ; and attour I am surelie informyt that Flemyngris cummis of thair awin plesour in our contrar. I repent sair that ther is sa grete respect to particular proffeit and na respect to the common wele. We provoke all the warld in our contrar,<sup>2</sup> like as I wrait in certane articulis to your grace of befoir. I can say na mair, bot I pray God keipe your grace and saif the puir realm of Scotland. Off London, the xvij day of July

Be your graces humyll servitour

ADAM OTTERBURN.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbirnne.]

<sup>1</sup> Bothwell was apprehended about 4th June, and committed to custody in Blackness. In August he was indicted on the score of trafficking with England. (*T.A.* ix. 80, 81 ; *C.S.P.* i. 33.)

Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a reference to the acts of piracy, which were constantly adduced as a reason for non-acceptance of the comprehension of Scotland in the Treaty of Campe.

<sup>3</sup> A holograph letter, apparently written in haste.

## CXL

*Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Blackness, 25th July [1547].

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE.

Madame, it will ples your graice that I haiff causit meyn me divers tymis to your graice and my lord governour that I am in ward at his plesour for na falt making aganis the quenis graice our soverane lady the comone weill or hyn as salbe knawin, God willing, to your graice, all wtheris off the realme and wther princis. My said lord, as I hard of divers of my freindis, pat me in hoip that I suld be put to fredome eftir the returning of this army.<sup>1</sup>

Madame, your graice and my lord governour ar now in Sanctandrois with divers wther lordis and baronis of the realme :<sup>2</sup> prayand your graice to haif e to my mater that I am cwill done to, and in specciall that I am abstrackit fra the service of the quenis graice and realme at sic anc tyme, and that your graice will counsall my lord governour that I ma be fred of my ward to serve as wther baronis of the realme dois. I beleif your graice will do for me effectuislie as your servand. My caus is honest, thairfoir your graice may laubour with your honour therintill. Wer it wtherwayis I suld nocht put your graice to sic pyn ; for, Madame, the service that I ma do salbe ever reddy to your graice of the auld maner. Ples your grace gif credens to this berrer your servitour. Madame, eftir maist hartlie and hwmyll commendatioun of my service to your graice, I pray almychty God mot haif the samyn in his ever lesting keping. Off the Blakness, the xxv day of Julij.

Yowr graice humyll servitour

AMIRALL.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Langholm, which had been recovered on 17th July. (*Liber Domicilii*, 59.)

<sup>2</sup> The Governor went to St. Andrews on 25th July, and the Castle capitulated on the 30th. (*Ibid.* 60, 61.)

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph.



## CXLI

*Otterburn to the Governor*

London, 10th August [1547].

My lord, plesit your grace to be advertist that on Sunday that last wes<sup>1</sup> I past to Hamtoun Court quhair I spak with the kingis majeste and the protectour with utheris the lordis of consale, quha thoct that it wes nocht conforme to ressoun nor consuetude observit betuix princis that I suld remain in tyme of hostile without I wald proppone concord and had power therto. And becaus I saw afoir my eis verray gret preparatioun of weir, and actualie the gret hors the harnes the hagbutaris<sup>2</sup> and all gorgious reparrale set forwart toward our realme I wes desirous to haif my leif, quhilk I obtenit fra the kingis hienes: and efter my licence to depart<sup>3</sup> I spak with the protectour and requirit of him gif he wald na uther way bot to invaid ane pupill<sup>4</sup> and hir realme. He answerit that the kingis majeste wes dishonerit be the taking of the Langholme quhilk wes conquest in tyme of weir and his just dominioun,<sup>5</sup> and als of the invasioun and persute of the kingis freindis, with mony uther sayings that he couth say na further in that matter bot to proceed to the interprise devisit be the counsale; sua I tuke my leif.

<sup>1</sup> 7th August.

<sup>2</sup> A hagbutter, or arquebusier, was 'a soldier armed with a hagbut, an early kind of portable firearm.' (New English Dictionary.)

<sup>3</sup> On 7th August, a warrant was issued for £74 'for Sir Adrian Otorborn, the Scottishe Ambassador, at his departing.' (*A.P.C.* 1547-50, 112.) He did not live long after his return to Scotland. See note to No. CXVI.

<sup>4</sup> *ane pupill*: a minor.

<sup>5</sup> Langhope, or Langholm, a Maxwell stronghold, was 'thiftuisly takin be ane scottis tratour quhilk with his craft drew in Inglismen for proffit. And put in thar handis.' (*A.P.* ii. 473.) The 'tratour' may have been one of the Armstrongs of Liddesdale, who 'spoiled Langhope tower,' about 27th October 1544. It was at least in Wharton's possession before 18th December of that year. (*H.* xix. ii. 625, 760.) According to tradition Langholm tower was built by an Armstrong, whose brother, John, resigned the lands in favour of Robert, fifth Lord Maxwell, on 18th February 1528-9. (R. B. Armstrong, *History of Liddesdale*, i. 229, Appendix xxvi.)

And to rehers all sayingis als wele on my part as theris, it wer our tedious to rehers and lang to write. And on Monunday efter none <sup>1</sup> Peter Thomsoun come heir with your gracis writingis and immediatlie thereftir ane messinger of court come to me desiring that I suld return to Hamtoun Court on the morn, to the quhilk desire I obeyit: and howbeit I had nocht bene requirit, your gracis lettres constrenit me to pas. I come to the said place out of London at ix houris in the morning and first schew the protectour your writingis, quhu maid faith and tuke upoun his honour that he wes myndyt to kepe the comprehensioun and to tak and mak redres, bot the materis betuix the realmez ar alterit sensyne and the kingis honour grevously hurt be Langholme and uther injuris: quhair for he thocht nocht to proceid as he wes myndyt of befoir. And efter lang debait anent your gracis instructionis with forther mair deip communication [?] in thai materis the protectour said to me: Sir, ye remember ye desirit at me on Sondag gif I wald persever in proceeding aganis Scotland, or gif ther mycht be uther gude wayis adressit for the eis of bayth the realmez; and sensyn, sayis he, I haif pausit upoun better wayis to be had than the effusioun of blude and distructioun of the pure pupill, and according therto I desire ye to send the herauld be post to Scotland and declair that I am ane man gevin always to pece and quiet without I be provokit to the contrar, and gif it pleis the governour of Scotland to tak gude wayis quhilkis salbe to his honour his proffit and the wele and commodite of baith the realmez I salbe conform therto. And that the materis may be the mair esele brocht to pas and mair amplie oppynnit he desirit that Sir George Douglas wald repair to the New castell the xxvij day of this moneth, quhair he suld be present and opin thir materis to him, sua that he mycht refer to your grace and counsale and tak resolutioun therto for the commoun wele of thir tua realmez and eschewing shedding of cristin blude.

<sup>1</sup> 8th August. Peter Thompson, 'Yley heralde,' had been despatched towards Otterburn on 2nd August. (*T.A.* ix. 99.)

My lord, I can do na les than to schaw your grace all sic wechty causis quhilk wald be profoundlie considerit and pausit upon. I think, for my pur wit, your grace and counsale suld nocht lichly<sup>1</sup> thir sayingis bot heir tham, and to send the said sir George<sup>2</sup> to that effect peraventur thingis may be commonit and brocht to sum stay without tinsale of freindis. I haif schewin to the ambassatour of Fraunce all thir materis<sup>3</sup> and I traist the king of France sall haist advertisment be post and answer at your grace haistelie. My lord, I pray God that your grace and consale answer wele for the honour of God and commoun wele of the realme.

Forther, my lord, and it pleis your grace luke upon mony and divers writingis send be me to your grace thir mony dais past declarand this army tobe set forwart be sey and land in the end of this moneth, ye sall find you sufficientle advertist; and merwellis that ye war nocht satefiit therinto, for I abhorrit awayis lesingis learis and flatteraris. I dreid ye will nocht gif credence quhill ye se thame cum in at the dur. And, further, Peter will declair to your grace quhat he seis; and almychty God conserve your grace. Of London, the x day of August.

Your gracis servitour

ADAM OTTERBURN.<sup>4</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M<sup>e</sup> Adam Hotbourne.]

<sup>1</sup> *To lichtlie*: to slight, undervalue.

<sup>2</sup> The Governor sent back Islay Herald with the request that others might be joined with Douglas in commission. Somerset represented that he had nominated Sir George 'as a person in special credit with the Governor'; and on the ground that 'your Governor and council cavil at the sufficiency of our safe-conduct,' he broke off negotiations. Douglas had charge of the bale of St. Abb's Head to give warning in case of invasion. He was 'highly suspected' of treasonable intercourse with England at this juncture, but he was too 'wary' to commit himself by any overt act. (*C.S.P.* i. 33, 35; *T.A.* ix. 108; *P.C.* i. 73.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Selve est d'avis que cette ouverture tend à endormir le gouverneur d'Écosse ou à préparer les armes à la main quelque traité avantageux pour les anglais, au préjudice de celui que les écossais ont avec le roi.' (Selve, 180.)

<sup>4</sup> Holograph, in a small hand, highly contracted.

## Nos. CXLII-CLXXVIII: INTRODUCTORY

THE following letters deal with the first phase of the Anglo-Scottish war, a period which may be taken to extend from the Battle of Pinkie to the conveyance of the Queen of Scots to France about the end of July 1548. That these were months of vital importance is clearly indicated by Professor Hannay's epitome of events. 'Pinkie, a winter campaign, and an almost desperate situation, placed the French party in power: Arran failed to come to terms with England and keep Mary at home: Henry II., now ruler of France, would not give effective support until he held in pledge the heir of Hamilton. Out of the wreck Arran, by compliance, saved in the meantime his regency. Parliament authorised the French marriage, momentous for Mary and for Scotland.'<sup>1</sup>

It is apparent that under the new conditions the old anomaly persisted. In theory, Scotland and England were the two combatant nations; in practice, Frenchmen fought the battle of their auld ally for the prize of the matrimonial crown and the recovery of Boulogne.

After the crushing defeat of Black Saturday it is not surprising that the country should be thrown into much confusion. According to Methven, indeed, the subversion of authority was not only a result, but also a cause, of 'the tynsall of the jeornay of Penke.' [No. CLXXII.] His acute diagnosis was the result of information gathered from 'freyndis in all partis in this realm': his prescription for the national ills bears the stamp of patriotism and feasibility. It is significant that the writer addresses his

<sup>1</sup> *The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary, S.H.R.* xviii, 260.

memorandum to the Dowager with the advice 'to tak tent herto and to be avysit wyth the ambassadour and monsieur la Schappell.'

In this period of religious unrest, political self-seeking and fear of the might of England, the race was likely to be to the strong and resolute: the Dowager was fortified by the arm of France, and she had singleness of aim. In the nation's extremity she found her opportunity. The odium of Pinkie attached to the Hamiltons, while the hope of the unhappy country turned to France. As an individual, therefore, Mary of Lorraine had grounds to rejoice in the discomfiture of her rivals. Yet her private jubilation in the hour of national humiliation was not inconsistent with a spirit of public patriotism. To secure her double object of ousting the Governor and of marrying her daughter into France she knew that it was necessary to make a spirited and vigorous resistance to the English. Bruce of Earlsall implies that she took prompt measures to protect the coast of Fife [No. CXLIII]: it was not her fault that she failed in her intention.

The enemy had come assured beforehand of a foothold in Fife [No. CXXXVI], but they were soon to find that the Scots, though defeated, were not subdued. They appealed to France for succour, and in the meanwhile they fought their own battle. The invaders courted the Protestant element and sought to play off jealousies among the nobles, while from Inchcolm and Broughty they commanded the Firths of Forth and Tay and the coast of Fife. It followed that the churchmen in general, and in particular John Hamilton, who had been nominated to St. Andrews, had vested interests at stake in the cause of liberation.

Arran attacked Broughty in November, but he was 'constarnit to want his intent and to depart.' [No. CXLIX.] The next offensive was delivered in January

after the arrival of the first reinforcements of men and money from France. The failure of this second enterprise must have been painful to others besides Methven, who had laid great stress upon the Frenchman's knowledge of the art of war, and who had deluded himself that 'all is weilwilling heir.' At this crisis Argyle was not the disinterested patriot that Methven represented him to be. The communication of Ormiston and Brunston suggests that the Scottish leader had dealings with the enemy even before he delivered his attack upon Dundee. [No. CL.]

It would, however, have been more alarming for the cause of Scottish independence, if there had been greater efficacy in English gold. Argyle had traffickings with the auld enemy, but his arrival in the camp at Haddington so far justified Methven's confidence in him as one 'gevin to sarve your graice and my lord governour trewille and substantiouslie.' [No. CLXX.] Angus and the western marches professed their devotion to the Protector's 'godly purpose,' but in February Wharton and Lennox found themselves outwitted at Dumfries.

In itself the repulse of the raiders may have been a petty victory, but its results were sufficiently substantial. Upon the Scots it had a bracing moral effect; it was exploited by the King of France, and it caused Grey of Wilton to retire from Haddington. Thus it gave Buccleuch relief from an unexpected quarter, and the Governor was able to recover 'all the keis of the strenthis that my lord Gray tuik at his last jorney.' [Nos. CLIV, CLV.] Buccleuch's letter shows that, in spite of financial difficulties, the care of the border defences was not neglected; and it suggests that the Scots might play the English game of profiting from the dissensions of the enemy. The writer seems to have had some grounds for his statement that 'the lorde Gray is rycht ill lowit,' and although there is

no proof that his letter prompted Arran's offensive against Saltoun, yet his hint is significant, and at least some of his words did not fall upon deaf ears.

Erskine shows that the Dowager was alive to the importance of the financial question, and it is interesting that already, at this date, she relied upon the pecuniary support of the wealthy burgess element. [No. CLV.] She, who was shrewd enough to see the value of the third estate, scarcely needed Methven to warn her that 'the may[r] greit men the bettyr' for her cause. [No. CLXVI.] The Correspondence reveals her assiduous efforts to attach the nobles to her service. Her failure to secure Bothwell was no irremediable loss, and she had considerable success in other quarters. The Earl of Huntly, Alexander Gordon, and the Sheriff of Ayr were men of weight and influence which Bothwell lacked.

It would be no light task to compose the litigation between Gordon and his 'compeditour' for the bishopric of Caithness [Nos. CLXI, CLXII, CLXXI], and to accommodate the rival interests of Sutherland and Huntly in the tacks of Moray [Nos. CLXV, CLXX], but, on the other hand, it was easy to see the advantage of securing the consolidated support of the northern magnates. The possible gain must have spurred the Dowager to expend her resourcefulness and tact upon the effort. She displayed her accustomed skill in the choice of agents to build up a following in all parts of the country. The indefatigable Methven at least tried to win Argyle, and promised to 'do the best I can to consall the erll of Sotherland ws him wysle and always to your graice plesour, and siclyk all utheris that I ma one way haif credit to sa unto.' [No. CLXIX.] Marriage into the house of Innerpeffry secured the Sheriff of Ayr for the Gordon interests [No. CLXIV]: the Gordons themselves were the Dowager's greatest asset.

Huntly, it is true, had dealings with both parties, but his services were sold to Mary of Lorraine and the King of France, while in angling with the English offers he played a masterly game of procrastination. Although the plot for his liberation failed in its ostensible object, yet it served a purpose in driving time until the opening of the summer campaign. His brother, Alexander Gordon, seems to have occupied a place in the Dowager's councils something like that of Sir George Douglas in 1544. Her new choice of an agent indicates that it was no longer her interest, or her necessity, to court the English party.

Gordon's past record of service was distinguished and meritorious, and he seems to have been adroit, forceful, and loyal. Although it is true that his bond of manrent was purchased by a pension of £200 a year, on the other hand he had sustained great loss through his 'laboris and attendence to hycht besynes concernyng this Realm and my pwre hows.' [No. CLXXI.] Moreover, he alleges that he had refused offers from England 'to hawe cawsit ane pwre man hyr,' while there is a ring of sincerity in his assertion 'that adversete nor feir of deid sall never cum to me that sall gar me offend yowr grace nor my honour.' In the art of diplomatic letter-writing he might have been an apt pupil of Sir George Douglas himself [No. CLVIII]; in political good-faith he towered above that master craftsman.

It is noteworthy that on his arrival from France he proceeded to the seat of war before riding 'haym.' [No. CLI.] There is no mistaking his attitude of mind. 'Planely, my lord, or we be sa cruelly owrthrawin in this mancir we will randyr to the Twrk rathyr nor to be onrewangit.' Again, he saw a truth that Somerset was to learn in the school of bitter experience. 'Thocht the wysdome off Ingland be extemit greitt, thay gane nocht the rycht way to mak unuon off thyr twa realmis. Gyf



they thynk to have hartlynes, they suld traist ws moir tendyrly.'

Such was the state of public opinion, and the Dowager, trimming her sails to the favourable breeze, brought her ship into a port nearer to the haven of her ambitions. For the Hamiltons it was correspondingly a devastating wind. They found themselves, indeed, in an impossible situation. On the one hand, they saw the necessity of clearing the country of the invader: on the other, they wished to keep the Queen in Scotland, if not as a bride for the Master of Hamilton, at least as a means to drive terms with England. They were thus compelled to pursue a devious policy, foredoomed to failure, because the hour was past for hedging.

Whether their diplomacy turned aside the secret shaft of the enemy is not known [Nos. CL, CLIII], but this much is clear, that the plot of which they were the intended victims came to nothing, and that in March they were prepared to negotiate with England through the medium of Huntly. Behind the written page of the letter sent to Bishop Hamilton on 15th March lurks the sinister suspicion that the secret intelligence of the enemy was imparted from no patriotic motive, and that the informant and the recipient were working hand in glove. 'My lord Gray gaiff me iij scoir off grottis and disyrit me to pas to Scotland agane; and this as yeit I remane in credit and traist, quhylk efterwart wyth the grace off God sall redound to your lordschippis pleisour and to the governouris honour.' [No. CLVI.]

A month later, when Huntly's friends were contriving his liberation, Alexander Gordon considered that 'my lord of Dunkell schaw hym lyk ane nobill man' in the 'mater,' but that the Governor was unwilling to compromise himself. [No. CLXII.] The same half-heartedness characterises his conduct of the war at this period.

His forces were gathered on 2nd May [No. CLXIV], but the expected attack upon Haddington was not delivered. For some months the hands of Henry were tied by fear of the Emperor, and for so long might the Hamiltons continue to nurse their dwindling hopes of coming to terms with Somerset. But when the French fleet sailed into the Forth the thunder of its guns shattered all delusions. In June the Governor stood definitely committed to the cause of France.

Although, however, he had been caught in the toils of his rival he had not been utterly worsted. Not only did he retain his office, but the King of France had perforce to bribe where he could not overthrow. To Arran he promised the rich duchy of Chatelherault; to his son a high-born bride in France. That hapless youth was destined once again to be the pawn of circumstances. Henry II. put not his trust in paper promises: he knew the character of Arran, and he was determined to have every possible guarantee for the investment of his troops and money in the Scottish war. When the French auxiliaries went to Haddington, James Hamilton had already been delivered as a hostage for his father's good faith. Thus he passed from the tutelage of the Cardinal, through the hands of the Castilians, under the surveillance of the King of France.

Henry II., however, demanded a greater price than this for his support. To him it was more important to secure the Valois marriage treaty than to prosecute the siege of Haddington. Methven's ardent hopes were doomed to disappointment [No. CLXXVI]: Haddington did not fall; but the French King obtained the person of the little Queen.

Pride in her child's fair fortune, and the exultation of success, may have tempered the Dowager's regret at parting from her daughter. Yet her rosiest dreams could

not long blind her to the stern fact that the auspices were not propitious. Methven's letter of 17th July gave food for thought: before ever Mary Stewart had left her native shores for her foster country, all was not well between the French and Scots. [No. CLXVII.] Again, the Dowager's expostulations with Erskine show that, at this same early date, she had to strain her efforts to mould even her most faithful followers to her will. [No. CLXXVIII.] It was clear that the last word had not been spoken in the destinies of Scotland or the Queen of Scots.

## CXLII

*Safe-conduct by Protector Somerset*

Leith, 17th September 1547.

BY MY LORD PROTECTOURS GRACE.

Our pleasure is, and in the kingis majestes name we charge you not to medle or annoye the bearer herof, Robert Mercer of Fyffe, Skottisheman, neither in himself his servauntis landis nor goodis, for so we have assurid him. From Lythe,<sup>1</sup> the xvijth day of September, in the furst yer of [the] reigne of our sovraine lord king Edward the [six]th.

E. SOMERSET.<sup>2</sup>

To all Capitaines Lyeutennants and souldarris and to all other the kingis majesties subjectis to whome it shall belong.

## CXLIII

*William Bruce of Earlshall to the Queen Dowager*

[c. 19th September 1547.]

TO THE QUEHENIS GRAIS.

Madaym, efter mast hartly commendasyown of sarwes your gras sall wit thar com iiij scheppes to Browthte this last Monownday.<sup>3</sup> Ane of tham com in the morneng and the other thre at nown,<sup>4</sup> and it is said thar is sax sal be in

<sup>1</sup> The Protector marched to Leith after his victory at Pinkie. Patten states that he was there from 11th to 18th September.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector of England in the name of his nephew, King Edward VI. Unlike the Governor of Scotland, he does not sign any writing in this Correspondence by his official title. Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>3</sup> 19th September. According to Clinton, the English fleet reached Broughty Crag on Tuesday, 20th September. In the previous March, Patrick, Lord Gray, had bound himself to deliver his castle of Broughty to the English. It was duly surrendered in his name by the captain, Henry Durham.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Andrew Dudley and Dr. Durham, on board the *Galley Suttell*, proceeded 'something before the navye.' (C.S.P. i. 46.)

this day or the morn; bot owndowtand thae is men of weyr, and it is preswmet tha intend to cum on owr syid and to byg ane strentht as was schawyn your grays: <sup>1</sup> prayand your grays as ye luf the weill of the contre to prowyd that tha cum nocht to thar intent, the qwehlk tha ma do owr esaly. Ples your grais to be ramemberet your gras gaf me twa wretengis in Fawkland, ane to the erll of Rothows <sup>2</sup> to conweyn the bawrones and ane other to hym seff. I trest he wret to your gras and schew your gras of befor, bot your gras sall wit that thar com nocht ane. I vot nocht qwhow it standis bot thar is na man lowkes apone the scheppis at this tym and it is nocht in my powar to rassest and tha be many in thir sheppes at is lait cum. Prayand your grays to conseder the parrall, for and tha get ane strentht on our syid <sup>3</sup> I am destroyit for ever, and als the layf of the contre in parrall: and qwhat your grays thynkis that I suld do, advertes and I sall parform the sam and it ly in my powar, vill God, qwhom kep your gras.

Be your hwmell sarwatour at powar

VELZEM BROWS OF ERLESHALL.<sup>4</sup>

#### CXLIV

*Bothwell to the Quen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 7th October [1547].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit youre grace I haif direct my freind and servand Oliver Sinclare towart youre grace with my mynd at lenth in all behalffis, to quhom it will pleis your grace gif credence as to my selff thair anent. And the haly Gaist

<sup>1</sup> Clinton wrote to Somerset on the 26th, that 'as devised by the Italian your grace sent with me, we have near finished a trench "thwart" the land.' (C.S.P. i. 46.)

<sup>2</sup> George Leslie, fourth Earl of Rothes, hereditary sheriff of Fife.

<sup>3</sup> *on our syid*: the south coast of the Firth of Tay. Earlsall is in the parish of Leuchars, in Fife.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is holograph.

mot haif youre grace in keping. At Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> the vij day of October.

Be your graces humill and obedient servitour

AMIRALL.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Le conte de Bauduol.]

### CXLV

#### *Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 26th November 1547.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Youre grace will pleis, eftir the humill commendatioun of my service, to be advertist that I have send thir twa gentilmen, the lard of Elphingstoun<sup>3</sup> and Oliver Sincler, my traist freindis and servandis to desire youre graces counsale and advisment for the avoiding of thir grete apperand parrellis and dangeris that ar like to be addressit to the grete hurt of me and my freindis.<sup>4</sup> Quhairfore humilie I beseke youre grace to consult with thir said gentilmen in all thir caiss and to gif thame credite in all thingis as gif I wer present at your grace ; beleving swa youre grace to tendir my wele as I am evir of gude mynd to youre graces service<sup>5</sup> as treulie knawis God, quha mot

<sup>1</sup> Bothwell was released from his imprisonment after the battle of Pinkie. Patten states that he was liberated on that very night, 10th September, 'rather for sum caus of fear, then for ony good will.' (Page 77.)

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Johnstone of Elphinstone (*R.M.S.*, 16th February 1544-5). It was reported to Lord Grey of Wilton that, on the 27th, Bothwell had sent these two emissaries to the Governor at Perth with a request for a commission 'that he may "halde purpose" to London for the weal of the governor and his friends. (*C.S.P.* i. 94.)

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps a reference to the train of events which culminated in the seizure of his castle of Hailes by the Governor, on 28th February 1547-8. (*S.P.* ii. 159).

<sup>5</sup> Bothwell was playing a double game. On Saturday, 17th September, he had an interview with Somerset, and Selve was informed that he had given his oath (*faict serment*) to the Protector. (Patten, 81-2; Selve, 258, cf. 265.) On 24th November, Grey of Wilton was told by a spy that Bothwell had received from the Queen an abbey and 2000 merks, and that he was wavering from his promises to England. (*C.S.P.* i. 92.) Cf. No. CXLVII.

evir preserve youre grace. At Edinburgh, the xxvj day  
of November 1547.

Your graces humyll servand

AMIRALL.<sup>1</sup>

CXLVI

*Memorandum of Supplies needed by Luttrell*

[c. November 1547.]

A spetyall remembrance for Kyrye my servantt for  
suyche thingis as we nede to be sent hyther.<sup>2</sup>

Item, to speak to Mr. Stonehowse<sup>3</sup> for all the tentis  
thatt maye be sent and make good provytyone for vytallis  
to be contynewallye rencwyd hyther as well for the fortis  
and the shyppis as also for suyche number of men as ar  
and shalbe otherwyse addressyd hyther.

Item, that ye speake to Mr. Brandelynge<sup>4</sup> for the  
dyspache of the ij platis with cole and lymestone and for  
the spedye shyftinge hyther of the tymber for which we  
have wryten owre lettres unto hyme presentlye.

More, to Mr. Brende<sup>5</sup> for the spedye sendinge hyther  
both of thAlmayns and good store of monaye.

More, to speake to Mr. Boyefeld<sup>6</sup> for all the shuellis

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> Probably to St. Colm's Inch. This seems to be the request for the munitions which Lord Grey of Wilton 'commanded the master of ordnance at Newcastle (if he have them) to deliver to Sir John Luttrell's servant,' in November 1547. The monastic settlement of St. Colm's Inch was occupied by the English on 13th September, in order to dominate the Firth of Forth. Patten's narrative runs that on Saturday, the seventeenth, 'Sir Jhon Luttrell, knight, hauvyng bene by my lords grace, and the counsell elect abbot, by Gods suffraunce, of the monastery of Sainct Coomes Ins . . . departed towards the iland, to be stalled in his see thear accordyngly. . . . It is thought he shal soon becum a prelate of great powr.' (Page 81.)

<sup>3</sup> George Stonehouse, Surveyor of Victuals in the North. (See *Acts of Privy Council*, 1547-50.)

<sup>4</sup> Robert Brandling, sometime mayor of Newcastle; knighted after Pinkie. (See *Addenda*; *H.P.* ii. *ad indices*.)

<sup>5</sup> John Brende, Commissary of the Musters and secretary to Lord Grey of Wilton. (*A.P.C.* 551.) Muster-master general for the North. (*Addenda*, 367.)

<sup>6</sup> Hugh Bowfylde or Boyvell, Master of Ordnance in the North. (*A.P.C.* 1547-50, 90; cf. *H.P.* ii. *ad indices*.)

spadys pykeaxes and bastkettis that maye be sent hyther, which requyarythe also spetyallye great hast.

Item, to speake for vj whypsawis and fyls for them, and thatt some more masons and quaryers be forthwith prest and sent hyther, and some more pioners yf thaye canne be goten.

Item, more to Mr. Boyefylld for iiij<sup>e</sup> gaddys of style and for suyche quantyte of powder shott and ordernance as maye be sparyd, with xx<sup>ti</sup> coyle of ropys, iiij barrellis of lathe nayles, and ij of vj pennye naylys, xij coyell of smale werpis and monytyone for fyar workis: and that Francys hys mane may se these thingis dyspaichyd with all hast, hast, hast.

[*Endorsed*: A specyall remembrance for Kyrye.]

## CXLVII

*Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Berwick, 6th December [1547 ?].

Yowr grac will ples, eftyr the hwmell commendacion of my serwet, to be adwartest of my cumin to Birwick the fyft day of this monayth instant according to my promest for the stop of gret inconwenyentis that war at[drest ?] wpoun the disstrwkcion of me and my freindis, swa that yowr grac sall haif experiens to jug my meneng ever to be the preserfwacion of this owr common weill with yowr gracis serwet be me at all tymmis; <sup>1</sup> refarring credens to thir beraris quha will awertes me of yowr gracis miend quhi[l]k I am rady to fowfull at thwtyrmest of my powar. At Birwik, the vj day of Discember

be yowr gracis hwmell serwitour

AMIRALL.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed*: M. de Baudeoul.]

<sup>1</sup> Bothwell proceeded from Berwick to London, where he arrived on 22nd December. Selve was informed that he had come to fulfil the promises made to Somerset at Leith. Bothwell wished the French government to believe that he was not a free agent: that his pledges had been extorted from him as a captive of the Protector. (Selve, 258, 265.)

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.



## CXLVIII

*John Wyndham to Sir John Luttrell*

Orchard, 27th December [1547 ?].

TO THE RYGT WORSHIPPFULL SIR JOHN LUTTRELL <sup>1</sup> KNYTT,  
GEVE THIS.

A personal letter, chiefly about Sir John's affairs. The writer knows that Luttrell's service is 'very paynfull unto yow, and in my judgement no less daungerous'; and that his friends would gladly have him home again. According to Sir John's desires, Wyndham and his sister, Luttrell's mother, are taking pains that his parks should be 'employed' to the best advantage. As the writer's cousin, 'Mychell Malett,' has recently died, leaving a son, a minor, the ward of Luttrell,<sup>2</sup> he requests the marriage for one of his daughters. This was in accordance with the last will of the deceased, and Wyndham will pay 'as myche as anny man.'

From Orchard, the xxvij day off December.

Your lovyng unkall

JOHN WYNDAM.<sup>3</sup>

## CXLIX

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Perth, 31st December [1547].

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE.

Madem, pleis your graice to be advertisit and rememberit that befor the asseg foirst of Sanctandrois my lord

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Luttrell of Dunster, in Somerset. He was attached to the naval squadron. The record of himself and his marines is an interesting example of the loose distinction drawn at this period between the different branches of the fighting service.

<sup>2</sup> In April 1548 Luttrell was 'constrained to be a humble suitor to your grace for my ward the son of my late friend Mr. Myhell Mallett.' (C.S.P. i. 231.)

<sup>3</sup> John Wyndham was a half-brother of Vice-Admiral Thomas Wyndham. He married Elizabeth Sydenham of Orchard and settled in Somerset.

The letter is holograph.

gouvernour was informit that the personis haldaris therof wald maik appoyntment and gif our the samyn how son my lord governour com to the samyn. Alsua my lord was informit that the castell mycht haif beyn won be force of the sobir arttalyzerij that was brocht to it. The poyntment com nocht to effect, nor yet the castell gottin, and greit tyme tynt and expensis inlykwys, and the personis wyth haldaris of mair curage to perseveir in tharis hei contentemtioun<sup>1</sup> [*sic*], and was greit occasioun to nuris and fortife thar intelligens wyth Inglismen and was greit confort to all thair fauvararis and greit dispair till gud trew leigis, and in a part nocht honorabill that my lord governour suld depart but his intent. And thair efter quhen the sam casteill was ordourlie persewit, culd na way be defendit be the wyth haldarris and in maist honorabill sort was had and schortlie don. Madem, the asseg of Bruchtie procedit of lycht report: as informatioun maid to my lord governour that gif his gracie wald cum to it and bring the cunterfeit of arttalyzerij Bruchty wald be gevin to him, and the dereck contrar was fwnd in deid and my lord constarnit to want his intent and to depart,<sup>2</sup> quhilkis has caussit the Inglis be heycht and to get new support and mak of new mair strang fortifeying of Bruchty and do nychtlie greit troublis and skaythis be fyr heir-schippis raving of wemen borning of abbayis<sup>3</sup> and halding of the legis in conte[n]wall lawbouris expenss and feyr; and traistis that sen first my lord governour gat nocht the hous be asseig that now be my lord lyutenent it sall nocht be asseigit be fors of arttalyzerij bot salbe deffendit, and inlykwis intendis to haif the toun of Dundee hastile sa strynthe [*sic*] that tha ma defend the samyn. Pleis your graice to consider all the poyntis abon writin;

<sup>1</sup> The strength and confidence of the insurgents at the date of the Appointment is apparent from the memorandum sent to their friends in England. (*H.* xxi. ii. 576; cf. previous letters.)

<sup>2</sup> The Governor went to Dundee on 24th November, but departed to Stirling on 9th December. (*Liber Domicilii*; cf. *C.S.P.* i. 104.)

<sup>3</sup> Wyndham was sent up the Firth of Tay 'to burn an abbey [Balmerino] and much corn, which he did on Christmas day at night.' (*Ibid.* i. 114, 115.)

the harmis sustenit therthro and yet nocht remeidit ; and how the Inglis is an thousand men of ordinance hak-butteris and peikkis, and of greit arttalzerij substantiousle providit ; and how this nobill man has except this lyiutenandry <sup>1</sup> allanerlie for the recover [of] Bruchty and Dundee pesefeing of the legis and ministratioun of justie, quhilkis he intendis to do wyth all possibilite : and heirffor that your graic be your greit wisdom pleis to caus all thingis concerning the asseg of Bruchty, as greit arttalzerij puderis bullattis gunnarris and hagbutterris and uther men of weir and peonarris be larglie furnest, and abon in all sortis rather nor under. Madem, of necessite is requirit part of the cappidennis that is cum out of France <sup>2</sup> quhilkis has intelligens of ordour of men on the feildis ; alsua is to be had of the cappidens that has best intelligens to asseg and ordouring arttalzerij and that can mak the samyn to be weill and perfitlie ussit. Pleis your graice, for surty I traist and this purpos exceppit be my lord Argaill be substa[n]tiousle providit, the hous and toun sall nocht fail to be gotten and the legis put to quiatnes and the Inglis utirle repulsit fra thir partis. And be the contrair, gif this substantious help and provisioun be nocht speid delygentlie heyr, sall nocht be possibill that my lord Argaill and the remenent heyr ma do his purpos quharfor he cum in thir partis,<sup>3</sup> bot man heyr of ennymis daly tryumphe and ma nocht put remeid therto, quhilkis salbe mayr discourag to all the legis than befor, and occacioun to England to perseveyr in thar contenwaill suppley sending to thaim, and causing the

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Argyle. At the date of writing, he was at Perth, 'with a great company of Highland men, to destroy Dundee, and Lord Gray and others have come to defend it.' (*C.S.P.* i. 114.)

<sup>2</sup> '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.' (*Ibid.* 117.)

<sup>3</sup> Argyle occupied Dundee about 20th January, but was repulsed, with the loss of 'one chief French captain,' in a skirmish on the 22nd. He was bribed by the agency of Patrick, Lord Gray, to countenance 'the godly purpose of marriage and peace,' and had departed from Dundee on, or before, Wednesday 8th February. (*Ibid.* 134, 141-2, 148, 150, 154.)

legis in thir partis to dispar and apoynt wyth tham and to delyver tham ma strynthis. Besekand your graice now to schaw your wisdom as your graice has ay don, for all is weilwilling heyr: and tak tym quhill tym is oportun. The langer our ennymeis be contenwat the starkar ar thai, and salbe the grettar fors that sall repuss tham and put tham away. Madem, becaus I ma nocht gudly tak sa greit payn as in tymes past I haif ben at all tymmis humelle to writ unto your graice the best I can, and now presently writtis of verrite efter my understanding. The eternell God conserve your grace. Of Pertht this last of December be

your graice maist humill servitour

LORD METHVEN.<sup>1</sup>

CL

*Ormiston and Brunston to Sir John Luttrell*

Musselburgh, 17th January [1547-8].

TO THE RYCHT WORSCHYFUL SIR JHON LUTTERELL  
KNYCHT, CAPITANE OF THE KINGIS MAJESTIES FORT OF  
INCH COLM.

Eftir our most herty commendatioun, gentill Mr. Luterrel, thair is ane freind of ouris callit Robert Hammiltoun, who hatht saiff condweit of my lord protectouris grace to rapair in to England, as he him selff did show yow, who hes appoyntit ane toun callit Carraill, the men thairof, to be his furnysaris of souche fyschis as he thynkis nedfull to cary in theisis pertis; beleiffing ye will apone the consideratioun foir said lat souche men, duellaris in the said toun, as the names of ar writin within this letter, have your letteris of safe conduett,—whiche yf we thought prejudusiall to the kyngis majestis effaris, we wold in na wyse desyre. And yf your wysdom thynkis neidfull, ye

<sup>1</sup> A holograph letter, apparently written in haste. In several places words have been scored out, or repeated.

sall have my lord leutenandis<sup>1</sup> wrytyng to this same effect. We have already spokin to his lordship in this same mater. We have no newis to writ to yow other nor we thynk ye knaw alrady : as the incumyng of the Frenshe men whiche ar acompanyit with the erll of Argyllle all gone to besiege Brughly Crage and Dundee agane, vhair tha, as said is, beis this xvij of this instant. And the governour with all that he mabe in lyke maner about the said day beis at Dumfreise to put ordour thare.<sup>2</sup> The effectis that will follow, ye sall knaw sone with all syk other thying lying in our poweris to your contentment. \*It hes not hold in us bot sum of us wes wyth yow or now, as we sall not fail how sone we ma have comoditie.\* T[h]uss praying yow, yf thair be ony thying ye wald have us to do to your contentment, to lat use wit ; whiche, as knaws God, we salbe desyrus to do at the best of our poweris. Frome Musselburgh, this xvij of Janeware  
 be your assured lovyng freindis

ORMYSTOUN. BROMSTOUN.<sup>3</sup>

I send you ane letter frome my lord lewtenand consernyng your awn mater,<sup>4</sup> whiche I thynk ye have rasaiffit. These ar the names of the men : Jhon Daveson James

<sup>1</sup> Argyle. As an additional security they would likewise obtain a safe-conduct from the Scots lieutenant.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably to reduce to submission the districts overrun by Wharton and Lennox. The report, however, was wrong. The Governor did not go to Dumfries, although the rumour that he and Angus intended to do so was cause of anxiety to Grey of Wilton. (*Liber Domicilii* ; *C.S.P.* i. 129, 136.)

\* \* It has not been in the power of either of us to come to you before now, but we shall not fail to come as soon as we have opportunity.

<sup>3</sup> Both signatures are in the same hand : a different holograph from the body of the letter. These two protestant lairds, John Cockburn of Ormistoun, near Tranent, and Alexander Crichton of Brunston, near Penicuik, were among the most assiduous of the 'Assured Lords.' They were supporters of Wishart, and plotters against the life of the Cardinal. John Knox was the tutor of Cockburn's heir. In the March following the date of this letter, the houses of Ormistoun and Brunston were demolished by the Governor on the ground that they had been treasonably surrendered to the English. (*P.C.* i. 82 ; *C.S.P.* i. *ad indices.*) A summons of treason was raised against these two lairds in 1548, but the sentence was reduced ten years later. (*A.P.* ii. 480, 520.)

<sup>4</sup> 'Your awn mater' is probably an allusion to the conspiracy of the writers, as agents of England, to capture Edinburgh Castle and to apprehend the

Daveson Androw Daveson Thomas Daveson Robert  
 Daveson David Dow and Jhon Dow Jhon Wykquo<sup>1</sup>  
 Jamis Parke Willzem Awell<sup>2</sup> Jamis Lyell Thomas Lyell  
 Jamis Burges, Willzem Gray, Thomas Dyngwell.

Ye man be so good as to deliver your teiketis for thir  
 fore namit men to the beirar heirof, for at this tyme we  
 ar so disapoyntit that we can have none of our awn  
 convoyit to yow.

### CLI

*Alexander Gordon to the Earl of Huntly*

Stirling, 18th January [1547-8].

TO MY LORD.

My lord, efter himyll commendacione off service pleis  
 witt I wreitt to yowr lordschip owt off Bretainzze affoir,<sup>3</sup>  
 and sen my cumnyng in this realm I haid nocht the  
 oportunitie to wreitt quhill now, and yit dar nocht be plane  
 in this wreittyng becais I feir it haippin in vrang handdis.  
 Bot yowr lordschip salbe assurit, with owt it be that  
 thyng that God will nocht permit, this realme wilbe  
 debaittit to the owtraist quhill we may lest: quh[i]lk is  
 concludit, and we have all reddy sic moyance bayth off  
 force off men off wyr strangerrris and mony with all  
 wthyris munitiones necessaires; and plancly, my lord, or  
 we be swa cruelly owrthrawin in this maneir we will  
 randyr to the Twrk rathyr nor to be onrewangit. All  
 christyn preneccis dispiccis this fasson off wyr that is to  
 slay nobill men efter thay be randeritt, and thay that ar  
 presonerris will nocht put thame to ransome. Thocht

Governor and Bishop Hamilton. They missed their opportunity and the plot came to nothing. (*C.S.P.* i. 121, 125, 129; *Archbps. of St. Andrews*, v. 43-4.) It would appear that Argyle had dealings with England even before the attack on Dundee.

<sup>1</sup> Wykquo, Wickow, a variant of the surname Woodcock. (E. Beveridge, *Churchyard Memorials of Crail*.)

<sup>2</sup> Awell, apparently a variant of Annand, Anand, Annell. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Gordon had set sail for France, by the western seas, a few days before the disaster of Pinkie. He had returned to Scotland before 10th December, bringing pecuniary assistance in advance of the expeditionary force under la Chapelle. (Selve, 220, 249.)

the wysdome off Ingland be extemit greitt, thay gane nocht the rycht way to mak unuon off thyr twa realmis. Gyf thay thynk to hawe hartlynes, thay suld traist ws moir tendyrly. For as twychand your lordschip quhilkis is now in [thar] handdis,<sup>1</sup> plesit thay condisand on ane ransone and pleggis beand laid therfor, I waitt your lordschip mycht do nair for the commond weill off bayth thyr realmis nor ever ye sall or may to byd thar presoneir; bot gyff thay will nocht, far les may we lyppin efter kyndnes quhen thay wer masterris: for thay may will consyddyr it can nocht be your lordschip only pwysance quhilk may mak this realm tharis, bot mekle mair your laboris and pwysance wer ye beand present, considerane the samen to be to our commone will. Thayfor gyf it be swa that thay will be na maneir off vay consent to your lordschip releyff, as your lordschip thoycht it necessaire I wald gladly haweand ane pasport to cum and gayne cum to your [lordschip], prayand your lordschip all wayis advertis me quhat your will pleis command me in all behaffis. I hawe wreittyn to my lady synry tymis sen my cummyng haym and sall ryd haym effter this woyage off Dunde quhar I traist in God your lordschip sall hyr off scharp neippyng.<sup>2</sup> Fordar refferris to your lordschip as your lordschip hes oportunitie, prayand your lordschip tak this adversite in patience. I trast in God the Lord, and all hald fowrt your lordschip sall have hesty releyff, quham conser your lordschip in sawlle and body. Writyn at Styrueling, the xviiij day of Januar<sup>3</sup> be the hand off  
 your lordschip brother and hartlye servitour

CAITHNES.<sup>4</sup>

[*Endorsed*: M<sup>e</sup> Alexandre Gordon.]

<sup>1</sup> Huntly was taken prisoner at Pinkie, in spite of the efforts of devoted men who 'faucht stoutlie for sauftie of the Erle, . . . be quhais defence his lyf was saufeit.' (Leslie, 200.)

<sup>2</sup> On his arrival, Gordon must have betaken himself straightway to the scene of hostilities. The optimistic hopes, here expressed, were doomed to disappointment.

<sup>3</sup> On the previous day the writer had entered into a bond of manrent to the Dowager in consideration of a yearly pension of £200. (*Inventory of State Papers*, 45.)

<sup>4</sup> The letter is holograph.

## CLII

*Protector Somerset to Sir John Luttrell*

Shene, 21st January 1547-8.

TO OUR LOVING FRENDE SIR JOHN LUTTRELL KNIGHT,  
CAPTEN OF COMBES INCHE.

After our right hartie commendacions, we have receyved your lettres and doo moch commende your procedingis in the kingis maje[s]teis service therein declared. Where ye signifye that Fletchers bote now with you shuld stande you in greate stede for service, we be pleased ye shal by vertue of this our lettres declare unto him which hath the charge of the same that we have specially appointed him to remayn with you in such force as ye desire. For the gentleman who after the burning of his house and goodis declared to have had assuraunce of us beeng at Lithe,<sup>1</sup> as we cannot but thinke the faulte to be in himself in that he shewed not the same in tyme so for the reasons expressed in your lettres which amongis the rest be that he hath not shewed himself bent to serve as a frende, we cannot but take your doingis towarde him in good parte, seeing the same proceded by his own foly and by not observance of promes toward us. Touching the servauntis of the late Abbot of St. Combes Inche<sup>2</sup> whom ye declare to have been your good neighbours and to have relyeved you, and doo now, beeng put at, seke proteccion at your handis; forasmuch as ye knowe their honest doings anempst<sup>3</sup> you

<sup>1</sup> The Protector was in Leith from 11th to 18th September. See No. CXX.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Abercrombie was the last abbot of St. Colm's Inch. (Wm. Ross, *Aberdour and Inchcolm*, 101-12.) In January 1542-3, he resigned, with reservation of the life-rent, in favour of Sir James Stewart, afterwards Lord Doune, son of Sir James Stewart of Beath. (*Hist. MSS. Commis. Report*, vi. p. 635-6.) In the following year, he granted a tack of certain monastic lands to Sir James Stewart of Beath, in return for 'great sums of money paid to him for repairing the said monastery, lately burned by the English.' (*R.M.S.* 19th March, 1543-4.) He must have been but recently dead when Luttrell wrote to the Protector. On 11th October the Privy Council had ordered him to pay £500 towards the expenses for the recovery of Inchcolm. (*P.C.* i. 80.)

<sup>3</sup> *anempst*: with respect to. (J. O. Halliwell, *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*.)



we referre the helpe of them agayn to your own discrecion, having always consyderacion that there be not so greate entrey of men within your strenght as by colour of frendis they might attrappe you. To the matier of your fortificacion, seeng the thing is doon in sorte as ye write it cannot be well altered ; albeit if the fortificacion appointed uppon the westerly hill had been made, the same shuld in our opinion moch served to purpose. The tyme of the yere serveth not for buyldeng by masonry worke and yet have we taken ordre for your furniture in all thingis as tyme and occacion shall serve for your helpe, so as it remayneth for you to continue accustomed diligence for preservacion of the pece and thannoyance of thenemye as conveniently ye may accordingly. Thus fare you hartely well. From Shene, the xxith of January 1547.

Your loving frende

E. SOMERSET.<sup>1</sup>

### CLIII

*'Ye wait Quha' to Luttrell*

Musselburgh, 8th February [1547-8].

TO THE RYCHT HONORABLE SCHYR JHONE LUTTERELL  
KNYCHT, CAPETANE OFF SANCT COLMIS INCHE DELAWER  
THIS WYTH SPEID.

Plesyd yow to treit this berrar weill for he is weill myndit to yow and hes now for your plesor at my dysyr left his proffett and company quhilk passit to the se in fyscheng to cum to yow. . . . I thoct to hayf cumyt my selff to yow var nocht I gat this berrar, and sein I gat hym it vas best to send and nocht to cum. . . . Awise weill at lentht with all my uder letteris and tak gud tent to the reding. Thay ar wryttne in haist ; nochttheles the materis ar greit and substantiall. This berrar efter he vas anis myndyt to cum baid ane quhyll one uder besynes.

<sup>1</sup> The signature is autograph.

. . . I haff bene this twa or thre days quietle in Mwssylburtht<sup>1</sup> and thinkis to remane apone ane ansur fra yow, quharfor as pleisis yow haist hyme agane ; and in Scotland sall nane dw mair for yow nor I efter my powar. [He recommends the bearer to have promise of reward, and for his own part sends commendations of his service.] Thus fair ye weill. The viij of Febrewar

YE WAIT QUHA.<sup>2</sup>

#### CLIV

##### *Buccleuch to the Queen Dowager*

Peebles, Sunday, 19th February [1547-8].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madam, eftir maist humill and hartlye commendatione off serwes onto your grace, emplesyt wyte I hawe hard at ther is ane coumpany off Ingland to cum in Scotland in this owk nyxt to cum, and hes downe my deligence to hawe gottin tandiment<sup>3</sup> off thair purpoys. And be all informatione I can get as zyte thai cowme in at Bam-browcht Wod the morne eftir nowne and thereftir taykis Scottis erde,<sup>4</sup> and as is alligit wilbe tene thowsand men,<sup>5</sup> and taykis certane peccis off lycht artellzar[y] with tham and cumis in Lodyene, without thai change purpoys and cum upone me and my frendis because nayne wder off thir partis ar without ther souerance.<sup>6</sup> I belewe erair<sup>7</sup> at

<sup>1</sup> The writer was probably involved in the schemes of Ormistoun and Brunston. Cf. No. CL.

<sup>2</sup> A holograph letter, presumably by the 'spy named Maitland,' who used this form of signature in communications to Wharton. (*Addenda*, 321.) The paper is discoloured and part of it completely torn away.

<sup>3</sup> *tandiment*: *tendment*, significance. (New English Dictionary.)

<sup>4</sup> Grey of Wilton entered Scotland from Berwick on 21st February, and marched to Haddington. Hailes and other Lothian houses were delivered to him. (*C.S.P.* i. 163, 168.)

<sup>5</sup> The *Diurnal of Occurrents* estimates Grey's force at 2000 men. (Page 46.)

<sup>6</sup> Buccleuch had drawn upon himself the hostility of England by 'wynkering' at the demand for his re-entry as a Solway prisoner. His territory was laid waste, and an effort made to embroil him in a feud with Kerr of Cessford. (*C.S.P.* i. *ad indices*.)

<sup>7</sup> *Erair*: (1) rather; (2) sooner. Cf. *infra*.

thai sall cum in Lodyene nor upone me, and gyff the  
 inewntra war wysly rewlyt and weill gadderit to gydder  
 and wald await wpon thame at ther retering, I belewe  
 God sowld mayk sum helpe therto, at awanteg mycht be  
 gottin off thame.<sup>1</sup> And farder as I get advertesment I  
 sall advertes your grace theroff and sall await with my  
 kyne and frendis toart the partis thai draw to, swa that  
 I be rady to await and to be with my lorde governor and  
 the wderis nobilis off this realme quhilk salbe abill to occur  
 for restisting off thame. Allswa your grace sall wyte at  
 I have gottin sa mony men as was dewysyt to me to have  
 had in waygis, bot becaus at the haille mowny cam nocht  
 togydder I can nocht get thame to order as is expedient,  
 becaus thai will nocht resawe ane part off thair waygis  
 without the haille; sayff the gownnaris quhilk I have  
 all reddy togydder. Heirfor I beseyk your grace to send  
 the rest, quhilk cumis to ane thowsand and xx libs mowny,  
 with ony serwand off your grace to Edinburgh quhair I  
 sall caus it be resawit, for the haille mowny your grace  
 send to me is gewin to the gownnaris sayff viij scoir and  
 x libs quhilk I can nocht offir thame: and your grace  
 ansur agayne heirin. And allmychty God have your  
 grace in kepin. Off Pcblys, this Sownday the xix day off  
 Februaire

be your grace serwand with all powair at command.

BWKCLWTH KNYCHT.<sup>2</sup>

I beseyk your grace to caus my lord governor and  
 nobiles drawe togydder, for the lorde Gray<sup>3</sup> is rycht ill  
 lowit with the lordis off England and therfor may erair

<sup>1</sup> Buccleuch's patriotic hopes were disappointed. Grey was allowed 'to retire in good order to Berwick,' on 26th February. The cause of his retreat was the report of Wharton's repulse in the west. (*C.S.P.* i. 174.)

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> William, thirteenth Lord Grey of Wilton, was appointed Lieutenant on the Borders when the Protector departed from Scotland at the end of September 1547. (*Patten*, 93.) There seems to have been some ground for the writer's statement, for in the following year Wharton's son challenged Grey to single combat on the charge that he did 'traitorously betray Lord Wharton before Dumfries.' (*Addenda*, 401.)

be delt with. And farder, plesyt your grace gyff credence to this berair quhilk is my sisteris sowne,<sup>1</sup> to quhome I wald your grace deliverit the sayd mowny.

## CLV

*John Erskine, Commendator of Dryburgh, to the Queen Dowager*

Stirling Castle, Friday [March 1547-8].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, it will ples your grace maister James Makgill<sup>2</sup> come to this tone of Sterlyng this Thursday at ewin, quhom wyth I have spokyn and can persave no mony to be gottyn except that is in the capitane of Downe handis<sup>3</sup> q[u]hay will nocht pert wyth nane wythowt ane discharge of the yerle rentail to cum, as your grace will knaw at mair lentht be maister James Makgill wrettyng. I have done my delegens at Wille Bells<sup>4</sup> hand to have fulfillit your grace dissyre, quhilk I can nocht sped for I fynd he hes none mony. I have send your grace wrettyng to the chalmerlane of Fyf<sup>5</sup> as your grace command wes, praying your grace to advertys me quhat answer I sall gywe the thesawrare,<sup>6</sup> quhay is here yit abydyng apone ane answer. As for novellis, my lord governour hes bene in Lowdyane quhair he hes gottyn the hows of Saltone<sup>7</sup> quhair he hes hangit all that he fand in it. The rest of the howsis, herand that he had done swa, send to hym all the keis of

<sup>1</sup> No sisters of Buccleuch are mentioned in the *Scots Peerage*.

<sup>2</sup> James Macgill of Rankeillor Nether.

<sup>3</sup> See No. XV.

<sup>4</sup> A burgess of Stirling. Cf. No. LXXI.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Fernie of that Ilk. See No. CCLXXIII.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop Hamilton was Lord Treasurer, and la Chapelle treasurer of the French forces, but this reference is probably to an official of the Dowager's establishment.

<sup>7</sup> About 28th February. (*Liber Domicilii*; *T.A.*; *C.S.P.* i. 179, 180.) Saltoun had been held for England by Ormistoun.

the strenthis that my lord Gray tuik at his last jorney.<sup>1</sup>  
I pray your grace haist ansvere for the thesawrare : and  
God preserve [your] grace. At Sterlyng castle this  
Fryday

be your grace humill and obedient serwiture

DRIBRUGHT.<sup>2</sup>

## CLVI

. . . to *John Hamilton*

Edinburgh, 15th March [1547-8].

TO MY LORD DWNKELLE.

My lord, efter my maist hartlie commendation off  
service, pleisyd yowr maist venerable lordschipe be  
advertist off syk newis as is in Yngland wyth my lord  
Gray at Warkwyth and in Berwyk.<sup>3</sup>

Fyrst, your maist venerable lordschipe sall onderstand  
that thar is ane greit feir and dreidour in Berweik for the  
Frenche nawye, for one Vodnisday the xiiij day off Marche  
the capetane off Berweik castell<sup>4</sup> begane to tak down all  
the howsis quhilkis ar neir to the castell, and closis up  
Sanct Marye port quhilk is neirast Scotland ; and work-  
men ar begwin to cast the grownd wall off ane dyk betwex  
the est syd off Sanct Marye port and downin throw the town  
ane greit way quhyll thay cwm to the touin wall one the  
vatter syd.<sup>5</sup> The towin off Berwek ar werray crabyt at

<sup>1</sup> See previous letter.

<sup>2</sup> John Erskine, afterwards Regent Mar (1571-2), succeeded his brother as Commendator of Dryburgh when the latter became Master of Erskine, after the battle of Pinkie. The temporalities of Dryburgh formed part of the later barony of Cardross, erected in 1606 in favour of John, seventh Earl of Mar.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> Grey retired from Haddington to Berwick on 25th February, and was at Warkworth on 6th March. (*C.S.P.* i. 61, 174, 180.) Warkworth had been his headquarters during the winter.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Nicholas Strelley was captain of Berwick Castle in 1547. (*A.P.C. ad indices.*)

<sup>5</sup> The 'Orders by Lord Grey at his repair to Court out of the north' included '350 labourers to be employed in the new works at Berwick and Roxburgh.' (*C.S.P.* i. 193.)

this, and nocht content off the takin down off thar howsis. All this is dwne for defens off the castell, and but dowt this is trew.

Secundlie, pleisyd your lordshipe to wyt that my lord Gray takis post to Londone this Thurisday the xv day off Marche but ony dowt,<sup>1</sup> for I hard commandement gyffin to one off his serwandis to pas befor hyme and caus the postis be the way prowid gud post horsis for hyme and ten men aganis the Sunday, and swa thar is na apeirans of ony raid in Scotland before Pais.<sup>2</sup>

Als, pleisyd your maist venerable lordshipe that my lord Gray com to Berweik one Monunday last vas<sup>3</sup> in pwrpos to haiff mait George off Dowglas, bot Syme off Pananggo<sup>4</sup> com wyth ane excuse and said that the governouris grace vas to lay ane sege to Dawketht,<sup>5</sup> and for that eaus he mycht nocht ewm haistelie quhyll he knew quhydder the governour held pwrpos or nocht. My lord Gray askyt at me gyff I hard off syk thng. I ansuryt, Na ; and swa ineontenent my lord Gray derekyt Sym off Panango wyth ane letter agane for hyme, and gaiff Sym Panango ane freche hors for the mair speid, and lyppinyt efter George to ewm this Vodnisday the xiiij off Marche agane, schawand Sym that he wald ryd post one Thursyday, disyryng therfor hym to mak the mair deligens ; and all this is but dowt trew.

<sup>1</sup> The ostensible motive of Grey's journey was to obtain 'full instructions for future proceedings.' (*Ibid.* 178.) He arrived in London on Sunday, 18th March. (Selve, 313.)

<sup>2</sup> Easter Day was 1st April in 1548.

<sup>3</sup> Monday, 12th March.

<sup>4</sup> Sym Penango, a servant of Sir George Douglas, high in the confidence of his master.

<sup>5</sup> Douglas's 'excuse' was, as the writer hints, a pretext to escape from the proposed conference at Berwick. Dalkeith was not besieged. The *Liber Domicilii* shows that the Governor was resident in Edinburgh from 16th March to 28th June. On 22nd March Angus and Douglas were at Dalkeith, but their attitude was considered doubtful by the English authorities. On the 27th, Somerset was informed that they were in Tantallon in fear of the Governor: that Douglas would 'not agree' with Arran, but that he would 'suffer the Earl to agree.' (*C.S.P.* i. 204, 211.) They were angling with all parties throughout the whole of this period. (Cf. *Ibid.* 167, 170.)

Thar was ane greit brut and word in Berwek that the prences off Scotland vas deid,<sup>1</sup> and swm pwir folkis was weill content and uderis vas werray sorye. \*Swm vald say that weir vald ceis and swa var ; and uderis said that scho vas nocht deid bot vas send in France and this speiking was off hyr deid.\*

Als, pleisyd your lordschipe to wyt I was informyt wyth ane Ynglis man that thar vas ane post cumyt fra London to caus all the schippis quhilkis lysis at Donde and Brochtye to pas swthwartis and cwm away ; and swa this man schew me that he trowyt that Brochtye Crag swld be lost, bot I thynk the sam nocht lyk to be trew.<sup>2</sup> Nocht theles becaus it was schawin me qwietlye I thoct best to advertise your lordschipe theroff. Thar is na uder newis at this tyme noder in Berweik nor Varkwyth. My lord Gray prayt me, as I culd se occasione and tyme, to cum to Anweik to my lord vardane off the myddyll marche<sup>3</sup> and advertise his lordschipe gyff the Frenche schippis vas cumyt. I tuk all thyng in hand, and my lord Gray gaiff me iij scoir off grottis<sup>4</sup> and disyrit me to pas to Scotland agane ; and this as yeit I remane in credit and traist, quhylk efterwart wyth the grace off God sall redound to your lordschippis pleisour and to the governouris honour. I sall swm tyme, God wylling, draw ane drawcht. And this I pray eternall God to kep your maist venerable lordschipe in lang and prosperus heill. Off Edinburcht, the xv off Marche at all powar and service induring . . .<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This rumour was widespread about the time of writing. (Cf. *C.S.P.* i. 195, 196 ; Selve, 315 ; Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 14.)

\* \* Some maintained that war would cease, if it were so [*i.e.* that the Queen was dead]. Others said that she was not dead, but was sent into France ; and the report of her departure had been converted into a rumour of her death.

<sup>2</sup> The Englishman's fear was ill-founded : Broughty was not abandoned. But six ships arrived from Berwick at Warkworth on 24th March. (*C.S.P.* i. 219.)

<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert Bowes.

<sup>4</sup> 'The English groat coined in 1351-2 was made equal to four pence. This ratio between the groat and the penny continued to be maintained ; but owing to the progressive debasement of both coins, the "old groats" which remained in circulation were valued at a higher rate.' (*New English Dictionary.*)

<sup>5</sup> None of the documentary sources has been found to reveal the identity of

## CLVII

*Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Wetherby, 17th March [1547-8].

TO THE QUEYNIS GRACE.

Madame, after humill commendatione of my service to your grace ye ples be adverteist I haiwe gottin leiff to cum to the bordour for besines I haiwe adoo<sup>1</sup> and is veray dissirous to know your grace mynd be Robert Carnegie<sup>2</sup> or be sum of your awin; quhilk your grace sall thynk vcray necessar to be done wyth all diligens. And gyf your grace sendis ony of your awyne, send me word and I sall gat hym ane saiwe conditt. Pleis your grace resaiwe thir lettiris wythin in this, and gyf ye pleis send answer of the same it sall be suirly convoyit. Your grace servand quhilk ye send this way last is stayit and all his writingis tane fra hym.<sup>3</sup> I bescik your grace hayst answer to me agane wyth expeditione for my materris requiris haist wyth all diligens I may, as your grace sall know heirafter, God wylling: forder referris to your grace answer; and

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the writer. He was obviously an adherent of the Hamiltons as well as an agent of England. At this time the Hamiltons would have been willing to come to terms with Somerset. In November the Sheriff of Clydesdale was trafficking with England. (*Addenda*, 345, 349.) He was in the Governor's pay in June 1548; in July the English government granted him a 'reward for service.' (*T.A.* ix. 202; *A.P.C.*, 1547-50, 213.)

<sup>1</sup> Huntly arrived at Newcastle on the 18th, ostensibly to further 'the King's purpose.' (*C.S.P.* i. 197; *Addenda*, 373.) Edward desired him 'de lui amener la reine d'Ecosse sa femme.' (*Selve*, 303.) Selve had reason to be doubtful of the Earl's good faith: but it was the English, not the French party, whom he ultimately deceived.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Carnegie was the Governor's accredited messenger between Somerset and Huntly. His official business was to arrange a meeting with Bishop Hamilton for 10th April. (*C.S.P.* i. 212.) Huntly showed his gratitude for the services of Carnegie by assigning to him the 'profits and duties of the Great Seal' during his own visit to France in 1550-1. (*Carnegies of Southesk*, i. 28; quoting original discharge at Kinnaid.)

<sup>3</sup> A Frenchman, thought to be the Dowager's butler, was captured with letters, at Berwick, on 20th February, and his despatches were forwarded to Somerset on 6th March. (*C.S.P.* i. 162, 182; *Selve*, 314.)



God haiwe yow in his keipyng eternalie. At Weddirbie,<sup>1</sup>  
the xvij day off Marche.

\*Your grace mast humyll and trew serwand  
HUNTLY.\*

## CLVIII

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

[c. March-April 1548.]

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter the closyng off this mas I gatt ane  
writtyng fra my lord quhilk yowr grace ples resave. We  
hawe derekit Kempe<sup>2</sup> away agane to my lord to entyrteny  
the pwrpos quhill fordar remeid be fownd; and at Kemp-  
peis retwrnyng yowr grace salbe advertist. I hawe  
maid ane wreittyng to my lord quhilk I am content he  
schaw, makand mention quhow at the last convention<sup>3</sup>  
yowr grace had aggreitt all the nobill men, quhou ar  
determit to debait the mater to the utyrmast of thar  
p[o]war; and sik lyk off gret support that is cum and  
cumand owt off France, in the best manere my wyt culd  
extend the mater. I thynk monsieur de Laya<sup>4</sup> hes nocht  
bene at the cowrt or the departyng off my lord ambas-  
sador,<sup>5</sup> bot dowttis nocht efter Laya speikkis with the

<sup>1</sup> The place of writing is probably Wetherby, in Yorkshire.

\*\* Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> In the cramped hand of the original this name might possibly be read 'Houpe,' but Huntly's reference makes it clear that Kemp is the name intended. No. CLX.

<sup>3</sup> He probably refers to the convention held in Stirling at the beginning of January, when it was decided 'to besiege Borthie anew.' (*C.S.P.* i. 125, 128.)

<sup>4</sup> M. de Layac had been sent on a mission to France by the Dowager, and was apparently at court in March. (*B.P.* i. 190, 239.)

<sup>5</sup> D'Oysel had gone to France at the end of November, after the meeting of the convention in Edinburgh when '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.' ('Ninian Cockburn's Report,' *C.S.P.* i. 88, cf. 92.) Probably D'Oysel was instrumental in framing the contract of 27th January 1547-8 between Arran and Henry II. The Governor was to secure the consent of the Scottish parliament to the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin, the conveyance of the Queen to France, and the deliverance of some

kyngis grace bot his grace wilbe advertist off my service  
quhilk I remit hail to your grace, in quhame trewly is my  
hail hoip.

Be your grace maist humyll and maist obedient  
servant

CAITH[N]ES.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed*: M<sup>e</sup> Alexandre Gordon.]

### CLIX

*Thomas Stewart to Sir John Luttrell*

Newcastle, 10th April [1548 ?].

TO ANE HONORABYLL KNYCHT SIR JOHN LETERELL,  
GANERELL OF THE KINGIS MAGESTEIS FORTIS OF  
BROCHTY.

Honorabyll Sir, efter most hartle commendasoun and  
sarwes thankand your masterschip of your gwd wretis to  
my lord protaktwris gres for me and my bruder, the  
quhilk hes ben well considerit be your report. Hys gres  
has sad that we sall be na lesars. Prayen your masters-  
schip to writ with my bruder, for my lordis gras wyll do  
no thing to hym to he coum hym self to hys gres. I tryst  
to God to be with your masterschip schortle, for \*my  
lordis gres and the chonsall ar all vell mindyt to that  
bowndis in spessall of onie port of Skotland,\* and hys  
gres has sad to me : Wyll God, he sall pyt me to my deid,  
and thar to reward me efter my gud sarves and all frendis  
—the quhelk dyd me mor plesour na hys gres hyd geffen  
me ane hondred poundis. I schow hys gres of all materis  
as your serva[n]t Watsoun wyll schow your masterschip  
at ly[n]tth. Your masterschip is bytter consederit be  
me lord and the counsall na ye wer, and your serves thouk

---

of the chief strongholds into the hands of Henry : in return, the King was to confer a French duchy upon Arran. (*Dukedom of Chatelleraut: Mémoire à consulter*, 1 ; *Défense*, 3.) D'Oysel returned to Scotland about the beginning of February. (*B.P.* i. 184 ; *C.S.P.* i. 163.)

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

\*\* The Protector and Council have a special regard for that part of Scotland.

byter. I spak with Sir Androw Dowdle<sup>1</sup> twychand my wagys, and he mad me answer that your masterschip sowld answer me. And is for my mune that I laid doun at Dundee, I chan find na remeid with Sir Androw Doudlie of that mater. Nocht the les I haf your masterschip chownsall in all that chanssis, and \*pray to God gyf I or her of myn may lyf to do your masterschip styd or serwes or we de for the gryt chans I hyf hyd of your masterschep.\* And quhet your masterschip wyll hyf doun in this roumes, writ to me, and I sell do it as one sarvend wyll I lef efter my power. And my bedfallow<sup>2</sup> sendis your masterschip hertle commendacions and mister Onderson, the quhelk hes schowd hym chend<sup>3</sup> to me be your masterschip wryten, and that your masterschip wyll thank him thar efter. And eternell God hyf your masterschip in kepin. At Newchestill, the x day of Aperell

be your masterschip servand at all power

THOMAS STEWART.<sup>4</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Thomas Stewardis lettre datyd the x of Apr[i]ll.]

## CLX

*Huntly to his Brother, Alexander Gordon*

Newcastle, Friday [c. April 1548].

TO MY BRODER MR. ALEXANDER GORDONE, POSSTELIAT OF  
CATNES.

Broder, eftir all hartly commendacione I rassawit your wryten fray Kempey and prayis yow delay uder thyng

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Luttrell dismantled St. Colm's Inch and arrived at Broughty on 1st March to succeed Sir Andrew Dudley, the brother of the Earl of Warwick, as captain of the fort. (*C.S.P.* i. 184.)

\* \* I pray to God that I or heir of mine may live to do your mastership sted or service before we die, in gratitude for the great chance I have had of your mastership.

<sup>2</sup> *bedfallow*: wife; a common expression of the period.

<sup>3</sup> *chend*: sent.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Stewart fled to the English fleet for succour when Argyle occupied Dundee in January, and his brother was thought to have 'ridden into England.' (*C.S.P.* i. 142.) The letter is holograph.

and hast yow to me. Bryng M. William<sup>1</sup> with yow. I hayff sic materis to se[h]aw yow that I can nocht wryt presently and that ye wyll knaw gyff the lord Inerpeffry<sup>2</sup> and our broder<sup>3</sup> cumis, and to hast tham with sic wder frendis as cumis, for I wait nocht quhow sone I returane to Lundone and wald be glaid [to] speyk with yow and frendis or than. The rest heir of I differ to your cumyng and metyng : and Jesw be your keyper. At Newcastle this Feryday, be the hand off

your hartly broder

HUNTLY.<sup>4</sup>

### CLXI

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 21st April [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, pleis your grace witt the man hes failzeit trist and we ar makand new prowision to se the maneir and to affix ane new trist. Fordar, madame, at my cummyng to this toune I deliverit nocht your grace writyngis to my lordis governour nor Dunkell<sup>5</sup> becais all wes done and orderit as your grace wald or my cummyng ; therfor hes send the writyngis to your grace agane. My lord ambasadour<sup>6</sup> wes schawin he hed wreittyng to my lady Hwntlye fra the kyngis grace ; as to that behalf I refer to your grace and dowttis nocht bot your grace will asswre my lord ambasadour of my lord my brotheris part quha hes na mair p[o]war of hym self, nor may nocht lyf

<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. CLXIX.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffry, the stepfather of the writer.

<sup>3</sup> James Gordon.

<sup>4</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>5</sup> John Hamilton, nominated to Dunkeld in 1544, but not consecrated till 22nd August 1546. At the date of this letter he had been translated by the Pope to St. Andrews (28th November 1547), but he was not installed until the summer of 1549. He had been vested in the temporality immediately after the death of Beaton. (See *Archbops. of St. Andrews*, v. 28, 42, 51.)

<sup>6</sup> Henri Cleutin, Seigneur d'Oysel et de Villeparisis, French Ambassador Resident in Scotland (1546-60).

with honour to failze, for the quhilk I will set my hand. And, fordar, yowr grace sall pleis rasave ane writyng of my lordis awyn hand quhair he commandis me to mak ane end, sayand he is content for his part ; quhilk wreittyng I pray yowr grace keip. I am haldyn hyr with proces afoir the lordis aganis my compeditour,<sup>1</sup> quhair I sall do yowr grace as greitt service as I wer in yowr grace presence, as yowr grace sall knaw at meittyng.

Fordar, madame, prayand allmythye God, efter my maist hw[m]yll commendacioun off service, preser yowr grace ever. At Edynbrucht, the xxj day of Aprille, be the hand off

Yowr grace mast hwmyll and maist obedient servitour  
CAITHNES.<sup>2</sup>

## CLXII

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 25th April [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter maist hwmyll commendacioune off hartlye service praya[n]d yowr grace to aperdon me off my lang tarry to wreitt to yowr grace ; nochtwithstanding, yowr grace may considyr be thir synry writyngis my vigilance. Madame, the mater standdis now in this maneir. I thynk nocht the man may be ony way enschew be rasone thar is ane greitt suspitione, quhilk quhen the man schaw that \*hys keiparis wer advertist,\* hestely maid prowision in this sort : he cawsit Jhone Wymmis<sup>3</sup> your grace master howshaldis sone that wes capitane off Dunbar say that ther cowme ane man fra my lord governour

<sup>1</sup> Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness. The lawsuit was to begin on 30th April. Cf. following letter.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

\*\* These words have been inserted in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> John Wemyss married the Governor's half-sister. He was a prisoner in Newcastle in December 1547. On 23rd April he was under strict watch. (*C.S.P.* i. 103, 227.)

and bayd Jhone Wemmis pray my lord gyf he mycht enschew to cum away on hors bak, quhilk he wald say that he refwsit. And tharefter my lord schew to his keppar quhow Jhone off Wemis schew hym sic lyk and that he refwsit the samin. Swa Jhone off Wemis is pwt and haldyn in ane schalmer and takis the hail mater on hym, sayand he schew sic thynkis to my lord as my lord governour send hym word to do ; and thus my lordis part is haldyn gwd. And suppois the schyp be thayr I trow it be nocht possib[i]ll to my lord to eschaip.<sup>1</sup> Thair for, madame, I man on force pas to my lord and gyf yowr grace thynkkis expediane I cum to yowr grace or my departyng, I sall do the samen. Uthyr wayis I sall pas fordart<sup>2</sup> and do sa, God willyng, as I sall answer to yowr grace. Allwayis, madame, I am contrynit to schaw your grace quhow I can gett na way off sylver fra my gud sister my lady Hwntlye ; and trewly, madame, schew can nocht instantlye have price nor sell of gwddis be merchanddis. And as to my awyn benefice, ingudfayth I gart never anc plak<sup>3</sup> sen my cummyng in Scotland. Quhow sone I may hawe of my awyn yowr grace sall nocht be molestit. I am determit to aggre with my compeditour<sup>4</sup> quharthrow I may have sa suir lyffing, bot in the myn tyme I hawe na uthyr esperance bot only in yowr grace : remittand the answer in this behalf to yowr grace plesouris. I knaw your grace is ampill aneweht advertist quhow all

<sup>1</sup> Quiriace, a Breton sailor, had been sent with a French ship to Newcastle with the aim of facilitating the escape of Huntly ; but the scheme proved abortive. (See Selve, *ad indices*.)

<sup>2</sup> He succeeded in having an interview with his brother in Newcastle, but on the same day Huntly was taken back to London for safety's sake, while the Bishop returned to Scotland with the Earl's bond of manrent to the Dowager. Huntly reached London on 22nd May. (Selve, 353 ; *Inventory of State Papers*, Register House, 47.) Cf. following letter.

<sup>3</sup> Plack, a small billon coin : its value to be proclaimed at 2d. by act of parliament in 1567.

<sup>4</sup> On 13th April 1548, Alexander Gordon, postulate of Caithness, renounced his rights in favour of Robert Stewart. In return the Dowager bound herself to procure for him in compensation a benefice of equal value in Scotland or France, with, in the interval, a pension from the French King and the Dowager. (Teulet, i. 662-3.)

materis standdis hyr, quharin I asswre yowr grace Robert Car[n]egy dois hys dewoire. I fynd ws sum part cald in the mater bot trewly it is rycht abill [to] cum to ane tw[i]llze.<sup>1</sup> My lord of Dunkell schaw hym lyk ane nobill man.<sup>2</sup> My lord of Angus wald fane hyr of commonyng. Your grace knawis quhair in the feir lyis. \*Wald my lord governour tak the haysort it war the better as I trow he sall, thocht he be laycht therto.\* I pray God help all; quha preser yowr grace eternally. At Edynbrucht, the xxv day of Aprile, be the hand off

Yowr grace maist hw[m]yll and maist obedient  
servitour

CAITHNES<sup>3</sup>.

I beseik yowr grace ryff this bill efter it be red becas of the first part that twychis my lord.

[*Endorsed*: M<sup>e</sup> Alexandre Gordon.]

### CLXIII

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 29th April [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, pleis yowr grace witt I have rasavit ane writyn fra my lord my brother sen my last writyng to yowr grace, quhilk ye sall pleis rasave; quhairby yowr grace may knaw his greit desyr is I cum to hym with diligence, and becais the last berare I send to yowr grace is nocht retwrnit I have derekit this berare off new. My lord is at the pointt as I wreitt to yowr grace and man schortlye declair hym self; therfor, madame, the sonair the better that I depart; quhair efter my retwrnyng yowr

<sup>1</sup> *twilze*: *tutylie*, quarrel, broil.

<sup>2</sup> On 29th March, 'the Bishop of Dunkeld would come on safe conduct to Berwick to speak with Lord Huntley.' (*Addenda*, 378.)

\*\* If my lord governor would take the hazard it would be the better, as I believe he shall, though he is loth to do so.

<sup>3</sup> A holograph letter.

grace sall have na fordar cummyr in that behalf for my lord is determit to ramane presunir quhill God send better. Besekand your grace, sawend<sup>1</sup> greteir besynis, advertys me gyf your grace ples command me ony wthyr service and to sopport me or my departyng as your grace thynkkis expedane, for trewly, Madame, ther is myster. I dowl notcht bot your grace is better advertist of our doyngis nor I can wreit, bot always I feir we do lytyll at this tym. The sonair your grace cumis it wilbe the better.<sup>2</sup> Prayand God, Madame, efter maist hwmyll commendacione off hartlye service, preswer your grace eternally. At Edynbrwcht, the xxix day off Aprille, be the hand off  
Your grace maist hwmyll and maist obedient servitour

CATHNES.<sup>3</sup>

#### CLXIV

*Hew Campbell of Loudoun to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 2nd May [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit your grace I haf beyn heyr with my lord governour accompaniit as pertenit me as your grace sall ken at mayr lynthe.<sup>4</sup> The abbot of Dryburghe schew me that your grace wald haf had my wyf<sup>5</sup> and iair<sup>6</sup> cumand to your grace to Dumbertayn, quhylk I wald haf gladly

<sup>1</sup> *sawend*: saving.

<sup>2</sup> The Queen was in Dumbarton. She was on the point of setting out, not for Edinburgh, but to Stirling, where she apparently remained until at least the end of May. (*T.A.* ix. 193.) See next letter.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>4</sup> Grey of Wilton wrote from Haddington on 29th April that the Governor was at Musselburgh with 5000 men and artillery directed against Haddington. (*C.S.P.* i. 230.) Such an attack was not delivered.

<sup>5</sup> Hew Campbell married Margaret Stewart (*R.M.S.*, 14th October 1533), said in the *Scots Peerage* to be the daughter of Matthew, second Earl of Lennox (*S.P.* v. 496), but cf. *ibid.* 351, where his wife is given as Elizabeth, sister of the above Margaret. He married, secondly, Agnes Drummond. (*R.M.S.*, 26th July 1550.)

<sup>6</sup> His heir, Matthew Campbell.



doyn gyf I had beyn fra this besines ; bot I was heyr with all tham that I mycht gett on hors and fuit, that tha had na cumpany to haf cum with tham : prayng your grace to conseder the samyn, and that I sall mayk na excus for ony serves your grace wyll command me bot I salbe ever rady eftir my power and all myn to answer your grace charge. Ferder, I thynk to se yowr grace in Styrlyng on Fryday or Setterday<sup>1</sup> for my lord governour hes licent me to ga spek with my guid moder<sup>2</sup> quha has wrytyn effectosly to caus me cum owr and spek with hyr. And I haf seyn your grace wrytyngis to be in Styrlyng this Fryday, howbeyt it war veray necessair your grace presens in this town, to quham I recommend my humyll serves. At Edynborghe, the second day of May

• be your grace servituir

HEW CAMPBELL OF LOWDOUN.<sup>3</sup>

### CLXV

*Robert, Master of Boyd, to the Queen Dowager*

Dalkeith, 3rd May [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE

Mademe, efter maist humilie recommendationis and service one to your grace, quham plesit the samyn, my

<sup>1</sup> Friday, 5th, or Saturday, 6th May.

<sup>2</sup> The widow of the second Earl of Lennox (if she were the mother of Campbell's first wife) does not seem to appear on record after 1530. It is likely, therefore, that at the date of writing he had already married his second wife; and the 'guid moder' here referred to was Margaret Stewart, Lady Drummond of Innerpeffry. His second marriage had apparently drawn the Sheriff of Ayr into the Gordon-Catholic interest. The breach with Lennox and the English party seems to have taken place about November or December 1547. On 26th December Lennox petitioned Somerset for the abbey of Holywood, '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.' (*C.S.P.* i. 113.)

<sup>3</sup> Sir Hew Campbell, hereditary sheriff of Ayr, ancestor of the Earls of Loudoun. The letter is holograph.

lord of Angus desyrit me to cum at this tyme to niak offeris to the perty that I haif falyt onc to,<sup>1</sup> the quhilk I haif done and presentit the sam to the partye befor my lord governour and the consale, the quhilk offeris the lordis of consaile and the partye thocht bayth ressonable and is contentit with the sammyn. Nochtwithstanding, na thing that I can do may satesfy my lord governour to gif me my pece albeit the party be content, bot he wilbe party himself: <sup>2</sup> beseikand your grace to haif e to the mater for I sall rafer me to your grace aluterly as your grace pless to command. Ferthyr, quhat sted service my fadir and I and our freindis may, salbe reddy one to your grace as this berrer sall schaw, my cousing Alexander Somerwell,<sup>3</sup> to quhum ples your grace to gyf credence as one to my self. I will nocht inpesche your grace with na ferther writin; besekand Jesus preserf your grace in heill and prosperite. Writin at Dalketh the thrid day of Maij be  
your grace humyll servand at command

R. MESTER BOYD.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The writer may be alluding to a purely domestic controversy: more probably he refers to events of political significance. In June 1547 Boyd slew Sir Neil Montgomery of Langshaw in the streets of Irvine. Langshaw had arrogated to himself the management of the estates of the young Earl. A month before the murder the widowed Countess of Eglinton had bound herself by an obligation to be guided by the counsel of Robert, Master of Boyd. She was suspected of art and part in the murder, but was acquitted on 28th June 1547. (*Memorials of Montgomeries*, ii. 143, 144, 156.) The interest of the Governor and Angus may also be explained on grounds of policy. The late Earl of Eglinton had been pledged to support the Hamilton marriage scheme, while in April 1546 he, his heir, and Langshaw had subscribed a bond of mutual defence with Angus and Sir George Douglas. (*Ibid.* 139-141.)

<sup>2</sup> The Governor soon showed himself more complaisant. Peace must have been made before 13th March 1548-9, the date of a bond of manrent by Robert, Lord Boyd, to the Earl of Arran. (*Hist. MSS. Commis., Hamilton Report*, 39.)

<sup>3</sup> Robert, fourth Lord Boyd, the writer's father, married Helen Somerville, daughter of Sir John Somerville of Cambusnethan. (*S.P.* v. 155.)

<sup>4</sup> Robert, afterwards fifth Lord Boyd. The Peerage had been forfeited in 1469, but was restored between 22nd November 1545 and 17th November 1546. (*S.P.* v. 144, 154.)

Only the signature is autograph.

## CLXVI

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Methven, 8th May [1548].

TO THE QUENNIS GRAICE

Madem, pleis your graice the erll of Huntlie has dissirit the erll of Sothirland to cum to Ingland and speik wyth him ;<sup>1</sup> quhar of the erll of Sothirland is rycht displessit and will nocht pas nor will haif na traist nor intelligens wyth Ingland. He will nocht schaw this playnlie to ony person uther than to your graice. Alsua I wait he is and wilbe your graice servand and do his hail power to the wele of our soverane lady and the common weill of this realm, and will nocht be brokin therfra. Herfor your graice suld do for him and now anent his takkis,<sup>2</sup> quhilkis is bot an small mater in respect of the service he ma do, that your graice wilbe speciall pryncis and mastres to him and that he ma fynd your graice do the samyn ; quhilkis your graice gettand to him, I sall adres efterwart all thingis to your graice intent ;—and the may[r] greit men the bettyr. I haif nocht schawin him ony thing pertenant sacret nor will nocht quhill I spek first wyth your graice, bot I sall, will God, thar efter do all as your graice wald.<sup>3</sup> Ples your graice that nayne se this writing

<sup>1</sup> There had been official relations and long intercourse between the two Earls, and they fought together at Pinkie. (See charters in *Sutherland Book*.) Sutherland was Lieutenant north of Spey in June 1547. (*Sutherland Book*, iii. 106.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably a reference to the tacks of Moray. A clash of interests in this matter led to a temporary estrangement from Huntly.

<sup>3</sup> Three months later Sutherland was still wavering between the French and the English parties. On 28th August Patrick, Lord Gray, wrote to Somerset that the Earl seemed 'of good mind to the King's godly purpose,' and advised that he should be bribed. For 'other matters' he referred to Luttrell's letters. (*C.S.P.* i. 323.) He was in the end secured to the Dowager's interests by a bond of manrent in return for being received as her tenant in the earldom of Ross. Dated at Edinburgh, 20th February 1548-9. (*Sutherland Book*, iii. 107 ; *Inventory of State Papers*, 52 A, cf. subsequent letters.)

bot your self; and almychty God keip your grace. Of  
Methven, this viij day of May

be your grace maist humell and obcdient servitour

HENRY LORD METHVEN.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M. de Metfan.]

## CLXVII

*Lord Grey of Wilton to Sir John Luttrell*

Haddington, 11th May [1548].

TO MY LOVING FRENDE SIR JOHNE LUTTRELL KNIGHT,  
CAPTANE OF THE KINGIS MAJE[S]TIES FORTES AT  
BORTHIE.

Hast, hast, hast, hast,  
post hast with all dilligence.

Mr. Luttrell, after my most hartie commendacons I have ageane and ageane perused your demaundes, wherin albeit I am in redynes as the father to his sune to satisfie your full request; yet bothe we must inclyne our selves to have right and reasonable considerations, bothe of the suffitiencie of every thinge and the present tyme. You ar so appointed of your nedefull furnytwres as, preservinge them untill the nede, and makinge the best shift (after the warlike sorte) that in you liethe to do for all thingis ther to be had, which cannott be sent hence (espetically after this present tyme, bycause we dare not nor may not adventure on the seas with victuallers or passengers, the French flete beinge owerlie loked for),<sup>2</sup> you may be well in swertie aganst all eventis. Therfor, good Mr. Luttrell, accounte onlie of that you have. If alredye ther be not cume to you with fyve hundreth poundis aswell sutch planges<sup>3</sup> as other thingis that we may forbere to your helpe, they ar to cume with your awne man; after receipt wherof you

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> The French navy left Brest on 20th May, and sailed into the Forth about 12th June. (Beaugué; *T.A.* ix. 204.)

<sup>3</sup> *planges*: ? planks, cf. planched, planchen. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

must fully resolve not to loke for any further support in the tynie that hertofore hathe bene prescribed to you, but trust to the present store and your awne shift. Thus right hartelie fare you well. From Haddington,<sup>1</sup> the xjth of Maie

Your assured frend

WYLLYIM GREY.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : A letter sent to me frome the lorde Gray of Ynglond datyd the xi of Maye. ]

### CLXVIII

*Grey of Wilton to Luttrell*

Haddington, 19th May 1548.

TO MY LOVING FRENDE SIR JOHN LUTTRELL KNIGHT,  
CAPTANE OF THE FORTIS AT BORTHIE.

Hast, hast, hast, hast,  
post hast with all dilligence possyble.

Mr. Luttrell, after my harticst commendacons I here howe ye ofte call when of any thing ye have lacke there, and yet for the conveyance therof I se not that ye take care any whyt; for, having depeched unto you suche necessaries as ye complayned to wante, and the same beyng taken, I cannot thinke but the remedy had bene in yow with your boote which my Lordis grace heth appoynted to remayne there and have allowance eyther to have reskewed the ship taken, or in the hoole jorney to have served for a wafter to the same—for the which assuer you it is ment she shall serve, aswell as for the transportinge of lettres. I praye you, when ye sende for any thing lett your boote be so in redynes as it maye appeare she is lefte there for some purpose. And so

<sup>1</sup> Haddington had been fortified to dominate the Lothians after its occupation by Grey in the previous February. (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 46; *C.S.P. i. ad indices.*)

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

right hartely fare ye well. From Haddington, the xixth.  
of Maye 1548.

Your lovinge frende

WYLLYAM GREY.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* ; Frome my lord Grey of Ynglond datyd the  
xix of Maye 1548.]

### CLXIX

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Cupar, 22nd May [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE.

Madem, efter all hummill commendatioun of service  
ples your graice I resavit your graice writing fra master  
William Steward<sup>2</sup> this xxij day of May. I sall do the  
best I can to consall the erll of Sotherland ws him wysle  
and always to your graice plesour :—and siclyk all utheris  
that I ma one way haif creditt to sa unto, wyth all service  
I ma possibill evir. And ferther, ples your graice to thir  
effectis to gif credens to master William Steward ; and the  
eternell God conserve your grace. Of Couper this day be  
youris grace maist humell and obedient servitour

HENRY LORD METHVEN.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M. de Meffan.]

### CLXX

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Methven, 1st June [1548].

TO THE QUENNIS GRACE.

Madem, eftir all hummill service pleis your graice I  
haif spokin wyth the erll of Sotherland your graice trew

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the brother or cousin of the writer.

<sup>3</sup> A holograph letter, in a careless hand as if written in haste.

servitour, and he has promyttit to do his utir delygens in thay partis for gud rewill and concord, and to caus all the folkis be in armour and wappines and to sarve the autorite. And he has sic confidens in your graice that he belevis na person sall get the takkis of Mwrray uther than him self,<sup>1</sup> and sen your graice has evir ussit greit wisdom and don evir for the commoun weill persever; and trewille, madem, I assur your graice it is mair the commoun weill your graice dispon thay takkis to the erll of Sotherland nor till ony utheris. And howbeit he be my gud son,<sup>2</sup> I writ to your graice the best for the weill of tha cuntrayis and weill of your graice honour and service. Madem, as to my lord of Argail I traist ther is nayn in this realm that is sa greitlie gevin to sarve your graice and my lord governour trewille and substantiouslie, quhilk wilbe understand perfitle to your grace. I am gudle informyt that he spairis nother landis nor guddis to draw all the legis in all partis to concord and to be abill to cum to the army,<sup>3</sup> as ferther my lord of Cowper<sup>4</sup> your graice rycht trew servitour wil mayr largele inform your grace; and inlyk wys of all utheris thingis in thir partis. Quhat service I can or may is evir at command

<sup>1</sup> Sutherland claimed the tacks of Moray by right of his first wife, Lady Elizabeth Campbell, widow of the Earl of Moray. (*Sutherland Book*, i. 105, and *n.*) On 12th August 1548, he had a letter of tacks of the Countess's tere of the earldom of Moray and lordship of Abermethy for the space of six years. (*Register of Privy Seal*, xxii. f. 90.)

<sup>2</sup> Sutherland was the stepson of the writer. Lord Methven was the third husband of Janet Stewart, the Earl's mother, who was the eldest daughter of the second Earl of Athol.

<sup>3</sup> Argyle's loyalty was 'heichly suspectit,' not without reason, by the Dowager and Governor at this time. (*C.S.P.* i. 202.) His conduct at Dundee in January had not been reassuring; and since then Luttrell and particularly Patrick, Lord Gray, had continued to make overtures to him on behalf of Somerset. Doubtless the Earl's arrival with his army at Haddington on 2nd July was matter of much satisfaction to the government, for even at that date his coming was 'contrary to all mens expectations.' (*Ibid.* 274.)

<sup>4</sup> Donald Campbell, Abbot of Cupar, was uncle of Argyle and also of Elizabeth, the first wife of Sutherland. On 6th March a conference had been held at Cupar Abbey between an English agent and Argyle in presence of the Abbot of Cupar, Lord Methven and others to 'coloure the matter' of secret negotiations. (*Ibid.* 192.)

of your graice. Of Methven, this first of Junij. The eternell God conserve your grace evyrmair.

be your grace mast humill and obedient servitour

HENRY LORD METHVEN.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M. de Meffan.]

CLXXI

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

[c. May-July 1548 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, I wreitt to yowr grace affoir with my servand and is hartlye myscontentit to hawe so neidfull occasione to molest yowr grace with my pwre adverseteis, quhilk I am constranit do, haweand na wthyr, ondyr God, for my releiff,—for only, beand weill rememberit, the occasione off all this trebill I swstyne is my laboris and attendence to hycht besynes concernyng this Realm and my pwre hows, and hes mellit sa far thairin that I cwld nocht retyre me from daly service bwt tynsell off my procedyng and jopart off my honour, quhilk hed alwayis bene owt off recowerance wer nocht yowr grace help. And in this myn tym my pwre leyffyng wes possest with my com-peditour,<sup>2</sup> and can hawe na apoinctement:<sup>3</sup> that now am I onhabill to obtyn possession without greitt incon-venience, far les abill to await on service, for gyf I pas northrt to obtyn possession it salbe occasione to hald syndry frome yowr grace service, quha, beand nocht will

<sup>1</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Stewart and others were summoned to underlie the law on 30th April 1548, for 'taking and detaining from Mr. Alexander Gordoun, Postulate of Caithness, the House and Place of Scrabister: AND for seizing upon the fruits, teinds and other emoluments of THE BISHOPRIC OF CAITHNES: AND for breaking THE QUEEN'S Protection granted to the said Mr. Alexander, his servants and tenants of the said Bishopruck.' (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i\* 337.)

<sup>3</sup> In April he had been confident of making terms with his rival; but Stewart, being in possession, was perhaps not so willing to come to an agreement.



mynddit, wald be glaid off that occasione. And wanttane my leyffing, I hawe nocht to awaite on service, quhilk, gyf I mycht do, I wer sewr off reward; or, gyf I mycht with your grace wrettingis obtyn the kyngis grace presence or be fwrnyst therto, I dowe nocht releiff. In gud fayth, Madame, I hawe rowine my self sa far at oudyr that I may nether fwrnys me self to serve, nor sic remeid quhar it may be hed. Swa that, trewly, better wittit men nor I mycht abill syk gretair inconvenience [*sic*], beand at this poinet, nor I sall, God willyng; asswerand your grace I gatt offeris at my last beyng in England<sup>1</sup> to hawe cawsit ane pwre man hyr, bot always that adversete nor feir of deid sall never cum to me that sall gar me offend your grace nor my honour: for, suppois powyrty banys me your grace service, ryches sall nocht caus me offend. Wald God my pwissance wer conforme to my will. Bot werst off all, thoct I wald waire my self to obtyn honor, I want substance to pwtt me therto. Exorting your grace aperdon my hardines in my familiar wrettyng, quhelk procedis only off affection to do your grace service. And gyf your grace pleis lat me know your will and mynd, I sall yit do diligence to fwill the samin, and wthyrways salbe na way offend.

Prayand almychtye God, efter my maist hw[m]bill commendatione off hartlye service, preserve your nobill grace in lang haill and wyffair. Wrettyng by the hand off your grace maist hwmyll and maist obedient servitour

CAITHNES.<sup>2</sup>

## CLXXII

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Methven, 3rd June [1548].

TO THE QUENNIS GRACE.

Madem, eftir all hummill service pleis your graice I have promittit to your graice service trewille quhilkis I

<sup>1</sup> Probably his visit to his brother in May. Cf. No. CLXII.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

think to kep, and to that effect sall evir be playn unto your graice efter my understanding. I haif freyndis in all partis in this realm, at quhom I haif maid delygent lawbouris to haif intelligens quhat is the caus that Inglis men is fawvorit and the auttorite nocht obeyit nor servit. I fynd ther is sum prynsipall thingis quhilkis is the caussis. In the first, part of the legis has tayne new apoyntionis of the scriptour and has don agan the law and ordinance of haly kirk. Secundlie, utheris the legis has for feyr—tham on bordouris and dry merchis, and utheris apone the schoirris of the sey or burrows apone the se of this realm—for safty of tham, thar wyf barnis and guddis has fawvorit and beyn famylliar and assistit to Inglis. Thridly, otheris of the legis has throw insolence and regard of particular prophet has assistit and tayne part wyth Inglis. Ferdly, utheris the legis has apone leis<sup>1</sup> understanding and inprudentialie tayne consait that thai mycht leif at mair quyatnes and justice under the Inglis nor our awn natioun. And becaus thir sort of personis is an greit nombyr thai think and this realm cum till an stabill way, thay and ilk an off tham wilbe pwnest according to justice; and till eschew and pwt by justice tha think mair souer is to tham that this realm be nevir at perfit hwnyte nor at perfit justice, for dreddour of thair pwnissioun. And for remeid herof, and to caus all thir personis to be of luf trewilly to sarve the attorite and be faithfull subjectis and obdyent, your graice to remembir how the kingis graice, quhom God assolze, your spous, seand the greit men and uther the legis standand in feyr of justice for falttis and crymmis don in his mynorite, gaif tham ane fre remessioun be ane act of parlyament;<sup>2</sup> quhilkis apperandly war presentle best to be don.

Madem, I traist that thir caussis was the tynsall of the jeornay<sup>3</sup> of Penke in an grait part, and misordour of the

<sup>1</sup> *leis*: ? deficient.

<sup>2</sup> Act of general remission to all except the Douglasses and their accomplices, 10th December 1540. (*A.P.* ii. 363.)

<sup>3</sup> *jeornay*: battle. (French, *journee*, a day's work; a battle.) It was Huntly's opinion, as given to Selve, that the defeat of the Scots was due to the

army, and our greit haist but ordour. Madem, best is all gud wayis and gud dress be maid in dew tym that be apperance ma put feyr fra the legis and mak unyte and concurrans. Madem, I besek your graice, as ye luf the weill of our soverane lady your self and the common weill of this realm, to tak tent herto and to be avysit wyth the ambassadour and monsieur la Schappell;<sup>1</sup> and gif it ples your grace, to schaw to tham ilk part herof. Madem, alswa conform to my promes of trew service I man advertice your grace of all utheris thinkis that apperandlie is to be don: The lordis that is greit men and uther lordis and barronis to be cherisit fawvorable wyth your graic and wyth all the prynsippall men of gud quhay that cummis out of France heyr, for the nater of this pepill is of this realm; first to be gentillie don to, and that tha persaif luf and all gudnes in the kingis graice of Francc. And als this realm is pwyr and the greit men can na way beyr greit expens of thar awn leving. All greit men in this realm has, and utheris efter thair greis has, folkis to sarve tham in thair awn bowndis but ony mone bot allanerly gud tretim and greit housse to be haldin of daly expens ordynar of meyt and drynk; bot to remayn lang out of thair awn boundis upon thair awn expenssis thai ma na way do the samyn wythout tha be suppleyt and helpit be substance. I traist tha ma abid wyth thar vittellis brocht wyth tham for schort tym; and fra that be gayn and spendit tha may nocht tary but help.

Madem, as to my self your graice kennis the greit service I maid to the kingis heynes umquhill your spous, quhay has rewardit me gif he had levit, and sen his deces, to your grace and my lord governour, and ther throw super-expensdit greitly; and how I haif an sobir leving and als how I am subject to sum infermyte of gravail, and dolour

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over-precipitancy of the Governor in forcing an engagement; whereas, if they had followed his advice to temporise a little, a sure victory was within their grasp. (Selve, 218.)

<sup>1</sup> M. de la Chapelle, treasurer of the French troops. He had arrived with the expeditionary force in the previous December. (*C.S.P.* i. 271; Selve, 249, etc.)

of stayn, as I trast quhar throw I ma nocht gudly awayt  
 apoun lawbouris and service and I ma nocht gudly be daly  
 resedent in your grace service, I think I man writ oft and  
 hamille as your awn sobir servitour, concernyng all sic  
 materis and effeiris as I can think for the weill of our  
 soverane lady your grace and the commoun weill of this  
 realm. And efter, as I fynd ony advertysing gud to writ  
 to your graice, I sall do the samyn. The eternell God  
 conserve your graice. Of Methven, this thrid of Junij

be youris graice mast humill and obedyent servitour

HENRY LORD METHVEN.<sup>1</sup>

Madem, word was at Brochty thre dayis passit that this  
 arttalzery suld away, of quhilk tha<sup>2</sup> ar exseding blyth.  
 The toun of Pertht and all this cuntray is in dispar and  
 sayis planly that an part of the France army suld be ferst  
 in this watter of Tay or this gret arttalzery war had away,  
 quhilkis was thar hail hoip and lippining of deffence.  
 Alsua, madam, the erle Argaill had and has the charg  
 to answer for this arttalzery, and is requyrit he had ben  
 warnyt; quhai I wayt wilbe glad and tha wair his awn  
 to sped tham to your grace. Avice herupon, and as your  
 grace advertiss agan, salbe don wyth all delygence.

[*Endorsed*: M. de Meffan.]

### CLXXIII

*Grey of Wilton to Sir John Luttrell*

Haddington, 4th June 1548.

Mr. Luttrell, after my right hartie commendacons I am  
 presentlie advertised, not for lite intellygence but for  
 assured, bothe that it is fully prefixd amonge the Skottes  
 that sume one of them havinge lybertie therunto by your  
 over greate famylyaritie, shulde at a soden slee you with  
 a dagger; and that the French ar throughlie resolved at

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> *tha*: the English. It is clear from the Exchequer accounts that the Scottish government was concentrating its attention and military resources upon Haddington. (Cf. *C.S.P.* i. 256.)

ther first arryvall<sup>1</sup> in Skotland to bende the sege to that pece. Wherfor, for the swir advoydinge or preventinge of the firste, it stondinge not only uppon your awne perill but also uppon the kingis maje[s]tes honor, I do espetially requyer and admonyshe you that with sutch wares or forecite you order your self with them as, doinge their worste, they shulde not be able to damage you beinge so well warned aforehand, neyther that vainly sekinge to accomplishe ther purpose, they shulde so finely cover the matter but you mought discover their intention by sume further tryall. And for the secunde, I praie you, as before I have, staye your self holy uppon the furnytwres you have, or in the meane tyme by your self may acqyre in those parties, lokinge for the sharpe sege, leste in tyme of your wante you shuld be remedyles through present hope of further releaf from hense, whan it shall not perchance lye in my power to geve it you. Wherfor, good Mr. Luttrell, receayve this for a fynall admonytion in bothe pointes, and, as I know you have reason and discretion for the same, acqyte your self vigelauntlie. And thus right hartely fare you well. From Haddingtoun, the iiij<sup>t</sup> of June 1548.

Your assured frend

WILLIAM GREY.<sup>2</sup>

#### CLXXIV

##### *Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Methven, 10th June [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madem, efter all humell service pleis be advertissit this x day of Junij I resavit my lord governouris writing and

<sup>1</sup> This was the expeditionary force that was being sent to the assistance of the Scots, along with the embassy which was to convoy Queen Mary to France. Grey reported, on 17th June, that eight 'galleys went on Thursday to Borthie Crag, . . . but are returned to Leith.' Their real objective was Haddington, where d'Essé, the Lieutenant-general, had arrived about 26th June. (*C.S.P.* i. 248, 260.)

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

my lord of Dunkeld writing dissirand me haist the arttalzery. Madem, Duncan Dundas<sup>1</sup> cum heyr apon Tuisday the v day of Junij and departit the Wednesday next thereafter, the vj day of Junij, and I caussit begin and yolk of my awn oxin xiiij<sup>xx</sup> and caussit draw the arttalzery throw my boundis and throw the lord Ruthven bowndis to gif gud exempill to the laif of the barronis [to] do syklyk. Madem, howbeit I wrait unto your grace and to my lord governour to inform of the comfort of the enymeyis and the discomfourt of the legis and als how resun requyrit that the erll Argail<sup>2</sup> suld haif discharg and requyrit that I had discharg becaus I gaif the erll Argail my hand writ of resait of the arttalzery. Yet nochtwythstanding I ussit and caus ws all delygens in maner forsaid, and on the next day ayrl efter I resayt charg and that Duncan Dundas cum, the arttalzery departit fra me. Madem, it is rycht lamentable and displesand till ony trew hart that has don gret service and evir remanand still and thinkis, will God, to do trew staid and aw of na creator for my lawte to serff weill and get nother thank nor yet luf nor reward. Madem, I meyn nocht this be your grace bot be my lord governour quhom unto I haif writin his wikednes, for I haif ben and thinkis to be als trew as him self \*saffand his estait and gree\* all uther wayis. Besekand your grace mast humelle to excus me that I ma na uther wais do bot evir to be playn unto your grace; and the eternell God conserve your grace evirmayr. Of Methven, this x day of Junij

be youris grace maist obedient and humell servitour

HENRY LORD METHVEN.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Expenses were paid on 3rd June to Duncan Dundas 'upoun the carying of tua cannones and ane moyane furth of Methwen to Perth and fra thyne to Edinburgh.' Boats were also provided for the transit of the artillery. (*T.A.* ix. 198, 203.)

<sup>2</sup> On 23rd June it was reported in English quarters that Argyle would not join the Scots army 'but keeps his own country.' (*Addenda*, 386.)

\* \* saving his estate and degree.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph, with various corrections.

## CLXXV

*Somerset and Council to Luttrell*

Somerset Place, 12th June 1548.

TO OUR LOVING FREND SIR JOHN LUTTRELL, KNIGHT,  
CAPTEN OF BORTHY CRAGG

D. TO MR. STONEHOUSE.

[The Council write to notify Luttrell of certain matters which they wish to be reformed.] One thyng is caws of more unwillyng and unredie service : that is that you do not order your Lieutenant Mr. Nydigate<sup>1</sup> who is a man that hath paynfully servid the kyngis highnes acording as you ought to, but leave the same so mych as lieth in you without credit or estymacon, and divers tymes call awaie all his sowdieris and leave the peace wherof he hath the charge in maner destitut and bare, so that he is in maner discouraged therbie to serve. We do earnestly requyre you, if the said informacion be trew in any wise, to se these thyngis amended that hereafter no such occasion be given. And as you wold have the travaill and authoritie to be in estimacion, so likewise to impart to other under you or with you apoynted ther dew estima[t]ion and authoritie. And when you are absent not only to suffer, but also to sie, that the sowldiare obey and esteeme your said lieutenant as thei well do your self present : And that you do not leave the charge commytted unto hym so unfurnyssed at eny tyme that he should not be able to give the kyngis majestie a good accompte therof ; as we do not dowt your wisdom doth consyder most necessaire to be done. And for the more conforting of the said Mr. Nudygate, ye shall understand that we

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<sup>1</sup> 'Nedegate, Captain of the *Mary Hambrough*' had served at Broughty under Dudley, and was commended for 'honest service' on 20th December 1547. (*C.S.P.* i. 106.)

have written unto hym shewing that so it is our pleasure ; willyng hym nevertheles to use towards you all such maner of dew honour and obedyence in all thyngis at commandment as is most conwenyent for him to thadvauncement of the kyngis maje[s]teis service.

[They are warned both to be careful lest their dissensions should prove prejudicial 'to the kyngis highnes service.' It is essential that in all contingencies there should be some one man in authority 'able to tak the hole charge' and to command the 'awe and reverence' of the soldiers.]

We are also enformed that the vitayle and cole is so spoiled and taken with disordre that the kyngis majeste is nothyng acordyngly answerid therof; wherfore we eftsones requyre and pray yow, and in eny wise will and commaunde yow to take ordrc that there be a clark apoyntid who shall have the full charge of all such vitailles and coles that the kyngis majestie may be full aunswerid therof, and none deliverid to the sowldiaris without the captanis warraunt for his discharge, that it may be so defalkid of the treasurer at the payment of the wagis.

And for stowage and uther tymber, altho we have often written unto you to send away the Allmaynes, the keypyng of whom and the loss of Donde <sup>1</sup> hath not only bene great charge and vayn cost to the kyngis majestie, but also a great encoragement to the Scottis, and occasion of all the tornyng of ther force this wais: and yet we have no word of thAlmaignes retornyng. Wherefor we eftsones and strenghtly will and require you not onely to send away those Almaignes but also all other, levyng only suche as be necessary and not superfluous to the keypyng of that pece, so that the lesse vitaille may serve you; and in no wise to attempt eny encontre, skirmish, or do eny thyng to thadventure of eny of your fort, and therefore we do

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<sup>1</sup> The English had abandoned the fortification of Dundee between 7th and 19th March. (C.S.P. i. 186, 196.)



not se what neid you \* . . . \* of horsemen. [For the present year he is to make the best shift he may with the fewest possible men, so as to cut down expenses. The writers have ordered that he should have speedily 'so mych as is necessary.']

From Somerset Place, the xii day of Jun 1548

Your lovyng friends

E. SOMERSET.

W. SAINT JOHN.

J. RUSSELL.

J. WARWYK.

H. ARUNDELL.

F. SHREWSBURY.

THOMAS

SOUTHAMPTON.<sup>1</sup>

## CLXXVI

### *Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Camp at Haddington, Thursday, 4 A.M. [5th July 1548].

TO THE QUENNIS GRAICE.

Pleis your graice

This Wednesday the suthwest bastalze condamnit that na defence is maid in it : the bastalze at the Freir kirk all brokin except an litill part to the west : the meid bastalze apoun ther tren[c]he at the west part, the an half of the gabionis<sup>2</sup> and a part of the bastalze dwng away ; the

\*\* The page is torn here.

<sup>1</sup> The signatures are autograph. The signatories are :—

Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset.

Sir William Paget, Lord St. John, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Marquis of Winchester.

John, Lord Russell, first Earl of Bedford.

John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland.

Henry FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel.

Francis Talbot, fifth Earl of Shrewsbury.

There are many clerical alterations in the manuscript and no trace of the seal remains. The words to *Sir Johnne Luttrell* are inscribed in a minute hand, in the bottom left-hand corner of the first page.

<sup>2</sup> *gabionis*: wickerwork baskets filled with earth.

north west trencht is condemnit all except the roum that an small peice lyis in, quhilkis I trast salbe condamyt all this day. Daly and nychtlie is at all ouris carmosche of hakbuttis. Thai ussit<sup>1</sup> nocht sen Tuisday efter non. This nycht continwall carmosche fra the sun past till this day at iiij in the morning wyth hakbuttis ;<sup>2</sup> and all nycht all our greit artallzery lawborit and has dong the tolbutht and reft an pece that lay betuix it and the kirk of the freyris. This nycht our peonaris has wroucht owr tryncht wythin ferty futtis to thar trinsche that is rycht befor that meid bastalze. Ther is v<sup>c</sup> workmen to cum out of the gallions to cast this nycht in the trensche. I trast this nycht salbe sein mair besynes to the Inglis men, or ellis the morn at the furrist. I beleif that few Inglis has sleppit this last xxiiij houris in speciall. Tha mak greit defence on thar fassun, and trewille tha haif fortefeit the toun in greit sort at the begining, and in the nycht workis as tha may. I put na dout thay will tyn the toun hastile. This Wednesday lait an Scottis boy com out at the est port of the toun and is haldin, quhilkis sayis Wilstrop the principall capiden<sup>3</sup> is slayn, and his lyutenent bayth ; nocht the les thar is na credeit gevin therto. Madem, thar is Scottis men quhilkis spak wyth part of tham wythout owr thar trenchis, quhilkis my lord governour has caussit tak, quhay sayis thay ar all in deidly feyr and wald randyr bagsaif and livis and nocht to be haldin as preso[n]aris. Bot ther is no dout of the wyning of [the] town and all therintill,<sup>4</sup> will God, quhay conserve your

<sup>1</sup> *ussit* : ? issued. *Usche*, issue.

<sup>2</sup> *wyth hakbuttis* : these words have been inserted in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> Sir James Wilforth, the English captain of Haddington. From the false and exaggerated report of this 'Scottis boy' it would appear that he was an English agent. It was part of the plan of the besieged to 'win time' by deceiving the enemy with false news. (*C.S.P.* i. 359.)

<sup>4</sup> These optimistic anticipations were ill-founded. The French threw away the favourable opportunity for assault in order to accomplish what they considered the more important object of concluding the marriage treaty. (*Ibid.* 280-4.) In spite of some French successes, succour was thrown into Haddington ; dissensions arose between the French and the Scots, and the Scots forces began to melt away.

grace evir. Of the camp this fersday at iiij houris arly.

Your grace mast humill and obedient servitour  
METHVEN.<sup>1</sup>

The boy sayis ther is on Tuisday and We[dn]isday last ii<sup>c</sup> men slayn wyth our artallzery.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed*: M. de Mestafan.]

## CLXXVII

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 17th July [1548].

TO THE QUENNIS GRACE.

Maden, this xvj day of Julij the cannonis was reterit fra the seg be command of Monsur Dasse.<sup>3</sup> He remanys still yet at the seg, and daly and nychtly the carmosche cassis nocht. Mone slayn in the toun, and part of France men. The France men and Count Rangraif<sup>4</sup> wald haif givin the sout, and Monsieur Dasse of gud mynd therto, and the hour of the sout effext.<sup>5</sup> In the present tym the word com be post out of Ingland at xij houris in the nycht that the lord Gray wyth an greit army wes apoun Coldingam mwr,<sup>6</sup> xvij myllis fra Hadington, and than it was con-

<sup>1</sup> A holograph letter, apparently written on the morning of 5th July. Two days later the Dowager herself was present in the parliament held in the monastery of Haddington when the marriage contract between Queen Mary and the Dauphin was concluded by the Estates. (*A.P.* ii. 481.)

<sup>2</sup> This postscript is written longwise, in the margin.

<sup>3</sup> André de Montalembert, Seigneur d'Essé, Lieutenant-general of the French troops in Scotland.

<sup>4</sup> The Rhinegrave, Philippe-François of the house of Salm, a captain of German mercenaries, then in the service of France. In the winter of 1546-7 he had been in negotiations to sell his services to Somerset. (*Selve*, 46, 65, 84.)

<sup>5</sup> Fixed for Saturday, 14th July. Contentions broke out between the Governor and d'Essé over military proceedings, 'and the Scots so wearied of it, that 1000 stале from the field' on Sunday morning. (*C.S.P.* i. 290, 292.)

<sup>6</sup> Lord Grey was advancing with reinforcements to Coldingham and the Pease during the week-end, Saturday to Monday, 14th to 16th July. (*Ibid.* 292, 293.)

siderit that gif the sowt wer givin that thai mycht nocht eschaip greit slachtyr, and bettir was and mayr gud aperance to conteneu the sawt and to mak for battall. And apou that purpos the greit arttalzery was reterit to Leith and Edinbrught, and the small arttalzery remanand still in the camp. Alswa the Scottis army was departit, and my lord governour was na greit company.<sup>1</sup> This day the erle Sotherland and the northtland folkis departis of Edinbrogh to the camp,—xvjc men, and, as tha say, ma is cummand. I com to this toun yestren wyth the greit arttalzery and caussit cary sex cannons of Monsieur Dasses to Leyth, and, wile God, I depart to the camp the morn ayrlly. I put all the gret arttalry in redynes that quhen it chargit [*sic*] to cum forward agan Monsour Dasse wile yett sowt the toun,<sup>2</sup> quhilke he sad to the beschop Dunkeld and to me. Ther is a vote passand that the lord Gray has reterit to Berwyk to get ma folkis, and intendis to send part of lycht hors to refresche the toun.<sup>3</sup> I trast all salbe the bettyr that your grace be heyr.<sup>4</sup> God almychty consarv your grace evir. Of Edinbrugh, this xvij day of Julij.

Your grace mast humill and obedyent servitour

METHVEN.<sup>5</sup>

Monsieur Dasse will camp still and intendis nocht to reteyr, and my lord governour siklyk.

[*Endorsed* : M. de Meffan.]

<sup>1</sup> On 13th July Somerset was informed that 'the Scots "skale apace." Argyll is gone but promises to return with northland men.' (*Ibid.* 290.) On the 17th it was said that the Governor had only 300 men. (*Addenda*, 391.)

<sup>2</sup> Somerset was informed, on 15th July, that the French 'await Argyll's and the Northland men coming next Wednesday, before assault.' (*C.S.P.* i. 292.) Van Der Delft, the Imperial Resident in London, considered it likely that the 'withdrawal of the French was from the first nothing but a ruse intended to draw the English into an ambuscade.' (*Cal. of Span. Papers*, 1547-9, 289-90.)

<sup>3</sup> The English force was routed by the French on 17th July, the date of this letter. (*C.S.P.* i. 293.)

<sup>4</sup> The Dowager had gone to Dumbarton on the 13th to see to her daughter's departure for France. (*Ibid.* 290.)

<sup>5</sup> The letter is holograph.

## CLXXVIII

*The Commendator of Dryburgh to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, Wednesday [c. July-August, 1548 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

It will ples your grace I ressavit your gracis wrettyng prayng me to remane that wtheris suld nocht have occasione to remuff throw my ratiryng.<sup>1</sup> I do marwell your grace suld pray me be your wrettyng, consydering your grace knawis I wes ewer obedient at your gracis command. As your grace hes commandit me I sall solyst the nobill men here present to remane at wtermaist of my power. As for wther besenes now present my lord Seytone<sup>2</sup> will schaw your grace better nor I can wryt to your grace, assurand yow that, gyf my lyklie purpos beis tane here for the commone weill of this realme, I sall care als long and be als redde to it as any gentill man in Scotland sall. And quhair your grace wryttis twchand my expensis, I do nocht remember that I wryt ony syk to your grace, albeid in werrate I am at greit cost and expensis in this present tyme, refarryng all to your gracis discretione. And God have your grace in kepene. At Edinbrought, this Wednesday at ewin be

your gracis obeisand serwitour

DRIBRUGHT.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He had probably retired with the 'Scottis army' about 16th July. Cf. preceding letter.

<sup>2</sup> George, fourth Lord Seton, died on 17th July 1549. (*S.P.* viii. 583.) As his daughter went in the train of the Queen of Scots to France, he had possibly accompanied the Dowager to Dumbarton.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

## Nos. CLXXIX-CCXXVII: INTRODUCTORY

THE letters in this section cover the second period of the war of the marriage of the Queen of Scots, extending from August 1548 until the inclusion of Scotland in the Peace of Boulogne, in March-April 1550. It is seen that, with the passing of the months, this becomes more and more a war of exhaustion and disillusionment. At the very outset Campbell of Loudoun complains of the difficulty of raising forces, and matters did not improve as time went on. [Nos. CLXXIX, CCXXV.]

Happily, however, the enemy was in much similar plight. Somerset found, too late, that the Queen of Scots could not be wooed by 'effusioun of blood,' nor the countries bound in unity by force of arms. He had committed himself so far, however, that to retreat was dangerous, if not impossible, for one in his perilous position. England ran the risk of being strangled in the grip of an encircling Stewart-Valois monarchy. Somerset's reply to the Treaty of Haddington was, therefore, to advance the feudal claim to the overlordship of Scotland; and so the war entered into an intenser phase.

Sir John Luttrell, writing in November 1548, gives expression to the new and uncompromising state of things; 'for frome hence forwarde ther ys no hope of any practys for fryndshyp to be mynystryde, butt rather an extreame plage with fyar and soorde which shall reduce them to povertye and submyssyone.' [No. CXCI.]

Yet the very letter which ends on this note of optimistic assurance is also a bill of complaint about his destitution and precarious situation. At the outset of the war Broughty Crag had been occupied by the English to

dominate Fife, Dundee and Perth, as well as to provide a centre for the propagation of Somerset's 'godly purpose' by means of intrigue with the political and religious malcontents of those hotbeds of unrest. It is, however, made sufficiently clear from the Correspondence that the prosecution of the war was a serious drain upon the resources of the English government.

Thus, it was obviously a qualification that the Captain of Broughty should be able to maintain at his own expense suitable 'forniture' and 'a handsom bande of fotemenn.' [Nos. CXCVI, CCXVI.] He might seek to reimburse himself by assessing ransoms upon his prisoners 'conform to the law of armis' [No. CLXXXI], or by engaging upon private enterprises as opportunity occurred. [No. CCXV.] Again, as early as August 1548 Clinton sent to Luttrell 'the best' of the soldiers at his disposal, 'but,' he significantly adds, 'I thinke they have bene lytill trandyd in the warres.' [No. CLXXX.]

For the Captain of Broughty, indeed, as for Somerset, each in his own degree, the Scottish war was an unfortunate speculation. Luttrell could not sustain the contest single-handed, and the Protector was constrained to leave him largely to his own resources. It is significant that, although Broughty had just been the centre of the enemy's attack, the general was nevertheless straitly commanded in January 1548-9 to disband the German mercenaries who 'in vayne spend the kyngis mony and treasure,' and himself to 'lie there as you were ded for the while.' [No. CXCIV.] Whatever truth was in the charge that Luttrell was improvident, reckless and unwary, the real root of the trouble was at headquarters, in the embarrassments of Somerset's administration. The difficulties of the government are indirectly reflected in the various changes of appointment in the Scottish command. Thus Grey of Wilton was withdrawn to put down domestic insurrections,

while in August the resources of the government were further dissipated by the formal declaration of hostilities between France and England. Luttrell, accordingly, left to his own devices, could but present a defiant front to the enemy, and carry on a sporadic warfare from his isolated stronghold.

As early as November 1548 he deplored that the 'grett imperfecetyon' of the fort was such that 'thenneymye . . . shall fynd hytt fallen downe redy to ther handys.' [No. CXCI.] It was, however, his interest to exaggerate the picture, and he did not add that the Scottish artillery had been withdrawn from Broughty five months before. [No. CLXXII.] Although it is true that for a brief space about November and December 1548 Broughty became an important theatre of hostilities, yet for the most part it was in a backwater, out of the main stream of events. The Scots were left without the means of carrying on a regular offensive, but local forces were able to maintain a desultory warfare, which kept Luttrell on the alert, and must have worn down his powers of endurance.

He could subscribe that his adversaries were not wanting in energy and vigour. On the other hand, they were clearly lacking in the ability to sustain protracted military operations. The letter of the harassed Sheriff of Ayr [No. CLXXIX] exemplified the truth of what Methven had written at an earlier time. 'This realm is pwyr and the greit men can na way beyr greit expens of thar awn leving. All greit men in this realm has, and utheris efter thair greis has, folkis to sarve tham in thair awn bowndis but ony mone bot allanerly gud tretimyng and . . . daly expens ordynar of meyt and drynk; bot to remayn lang out of thair awn boundis apou thair awn expenssis na na way do the samyn wythout tha be suppleyit and helpit be substance.' [No. CLXXII.]



Unfortunately, alike for the Dowager's peace of mind and for the general harmony of the realm, the Scots did not take kindly to the supply and help that was afforded to them.

This is seen even in the midst of the allied offensive of February 1548-9. The Franco-Scottish army doubtless meant to seize the favourable opportunity presented by the trial for treason of the Lord High Admiral of England, but unfortunately their own divided counsels crippled their power to make 'our wayage . . . profitabile to yowr grace service.' [No. CXCIX.] Lady Home's letters, written in March, show that not only did the French and Scots pull ill together, but that the French themselves were not always amenable to discipline. There was solemn meaning in her warning that 'your grac maun be vere scherp batht on the Franch men and on the Scottis men or it will nocht be weill.' [No. CCI.] Seven months later Alexander Gordon had to point the same conclusion. 'Ther cowme ane greitt bill of complantt to the capitane of Dumbartane of the spwlzeing of the Ill of Cumray . . . done be marinoris of the kyngis schyp.' The writer did his 'diligence to apleis the capitane to the satisfacione of baytth the partis,' but in the bitter state of feeling it can have been no light task to 'put the best ordour therto we may.' [No. CCXIX.]

It is equally clear, however, that the services of the French were as advantageous as they were unwelcome. As the war assumed its later character, the assistance of a trained army of professional soldiers became invaluable. When reinforcements first arrived for the siege of Broughty in December 1547 Methven wrote that French 'cappidennis has intelligens of ordour of men on the feildis; alsua . . . to asseg and ordouring arttalzerij.' [No. CXLIX.] With the passing of the months the need increased for a systematic prosecution of the war. Home

Castle was not an isolated example of a strategic stronghold delivered over to the keeping of a French garrison for purposes of defence.<sup>1</sup>

The military science of French engineers was doubtless also made available for the construction of the fort at Inveresk, as a centre of operations against Haddington. This new feature of the building of forts is itself suggestive of the changed character of the later stages of the war. The enemy, in the execution of a well-conceived policy of occupation, had strongly entrenched themselves in various key positions from which they could be driven out only by the adoption of a counter-policy upon similar lines.

In the light of this fact, Alexander Gordon's letter of 20th February is of peculiar interest. [No. CXCIX.] It indicates the respective contributions of the two allies to the prosecution of the war. The Scots distinguished themselves in deeds of prowess. They captured Home Castle in the dead of a winter's night. Personally they were brave to the point of recklessness, but they had not learned the lesson of Pinkie. At the attack on Fernieherst they 'culd nocht hawe patience to byd of fordar prowision'; but they found to their cost that their zeal, to be effective, had to be reinforced by French hagbutters and artillery. The French, on their side, contributed a more exact knowledge of military science. When it was a question of building a fort at Jedburgh 'to bryng the cuntray to obedience,' it was de Villegaignon who 'at the last hes fwnd ane assyett on the swtht syd of the tone, mekill mair necessair and off les trawail and expensis,' and who 'twk on hym to compleitt the stryntht in thretty dayis hawand ane thowsand pionerris.'

<sup>1</sup> A French captain was sent to relieve Erskine of Dun 'of cummyir and pyne' in keeping of his fort, 29th August 1549. (*Miscellany of Spalding Club*, iv. 51-2.)

His proposals did not meet with universal approval, and it is instructive to be initiated by Alexander Gordon into the secrets of the council table. He represents the French ambassador and the Earl of Huntly as wielding the preponderating influence in the deliberations, while the Governor shrank from shouldering the burden of responsibility imposed upon him. If he was a conscientious dissenter from the finding of the council, he was sadly lacking in moral courage, for 'my lordis Hwntlye and Dunkell . . . effer greitt flyting maid him contentit and deliverit to mak ane stryntht, prowdyng that my lord [Huntly] wald promys to byd with hym.' There is a hint that he grudged the expenditure of the money, and so would 'hawe lositt this cuntry in falt off sa sobyr anc sowme.' Dunkeld, however, was apparently of another mind, and once again, as in the crisis of 1543, the Governor was plastic in the hands of his more resolute brother.

John Hamilton seems to have accepted the inevitable, if not with a good grace, at least with the determination to make the best of things. As the primate of the Roman Church it was his interest to drive out the heretic invader who sought to destroy the fabric of his order and the sovereignty of his country. The immediate necessity was clear; and for the rest, he was probably an opportunist waiting and watching for a new revolution in Fortune's wheel. Much might still be hoped from the chances of war and the growing reaction against the French. For the time being, however, it was well to stand fair with France, and so 'my lordis Hwntlye and Dunkell' made common cause with the French lieutenant and ambassador.

In this phase of the war, the energy and vigour and military experience of the Chancellor seem to have been of the utmost value to Mary of Lorraine and the King of France. It is significant that, hard upon the news 'of the false and subtill departure of the Earle of Hontly who

so mych (did) dissemble with us,' came the tidings that 'thei have stollen in a night Hume Castell.' The Earl may have spurred upon the scene straight from his captivity; but in whatever capacity he came, there is meaning in the fact that he and Alexander Home, who both wished to carry 'the fers<sup>t</sup> tidingis' to the Dowager, had been fellow-prisoners, bound by obligations to the English government. [No. CXCIH.] No qualms of conscience were likely to mar Huntly's satisfaction in having hoodwinked the enemy. To him it was a master-stroke in the game of war: to them, the loss of the problematical ransom money must have been among the least of the evils attendant on his escape. His vigorous hostilities were to prove that their forebodings had not been groundless. It is true that our account of events at Jedburgh emanates from the pen of a Gordon, and that the warlike Chancellor fills the canvas to the exclusion of Cassillis, who bore the Queen's commission as lieutenant. But with due allowance for a brother's bias, it seems clear that Huntly dealt an effective blow, alike for the cause of liberation and 'for the contentacioune of [yowr] grace service.' We need not doubt his patriotism, although the goddess of emancipation was clearly none the less attractive that she brought rewards in her hand. [Nos. CXCIX, CC.] Alexander Gordon's veiled references to 'my lorddis besynes towart the kyngis grace' may have been purposely obscure, but through all the enshrouding secrecy the general significance shines clear.

Scotsmen were patriotic, but they were also impoverished and worldly-wise. They were shrewd enough to make profit from the fact that, in striking for their country, they were likewise fighting the battle of the King of France. He had demanded his price, and they demanded theirs. Huntly and Bothwell were not the only nobles on the pension list of Henry II. [No. CXCV]; while, apart from

the demands of individuals, the exhausted country had to be succoured with French finances.

In so far as this gave to the war the appearance of a family concern of the House of Guise, it inevitably added to the difficulties of the Dowager's position in Scotland. She threw herself heart and soul into the struggle, as one whose fortunes were at stake upon the issues. De Beaugué extols her inspiring enthusiasm and public-spiritedness : the Correspondence, in less romantic vein, indicates that all her interests were indeed absorbed in the prosecution of the war. Lady Home, Methven and Alexander Gordon alike show that she kept in close touch with the progress of events. She used bribery, expostulation and exhortation to hold her followers at her command and call ; while she kept a vigilant espionage upon the movements of the enemy. [No. CCVIII.]

When, however, the time came to strike a vital blow, she was burdened with ' *affarris and cummerris* ' at home. [No. CCXIX.] Some, at least, of these cares arose out of the growing ill-will between the French and Scots : she might well be peculiarly sensitive to a discord which was of portentous import for herself. On the other hand, quite apart from her personal anxieties, there was sound reason for her pressing demand for financial help, and for the urgency of the despatch of Alexander Gordon to France in October 1549.

The Dowager, watching events with an unsleeping eye, knew that the hour had come for action. The plague-stricken town of Haddington had been evacuated about the middle of September, and Somerset's administration was tottering to its fall. His laborious effort to secure the alliance of the Emperor had notoriously collapsed : the outworks of Boulogne had fallen to the French : England itself was in the throes of economic and social upheaval, and of religious discontent : Scotland, for all

its scourging, had not been conquered, and his enemies were spoiling for the Protector's blood. England's extremity was Scotland's opportunity; but the Governor lacked the ardour of the Dowager.

Alexander Gordon, about to set out as a courier to France, paid a hasty visit to Hamilton, to secure Arran's signature to certain writings, prepared beforehand 'in dew forme' for his ratification. [No. CCXIX.] Some of these may have had reference to the private concerns of the bearer as a candidate for the archbishopric of Glasgow. This, however, is doubtful; and even so, the question of Glasgow was a political matter. Gordon was primarily engaged upon a mission of the Dowager to enlist support in France; he had been stirring up Huntly and Argyle 'to the contentacione of yowr grace only'; Arran was unmistakably suspicious of the tenor of her private correspondence: all these things suggest that the Dowager was straining to drag the Governor in the wake of her policy. The irresolute Arran 'desirit me abyd my lord of Sanctandrois cumyng, quhilk I mycht nocht do, and swa I gat na wreittyngis' on public matters of Church or State.

For the moment the Hamiltons may have deceived themselves that the clouds were lifting from their sky. The growing unpopularity of the French might encourage them to put their own reading upon events in England. If, however, they had dreamed to drive out the auld enemy and escape from the bondage of the auld ally in the strength of their own might, experience soon showed that the yoke was too heavy upon them. In December they seem to have been again in leading strings. The Dowager must have been the master spirit at the convention at Stirling, when the far-reaching Irish schemes of the King of France came up for discussion.<sup>1</sup> [No. CCXXIII.]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Teulet, i. 716.

Valois imperialistic ambitions were clearly soaring according as England became prostrate. It is little wonder, then, that the end of the war brought no emancipation to the house of Hamilton. Scotsmen, it is true, played their part in the capture of Broughty, the last conquest of the war; but the land was eventually cleared of the invader in virtue of a peace which was not of their making.

Warwick, who had supplanted Protector Somerset, overthrew the policy of his predecessor. For his own ends he abandoned the Scottish enterprise, and sold Boulogne to Henry II., who, on his side, had likewise strong personal reasons to desire a peace. The Scottish war was a severe financial drain; the opponents of the House of Guise objected to the expenditure of French men and money to promote the ambition of that already powerful family; with the election of Julius III., the new Pope, the King's apprehensions of the Emperor were revived; and he could secure no further personal advantage from the maintenance of hostilities. Scotland was accordingly comprehended in the Treaty of Boulogne, concluded between Edward VI. and Henry II. in March 1550. The news of the 'pece betuix England and us' was brought, significantly enough, by a Frenchman, on 16th April.<sup>1</sup> Leslie tells that the publication of the 'concorde' made all hearts 'blyth and glade.'<sup>2</sup> It was, indeed, a peace for which the weary country might be grateful, but no Scotsman truly proud. Men might well fear that this was a gift of the Greeks, and look askance upon each other, in doubt as to the value of the gift and the altruism of the giver.

<sup>1</sup> *T.A.* ix. 393. The comprehension of Scotland was proclaimed in Edinburgh on 20th April, and accepted by Edward VI. on 15th May 1550. (*P.C.* i. 85; *Inventory of Treaties with England*, Register House, 50.)

<sup>2</sup> Leslie (Scottish Text Society), ii. 332.

## CLXXIX

*Hew Campbell of Loudoun to the Queen Dowager*

Dunoon, 2nd August [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit your grace, I haf beyn in Argyll sen I partit owt of Dumbertayn, and resavit twa wrytyngis fra your grace of the sam dayt of my lord of Argyllis. The storm has beyn sa, and is, on this ferry, that I can nocht wyn owr quhyll it be better, bot quhow soyn I ma gett passaige I sall speyd me haym. And gyf I can gett ony cumpany with me I sall be schortly at the camp, and gyf ony of owr cuntre cumis with provision I sall never be hyndmest. Bot myn that is bot new partit haym wyll nocht be drawyn furthe without the cuntre do syklyk; bot, as I schew your grace, \* that may be the autorite man gar that be obbeyt,\* and nocht I. Your grace sall ever ken my gud mynd and serves, quhylk salbe rady at the wttermest of my power to the weyll of Scotland and your grace plesour. And as I fynd the cuntre of radynes quhen I cum I sall advertes your grace, owther be my self, gyf I get cumpany, or be wrytyng. I mervell your grace send me the erll of Cassyllis wrytyng, for I dow <sup>1</sup> nocht get tham to hym and it lay on my lif. I se my lord of Argyll mayk the delygens that is poseble, and wyll nocht fayll to be est with delygens, for all his freyndis thynkis it suld be sa.<sup>2</sup> He wayttis on nocht, bot the cumpany ma nocht be lefft behynd, as †I trast your grace kenis be hys broderis credens nocht les.†

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\*\* It is the duty of the Government to see that the summons is obeyed.

<sup>1</sup> *dow*: to be able.

<sup>2</sup> Wharton was informed by a spy on 24th August that Argyle was 'coming forward, and has under him a great band of the Earl of Huntley's men, 4000 in all.' (*Addenda*, 393.)

†† I trust that by his brother's credence, your grace will understand not less [than that the writer's statement is true]. Two brothers of Argyle, John and Alexander Campbell, are mentioned in the *Scots Peerage*.



Bot I pray God haf your grace in keypyng, as I wald be  
 kept. At Dunon, the secund day of Aug[ust], be

Your grace obedyent servetuir

HEW CAMPBELL OF LOWD[OUN].<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Huw Campbel.]

CLXXX

*Lord Clinton to Sir John Luttrell*

On board ship, near Inchkeith, 16th August [1548].

TO MY LOVYNG AND ASSURYD FRIEND SIR JOHN LUTTRELL  
 KNIGHT, CAPTEN OF THE KINGIS MAJE[S]TEIS FORTIS  
 AT BROUGHTIE CRAGG DELIVER THIS WITH ALL HASTE  
 HASTE.

Mr. Luttrell, thes with my hartie commendacions ar to  
 signifie unto yow that I have receyved letters this present  
 day from my lordis grace, wherwith I have receyved one  
 letter to yow, w[h]ich I send unto yow her inclosed. And  
 for that I might the better understand my lordis grace his  
 pleasour tucheing the procedingis commytted to you and  
 me I thought mete to loke in your letter, which I have  
 done and sealyd yt herin agen, requyring yow to conseder  
 well the contentis therof and to advertys me what your  
 opynyon shall therin be. And wher as I had commaunde-  
 ment to have bene with yow or this tyme, I have bene  
 synce that tyme willyd to stay her in the Fryth a tyme  
 or I com to yow for certen consyderacions w[h]iche her  
 after yow shall knowc.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding, I trost to be  
 with yow or yt be longe. I have sent yow vyttails w[h]ich  
 ar appointyd by the Lordis at Barweke<sup>3</sup> to be convayd

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> On 6th August he was commanded by Shrewsbury and Grey to hold the Forth, so that 'we may be masters of the sea—thus doing the King more service' than by going to the Tay. The important matter was to protect Haddington. (*C.S.P.* i. 309.)

<sup>3</sup> Shrewsbury and Grey of Wilton. Shrewsbury was appointed General of the army in the North, after 1st August 1548. (*Journal of Edward VI.*)

to yow, whiche or this tyme I could not send, being lett partely by the wynde and partly by other occasion.<sup>1</sup> I founde in the Rode at Lythe the nombre of xl saile apon Thyrsday last,<sup>2</sup> who as sone as they dyscryvyd us departyd from thence,—some to Seynt Coms Ynche w[h]ich is kept be Frenshe men, and some to Bornde Iland w[h]iche were xij saile full ladyn with vyttails, that is to say wyne bere butter salt and syder. And I bornde them all saveing ij small saills w[h]ich I brought out. I assure yow ther were vj of them that I judge no lese then vij<sup>xx</sup> ton a pece, and one fayr new shipp of Rochell of iii<sup>e</sup> ton and very well appointed with ordenaunce, and the gallies being betwene us and the Bornd Iland redy to take the advauntage, and being nere night and calme, I dowbtyd they, with thayde of the contrye, should have rescewyd ther shippes; w[h]ich cawsed me to borne them, or ells I wold have brought them all owt. My lord protectors grace haith sent one, Mylwyn a gentilman of Scotland,<sup>3</sup> to me who haith good will to serve the kingis maje[s]tie. His father is Lord of Reth and may do moch in Fyf. And for that he may get more intelligence being with yow on the land and advertys me frome tyme to tyme, and may also practys with his frendis ther, and to understand how the countrye is porposyd, and being also his desyer, I have thought good to send hym to yow for a tyme, reqwyring yow to entertane hym well. My lordis graces pleasour is that he should have lybertie to go and come as he should thinke best, and so yt shall be well done yc suffer hym to do, and to credyt hym in soche thingis as he may

<sup>1</sup> Clynton complained that the lords had been led to believe that his 'long stay at the mouth of the Firth was for fear of the [French] galleys'; whereas, in fact, he was held by contrary winds. (*C.S.P.* i. 313.) This despatch contains an account of the burning of the French ships, here referred to.

<sup>2</sup> 9th August.

<sup>3</sup> John Melville, son of the laird of Raith. He had been accredited to Clynton on 27th June. (*Ibid.* 262.) A few months later Sir John Melville was executed for treason 'becaus that he wrait a bill to his sone' then in England. In view of his son's career, as illustrated in this letter, it is doubtful if the laird of Raith's communications were so innocent as Knox and M'Crie would lead us to believe. (*M'Crie, Life of Knox*, 99.)

do us good in, and no hurte insew therof; but for thingis wherin the troste comyttyd to hym might com to any danger or dyspleasour to us I wold not wyshe that ye shoulde put any gret confydence to hym nor other Scotte. I am willyd by my lordis grace and my lordis at Barweke to send yow xl men of the soldeiors w[h]iche was delyverd me at Barweke.<sup>1</sup> And I have sent yow of the best of them, but I thinke they have bene lyttill trandyd in the warres; but for the tyme till my comyng they may sarve yow, and then you shall have other yf yow lyst in ther place. I pray yow conseder well the placis to be fortyfied w[h]ich my lordis grace doith wryte of to yow, and advertys me in your next letter your opynyon therin. And also wryte to me wher the Master of Rythen is, and whether he do practys for the delyverye of Seynt Johnes towne and what sarvyce he intendith to do.<sup>2</sup> In my last letter my lordis grace haith willyd me to confare with yow and to know what sarvice might be done abowte you with plasyng a thousand men ther this wynter. And if yow shall thinke yt shall sarve to gret porpous I pray you advertys me and how yow thinke best ther sarvyce should be ymployd, w[h]ich I pray yow fail not of; and how in your opynyon they may be vyttaillyd. My lordis grace wold have a forte or bulwarke at the point of the sand in the entrey of the ryver of Tay on Angwysh syde yf the grounde will bere the fortification therof; w[h]ich must be foreseyn and consyderd by yow as secretly as yow may untill my comyng, that it appere not to thennymes what yow intend and therby may be preventyd. Yt haith also bene declaryd unto hys grace by Mr. Palmer<sup>3</sup> that nere Dondye

<sup>1</sup> 'Sir John Luttrell having required it.' See Instructions of 6th August. (*C.S.P.* i. 309.)

<sup>2</sup> On 19th December 1547 the Master of Ruthven first hinted his willingness to surrender Perth for a price. Thereafter, English agents were delegated to 'practise with' Ruthven and Melville. (*C.S.P.* i. 107, 300, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> On 1st February, Sir Thomas Palmer had submitted to Grey of Wilton a report on the defences of Broughty, and a plan for fortifications. He was a prisoner at the date of writing. He had been routed and captured by the French outside Haddington, on 16th July (*C.S.P.* i. 145, 293), but was exchanged for Lord Maxwell in 1549. (*Book of Caerlaverock*, i. 216.)

ther is a strayth that may be maid very strong and kept with iij or iiij hundryth men, wherby the towne of Dondye shallbe kept in subjecsyon. Thys also I pray yow con- syder as well as yow may, reqwyring you to advertys me your opynyon in all the premysses by wryting at lengthe. And thus I bid yow hartely fair well. From the kingis maje[s]teis fleet nere Inskyth, the xvjth. of August.

Your lovyng and assurid frend

E. CLYNTON.<sup>1</sup>

### CLXXXI

*James Cullane to Sir John Luttrell*

Montrose, 8th September [1548 ?].

TO THE RYCHT HONORABILL SIR JOHN LUTTERALL KNYCHT.

Eftir hartly commendation ples wyt, this barer my freind John Crychton indueller in Anstruder, hes cum to me this Saterdag <sup>2</sup> and hes schawin to me that ye allegis apoun me that I do not to my prisonaris conform to the law of armis, the quhilkis I sall mak the contrare to be knawin to yow, for I haif takin letly ane schip of yowr quintra cumand owt of Island, and ther wos in to hir twonty aucht men and twa boyis. The schip wos Master Dein schip of Yarmout, and the master of hir is ane man of Schiringam callit Thomas Springholl. And I am appunctit with the master of the saidis schip and childer,<sup>3</sup> that for ilk marinell I sall have ane pond stirling, and for the bottisman and his met thre pondis stirling, and for the master him self twa pondis stirling; as to the twa boyis I tak na ranson of them: the quhilkis I mak it knawin to yow be the fayth of ane gentillman. And for the verificatioun of the samin the saidis Master Thomas Springholl\* hes subscrivit this wryting with his hand. And fordir, I haif

<sup>1</sup> Edward Fiennes de Clinton, ninth Baron Clinton and Saye, afterwards first Earl of Lincoln. Vice-admiral of the fleet, 1st August 1547. (*C.S.P.* i. 30.)

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably the day of writing, if the letter was written in 1548, and the previous day if the year is 1549.

<sup>3</sup> *childer*: the common sailors.

\* This word has been added in the margin.

lattin of the forsaidis prisonaris twonty fowr haim in England with the twa boyis, and hes sauld to them ane schip to convoy and care them in England as the mast suir way to them, and gifin them victualis to go hidder frely, and hes haldin the saidis master with uder thre plegen for the ransom of the rest. And gif ye will tak moir mone than we do and as I haif wrytin, ye sall be suir that we will do the samin to yowris, and that ye are the first that brekis the law of armis. And as to yowr \*servandis my\* prisonaris the gentillmen that I tuk at Fiff Nes, I persais be yowr wryting that thay ar with yow in small estimatioun, bot thay ar with me mor in estimatioun. Thay haif bein to this tyim traitit as gentill men, and gif ye will nocht schaw yow mor fraker and diligent for them than I persais be yowr wryting, I will tret them eftir this as I think expedient. And gif ye will be plain and rasonabill in the said mater concerning yowr servandis, I sall be on the tuder parte plain and rasonabill. Your ansuir again with diligence. Of Montros, the 8 day of September.

As to your bukis, ye sall haif them quhen ye appunct for yowr men. Be me

JAMES CULLANE, CAPITANE OF SIKBO [*sic*].<sup>1</sup>

To sertyffey yowr mastershep that I Thomas Sprengle and my co[m]pany hes [been] ewsed confemed to the lawe of harmes, as es above wreten.

\*\* These words have been added in the margin.

<sup>1</sup> James Cullan, burgess of Aberdeen, was described on 19th June 1548 as 'capitane of the castell of Skebo for the tyme.' (*R.S.S.* xxiii. 11.) He had recovered this castle from the Earl of Caithness and Mackay of Strathnaver. (*Orig. Parochiales*, ii. 646.) Sir Robert Gordon states that Caithness and Mackay 'perceaveing the civill dissention of the state, and knowing that this bishoprick stood in controversie, (they) did possess themselves with the bishop's lands and rents vnder pretence of bishop Robert his right, whom they weill knew to be so farr from them, as that he wold not seik ane accompt of the profits therof.' Whatever truth may attach to these statements, the writer's further assertion seems improbable. He narrates that Cullan was sent by Huntly and Sutherland in the interests of Robert Stewart; but it is not likely that Huntly would support his brother's rival. (*Earldom of Sutherland*, 111-12.)

Only the signature 'James Cullane' appears to be autograph.

## CLXXXII

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Innerpeffry, 8th September [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, effter maist hwmyll commendacioune off hartlye service, pleis your grace witt I have bene hayfely vexit with seknes sen my departyng fra your grace, and now intendis to depart to speik with my lady my sistyr. I am advertist my lord of Combas<sup>1</sup> is cowme, thairfor I thoycht necessair to advertys your grace to knaw gyff your grace will assuir me lady off sylver to hailp hyr passyng in England,<sup>2</sup> or gyff your grace pleis command me ony wthyr thyng. Allwayis prayis your grace lat me knaw gyf your grace wald ony fordar for assuirty off my lordis service to the kyngis grace owr mastyr, quhilk I will tak on hand to obtyn quhairthrow I may fynaly end my promys maid to our forsad mastyr and kyng, without quhais help be your grace laborris owr powre hows can nocht stand. And becais I will cummyr your grace with na langair writyngis I refer the rest to this berare your grace servand and answe[r] as will pleis your grace command me; quham almychtyng God preser in sawl and body. At your grace hows of Inerpeffry, the acht day of September be

Your grace maist hwmyll and maiste obedient serwitour  
CAITHNES.<sup>3</sup>

My lady my modyr<sup>4</sup> commenddis hyr maist hwmyll and [obedient] service to your grace, and in lyk wayis the lord your grace serwitoris humyllis. [*sic*]

<sup>1</sup> Combas had been sent by the Dowager with despatches to the King of France and her kinsfolk. His departure for Scotland was after 4th July. (*B.P.* i. 199, 207.)

<sup>2</sup> Although Huntly had returned to London in May under a cloud of suspicion, yet in the following month he was again in a position to renew his previous negotiations. On 6th December he was granted licence to return to Scotland for ten weeks, leaving as pledges 'his wief and such others as he hath covenanted to leave here.' (*H.P.* ii. 457.)

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Stewart, natural daughter of James IV. by Margaret Drummond. After the death of John, Lord Gordon, she was married to Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffry.

## CLXXXIII

*Thomas Stewart to Sir John Luttrell*

Newcastle, 16th September [1548 ?].

TO THE RYGH[T] VIRSCHYFFULL SIR JOHNE LUTHRALL,  
 GENERALL TO THE KYNGIS MAJESTIES FORTTIS AT  
 BROUGHTY CRAGE.

Grace mercy and peace frome God the Father and from the Lord Jesus Crist, ryght wirschipfull Sir, be with your mastership for hartly salutatioun. I am sory for the monyfald dangers and displeasouris that I heir ye ar in and specially of them whome to ye have gevin so gret credit and schewit so gret kyndeness, bot I dout not it sall come to his gret harme and dishonour, for God so servis tratouris. [The writer treats of personal matters and sends assurances of his good faith. He begs to hear details of the 'taking of my brother Johne, and how it stands with him,' and asks if Luttrell has 'gottin the monye of the presonaris or not'; and, if not, desires that 'the boy' may be sent to him at Newcastle to be out of harm's way.] Writtin at the Newcastell, the xvj day of September

By your maisterschippis assurit frend and  
 servant to his power

THOS. STEURT.<sup>1</sup>

## CLXXXIV

*Thomas Fisher to Sir John Luttrell*

Berwick, Friday, 21st September 1548.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHOPPFULL SIR JOHN LUTTRELL KNIGHT,  
 CAPTEN OF BURTHIE CRAG.

Hast hast hast hast.

Sir, after most hartie commendacone you shall understand that, having commission addressed to you and me

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph. It is not very legible, but this is the Thomas Stewart who addressed himself to Luttrell from Newcastle on 10th April.

from my lordis grace touching certen entreaties in those parties consonaunt to your former devices wrytton to his graice in that behalf, I mynd within vj or vij daies (after I have depechid my silf here of thingis commytted to me) to repayre over unto yow, at which tyme yow shall understand the full of my lordes grace pleasour. And thus taking my leave unto our meting, I commend you to God. From Berwik, this Fryday, the xxjth. of Septemb[er] 1548.

Yours assured to use and commaund

THOMAS FISHER.<sup>1</sup>

*Post[s]cripta* : I doubt not but yowr servant this bringer can and woll declare unto you the dyspersing of the kingis majestis shippes lately in thies parties, which wolbe som want.<sup>2</sup> I feare me to our procedingis in those parties.

## CLXXXV

### *Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Langtoun, 25th October 1548.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit unto youre grace, the dewite of my humyll service promisit, this is to signefy unto youre gude grace that eftir lang laubouris and panis I am tholit tocum in Scotland frelie ;<sup>3</sup> quhair I purposse, God willing, to do my dewite of service unto your grace, by the quhilk I think to accomplies your graces mynd in thiis thingis as may

<sup>1</sup> A holograph letter by Thomas Fisher, Somerset's secretary, who had been sent with a 'memoriall' for Shrewsbury and Grey in the previous June. (*C.S.P.* i. 262; *H.P.* ii. 453.)

<sup>2</sup> On 8th September, the Protector marvelled that Shrewsbury 'will keep the army together for the only service of fortifying the Pethes—thus spending the King's money—which might have furnished the army at sea, so that Lord Clynton need not have stayed one hour for the enterprise in the Tay. One day now at sea is worth 10 after.' (*C.S.P.* i. 325.)

<sup>3</sup> He had been sent 'in to the North Partes' of England early in June, but the want of a 'sure passport' prevented him from crossing the frontier. After protracted negotiations he returned in person to London at the beginning of October, and on the 15th Selve reported that 'le comte de Bothwell a obtenu son autorisation de retour en Écosse.' (*A.P.C.* 1547-1550, 203; *C.S.P.* i. 311; Selve, 458-9, etc.)



gudelic stand with my powar. And sen I will nocht impeche youre hienes in reding of my lang lettris, to declare forthir myne affaris I have directit this berare unto youre grace to schew my mynd at mair lenth, as I have gevin him informatioun in thiis behalf, sa that it will pleis youre grace to gif him credence accordantlie : and thus I pray the almychty God to have youre gude grace in governing. From Langtoun,<sup>1</sup> the xxv day of Octobre 1548.

Your graces humyll and obedient servitour

P. ERLE BOTHUIL.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Conte de Baudouol.]

CLXXXVI

*Bothwell to the Governor*

Langtoun, 26th October 1548.

My lord, eftir humyll comendationis of my service unto youre grace, this is to signify unto your grace that eftir lang laubouris and gret panis I am sufferrit tocum in Scotland fre, quhair I purpos, God willing, to do my dewite of service unto your grace, by the quhilk I paus nocht bot to satisfy and accomplis your mynd in quhatsumevir thingis as may gudelic stand with my pyssance, nocht dowtting bot to ressave recompance at your graces handis upon gude desertis. And to declair forthir myne effaris I have directit this berare to schew my mynd at mair lenth as I have gevin him informatioun in that behalf. Sen I will nocht molest your grace in reding my lang letteris, sa that it will pleis youre grace to gif him credite ; thus the almychty God mot have your grace in keiping. Of Langtoun, the xxvj day of October 1548.

Your graces servitour at powar

P. ERLE BOTHUIL.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Monsieur de Baudouol.]

<sup>1</sup> Langton was the residence of James Cockburn. Bothwell, Langton and Ormiston seem to have been in league at this time, and in negotiations with England. (*H.P.* ii. 460, 463.)

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

## CLXXXVII

*Bond to Luttrell for the Re-Entry of a Prisoner*

28th October 1548.

Be it kend till all men be thir present lettres, me, James Dog, provest of Dundee and captane of the futband, and Henry Lowell, laird of Balunby,<sup>1</sup> to be bundin and oblissit to Schir Jhone Luttrell knyght, captane generall of the fort, to entre Andro Mershell in to the fort within fyftene dayis upoun thre dayis varni[n]g, or ellis to paye the soume lyk as the said schir Jhone Luttrell and Andro Mershell aggreis upoun. And for the observing of the premissis we, captane James Dog and Henry Lowell forsaide, hes subserivit this our wryting with ovr handis, the xxviij day of October anno domini 1548.

JAMES DOG PROVEST OF DUNDE.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : A byll of Jam[e]s Doggis hand and the lord of Bollumney for the entry of Marshall the prisoner.]

## CLXXXVIII

*Somerset to Luttrell*

Sion, 28th October 1548.

TO OUR LOVING FREEND SIR JOHN LUTTERELL KNIGHT,  
CAPITEIN OF BOURTHY.

Luttrell is charged ' first to spend out your old (victallis) before you occupie anie of the newe. . . . [You] must have esp[ec]iall care unto this, and also unto the retorne of your cask, without the w[h]ich you are like to be unfurnished of your bere. . . . From Syon, the xxviijth. of October, 1548.

Your loving freend

E. SOMERSET.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry Lovell of Balumby, in Forfarshire. On 11th February 1548-9 he had a remission for his treasonable conduct in assisting the English at Broughty Crag. (*R.S.S.* xxiii. 60. See also *S.H.R.* xxii. 29.)

<sup>2</sup> The bond is signed only by James Dog.

<sup>3</sup> The signature is autograph.

## CLXXXIX

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Methven, 8th November [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE.

Madem, pleis your gud graice.

I have resavit your graice lettir fra Rosay.<sup>1</sup> And howbeit I have kept my beid maist part sen your graice being in to Perth, and specialle sen Allow evin, I sall, God willing, be at your graice on Monenday next<sup>2</sup> but ony forther delay except allanerlie seiknes; and traist weill, madem, I was it, and thinkis to me [be ?] your graice trew servitour but ony meyn way. Forther, the eternell God consarve your graice. Of Methven, this viij day of November

be your graice maist hummill and obedient servitour

LORD METHVEN.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M. de Metfan.]

## CXC

*Letter of Defiance by Luttrell [to James Dog ?]*

Fort of Broughty, November [1548].

After my hertye comendatyons, I have receyvyd yowr letter touchinge yowr agreement and yowr brothers for thenterchange of owr prysoners accordinge to my late concent, wherwythe I am ryght well content. And where ye refuyse to gyve me a playne awnser whatt yvell warrys ye wyll shoo, beddinge me do my uttermost and yow wyll do yowrs, and havinge advantage yn yowr handis yow wyll thenn worke wonders yf God thinkis yow worthye, the old saynge ys that God sendis always a shrowde cowe

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the priory of Rossie, between Perth and Dundee.

<sup>2</sup> 14th November. He was probably summoned to the assembly at Dundee on 19th November for an attack on Broughty. (*R.S.S.* xxi. 56.)

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

shrot hornys;<sup>1</sup> and dowt yow nott, altho yowr horsys be never so shhyft, yow cannott carye all the rest so fast awaye on yowr shuldurs butt somwhatt wylbe overtakenn. And fynally, yf ye knew how lytell I exteme eyther your powre or your warrys, yow wold lesse thretenn me thenn ye do; for I dowt nott butt thatt er I have donne I wyll make yow dysgest more collor thenn the burnyng off yowr corne comys to.

And so byd yow farwell. From the kingis majestis  
fort of Borthye, thys of November,<sup>2</sup> by me

JOHN LUTTRELL.

### CXCI

*Luttrell to Somerset*

[c. 18th-23rd November 1548.]

Maye hitt lyke yowr grace to be advertyssyd att thys present I remayne unfornysshed bothe of monaye bread and beare, neyther havinge any cole for fyar nor so myche as maye serve the smythys here, so as I am nott able to kepe the horsys that serve here shodde. I have presentlye † horse with thes Italyens thatt came last unto me frome Dunde, amongis whom I have xvj well armyd and xxx<sup>ii</sup> hattbutters: the rest ar lyght horse. Besyd wyche, I maye horse apon meane naggis always x hattbutters more, who have servyd wonderfullye well, and rone daylye unto the towne of Dunde, cuttynge of ther vytalls that ys broght yn by the contrye, so as thaye be enforcyd daylye and nyghtlye to travayle bothe ther fotemenne and horse-

<sup>1</sup> 'God sendeth a shrewd cow a short horne.' (New English Dictionary, s.v. *Cow*.)

<sup>2</sup> The space for the date has been left blank in the original. This defiance was probably issued just before the attack on Dundee in November 1548. 'On Wednesday, the 7th, Luttrell entered Dundee, and was repulsed by James Dog. Three days later the English fleet landed men who retook the town.' (*C.S.P.* i. 332.)

The letter is holograph.

menne for ther supplye theryn, or otherwyse to want ther vytallys. Ther ys att the lest yn the towne xij<sup>x</sup> fotemenne and iiij<sup>xx</sup> horse, besyde the Scottyshe menne that yn-habytt wythe them, who yn dede ar nott many—onlye suyche powre people as servys to bake and brew. Thaye had devysyd to have layde yn certeyne howsys abowte the fort beyng of good strenght for the sodeyne suyche a nomber off horsmenne as myght always sarve to cutt of my menne; wyche howsys I have burnt,<sup>1</sup> and yf any part of them remayne that maye serve thennymye I mynd to destroye hytt. Butt tocchyng my powre servys and charge here, yf yowr grace have nott a spetyall [e]ye unto thys place, and comande by yowr princelye letters suyche as ar yn the northe partys to be more dylygent yn my suplye, I feare more thatt ther neglygence wyll putt the pecys here yn danger then I do anye attempt of thennymye; and yett I assuar yowr grace thatt bothe the forte and eastell ys presentlye yn grett imperfecctyon, evenn almost sawtable<sup>2</sup> rownde abowt by reasone of the fallinge downe of ther turfe worke wyche, beinge veray thyecke, hath drawyn downe myche yerthe with the same, so as I cane nott vammuvre<sup>3</sup> the forte, bycaws experyence techythe me suffyeyntlye thatt ony new wayght thatt ys foreyd apone the olde worke makythe the fondatyone to fle and bryngythe downe the hole, which yn the begynnyng iii or iiij shyppis ladyng of lyme wolde have savyd, and thes pecys had now thenn benne yn good strenght. And, suarlye, yf yowr grace do nott fortwythe take som order yn hytt, thennymye shall not nede to laye ony batterye unto hytt for theye shall fynde hytt fallen downe redy to ther handys, and I shall have no meane to remydy the same, for the thinge ys alrebye presentlye yn suyche decaye thatt thennymyes hadd er now gyvyn the sawte unto hytt, yf the fear of campe had nott bynne, and ar

<sup>1</sup> The burning of Dundee was reported to Somerset on 18th November, and the town was abandoned before the 26th. (*C.S.P.* i. 333, 336.)

<sup>2</sup> *sawtable*: capable of being carried by assault.

<sup>3</sup> *vammuvre*: ? fortify the outer wall. Cf. *avantmure*, the forewall of a town. (*Halliwell's Dictionary.*)

fullye determynyd to do hytt as sone as the same shall dyssove or depart, wherapone I have travaylyd to kepe them here untill yowr gracys plesure shalbe better knowyn yn thatt behalfe. And as the thinge standythe nowe here, eyther yowr grace shalbe enforeyd to have a greater powre here or elce fynd thatt thys present force shalbe to lytell purpose—I meane of the garyssons, for the lorde Graye here, lokinge longe for a suffycyent ayde to supplant thys contry and seinge the powre of thautoryte here always suyche as yowr gracys powre sent hyther myght not well resyst, he hath evenn yn a sodyne dyspayre submytted hym selfe unto the governor, thynkyng therby he shuld have bynn receyvvd to ther mareye with promys to be reconeylyd (as thay cale hytt) a good Scottyshe manne, wyche the cowncell of hys wyfe and herr frindis hathe spetyallye movyde hym unto, and as I understand hathe confessyd the delyverye of Borthen unto the kingis majestis use, the reseyt of monaye for the same,<sup>1</sup> and the frindshypp thatt he hathe borne ; wheraponne the noble menne of Fyfe and thes partys ar sent for unto Edyngborowghe for hys araynement, and all menne thinkis he shall dye.<sup>2</sup> Hys brother Robert Graye<sup>3</sup> and hys brother yn lawe Sande Whyttlaw<sup>4</sup> ar bothe come unto me and, as hytt aperythe presentlye unto yowr grace by my letters, have desyryd me to wryte unto yowr grace for ther protecctyone, beinge desyrus to serve the kingeis majeste yn thys place onlye, as thaye saye, bycawse ther frindis adyoynythe to the same ; wheryn yowr grace maye take order as

<sup>1</sup> Gray received a pension of £100 for the delivery of Broughty (Nichols, *Literary Remains of Edward VI.*, i. 221n.)

<sup>2</sup> On 23rd November 1548 the rumour was current of 'great contention between Monsieur Dessé and the Governor about him [*i.e.* Gray]—the French men would have him die, but the Scots lords would not assent.' (*C.S.P.* i. 335.) The surrender of Broughty by Gray has been noted. He had been throughout an active agent of the policy of Somerset.

<sup>3</sup> On 4th February 1549-50 a precept of remission was granted to Robert Gray for assisting the English at Broughty. (*R.S.S.* xxiii. 34.)

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Whitelaw of Newgrange. (*S.P.* iv. 280.) In February 1548-9 he was summoned to underlie the law for his treasonable intercourse with the English at Broughty. (*T.A.* ix. 287-8.)

yowr princlye wysdom shall thinke most conveyent, for altho thaye offeryd a present servys here with certeyn horsemenn I thocht hytt nether requysytt, nor thatt my dutye was to stufte thes placys with Scottyssemenn onles yowr grace shulde command the same. And suarly ther canne be on servys donne here onles yowr grace do tak order for placyng of ij<sup>x</sup> horse here, which att all tymes wyll stowre xx<sup>tl</sup> myle of—even as far as Saynt Jonstons campas, and no dowt yf thys contrye have nott suyche a scourge nowe bettwyxt thys and Ester,<sup>1</sup> hytt wyll be a great hyndrance unto the somer servys; and thenn sendinge with syche a nomber of servysable horse on thosande fotemene, whylys thos be employed to devast the contrye and anoye thenymye, the rest maye serve to fortyfe and put yn order thos extremytis and decays that the present necessity requyrythe, and advance suyche servys as yowr grace shulde pleas otherwyse to comande, for frome hence forwarde ther ys no hope of any practys for fryndshyp to be mynstryde, butt rather an extreame plage with fyar and soorde which shall reduce them to povertye and submyssone, or otherwyse yowr grace can never prevayle here. And therefore, waynge thextremytis here everye waye, and my symple opynyon therwithall, I shall humeblye desyar to knowe yowr gracys yn thos behalfis, bothe for the suplye of my spetyall wantis and whatt order shalbe gyvynne yn the rest, as I maye more aptly frame my powre servys to the kingis majestis honor and yowr gracys contentatyone, as one that trustys yowr grace wyll consyder the present extremyte here, and therwithall gyve order as the powre menne here, that presentlye have (savage yowr pryncelye honor) neyther monaye or shooe to ther fote nor scarsely a clothe to their baccke, may be relyvyd with spede.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Easter Day in 1549 fell on 21st April. The country is to be scourged before the beginning of the summer campaign.

<sup>2</sup> Holograph, in the hand of Luttrell. It is presumably the draft of a despatch to the Protector.

## CXCII

*Patrick, Lord Gray to Sir John Luttrell*

Kirktonhill, December [1548].

TO THE RYCHT HONORABYLL SIR JHON LUTTRELL, GENERALL  
OF THE KYNGIS MAJESTEIS FORTIS OF BROYCHTE.

Eftyr all hartly commendations I haif rasavit your writin dyssyring me to write to my lord protectouris grace, which writing ye shall rasave, referrand the advertysmentis of all thynGIS to your writing; and whar ye dyssyr me to cum to the fort—that is my last refoug. Forther I haif send the lard of Carmylle<sup>1</sup> to the court to labour sum way that my hous be nocht seiget and my gudis and corniis nocht takan away; and to dryf tym whyll your powar cum and at I may fynd sum remeid for my hous and gudis in the meintym. Atour, I pray yow that ther be no harm doun to the lard of Carmylleis plaice nor landis consyderand he is my frende and is assurit; or ellis your answer quhat I may lyppin to<sup>2</sup> in cais. Lykwayis I pray yow to caus restoir the geir that wes taken from Pat Roche<sup>3</sup> and Jhon Ogylvu my servandis, for I thynk my frendis ar ewyll handellit that ar heryit be yow, and for your caus heryit be Scottis men and Frenche men. And atour I wald ye keipit secret from Jhon Lesly and Jhon Mellwein<sup>4</sup> all thynGIS pertenyng me tyll your speiking and myn. And haist this writyng wyth delygens away and send me your consall and answer of all thynGIS

<sup>1</sup> Strachan of Carmyllie, in Forfarshire. Alexander Strachan was laird in 1545. (*R.M.S.* 21st April 1545.) Thomas Strachan had succeeded before 7th July 1549. (*Register of Privy Seal*, 1545-1550, MSS. xxiii. f. 16.)

<sup>2</sup> *lyppin to*: put confidence in.

<sup>3</sup> A certain Patrick Roche witnessed a charter of Maule of Panmure in 1564. (*R.M.S.*, 17th July 1564.)

<sup>4</sup> The persons here referred to are probably John Leslie of Parkhill, brother of the Earl of Rothes, and John Melville, younger, of Raith.



accordyngly. And so fair ye hartly weill, from Kyrk-  
tounhyll, the of December<sup>1</sup>

be your most assurit frend

PATRYK LORD GRAY.<sup>2</sup>

Thys shalbe to dyssyr yow to write to my lord protec-  
touris grace how my hous hes bein seigit<sup>3</sup> and how thay  
haif socht my self and what poynt I am at presently.

### CXCIII

*Lady Home to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 28th December [1548].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madem, I commend my hartly servis to your grace,  
ples your grace to ramemer of my wryting my dochter<sup>4</sup>  
broht,—it is fulfald lossing<sup>5</sup> to God. My son Alexander<sup>6</sup>  
had cumit to your grace wyth the ferst tidengis bot my  
lord Huntle<sup>7</sup> said he sold send, and ther efter be at your

<sup>1</sup> A blank space has been left for the date. The place of writing is probably Kirktonhill, near Laurencekirk, in Kincardineshire.

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>3</sup> On 18th December a messenger was sent in the Queen's name to demand the delivery of his house of Huntlie, in Perthshire; while Gray himself was summoned to answer for treason. (*T.A.* ix. 264.)

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Home, who became the wife of Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, third son of Lord Erskine. (*S.P.* iv. 460.) The cause of jubilation was the recovery of Home Castle.

<sup>5</sup> *lossing to God*: praise be to God. *Lose*: to praise. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Home. A few months after this date he succeeded his father as fifth Lord Home. He had been captured at Fawside on the day before the battle of Pinkie. It was said that Lady Home had bought the life of her son by the surrender of the castle: the capitulation was made on 23rd September 1547. (*C.S.P.* i. 45.) Home obtained a pass into Scotland with Huntly about 6th December 1548. (*H.P.* ii. 457.) It is clear from this letter that he paid scant regard to his parole.

<sup>7</sup> Leslie gives a circumstantial account of the escape of Huntly from Morpeth on Christmas Eve. (*History*, 220-2.) On 5th December he had a licence to return to Scotland for two and a half months, on leaving as his pledges his wife,

grace hem self. My son Andro<sup>1</sup> was at the plas woning prensipall, and his cusing John Hom wyth hem the lard of Coldonknous<sup>2</sup> and young Alexander Hom and the lard of Melarstanis.<sup>3</sup> Thar wald na uder of the garesonis pas vyth my son. Well plis your grace to cum to Edenbrought vyth all delygens and lay garisonis in the Hom, ther salbe uder thingis doun, wel God. And ilk man wilbe wellmyndit, ther wilbe few Inglis men in Scotland be lyf. Your grace mon cas gret delygens be mad for support to the plas of adventour it be put at be Inglis men. Had the hale garisonis past vyth my son Andro, Kelso had beyn won to.<sup>4</sup> All our asperans is in your grace, thar for do as your grace plessis. Your grace ramemeris I dysirit part of support quhen your grace thinkis expedyent. I wald ye gef it to my dochter to send to me for I haf gret mister. Quhat your grace list command, wryt and it sall be doun, well God, quha preserve your grace eternally. Wretin of Edenbought, the xxviiij day of Dyssembar be  
your graceis humell servetour

MARYON LADY HOM.<sup>5</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M. le conte Mareschal.]<sup>6</sup>

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his three sons and his brother, Alexander Gordon. He was pledged to work in Scotland for the English interests. (*Spalding Club Miscellany*, iv. Gordon Papers, XII., XIII.) Leslie's statement that Huntly rode straight from Morpeth to the court, at Edinburgh, is difficult to reconcile with the evidence of this letter.

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Home, commendator of Jedburgh and Restennet.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Home of Cowdenknowes. On 31st December the Governor sent a message of thanks for 'his gude service and delegeance' in the recovery of Home. (*T.A.* ix. 264.)

<sup>3</sup> John Haitlie of Mellerstain.

<sup>4</sup> An English garrison was holding Kelso on 20th January 1548-9. (*H. P.* ii. 461.)

<sup>5</sup> Mariota, or Marion, Haliburton, second of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Patrick, last Lord Haliburton of Dirleton.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of this endorsement is not obvious. There is no evidence that the letter was referred to the Earl Marischal in an official capacity: it may have been a personal appeal for his help as an individual. It is curious that the same endorsement appears on another letter from Lady Home, of date 20th March 1548-9. (No. CCV.)

## CXCIV

*Somerset and Councillors to Luttrell*

Westminster, 2nd January 1548-9.

TO OUR LOVING FREENDE SIR JOHNE LUTTERELL KNIGHT,  
CAPITEIN OF BROUGHTIE.

After our right hartly commendociouns, we do not yet understand that the Almaines which were with yow be sent agayne,<sup>1</sup> [*sic*] and do mych marvell that yow shuld kepe them still after so many lettres sent, and contrarie to our will and commaundement; and specially there wher not onely thei can do no good nor hurt thenemy, but in vayne spend the kyngis mony and treasure, and kepith there to extreme cost the ships, and be destroyed them selfs with cold and lyeing abrode. Wherefore, if thei be not all redy gone and despached, fail not, but immediately upon the sight herof depeche and send them away with out forthir delay, as you will answir the kingis majestie upon your uttermost perill. And as concernyng your charge—if so be the toun of Donde hath bene kept we should not, as is thought, have nedid to have bene troubled here nerer, and therefore might the bettir have attendid the supplie there and bend our force that way. Now, seyng that oportunitie is lost (and as it is thought partly by your defaulte), there is no hope of doeng eny good that way for this yere; and therefore we do entend to leave yow there so few men as may be and no more then shalbe necessary for the defence of the same. Wherefore yow shall for this tyme lie there as you were ded for the while, kepyng only that fort, and not entermedle in eny wis with any skirmish or attempt; but have all wayis a vigilant eie to the suer kepyng of your charge. And there take head that you have within it no Scottish man what

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<sup>1</sup> Luttrell may have retained the 'Almaines' on the ground that 'the fear of campe' prevented the enemy from taking the offensive. (Cf. No. CXCI.) The Council's decisions with regard to Broughty were sent on 8th January to the commissioners concerned in carrying them out. (*Addenda*, 395.)

so ever he be, nor likewis trust none of them how fair so ever thei do speke unto you. We suppos you have harde of the false and subtill departure of the Earle of Hontly who so mych did dissemble with us to favour the kyngis majesteis providyngis with all his harte, and desirid to do service therin: and how of late by negligence of the Capten<sup>1</sup> thei have stollen in a night Hume Castill, so that thes not onely giveth us good occasion to give you warning thereof, but also we trust will make you to kepe daily more suer and vigilaunt wache upon your pece. We shall immedeatly see that yow be furnisshid of vitaille for a good space, the which ones had, you must loke for no more for the space of vi moneths or more, that thei may serve you; and not trust upon, nor kepe, hoies<sup>2</sup> or hulkis or any such there for your vitailyng, and reteyne so few with yow as may be, that the vitail may endur the longer. And it shall not be amys for you tabandone your basse court also, and then yf ye have i<sup>c</sup> in the one fort and iii<sup>xx</sup> in the other, we thynk suffycient, or ii<sup>c</sup> in both at the most. But you must avoid allwais eny such thyng as might be ocasioun of scyrnish or hassard of the hole pece. Thus eftsones requiryng yow to way thes thyngis and to take ordre acordyngly, we bid you right hartelie fare well. From Westmynstrc, the second of Januarij 1548

Your lovyng frends

E. SOMERSET.

R. RYCHE, Canc.<sup>3</sup> J. RUSSELL. J. WARWYK.

T. SMITHE.<sup>4</sup> T. SEYMOUR.<sup>5</sup>

[*Endorsed*: A lettre from the Councell havynge datte the seconde of January.]

<sup>1</sup> The English captain of Home was Sir Edward Dudley, cousin of the Earl of Warwick.

<sup>2</sup> *hoies*: hoys, small coasting vessels.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Rich, first Baron Rich, Lord Chancellor 1548-1551.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Smith, author of *De Republica Anglorum*; appointed Secretary of State and knighted, 1548.

<sup>5</sup> The Protector's brother, Thomas Seymour, Baron Seymour of Sudeley, Lord High Admiral; executed for treason on 20th March 1548-9.

All the signatures are autograph.

## CXCv

*Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Crichton, 19th January 1548-9.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit unto your grace to have remenbrans as quhair your grace gaiff in command to monsieur Dosell, ambassatour, to deliver to my servand in Frans <sup>1</sup> twa thowsand crownis of the sone,<sup>2</sup> monsieur Dosell glaidlie acceptit to do the samyn, and at my servandis cummyng to him in the court of Frans said unto him he hed your grace discharge, quhairby I have ressavit na money as yitt in that behalf. And my lord Huntlie hes baid unto me to pass in to the northland and thair to remane certane tym at your grace plesour, and albeid I be myndit therto and all uther service your grace will ples command, yit I have nocht at this tym money to mak my furnessingis as afferis me to do, quhairfor hwmillye I pray your grace now in my neid to support me with this said money quhilk my servand suld have ressavit in Frans, that I may ordour me tweching my passage accordanlie to your grace will. Thus the eternell God have your grace in keping. Of Crechtoun, the xix of Januar 1548.

Your grace hwmile and subject servitour

[*Endorsed*: Du conte de Baudouol.] AMIRALL.<sup>3</sup>

## CXCvI

*Somerset to Lady Luttrell*

Somerset Place, 30th January 1548-9.

[By Lady Luttrell's letters, sent to Sir John Luttrell, her son, the Protector has learned] aswell your desire for

<sup>1</sup> D'Oysel was on a visit to France at this time, but he had returned before 15th March 1548-9. (*B.P.* ii. 30; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report* xii. viii. 94-5.)

<sup>2</sup> A crown of the sun was a French gold coin, 'the type of the first English Crown.' (*New English Dictionary.*)

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph. The seal remains, showing the impress of the Keir signet, as in No. CCXXIII.

his repayre into England, and your gentle and motherly offer to relyeve him by encrease of his lyveng.<sup>1</sup> For satisfaction of your desire in the first, we have to signifie unto you that albeit we wold be gladd to have him with you, and so entend he shalbe assone as convenyently we maye, yet can we not for a season spare him from the place of service where, we assure you, he hath served very notably and moch to our satisfacion. [As for the second point, the Protector solicits Lady Luttrell to] be content to contynue such friendship and disposicions of his relief as we may have cause to yeve you therfore most hartly thankis. From Somerset Place, the xxxth. of January, 1548.

Your ladiships assured frend

E. SOMERSET.<sup>2</sup>

### CXCVII

*James Matthew to Luttrell*

Dunfermline, 2nd February [1548-9?].

TO THE WORSHCIPFOLL SIR JOHN LUTRAL BE THYS DELY-  
VERYD IN SPED.

JAMYS MATHEW.

[James Matthew, who was quarter-master with Luttrell in the '*Petar of Fouey*' and also 'in the gret barke,' begs his 'mastar ship' to help him in his 'niescescete and ned.' He has been 'takon presonar be the hands of Scotsmen.' Hans Andarson is the name of the captain of the ship which took him. He is lying in Dunfermline 'with sor and greves eyorns on me, more than I am aboll to ber. The sum that I lay for, for me and my kompeney, is xij li. starleyng.' He was master of a ship bound for London

<sup>1</sup> On 22nd January Luttrell had himself written to the Protector to reinforce his mother's request, and enclosed the letter she had sent to him. Her 'good offer' was the manor of Minehead, worth £120 a year: and he hoped that she and his mother-in-law would help to pay his debts. (*H.P.* ii. 462.)

<sup>2</sup> The signature is autograph.

with a cargo of Newfoundland fish at Christmas, when he was captured. Dated: '2 day of Fevereyary.'<sup>1</sup>

## CXCVIII

*From Eaglescliffe to Sir John Luttrell*

Eaglescliffe, 15th February 1548-9.

TO THE RIGHT WHORSHIPFULL KNYGHT SIR JOHN LUTTRILL,  
AT BURTECRAG, DELIVER THIS FROM ELGISCLIF.

The wife of 'Henre Collinwod,' a soldier serving under Luttrell, has died, leaving 'thre smawll power chelder,' dependent solely upon the Church alms of the parish of Eaglescliffe.<sup>2</sup> Therefore the writers, William Ashelay, 'Esquier,' Germain Ogilthorp, 'gentillman,' and Sir Lancelot Charaitts, 'clerke person' of Eaglescliffe, on behalf of the neighbours, beg Luttrell to grant Henry Collingwood leave to return home to look after his children.

[*Endorsed*: A lettre sent . . . from Eglisclyfe for the . . . dispache of Colyngwode, mede the xvth of February 1548.]

## CXCIX

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Jedburgh, 20th February [1548-9].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, effter maist hwmyll commendacioune off hartlye service ples yowr [grace] witt, sen our departyng I ramanit and doid syk service to my lord Desse and the

<sup>1</sup> There is apparently no evidence to show to which year of the war this letter should be ascribed. It does not state whether Luttrell was then located at Inchcolm or at Broughty.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Eaglescliffe is a town and parish on the Tees, in County Durham. Luttrell's forces were not all local levies from Somerset. (Cf. No. CLXXX.) Collingwood is a common family name in Northumberland.

army as lay in my p[o]war. The strangerris and specially the suddarttis <sup>1</sup> hes heid greitt necessite off wiweris nocht-withstanddyng ony laboris culd be tane. My lord <sup>2</sup> at his cummyng hyr patt ordour to the toune and gart mak proclamatiounis in the cuntray for fwrnysyng off the army, quhilk was neverwelws dificile to be doune. Bot now I hoip in God the warst is past, for ther is prowisione maid that the gentill men off the cuntray sall furnys daly, ilk ane conforme to ther bownddis, sa mony marttis <sup>3</sup> mwtone quhytt and malt as the army thynkkis may staik <sup>4</sup> than, and beliwis swrly with the help yowr grace will gar mak off Edynbrwcht we sall hawe wewerris att will. At my lordis cummyng the capitaine off Farnyhe[r]st thoycht tyll [haf] eschaippitt, wer nocht my lord gart hald ane stark wache, quhair effter thay desirit to randyr the hows being sawe <sup>5</sup> at ther efter thar lyffis alennyryly sawe [*sic*], the quhilk my lord thoycht nocht best, bot entyrtenit tham quhill the cummyng of monsieur Desse, quaha thoycht it werray necessair to be done, thynkand it culd nocht be haid bwt greit tynsell off men. Bot all wayis my lord past hym self and mannit the laycht place with certane Frenchte men and Scoittis men and fell to the carmwschte, quhair capitane Pearre <sup>6</sup> long with twa wderis war hwrt, and ane callit Cranstoune shoyt thorycht the schwlder; quhair throw we culd nocht hawe

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the forces from the south of France. Soldiers had been sent from Guienne. It was known in Paris, on 23rd February, that 'the Provençaux have arrived safely in Scotland.' (Tytler, *Edward and Mary*, i. 79.) D'Essé was himself a Poitevin.

<sup>2</sup> Huntly. On 13th February a precept had been issued of the lands of Moray. (*R.S.S.* xxii. 85-6.)

<sup>3</sup> *mart*: a cow, or ox, fattened, killed and salted for winter provision.

<sup>4</sup> *staik*: accommodate.

<sup>5</sup> De Beaugué's narrative is not quite consistent with this report of events, as seen from a Scottish standpoint, and detailed by an eyewitness in high place. According to the French historian, the captain of Fernieherst 'fit offre de rendre le chasteau, la vie de luy & de ses soldats sauve: auquel, par le commandement de monsieur de Dessé, fut dit pour toute response, que les serfs ne peuvent presenter conditions à leurs maistres.' (Book iii. ch. ii.) Huntly's name is not even mentioned by de Beaugué.

<sup>6</sup> His name is given by de Beaugué as Pierre Longue. (*Ibid.*)



patience to byd of fordar prowision, bot laid fyre to the irne yett and handelit tham swa scharply as we culd quhill ane serwand of the lerd of Balclwtht wes slane—ane callit Twloycht, quha wes the first that antrit in Howme—off the quhilk my lord wes hychtly commowitt, and ther effter send for mair hagbwtarris to monsieur Desse and altelyery. Quha cowme hym selff with all the gentillmen off the army, my lord ambassadour with the first that<sup>1</sup> my lord hym selff passit with tham to the wallis, quhilk I belieff wes by the commyssion and promys he maid to my lady and wes by my awice. All wayis it wes sa scharply handelyt that thay cryit at all tymis for mercy, and in the myn tym we wroycht with pykkis and mattokkis quhill the wall wes cwttit, and swa schortlye the capitane wes crwely slane<sup>2</sup> and ane greitt part off the sowldarttis that I belyff thay sall few cum to cownt. And on Monunday we twk ane interpris to pas in England and to hawe cawsit the clannis of the cuntray fyll thayr handdis on the enymeis, and beleyffit na les nor tyll hawe haid at the lyst twa thwsand Scoittis men. Bot on the morrow, marchand forwart, we fand ws faire by that nwmyr,<sup>3</sup> quhar in the myn tyme my lordis spy mett hym be the way, schewand quhow the Inglis army wes awaittand on our cummyng, quhilk wes off trewtht. Than my lord gart tak moustryrris to se quhat nwmyr we culd be off Scoittis men, quhar we fand na pwrpos to pas fordwart, remembyryng the baittail wes hasertws. And gyf ony inconv[enie]nt had happinit the occasiounc therof hed bene thoycht in my lordis defalt, quhilk commowit my lord hychtly, by the ewill weddyr

<sup>1</sup> Originally written *and that*.

<sup>2</sup> De Beaugué tells that the captain had surrendered to two French officers, but that a Scotsman, with the fair name of his wife and daughters to avenge, severed his head from his body at a single stroke. So greatly was this monster of iniquity hated by the Scots that his death was celebrated 'avec une telle joye, comme s'ils eussent emporté d'un assaut la ville de Londres.'

<sup>3</sup> *faire by that nwmyr*: far short of that number. The reference may be to the invasion of Northumberland of which de Beaugué speaks in book iii. chapter v.

that cowme in swe sort that, gyf we had passit fordwart, we had lossit ane greit part of our army and byne in danger of fordar inconve[n]ient. Quhilk beand considerit my lord excusit the mater, sayand we had selepitt to lang, and gart mak ane red on est Tavydall to redwire the rebellis to obedience, quhilk of threwecht wes werray necessair;<sup>1</sup> and [at ?] our retwrnyng sett fordwart the makkyn off ane fort, seand nay wthyr way to bryng the cuntray to obedience; quhilk effter lang disputatioune culd nocht be thoycht possibille becais the asseatt wes swa incommode that on force we behwffit to mak twa fortis—ane to answour and defend the wdyr—quhilk hed bene to lang. Yit my lord twk monsieur de Wyngallome<sup>2</sup> and passit abowt the tone, and at the last hes fwnd ane assyett on the swtht syd of the tone, mekill mair necessair and off les trawail and expensis; and ther effter broyecht fowrtht the rest of the capitainis, quhar we haid lang dispuwtacioune, and monsieur de Wyngallome debaitit the mater with sik rasonis that the place wes thoycht gwd; and ther effter the mater wes dispwtit in consell and hoppit of na deliberacioune, swa that monsieur Desse and my lord ambassadour with the rest off capitainis and gentilmen woittit ilk ane for ther awyn part; bot at the end my lord ambasadour broyecht it to that fyn<sup>3</sup> that the haill army wald do that thyng culd be thoycht be my lord governour and the consell necessair for the service of the Realme. Quhareffter off trewtht my lord doid his part, bot effter we haid concludit and I reddy to hawe

<sup>1</sup> It is noted in the *Liber Emptorum* that the Governor was in the east from 13th to 27th February with a great army of Scots, French, and Germans for the recovery of Fernieherst, and for the punishment of thieves in Teviotdale.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Villegaignon, Knight of St. John, lieutenant-general of the French king's galleys. He had convoyed Queen Mary to France, but his galleys were again at Leith in March 1548-9. (*T.A.* ix. 291.) He was one of the commissioners appointed on the part of the Scots to treat for the exchange of prisoners in the following May. (*C.S.P.* i. 350.)

<sup>3</sup> *fyn*: conclusion. There had been no unanimity in the voting of the various leaders until D'Oysel induced them to accept the decision of 'my lord governour and the consell' as binding upon the 'haill army.'

schawyn the conclusion and delibratioune off my lord governour and the consell in presence of the hail nobill men off the army, my lord governour start schortly abak, quhilk maid ws all attonyst. Alwaysis my lordis Hwntlye and Dunkell followit my lord governour and effter greitt flytyng maid hym contentit and deliverit to mak ane stryntht, prowedyng that my lord wald promys to byd with hym, quhilk he doid, and maid ane prowision quhow we mycht recowyr thre thowsand pwnddis, becais monsieur de Wyngallyone twk on hym to compleitt the stryntht in thretty dayis hawand ane thowsand pionerris, quhilk had bene to sair to hawe lositt this cuntray in falt off sa sobyr ane sowme. Swa, madame, we hoip in God with pane and laboris our wayage sall be profitabile to your grace service. I hawe maid this lang dischowrs knawand your grace hes nocht greitt besynes, and to gyff your grace to knaw the hail procedyngis sen our departyng. Twychand my lorddis besynes towart the kyngis grace he refferis the hail mater to your grace as your grace thynkkis expedient and hes wreittyin to maister Jhone Hay,<sup>1</sup> nocht w[ith]standdyng he send hym of Londone the effett of the apponctement gyffen hym be your grace, that the samen be refferit to your grace advertiss[m]entis and the kyngis grace plesour. Fordar prayis your grace speik to thir gentillmen to remembyr the kyngis grace on my pwer service quhilk salbe fwnddyin, God willyng, to your grace contentacioune and commandement; prayand God gyf your grace lang heill with contentacioune off your desyrris. Wreityng at Jegbrwcht, the xx day of Febrware, be the hand [off]

Your grace maist hw[il]yll and maist obedient servitour  
CATHNES.<sup>2</sup>

[Endorsed: M. de Catenes.]

<sup>1</sup> John Hay, erstwhile Huntly's fellow-prisoner in London, had departed for France on 9th March 1547-8. (Selve, 305.) Selve's despatches have continual references to correspondence between Hay and Huntly.

<sup>2</sup> A holograph letter, with many insertions and corrections, as if written in haste.

## CC

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Jedburgh [c. 20th-26th February 1548-9].

Madame, pleis yowr grace witt, sen my last wreittyng our purpois wes changit, as my lord ambasadour will schaw yowr grace. My lord hes wreittyn to the kyngis grace, my lord constable,<sup>1</sup> and to my lordis duk of Omall<sup>2</sup> and cardinall off Gwys,<sup>3</sup> quhilk ar bot generall wrytyngis off creditt : ther is na mention off ony besynes. Yowr grace will do in that behalf as ye th[i]nk best, asswrand yowr grace my lord may do na mair for the contentacioune of [yowr] grace service nor he dois, as the end will schaw. I will [nocht] cummyr yowr grace with langar wreittyng, desyrand yowr grace hwmily to estyme me as yowr grace hwmyll and pwre servitour ; prayand God preser yowr grace eternaly. At Jegbrwcht, be the hand off

yowr grace mast hwmyll and maist obedient servitour

CAITHNES.<sup>4</sup>

[*Endorsed* : M. de Catenes.]

## CCI

*Lady Home to the Queen Dowager*

Home, 9th March [1548-9].

TO THE QUENIS GRAS.

Madem, I comend my hartly serwis to your grace. Pleis you to be advertesit that thar is cumit serten of

<sup>1</sup> Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France. His nephew François de Coligny, seigneur d'Andelot, was numbered among the French captains who took service under d'Essé for the Scottish wars.

<sup>2</sup> The dowager's brother, François de Lorraine, Duke d'Aumale ; succeeded his father as Duc de Guise in 1550.

<sup>3</sup> The Dowager's brother, Charles de Lorraine, Cardinal of Guise.

<sup>4</sup> A holograph letter, written apparently soon after the preceding despatch, and at least not later than 26th February—the date of the Governor's departure from Jedburgh. (*Liber Emptorum.*)

Inglis men to Beryk ma nor wes of befor, bot I belef tha well nocht all be thre thousand men. Caus wait one the fortht of Inaresk<sup>1</sup> sa mony as is nedfull, and maik for suir advertisment in tha parttis, that tha be nocht stoun on.<sup>2</sup> Als sua I beseik your grace to caus my son and all uder Scottis men that ye ma forga to cum in this cuntre,<sup>3</sup> for ther welbe besyn[e]s about this toun or ellis in som uder pairt in this cuntre.<sup>4</sup> The French men that wes heyr cald not agre with the capeden wes sent to tham, and said to hem they aucht na servis to the king, and we haf caussit hem to send for uderis sa mony as plissis hem, and pout tham away. This last rad was mad in England has doun na gud, bot maid our inimeis harde, and quhill it be mendit the Inglis men well never trast to geit skath. Your grac maun be vere scherp batht on the Franch men and on the Scottis men or it will nocht be weill; yet ader to do as aferis to tham or lat it be, tha mecht never getin sa gud ane tym. Pardon me that writtis sa hamly to your grac, for in gud feth it cumis of ane gud hart as than [*sic*] that loifis bath the honour of Scotland and Frans. Forder, God keip your grace. Writin of Hom, the ix day of Merch be

your graxis servetour

MARION LADY HOM.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The fort of Inveresk was in process of construction as headquarters for operations against the English. The exchequer accounts for March show that steps were taken to protect the fort against an expected attack by the enemy.

<sup>2</sup> *stoun on*: stolen on, taken at unawares.

<sup>3</sup> The Queen was then in Edinburgh. (*T.A.* ix. 295.) Perhaps it was to some extent as a result of this appeal that six days after the date of this letter the castle of Home was taken over for purposes of defence by the Dowager, the Governor, the French lieutenant and the French ambassador. (*Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report xii. App. viii. 94-5.)

<sup>4</sup> At the time of writing the English footmen on the Borders were concentrated at Berwick. The Scots feared that they meant to attack Inveresk in co-operation with the garrison of Haddington: but they may have been an escort, as they 'returnit efter the cuming of Wilfurde, capitane of Haddingtoun.' (*T.A.* ix. pp. xxxviii. 295.)

<sup>5</sup> The letter is holograph.

## CCII

*Luttrell to Captain Dogg*

Fort of Broughty, 17th March [1548-9].

TO CAPTENN DOGG ATT DONDE.

Wheras ye wrate unto me the last daye for Lytell and other maryners here, yf yow wyll send to the Quynys Ferye for Thomas Honer and to Corows<sup>1</sup> for John Saverye, I shalbe content, havinge thos too menne, to take whatt reasnable order yow canne requyr, so as I maye know your mynd thorowhley for suyche prisoners as ye have of my menn, and fall to a resnable comptytyonne accordinge to your promys. You have also by your late letter promysyd to renter Marshall or to delyver me my manne that is Cullannys prysoner of Aberdine;<sup>2</sup> which doinge, we maye compond yn all thyngis bothe for Stowell,<sup>3</sup> John Dogge and all other prysoners. [Luttrell has the 'Ryngraves'<sup>4</sup> written promise to show 'for our comptytyone of the quarterage,' and he protests the sincerity of his own actions. In a postscript he adds that he will pay for Dogg's prisoners on their delivery 'at the Cragge.' Written from the] fort of Borthe, this xvij of Marche by me

JOHN LUTTRELL.<sup>5</sup><sup>1</sup> Culross.<sup>2</sup> James Cullan, an influential shipowner, who played an active part in affairs. Cf. No. CLXXXI.<sup>3</sup> This is apparently the reading, but the word is cramped into the corner of the page and not clearly legible.<sup>4</sup> The Governor and Rhinegrave were in Dundee in December 1548 while boats were being prepared for the transport of French troops to this theatre of hostilities. (*T.A.* ix. 266; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1547-9*, 321.) De Beaugué narrates the prowess of the Rhinegrave at Broughty, but the part played by the Scots is left out of his picture. (Book ii. chapters xxvii., xxviii.) He seems to have departed from Scotland in the spring of 1549. (*Spanish Papers*, ix. 363-4; *Foreign Papers*, i. 31.)<sup>5</sup> The letter is holograph.

## CCIII

*James Gardyn's Instructions for an Attack on Broughty*

[Undated. 1548-9].

Sir, I commend me to you. Wyt ye that I haffe con-  
sidered yowr wrytyng, and cawsyt Cowper to consyder  
the sam, and we haff conswlt that ye sall prepare iii<sup>e</sup> men  
in jakis and knapsigis ; with ane c with sordis and bowk-  
leris, and ane c with Gewart stavis,<sup>1</sup> the thrid c, colwer-  
ingis and oder wapons, as ye thinke best, with a x of  
ledderis of xj steppis beth. And ye sal cast you to the  
north syd betix the bolwerk next the base cowrt and the  
oder bowlwerk abow that on the same syd, the qwhilk ye  
knawis is he rysit with tymer fyllit with earth. And  
betuex the twa sal ye cum be the awlde seip fawld be the  
quhelk ye sall fynd ij glakis, and be the twa sal ye cum,  
and sall get awaryng off the wall be the cast of a stone.  
And after that, ye sall cume nar, ane or ij, and ye sall haff  
spekis. And com quietly, and haff yowr men lyand at  
the fut of the hyl, and swch sal ye be resawit without  
ony knowlege of wach men, for Coper sal haffe them to  
his howse drynkand Mawese,<sup>2</sup> and he sal be apou the wall  
hymselfe. Herfor fere noch, for I beseik God, gyfe I wer  
with yow my self, for I suld be the fyrst.

*Nota* : that this man be dun apou Weddenesday at ij  
after midnycht after the sch[a]ngen of the wach. And  
bryng handsume wapons with your men and nay pykkis  
for common, and war that we get no harme etc. And for  
any thyng may be, brynge nay Frenche men bot Scotis  
men. Be noch feryt for thertylary, for we hayfe provydit  
for them.

JAMES GARDYIN.

[*Endorsed* : The copy of Jamys Gardyn letter.]<sup>3</sup><sup>1</sup> Jedworth staves.<sup>2</sup> Maueuse wine.<sup>3</sup> Apparently the copy of an intercepted letter of instructions for an attack on Broughty. The warning to 'brynge nay Frenche men' suggests that the date may have been about December 1548 when the Rhinegrave was at Dundee. See note to preceding letter.

## CCIV

*Order by Luttrell*

[Undated, 1548-49-50.]

'The Generall commaundethe,' under pain of death, that all soldiers 'frome hens forthe' shall sleep fully clothed and shod, in order to be 'in aredynes to repeare unto the wales at the fyrst warnynge': likewise, 'no hargabutter' shall 'coume frome the wales after they be placyd unto suche tyme as they be relyvyd with other to suply ther rumes.'

## CCV

*Lady Home to the Queen Dowager*

Home, 20th March [1548-9].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madem, I commend my hartly serves to your grace, sertifying your grace that the hors men of ther parttis of England that wes at Hatington past by this plas on Tysday.<sup>1</sup> And it is said be part of Inglis men, had the Franch men in Dobar beyn half parte<sup>2</sup> to tham, thar had few Inglis men past away. I exort your grace to caus the French men that sold cum heir to this plas of Hom to be heir wyth delygens<sup>3</sup> and that tha be honest men that will anser of ther lyf and honnour to the kingis henes of Franc and your grace, and that tha breng na man wyth tham to be thar sudaris and servetoris bot quhilk is well gifin: for your grace is knawin of Inglis men the mallis tha haf to Scottis men, and prens pale to us, and tha well nocht spair noder for cost nor travell to haf this plas. And thar is four of the French menis

<sup>1</sup> Tuesday, 19th March. The reference is probably to the return of the convoy that had escorted Wilford to Haddington.

<sup>2</sup> *parte*: ? party, opponent.

<sup>3</sup> It is likely that this was the French garrison that was to defend Home in terms of the agreement of 15th March. Cf. No. CCI.



servandis that is now in this plas past to Ingland and ane of them toik capeden Nicollayis <sup>1</sup> blak hors vyth hem, and tha ar in Northam. Your grace moun caus vevaris to cum vyth the Franch men both of weyn and flour and uder nessesares, for thar is lytell to geit in this cuntre, and tha ma sell it agayn to the soudarttis and brew beir to tham, and tak up thar waxis thar for, and by in to tham agayn, sa thay well be well fornist and your grace to haf na tensall. Efter that the French men cum to this plas to raman, and the cuntre brokin fra all assirans and som punist for offenssis doun, I well cum and speik vyth your grace, quhar your grace sall knaw all thingis consarning this cuntre. And God preserv your grac. Of Hom, the xx<sup>th</sup> day of March, be

your gracis servatour at command

MARYON LADY HOM.

[*Endorsed* : Le conte mareschal.] <sup>2</sup>

## CCVI

### *Lady Home to the Queen Dowager*

Home, 28th March [1549].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madem, I commend my hartly servis to your grace. Plis your grace that the Inglis men is marwelis dysplessit of this last carmis that my son our threw tham, and tha wellien <sup>3</sup> contant, and dystrow all this cuntre, quhar for I pra your grace caus the leutenand <sup>4</sup> wyth the garisonis to sped tham our. Als sua I beseik your grace to be gud

<sup>1</sup> A French captain named Nicolas was engaged in operations at Boulogne in September 1546. (Selve, 31.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. No. CXCIH.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> *wellien*: villain, evil.

<sup>4</sup> Cassillis was lieutenant of the Scottish forces in the South; d'Essé, Lieutenant-general of the French armies in Scotland until the following June, when he was succeeded by de Termes. (*T.A.* ix. 318.) It is likely, however, that the writer refers to the commander of the French garrison deputed for the defence of Home.

prencis to the Spangyarttis and lat tham cum agayn, for tha do lyk noble men, and als suay the Mour. He is als scharp ane man as rydis, beseking your grace to be gud prencis unto him. I wald your grace caussit the Franch men to cum to this plas. Thar is not xxx in to it, and tha ar our few quhan the Scottis men ridis forth; and gar vevaris cum to tham. Forder as accuris I sall adverttis your grace. The Spangya[r]ttis is awand bath mony that I caussit men len tham and als to the pur wyfis in this toun for ther expenssis, and the Franch men in lyk maner to the wyfis, that the pur folkis ma furneis na mar wyth out tha geit payment, as your grace ma well conseder. I dout nocht bot your grace well caus all to be payit. And the eternell God pryserw your grace. Wrytin of Hom, the xxviiij day of March be

your gracis humell servetour

MARYON LADY HOM.<sup>1</sup>

## CCVII

*Articles by Patrick, Earl of Bothwell*

Hermitage, 1st April 1549.

Thir ar the artielis that Patrik erle Boithuile greit admirall of Scotland promissis to bid at and debait with his body: that is to say ane hundreth men for ane hundreth men, or man for man, as the king of Frances majeste will pleis command him thairto.

In primis, that the quenis grace, his auld maistress, for his continewale service done for the tyme, and for eschewing of sic inconvenient cummeris that apperit to fall upoun hir, promest faithfullie be hir hand writ at twa sindre tymis to tak the said erle in mariage, hir taiking<sup>2</sup> deliverit to him thairupoun: and day assignit thairto as hir wittingis obligatouris under hir hand writ mair fullelie proportis.

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> *taiking*: token. According to the *Scots Peerage*, 'it was doubtless in the hope of this alliance that he procured a divorce from Agnes Sinclair, his spouse, before 16 October 1543.' (*S.P.* ii. 158; cf. *H.P.* ii. 65.)

Secundlie, scho gaif to the said erle the erledome of Fife during hir lifetyme for service done and to be done, as hir evidentis maid to him thair of proportis.<sup>1</sup>

Thridlie, scho gaif to the said erle fre the lordschip of Galloway elikemaner induring hir lifetyme.<sup>2</sup>

Ferdly, scho gaif to the said erle the erledome of Orkney<sup>3</sup> during hir lifetyme for payment, reservand ane thowsand merk thair of at the said erles dispositioun in feis quhair he plesit.

Alsua, scho is awand to the said erle foure thowsand crounis, and gaif in command to the ambassatour passand for the tyme to France to answer maister Michell Balfour, servitour to the said erle, twa thowsand crounis, and incontinent thereftir send the post with ane discharge.<sup>4</sup>

The said erle desyris thir articlis to be representit unto the king of Frances majeste, and for vereficatioun herof, and clering of all promissis allegit maid be him to Ingland afore the day of the dait herof offaris him tocum to France or Scotland quhair it pleissis the kingis majeste of France to appunct to debait the samin with his body aganis all thaim will say in the contrair: that he nevir did afore the said day that might be prejudiciall to the realme of Scotland. In witnes herof and for vereficatioun of the premissis he hes subscriwit thir presentis with his hand at Armetage, the first day of Aprile the yere of God ane thowsand five hundreth fourtynne yeris.

P. ERLE BOTHUILL<sup>5</sup>  
amirall.

<sup>1</sup> As Fife was not comprised in the Queen's terce, it is difficult to know on what ground she disposed of the earldom, unless it were a bribe to secure the adherence of Bothwell during her bid for power in 1544.

<sup>2</sup> The lordship of Galloway formed part of the Queen's jointure portion.

<sup>3</sup> The fruits of the earldom of Orkney, which had also been settled on Mary of Lorraine, had been granted by her to Huntly. Cf. No. XXXVI. The fact that his wife was a daughter of the house of Sinclair may first have turned Bothwell's ambitious hopes to dwell on Orkney.

<sup>4</sup> See No. CXCIV.

<sup>5</sup> It is not easy to understand the attitude of mind that inspired Bothwell to draw up these articles at this particular date. His signature is autograph:

## CCVIII

*Kerr and Macdowell to the Queen Dowager*

Mackerstoun, 16th April [1549 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRAICE.

Madem, we commend owre hartlie serwis to your graice. Ples your graice to weit that we haif rasawit your graice wryting and hard your graice credence, for the quhilk we ar bundinge of dewte to serwe your graice. And for the serwis that we may do for the weill of Scotland and for your graice, yowr graice sall kene weill that we sall do na les nor lyis in owr powar. And for sic advertisment as we cane geit furth of Ingland yowr graice sall be sur of it.<sup>1</sup> Besekand your graice that ye will find sum lywing for ws in Scotland, for owr hall traist and belcf is in your graice, and haid rathar or we lewit the lyf that we lewe in this contrie pas in ane uther realme to bege owr meit.<sup>2</sup> And farder this berar cane schaw yowr graice owr myndis, quham to pleis yowr graice gyf credence : and allmychty God hayf your graice in his keping. At Makkerston, the xvj day of Apryll

be your graice serwandis at power

GYLBERT KER OF PREMSYDLOWCH,

THOMAS MAKDOWELL OF MAKCARSTON.<sup>3</sup>

the paper has been folded, but no trace of a seal remains. The document has been printed in the *Miscellany* of the Bannatyne Club. (Volume ii.)

<sup>1</sup> The Government was apprehensive for the safety of Inveresk. Advertisement had been sent 'of the new cumpanye of Ingliche horsmen cumand in to Hadington, and of purposis to cum to persew the fort of Inneresk.' (*T.A.* ix. 302.)

<sup>2</sup> The Dowager had apparently not been able to 'find some lywing' for the writers. On 20th February 1550-1 a precept of remission for intercommuning with the enemy was issued to Macdowall. (*R.S.S.* xxiv. f. 64.)

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph in the handwriting of Macdowall. Premsidloch and Mackerstoun are in Roxburghshire.

## CCIX

*Thomas Wedham to Luttrell*

Waxham in Norfolk, 17th April 1549.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL SIR JOHN LOTERELL KNIGHTE,  
CAPITAINE OF THE KING HIS MAJE[S]TIE HIS FORTE OF  
BURTIE CRAG, YEVE THEIS IN HASTE.

[The writer states that] this laste monith of Marche I did enbarke in dyverse shippes a proporecioun of corne towards the furniture of the kingis maje[s]tie his highnes provision northwarde, emongis the whiche I did sende fourthe a hoye barke of myne, and as she did plye northwarde she was taken by a Skote whose name is Richard Waterston,<sup>1</sup> and nowe they do lye at Lythe. This Skotte hath fyve men lying in Burty Cragge, and he will not releas my men of ther imprisonment tyll his v men be sent from Burty Cragge. Wherefore theys may be most hartely to desyer you to releas theis Skottis. . . . And I bynde me by this my bill to aunswere you the raunsoms . . . of the seid Skottes. . . . From my howse in Waxham in Norfolk, this xvij of Aprill, Anno Regis Edwardi vj<sup>ti</sup> tertio  
Your freinde assuerid

THOMAS WEDH[A]M.<sup>2</sup>

## CCX

*John Hepburn of Dalry to the Earl of Bothwell*

[Edinburgh, c. April 1549 ?].

TO MY SPECIELL LORD AND MAISTER, MY LORD ERILL  
BOIDWELL.

My lord, eftir all hartly commendaciun of servis to

<sup>1</sup> On 28th March the treasurer issued instructions for an inventory to be taken of the booty 'brought in be Waderstoun.' (*T.A.* ix. 296.) This is probably the Watterton whose ship was wrecked in 1558. (Leslie, 262.)

<sup>2</sup> This is apparently Sir Thomas Wyndham, master of Ordnance in the King's ships, vice-admiral and navigator; the first Englishman to sail round Cape Verde. Cf. No. CCXV.

Only the signature is autograph.

your lordship, pleisit the samen to be remembirit at your last being in Leicht cumand up to Edinbrocht, your lordship desirit me to remain and await apon your servis dale. My lord, God is my witness ther is nane levand in erd I wald sa tit<sup>1</sup> spend my dayeis with as with your lordship, swa that I belevit at yhe wald huis<sup>2</sup> constandly part of my sobir counsell to your auin profet and honour. I haif sen your lordship haif mony awaitand apon yow within thir duisun or sexten yheris, haifand als gret traist and creidens of yow as neid wer. And quhat profet or fruit hais follouit throcht your lauburs to your lordship or your houis to this hour, your auin wosdum maye consider. God hais dun weill to yow in sundre sortis; nocht the les, and your lordship haid all the wit of Salomon togidder with als gret substans and yherly importans as evir haid Schotis man, without yhe haif an man at yhe maye gif traist to, to help to ordour all thingis and puit your mynd to effet, ther can na thing ga ryecht. And this man, as yhe beleif, to haif serten conduciunis. First, that he be an man to dreid God and his auin honesty. Sacund, at he luif your self betir nor your ger. Thrid, at he haif sum honest liif of his auin to leif apon. Nocht at I think me worde or abill to be this man, bot and your lordship trow that I can serve, and thar with desiris efectusly to be servit with me, I woll leif all wder bisines and await apon yow, quhair your lordship salbe suir of sindry avanttaigis of me, that I traist yhe haif nocht fund yhit with na man. First: I dar saye thar is nain of your suirnam hais mair experians of lauburis and cumiris of this wairild nor I haif haid, of the quhilkis part I haif coft.<sup>3</sup> Sacundlie: and your lordship haid all the substans the king of Frans hais, I sall nifir haif worth an grot of your ger, nor yhit na meling ther with. Thridly: and I dow yow nocht mair profitabill servis—and yhe woll dw part of my counsell—nor evir did levand man, I sall seik na revaird. Attour, quhair your lordship hais gifin and ofirit to wderis gret

<sup>1</sup> *tit*: *tyte*, soon.

<sup>2</sup> *huis*: use.

<sup>3</sup> *coft*: *coff*, buy, procure, exchange.

daly vaigis, \*I sall seik nen bot owicht or nocht be your auin discreciun, and ther with quhill I maye furnis an grot to speid your servis sall I nocht leif huisand me, as said is, to your auin weill.\* And gif your lordship thinkis this purpos be for your weill, to that effe at I maye stabill my procururis befor the lordis,<sup>1</sup> and puit part of wder bysines I haif adw to rest, len me an hundryth pundis apon my obligaciun to be paycid agan to your lordship betuix this and Pais cum an yher.<sup>2</sup> And I sall maik me reidy agan your lordship ourcuming to Loudien, or elis sall cum to yow quhar evir yhe be the daye at yhe appoynt me. My lord, gif your lordship thinkis thir thingis to be dun, lat me ken your mynd be your auin hand writ schortly, for ther is nen that servis your lordship that wolbe cuntent therwith, aluayeis tham that hais ony intrometing with your ger. I pray your lordship lat na man se my writing bot your self. Forder this Sundaye last the provest of Edinbrocht<sup>3</sup> requestit me to writ to your lordship tui[c]hand ane schip of merchand ger he said me your schip haid tan and brocht in to the Brunteland,<sup>4</sup> that your lordship wald cauis to bring hir to Leicht to that effe at the merchandis of Edinbrocht mot by the ger, and gif als lairgly thar for as ony wderis, and to find thua or thre of the maist substantius merchandis within the touin to maik yow paiement for the haill commenaty. Gif your lordship hais ony sik stuf to sell, I wait yhe haif avisit quhar yhe maye get maist

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\* \* I shall seek no wages, but let them be owing or not by your own discretion, and so long as I may furnish a groat to promote your service, shall not cease to use me, as said is, to your own weal.

<sup>1</sup> In April 1549 John Hepburn raised a suit before the lords as executor of Margaret Hepburn, Lady Sinclair, against Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairn. (*Register of Acts and Decrees*, iii. f. 2.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably Easter 1550. This would give him approximately a year for the repayment of the loan—if the surmise is correct that the money was borrowed for the litigation with Sinclair of Pitcairn. Easter Day fell on 21st April in 1549.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Kerr of Dolphinton was Provost of Edinburgh for the year beginning 4th September 1548. (*Extracts of Records of Burgh of Edinburgh, 1557-71*, 298.)

<sup>4</sup> On 27th April, messengers were sent to Burntisland 'to arreisit the prysis brought in be Hannis Fairtankis schip laidnit witht leid and tyn.' (*T. A.* ix. 303.)

and cum to best merket and all your avanttaigis in thaye behalfis. Farder I refer all thingis to your lordship ansuer, quhom the eternall God mot haif in evir lestand keping

Be your lordshipis with servis at pouir

JO. HEPBURN DALRY.<sup>1</sup>

My lord, douit nocht the pament of your i<sup>c</sup> pundis, for as I haif said I sall nifir haif an grot of your lordship ger quhill I be deid.

[*Endorsed* : Au conte de Baudeol.]

CCXI

*Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Perth, 28th April [1549 ?].

TO THE QWENIS NOBILL GRACE.

Plesit wnto your excellens, I have send my cousing dene of Dunkeld<sup>2</sup> wnto your grace for sic bissynes I have ado with your grace at this tyme. Becaus I am layth your grace suld be melestit with lang writin I have schawin him my haill mynd, quhom to pleis your grace giff credens as to my self, and gyf your grace pleis to command me to ony service in to the partis quhare I am bown to I salbe reddy at your gracis charge in the auld manere ; besekand Christe to conserve your grace eternally. Of Perth, the xxviiij day of Aprile

be your grace moste humill servitour

ERLE BOTHUILE.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Le conte de Baudouol.]

<sup>1</sup> The writer is probably John Hepburn, Rector of Dalry, in Ayrshire, and Archdeacon of Glasgow. (*R.M.S.* 4th March 1553-4; *Calendar of Deeds*, i. 426.) John Hepburn joined the Protestant party, and was minister of Dalry in 1564. (*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, iii. 84.)

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> James Hepburn.

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

There is no conclusive indication as to the date of writing, but the year is probably 1549. Bothwell would then be making his belated journey 'in to the northland,' at the command of the Earl of Huntly.



## CCXII

*Somerset and Councillors to Luttrell*

Greenwich, 7th June 1549.

TO OUR VERY LOVING FRENDE SIR JOHN LUTTREL KNIGHT,  
CAPITANNE OF BROUGHTYE CRAG.

HAST HAST POST HAST.

After our right hartie comendaciouns, we have received your lettre of the second of this instant monthe, whereby we perceive your sundry requestis aswell for vitailles as other thingis. And furste, where ye alleage that your men now a prety season have been faine for fault of beare to drink water,<sup>1</sup> and that your beef also will shortly faile yow, we must tell yow plainly that we have no litle mervaile of suche wantis, and namely to here conplaynt thereof maid by yow whose hand we have seen subscribed to certaine bokes sent hither mentioning what vitailles of all sortis hath been sent of late unto yow, so as, accompting the tyme with the quantite of the vitailles so sent yow, we fynde playnly that ye have received vitailles sufficient of which soever kynd ye had leest to have well lasted and have served the nombre ye have there for the space of three monthes from this present day forwardis, and of some sortis muche lenger. Wherefore we see not which way such want so long before the day shuld aryse, unles ye suffer the vitailles sent yow to be consumed by those of the cuntrey abowte yow, or wilfully to be caste awaye: so that, where you wishe ye shuld not alwayes be put so to the hazard of refresshing with vitailles hard upon the daye, we would wishe on thother part that ye would have no lesse respecte unto the conservacioun of your vitailles then of the peacis, which without vitailles are nothing; for, seing ye have the chief charge, ye shuld repute it no small portion thereof so to see to the conservacioun and dis-

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<sup>1</sup> Scarcity of water would make a supply of beer for drinking purposes more of a necessity than a luxury.

tributing of your vitales as your souldiours make no spoyle or waste thereof otherwise then their nead shall competently require, for els, if in default hereof ought shuld chauce to those peacis otherwise then well, ye must think that we will impute it to yow. And alwayes when ye fynd your self in such want, it is but a losing of tyme for yow to write unto us, but rather to addresse your lettres to those at hand,<sup>1</sup> which have thorder of thingis there committed unto them and, knowing your nead, may with spead relieve yow accordingly. Lykewise, where ye wisse that there might be a thorough paye maid unto yow, in dede we also would be glad thereof, for, as we take it, what with the money that hath been sent thither unto yow from tyme to tyme, and what with the summes that have been here delyvered to those that have come from yow unpaid, being therfore payed here with the defalcacioun of vitales, we take it that besidis a thorough pay there shall somewhat apere to remaine in superplusage towardis your next pay, as by the accompt which at this present your brother<sup>2</sup> is in making with the auditour, it shall upon the declaracion thereof appeare. In which behaulf we shall further referre yow unto your brothers relation, whome we will shewe our mynd more amply unto, aswell in this as other thingis, namely, touching the platt of the forte by yow devised to be made newly upon the easter hille.<sup>3</sup> Fynally, whereas ye requyre for yow money to have the barke of Watersons<sup>4</sup> that was lately taken in the frithe, ye shall understande that Mr. Wyndham hath made the like sute on his behaulf, whose lettre coming somewhat before yours had aunswer also somewhat afore

<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners of the North. See No. CCXVI.

<sup>2</sup> A brother of Luttrell was reported to have been slain in the attack upon Dundee in November 1548. The report may have been false, and this may have been the brother referred to. (*C.S.P.* i. 332.)

<sup>3</sup> On 11th February 1548-9, mention is made of the fortalice called 'Bracan-hill' near Broughty Crag. (*R.S.S.* xxiii. 60.) This may be the 'forte' to which Somerset refers. Cf. also No. CXCI.

<sup>4</sup> Waterson's ship was perhaps taken in reprisal for the capture of the 'hoye barke.' Cf. No. CCIX.

this. Nevertheles, at your request we have eftesones written unto him that he shall lett yow have her at a reasonable pryce, aswell at our motion as also for that ye desyre her for service, where we doubte not but he will satisfye yow as alyance and frendship togwithir with our lettre doth requyre. Thus fare yow hartely well. From Grenewich, the vijth. of June 1549

Your loving friendis

E. SOMERSET

J. WARWYK            ARUNDELL.<sup>1</sup>

A. WYNGFELD.<sup>2</sup>

### CCXIII

*Thomas Brothfeild to Sir John Luttrell*

[Before 20th June 1549 ?].

TO SIR JOHNNE LITTERALL, GENERALL CAPITANE OF THE  
KYNGIS MAGESTEIS FORTHT ABOWE THE RAWARE OF  
TAY.

The writer has 'spoikin with the lord of Duncroib<sup>3</sup> and George Rook as twy[c]hing my deliverance.' They have refused to liberate him, unless on a ransom of 240 crowns. He trusts that Luttrell 'will nocht lait me so ly, bot se sum way for my ralewe.'

*Signed :*

Youris to command,  
THOMAS BROWTHFEILD.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henry Fitz-Alan, Lord Maltravers, Earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain.

All the signatures are autograph.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Rollok, or Rollo, appears as laird of Duncrub in a Great Seal charter of date 18th July 1547. He is the ancestor of the Lords Rollo. (*S.P.* vii. 187-8.) Duncrub is in the parish of Dunning, in Perthshire.

<sup>4</sup> A holograph letter, undated, but probably before 20th June 1549. Cf. following Contract.

## CCXIV

*Contract for the Exchange of Prisoners*

Broughty Crag, 20th June 1549.

CONTRACT, dated 20th June 1549, between Sir John Luttrell on the one part, and 'Maister Johne Guthre<sup>1</sup> prisoneir and plege for Sir James Guthrie' on the other part.

The terms of the Contract are :

1. Guthrie shall deliver at his own expense two of Luttrell's servants, Skeris and Frye, to James Cullan at Broughty Crag.

2. Guthrie shall contract to pay to Luttrell the sum of 200 crowns. Of this sum 100 crowns shall be remitted as the ransom of Brownfeyld,<sup>2</sup> another of Sir John's servants. The remaining 100 crowns shall be paid in instalments : 20 crowns on Assumption Day<sup>3</sup> following; 20 crowns at Michaelmas; 60 crowns at Christmas, 'togidder wyth ane cast of falconis, ane cast of goishalkis and twa leyths of dogis to be deliverit to the said knyght at the said fort betuix this and the said last daye of pament.'

3. Guthrie shall deliver the said two servants of Luttrell, and enter his son, or brother, as pledge, before he departs; and on fulfilment of the contract 'bayth principalis and plege frelie to be deliverit of thair imprisonment.'

[*Endorsed* : In witnes of the quhilk, bayth the saidis parteis hes subscrivit this present contrak in dowbill forme with thair handis, at the new fort of Browthtye Crage, the said xx<sup>th</sup> daye of Junij, the secund<sup>4</sup> zeir of the kingis maje[s]teis regne.

<sup>1</sup> This may be John Guthrie, son of Sir James Guthrie, rector of Kyrk-botho. (*R.M.S.*, 30th December 1533.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. preceding letter.

<sup>3</sup> 15th August.

<sup>4</sup> ? *recte*, third year (1549). In the Contract itself the date is given as 20th June 1549.

## CCXV

*Thomas Wyndham to Luttrell*

On board ship, 29th July [1549].

[The writer reports matters of domestic interest, giving news of Luttrell's mother, his aunt, and his 'unkyll Wyndame' who 'hath gottin v<sup>c</sup>t of the contrye wyche he hathe gatherd with the playt of Saynt Dekans<sup>1</sup> to make a pere at Vatshed . . . wyche wylbe a gret hynderans to Mynet<sup>2</sup> and thaye of Mynet ar content to gyf yowe ther playte so that yow wyll send sume trusty mane with your lettar.' Sir John's 'frendys' are unfaithful stewards of his property. His 'howse of Dunstar ys yn muche decaye.' All things that he has in the country 'go to waste': his brother, Malet, is a chief offender.]

SIR JHON LUTTRELL, GENERALL OF BURTHYE.

Loke well to yowr selfe for all yowr mene waxys welthye but I her not of yowr welthe, for yowe sende so many of yowr men yn to Ynglonde, and ther thay tarry ther plesor wyche must be sargabull, and yow countyd as nothyng. . . .

My lord of Rutland<sup>3</sup> hathe senet me to boyes that came from Mr. Dudlye, layt captayne of Hwme, that I shulde send theme to yowe, and that you shuld sende yowr barke to Morry Fryht, and ther he wyll make menys to come to yowr barke as the boyes wyll ynforme yowe. The entirpryse wylbe honest nor thay shalnot myse of a pursase yn goyng or comyng; and thane yow maye the more boulder sende her aventeryng:—wyche I woulde wyshe that yowr barkc shuld attemte thys, and yf yt myzt schaynce, yt wyll torne muche to yowr worshype. I hawe

<sup>1</sup> The Church of St. Decuman's. (*Historical MSS. Commission*, Report x. App. vi. 74.) Watchet is in the parish of St. Decuman's, in Somerset.

<sup>2</sup> The whole manor and town of Minehead, in Somerset, with the liberties and franchises thereof, was the inheritance of the Luttrells of Dunster. The petition of the inhabitants to Queen Elizabeth (undated) contained 'that from time out of mind a pier, or quay, has been maintained by them.' (*Historical MSS. Commission*, Report x. App. vi. 79, 80.)

<sup>3</sup> Henry Manners, second Earl of Rutland, was warden of the East and Middle Marches from 1st May 1549 till 23rd March 1551. (*Official Baronage of England*, iii. 192; *Addenda*, 396.)

declayryd my opynyone to yowr brother and Pyne, wyche I praye yowe gyffe credyt. Wrytyn aborde the lese barke, the xxix daye of Julye.

Your assueryd unkyll

THOMAS WYNDAM,<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Your uncle Wyndams lettre datyd the xxix of July.]

## CCXVI

*Luttrell to Somerset*

[Broughty, after July 1549.]

May hyt pleas yowr grace to be advertysyd that I have nott this v weekis harde owt of Ynglond, nor yett sythe the comynge of Sir Petro Negro<sup>2</sup> and hys bande ther hathe nether benn monaye sent unto him, nor any kinde of thinge to clothe the powre soldyers here who bothe ar nakyd and barefote, neyther havinge fyar to keape them warme nor wherwithall to dresse ther meate. Yowr grace wrate unto me long since that yow hadde gyvynn order unto the Comysسیونers of the North<sup>3</sup> to supplye me from tyme to tyme, apon my resnable advertysment, so, as yowr plesure was then, I shuld nott troble yowr grace yn that behalfe aponn yowr sayde order takenn, butt I find my selfe so usyd that I am enforeyd for my dyscharge to advertys yowr grace of the myserye thatt I sustayne sondryc wayes—wyche nott beinge reformyd, I assuar your grace, neyther I nor anye other yowr grace shall please to apoynt hyther shall be able to kepe thes peces here for [? from] thennymyes handis; for, lyke as the

<sup>1</sup> The writer, Thomas Wyndham, vice-Admiral, was the half-brother of Luttrell's 'unkyll Wyndame,' who was anxious to build a pier at Watchet. John Wyndham had married Elizabeth Sydenham of Orchard, and settled in Somerset. (*Dictionary of National Biography*.) The letter is holograph. The signature does not correspond with the autograph signature to the letter of 17th April 1549 (No. CCIX), but the reference is apparently to the same person.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Petro Negro and his Spaniards had arrived at Broughty from Haddington before 2nd March 1548-9. (*A.P.C.* 261; *C.S.P.* i. 265.)

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the council appointed to assist Rutland (*Addenda*, 397). John Uvedale was treasurer for the garrisons in the North,

ayre of the cowntrye here ys cruell and colde, and the longe contynewance of saltemeatis therwithall an ynfection and poysonne to thos that serve longe, so ys the want of good payement a cawse that menne ar nakyd and ar not able to clothe them selves agaynst thos extremytis. What marchant wyll bringe warys where no monye ys sturring, or what gentyllmann maye satysfye menn yn suyche extreme wantis—spetyallye whenn the soldyer onlye cannott be relyvyd att ther captaynys handis, on whom onlye they crye? I have yn all thingis donn my dutye, I trust lyke a willinge subject, and shall do to the deathe. Butt I am obyd unto and consyderyd as tho yn my paynfull servys and good wyll I hadd attaynyd only for my rewarde yowr gracys utter yndignatyonne, neyther sufferinge me to se my cowntre and pow[re] lyvinge to take suyche order for my helpe as my extreme dettis<sup>1</sup> requyar, nor yett canne be so lokyd unto here as lyfe and nature maye be sustayned, for I darr saye hytt ys nott possyble that ony one manne maye lyve too or thre yere with that dyett that I am and have benn here enforecyd contynewallye to kepe. And one thing I belyve yowr grace shall find true, yf ther be nott some new soldyers sent hyther with spede and good provytyonne, ther wyll fewe of thes that now remayne here shortlye be eyther on lyve, or att lest able to crepe to the wallys, for who so ever stapys with lyfe att lest lesys the use of ther lymys and become veraye creples, amongys wyche powre menne the plage and poysonn ys as well lyghtyd on me—being now yn suyche case thatt I neyther fynd my selfe meat for servys, nor long for the world, yf the hande of God and yowr gracys goodnes and my lordis of the cowncell grant nott som relyfe and a spedy tyme apoynted for my repayre ynto Ynglond, for which occatyonn onlye I have sent this berer, Mr. Dare, unto your grace, who canne declare myne ynfyrmyte, and the estate of all other thingis here, more at lenght.

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<sup>1</sup> Luttrell did not escape from his financial difficulties. He was 'arrestit at his departing hame' for a debt of £19, 11s. (*T.A.* ix. 443.)

[Luttrell repeats his request for a speedy discharge, so that he may be restored to health, and thereby fitted for renewed service. He suggests as a suitable successor Mr. Constable<sup>1</sup> or Mr. Lawson,<sup>2</sup> who may serve better than the writer, 'bycawse ther friendis and furniture ys so neare att hande. Lykwyse Mr. Rendall were a mann ryght mete for the charge, who hathe a handsom bande of fotemenn bringe with him.']

My servant remaynythe yett at Barwyake attending apon the cowncell ther for the thoroغه paye of the last accompt, which I think he hathe nott yett receyvyd. Whenn thatt shall be payd I am vij monythes behind, and yett hytt shall apere the soldyers have receyvyd larglye att my handis, so thatt all the burdenn restythe on my head, wherfor humeble my suyte shall be unto yowr grace that yt maye please yow to comand the sayd paye now to be throglye fernyshed yn suyche sort as att my comyng over I may bothe leave my accompt just and perfytt, the soldyers somwhatt satysfyed, and I am able to kepe some part of my credytt. . . .

I shall, att my comyng over, gyve so perfytt a raconyng thatt the kingis majeste shall be awnsweryd of the lest jot thatt canne be layde to my charg.<sup>3</sup>

## CCXVII

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

[c. September 1549 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter my maist hwmyll commendacioune of service I hawe send ane servand to await on yowr grace serwand, lord of Fynletter,<sup>4</sup> for the wreittyngis yowr grace

<sup>1</sup> In June 1548 payment was made to Robert Constable, 'sent northward in the Kinges Majestes service.' (*A.P.C.* 1549-50, 206; cf. *Addenda*, 400.)

<sup>2</sup> A certain Edmond Lawson of Newcastle is named in an act of Privy Council on 19th March 1546-7. Captain Lawson was appointed to the command of Wark Castle in 1558. (*Addenda*, 476.)

<sup>3</sup> This is the draft of a letter, in the hand of Luttrell, to Protector Somerset. It was written not earlier than the middle of July, the date of the last communication in this collection addressed to Luttrell 'owt of Ynglond.' The request for recall—if delivered—was not granted.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Ogilvy of Deskford, ancestor of the Earls of Findlater.



ples send to the quenis grace yowr grace dochtir, and wtheris as yowr grace thynkkis cawis.<sup>1</sup> I have deliverit yowr grace writyngis to the lord of Downe. Madame, as to the lord of Finletteris besynes, I have broycht to ane gwd end that my lord my brother hes assurrit me to aggre with hym at his retwrnyng heir,<sup>2</sup> quhilk trewly, madame, wer ane meretable thying to help, and to the greit weill of our pwre hws, and to seis the scandell.<sup>3</sup> And, fordar, as to my part I sall, God willyng, merette to be estymit ane of yowr gracis hartly servitoris: referrand the rest to yowr grace plesour and command, quhame God preserve. Be the hand of yowr grace

Maist hwmyll and maist obed[i]ent servitor

CAITHNES.<sup>4</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Cattenes.]

### CCXVIII

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Dumbarton, Tuesday [8th October 1549].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter hartlye commendacione of himyll service ples witt I come to Dumbartane this Monunday<sup>5</sup> to the schyp, quhilk as I can persave will nocht be reddy to mak sail this sex dayis; q[u]harfor gyff yowr grace pleis

<sup>1</sup> These are probably the despatches which he took to France at the beginning of October. Cf. following letters.

<sup>2</sup> Huntly was at Aberdeen on 24th September 1549. (*T.A.* ix. 342.)

<sup>3</sup> This is a reference to the vexed question of the Findlater succession. Alexander Ogilvy disinherited his son and apparent heir, James Ogilvy of Cardell, by charters dating from September 1545 to August 1547. The estates were settled on Huntly's third son, John Gordon, who assumed the name of Ogilvy. After Alexander's death in 1554 his widow, Elizabeth Gordon, married her kinsman who had thus ousted the natural heir. James of Cardell sought redress, and a decret of 21st May 1556 effected an 'amicable settlement,' which proved, however, to be of only a transient nature. (See *S.P.* iv. 20-4.)

<sup>4</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>5</sup> 7th October.

command me ony uthyr service in the myn tyme yowr grace wyll fynd me in Dumbertane. Fordar, efferris to your grace nobill mynd and plesour. At Dunbertrane<sup>1</sup> this Twysday, be the hand off

Yowr grace maist h[u]myll and obedient servitour

CAITHNES.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Monr. Alexandre Gordon.]

### CCXIX

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Dumbarton, 8th October [1549].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter maist hwmyll commendacione off service ples yowr grace witt I deliverit yowr grace wreittyngis to my lord governour and culd be nay way get his wreittyngis to the kyngis grace, albeit I maid thaim in dew forme or my departyng off Edynbrweht. And fordar, becais he suld hawe na suspicion, I opinit yowr grace wreittyngis and cawsit the byscoip of Galloway<sup>3</sup> reid the samin, quhilk culd nocht help; bot he desirit me abyd my lord of Sanctandros cumyng, quhilk I mycht nocht do, and swa I gat na wreittyngis bot ane to my lord govern[ou]ris sone<sup>4</sup> and ane udyr to Miwlyns.<sup>5</sup> At my cummyng to this tone I fand the kyngis schyp departit viij dayis or my arrewyng, yit as plesit God, sche wes pwt bakwart be storme off weddyr, and becais I fand ane contrariws wynd I send ane serwand bakwart to Hwnyiltone with ane

<sup>1</sup> The place of writing was originally given as *Glaschow*, as if the writer had just come from that town, or was in some way preoccupied with recent transactions there.

<sup>2</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Dury, a cousin of Cardinal Beaton; said to be a brother of George Dury, Commendator of Dunfermline. (*Bps. of Scotland*, 374.) He accompanied the Queen to France in 1550. He is stigmatised by Knox as an 'enemy of God.' (*History*, 261-2.)

<sup>4</sup> James Hamilton, who had preceded Queen Mary to France in 1548.

<sup>5</sup> The Sieur de Moullins, who had been lieutenant of de Lorges in Scotland in 1545. Cf. Nos. CI, CIII.

wreittyng to my lord of Sanctandrois, quhairof I have send the copy to your grace serwand, master Walter Kyr,<sup>1</sup> to schaw your grace. I send your grace ane cyphyr quhilk I deliverit to your grace secretair. I have wreittyn at lyntht to my lordis Hwntly and Argill,<sup>2</sup> and dowttis nocht bot your grace sall fynd tham effekit to the contentacione of your grace only. And efter my cummyng to France sall labour and obtyn wreittyngis of the kyng your grace brethyr and my lord constabill with the report that I sall mak my self that thay salbe spwrrit<sup>3</sup> sic sort to serwe that the affarris and cummerris salbe fordair releyffit of your grace nor affair. Madame, I can nocht gyf your grace sufficient thankkis, nor merite be my service your grace gwd mynd and help towart me. Allways will asswre your grace that the pwre witt and mynd God hes gyfin me sall be vigilant to that thyng that I can estyme to be fordest to your grace plesour and will by the rest of the wardill; and, God willyng, your grace sall hawe fordair experriance. I haid nocht gottin your grace wreittyngis to the quyn your grace dochtyr and soverane nor the Scoittis lordis<sup>4</sup> at the makkyn of this present. I fynd this cuntray folkis makand diligence to the ost<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Walter Ker who figures in the *Treasurer's Accounts* (ix. 25).

<sup>2</sup> Huntly and Argyle were together in Stirling on 21st October when the Governor summoned them 'to speid towart' the muster of the army. (*T.A.* ix. 349).

<sup>3</sup> *spwrrit*: spurred. The writer does not specify the 'affarris and cummerris' for which relief was thus urgently sought: but, on 29th September, the Queen had written from Edinburgh to her brother the Duke d'Aumale 'que je n'ai jamais eu tant de mal en comparaison de celui que j'ay depuis la venue des Francois. C'est chose estrange de ces gens là qui avoyent quatre ou cinq mil ecus en leurs coffres & voyoient mourir l'armée d'un Roy de faim, & me falut engager bagues & tout ce que j'avois de valant pour la secourir, & personne ne m'y aide que le pauvre ambassadeur.' (Quoted, Beaugué, App. p. 300.) It is likely that Gordon was himself the bearer of this letter. The troubles which he reports at Dumbarton afford an illustration of the prevalent ill-feeling between Scots and Frenchmen.

<sup>4</sup> The Scottish lords of the household of Queen Mary in France. (See Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 196-7.)

<sup>5</sup> They were probably answering the summons to muster at Roslin Moor on 20th October, 'for recovering of the fortis furth of our inemeis handis.' (*T.A.* ix. 342.) The *Diurnal of Occurrents* states that on 20th October the army was

\* at my cumyng to this tone.\* Ther cowme ane greitt bill of complantt to the capitane of Dumbartane<sup>1</sup> of the spwlzeing of the Ill of Cumray, quhilk partenis to the renews of the castell, done be marinoris of the kyngis schyp; and thay twk in this towne foir or fyf Bretonis that thay allegit wes at the samen faitt,<sup>2</sup> and pwt tham in [the] castell. Allways I lowsit tham on souerty and sall do diligence to apleis the capitane to the satisfacione of baytht the partis, and sall tak ane serwand of the capitane with me in the schyp and pwt the best ordour therto we may. Always ther wes sckaytht done, bot nocht sa greitt as thay mak the brwt. The capitane at my desir relyf [*sic*] tham owt of the castell and schew hym gwd in the mater; bot I said sa far in the mater that I beleyf he sall be laytht in tymis cumyng to mell with Frencemen in that maneir. I refer the rest to that thyng your grace ples command. Wreityn at Dumbertane, the viij day of October be the hand off

Your grace maist hw[m]yll and obedient servitour

CATHNES.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Levesque de Cattenes.]

### CCXX

*Alexander Gordon: Copy of a Letter to Archbishop Hamilton*

[Greenock, c. 8th October 1549].

TO BE SCHAWIN TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

My lord, pleis your lordschip I optenit my depesche of the quein, quhilk I exped with the grater deligens for to

dispersed 'throw counsall of the erle Huntlie' (page 48). But on the 21st, 23rd, and 25th, writings were sent to Stirling to Huntly and Argyle, 'for haisting fordward of the armye.' (*T.A.* ix. 349.)

\* \* In the absence of punctuation in the original, these words might read equally well with the preceding sentence.

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Hamilton, who had succeeded George Stirling of Glorat when Dumbarton Castle was surrendered to the Governor in 1546.

<sup>2</sup> *faiit*: deed. French, *fait*.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

haif mair suir passaige with the kingis schipe, quhilk I haif ourtakin be chance, for scho wes departit, bot this contrarius storne hes put hir abak to Grenok quhair scho abydis the wynd and will tary on na man efter the wynd serve hir. War nocht that, I suld haif returnit my self to your lordschip.<sup>1</sup> Therfor gyff my lord<sup>2</sup> or ye wretis, prayes [your] lordship mak the grater deligens.

And conforme to the quenis grace writtingis send with me I causit hir secreter dyt thir uther writtingis to be subscrivit be my lord, and, forther, oppinnit the quenis writting and leit my lord of Galloway se the samin: beseikand your lordschip humilye, gyff thir be nocht maid as efferis—be ressoun my lord of Galloway plengzeit apon the ortographye of thaim, quhilk wes the falt of Jakis,<sup>3</sup> your lordschip servant quha wret thame,—to gar mak utheris as ye pleis, with quhat uther service my lord or your lordschip pless command me. My hoipe wes that his grace<sup>4</sup> wald haif done me that honour by all generall effaris. All haif gewin me sum speciall credet for divers utheris resp[ect]tis, thoct I be nocht worthy therfor. It is diffieil to his grace or your lordschip to knaw ony mannis service quhill experience be had therof. Always quhill his grace be myndit therto, sall mereit his gud mynd with humile service as ony sall in this realme of my powar and estait. Praying God, my lord<sup>5</sup> . . .

[*Endorsed*: The copy of my lord governouris<sup>6</sup> writting.]

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Hamilton.

<sup>2</sup> The Governor. Arran was at Hamilton from 2nd to 10th October. (*Liber Domicilii*.) Gordon begs that, if they mean to write, they will make haste in forwarding their letters.

<sup>3</sup> This is presumably the Jakis, or Jacobus Narratius, who figures in the *Treasurer's Accounts*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Henry II., King of France.

<sup>5</sup> The 'copy' breaks off abruptly here, omitting the concluding courtesies.

<sup>6</sup> Gordon's explicit statement in the previous letter shows that this is clearly a clerical error: the recipient of the original was 'my lord of Sanctandros.' The 'copy' is holograph in the hand of Gordon.

## CCXXI

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Dowager*

Cumbrae. On board ship, 10th October [1549].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter our schyp wes ondyr sell I rasawit this present fra my lord my brother, quhowme I fynd hartlye mynddit to do your grace trew service. He desiris me be at your grace command as rasone is—quhilk I will newyr refws quhill I may lest<sup>1</sup>—and be reddy to do my lord governour plesour, thocht trewly, Madame, I have bene bot sobyrlly regardit at this tyme and man hawe patience. I se na help bot be your grace and hoppis na udyr ; quhilk, gyf God ples, I sall mereitt efter my pwer p[o]war with humyll service, and is glad to[b]e nottit as your grace only pwre servitour, for at the lyst my lord governour will be gwd to me efterwart for your grace saik. Thus will I nocht pwt your grace to fordir cummyr, bot sall trewly imploy my pwre witt to do your grace service, referrand the rest to your grace commandement. Pray[a]nd God, Madame, efter my mest hwmyll commendatione of service, preser your nobill grace eternaly. Wreittyn at Cummray onder sell, the x day of October be the hand of

Your grace rycht hwmyll and rycht o[bey]sant  
servis (*sic*)

CAITHNES.<sup>2</sup>

I gat na answer fra your grace at the makkyn of this present.

## CCXXII

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Methven, 24th October [1549 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madem, eftir all hummill and obedient service pleis your graice, sen your grace departit of Pertht the erll of

<sup>1</sup> *lest*: live.<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

Huntle spak wyth the lord Ruthven for gud dres of this slachtir committit laillie on an servand of the lard Tulibardin.<sup>1</sup> The lord Ruthven schew his innocence, and that he had promittit unto your grace to do therin as your grace pleissit command him. The erll of Huntle send for me, and caussit the erlls of Arroll and Athoill<sup>2</sup> and me to pas to Tulibard[in] quhar we commonit at lyntht wyth the lard and his utheris freyndis, quhai on his part inlykwys sayis he will do the ordinance of your graice. Madem, sen your graice has evir ussit perseverand lawbouris for the common weill of this realm, now reconsail this caus, and now presentlie at the cummyng of the erll of Huntle and Argaill your graic and my lord governour<sup>3</sup> to dysyr tham to speik wyth the lord Ruthven and the lard Tulibardin and wyth thar freyndis, and ther efter your graic and my lord governour to mak fineill concord quhilk suld perseveyr constantlie and of luf in tym to cum. This beand, thai wyth thar kyn freyndis and servandis ma the bettir serve the auctorite; and gif it pas ony lang tym nocht reconsallit, ma cum to greit inconvenyentis quhilkis salbe impediment to the service ther of. Madem, as ane of your grace humell servitouris I thocht best to advertice your grace herof, beseking the eterneill God to consarve your graice evir. Of Methven, this xxiiij day of Octobeir

be your graice maist hummill and obeisand servitour

HENRY LORD METHVEN.<sup>4</sup>

[*Endorsed*: M. de Metfan.]

<sup>1</sup> William Murray of Tullibardine, ancestor of the Murrays, Earls of Athol.

<sup>2</sup> Athol had a commission of justiciary within the barony of Dunkeld for three years from July 1549. (*E.R.* xviii. 478.)

<sup>3</sup> The Queen and the Governor were both in Edinburgh in October 1549. Huntly and Argyle were probably 'cummyng' in response to the repeated summons to hasten forward to the muster of the army. Cf. No. CCXIX.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is holograph.

## CCXXIII

*Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 18th December [1549 ?].

TO THE QWENIS GRAICE.

Plesit unto youre graice I haiff ressavit youre excellence commandment to meit youre graice in Faulkland the xiiij day of this monethe instant to pas with youre graice to this conventioun,<sup>1</sup> and I haiff gottin latlye ane writing fra my lord governour to sped furthe my schippis upone thir Inglismen that lysis in the Fyrthe with diligence possible :<sup>2</sup> and uther gret besynes I haiff ado of my awn instantlye, quhilkis can nocht be done without my awin presens as youre graice sall clerlye know her efter. Her for I besek youre graice to appardone my absence, sua that I may put forwart my besynes at this tyme to that effect, that I may await ther efter at grettar lasar upone youre graicis service. Forther this berair will schaw your graice the causis of my carye at gretter lenthe, quhamto it plesit youre graice gyff credence ; praying the eternall God ever to preserve [your] graice. Of Edinburgh, the xiiij day of Decemb[e]r instant

Be youre graicis maist humill and subget servand

[Endorsed : Conte de Baudouel.]AMIRALL.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A 'counsale' was apparently held at Stirling at the end of December 1549. (*T.A.* ix. 362.) The Governor was in that town from 23rd to 30th December (*Liber Emptorum*), and as he ordered payment to be made to 'the Quennis servandes in Striviling' in the same month, the inference is that the Dowager was also there. She certainly sent a despatch to France, dated at Stirling on 10th January 1549-50. (Teulet, i. 716.) As her letter refers to the mission of Monluc, who was about to proceed to Ireland on the King's affairs, it seems likely that secret and weighty business was afoot for the furtherance of French designs in that country with the help of Scotland. It is noteworthy that 'ane gentillman of Ireland in Striviling quha come furth of France' had a reward of 'xxx crounis of the sone' from the *Treasurer's Accounts* of December. (*T.A.* ix. 361.) For an account of Monluc's mission to Ireland, see *Memoirs of Sir James Melville*, 9-10 (Bannatyne Club).

<sup>2</sup> It would be necessary to keep the Firth clear in December 1549, as troops were being transported from Leith to Kinghorn. (*T.A.* ix. 361.)

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph. The seal of the signet is preserved. It bears the name KEIR on a shield within a circle, embossed. Cf. No. CXC.V.



## CCXXIV

*Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Langnewton, 24th December, 1549.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Pleis it unto your grace I have spokin the dene of Dunkeld<sup>1</sup> and the lard of Wauchtoun<sup>2</sup> my freyndis directit, be thair report, be your grace, desyring me to sindrie thingis,—the quhilk I thought nocht nedfull in the tyme. And becaus I hard be thame thai wer nocht in redynes to repair towart your grace I have send my freynd and servand maister Willame Broune to knaw your graces mynd and will in the said thingis, with sindrie uthair thingis I have commandit him to schew unto your grace : to quhome it will pleis your excellence to gif him credit, desyring your grace to command me with sic service as lvis in my powar, quhilk salbe reddy at all tymes as your grace will pleis to charge. Thus Crist preserf your grace in helth and prosperite. At Langnewtoun, the xxiiij day of December 1549.

Be your graces humyll servitour

P. ERLE BOTHIUILL.<sup>3</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Du conte de Baudouol du xxiiii<sup>me</sup> de decembre, 1549.]<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Hepburn. It is noted in the *Treasurer's Accounts* of 18th August 1549 (page 331) that Bothwell's castle of Hermitage 'suld have bene deliverit to the keparis thair in to the hands of oure ald inemys of Inglande, and gevyn to the Dene of Dunkeld for to stay this thair purpos and to deliver it to the handes of my lord governour, and his doarris. . . . ij<sup>o</sup> xxv<sup>th</sup>.'

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, in Roxburghshire.

<sup>3</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>4</sup> It is commonly supposed that, in August 1549, Bothwell swore fealty to Edward VI., and bound himself 'to renounce Scotland and promote its union with England.' (*C.S.P.* i. 353-355.) On Sunday, 25th August, a warrant was issued for the payment of his pension. (*A.P.C.* 1547-50, 318.) On the other hand, the evidence of this and the preceding letter seems conclusive proof that Bothwell was in Scotland in December 1549. The documents printed by Bain are only copies, not precisely dated in all particulars. It is possible, although it seems improbable, that Bothwell had indeed made a secret journey to England, and had returned to carry out his covenants. Be this as it may, he

## CCXXV

*Hew Campbell of Loudoun to the Queen Dowager*

Loudoun, Tuesday [c. January 1549-50 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit your grace, this Tysday Andro Hamylllyown<sup>1</sup> has brocht wrytyngis fra your grace and my lord governour to me to be rady to cum as I be advertest, quhylk aperris that I wald nocht do the samyn. Quhowbeyt I rassafit never a charge that mycht be obbeyt nor sould do, as I schew your grace. For gyf my lord governour wald byd me cum with all that wald cum with me, I sould be rady as I war bodyn to cum, alls soyn as sould ony uder. Bot to send ane baysit fallow<sup>2</sup> and proclamynng letters with in the nycht to caus ane cuntre to cum fordwart within twa dayis, it can nocht be fullfyllit in ferr parttis; and thar cumis sa mony chargis and nocht answert, and na punision, quhyll<sup>3</sup> tha ar nocht sett by nor dred. Praying your grace conseder the samyn; for as to my part, quhen his charge is nocht sett by and the cuntre at syc poverté and wnradyne,<sup>4</sup> my charge can nocht be obbeyt to gett ony nowmer, for all that I bryng I man mayk thair expensis. Bot in tymes to cum I sall cum my sellf and advertys the laif, bot I se na provision mayd for ocht I can do, bot on part of my awn servandis, quhylk can be na

---

had traffickings with the enemy and was held suspect by the Scottish government. He was summoned to answer for treason on 29th July 1550 (*T.A.* ix. 414, 430), but he seems to have been then in England. In that month he had a warrant for payment of £500 'by waie of the Kinges Majesties rewarde.' (*A.P.C.* 1550-52, 92.)

<sup>1</sup> Several people figure in the *Treasurer's Accounts* under the name of Andrew Hamilton; and all of them in the Governor's interests.

<sup>2</sup> A 'fellow' is distinguished from an ordinary messenger 'who is usually called an "officer" or a "boy."' (*T.A.* ix. xlix.)

<sup>3</sup> *quhyll*: until, with the result that.

<sup>4</sup> The *Treasurer's Accounts* onwards from the end of 1548 are full of entries regarding absentees from musters.

nowmer. I thynk to se your grace or Sunday;<sup>1</sup> quham I pray God to preserve etternely. At Lowdon, this Tysday, be

Your obbedyent servituir

HEW CAMPBELL.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed* : Huw Campbel.]

CCXXVI

*Hans de Froemont to Sir John Luttrell*

5th January [?] 1549-50 [?].

The writer, Hans de Froemont, has borrowed from Juan de Cosio some money, which he is taking to Captain Pedro Negro.<sup>3</sup> If the said Juan should ask for repayment, the writer begs Luttrell to give him £6.

Written on 5th January, 1550.<sup>4</sup> [5 de henero 1550 anos.]

HANS DE FROEMENT.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Sheriff of Ayr was present with the Dowager in Falkland in January 1549-50. There is no definite evidence to establish the precise date of this letter, but the setting and general circumstances suggest that it was written in January 1549-50, in answer to 'proclamyng letters' of summons 'to cum fordwart' to the projected enterprise against Broughty.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. No. CCXVI.

<sup>4</sup> The date is difficult. It may be 5th January 1549-50, as the letter is addressed to Sir John Luttrell, as General of Broughty Crag, and Broughty was captured on 12th February at midnight (*hora media noctis*). (*Liber Emptorum*.) On 16th May, Sir George Douglas and the Master of Semple bound themselves to relieve Archbishop Hamilton of £1000 at the hand of James Dog of Dunrobin for the ransom of Sir John Luttrell within a month after the homecoming of their sons, because they have caused deliver Luttrell free 'but ransome for releif of ther twa sonis.' (*A. D. C. S.* xxvi. 128.) In June 1550, Luttrell had promise of lands to the value of 100 merks yearly 'in consideration of the notable good service he hath doone.' He died before 10th July 1551. (*A. P. C.* 1550-52, 58, 315.)

<sup>5</sup> Hans de Froemont was probably a Flemish mercenary in the service of England. The letter is holograph, in a kind of bastard Spanish dialect, not clearly intelligible.

## CCXXVII

*James Beaton to the Queen Dowager*

Paris, 12th April [1550].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Emplesit your grace, I delyverit your grace wretingis on Pais ewin<sup>1</sup> at Pariis to the kingis grace, to your grace broder the duk Domal and to the marechal of Sanct Androus,<sup>2</sup> quhilkis war occasion that I wes weil taine wicht be the kingis grace, quhair trow I find me ever to be onabil to do your grace sic service as may recompance your grace affection schauuing heir be your grace wretingis in my recommendatioun, bot that, God willing, mak it be knauuine baicht heir or quhair your grace plessis to amploy me that thair salbe na man mair fervent nor bettir willit to do the thing I may knaw to your grace contentation and plesour nor I. And thankis your grace of your gud avancemant undeservit, bot as I may sal ever be reddy to await on your grace charge and do as it sal pleis your grace command me. Beseikand your grace that the affectioun and recommendatioun schauuin ellis<sup>3</sup> be your grace wretingis may persever, and that your grace wald remember the samming in your nixt wretingis, for I knaw quhat thay may avail\* heir and quhat\* sted thai\* will do me, as I sal ever abid your gracis servitor and reddy to fulfil al your gracis desiris als far as ony levand of my degre.

I haif nocht gottin as yit ane resolat ansuer fra the kingis grace of your grace wretingis, bot is stayit heir on the doune cumming of maister Alexander Gordoun quha is, as your grace broder my lord cardinal of Guis hes wretin to the kingis grace, to be heir haistelly and is ellis depertit of the court of Rome<sup>4</sup> quhair, as is belevit heir,

<sup>1</sup> 6th April 1550.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques d'Albon, Seigneur de St. André, Marischal of France. He was an ambassador to England in 1551, when he brought the Order of St. Michael to Edward VI.

<sup>3</sup> *ellis*: already.

\* \* \* These words, originally omitted, have been inserted between the lines.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Gordon, after having waited upon the Duke d'Aumale in the court of France, proceeded to Rome towards the end of January 1549-50.

he hes obtenit the archbisshoprik of Glasquo. I traist the kingis grace wilbe avisit wycht his provisioun and thaireftir mak his grace mynd be knauuin to me. And I sal nocht fail to advertis your grace as I gait ansuer wicht al uder sted and service lysis in my pouar. Prayng your grace to amploy me as one of your gracis auuine servitouris and haif my maist humbil service recomme[n]dit; beseiking als the eternal God haif your grace in keiping. At Paris, the 12 day of Appril

Be your gracis humbil and obedient servitour

JAMES, ABBOT OF ABIRBROTHOK.<sup>1</sup>

(*B.P.* ii. 309-10.) On 5th March, he was provided to Glasgow, void by the death of Archbishop Dunbar on 30th April 1547. (*Bps. of Scotland*, 349.) At the date of this letter, the writer was himself postulate of Glasgow (27th February 1549-50; *Register of Glasgow*, ii. No. 509), and on the 25th the Pope represented to the French king that Gordon had obtained possession against the will of the Governor. (Eubel, iii. 220 n.) The first nomination, on the part of Arran, had been James Hamilton, his natural brother. When he was made plainly to understand the strength of the opposition to this manifestation of family aggrandisement he proceeded to nominate Donald Campbell, Abbot of Cupar, before August 1548. (*Papal Bulls in Hamilton Papers, S.H.R.* xxii. 34.) On 6th May 1549, Beaton had a gift of the temporalities of Glasgow until such time as an archbishop should be lawfully provided, but he was forbidden to intromit with the fruits before the following Whitsuntide 'because my lord governour hes contentit him uthirwayis in the meyntyne.' (*R.S.S.* xxiii. 56.) In November 1549, he was at the horn, and a day fixed for his trial in Edinburgh on a charge of treasonable intercommuning with the enemy at Broughty. (*Ibid.* 53; *T.A.* ix. 356.) According to the spy 'Ye Wit Who,' he was at the horn in August because he would not resign Arbroath in favour of Angus, and accept Glasgow in exchange. (*Addenda*, 393.)

<sup>1</sup> James Beaton, nephew of the Cardinal, whom he succeeded as Abbot of Arbroath in opposition to the Douglas claimant, a natural son of the Earl of Angus. Beaton was provided during his uncle's lifetime by a papal bull dated at Rome on 22nd March 1545-6. The instrument of admission bore date 1st June 1546. (*Register of Glasgow*, ii. 505, 507.) After the Cardinal's death, however, Arran for political reasons bribed Angus with the promise of Arbroath. (*Archbps. of St. Andrews*, v. 30.) But possession was not forthcoming, and in March 1547-8, when the Douglases were again in negotiation with England, they determined to pick a quarrel with the Governor over this grievance. (*Addenda*, 369.) In view of the international situation it was apparently thought wise to grant the bone of contention to Angus. Palmer, at least, was informed, on 1st July, that Angus had received the bulls of Arbroath: and so he did not 'meddle' in the siege of Haddington.

The letter is holograph in a French hand. Beaton was educated in Paris.

## Nos. CCXXVIII-CCLII: INTRODUCTORY

THE Correspondence in this section marks the period of transition between the proclamation of peace in April 1550 and the transference of the Government from James Hamilton, now Duke of Châtelherault, to Mary of Lorraine in April 1554. It was a time of readjustment to peace conditions, and of tidying up after the disorganisation of the wars. For the rest, these were strange and unquiet years in which the vague forebodings as to French designs began to assume more definite form and shape. The uncertainty of the Governor's tenure of authority created a state of strain and tension, fruitful of disturbance and self-seeking until the situation was finally resolved by the legal establishment of the Dowager as Regent of Scotland, in the name of her daughter, and in the interests of the King of France. This consummation, it will be seen, was the result of persistent and unrelaxing pressure, sometimes obvious in its nature, sometimes more insidious in its working.

The Dowager lost no time in adapting herself to the new conditions and launching upon a new line of action. Within two months of the publication of the peace the rumour was abroad 'that your grace, God willing, purpos in France.' [No. CCXXVIII.] It is significant that the intention of her journey had become common knowledge at the date of her brother's visit, a visit as unwelcome to the burgesses of Edinburgh as it was short in its duration. [No. CCXXIX.] Probably the brother and sister took counsel together on this occasion, although the Dowager did not depart until September.

Domestic considerations must undoubtedly have weighed with her, but it is obvious that reasons of state held the foremost place. She went to pursue certain definite political objects, while she left her agents as faithful guardians of her interests in Scotland. The functions of their office would naturally detain the Governor and the Primate at home, but the Dowager took care that they should have no unfettered hand in the conduct of affairs. Lord Gray, a prisoner who had had remission from the Scottish government, was for some mysterious reasons 'deliverit in my lord ambassaturis and lieutenantis keping in the castell of Blacknes.' [No. CCXXXII.] It is notorious that at an earlier date the French had been clamant for the head of Gray, and that he was now handed over to his enemies. Clearly, the imperial envoy was not entirely misinformed by the report that D'Oysel 'wields almost sovereign authority in matters of state and justice.' The extent of his authority was the measure of the weakness of the Governor, whose freedom of action was still further fettered when the Dowager despatched Lord Maxwell, her pensioner, from her side to return to Scotland.

It was on business, not on pleasure, that he rode straight-way 'to Jedburghe quhair I fandc my lord governor at the Justice airis accompanit with munsur Dosee and aparte of the Franche men.' Among other matters it was his delicate task to broach the subject of the 'sclanderous bruit' of a plot 'to prevein the tyme of the gouvouris office afore the quenis cuming to perfite age.' [No. CCXXXIV.] The Duke's reply that 'he regardit nor gave credit to na sik thing,' and that 'he vas myndit to proseid safwrthe that the king and ye baith sulde have ever the langer the better oppenyon in him,' was no doubt a politic 'sorte of guidnes,' but in the circumstances it was a humiliating confession. It was virtually an avowal

of failure to pursue an independent policy even in the absence of his rival. If there were any truth in the English suspicions that the Justice Ayre was meant to mask a contemplated attack on Berwick, then the attempt to take by force the objects in dispute with England was an alarming manifestation of independent action, and may explain the mission of Lord Maxwell.

The Dowager had reason to be gratified by her emissary's report, containing, as it did, the tacit capitulation of the Governor. When the controversial points were at last settled by the Treaty of Norham on 10th June 1551, the Scottish commissioners were of the Dowager's party, while associated with them was the French envoy, M. de Lansac, who acquitted himself 'vary honestly, alsweill toward the service of the kinge [as th]e veill of this country.' [No. CCXXXVIII.] It is noteworthy, however, that this was the opinion of Maxwell, who had just avowed himself 'adettid to serve [the] king and you . . . to recompence your guidnes.' His enemies might aver that he had been bribed by the gold and sinecures of the King of France, and that the lauded services of the French commissioner were specious, rather than 'honestly' in the interests of Scotland.

From the Dowager's point of view the most substantial gain was probably the fact that the treaty wrecked the Governor's chance of emancipating himself from leading-strings. For political considerations France could not afford to break with England, and if Châtelherault had been stronger he might have made use of the international situation to drive his own terms with the government of Edward VI. Maxwell's services had therefore earned the rewards of which he was 'advertist' by the Master of Erskine, his fellow-commissioner. In so far as the action of the Hamiltons had threatened to jeopardise the recent peace the Dowager might pose as the guardian of the



common weal, but the fact that 'all the boundis of Scotland' were freed, not by their own efforts, 'bot be the kyngis mageste lauboris,' must have intensified the vague fear of thraldom in Scottish hearts. [No. CCXXXIX.]

The negotiations for peace with the Emperor were not calculated to allay these growing apprehensions. The Treaty of Binche, signed by the Master of Erskine as Scots commissioner, had been proclaimed in December 1550, but 'certen small differens' had obstructed the course of ratification. [Nos. CCXXXVIII-CCXXXIX.] It is significant that 'the kyngis mageste imbassadour now in Flanderis hes grantit' that the Scots would satisfy the imperial demands, while the Scottish Council on its part manifested no such spirit of compliance. [No. CCXXXIX.] Quite apart from the services of France, the international situation was likely to induce the Emperor to come to a settlement with the Scots, whose proud spirit must have resented the presumptuous officiousness of the French ambassador in Flanders.

The imperial envoy apparently was led to believe that the general unpopularity of the French at this time was so intense as to necessitate the homecoming of the Dowager. Thus political considerations demanded her return, just as reasons of statecraft had taken her away, and occupied her energies while in France. Secret diplomacy was not to be revealed to all the world, and we need not be surprised that the nature of the Dowager's negotiations is hinted at, rather than clearly indicated, in the Correspondence.

In the first place, the comprehensiveness of her retinue is significant. It is obvious that the bribery of the Most Christian King was to be employed not only to reward past services, but also to bind the wavering, and to win men over from the opposition. The Dowager apparently took a leaf out of her rival's book when she sought at this

time, as Arran had sought in 1545, to obtain support from among the late king's sons. [No. CCXXXIII.] Her skill in securing agents out of the Governor's camp is illustrated in the case of Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, whose career at this juncture indicates alike the subtlety of her schemes and the limitations of her power.

In October, the Archbishop of St. Andrews had every confidence in accrediting Hamilton to inform the Dowager of occurments in Scotland. [No. CCXXXI.] He was, however, soon to become one of the agents of the French king in persuading the Governor to resign, and as a reward he was appointed coadjutor and successor of St. Andrews. Thus if the desired promise of resignation marked a diplomatic victory for the Dowager, on the other hand the heavy price at which that victory was bought, testified to the unsubstantial nature of the prize. Not for three more years of constant undermining was she strong enough to secure fulfilment of the Governor's promise, while the Hamiltons, looking to the present, might hope to reap in profit what they lost in prestige.

Some papal appointments, of date 4th September 1551, bring out this aspect of the situation. The Abbot of Kilwinning was granted the succession to St. Andrews: John Hamilton, the Governor's son, was provided to Arbroath, in succession to James Beaton: James Beaton obtained the archbishopric of Glasgow, which had been resigned by Alexander Gordon: Gordon received the titular dignity of Archbishop of Athens, and the more substantial benefits of the *commendam* of Inchaffray along with certain other emoluments.<sup>1</sup>

In view of all the facts it is clear that this distribution of benefices was in the nature of a bribe to the Hamiltons,

<sup>1</sup> *Papal Bulls in Hamilton Papers, S.H.R.* xxii. 35.

while the welfare of the Scottish Church was a subordinate consideration. Although it is true that the execution of the bulls was long delayed, yet in the end they were released in part payment for the Governor's demission of office.<sup>1</sup>

The ecclesiastical tangle which was thus resolved in September 1551 centred primarily round the succession to Glasgow and Arbroath, disputes in which political as well as ecclesiastical issues were involved. The Papacy, the Dowager and the Scottish nobles were all united in opposition to the Governor's original nomination of James Hamilton, his natural brother, for the western archbishopric. In 1548 Donald Campbell, Abbot of Cupar, was then proposed for political considerations, but the negotiations dropped; and Alexander Gordon secured the coveted prize by papal provision on 5th March 1549-50. [No. CCXXVII.]

Gordon's provision was plainly contrary to the wishes of the Governor, who, as representative of the Crown, claimed the right of recommendation. It is equally clear that he enjoyed the confidence of the Dowager, who, moreover, was definitely pledged to find him compensation for the resignation of Caithness to his rival. [No. CLXII.] Further, transactions at Glasgow pre-occupied his mind on the eve of his hurried departure on the business of the Dowager and the quest of his own fortunes in October 1549. [No. CCXVIII.] He may, therefore, have received capitular election, at this time, but in any case the proceedings of the Chapter would be a mere formality.<sup>2</sup>

For Gordon, it was much more important that he

<sup>1</sup> *Papal Bulls in Hamilton Papers, S.H.R.* xxii. 41.

<sup>2</sup> A note in Eubel may indicate that Gordon had been elect of the Chapter. ' . . . Quod iste electus possess. suae eccl. assequatur, gubernatore Scotiae illam electionem aegre ferente.' (Eubel, iii. 220 n.)

secured the influence of the 'kyngis mageste and your grace frendis be your letteris of commandatioun.' He would be well aware that, according to the laws of Scotland, he had 'cumit and stollyng this benefice and tharfor declarit anc barratour.' [No. CCXXXIX.] His confidence was that 'my lord governour will be gwd to me efterwart for yowr grace saik.' [No. CCXXI.] Unfortunately, however, for his ambitions, the wheel of fortune took a different turn. When the political situation changed it became expedient for the Dowager to conciliate the Hamiltons by renouncing her support of Gordon's promotion to the coveted benefice.

In February 1549-50 James Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, appears as postulate of Glasgow. Three months earlier he had been at the horn on a charge of treason: two months later he was being cultivated in the court of France by reason of 'your grace wretingis in my recommendatioun,' what time his departure was delayed until the return of Gordon from Rome 'quhair, as is belevit heir, he hes obtenit the archbishoprick of Glasquo. I traist the kyngis grace wilbe avisit wycht his provisioun and thaireftir mak his grace mynd knauin to me.' [No. CCXXVII.] Obviously the tables had been turned since Gordon had gone forth in the strength of the Dowager's 'letteris of commandatioun.' Politically, this was a measure dictated by expediency; ecclesiastically, it hinged round the disputed succession to the abbacy of Arbroath.

James Beaton had been provided and admitted in the lifetime of his uncle, the Cardinal Abbot, but in the crisis of 1546 the support of Angus had been bought for the siege of St. Andrews, by the promise of this abbey for his natural son, George Douglas. Beaton seems to have acted on the maxim that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush: he was at least obviously reluctant to renounce possession of Arbroath for the expensive and

doubtful acquisition of Glasgow. During the distractions of the war no conclusive settlement was reached, but when peace was within sight, the question again emerged under an altered political situation.

The passing of the English menace removed the necessity to cultivate Angus, whereas it became advantageous for the Dowager to conciliate the house of Hamilton. Arran, who had been denied Glasgow for his brother, might be placated by the gift of Arbroath for his son. Beaton, at his strongest, would have been helpless against the powerful combination of the Governor and the Dowager. It may seem strange, therefore, that he, within three months of his accusation for treason, should be provided to Glasgow in opposition to Gordon, to whose support the Dowager had been so far committed.

The explanation is again political. Personally, Mary of Lorraine had no quarrel with Gordon, but in view of the hostility of the Governor and the charge of barratry it was inexpedient to pursue his claims. Financial considerations were admittedly his main concern: and in return for compensation elsewhere, he had to stand aside in favour of Beaton, who, for his part, was not lacking in recommendations to the Dowager. As the Governor had been no friend to him, he might the better serve her interests in the western archbishopric, a sentinel on the outposts of the Hamilton country. He could show, moreover, a sufficiently specious claim, while the wholesale grant of remissions for trafficking with the enemy proved that the charge of treason was no insuperable obstacle in the path of his advancement. The accusation, indeed, may have been largely a manœuvre in the intricate political game.

Her continued support of Gordon makes it clear that the Dowager, for one, regarded ecclesiastical patronage chiefly as a useful arrow in the secular quiver. In June

1551 Archbishop Hamilton complained that the French king had given Gordon 'the respeck to ane abbacy and hes don na thyng on the wther towart Glasg[o]w: and siclik the endyng of my lord Huntlie besines,' and he besought the Dowager 'to caus that mater to be mendit or your grace departyng fra the kyngis mageste . . . conform to your divers wrettyngis and promes of befor.' [No. CCXXXIX.] If this letter showed the expediency of Archbishop Alexander's resignation, it also hinted at the strength and confidence of the Huntly faction. It would clearly be unwise, as well as a breach of faith, to abandon Gordon, especially since he himself was not the man to see the prize slip from his grasp without a struggle. [No. CCXXXVII.] He received his compensation, therefore, in the shape of the titular dignity of Archbishop of Athens, emoluments in Scotland, and the promise, if not possession, of benefices in France. [Nos. CCXXXIX-CCXLVI.]

In straightening out this tangled ecclesiastical situation, the support of the French king was clearly of supreme importance to the Dowager. But she was harassed also by a disputed succession in the secular sphere. On 14th June 1551 Maxwell wrote that he had 'persewit the thrid part of the erle of Mortounis landis by resoun my vife is ane of his aris, and that your grace is nocht contentid therwith becaus the said Gorge [Douglas] is now in your graxis service'; and he apparently proved himself as good as his word 'to wail na tyme in Gorgis absence.' [No. CCXXXVIII.] Perhaps it was in the hope of preventing such a contingency that Mary of Lorraine had taken both the rivals in her train to France, and sought to bind each of them to her interests. Since Douglas's son retained the undivided earldom, it is likely that Maxwell received compensation otherwise. The King of France may have come again to the rescue.

We have already had abundant proof, however, that Henry II. was not the person to spend his substance on that which profited not. French pensions, benefices and offices were not to be squandered out of mere regard for the Dowager of Scotland, the mother of his son's prospective bride. Tacitly or explicitly a bargain had been struck. Mary of Lorraine and Henry of Valois could each offer commodities which the other wished to buy. The French king gave in order that he might receive, and the Dowager returned to Scotland, to fulfil her part of the unwritten bond. War had been declared between France and the Emperor in September 1551; and for the furtherance of Valois imperialistic designs, it was necessary that French interests should prevail in Scotland.

The Correspondence shows that the Dowager threw herself whole-heartedly into her self-appointed task, and that in some respects her policy was not incompatible with the immediate welfare of the Scots. Thus, if it was essential for France to cultivate Edward VI. lest he should be drawn into alliance with the Emperor, it was also beneficial in the exhausted state of Scotland, that firm peace should be established with her neighbours. The amicable division of the Debatable Land was, therefore, in its nature a satisfactory achievement. Cassillis makes it clear, however, that the settlement had been taken out of the hands of the Governor: for all practical purposes D'Oysel and the Dowager had ousted him from the control of events. [Nos. CCXLI-CCXLII.] The extent of Châtelherault's deference is revealed in his letter of 7th October 1552. [No. CCXLIII.] Not only did he ' luke for haisty answer of your grace ' in matters of state, but the very meeting-place of the Council could not be determined until he knew ' gif it may stand with your pleasour.'

Powerful as she was, however, she had perforce to walk warily. Opposition might still drive the servile Governor

into the arms of the Protestants and into hostile alliance with the Government of Edward VI. As late as May 1553 it was rumoured that he had 'asked for assistance from the king of England, on the ground of the new religion.'<sup>1</sup> It was judicious, therefore, for the Dowager to enlist the support of influential Protestants, like Cassillis, in her cause. But in spite of all her efforts, she was soon to have humiliating proof that the Scots might be led, but that they could not be driven. The letter of Cassillis, of date 17th December 1552, reflects the general unpopularity of her measures to raise an expeditionary force 'to set forwartis the kingis serwis' in the continental wars. [No. CCXLV.] A month later the scheme had to be abandoned. Private individuals might answer the call as soldiers of fortune, but officially the Scottish government preserved neutrality.<sup>2</sup>

Her results were more successful in the domestic sphere. It was said that the Dowager applied herself to build up a party among those whom the Governor had alienated by his dispensation of justice, which he tended to identify with the extortion of fines; while in the same way his nepotism, his avarice and his political incompetence were made to play into the hands of his rival. If Somerville and many another of the disaffected were bound to her by this negative kind of tie [No. CCLII], the Correspondence shows that she was also active in the more constructive work of establishing concord and the rule of order.

One, at least, of the troubles, it is true, was of her own making. Thus, if she succeeded in accommodating the dispute between Sutherland and Huntly over the lands of Moray [No. CCXLVII], that controversy had itself been intensified by her own action in bribing both of these nobles with coveted possessions there. Her tact

<sup>1</sup> *Spanish Papers*, xi. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B.P.* ii. CXVI.



probably came to her aid in enabling her to conciliate these two magnates, both of whom were soon engaged in service honourable to her and devised for the common weal. 'The erll Sudyreland and byssep off Catnes' had the intention, although they lacked the power, 'to haiff maid sum gud dres in thai cuntrayis,' while Huntly and his brother took 'ordour' in the affairs of 'the nort Illis men in Badzenaycht.' [No. CCXLVIII.]

In all these subtle and far-reaching ways did the pains-taking Dowager build up her power and prestige at the expense of the Governor, until at the date of Huntly's letter she probably foresaw the attainment of the grand object of her ambition. Edward VI. had died in July 1553, and the accession of Mary Tudor precluded any expectation that the Hamiltons and the Protestant party might receive extraneous aid in that quarter. Greater pressure upon the Governor might therefore be used with impunity.

Châtelherault, on his side, found himself almost without a friend. 'He was aware that his resignation would be demanded when the queen was twelve years of age, and an inquiry instituted regarding his administration of the royal revenues. It behoved him, therefore, to make some comfortable arrangement.'<sup>1</sup> The upshot of the negotiations was that in Parliament in April 1554 'Marie quene drowriare of Scotland ressauit the auctoritie fra my lord duke and that becaus all the lordis of Scotland wer agains him in the said Parliament.'<sup>2</sup>

Dazzled with the pageantry of the ceremony, and in the first flush of her hard-won dignity, the Queen Regent may have felt that the toil and strain of many years had at

<sup>1</sup> *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, v. 78. The whole situation, and the conditions of the Governor's resignation, are dealt with here. Cf. also, *Papal Bulls in Hamilton Papers*. (*S.H.R.* xxii.)

<sup>2</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 51; *A.P.* ii. 600-604; Leslie, 246-7.

last brought the golden ball of fortune to her feet. It was, indeed, something more than a mere personal triumph. 'She had gained a political and imperial success for her house, if she could hold her ground; but she had also disposed the Duke for reaction and revenge.'<sup>1</sup>

Her victory had not been lightly bought: the day of reckoning was still to show whether the prize was worth the price. The Governor in office had been less powerful than the Dowager as leader of the opposition and a focus for the disaffected. It remained to be seen whether 'she could hold her ground' when she, in her turn, would have to face an opposition the character and extent of which were yet unknown. She would do well to lay to heart Methven's warning of an earlier time, that 'the nater of this pepill is of this realm first to be gentillie don to; and that tha persaiif luf and all gudnes in the kingis graice of France.' [No. CLXXII.] The problem that lay before her was how to reconcile the interests of the Scottish people with the service of the house of Guise and the Most Christian King.

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<sup>1</sup> *Earl of Arran and Queen Mary, S.H.R.* xviii. 263.

## CCXXVIII

*Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, to the Queen Dowager*

St. Andrews, 18th June [1550].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, in maist hartlie maner I commend my service humele to your grace, and hes hard that your grace, God willing, purposis in France ;<sup>1</sup> and gif it plesit your grace I vald pas thair to the sculis<sup>2</sup> and to do sik service as your grace vill charge me to, swa that I hed my lord governour licence to depart. Heirfor humely prays your grace to tak that labour to get my licence subserivit be my lord governour to this effect,<sup>3</sup> and I sal do uther deligence to prepare me rady and await upon your grace, quhome God moyt conserve. At Sanctandros, the xvij day of Junij be your grace humele oratour

RO. BYSCOPE OF CATHNES.<sup>4</sup>

## CCXXIX

*Sir George Douglas to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 18th June [1550].

TO THE QWENNS GRACE.

Efter mest humble recommendations off my service unto yowr grace, ye sal vit that the guvernur hes send and dissayrit to speik vith me ; and I vas contentit, he coming

<sup>1</sup> The Queen did not depart until 8th September, when she sailed from Leith. (*Liber Emptorum*.) A passport through England had been obtained from Edward VI. on 11th August (*C.S.P.* i. 362), but her demands were 'not holly graunted' in the matter of retinue. (*Journal of Edward VI.*, 290.)

<sup>2</sup> Presumably to prosecute the higher studies. He must at this time have been about twenty-eight years of age, for his death took place on 29th August 1586 in his sixty-third year. (*Bps. of Scotland*, 249.)

<sup>3</sup> This is a reference to the Act of 5th March 1427-8 that no clerk 'pas oute of the realme' without letters of licence. (*A.P.* ii. 16.) Stewart's licence was granted on 6th September. (*R.S.S.* xxiv. 20-21.)

<sup>4</sup> The letter is holograph.

to Dakecht; and so he dydde. He cowme to Dakecht on Munday<sup>1</sup> at nycht, fowre hors vith hym. I commund vith hym at lencht as I sall forder schaw yowr grace at my spayking vith yow. Yowr grace hes horde off the taking off the provest off Edinbruchg;<sup>2</sup> and the balyes and the honest men off the towne send to me and dissayrit me to cowme and support tham off my consell, and so I cowme to the towne this Twisday at vi owrs and this Vednisday ves in the Frers vith the conselle off the towne, qwhar ther vas offers and dissayris betwix the guvernur and tham. And so the towne hes dissayrit that tha ma hawe ther provest fredde betwix this and Frayday apon surtes or plegis, and he to mak ansur till ony thing that ma be sedde to hym off resson: and gew the guvernur vill nocht fre hym betwix this and Frayday tha ville schyse ane nuder provest.<sup>3</sup> This is the newis that incurris for this present. Qwhat service yowr grace ville command me vith sall be redde at all tayms, as knawis God, qwham hawe yowr grace in kaypping. At Edinbruchg, the xviii day off Jun.

\* Be yowr grasis wyt serwes

GEORGE DOWGLAS.\*

### CCXXX

*Lord Livingston to the Queen Dowager*

Mant, 1st October [1550].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, eftir my maist humyll commendatioun of service, your grace hes hard of the grit trubill and dis-

<sup>1</sup> 16th June.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Andrew Ker of Littledean. On 9th June he was warded in Edinburgh Castle for 'contemptioun' of the Queen and the authority, and in especial for refusing to supply certain horses for the Marquis de Mayenne and his 'company.' (*P.C.* i. 100.) This incident took place during the short visit to Scotland of the Dowager's brother, Claude de Lorraine, then a hostage in England for the Treaty of Boulogne.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the quarrel was not accommodated. A new Provost, Francis Tennant, took office on 19th July 1550. (*Edinburgh Burgh Records*, 1557-1571, 299.)

\*\* Holograph.

plesour that is cumin to me throw the deceis of my lord my fader,<sup>1</sup> quhom God assolze, quha wes ever ane trew servand to your grace. Madame, I haif nocht the wnderstanding as yit<sup>2</sup> to do your grace the service that he hes done, bot I will beseik your grace to tak me in till his place and to resaif my gude will quhilk sall ever be to serf your grace treule and as ye pleis to command me. Madame, it will pleis your grace till excus me that I come nocht to do your grace service at this tyme for sic resonabill causis as this berar will schaw yow at mair lenth, quhom to your grace pleis gif credans : pr[a]ying the grit God to preserf your grace everlestyng. At Mant,<sup>3</sup> the fyrst day of October he

your graces verray humyll and verray abeyschand  
servitour

WILLIAM LEVYSTOUN.<sup>4</sup>

### CCXXXI

#### *Archbishop Hamilton to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 28th October 1550.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter hartlie comendatioun of service, sen your graceis departing my lord hes bene at the bordouris,<sup>5</sup> and becaus he hes commandit ws to write all his proceedingis thare at lenth to my lord of Dunfermling<sup>6</sup> and maister

<sup>1</sup> Alexander, fifth Lord Livingstone. The date of his death is not precisely known. By the evidence of the Great Seal he was dead before 4th January 1550-51. This letter fixes the date, more definitely, as earlier than 1st October 1550. Lord Livingstone had accompanied the young Queen to France. His daughter was one of the 'Queen's Maries.'

<sup>2</sup> The date of his birth is not on record, but he was still under age on 1st October 1553. (*S.P.* v. 439.)

<sup>3</sup> Mantes, on the Seine.

<sup>4</sup> A holograph letter; much stained by damp.

<sup>5</sup> The Governor was at Jedburgh from 9th to 17th October. (*Liber Emptorum.*) In the Dowager's absence 'the governor proclaimit ane generall air throw all Scotland, to be haldin quhair it held befor, quhilk was continewit for the space of twa yeiris.' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 51.)

<sup>6</sup> George Dury.

Gavine Hammyltoun <sup>1</sup> to be declarit unto your grace, we thocht nocht neidfull to impesche you with lang writing in thai behalffis. Thairfor we pray your grace to gif thame ferme credence theranent as to ourself. And thus, madame, we pray almychty God to haif you in his maist blissit preservatioun. At Edinburgh, the xxviii day of October 1550.

Your grace humill servitour

SANCTANDROIS.<sup>2</sup>

CCXXXII

*Lady Gray to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 18th November [1550].

TO THE QWENIS GRACE DROWRIARE OF SCOTLAND.

Eftir maist humill commendatioun of service unto your grace pleis the samin, your grace being rememberit how oft tymes I spak for the releif of my husband,<sup>3</sup> that I and his bairnis mycht haif ane lyfe, and my spous to serve the king of France and your grace, as our soveranis maist derest moder, and now sen youre graces depairting of Scotland my said spous is deliverit in my lord ambassatouris <sup>4</sup> and lieutenantis <sup>5</sup> keping in the castell of Blaknes, —quhair your grace may mak me and my bairnis to haif

<sup>1</sup> Gavin Hamilton, Dean of Glasgow and Abbot of Kilwinning. (*B.P.* ii. 69.) At the time of writing, negotiations were on foot for his appointment as coadjutor of St. Andrews. The appointment was made by the Pope on 4th September 1551. (See *Archbps. of St. Andrews*, v. 67-8.) He was one of the French king's agents in the negotiations to induce the Governor to resign. (*Ibid.* 56).

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> See No. CXCI. Gray had a precept of remission, dated at Edinburgh on 18th August 1549. (*R.S.S.* xxiii. 33.) If the precept were executed it is difficult to explain why he should be again incarcerated. Perhaps the fact that he was handed over to the French officers is an indication that he was now, as before, the special mark of French hostility.

<sup>4</sup> D'Oysel. The imperial envoy in Scotland, in July 1551, had 'heard indirectly' that D'Oysel 'weilds almost sovereign authority in matters of state and justice, and has a provost of his own who arrests and executes criminals.' (*State Papers, Spanish*, 1550-52, 339.)

<sup>5</sup> As de Termes had returned to France with the Dowager the writer probably refers to the French lieutenant of the castle of Blackness. Blackness and Dunbar had been handed over to Henry II. under the contract by which

support be releving of my said spous. Beseiking your grace for merite of God and the service that his blude and myne may do, that your grace wilbe gracious quene and lady to him at this tyme, owthir tobe relevit undir quhat plegeis and conditionis your grace will think expedient,<sup>1</sup> and to remane in Scotland, or to be relevit and cum in France to serve as the kingis majestie and your grace will gif command; for we ar aluterly herriit in tymes bigane, as your grace knawis ane pairt therof. I neid nocht truble your grace with lang lettir, for all the mater hes bene sa oft reheirsit that ye know the samin, and now without your help I and my bairnis wilbe herriit and distroyit be povirte for evir, quhilk your grace pleis help and our prayeris and service salbe evir to your grace as knawis God, quha preserve your grace in lang lyfe and prosperous estait with the hevin at your departing. Writting of Edinbrucht, the xviiij day of November be

Your graces maist humill servant

MARION LADY GRAY.<sup>2</sup>

### CCXXXIII

*John Stewart, Commendator of Coldingham, to the Queen Dowager*

Paris, 14th February [1550-1].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Eftir maist humil commendacioun of my service wnto your grace, I have send this berer to your grace for the end of my besines with the bischop of Awstoun,<sup>3</sup> becaus that

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Arran secured the duchy of Châtellerault. (*Dukedom of Chatellerault: Mémoire à Consulter*, 13.) On 22nd April 1550 the Privy Council requested that these two strategic strong places, and also Broughty and Inchkeith, should be garrisoned by the French king. (*P.C.* i. 90.)

<sup>1</sup> The result of this appeal is not on record. Gray was at Blackness on 28th July 1552. (*R.M.S.* 8th August 1552.) He is mentioned in the *Treasurer's Accounts* of 18th June 1554, when he was apparently at large. (*T.A.* x. 228.)

<sup>2</sup> Marion, daughter of James, fourth Lord Ogilvie of Airlie.

Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>3</sup> Philibert de Ugniaco (Dugny), Bishop of Autun. (Eubel, iii. 108.)

my lord cardinal <sup>1</sup> appoyntit hym to return to the court the tent day of Februer. It is werrey lang sen I wes nominat to the abbacie of Flawegny <sup>2</sup> be the kingis grace and as yit can on na wyse cum in possessioun of the samin. And your grace sall wnderstand that the sowme is gret that I man gif for my bullis of the said benefice, and it is nocht wknawne to your grace that I have gottin na proffett of my benefice in Scotland sen the begynnyng of the weiris. And be ressonne that I can nocht gett possessioun of the benefice that the kyngis grace hes vouchafit apoun me ther will na bancqueir tak on hand to furnis the provisioun of my bullis, for I have na othir way to recompenche the bringing haynie of my provisioun bot allanerlie the dewtie of my said benefice. Heirfor I beseik your grace to laubour affectuouslie at this tyme that I may have ane commissioun of the kyngis grace to put me in possessioun, otherwayis I will gett na credett of na bancqueir for the expeditioun of my bullis for I have na othir esperance bot in your grace alanerlie.<sup>3</sup> I had cumit my self to your grace wer nocht sic causis as my cousing the berer will schaw your grace at mair lentht. I pray God that I may be abill to recompanche your grace with my service the guid will that your grace hes borne towart me and myne effearis. And ferthair, almychty God preserue your grace evirlesting. From Paris, the xiiij day of Februer he  
Your gracis servitour

JHON COMMENDATOUR OF COLDINGAHIM.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Cardinal of Guise.

<sup>2</sup> Flavigny en Auxois, in the diocese of Autun; dedicated to St. Peter.

<sup>3</sup> This supplication illustrates the twofold aspect of the French policy towards the Scottish lords in the train of the Queen Dowager. On the one side, they were 'munificently bribed by the most Christian King'; on the other, they were reduced to a state of impoverishment 'which is thought to have been done of purpose to the intent that, being brought to extreme need, they may be compelled upon hope of relief, like slaves, to hang upon the Queen.' (Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 200.)

<sup>4</sup> John Stewart, son of James v. by Katherine, daughter of Sir John Carmichael. Married Jane Hepburn, daughter of Patrick, third Earl of Bothwell; died October 1563. (*S.P.* ii. 160.)

Only the signature is autograph.



## CCXXXIV

*Maxwell to the Queen Dowager*

Jedburgh, 27th February [1550-1].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

A LA ROYNE DESCOSSE.

Plesit your grace to be advertist, efter my cuming to Scotland<sup>1</sup> I raid to Jedburghe quhair I fand my lord governor at the Justice airis accompanit with munsur Dosee<sup>2</sup> and aparte of the Franche men : quhair thay tuik greit pane to pute ane guid ordour in the country, the quhilk wilbe done lik as I traist your grace salbe contentit with. Gife it lik your grace, at my cuming heir I harde ane sclanderus bruit how thair vas to cum this somer in Scotland ane greit nomer of men of were,<sup>3</sup> and as swm metientis<sup>4</sup> did juge, to prevein<sup>5</sup> the tyme of the governouris office afore the quenis cuming to perfite age. Wpon this bruit I t[h]ocht it neidfull to breik with my

<sup>1</sup> Maxwell had applied in January for a safe-conduct through England, and considerable ill-feeling was aroused by the refusal to grant this request, on the ground that 'frequent passage of Scots and French through England is cumbrous and hurtful.' In the end he returned by sea in three days. (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, i. 283, 295, 300, 305; cf. *Journal of Edward VI.* 300-1.)

<sup>2</sup> D'Oysel. Report ran in England that the Justice Ayre was a cloak to the real intention of making a surprise attack on Berwick. (*Foreign Papers*, i. 291.) The question of fishings on the Tweed and other border controversies were a source of trouble at this time. Scottish designs were apparently suspect by their neighbours. (*B.P.* ii. 90.)

<sup>3</sup> The rumour may have risen from the fact that 160 French ships, carrying supplies and munitions, had set sail for Scotland in this same month of February. Sixteen of the vessels were wrecked off the Irish coast. (*Journal of Edward VI.*, 307.)

<sup>4</sup> *metientis*: ? mischants, worthless persons.

<sup>5</sup> This 'bruit' reached the ears of the Spanish envoy, who reported on the authority of 'persons who appeared to be sure of their facts that the Regent had a pact with the King of France, according to which the Regent was to give up his post when a certain period, which was to expire within eighteen months, came to an end.' (*Spanish Papers*, x. 339.) The rumour was not ill-founded: as the result of diplomatic negotiations the Governor was persuaded to resign, although he had probably no intention of immediately carrying out his promise. (See *Archbops. of St Andrews*, v. 56-7.)

lord governour gife he harde ony thing of this sclander or gawe ony credit thairto. His answire vas : I knew the natoure of the maist parte of the Scottis men vas to juge efter thair awne fantaseis, bot as to him he regardit nor gave credit to na sik thing, for he dowtid nocht bot the kingis maje[s]te and your grace vald keip in all sortis according to your promis and appoyntment, lik as he sulde do for his parte. Morover he schew me the king hade exsperience afore of his doingis touart his grace, and he vas myndit to proseid safwrthe that the king and ye baith sulde have ever the langer the better oppenyon in him. I assourit his grace of <sup>1</sup> my pur life and honour it vas the best to proseid in that sorte of guidnes, for thair vas nathing menit to him ther bot ane verry treuthe, and your grace to be his ernist freind lik as he valde finde be deidis. I knawe of na newe novationis to advertis your grace of, for this realme is in guid quhietnes. As to my awne part ye sall fynde me of the awlde maner redy to do your grace service at the wtermost of my lytill power. In the meintyme gif it chance that munsere Dosee or ony of the kingis frindis have to do heir thay sall fynde me redy to do service or pleswre, for I dowte nochte bot your grace wilbe contentid thair with. Thus I beseik God to gewe you lang guid helthe. Fra Jedburghe, the panulte of Fabruerij.

Your graces with lawly service

MAXWELL.<sup>2</sup>

CCXXXV

*Patrick, Master of Ruthven, to the Queen Dowager*

Paris, 2nd March [1550-1].

TO HIS MAISTRES, THE QUENIS GRACE OF SCOTLAND.

Madame, eftir my maist hartlie commendatiouns of hwmill service on to your grace, this salbe to certefie your

<sup>1</sup> of: upon.

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

grace that the tutour of Petcur <sup>1</sup> hes wretin to me desyryng me to schaw your grace that he is postponit be solistation of his pley that he can nocht get justice as your grace will persaife be his wreting, quhilk pleis your grace to resaife togidder with ane uthir wreting of my lord my faderis. And gif it be your grace plesour to send ansour of thai wretingis in Scotland agane I sall caus this berar to carey this same at your grace commandment, for quhow schone he returnis fra you he departis to Scotland as he will schaw your grace at lenth. Mairour, pleis your grace to wit that I resavit your wretingis fra the lord Hwme desyryng me to resaife four hundreth crownis fra Monsieur Weilmour,<sup>2</sup> quhilk I wes contentit of, and deliverit him your grace wretingis and he promisit me payment within four dayis, and quhene I send Robert Drummond <sup>3</sup> with this berar and ane uthir servand to have resavit this same, he wald deliver na thing bot ane certane of testanis <sup>4</sup> with ewill sousis <sup>5</sup> that is cryit doun in this cuntre. Nocht the les I wald nocht leif it sa, bot on Sounday the first of Marche I causit my lord Hwme <sup>6</sup> to pas with me to monsieur Weilmour hous desyryng him to deliver that sowm of money to me that your grace had ordanit, and than he cuist out ane pursfull of auld sousis. And I desyrit

<sup>1</sup> James Haliburton, tutor of Pitcur, in Forfarshire, and provost of Dundee at various times, if not continuously, between 1554 and 1563. He played an active part during the siege of Broughty. In 1559 he threw in his lot with the Lords of the Congregation. See Knox.

<sup>2</sup> Bartholomew de Villemore, at this time attached to the establishment of Queen Mary in France (*B.P.* ii. xxvii., quoting *Dépenses de la Maison Royale*), and afterwards Comptroller of the Scottish Exchequer, under the regency of Mary of Lorraine.

<sup>3</sup> There is no evidence to prove the identity of this person. He may be the Robert Drummond of Carnock, whose name appears in a charter under the great seal on 4th June 1549.

<sup>4</sup> The testoun was a silver coin, originally struck in Milan, but minted for circulation in France by Francis I. In 1547 it was 'worth halfe a Frenche crowne; it is worth .ii s. .iiii d. sterlyng.' (Quoted, *New English Dictionary*.)

<sup>5</sup> A sou, a French coin and money of account, was value one twentieth of a livre. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>6</sup> Home had a yearly pension of 2000 livres from the French king. It may never have been regularly paid: it was certainly in arrears in 1556. (*Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report xii. App. viii. 184.)

the gud man that I am lwgit with to have resavit that money becaus I wes awand him tua hundreth crownis, and he refusit this same becaus it wes nocht gud, as this berar can schaw yow. Quhairfor pleis your grace to send wretingis to monsieur Weilmoir to deliver me gud money : or uthirways I am satefeit to want it sa lang as it ples your grace, for I haif evir bene and salbe at your grace comandment. Fordir, pleis your grace, I think I have bene ane futtman lang aneuch, bot quhene it pless your grace ye will mak me ane hors man amangis utheris,<sup>1</sup> for gif ye happin to have ado as I have seine your grace, ye sall find that I sall gippart<sup>2</sup> my lyfe in your service farder nor thame that giffis yow farer wordis and gettis mair of your geir. I will nocht cummir your grace with langer vretingis in thir materis, bot referris all to your grace wisdom. Pleis your grace to gif credence to the berar ; and this I beseik God to preserve your grace with the quene my maistres in lang lyfe and gud prosperite.

Wretin at Parise, the secund of Marche

be your grace humill servitour

PATRICK MASTER RUTHWEN.<sup>3</sup>

## CCXXXVI

*Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, to the Queen Dowager*

Paris, 26th March [1551].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, pleis your grace till understand that I haif ressavit in Paris ij thousand iiij<sup>co</sup> frankis in compleit payement of the pencion I haif of your grace for your part of all termes bygane and thankis your grace therof. Sic sted

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no other reference to this preferment, but it is interesting that Ruthven was appointed 'Coronet of the futmen' in the expeditionary force that it was proposed to raise in December 1552 for service in the French wars. (*P.C.* i. 135 ; cf. No. CCXLV.)

<sup>2</sup> *gippart*: jeopard, hazard.

<sup>3</sup> He succeeded as third Lord Ruthven in December 1552. (*S.P.* iv. 259.)  
The letter is holograph.

and service as lysis in my pou[er] to do is and ay salbe redly at command.<sup>1</sup> Quhat service your grace pleis command me vith in Scotland let me be advertyst and it salbe redly don vith sic gud vill as I am able to do. Your grace remembris of the letter I haif left vith the parson of Auld Roxburgh<sup>2</sup> of my fatheris pencion bygane,<sup>3</sup> nocht doubtand bot your grace vill do therin as your grace thinkis gud to be don to ane that sall serf your grace treuly. This, efter my maist humyll commendacion of my service on to your grace, prayis to God your grace fair veill ever mair. Of Paris, the xxvj of Merche be

Youris graxis serwitour to command

GLENCARN.<sup>4</sup>

## CCXXXVII

### *Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Paris, 18th May [1551].

TO THE QUEYNEIS GRACE.

Madam, it pleis your grace that I hayff gottyne waray ewyll wedyr be the way sway that it wes the xij day off May or I mycht be heir, and my small effaris<sup>5</sup> is mair cumirsum nor I belevit, quhilk wyll tary me langar heir. Nocht withstandyng, I salbe in sic redynes as I may be adwerteissit be your grace. Heirfor it wylbe your grace

<sup>1</sup> It was not only French gold, but also a particular grievance against England, which attached Glencarn to the Dowager's interests at this time. He complained of the detention and ill-treatment of his two sons in England, despite the peace. (*Foreign Papers*, i. 247.)

<sup>2</sup> The Barony of Auld Roxburgh belonged to the Kerrs of Cessford.

<sup>3</sup> William, third Earl of Glencarn, died in March 1548.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander Cunningham, fourth Earl of Glencarn.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>5</sup> These are apparently domestic matters, but the Earl was also involved in affairs of statecraft. Sir John Masone, the English Resident at Paris, reported on 30th December 1550 that 'the Earl of Huntly is lodged at Court, and much called to secret conferences.' He made frequent applications, about this time, for a safe-conduct to return to Scotland through England. (*Foreign Papers*, i. 269, 289 (p. 73).)

plesour to caus me be adwerteissit be the keyngis post <sup>1</sup> off your gud mynd and daitis, sway that I may be at your grace or your departyng with the keyng confurme to your grace mynd, and as ye pleis command forder, to quhilk I salbe ewyr redy. Prayand your grace remembyr to prowylid sum way in the mater off Glaschow <sup>2</sup> as your grace thynkis expedyent, for my broder wyll cum with me to that effet, for I am all your graceis as ye wyll pleis command. This, Madam, eftir mast humyll commendatione off serwyce to your grace. I p[r]ay God ewyr to conseryffe your grace. At Paryis, the xiiij day off May be the hand off  
Your grace mast humyll and obedyent serwytour

HUNTLY.<sup>3</sup>

### CCXXXVIII

#### *Maxwell to the Queen Dowager*

14th June [1551].

Plesit your grace to be advertist, the maister of Erskine hes schawne me at his departing from your grace <sup>4</sup> ye delyverit him xij hunder frankis, the quhilk ye appontid

<sup>1</sup> Probably he refers to the common post. 'By instituting regular posts, he (Louis XI.) improved the communication between the different parts of the kingdom, and gave increased centralisation to the government.' (Lodge, *Modern Europe*, 24.)

<sup>2</sup> In the matter of Glasgow Alexander Gordon incurred not only the unflinching opposition of the Governor, but also fell under the law of Scotland on the charge of barratry. On 9th May 1550 merchants were prohibited from furnishing him 'witht onye maner of fynance in France.' (*T.A.* ix. 411.) In July, he was arrested at Dover, on the ground that he had no passport. In September he was set free 'out of regard for the French king.' On 20th March, Masone requested a safe-conduct for the Archbishop of Glasgow to go to, and return from Scotland. (*Foreign Papers*, i. 221, 222, 236, 306; cf. *Spanish Papers*, x. 168; Teulet, i. 217, 219; *Journal of Edward VI.*, 282.) A compromise was effected in October of this year. Gordon renounced the Archbishopric in favour of James Beaton, in return for the monastery of Inchaffray *in commendam* and a pension from the revenues of Caithness, besides the titular dignity of Archbishop of Athens *in partibus*. (See *Bishops of Scotland*, 349; *Papal Bulls in Hamilton Papers*, S.H.R. xxii.)

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>4</sup> In April 1550 Thomas Erskine had been sent as ambassador to intimate to the kings of England and France the acceptance of comprehension in the Treaty of Boulogne. (*C.S.P.* i. 360; *P.C.* i. 86-8.) In September he was

to gewe me. Moreover he schew me ye had providit me sekirnes of viij<sup>c</sup> frankis mair, swa my . . . attait suld be twa <sup>M</sup> frankis, and I to be ane of the gentilmen in the [ki]ngis chalmer—the quhilk rowme I think me mair adettid to serve [the] king and you for, nor ye hade providit me thre <sup>M</sup> frankis vithout [the] office. I have occatioun to say I have servit ane trew and constant lady and knawis I am not able to recompence your guidnes. Nottheles I salbe redy to serve at the utermost of my lytell power quhair it sall pleis the king or you to command me, and sall think my selfe the mair happy gif I be callit therto, for I sall reserwe nathing to my parte bot only my allagence to the quene my soverane your gracis dochtir. Thair is litill occatioun of newis to advertis your grace of in thir partis. . . . Monsieur Lausake <sup>1</sup> will schawe you the proceeding with the commesioneris [of] Ingland, quha as I beleve h[as ?] . . . the dowble of the contrauct to . . . ffiote [?] He was ane of the commesioneris for the part of Scotland him selfe,<sup>2</sup> [and u ?]sit him therin vary honestly, alsweill towart the service of the kinge [as th]e veill of this country. Madame, I persave by your gracis litter [Georg]e Dowglas hes informit your grace that I have persewit the thrid part of the erle of Mortounis landis by resoun my vife is ane of his aris,<sup>3</sup> and that your grace is nocht contentid

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commissioned to negotiate peace with the Low Countries, and on 30th December the Peace of Binche was concluded 'with the Emperor's knowledge and by his express command.' (*C.S.P.* i. 310; *Spanish Papers*, x. 174, 197; *P.C.* i. 89.) 'The actual difference between a state of war and of peace may have been scarcely perceptible. Nonetheless, the Emperor preferred to put an end to a condition of affairs that could profit neither side and, perhaps with a view to obtaining Scotland's neutrality—little though that was worth—in the event of war with France, caused peace to be concluded.' (*Spanish Papers*, x. xxv.)

<sup>1</sup> Sir Louis de St. Gelais, Seigneur de Lansac, Chancellor of Bordeaux. Towards the end of January 1550-1 he had been sent by the King of France as a mediator in the controversies 'touching the lymyttes uppon the fronters in Scotlande.' (*C.S.P.* i. 374; *Foreign Papers*, i. 282; Teulet, i. 209-33.)

<sup>2</sup> A treaty of peace between England and Scotland was signed in Norham Church on 10th June by the commissioners of England and Scotland. The representatives of the Queen were the Bishop of Orkney, Lord Maxwell, the Master of Erskine and M. de Lansac. (*C.S.P.* i. 374.)

<sup>3</sup> His wife was Beatrice Douglas, second daughter of James, third Earl of Morton. Her elder sister Margaret was the wife of the Governor; her younger

therwith becaus the said Gorge is now in your gracis service.<sup>1</sup> I have done nathing in that mater at this present bot as stande with the plesure of his brothir and his awne soun as thay schew me, for thay wer baithe present at the serving of my wiffis breiffis as ane of the thre airis to the erle of Mortoun. I have acclamit na landis albeit I traist my wife hes rycht to the thrid part of the erldom of Mortoun and I am myndit to persew it safer as may stande withe justice at your gracis cumin in this cowntry, and nocht to waill na tyme in Gorgis absence;<sup>2</sup> for I dowte not that I have deservit ony wther to your grace bot ye will forder me in my. . . Thus I besyche God to presarve you in guid [heill, and to ?] forder yowr jwrnay swne in Scotland<sup>3</sup> . . . this xiiij of June  
Your gracis hw . . .<sup>4</sup>

sister, Elizabeth, was the wife of James Douglas, Sir George's second son. The Earl had settled the estates on Elizabeth and James. (Cf. No. XXXV.) After the execution of Morton, the earldom was bestowed upon John, eighth Lord Maxwell, in 1581, but was restored to the heir of line on 29th January 1585-6. The third Earl died apparently in December 1548. (*T.A.* ix. 261; cf. *S.P.* vi. 361.)

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Douglas was among the nobles who accompanied the Queen to France. On 5th September 1550 Chancellor Huntly, Cassillis, Maxwell, Sir George Douglas and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig had entered into an obligation to drop all differences till the return of the contracting parties from France, and for 24 days thereafter. (*P.C.* i. 107.)

<sup>2</sup> Maxwell seems to have pursued his wife's claims with some persistence. On 15th February 1551-2, about two months after the return of the Dowager, the three daughters of the late Earl and their husbands were summoned before the Lords of Council to see Douglas's infetment 'reducit and annullit.' (*T.A.* x. 63.) It does not appear that proceedings went further.

<sup>3</sup> As early as 12th May a safe-conduct had been granted by the English government, but there was considerable delay in the Dowager's intended departure from France. The death of her son, and other domestic matters, may have detained her, while Edward VI. thought that the menace of the Emperor's ships had 'staid her so long at Diep.' She reached Portsmouth on 22nd October, and returned to Scotland about the end of November. (See *Journal of Edward VI., Roxburghe Club*, 356-60; Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 202; *T.A.* x. xvi. 32, 33.)

<sup>4</sup> The last four lines of the letter are written on the back of the paper. The signature has disappeared, but traces of the seal remain. The document is much decayed by damp, especially along the left margin and the centre fold. It has been written by a scribe.



## CCXXXIX

*Archbishop Hamilton to the Queen Dowager*

Peebles, 14th June [1551].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter hum[i]ll commendatioun of service, plesit your grace I rasavit your grace letter in the materis betuex my lord Maxvell and sir George Dowglas. Or the cumyng of your grace letter the lord Maxvell wiff was servit as ane of the erll of Morton airis, and na farder is done nor wilbe don to your grace returnyng, as I beleif, for I haif spokyn with my lord Maxvell in thir behalfis.

Farder, madame, I man lat your grace ken the browt of this cuntre—albeit my lord and we all that ar his servi-touris knauis the contrayr—that the kyngis mageste and your grace is nocht contentit with my lord in na sort, and becaus thai say that my lord Huntlic and his broder, master Alexander Gordon, hes gottying thar erandis and besines don, for the kyngis mageste hes gevin to the said master Alexander the respeck to ane abbacy and hes relevit his pension and bankoris and hes don na thying on the wther towart Glasg[o]w: and siclik the endyng of my lord Huntlic besines. And your grace knauis that the mater of Glasg[o]w was stoppit at your grace plesour and command to be gevin or namit to ony man for saty-feyne of gret men, sic as my lord Angus <sup>1</sup> and wtheris; and your grace promeste and wrait that thar suld be na hurt don to my lord in nominatioun or impetratioun tharof. And onder that promes be sic letteris gottying be the kyngis mageste and your grace frendis be your letteris of commandatioun he is cumit and stollyng this benefice and tharfor declarit ane barratour <sup>2</sup> in this cuntre, and it is your grace part to caus that mater to be mendit or your

<sup>1</sup> This has probably some bearing upon the inter-related questions of Arbroath and Glasgow. Cf. No. CCXXVII.

<sup>2</sup> From 1363 to 1540 the Scottish Parliament had passed a series of enactments against 'barratry,' that is, the unlicensed purchase of Scottish benefices at the Roman Court.

grace departyng fra the kyngis mageste, quhilk my lord governor dowttis nocht bot your grace will do it bayth conform to your divers wrettyngis and promes of befor. And albeit I knau the werite and your grace part that ye will caus all thir thyngis be endit, nocht the les I man lat your grace onderstand the commoun sayngis in the cuntre, and specialy be my lord Huntle frendis quha laittis tham to knau sum thyng in thar effaris.

As for novellis in thir partis thar is nane bot be the kyngis mageste lawboris all the boundis of Scotland is als fre as thai war in ony of ouris dayis and the commissioneris weill agreit in every point and interchangit selis; and gud redres and justice on the bordouris.<sup>1</sup> And siclik all the lymmaris that invadit your grace landis of Orkney and Zeitland ar all tane slane and justifit be William Foster, quham my lord governor send with ij schippis of weir apon tham<sup>2</sup> and justifit iclx men and slane of men of the Lewis. And now instantly my lord hes send James Makconall<sup>3</sup> and Makclane<sup>4</sup> with my lord Ergill lewtenand apon the Lewis apon Makcloid that dayly oppressis and invadis all our soveran lady legis about hym. And, as it is said, he is ellis fled of his cuntre with in Lochtfaddis; bot your grace salbe advertis at your returnyng. Atour, thair is send to Denmark ane herald to se quhat the kyng of Denmark makis for anent Orkney with gud writyngis of conten[t]ation of all besines without ony promes.<sup>5</sup> Als

<sup>1</sup> 'It seems that . . . Lansac and the Regent are reforming justice, for several Scots who had rebelled against public order have been executed.' (*Spanish Papers*, x. 301.)

<sup>2</sup> The captain of the second, and smaller, ship, was James Cullan. (*T.A.* ix. 476.)

<sup>3</sup> James M'Connell, or Macdonald, of Dunniveg, in Skye, claimed to be the heir of the Lord of the Isles, but on the failure of Lennox's grand scheme of invasion in 1546, he came back to his natural allegiance. His submission to the Government has been said to mark 'the end of the last vestige of the ancient principality.' (*Clan Donald*, i. 389.)

<sup>4</sup> Probably Hector Maclean of Dowart, in Mull, chief of the clan.

<sup>5</sup> The letter of the Governor was dated at Edinburgh on 6th June. (Torfæus, *Orcaedes*, 241.) As early as September 1549 Christian III. had approached the Scottish government and the King of France on the question of the restitution of the Orkneys. The matter had been shelved on the ground of

our wther herald is retwrnit fra Flanderis and brocht ane imbassadour with hym of the Emprior <sup>1</sup> to end the pece heir and it was nocht endit thar for certen small differens quhilk wilbe mendit the xxij day of this moneth, quharto the nobill men of this realm ar warnit to be. And this is all the differens thai stand on : to haif the peex ratifit be every stait be thar selfis and ondir thar selis and siclik be my lord governor in speciall,<sup>2</sup> and the kyngis mageste imbassadour now in Flanderis <sup>3</sup> hes grantit tharto. Als ples your grace, I man recommend Jhone Barton <sup>4</sup> besines to your grace anent the Portingallis, and at your grace wald get hym his patent letter of the kyng mageste to resaif hym and his schippis in the kyngis mageste boundis in cais thai will nocht satisfy hym ; and he will nocht ws it bot as your grace thynkis expedient. And the service I can do is reddey as ples your grace to command, prayand God to keip your grace and send yow sone hame. Of Peblis, the xiiij of Junij.

Your grace humill oratour and servitour

SANCTANDROIS.<sup>5</sup>

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the exigencies of war, the minority of the Queen, her residence in France, and the settlement of these islands as the portion of the Dowager. In the preceding year the Earl of Rothes and a French envoy had been despatched to Denmark with letters of credence anent this matter. The Danish King, a successful usurper, may have chosen this auspicious juncture to revive an ancient claim as a likely means of engaging popular support. He was at this period under Saxon influence.

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Strick.

<sup>2</sup> It was decided, ran the Spanish report, that the Emperor should have 'two ratifications of the peace : one in the Queen's name, to which that lady's great seal alone should be affixed ; the other with the Queen's seals in the first place, and then the Regent's together with those of the Great Council and Estates. . . . They say they did not treat separately, and will not ratify separately.' The sufficiency of the Scots ratification of the Treaty of Binche was in question. (*Spanish Papers*, x. 337, 338.)

<sup>3</sup> Sebastian de l'Aubespine, Abbé of Bassefontaine, was French ambassador at Brussels ; M. de Marillac, ambassador with the Emperor.

<sup>4</sup> The John Barton of Leith who figures in the *Treasurer's Accounts* is probably the same person as the John Barton of Craigs who had a quarrel with the Portuguese. (*C.S.P.* i. 17.)

<sup>5</sup> The letter is holograph.

## CCXL

*Sir James Croft to the Queen Dowager*

Kilmanam, 21st December 1551.

TO THE RIGHT HIGHE AND EXCELLENT PRYNCES, THE  
DOWGIER OF SKOTLANDIS GRACE.

Yt maie please your grace to be advertiscd that this laste sommer it chaunced that James M<sup>c</sup>Connell took a praye within this realme of Irelande;<sup>1</sup> and after I had pursued the said James, certayne of my men cam towarde the Ile of Raghlyns and there boote beyng sett on grownde they were all slayne saving twoo gentilmen wiche were taken prisoners<sup>2</sup> and detayned till they compounded for raunsome to be payde at Christmas. And forasmuche as the said James is of the Out Yles, wiche he sayth is part of Skotland, I thought mete tadvertys your grace therof. And consydering the peaxe betwext the king my master and your grace, with the honnour that I hard of your highnes when I was at Haddington<sup>3</sup> it hath made the bolder to become an humble suter to your grace, that the said gentilmen may be free of raunsome and there pledgies sent into Ireland: by your goodnes wherin I shalbe the more bounde to schow favour to all your subjectis, and also shall procure that the king my master shall rendre your grace thanks; not doubting but his majestie will requyte this towarde your highnes, yf upon the same occasion I shall advertis your goodnes showed to me.

<sup>1</sup> James M<sup>c</sup>Connell of Dunniveg was also, through marriage, Lord of the Glens, in Antrim. He had been plundering the country of the O'Neill in Clannaboy. Croft had thereupon fitted out a punitive expedition of four ships to proceed against him. (*Clan Donald*, ii. 530-1.)

<sup>2</sup> Bagnall and Cuffe. They were exchanged for M<sup>c</sup>Connell's brother, who had been a prisoner in Dublin for a year. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>3</sup> Probably between the end of March 1549, when his 'furniture' was 'sent northward,' and November, when he was appointed general of the footmen of the army designed for the relief of Boulogne. (*A. P. C.* 1547-50, 268, 356.) Holinshed states that Croft was appointed Governor of Haddington after Wilford had been taken prisoner in 1549. (*Chronicle*, edition 1808, iii. 907.) Wilford was a prisoner in Stirling in June 1549. (*T. A.* ix. 318.)

And for my part I refer it to the reporte of all your subjectis, with whom I had to do, that, the kingis service done and myne honnour saved, I have doune them all that pleasour that hath lyen in me: and so shall I be glad hereafter in all leafull thingis to do your grace service. Beseching you with this bearer to send me an answeire of your pleasour; and so humbly I take my leave of your grace. From Kylmanam,<sup>1</sup> the xxx<sup>th</sup> of Decembre 1551.

Your graces in all lawfull thingis to commaunde

JAMYS CROFT.<sup>2</sup>

### CCXLI

#### *Cassillis to the Queen Dowager*

Ayr, 5th March [1551-2].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Efter hwmbel commendation of my serwis to your grace, I haif sein the nowellis your grace send me and is rycht glaid of the samin.<sup>3</sup> And for newis heir, my lord gowernor com heir on Fwrisday last was<sup>4</sup> and I trest sall depart

<sup>1</sup> Kilmanam, on the Liffey, west of Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> Sir James Croft was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland on 23rd May 1551. (*Journal of Edward VI.*, 302.) He had been sent over in the previous February to strengthen the defences of the country, as the English government had reason to be apprehensive of Franco-Scottish designs in Ireland.

Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>3</sup> This is perhaps a reference to the mission of D'Oysel, who passed through England to France and was accredited to Edward VI. on 14th February. (*C.S.P.* i. 389.) He seems to have presented articles for the division of the Debatable Land. On 27th February he received an answer from the Privy Council, with intimation of the names of the proposed English commissioners. Cassillis was one of the suggested Scottish commissioners. (*A.P.C.* 1550-52, 491-3.) In France, D'Oysel was commissioned to deliver the thanks of Scotland for the services of the Most Christian King. (*A.P.* ii. 489.) It is likely, however, that his mission had also an international significance. Scotland found herself in a difficult position since the outbreak of war between France and the Emperor in September 1551. The French King, their 'maist anciant and maist speciale freynd,' wished them to declare war in his interests, but they feared 'quhat incommodite may come to this realm, gif the peax with the Emperour beis brokin.' (*P.C.* i. 120.)

<sup>4</sup> 2nd March. The Treasurer and Justice-Clerk were in Ayr on 20th and 24th February. (*T.A.* x. 63.)

within iiij or v dayis to Hamilton and thereafter keip the day of conwension in Sterling,<sup>1</sup> bot I kan nocht to sie that this air kan be endit qwhill Setterday thereafter : bot or than your grace sal be adwertest and we sall hast as swin as is possibel. It wil be neidfwl to your grace to geif adwertesment to the lord Maxwell [to be] at the convention, for wder wayis I kan nocht persave be ane serwand of his that is heir that he wil be ther.<sup>2</sup> Bot his cwming is nocht neidfwl qwhill the tym they that ar heir cwm, for I trest ther sal be na resolwsion tain qwhill than. Geif ther be one that haif had gwd deid of yowr grace in tymis past I think it war best your grace cawsit them be ther to haif ther gwd adwyis and cwmsel, for sic cawsis as I sal schaw your grace. And qwhat serwis I may do sal be at your grace command, prayand God to haif your grace in his keippin. Wryttin of Aer, this v day of Merche be

Your grace hwmbel servitour

CASSILLIS.<sup>3</sup>

Your grace will owder bern this bil or keip it to my cwming.

[*Endorsed* : M. de Cassiles.]

## CCXLII

*Cassillis to the Queen Dowager*

Dumfries, 8th May [1552].

[Efter] hwmbil commendation of my serwis to your grace, it wil pleis your grace I resawit your wryttin at Carlel on Fwrisday e[fter] nuin<sup>4</sup>—thankand your grace of your gwd nowellis—and maid the Inglis commessioners<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A convention was to convene at Stirling on 15th March. (*T.A.* x. 62.)

<sup>2</sup> Maxwell appears on the sederunt of the Privy Council at Stirling, on 20th March, when he and Cassillis and the Justice-Clerk were appointed commissioners for the division of the Debatable Land.

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph. The endorsement is greatly faded.

<sup>4</sup> 4th May.

<sup>5</sup> The English commissioners, nominated on 28th February, were the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Wharton, Sir Thomas Chaloner and Sir Thomas Palmer. (*A.P.C.* 1550-52, 493.)

prive to the samin, qwha was at dainer with ws the tym I resawit the samin. I fand master Chaloner best content of one of them as it apperit to me. Yesterday at the cuming in Scotland I resawit your grace wder wryttin to the samin effec. Madame, as for wr procedingis heir, as al was dwyn afoir Monwnday at nycht [I ?] wryt to my lord gowernor, qwhilk I wat was at your grace on Woddnesday. And sen syin your grace sal onderstand that apon Woddnesday last we raid abowt al the Debatabil Land and saw it perfyitly, and on Fwrisday commonit on the dewision therof; and becaws we thoct they com nocht ressonable to ws we dessyirrit them to dail and gif ws wr chois or cast cawillis,<sup>1</sup> or yit we swld dail and gaif them ther chois. They said they thoct it nocht meit to commet one thing to forton. Than we dessyirrit them to mark in the plat, as they wald answ[e]r afoir ther Consel, [qwhat] war ane ressonabil dewision and we swld do the lyik. Sa, madame, they maid ane merk and passit throw ane part of Cannabe and maid al the best land to them and bayth Sande Armestaringis hows and Thome Gramis.<sup>2</sup> Than we dessyirrit to geif them it that they offerit to ws and to tak the toder, qwhilk they [cu]ld nocht aggre to; as they said. Than we dewydit it in twa maners and offerit them ther chois, qwhilk they said they mycht nocht accord to, nor cum na farder nor ther ferst merk, qwharby we persawe ther instrwtions restranis them as I haif menit na less to ws for ther was ane plat at Cruders<sup>3</sup> [?] or they departit qwharby they maid ther instrwtions. Madame, the caws of wr defference presantly is that [they] exteim Cannabe debatabil,<sup>4</sup> qwhilk we cwld nocht accord onto. Nocht

<sup>1</sup> *cawillis*: lots. The commissioners were acting in accordance with the instructions issued by the Privy Council on 20th March. (*P.C.* i. 121-2.)

<sup>2</sup> These were the two 'stane houssis that is biggit upon the Debatabill,' which the Scottish government wish to see cast down. (*C.S.P.* i. 392.)

<sup>3</sup> This is apparently the reading, but the word is almost illegible. Carruthers was a parish on the eastern border of Annandale, in Dumfriesshire.

<sup>4</sup> The Scots commissioners were strictly enjoined by the Privy Council to agree to 'na divisoun of the landis of the priorye of Canabye as debatabill.' Canobie is in the parish of Eskdale.

theles, madame, the mater is brocht to ane neir point, and as apperis to them and ws bayth kan nocht fail to be accor[dit ?] apon be the Cwnsellis, albeit at they and we haif wre . . . sum part restranit, as your grace wil onderstand perfyitlye [be] the Jwstice Clerk and lard of Ledington<sup>1</sup> qwha will [give ?] your grace the plat and infwrmaton of al thingis qwhilk [I kan ?] nocht expreme in wryt. Madame, I thoct gwd to adwertys monsieur Beaudolphin<sup>2</sup> and monsieur Doysel of the pressent pointis of defference amangis ws, referand to your grace farder infwrmaton at wr cuming to your grace; qwhilk master Pamer twik on hand to delywer to monsieur Beaudolphin and is passit in post to London. Your grace wil onderstand sic lyek be them that we haif maid proclamations and apointit new meting for stoppin of brek, and haif cawsit the wardens . . . to meit schortly for redres. Mr. Pamer tw[k on ?] hand to gar your grace and my lord gowernor be adwert[st] schortly of ther Cw[n]sellis mynd in thir materis. [Your grace] wil excwis me that I cum nocht presently to your grace [and my] lord. Becaws my wyiff hais wryttin to me that your grace conceavis in mynd that I sawld pas northt, therfor I vald pas haim, and as your grace adwertessis salbe reddy to do serwis at my power; preyand God to haif your grace in his keippin.

Wryttin of Dumfreis, the viij day of May be

Your grace hwmbil serwitour

CASELLIS.

Madame, it is best that nain knaw qwhow thir materis standis, or at lest bot your grace my lord gowernor and

<sup>1</sup> Richard Maitland of Lethington, father of Queen Mary's secretary, and himself a famous lawyer and poet whose name is perpetuated in the Maitland Club. He and Drumlanrig were the two commissioners who signed the final indenture on 24th September. (*Ibid.* 394.)

<sup>2</sup> Claude de Laval, Seigneur de Boisdaulphin, French ambassador in London. On 16th August he signed a certificate, delimiting the Debatable Land. It was divided, according to the Scottish marking, by a line which 'leaves the stone house of Thomas Grem on its west side, and leaves the stone house of Alexander Armstrong on the east . . . the west part adjudged to England, and the east part to Scotland.' (*Ibid.* 392.)



the cwnsel, for sic cawsis as the Jwstice Clerk wil schaw your grace.<sup>1</sup>

I am glaid of the gwd tretment and awanement of monsieur Doysel, and als glaid of his retwining bayth for the kengis serwis and weil of this contre.<sup>2</sup>

## CCXLIII

*The Governor to the Queen Dowager*

Linlithgow, 7th October 1552.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, eftir hartlie commendatioun of service, we traist that your grace hes hard of the abhominable vile and treasonable slauchter of the larde of Bukcleuch<sup>3</sup> committit under assurance takin in presens of your grace ws and the counsale. And becaus throu his deces the myddle merchis and alsua the west bordour be inlaik<sup>4</sup> of the lord Maxwell ar destitut of wardenis, it is verrey convenient for stancheng of brek and cummer to ryis ther upoun that

<sup>1</sup> Compare the opinion of the English Council that 'the lesse pryvey the Borderers be made to the devisioun hereof, the more likely it is the thing shall take place.' (*P.C.* 1550-52, 493.) It is noteworthy that renewed disturbances had broken out before the end of this month of May. (*Addenda*, 411.)

<sup>2</sup> At this time D'Oysel was appointed to return to Scotland as Lieutenant-General. (*B.P.* ii. 112.) He was in Scotland before 6th October. (*Spanish Papers*, x. 585-8.)

The letter is holograph. It is much faded, in parts almost illegible, through damp; and the left-hand margin is decayed.

<sup>3</sup> He was slain in the streets of Edinburgh, on 4th October, by the Kerrs of Fernieherst, Cessford and Hirsell. (See *Book of Buccleuch*, ii. 209-11; (*T.A.* x. *ad indices*). On 8th December, the Kerrs and their accomplices were sentenced to banishment in France, and were ordered to raise a force of 100 well-furnished horsemen from the families of the Middle Marches, excluding the Kerrs, to serve in the French wars. The expeditionary force was, however, disbanded, and the sentence of banishment was remitted in the following May. (*P.C.* i. 133, 140; *Journal of Edward VI.*, 467.)

<sup>4</sup> *inlaik*: death. Robert, sixth Lord Maxwell, Warden of the West Marches, died at Dumfries, on 13th September 1552. (*S.P.* vi. 482.)

new wardanis be haistilie providit<sup>1</sup>: quhaironto necesser is that certane of the counsale be convenit to that effect. And we have ellis spokin to the erllis of Cassillis and Glencarne and send to the erll of Argile quha will nocht failze to be schortlie at us. Bot be ressoun thai wilbe ane gret cumpany of folkis and can nocht be eselie lugeit in Falkland we pray your grace, gif it may stand with your plesour, that you will tak payne owther to cum to Edinburcht or Linlithqw<sup>2</sup> als sone as ye may gudlie, and upoun your advertisment we sall meit you at the watter side or ellis cum to Falkland as your grace desiris. Becaus ther wes ane day of meting appoyntit betuix the larde of Bukleuch<sup>3</sup> and the wardan of Ingland to haif bene keptit upon Monunday nix to cum<sup>4</sup> we haif writtin to the said wardane to continew the samin, and to kepe ane gude part and stanche all sic occasionis as may truble the peax unto the tyme new wardanis be providit, and sendis ane herault to Ingland for the samin purpos.<sup>5</sup> We will luke for haisty answer of your grace in thir behalffis. And so we commit you to the preservatioun of almychty God. At Linlithgow, the vii day of October 1552.

\* Yowr graccis hwymll cowsyng and serwetwr

JAMES G.\*

<sup>1</sup> Lord Home succeeded Buccleuch, and Drumlanrig succeeded Maxwell. (*T.A.* x. 150, 199.)

<sup>2</sup> The Privy Council met at Linlithgow on 14th October, when the Dowager and Governor were both present. (*P.C.* i. 125.)

<sup>3</sup> In 1550 he was made Warden of the Middle Marches, and in 1551 Warden and Justiciar of Liddesdale. (*S.P.* ii. 229.)

<sup>4</sup> 10th October. The appointment had probably been made with Lord Ogle, the English Deputy Warden of the Middle Marches, but new wardens were being appointed in England as well as in Scotland, and Ogle was succeeded by Lord Eure, in December. (*A.P.C.* 1552-54, 41, 185, 197.) On 30th July, Lord Wharton had been created Deputy Warden General under Northumberland. (*Official Baronage of England*, iii. 657.)

<sup>5</sup> On 15th December Peter Thompson, Islay Herald, was sent with close writings to Lord Eure, the new Warden of the Middle Marches. (*T.A.* x. 148.)

\*\* Holograph.

## CCXLIV

*Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Newcastle, 20th November 1552.

TO THE QUEENES GRACE.

Plesyd your grace to have in remembrance whow alsweil duringe all my continewaunce in Scotlande (as in other places) I was ever at my small power addictede to your graces service, of the which I am not yet penitent, and beinge of this lounge tyme solicitant and travaillinge to be reconcielede to the favour of my own naturall realme (as your grace knoweth) wherby I myght the more honorabillie spend my dayes, and contynew my poore service to the kinge of Fraunce and your grace. In woorkinge wherof I perceyve not onlie my good hart and affection cowldlie taken, but also under pretence of a wayke suretie to leis the certaine for the uncertaine, and to have my bodie in daungere by those whom I have not offendede, nor hath no just cause, onles jolisie be taken, that I have and wilbe to earnestlie bent to serve your grace, which to my small power for no threatninges, losses nor displeasouris I will not leave so lounge as your grace pleaseth to accept the samyn. Most hwmblye prayinge your grace to contynew my good lady and to weye the premissis and the state of my poore cawses, as to one of your graces owen servauntes, and labour my revocation in that realme (which I most desyre) as best may stande to my poore honor and suretie yf the samyn can be obteygnede, seinge my offences deserveth no suche extremitie. Or in defalt therof, that it wyll please your grace with eirnest effect wryt to the kinge of Fraunce in my favour to addres his highnes wrytinges to my lorde gouvernour and counsell of that realme to restore me to my landes, heretaiges, possessions, rowmes<sup>1</sup> and fealls<sup>2</sup> which I had of the autoritie at my departour furth of Scotland. And also that yt wolde please your grace to declare unto his majestie by

<sup>1</sup> *rowme*: a possession in land; also an official situation.

<sup>2</sup> *feall*: a salary.

wrytinge the effectiō that I have borne to his highnes service at all tymes; and now specialiie wolde be most glaide to scrve him at his warres, yf it wolde please his hieghnes to exceptyd: not dowbtinge but your graces lettres thus in my favour to his majestie shalbe so in effect as his hieghnes maye weall perceave your grace ys my good prences. And thus I shall pray almightie God to preserve your grace in most longe lyef with prosperous succes in all your graces effaires. From Newcastle, this xx<sup>th</sup> of Novembre 1552.

By your graces most humble and obedient servitor  
P. ERLE BOTHULLE.<sup>1</sup>

## CCXLV

*Cassillis to the Queen Dowager*

Dunoon, 17th December [1552].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Efter mast hwmbel commendatiō of my serwis to yowr grace, it will pleis yow be adwertest that my lord of Argyll hais conwenit al the pr[ens]pellis within his lieu-tennandre for setting forwart of the vi<sup>c</sup> men apointit him to rais<sup>2</sup>—the qwhilk kan nocht be gottin bot geif he tak ane man of ewre x li land, qwhilk wil be werrey chargand to the contre. Nocht the les he hais apointit the samin to be dwin, and sendis his brwder and James Canochtis brwder<sup>3</sup> to be capitanis; and M<sup>c</sup>Clanis brwder<sup>4</sup> the knyght

<sup>1</sup> Negotiations must have been protracted, for Bothwell did not return to Scotland till November of the following year. See No. CCL.

Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to the force that the Queen Dowager persuaded the Council to raise, in December 1552, for service in the French wars. In view of the strong popular opposition to the measure, letters were despatched in January to discharge the levy. (*T.A.* x. xxv. 154.)

<sup>3</sup> James M'Connell of Dunniveg had three brothers, Angus, Coill and Alexander. (*R.M.S.*, 1st April 1554.)

<sup>4</sup> The brother of Maclean of Dowart. Argyle's third wife was Katherine Maclean, daughter of Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart. (*Register House Charters*, 2352.) The *Scots Peerage* (i. 340) states that his daughter Janet married Hector Maclean of Dowart, but the evidence of the Great Seal is not conclusive. (*R.M.S.*, 26th January 1557-8.)

of Cawdiris son <sup>1</sup> the lord of Achinbraikis son <sup>2</sup> and ane special gentil man of ewre hows to be in the cwmpany, qwharby your grace wil knaw the affection he hais to set forwartis the kingis serwis. And for sa mone landis as ar assingnit to him and nocht within his lieutenwandre he hais adwertest the prensPELLIS therof to tak sic order as he hais dwin, qwhilk your grace and my lord gowernor may gar them do, as farder my lord of Argyil wil schaw your grace at ywil. And farder, geif ther be one serwis your grace wil command me, your grace wil adwertis, and I sal as lang as I leif be redde to fwlfeil the samin at my power; and sal be at my lord gowernor <sup>3</sup> within viij d[a]yis to remember sic thingis as consernis the kengis serwis, and therefter cwm to your grace; preyand God to haif your grace in his keppin. Wryttin of Dwnwin, the xvij day of Desember be

Your grace hwmbel serwitor

CASSILLIS.<sup>4</sup>

## CCXLVI

*Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Perth, 28th December 1552.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, eftir the maist hertlie commendatioun of my service unto your grace, it will the samin wit that I haif certane besines presentlie to be done in the court of Rome for the quhilk I haif advessit this berer to depart. He is all reddy depaschit of me instantlie. Thairfor will beseik your grace rycht effectuslie that he may haif your grace

<sup>1</sup> The laird of Cawdor at this time was apparently the grandson of Sir John Campbell of Calder, who had died in May 1546. His son, Sir Archibald, is stated in the retour of his heir to have died in December 1551. (*Thanes of Cawdor*, 175-6.) According to a *A Succinct Account of the Family of Calder*, Archibald died 'about the year 1553.' (*Highland Papers*, i. 129.)

<sup>2</sup> Campbell of Auchinbreck.

<sup>3</sup> The Governor was at Hamilton. (*Liber Emptorum*.)

<sup>4</sup> The Earl of Cassillis was designated Lieutenant-General 'of the army divisit to pas in France.' (*P.C.* i. 135.)

The letter is holograph.

depesche in his maisteris [*sic*], and specialie ane writing to the kingis grace for the reserve of Birges<sup>1</sup> of Berry to your grace awin servand my brother, quhome your grace hes promovit to all that ewir he hes, and elykwis to wret to my lord Cardinall and do in his uther besines as your grace best plesis. I haif direckit my maister houssald to Frans for my sone George<sup>2</sup> and wald this berer<sup>3</sup> passit with him gyff it wer your grace plesour. Forther, it will pleis your grace charge me to ony thing salbe your grace plesour, to the quhilk I salbe ay reddy at your grace command: and at it will pleis to gyff credence to the berer: and God almychting haif your grace in his keeping. At Perth, the xxviiij day of December 1552 be

\* Your grace mast hwmyll and obedyent serwytour  
HWNTLY.\*

[*Endorsed*: M. de Huntly.]

## CCXLVII

*Earl of Sutherland to the Queen Dowager*

Forres, 26th May [1553].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, efter maist hertlie commendacioune of my hwmile service to your grace quhome pleis I haif spokin

<sup>1</sup> Bourges. Jacobus le Roy was bishop from 1537 to 1572. There is no indication in Eubel that Gordon obtained a reservation. (Eubel, iii. 150.) Bourges had previously had a Scottish bishop, when Andrew Forman received this rich benefice as a reward for diplomatic services. (*Archbishops of St. Andrews*, ii. 73, etc.)

<sup>2</sup> George Gordon, the writer's second son; afterwards fifth Earl of Huntly.

<sup>3</sup> On 28th December, the date of this letter, Alexander Ross, herald, was 'being send in France be my Lorde of Huntlic.' He was also to request a safe-conduct to allow the Abbot of Kilwinning to pass through England as ambassador to France. It is probably more than a coincidence that at the same time Huntly presented two deer-hounds to the Governor. (*T.A.* x. 144. Cf. Introduction, xxxvi-xxxviii.) He was apparently trying to stand well with both parties at this time of precarious political equipoise. A state of tension had probably been created by the recent capture of the Dowager's despatches revealing 'certain important schemes that are being laid against the ancient liberties of Scotland, and concern the authority' of the Governor's office. (*Spanish Papers*, x. 595; cf. 596-604.)

\*\* Holograph.

my lord of Huntlie tueching the derectione and besines  
 your grace commandit me,<sup>1</sup> quha is waray plentius<sup>2</sup> of  
 your grace and saii he will serve you by onye uther, your  
 grace beand to him as ye aucht to be, lyke as he will schaw  
 your grace at meting—quhilk wilbe at the airis of Perth.<sup>3</sup>  
 Gif he kepis his sayingis I knaw nocht, bot as for me I  
 salbe ay redye to do your grace service. I sall nocht fail  
 to keip tryst in Sant Joneston. And gif your grace hes  
 onye besines to charge mw with in thir partis I salbe redie  
 at your grace charge, as knawis God, quha mot your grace  
 keip eternalie. Of Forres, the xxvj day of Maij instant  
 Be your grace servitour at command

JHONE ERLLE OFF SOTHYRLAND.<sup>4</sup>

### CCXLVIII

#### *Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Huntly, 26th August [1553].

TO THE QUEYNEIS GRACE.

Madam, plais your grace at my heir cumyng I wes  
 advertesit that the erll Sudyrland and byssep off Catnes<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The 'besines' may have been a matter of statecraft. On the other hand, the place of writing suggests that it may have been not unconnected with the affairs of Moray. In 1550 Sutherland had resigned his lease of the lands of Moray, and the jointure portion of his late wife there. It was said that when in France, Huntly 'obtained some part of his suit concerning Moray, and the French King hath bound himself by writing thereunto,' in spite of the hostility of Cassillis and Sutherland. (Tytler, *Edward VI. and Mary*, 354.) In 1552 the two rivals came to a settlement, which, however, seems not to have been very durable. After the disgrace of Huntly, Sutherland was appointed Bailie of Moray for three years, in July 1555. (See *Sutherland Book*, i. 106-7; iii. 110-13; *R.S.S.* xxvii. f. 118-19.)

<sup>2</sup> *plentius*: complaining. At Perth, on 20th June, Huntly received a five years' tack of the Brae of Mar and other lands: the gift may have been by way of satisfaction of his complaints. (*R.S.S.* xxv. f. 75-6.)

<sup>3</sup> A Justice Ayre was held at Perth in June. (*T.A.* x. 137.) Huntly kept troth, to his own advantage.

<sup>4</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, was the Earl's brother-in-law. In 1553 the Bishop and Chapter 'found it expedient to constitute the earl

ves in Catnes to hayff maid sum gud dres in thai cuntrayis, bot thai culd nocht do the saymen. Therfor I hes send your grace lettris with my lord governouris to the erll Catnes and Banagone <sup>1</sup> quhar of I thynk thai wylbe content, and hes wrytyn to tham my selfl confurme to your grace command lyik as your grace may se be the copy ther off ; and as I get thair ansair sall advertteis your grace. Als I heyff appontit the ferd day off this nyxt moneytht to spek the nort Illis men in Badzenaycht gyf thai wyll cum to me,<sup>2</sup> and sall do thairin as your grace ordanit me the best I can, and as beis done your grace salbe in lyik manir advertisit. Your grace man excus my broder the arst-byssep that he remanis in this contrayis <sup>3</sup> becaus I man hald hym heir quhill I se quhat ordour beis takyne in this efferis. Madem, I pray your grace estyme me and my puir hartly serwyce your awyne [a]lls obedyently as ony lewand may do, nay mair, as [dei ?]d sall pryffe. Nocht doutand bot your grace as tyme servis wyll hayff in remembrance my sobyr caus referrit to your grace awyne consydratione, quhilk I can do nay les nor remembyr your grace ther one, sen I am all your grace. This, madam, eftyr mast hwmyll and hartle recommendatione off my serwyce, I pray God ewyr to preseryff your grace in lang lyff. Off your grace place off Hun[t]hle, the xxvj day off Agust be the hand off hym that is

Your grace mast hwmyll and obedyent serwyctour

HUNTLY.<sup>4</sup>

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hereditary bailie of all the lands, bounds and possessions of the diocese.' (*Sutherland Book*, i. 112; *Origines Parochiales*, ii. 610.)

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Ross of Balnagown.

<sup>2</sup> At 'Rovan of Badzenocht,' on 11th September 1553, a contract was made 'betwix ane nobill and potent lord George Erle of Huntlie lord Gordon and Badzenocht, lefttentent generall of the north, and honorabill mene Jhone Mudgwart capitane of the Clane Ronald, his son Allane, thair kyne, freindis, allys, and pertakaris.' (*Clan Donald*, ii. 750.) The Clan Donald were to have remittance of past offences, and bound themselves to obey the authority.

<sup>3</sup> 'Alexander, Archebischop and commendatour of Inchecheffray' was one of the signatories to the contract.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is holograph.



## CCXLIX

*William Kerr to the Queen Dowager*

Littledene, 25th August [1553].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

This sal be to advertis your grace that the tua yong lardis of Sesfurd<sup>1</sup> and Ferniherst<sup>2</sup> with the sheref of the Cavers<sup>3</sup> and lard of Haldene<sup>4</sup> browcht ane canone of Sanctandrois callit Acchisoun<sup>5</sup> til Celso be the sone raysing in the mornying this Frayday last the xxv of August, and maid ane sermond: and, as I beleiff, nocht without awais of the auld lairdis thair faderis as this berar caine schau your grace at lentht, quhome to it pleis your graice to gif credens for he hes hard and seine al thingis that occuris heir. And almychte God preserve your grace in heltht and prosperite. At Littildene, the xxv of August.

\* Be your grace humil oratur and servand

MASTER WYLZEM KER, YOUR GRACE ELYMOSYNER.\*

## CCL

*Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Crichton, 12th November 1553.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

It may pleis your gude grace that eftir gret storme off wedder and hevyl laboris be the see I arrivit heir in Lawdiane quhair I remane as yit, willing with trew hai[s]t to offer and do to your grace my detfull dewite of service, and becaus I am by violent tempest and storme on the see

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Kerr. (*R.M.S.*, 12th March 1553-4.)<sup>2</sup> John Kerr is named as son and apparent heir of Andrew Kerr of Fernieherst on 5th October 1545. (*A.P.* ii. 461.)<sup>3</sup> Douglas of Cavers, hereditary sheriff of Teviotdale.<sup>4</sup> John Haldane of that ilk. (*R.M.S.*, 13th July 1553.)<sup>5</sup> Robert Achesone, canon of St. Andrews, signs a feu charter of the Priory Acres of St. Andrews (St. Andrews Charters) on 31st March 1555.\*\* Holograph. William Kerr, here styled the Queen's almoner, was a younger son of Mark Kerr of Littledean. (*R.M.S.*, 27th July 1550.)

sumpart crasit and alterit in my persoun and not sa habill at this present to do sic service as my will commandis and steris me to. Sua, to excuis my unhabilnes unto your grace and to have your grace directioun quhat I sall do presentlie and quhair I sall addres me to cum to your grace presens I have send this berar my cousing of Trakwair<sup>1</sup> to have your grace mynd and command towart me heirintill. And sen I will nocht impesche your grace with reding off lang letter, this berar will schaw your grace at mair lencht lik as I have gyffin to him in charge, suo it will pleis your grace gyff him credens. And thus prays the almychting God to have your grace in keping. Off Crechtoun, the xij day of November 1553.

Your grace hwmyll and obedient servitour at power

P. ERLE BOTHUILE.<sup>2</sup>

## CCLI

### *Lady of Buccleuch to the Queen Dowager*

Edinburgh, 28th January 1553-4.

TO THE QUENYS GRACE.

Madame, eftir maist humyll commendatioun of service, empleis your grace be advertisit I have tareit heir thir aucht days bipast in houp of your cumyng to this towne : awating thaireupone to haif spoking your grace at lenth in all my necessar besiness, for my suyr traist and asperance is onelie in your grace above all utheris of this realme. And I with all frendis pertening me salbe your trew servitouris in all sic behalfis as ye pleis command ws. Besekand your grace to send me advertisment gif ye intend to be heir schortlie or nocht, for I will await yit ferder upone your cumyng. I haif committit sum part of my mynd be toung to my broder<sup>3</sup> the berar heirof, quhairto pleis your grace geif credit. And God almychting preserve

<sup>1</sup> John Stewart. (*E.R.* xviii. 544.)

<sup>2</sup> Only the signature is autograph. Cf. No. CCXLIV.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Robert Beaton of Creich, captain of Falkland. (*R.M.S.*, 22nd June 1554.)

your grace eternalie. Off Edinburgh, the xxviiij of Januar  
1553.

be your oratrix  
JANAT BEATOUN LADY OF BWKCLWTHT.<sup>1</sup>

## CCLII

*James, Lord Somerville, to the Queen Dowager*

Cowthally, 22nd March [1553-4].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Pleis your grace, eftir maist hertlie commendatioun of service, this is to advertes your grace that I and my men is vary scharplie put at for ane stent quhilk vas to be gevin of auld or evir my lord my fathere decessit,<sup>2</sup> and now this Thursday at evin I haf gottin ane vriting fra the sheref deput of Lanark<sup>3</sup> to be in Hammiltoun that samyn nycht at evin, or this fryday in the mornyng, for the making of my compt of the said stent—quhilk bill I beseik your grace to reid, and than I beleve your grace vill swrelie understand how scharp thai ar apoun my evin [*sic*]. Nochtwythstanding, I sall, God villing, stik fermelie at your grace merk and sall nocht stwr for ther hornyng. I haif schauin to my brother<sup>4</sup> my mynd at lenth, quhom plesit your grace geve credit; beseikand almychty God haf your grace eternalie in keiping. Of Couthele, this Furisday at evin, the xxij day of Marche be your grace servand at all poware, subscrivit with my hand

LORD SOMERWELL.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Janet Beaton, daughter of John Beaton of Creich, had been twice previously married before she became the wife of Scott of Buccleuch. This had been a marriage of expediency arranged by the Cardinal before June 1544. (*H.P.* ii. 740.) Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh, fourth Lord Somerville, is stated to have died in 1549. (*S.P.* viii. 18.) It appears from this letter that his death must have been after 3rd July of that year, the date when parliament ordered a tax of £35,000. This was not a new levy, but an old tax reimposed 'because thair is no prelattis serreffis erles lordis barrones & uther frehalderis that hes takin vp the taxt foirsaid fra the tennentis within thair boundis and landis and jurisdiction.' (*A.P.* ii. 600.)

<sup>3</sup> John Robertson of Ernock. (*R.M.S.*, 12th June 1547.)

<sup>4</sup> The writer had five brothers, John, Hugh, Robert, Michael, William. (*S.P.* viii. 18-19.)

<sup>5</sup> A holograph letter from James, fifth Lord Somerville.

## Nos. CCLIII-CCLXXVIII: INTRODUCTORY

THE letters in this section cover the period from the assumption of the regency by Mary of Lorraine until the conclusion of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in April 1559. During these years the Queen sought to drive an ill-yoked team in double harness. When she found that it was impossible to unite the interests of Scotland with the service of the house of Guise, she was prepared to sacrifice the welfare of her adopted country upon the altar of family ambition: the result was the inevitable reaction of the Scots when the time was ripe. Outwardly politics seemed to dominate the situation, but beneath the surface more intangible forces were at work silently operating a spiritual revolution in the nation's life. Between these two factors, the obvious and the hidden, there was a constant and subtle interaction, culminating at the end of the period in a fusion of Protestantism and nationalism.

The state of Scotland in 1554 would have absorbed the whole attention of the most single-minded patriot; and although the aims of the Queen Regent were divided, we need not doubt that she had a genuine desire to establish order and promote the prosperity of her subjects. Bishop Leslie considered that the late period of transition in the government had engendered a spirit of lawlessness and crime.<sup>1</sup> The evidence of the Correspondence certainly testifies to the necessity to take measures 'for the rasest-ance of the mone slawchtiris commettit with in this realme,' and for the punishment of 'maisterfull opres-seone.' [No. CCLIII.]

<sup>1</sup> Leslie, 247.

The letters of Sutherland, Argyle, and Girvanmains afford an interesting insight into the disturbed state of the highlands and islands, as well as into the policy and methods of the Queen Regent at the beginning of her administration. [Nos. CCLVIII, CCLIX, CCLXI.]

Girvanmains, indeed, insinuates that she might turn the public confusion to her private advantage by 'persewand' the widow of the rebel M'Kay 'scherply and to the extremete.' It is not clear, however, to what extent the writer was expressing the personal inclinations of the Queen; and in any case such gains could be only incidental, and are not necessarily inconsistent with the primary aim of establishing good order. In this public service Mary of Lorraine showed energy, determination and vigilance. Sutherland and Argyle promised to keep her well posted in occurrents, and their expeditions seem to have been planned according to a thoroughgoing and comprehensive scheme. In exacting hostages from the rebels she was following a time-honoured policy of the Scottish kings, but it was an innovation to send French professional soldiers to quell domestic disturbances. The Captain of Dunbar and the Captain of Broughty may have played but a subordinate part in these enterprises, yet their very presence was a menace to Scottish autonomy.

It was more serious that Frenchmen were likewise introduced into the very heart of the administration of government. The supplication of the disgraced Huntly to D'Oysel, for example, is testimony to the power and importance of the French ambassador as the Regent's chief adviser. [No. CCLXIII.] Similarly the various references to Villemore, the Comptroller, afford evidence alike of his activity and of the confidence reposed in him. Although the appointment of Cassillis as Treasurer may have been calculated to propitiate the national sentiment, yet it must have been galling to the proud spirit of

the Scots nobility to see foreigners in general preferred before them.

In this regard the disgrace of Huntly would not be reassuring. The Regent, indeed, may have considered this as a test case to try her strength. Although it is perhaps now impossible to ascertain all the facts, it is at least certain that the eclipse of the powerful Chancellor was an event of no mean significance. Mary of Lorraine had climbed to power largely by the support of the Gordon influence, and it would seem that in the day of her success she was not unwilling to cast aside the ladder as no longer needful. She expressed 'ane ewyll opponzeone' of Huntly's service. [No. CCLXIII.] Girvanmains suspected him [No. CCLXI], and he had many other enemies. But although he himself acknowledged a 'falt,' he declared that it 'hes nocht beyne say greit bot hyr grace may assay me agane.' [No. CCLXIII.]

D'Oysel seems to suggest that Huntly was a masterful oppressor whose sentence would have a salutary deterrent effect upon other exalted offenders. His record was indeed not stainless; but if the Regent had regard to the advice 'at maisterfull oppresseone be punest bayth be takyng of geir and wardyng of ther bodeis in strait wardis' [No. CCLIII], then the issue was to show that she was not strong enough to enforce rigorous justice, irrespective of persons. Huntly was certainly mulcted of much 'geir' and deprived of divers perquisites, yet the sentence of exile was not only remitted but within a few weeks he was himself exercising judicial functions. [No. CCLXVI.] The suspicion lurks that his 'falt hes nocht beyne say greit' as his power was excessive. His alleged crime afforded a pretext to pluck the feathers of 'the Cock o' the North.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In October 1559 the Lords of the Congregation insinuated that Huntly, 'one of the principal friends of the Duke,' was imprisoned out of animosity against the Hamiltons; but they do not substantiate the charge. (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, i. 45 (4).)

On her side, moreover, the Regent was extricating herself from entanglements of her own making. Her reckless use of bribery during her bid for power must have led to difficulties in the day of reckoning, and the disgrace of Huntly provided one opportunity for straightening things out. Thus it is significant that he was deprived of his interests in Moray and Orkney. She was thereby enabled to satisfy the counter-claims of Sutherland upon the fruits of Moray,<sup>1</sup> while in Orkney the way was probably cleared for the administration of her new French bailie, M. Bonot. [No. CCLXV.] Doubtless, also, the imposition of the money fine was welcomed as a means of replenishing an impoverished exchequer, for the expenses incident to the assumption of government, and to the maintenance of her daughter's establishment in France, must have been a serious drain upon the resources of the Regent. There can be little doubt that to her, no less than to her predecessor, the administration of justice had its own value as a source of revenue. In Huntly's case the Queen's adventitious gain was obviously greater than the service rendered to the cause of justice.

Any intended deterrent effect must, indeed, have been seriously diminished by the sudden restoration of the victim to freedom and office. Probably the Scottish nobles, no less than the Regent, looked upon this as a test case. If they felt that the attack upon the Chancellor was a threat to their whole order, they might well drop personal grudges in pursuit of the common safety. The French Vice-Chancellor exercised the real powers of office, but the fact that Huntly retained the titular dignity suggests that Mary of Lorraine found herself unable to unseat the Scottish Chancellor. She was wise enough to

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<sup>1</sup> On 2nd August 1555, Sutherland was appointed Bailie of Moray for three years. (*R.S.S.* xxvii. 118-19.) Cf. *Sutherland Book*, i. 106-7.

realise the limitations of her power, and in this instance she probably made a virtue of necessity in the apparent exercise of clemency.

There was undoubtedly need to walk warily in the troubles of the times. Not only was the popular hatred of Frenchmen increasing to serious dimensions, but the letter of Mudy hints at quarrels among the ranks of the French officials themselves. [No. CCLXV.] Besides this, the rivalry of the house of Hamilton made it politic to deal gently with the susceptibilities of the Scots, lest the disaffected should rally round the Duke of Châtelherault. It is significant that the Protestant Cassillis supplanted Hamilton as Treasurer: in opposition to the Primate, the natural leader of the churchmen, the Regent was tolerant of the Protestants, and cultivated the support of the merchant classes. For herself, she reaped the reward of virtue by extending 'maist gentill and gracious clemencie' to Balnaves and his co-religionists. [No. CCLXX.] Balnaves expressed his gratitude by placing his legal knowledge at her disposal, with the commendation of his future services to her 'contentatioun and pleasour.' Henrison and Fyvie promised that 'geif ye will preif oure service ony farder we sall agment the rentis of the quene youre dochteris croun this yeir cumand xxx<sup>m</sup> lib. moir than it wes this yeir bygane without ony sic danger grudge or murmour of the pepill as ther is now.' [No. CCLXVIII.]

History does not say whether she did 'preif' their 'service ony farder,' but it was clearly a great asset to the needy and impecunious Regent to be served faithfully and of 'gwd hart' by the merchants and Protestant lairds. In holding the 'swir trest' of these classes lay her best hope of allaying the 'danger grudge or murmour of the pepill.' That the mutterings of discontent were growing distinctly audible may be gathered from the



act of parliament of June 1555,<sup>1</sup> no less than from the nature of the judicial business of the Justiciars at Jedburgh in May. [No. CCLXVI.]

In the days of opposition Mary of Lorraine had owed much of her success to her capacity for trimming her sails according to the wind. She had picked her counsellors shrewdly, and given ear to Scotsmen versed in affairs and in touch with opinion in all quarters of the realm. It was unfortunate for herself that when she had secured the regency she cast aside the rudder which had enabled her in the past to steer through dangerous shoals. When she began to put the dynastic ambitions of her family before the interests of Scotland the storm-clouds swiftly gathered. In a negative way the Correspondence bears expressive testimony to the new state of things. The dearth of the Scottish correspondence coincides with the years of the Regent's growing reliance upon French advisers, and the identification of her policy with the imperialism of Guise and Valois.

It was when she launched upon a militarist course that she began fatally to alienate the Scottish nobles. Argyle and his confederates were presumably not unwilling to fight for their own hand, while harassing the enemies of the King of France in Ireland. Desultory raids upon the borders, also, were a time-honoured system of warfare which the Queen Regent seems to have been more anxious than the borderers themselves to suppress. [No. CCLIII.] But when it came to a question of a standing army or participation in the wars of France and Spain, the barons, in no uncertain voice, refused to become the bond-servants of the Most Christian King.<sup>2</sup>

Valois and Hapsburg had renewed hostilities at the

<sup>1</sup> *A.P.* ii. 499-500. 'Aganis thame that rasis murmuris sclanders and seditioun betuix the liegis of this realme and the maist Christin Kingis liegis.'

<sup>2</sup> Leslie, 258 ff.

end of 1556. In the following summer England entered the war on the side of Philip II., King-consort of Mary Tudor, while Henry sought the support of Scotland. On 10th August 1557, the Constable of France suffered crushing defeat at the battle of St. Quentin, and it seemed for a time that Paris itself might fall. This reverse spurred Mary of Lorraine to the support of her kinsfolk, but the letter of Andrew Fernie hints significantly at the strength of the popular opposition to the proposed invasion of England. [No. CCLXXIII.] She was foiled in her project by the recalcitrance of the lords, who 'culd not think it for the weill of thair realm . . . to hassard batle furth of thair cuntrey, thair princes being absente and of les aige.'<sup>1</sup> But although forced to change her tactics, she did not relinquish her designs. Eyemouth continued to be fortified by the French, and she sought to strengthen the personal bond with the Most Christian King.

By providing her daughter with a husband she would impose a master upon her daughter's subjects. Accordingly, 'James commendatar of the priorie of Sanct-androis for the commoun wele of this realme with certane utheris of the prelatis and nobill men therof, conforme to the act of parliament maid therupoun [14th December 1557], ar to pas to the partis of France to the solempnizing and completing of the maist honorable band of matrimony betuix our soverane the quenis grace and the dolphing of France.' [No. CCLXXV.] Mary of Lorraine must have strained every effort to secure this end, for, although it was but the consummation of an old bond, yet after 'the yong Quen was in France ther wes gret disputing whether the mariage with the Delphin suld tak effek or not.'<sup>2</sup> It was generally felt to be devised not so much to promote 'the commoun wele of this realme' as for the aggrandise-

<sup>1</sup> Leslie, 260-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Sir James Melville* (Bannatyne Club), 71-2.

ment of the house of Guise over its rivals, the Montmorencies in France and the Hamiltons in Scotland.

Although the Correspondence does not touch upon the sinister plot to deprive the Scots of their birthright of independence,<sup>1</sup> yet Coldingham's veiled reference to 'besynes ado' contains a hint that the matrimonial tie had not drawn the two countries any closer in brotherhood. [No. CCLXXVII.] On the contrary, the Scots chafed more fretfully as men under bondage. It seemed as if they had emancipated themselves from England only to fall under the yoke of a new thralldom.

This popular irritation was of ominous import for the Queen Regent. It tended to fuse all the elements of discontent, and to identify the political opposition with the party of the Reformation. A typical example is the case of Arran, the heir of Châtelherault. When his lingering hopes of a royal marriage had been shattered, then 'not so much from religious zeal, as from being dissatisfied with King Henry, and to spite him,'<sup>2</sup> he had embraced the cause of the Reformation. Birth and circumstances thus combined to make him a natural leader of the Scottish opposition to the Queen Regent; and the hour was soon to strike when such a man was needed. The accession of Elizabeth in November 1558, and the conclusion of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in April 1559, opened the flood-gates for the accumulating forces of discontent.

<sup>1</sup> Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 22-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Venetian Calendar*, vii. 140; *Earl of Arran and Queen Mary*, S.H.R. xviii. 263.

## CCLIII

*Notes of Advice for Punishment of Crime*

Madem, ples your grace, for the rasestance of the mone slawchtiris commettit with in this realme: the aperance of the eschewyn ther of is to derak letters to all sherrefis of the sherrefdomes in Scotland that, incontinent efter ony slawchtir be commettit of quhat motyw at ever the slawchtir cum, that in contenent the sherrefis serce and seik the commetiris of the slawchtir, and tak thame and put thame in sur kepen one to the tyme the falt be tryit, to gether with the atechment of all ther gudis to the queynes grace uis. And in cais the sherrefis be nocht maisteris of the contray to hym, to pas to the prencipallis of the contrai quhar the cryme is commettit; and to requyr thame to concur with hym to the effeit forsaid with sartefecation to thame, and <sup>1</sup> thai rafus and gang nocht tha sall be halden hes <sup>2</sup> partesepant of the said cryme, and to tak documentis ther apone. And ther thyngis beand proclemet at all mercat crossis sall bayth gyf ane ocatione to eschew the slawchter and prowocation of this same, hes your grace wesdum will conseder; and with owt ane haiste punesment be ane force, and to gar the pre[n]cipallis of contrayis helpe and to concur with the sherrefis to beir the burdyngis for the punesment of traspassouris, it mai be awentour grow to ane disobedeance quhilk mai be wor to resest. Ther for nedfull it wor to your grace, gyf your wesdum thynkis it to be don, to caws sec chargis to be gewen: and quha at concuris to be halden your grace frend and rawardit for this same, and quha at concurris nocht to be halden partesepant of the said cryme, hes is forsaid.

Secundly: Madem, hes tuchene the ordour of the bordour quhilk is the maist prencipall thing to put the realme to ane quyatnes, hes aperris, gyf your grace thynk it to be don, is the handillyng of the bordour men in

<sup>1</sup> and: that if.

<sup>2</sup> hes: as.

plegis takyng of thame.<sup>1</sup> That is to s[a]y, everri gret man at hes clanes duollyng one his land to caws thame to brang in of everri brenche of the clane tua to that effet that in cais the clan brek, your grace may haif ane to punes and ane uther to keip to gar thame stand aw be for [sic]. With owt your grace do extreim justec in punessyng of slawchtir and thift, your grace sall never get this realme to ane quyatnes at ever your grace sall haif other honour or profet be it.

For, madem, the aquentenc at is betwen Scotland and England amangis the theifis one bayth the bordouris, to gether with the deidli feidis quhilk, madem, beyng nocht weill luket apone, sall ever hald your grace in ane bessenes : for your grace man tak respeik to ther thingis be your grace self, for your grace knawis the natour of the pepell and effectione<sup>2</sup> at is amangis thame, throw the quhilk effectione your grace hes knawing the cowmon weill perreche dywiris tymes. And with owt your grace haif ane respeik to it, consederane the partecularaty and effection at your grace knawis in Scotland, it is unabil to be weill.

And sek lyk, madem, at maisterfull oppresseone be punest bayth be takyng of geir and wardyng of ther bodeis in strait wardis, and this order beand tane, I hoip to . . . your grace sall son breng this realme to ane quyatnes.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Queen Regent acted upon this advice of taking pledges for the maintenance of order on the borders. The laird of Wemyss, for one, was asked to receive a certain John Davidson for two months. It was written on 20th July [? 1555] that 'we haif bene in Jedburgh, puttand reull vpoun the Bordouris, and takand plegeis of the clannis and vtheris quhilkis mycht be maist noysum to the peax.' (*Memorials of Family of Wemyss*, iii. 9-10.)

<sup>2</sup> *effectione*: relationship. The claims of kinship led to the prosecution of blood feuds which were a constant menace to the 'cowmon weill.'

<sup>3</sup> This is an unsigned draft, embodying the advice of one who had particular knowledge of conditions on the borders. He was evidently a man of action and no scholar. The shrewdness of his worldly wisdom far surpassed his facility with the pen.

The date is probably about the beginning of the Queen's Regency. Until the outbreak of the Anglo-French wars, Mary of Lorraine devoted much attention to 'the ordour of the bordour.' She endeavoured to keep peace with England, and to 'brenge this realme to ane quyatnes.' (See, *e.g.*, Royal Letters, *P.C.* xiv. 122 ff.)

## CCLIV

*Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Aberdeen, 8th March [1551-2—1553-4].

TO THE QWIEYNEIS GRACE.

Plasit your grace I hayff rassavit your grace lettir fray my broder and hes hard his credyte send be your grace, off quhilkis I thynk varay strange ; for, treuyly, madam, I newyr offendit your grace nor newyr thynkis do, quhilk I sall fryst [*sic*] justyfy affoir your grace my lord governour and, gyff neid requyris, affoir the keyng off France or ony prence levand. Quhat ewyr be said one my nayme I salbe fund ane trew servand to your grace, and souerly I wylbe nay langer in dout, bot gyff it vyll stand with your grace plesour to try my part and ther eftir us me as I hayff dysservit ye sall newyr hayff ane treuer man in this realme of my degre nor redyer to obei your grace command suay ye wyll us me ther eftir, quhilk your grace sall do or uterly to reffus your awyne servand, and that I vyll nevyr belyffe. I dar nocht be so bald to wryt forder in this mater for offending your grace, bot sall, with Godis help, be scortly at your grace my selff for declairyng of my part and threwhth touertis your grace at all tymis. Byssyidis that I man complane to your grace off the greit tresone and dyssait devyssit for my slaying be sic as wyll nevyr do your grace honor,<sup>1</sup> and to sic your grace favor and

<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence as to the identity of these would-be assassins of Huntly, but he had many enemies in the north. The Clan Mackintosh, for example, had a blood feud to avenge the murder of their chief. In a lieutenant court at Aberdeen, in August 1550, Huntly, as judge in his own cause, had tried Mackintosh on a charge of conspiracy against his life. The city of Aberdeen had secured a remission, but Leslie states that, after the Earl's departure for France, Mackintosh was executed by the Countess of Huntly, at her husband's instigation. On 30th September 1551, Lachlan Mackintosh, sheriff-deputy, Huntly's agent, was slain in revenge, and this letter possibly alludes to an attempt against the life of the Earl himself. (Leslie, 381; *Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, 206 ff.)

support in persuit of tham as off my onely master ondyr your grace douter my soverane lady, and in quhom my greites hop and beleyff hes beyne in sen our mastris decess : quhilk tresone and devyce of slaying salbe, with Godis grace, weyll and suffyceyiently provyne in your grace weyll and suffyceyiently provyne in your grace precence. And the devysair ther off hes put men in beleyff of your grace ewyll mynd to me and favor to tham, quhilk I regard mair nor ony thying sic man mycht do incontray me. Madam, I dout nocht bot your grace wyll declair your gud mynd and part to me heirin, and in all the rest your grace man remembyr ye ar bund be your grace mantenance to deffend me your grace man.<sup>1</sup> And gyff I hayff offendit, than I quhyt all. I put nay dout bot your grace sall thynk I am ewyll done to mony wayis but caus, and is in gud hop ye wyll remaind the sayme. Madam, scortly, ye may and sall us me to your plesour and servyce as wyll thynk or devyis and I sall thank God gyff I may with my gud mynd and servyce bryng it to that effet that your grace wyll suay us me as your grace awyne specyall, and quhill than I am nocht at that I wald be at. Madam, your grace of your gudnes man perdone my humylylly wrytyng becaus the sayme cumis off gud hart to your grace servyce, for I culd nocht rest in my mynd eftir it I hayff hard quhill I maid this part of my declaratione touertis your grace, nor wyll nocht be at my eis quhill I speyk your grace—quhilk hes gyffyne me this baldnes to wryt in this manir consedryng my gud and trew part evyr baytht in thought and deid. Madam, scortly to conclud, ye may us me allanerly at your plesour as your grace sall ken, and quhow for I am gyffyne to your grace servyce, at my cumyng touertis your grace. Thus, madam, efftir mast humylyl and hartly commendatione off my servyce I pray God evyr preseryff your grace, and grant ye us me bot conforme to my mynd to the keyng and your grace

<sup>1</sup> Huntly's bond of manrent to the Dowager was dated at Newcastle, 14th April 1548. (*Inventory of State Papers.*) Cf. No. CLXII.

plesour. At Abyrden, this viij day of Merche<sup>1</sup> be the hand off

Your grace mast humyll and obedyent servytour

HUNTLY.

CCLV

*Earl of Errol to the Queen Regent*

Perth, 28th May 1554.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, I ressavit your grace writting and thankis your grace verra humelie of the pains your grace takis for the weil of my hous. As to answer of your grace bil I have avysit the way I thocht mycht be mast accepteble to your grace desyir, and sal do tharefter that na falt salbe found, God willand, in my syid: quhilk is to tak hame my wyif agane and trait hir wyth meself in houshold the best sort I can; and this, because it is your grace wil and my weil, sal fulfil in al behalfis as I wil answer to your grace for the same, lyik as I sal evir be rady to employ my service as your grace pleis command at my uttir puissance. Prayand thalmychtie God, Madame, eftir my maist humil and maist obedient commendatioun of hartlie service to preserve your grace iternalie. At Perth, the xxviiij day of Maij 1554.

Your grace maist humil and maist obedient servitour

ERROLL.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is no conclusive proof as to the year of writing, but it was presumably between the return of Huntly and the Dowager from France and the resignation of the Governor in April 1554.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> George Hay, seventh Earl of Erroll. He married Margaret Robertson of Strowan: dispensation dated 12th November 1528. In 1561 he married as his second wife Helen Bryson of Pitcullen. (*S.P.* iii. 569.) Cf. No. CCLXII.

Only the signature is autograph.



## CCLVI

*Earl of Athol to the Queen Regent*

Tullibardin, 10th June [1554].

TO THE QUENIS GRAIS.

Pleis your grace to wit thair is ane slauchter committit in the scremouche <sup>1</sup> wpoun George Drummond quhay wes my mother brother,<sup>2</sup> quhilk slauchtir wes committit be certane servandis that dependit wpoun me, quhilk slauch[t]ir and chans is werray hewy to me. I will assuir your grace gif I mycht haif apprehendit tham, and thai hed bein my brether, thai suid haif presented your grace [*sic*]. And thairefter my lord Ruthven <sup>3</sup> and my lord Drummond cerst <sup>4</sup> and socht the haille cunctray and culd nocht comprehend the committaris of the said slauchtir. And the saidis lord Ruthven and lord Drummond hes tane fyve or sex of pur fallowis for the said crym quhay wor nocht at the deid doing nor knew na thing therintill. And the men that ar in that cunctray serwis me, and gif thai be saikles of the crym, gif it wer your grace plesour that thai may thoill law in Edinburght or ellis till haif ane unsuspect juge in Perth that the men suffir nocht gif thai be saikles, becaus my lord Ruthvene wilbe haldin suspect in my lord Drummondis actioun : for I will assuir your grace, and the men wor other arth or part of the said crym I suld follow tham my self for the said crym. And gif it will pleis your grace that I may haif the mens eschettis

<sup>1</sup> *scremouche*: skirmish, tumult. George Drummond of Ledcreife and Blair, and William, his younger son, were 'treacherously killed' by the lairds of Ardblair, Drumlochic, and Gormok and their accomplices in 'an unhappy rencounter' on Sunday, 3rd June 1554. The feud was not reconciled till December 1558. (*Genealogy of the House of Drummond*, 113, 275-9.)

<sup>2</sup> An obscurity meets the genealogist here. According to the *Scots Peerage* the writer's father was twice married. Grisel Rattray appears as his wife on 17th March 1537-8; and six months before his death he married Jean, daughter of John, sixth Lord Forbes. (*S.P.* i. 443.) This letter indicates that Jean Forbes was his third wife, and that the mother of his heir was a daughter of the house of Ledcreife.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Ruthven was sheriff of Perth.

<sup>4</sup> *cerst*: searched.

committaris of the said crym for the awaill<sup>1</sup> as your grace thinkis I suld gif for it, I sall gar answeire the thesaurere<sup>2</sup> or controllare<sup>3</sup> of the samyn. I wes cumand to your grace for the samyn mater and I wes sumpart crasit and seik and mycht cum na forder nor Tulibardin. And quhat your grace will do heirintill, till advertteis me with my servand, to quhome pleis your grace gif credance: and God haif your grace in keping. At Tulibardin, the x day of Junij

Be your grace servitour at comand

ATHOLL.<sup>4</sup>

## CCLVII

*Alexander Gordon to the Queen Regent*

Inchaffray, 24th June 1554.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, pleis your grace sen my hamecuming<sup>5</sup> I have veseit my comptis put in ordour be my servandis or thay lyik<sup>6</sup> as I gaif charge at departing; and findis me, quhowbeit I had rady payment of the four thousand merkis your grace obligatioun bearis, sofar superspendit be interesse of schifting silver<sup>7</sup> to interteine meself and sending to Rome for thir Iles,<sup>8</sup> by sum auld debtis, that I couth

<sup>1</sup> *awaill*: value.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, who succeeded Archbishop Hamilton as Treasurer under the regency of Mary of Lorraine.

<sup>3</sup> Bartholomew de Villemore.

<sup>4</sup> John Stewart, third Earl of Athol. Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>5</sup> Gordon was in France in May 1554, when his money affairs were again under consideration. (*B.P.* ii. 217.)

<sup>6</sup> *or thay lyik*: or such as these—his retainers.

<sup>7</sup> Probably a reference to the embarrassments which arose out of the steady debasement of the coinage and the crying up of money values. This was at the root of much of the economic trouble in England during this period. In Scotland it added greatly to the unpopularity of the Queen Regent and the 'wickit ministeris,' her French advisers. (*Knox*, i. 403.)

<sup>8</sup> Gordon was appointed Bishop of the Isles on 26th November 1553 (*Bishops of Scotland*, 292-3), on which date he had a gift of the temporalities (*R.S.S.* xxvi. f. 27). Dowden doubts if he 'received papal confirmation' of this provision: this letter shows that he at least paid an instalment of his financial obligations at the Curia.

nocht have iii<sup>c</sup> merkis to the gud. Madame, I belevit upon ane promis of my chanonis to have had sum releif of thir chargis be setting of ane few, quharin I am frustrat, for they will consent tharto in na sort quhowbeit it be to na hurt nother of the place nor tennentis.<sup>1</sup> I am instantlie sa handlit that I wait nocht quhair to turn me except your grace preif the gud maistres at this tyme as ye have evir done hitherto : quhilk salbe in ane reasonable and easy maner to your grace as I have chargit this present berar to schaw your grace at mair lenth, quhairto it will pleis your grace gif credence and ane answer, for your grace may be well assurit that it is extrem necessite causis me to molest your grace at this tyme. Thus prayis thalmyctie God, Madame, efter my maist humil and maist obedient commendatioun of humil service, to preserve your grace eternalie. At Inchaifray, the xxiiij day of Junij 1554.

Your grace maist hwmyll and maist obedient servitour  
A. GORDON.<sup>2</sup>

## CCLVIII

*Sutherland to the Queen Regent*

Dunrobin, 26th July 1554.

TO THE QUENIS GRAY[CE].

Madame, eftir all hertly commendatioun of humyill service, it ples your grace wit I resavit your grace writtingis quharby I ontherstand your gud mynd towart me, quhilk I sall recompan (God willing) with trew and anefauld service at all powar. I send your grace writtingis to

<sup>1</sup> The practice of setting church lands in feu-farm was a particular source of popular grievance at this time, in that it led 'to the dispossession of yeomen and cotters by gentlemen.' (D. Patrick, *Statutes of Scottish Church*, 180 n.) Cf. R. K. Hannay, *Church Lands at the Reformation*, S.H.R. xvi. 52 ff.; *Rentale Sancte Andree*, xxv. ff.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph; the initial letters of the signature forming the peculiar monogram sometimes adopted by Gordon.

the erle of Cathnes<sup>1</sup> and his brothar<sup>2</sup> quhay said the samin requirit nay answer. I waitt nocht gif thai will fulfill the desyir contenit in tham. Your grace ples onderstand that I have bene wouderus seik sen mye last writting to your grace, quhilk wes occasioun to Makky<sup>3</sup> to draw his folkis oute of Cathnes and send ane hundryth chosin men with his derrest cousing Johne Makky<sup>4</sup> to do sum mischeif in this cuntra, quhay com to ane sanctuaire or gyrth callit Navidaill,<sup>5</sup> and tuk away certane wemen and gudis. And ane band of my folkis that I had liand in the wyildirnes followit thairon in Cathnes and sett apoun thame this last Sanct James ewin,<sup>6</sup> ane wonderus ewill day of weitt, and hes slane and drownit mony of thaim, and brocht agane the wemen and gudis. And this day I haif direct ane cumpanye of folkis to visie Makky, and purposis to hald him and his walkand<sup>7</sup> to the cummyng of the schipe with the mwnisioun,<sup>8</sup> and is mye self redy to awaitt thairon and do that becummis ane trew servitour of your graxis: hoping ye will haif ane sufficient respect to Cathnes that your grace may be servit thair as efferis, or ellis jugit animyce as thai appeir.

<sup>1</sup> George Sinclair, fourth Earl of Caithness.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps David, his natural brother, ancestor of the Sinclairs of Dunbeath. No lawful brothers of the Earl are mentioned in the *Scots Peerage*. (*S.P.* ii. 338.)

<sup>3</sup> Iye Du, ancestor of Mackays, Lords Reay. (*Ibid.* vii. 164.) While Sutherland was in France in 1550-1, Mackay had brought fire and sword into Sutherland. (*Sutherland Book*, i. 111.) Accordingly, in 1554 the Earl received commission to arrest Mackay and reduce the country to order. The arm of the Government was too strong for Mackay, who was forced to surrender and to undergo a term of imprisonment. This letter 'corrects Sir Robert Gordon's chronology, and shows that the attack on Navidale by John Mor was made *before*, not *after*, Mackay's imprisonment, and at his special instigation.' (*Ibid.* vii. 164 n.)

<sup>4</sup> John More Mackay.

<sup>5</sup> Navidale, in the parish of Farr, in Sutherland.

<sup>6</sup> 24th July.

<sup>7</sup> *walkand*: ? on the alert. *Walk*, to watch, awake.

<sup>8</sup> A naval force, under Sir Hew Kennedy of Girvanmains, was fitted out to co-operate with Sutherland's army. See No. CCLXI. Details of the expedition are to be found in the *Treasurer's Accounts* and the *Exchequer Rolls*.

Forther, your grace sall be advertist of sic besines as occurris in thir partis: and God mot be ewir your grace keper. Of Dunrobin, the xxvi day of Julii 1554

Be your grace humyll servitour

JHONE ERLI OF SOTHYRLAND.<sup>1</sup>

CCLIX

*Earl of Argyle to the Queen Regent*

Dunstaffnage, 12th August 1554.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, eftir maist hwmill comendatioun of my service, I resaiffit your graces writing to gidder wyth articlis be the quhilk I undirstand your graces mynd and guid consell schewin unto me for furtht setting of this interprice and charge committit be your grace unto me for suppirssing of the Rebellis of the Ilis; <sup>2</sup> off the quhilk consell I thank your grace gretumlie, and sall, God willing, employ my self at my power for performyng of the samyn. And to that effett I am departit of Dunstaffage this Soniday the xij day of August wyth my army forthwarttis to Mvll, quhair James McConill and McClane wyth ther hail folkis ar convenit and remanis upoun my cuming. And quhen we ar all convenit thaire, sall tak purpos to pas forthwarttis upoun the saidis rebellis; and in all our progress your grace salbe advertist efterwartt. And becaus it war our prolix <sup>3</sup> to writ unto your grace all novellis and purposis concerning this wiage, I haif exponit the sammyn at lentht to this berar my servitour, to quhom it will ples your grace to gif credens. And forther com-

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> Argyle had a commission to proceed against the Isles in co-operation with Huntly, who was to lead a land force, drawn from the Lowlands. (*T.A.* x. xlviii. 229, 287.) John of Moydart had continued to disturb the peace, in spite of his contract with Huntly at 'Rovan of Badzenocht.' (See No. CCXLVIII.) This expedition of 1554 was likewise unsuccessful. 'What became of Argyle we are not told.' But, like Huntly, he 'must have found that his equipment was not sufficient to enable him to carry out his purpose.'

<sup>3</sup> *our prolix*: too prolix.

mittis your grace unto the preservation of the haly gaist.  
Off Dunstaffage, the xij day of August 1554.

Be your grace humill and obedient servitour at power

AD. ERLE OF ERGYL.<sup>1</sup>

Madame, James McConill is cumin to me and gevis me werray guid wordis, and sais that he sall do trew service unto your grace and to me at this tyme, and hes desirit me to be easy and guid to hym towartt the delivering of his plege<sup>2</sup> at this tyme, he makand faithfull service to your grace. And upoun that conditioun I haif promise to sollist your grace to be gracious and favourable to hym. I propose to put him to the preiff that his service salbe knawin alwais. The capitane of Dunbar<sup>3</sup> wyth his hagbutteris come to me to Dunstaffage this Setterday the xj day of August, and departis wyth me and sall do my devoir for his interteinyng.

## CCLX

*William Kirkpatrick to the Queen's Grace*

Kirkmichael, 12th September [1554 ?].

TO OURE SOVERANE LADY AND OURE MAISTRES, THE QUENIS  
GRACE OF SCOTLAND.

Madame, efter all hartlie commendationis of service unto your grace, pleis your grace to witt that I and my servandis and freindis is daylie and hourlie opprest be theiffis and tratouris, and hes bene brynt and heriit sex tymes sen the deceis of the kingis grace your husband, quham God assoilze, and never gat nowder help nor remeid as yit. And now last the lard of Hemptisfeild<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archibald Campbell, fourth Earl of Argyle.

Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> He had probably been required to deliver a pledge as a guarantee of his good faith. Cf. No. CCLIII.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Sarlabous. (*B.P.* ii. 154.) His biography has been written by Edouard Forestié: *Un capitaine Gascon du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1897). Dunbar had been handed over to be garrisoned by the French King. Cf. No. CCXXXII.

<sup>4</sup> John Charteris, laird of Amisfield. (*R.M.S.*, 14th February 1552-3.) Perhaps it was to compose the quarrel that the son of Kirkpatrick was married

come to my place the xxviiij day of August and in cumpany with him v<sup>c</sup> hundreth [*sic*] theifis and tratouris, and thair tuke away sertane gudis of myne. And quhen we come to reskew it thai hurt and woundit me and slew ane part of my servandis,<sup>1</sup> is my broder will schaw, quham pleis your grace to gif credence. And without your grace mak me sum help and remeid I nor na trew man in the cuntray may haif ane lyfe without we wald do as the theiffis dois,<sup>2</sup> for thair is na recompanment as yet. Thairfore I beseik your grace to mak me sum help and remeid, for without your graces help it wer better to me and all trew men to be deid nor levand. And your graces answer. And almychtene God have your grace in his keiping. At Kirkmichell, the xiiij day of September

be your graces servand

WILLIAME KIRKPATRIK OF KIRKMICHELL.<sup>3</sup>

### CCLXI

*How Kennedy of Girvanmains to the Earl of Cassillis*

Dunrobin, 14th October [1554].

TO MY LORD, E[*RL*L] OF CASSILLIS.

' My lord, it is to advertis your lordship I met with ane part of the Glengwne <sup>4</sup> the xij day of this monethe, quaha hes promeist me [that] thai salbe trewe serwandis to the quenis gracc. My lord, ther [is with ?] M<sup>c</sup>Ky Jhone

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to the daughter of Charteris. (*R.M.S.*, 9th June 1575.) The writer himself was not a man of peace. In or about August 1543 he slew Thomas Glencors of that Ilk, and burned his lands. (*Ibid.*, 18th December 1564.)

<sup>1</sup> On 2nd December 1554 an assize was summoned 'upoun the laird of Hemsfeild for the slaughter of umqwhile Robert Welche.' (*T.A.* x. 265.) It is possible that Welche had met his death in the service of Kirkpatrick.

<sup>2</sup> This acknowledgment is significant of conditions on the borders. During the English invasions the writer had evidently found himself without 'ane lyfe'; for on 29th April 1551 he and others had remission 'pro ipsorum proditoriis assicurantie captione de Anglis.' (*R.S.S.* xxiv. f. 88.)

<sup>3</sup> A holograph letter, in a scholarly hand; was probably written in the name, but not by the pen, of the sender.

<sup>4</sup> Clan Gunn.

Robssounis sone, quha is prynsipall of the Glengwne and prynsipall man that fortefeis M<sup>c</sup>Ky. And the said [Jho]ne has thre sonnys in Gernigo my lord of Catnes [hous ?], and brether to the said William that fortefeis M<sup>c</sup>Ky; and Donald Robssoune, Jhonis secund brodir, hes twa sonis siklyk in Gernigo.<sup>1</sup> This my lord, I thynk ye may caus the quenys grace to [caus ?] geif my lord of Catnes a charg to delyver thir p[leg ?]is to hir grace, quhilk will pecifie the haille Gleng[wne]. And, my lord, I think my lord of Catnes suld answer for the mennis deidis that [he] hes plegis of or elis delyvir the plegis to the quenys grace. This your lordship man caus be done with diligence in awentuir my lord of Catnes wret to let thir plegis slype. My lord, this William Robssoun, Jhone Robssoun sone, is a man of heritage and enterit to the same be deces of his modir, quha wes a lady of heritage. I think your lordship may rais a summoundis of tressoun apone the said William for fyir rasing mwrthir slachter and concurring with the kyngis rybaldis and fortefeing of tham. My lord, ye sall wit ther is ane tryst betuix M<sup>c</sup>Ky and me the xvijj day of this monethe, for he hes desyrit rycht effectousle to speik with me, the quhilk I have promeist, and the day set as said is; hopyng, my lord, I sall caus him cum and put him in the quenys grace will sympliciter. Geif that wer, it wer a greit weill, for it wald bryng the quenys grace to hir intent in all desyris vith sobir expenssis. My lord, ye sall w[ith] that M<sup>c</sup>Kyis wyf, that ded is,<sup>2</sup> is in conjunct fie of fyve wateris and the best landis: the quenys grace wantan<sup>3</sup> it that scho is in conjunct fie of, the rest wilbe lytill profett. I beleif weill, my lord, that the quenys

<sup>1</sup> Castle Gernigoe is on the north coast of Caithness, near Wick. The writer is not very lucid in his genealogical explanation. He states that *John Robson*, chief of the Clan Gunn, who married 'a lady of heritage,' has four sons—William, 'that fortefeis M<sup>c</sup>Ky,' and other three in Garnigo. *Donald Robson*, the chief's brother, has likewise two sons in Garnigo.

<sup>2</sup> Donald Mackay, who died about the end of 1550, married Helen, daughter of Alexander Sinclair of Stemster, to whom he gave a liferent of certain lands, waters, and fishings. (*R.M.S.*, 22nd February 1545-6.) These were in the sheriffdom of Inverness, part of the Queen's dower lands.

<sup>3</sup> *wantan*: lacking.



grace may have a guid tytll to hir part, scho persewand hir for the fortificatoun of M<sup>e</sup>Ky be [reset?]tyng his houshald servandis, servandis and wtheris, and hir houshald servandis beyng vith him and scho . . . hir part of baithe herschippis and spewlleis he makis . . . of the quhilk scho der nocht byid ane syis,<sup>1</sup> for it salbe sufficiente provin. This beand handlit scherply and to the extremete, I beleif the quenis grace sall cum to hir intent of hir part and be . . . yit[?], my lord, ther is ane half brodir of hiris daly with M<sup>e</sup>Ky callit . . . \* My lord, geif it be fors to my lord Swtherland to be in [chu?]rche this day of the serrais,\* your lordship man caus the quenis grace . . . charge to Nycolas Swtherland of Fors,<sup>2</sup> Jhone Caithe captane [of] Akirgill and ballie to my lord Marcielle, Allexander Olyphant chamerlane [to my ?] lord Oliphant,<sup>3</sup> Allexander Swtherland in Tannachie ballie to my lord Oliphant, [Mal ?]cum Mowat of Swme, Sandie Mowat of the Toftis<sup>4</sup> all thir . . . be chargit to cum and mak verificatiowne betuix my lord Swthyrland and my lord Catnes : and without a scherpe charge of the quenis grace [they] will nocht answer. As for nowellis of this cuntray, my lord, ther [is ?] na [nova ?]tioune in this cuntra, nor na harm nor hurt sene my lord of Swtherland and we wer at the Borow<sup>5</sup>—excep M<sup>e</sup>Ky bur[n]t sum rowme therin and hurt a wyf and slew a nother. Bot I beleif my lord of Huntlie hes gotin uther nowellis. I wat nocht geff he hes schewin tham in the court or nocht ; bot I assuir you, my lord, ther is never word of tham trewe and that your lordship may tak apone, excep thame that wes done quhen

<sup>1</sup> *syis*: assize.

\*\* This is apparently the reading. It may have been rendered unintelligible by a clerical error: the scribe may well have had difficulty in deciphering a draft in the holograph of Girvanmains, if such was his task.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Sutherland of Forse, in Caithness.

<sup>3</sup> Laurence, fourth Lord Oliphant.

<sup>4</sup> The name of Alexander Mowat of the Toftis, in Caithness, appears in a Great Seal charter of 31st December 1549.

<sup>5</sup> Borve Castle, the stronghold of Mackay, which had been besieged and captured by Sutherland in conjunction with a naval force under Girvanmains. (*T.A.* x. 1-lv.)

we wer at the Borow, quhilk I wat monsieur Cowtrie<sup>1</sup> hes schawin yow. I pray your lordship have my service hertle recommendit to the quenis grace [and] monsieur Doswell. Geif ther wer ony nowellis in thir rowms that [wer] worthe to be wretin to hir grace I wald [haif] advertist hir grace, bot ther is nane in thir partis. Ye will have me recommendit to my broder monsieur Cowtrie. As for all uther effaris I have wretin to your lordship at lenthe befor, prayand your lordship avyis with every point of the same. I will nocht cwmer your lordship with ma wordis bot commendis my hertle service to your lordship; and sa fair your lordship weill. Of Dunrobin, the xiiij day of October

be youris lordship serwand

\* HEW KENNYDY OF GERWANMANNIS KYNCHT.<sup>2</sup>

My lord, I wat . . . ll hais endit all thingis betuix the jwsteys clerk and my dowhtyr.<sup>3</sup> I thynk lang quhyll I get word.\*

## CCLXII

### *Countess of Erroll to the Queen Regent*

Perth, 14th November [1554 ?]

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, cftyr maist hwmyll commendatione with serveis and prayarris, your grace plais wit that, nocht-

<sup>1</sup> M. Curtrie, captain of Broughty, in command of fifty men in the *Lion*, had co-operated with Girvanmains in the expedition to Caithness. (*T.A.* x. 232, 233.)

<sup>2</sup> Hew Kennedy of Girvanmains was the stepfather of Sutherland. The Earl's mother was Janet Stewart, daughter of John, second Earl of Athol. Sir Hew Kennedy was her second husband (*Acts and Decrees*, i. 27; *S.P.* viii. 339 n.), from whom she seems to have been divorced between 1542 and 1544. She then married Henry, Lord Methven, and after his death became the wife of Patrick, third Lord Ruthven. (See *Sutherland Book*, i. 96-7.) She may have married, fifthly, James Gray, son of Gilbert Gray of Foulis. (*S.P.* vi. 167.)

<sup>3</sup> A reference to the negotiations for the marriage of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul to the writer's daughter, Barbara Kennedy, one of the Queen's ladies. (*T.A.* x. lkv. 295.)

\* \* Holograph. The paper is stained by damp, and destroyed down the centre of the page.

withstending the promissis my lord my husband maid to your grace<sup>1</sup>—that I in all behalffis suld be wssit and traittit as his wyff and according to my facultye—he nevertheless at this tyme is far chengit frome that purposis and frome the keping of his said promissis. He hes laid to my charge and desyrit me to refer me to freindis twiching the modefeing of my sustentatione. I was contentit that he suld wis<sup>2</sup> the counsall of his awin freyndis as he thocht best; bot as for my pairt I wald refer that matter to nane udyr bot to your grace. And sen syne he hes requyrit me na fordyr, and gyff he continew in the sammyn mynd he is in, on fors I man cum and tak my sustentatione of your grace quhyll your grace provide sum way that I may have my honest leving. Quhilk being providit, considerand my lord is nodyr desyrus nor contentit with my companye, I will cum and spend the sammyn in your gracis serweis. Attour, this Wednesday I ha[if spo?]kin with my lord quhay hes declarit his mynd to me, sayand that he can [in n?]a way stand content with me, allegand me to be participant and fortetiar of your brokin men quhilk maid the spoilze upone his guddis. It may be weill knawin that I wald desyr na skayth nodyr to hym me nor my bernis, seing that his skayth is bayth myne and my bernis<sup>3</sup> als weill as his. Swa I have na refuge bot unto your grace, and without your grace put sum remade to this besenes I persave na wder thing bot the wtter confusione of his hous me and my bernis. And as to the furnissing of me, the maister my sone<sup>4</sup> will schaw your grace of that and all wdyr my affairis, to quhome your grace plais gyff crydens. Besekand your gud grace to advertis me with my said sone quhat your grace thinkis best that I do in all behalffis: and the Lord God

<sup>1</sup> See No. CCLV.

<sup>2</sup> *wis*: use.

<sup>3</sup> They had nine children.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Hay, afterwards eighth Earl. The Earl seems to have been on bad terms with his son, as well as with his wife. On 13th May 1556 they bound themselves before the law not to do anything to the prejudice of each other without taking the advice of certain named persons. (*Register of Deeds*, f. 316.)

haiff your gude grace evir in his twischione and keping.  
 At Pe[r]tht, the xiiij day of November be  
 your gracis humble servitrice at command and powar  
 MARGARET COWNTES OF ERROLL.<sup>1</sup>

## CCLXIII

*Huntly to D'Oysel, French Ambassador Resident*

Edinburgh Castle, 4th January 1554-5.

TO MY LORD, MY LORD DOISSELL LEWTENNENT FOR THE  
 KYNG

My lord, plais your lord, my wyiffe hes schawyne nie  
 the greit panis and lawbyr your lordship hes takyne in my  
 effaris at the quenis grace, quhilk is of your awyne gudnes  
 and benevolance one dysservit be me. Bot gyf it plais God  
 that I leyf and it be in my possabyllly [*sic*], I sall recom-  
 pence the sayme with all that I or myne may do in quhat  
 may be plesand or exceptabyll to your lordship. My  
 lord, my wyiffe schawis me that the quyneis grace hes  
 ane ewyll opponzeone of my service touerts hyr grace,<sup>2</sup>  
 qu[h]ilk I belevit nevyr to hayff dysservit of hyr grace.  
 And trewyllly, quhair falt hes beyne with me ther [is]  
 nayne lewand of bettyr mynd to mend the sayme with  
 all I may do to hyr grace contentationc. And gyff I culd  
 knaw quhat serwyce mycht be exceptabyll to hyr grace,

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> On 30th March, D'Oysel wrote that the punishment of Huntly was designed 'à servir d'exemple aux aultres' (Teulet, i. 722). The commonly accepted account is that he was imprisoned in October 1554 because he had failed in his expedition against the 'Rebellis of the Ilis.' See No. CCLIX. Leslie tells that the lowland lords refused to serve on foot; 'and the said Erle wald not merche with the hieland men onlie, for the lait hattrent that thai had conceived aganis him for the deithe of McIntoche, and thairfoir he returned.' (*History*, 251.) Mackintosh had been executed in 1550, and Huntly's letter of 8th March [No. CCLIV] indicates that his enemies were both numerous and active. It is probable, also, that the death of the laird of Findlater in the previous July had inflamed the quarrel between the house of Huntly and Ogilvy of Deskford. (See *S.P.* iv. 21-2.) It has been stated that the murdered Mackintosh's wife was Margaret Ogilvy, sister of the disinherited James of Cardell, but the evidence is inconclusive. (*Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, 219; *S.P.* iv. 22.)

the deid suld mak hyr grace onedyrstand my trew mynd and affectione touertis hyr grace serwyce. And souerly I do nocht this allanirly for my releyf samekyll as to obtene hir grace favors and to rest in the keyngis favors as I wes afoir. My lord, I man mast hartle dyssyir your lordship be say gud as to conteneu in your lawbris for me, and that your lordship wyll tak one yow my part and serwyce to the quenyeis grace in tymeis cumyng. And with the favor of God ye sall nocht be repruffit nodyr with the keyngis majesty nor the quenyeis grace, and I hop suay to do that your lordship sall rayther hayff thankis at thair grace handis for the serwyce I intend mak ther graceis, gyff it be the queynis grace plesour to apply me thairto. My lord, I can mak no occasione presently to ger your lordship do this, bot gyff ye wyll do the sayme of your awyne gudnes and one the credit of ane honest man; quhairin, or I fail to your lordship, I sall los the lyffe. My lord, my falt hes nocht beyne say greit bot hyr grace may assay me agane, for the deid sall mak pruffe of the sayme. My lord, I can wryt nay forder bot refferis to God the quenyeis grace gudnes and your lordship lawbris. Thus, cfftyr mast hartle comme[n]datione to your lordship, I pray God to conseryff your lordship evyr. At Edynbrwcht Castell, the fert day of Janewer 1554 be the hand off

Your lordshipis at all pouer and charge redy obeisand  
HWNTLY.<sup>1</sup>

#### CCLXIV

*Contract between the Earl of Huntly and the Queen Regent*

Stirling Castle, 30th March 1555.

At Striveling Castell the penult day of Merche in the yere of God MV<sup>c</sup> liiiii yeris. It is appoyntit betuix the quenyeis grace dowarere and regent of Scotland on the ane part and hir servitour George erll of Huntle on that uther part as followis: that nochtwithstanding the said erll wes

<sup>1</sup> The letter is holograph. It has been endorsed, in a modern hand, 4th January 1554-5.

bund and actit in the bukis of counsale <sup>1</sup> that he suld at hir graxis command depart out of this realm to the partis of France <sup>2</sup> induring hir grace will, and fand cautioun and sourteis apone the samen, afoir the first day of Aprile nix to cum, that the quenis [grace] of hir gudnes licentis be ther presentis the said erll to remane within this realme unto the xx day of Aprile nix to cum, providing alwayis that he depart betuix this and the said xx day of the said moneth, as is now contractit to the first day of the samen : at [?and] that this, hir grace licence, salbe na hurt nor prejudice to the first contract bot that the samen sall stand in full effect at the said xx day as at the first day of the said moneth in all pointis conformand his cautioneris : and attour, gif it beis fund be the quenis grace and hir counsale that this xx dayis licence be hirt or prejudic to the said contract or the cautioneris fand in that cais, the said erll be ther presentis bindis and obliassis him to the quenis grace regent foirsaid that he sall upon hir grace charge upon xlvij houris warnyng enter him self in ward with in the portis of the toun of Edinburgh, ther to remane ay and quhill the said erll mak hir grace als sure of his departing and remanyng in France <sup>3</sup> be the foirsaid cautioneris or utheris in ther place that hir grace salbe content with, as hir grace was afoir this licence geving : and the said erll sall do the samen under the pane of tinsale of his heritage of landis. In witnes of the quhill the quenis grace <sup>4</sup> and the said erll hes subscrivit this

<sup>1</sup> At Edinburgh, 31st January 1554-5. The cautioners were Angus, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Athol, Sutherland, Ruthven, Fleming and Campbell of Loudoun. (*Register of Deeds*, i. 67, 68.)

<sup>2</sup> On 11th February it had been reported in England through spies that 'the Earl of Huntley is sent into France to serve the French King there.' (*Addenda*, 437.)

<sup>3</sup> In the end the sentence of banishment was remitted. Huntly was restored to his office, but the real power remained with the Vice-Chancellor, a Frenchman, de Roubay. (Leslie, 252.) The *Diurnal of Occurrents* states that he was liberated on the payment of great sums of money : he was also divested of his tacks and interest in the earldoms of Orkney and Moray. (*Diurnal*, 52; *Books of Sederunt*, i. f. 80, 83.)

<sup>4</sup> As the Queen's signature is wanting, this may be a draft, subscribed by

present with [their] handis the day yer and place forsaid  
 GEORGE ERLLOFF HWNTLY.<sup>1</sup>

[*Endorsed*: Contract betuix the erll of Huntle and the  
 Quene 1554.]

## CCLXV

*William Mudy to the Queen Regent*

Muirhaldhouse, 31st March [1555].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Ples youre grace, I passing oure the Month<sup>2</sup> met this boy send fra my wif wyth this uthir writting contenand sik novellis as youre grace will cleirlye wnderstand be inspectioun of the said writtin. Thair is na remedy for the scayth done ellis bot patience. To eschew scayth to cum standis in provisioun to be maid with deligence. I compt my scayth in ane part youre graces, for gif I hed gottin reddy money for my gudis and schipe the samyn wauld have bene halele at youre graces command. I was appunctit with William Kar custumar,<sup>3</sup> and David Fostar to have ressavit for the schipe and fysche neirhand ane thousand merkis, and wauld have gottin ane thousand pund fra the Inglis man and youre grace hed grantit me licence to sell.<sup>4</sup> I hope in God to wyn gair agane. I beseik youre grace sa lang as youre grace thinkis me con-

Huntly. Blots and erasures seem to betray signs of haste in drawing up the contract. It was probably executed hurriedly, as it bears date only two days earlier than the day originally stipulated for the Earl's departure.

<sup>1</sup> The signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> *Month*: the Mounth. (See Sir H. Maxwell, *Scottish Land-Names*, 146.)

<sup>3</sup> William Kerr, burgess of Edinburgh, was appointed customar on 21st May 1554. (*R.S.S.* xxvii. f. 66-7.) The names of Kerr and Foster occur frequently in the *Treasurer's Accounts*.

<sup>4</sup> An act of parliament of 1535 enacted 'that na maner of man sent in to England vittalis fische or salt vnder the pane of confiscatioun of all ther movable gudis.' (*A.P.* ii. 347.) The export of victuals and staple commodities was again prohibited within three months of the date of this letter, by the legislation of 20th June 1555. (*Ibid.* 495, 496.)

venient to serve, and specialie in the charge that youre grace hes committit to me, to caus monsour Bonnau<sup>1</sup> have pace with me that I may be the bettir obeyit in the office that I bair of youre grace. In gud fayth I kene na occasioun that he hes aganis me, except that I refusit to beir fals witnessing with hym aganis the comptrollar in the allegeance<sup>2</sup> that monsour Bonnau<sup>1</sup> maid upon hym. And forther, he hes in his handis this twa yeris extending to the soume of iij scoir li money, and will nothir mak compt reknyng nor payment. And becaus he is nocht ansuarit sene his last cumin in the cuntre<sup>3</sup> as effor, hes now conspirit malice aganis me, quhilk he did nocht sa lang as he was ansuarit of all thing he desirit. And now in my absence youre grace will wnderstand be this wthir writtin his mynd towert me. I ame suirle informit that the Inglis men hes hereit the maist part of all Zetland,<sup>4</sup> for I spak with presonaris that was with tham in Zetland, quha tellis thai, being to the nummir only of twa hundreth men, hes wtterlie hereit all the north Ilis, quhilk is the maist of all the cuntreth. Thay will nocht fail to hary all the northt ilis of Orknay without thair be provisioun maid with all possibill deligence, becaus ane ile can niocht helpe ane uthir fra hesty herschipe. The Inglis men that was in Orkney hes promist to cum agane with ane grettar cumpany, quhilk promiss I suspek thai sall keipe oure

<sup>1</sup> M. Bonot, bailie of Orkney. (Leslie, *History*, 250; *Records of Orkney*, 109.)

<sup>2</sup> *allegeance*: allegation; made by Bonot against Villemore, the Comptroller.

<sup>3</sup> Bonot was apparently on a visit to France in November 1554. (*B.P.* ii. 250.)

<sup>4</sup> This raid seems to be otherwise unrecorded. Piracy was common enough at all times, but the international situation at this juncture was peculiarly favourable for this illicit warfare. Philip and Mary were then endeavouring to draw England into war with France (Teulet, i. 720), and Scotland was the ally of France. It is interesting that in 1558 the English government considered that 'as the next and chief attack by the French King on England will be from Scotland . . . a great and feasible exploit with Flemish aid would be to take the isle of Pommoona principal of the *Orcades*, whereby the fishing would be secured for England and Flanders.' (*C.S.P.* i. 437.)



trewlie. At the Murhaldhous,<sup>1</sup> the last day of Marche.  
The leving God preserve youre grace.

Your graces servitour

MAISTER WILLIAM MUDY.<sup>2</sup>

CCLXVI

*Huntly and Morton to the Queen Regent*

Jedburgh, 16th May [1555].

TO THE QUENES GRACE.

Pleis your grace, at our cuming to this town we send for the laird of Cesfurde and utheris of this cuntre men his freyndis to cum to ws for to declair to thaim conform to your grace direction anent the ordowring and putting of gude rewill in the cuntre.<sup>3</sup> Quhilkis com to ws this day eftir nune, and lait at evin brocht master Mark Ker and the laird of Coldenknowis wyth thaim, schawand thaim selfis willing to cum unto your hynes and declair thair innocence.<sup>4</sup> And we for ther suir convoying thocht

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Muirhaldhouse, in Kincardineshire.

<sup>2</sup> On 3rd March 1554-5 the sum of £20 was disbursed to 'maister William Mudie to pas in Orknay and Zeithland'; and again, £40 on 21st July. (*T.A.* x. 272, 284.) 'Maister Williame Mudy notar publict' was in Kirkwall on 2nd February 1555-6. (*Records of Orkney*, 257.) This may be the same William Mudy of Breckness and Downreay who was afterwards chamberlain of Orkney.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> On 13th May 1555 a commission of Justiciary was issued to Huntly, Glencairn, Cassillis, and Morton, to last during the pleasure of the Queen. Part of their business was to hold 'ane assise upoun certane personis that transportit victuailis furtht of Scotland in England.' (*E.R.* xviii. 584; *T.A.* x. 281.) It was a period of much activity in economic and administrative matters. Among the miscellaneous enactments of the parliament in June was some very stringent legislation affecting the burghs and the social life of the community. In July the Regent went in person to the borders, where she held circuit courts at Jedburgh and Dumfries.

<sup>4</sup> Mark Kerr of Littledean and Sir John Hume of Coldenknowes were probably suspect as art and part in the 'slaughter of the Franchemen in Newbottill' about the beginning of May. On 9th May proclamation was made that none should reset Coldenknowes or his brother: on the night of the 10th a herald was hastily despatched to discharge the letters against Hume and Kerr. The editor of the *Treasurer's Accounts* thinks that Coldenknowes 'must either have made his peace with the Government or have proved an

expedient that the erll of Cassillis sould cum wyth thaim. And be reson of his sufficiens to declair the cais unto your grace we will nocht fasche your grace wyth langer wryting; bot prayis God almychty to preserve your hynes everlestinglie. At Jedburgh, this xvj day of Maye at x houris at ewin be

\* Your grace mast humyll and obedyent servytours  
HWNTLY.\* MORTOUN.

In the meyntyne and quhill we ressave your grace fordir direction of service in this part we salbe doand the best we can and conform to your grace commandment.

## CCLXVII

*Earl Marischal to the Queen Regent*

Keith Marischal, 17th June [1555 ?].

TO THE QUEYNIS GRACE, REGENT OF THIS REALM.

Efter maist hwmyll commendatioun of servyce, it will pleis your grace to be advertist that laytlye your grace servand maister Robert Lumisden burges of Aberdeyn hes writin to me, schawand that now sene his haym cuming<sup>1</sup> be rasone off the complant that he mayd to your grace on the provest off Aberdeen<sup>2</sup> for takyng off thir new fewis partenying the said town, the provest hes sowmownd dyveris off his freyndis to the xxv day off this instant moneth to se ther takkis tynt and off na awaill suppois in deid thai haiff yeris to ryne. And all the falt is becaus thai will nocht consent to be partecypant

alibi.' (*T.A.* x. lxiii. 278.) It is significant of the state of public opinion that the parliament in June had to threaten penalties against those disaffected to the French.

\*\* Holograph in the hand of Huntly. The signature of Morton is autograph.

<sup>1</sup> The year may be 1555. Robert Lumsden was in Edinburgh before the Lords of Council and Session, on 12th February 1554-5. (*Books of Sederunt*, i. f. 84.)

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Menzies was Provost of Aberdeen in 1555. (*Extracts from Council Register*, 286.)

wyth ther new fewis. Quhayrfor his requist is to me to swyt at your grace hand ane writyng of discharge to the prowest off this cowrt that is to be haldin on tyll syc day as this mater may be sychtit<sup>1</sup> afor your grace, becaus it partenes to our soverane your grace dochtteris patermony and wyth that is complant on be the said maister Robert and his frendis and on decydit be your grace and wyth all this he is bayth juge and partye. Heyrfor, gif it mycht stand wyth your grace plesuyr I wald hwmyllye pray your grace for ane writyng and charg to the said provest conform to this effect, for, as I traist, it is nocht nor sall nocht be na thyng agayn your grace honour nor profeyt. Forder referis to your grace wesdom and gwidnes; quhom I pray the aver levand Lord to preserve. Writin at Keyth Merscheall, the xvij off Junij be

Your gracis maist humyll and maist obedyent  
servitour

MERSCHEALL.<sup>2</sup>

### CCLXVIII

*James Henrison to the Queen Regent*

Edinburgh, 9th July 1555.

TO THE QUEINIS GRACE, REGENT.

Madame,

Pleiss youre hienes to be advertisit that my lord of Sutherland hes noyther gevin me money nor souerteis as yit,<sup>3</sup> howbeit that I wald abyd upoun gude payment till Michaelmes and pay the bankouris of Flandris for all sic interes as thai sould haif in the mene tyme, quhilk sould be mekill to my hurt. Quhairfor, and sen your hienes is awand me yit uther iii<sup>c</sup> and l lib<sup>s</sup>, I beseik your hienes to be so gracious that I may be assigneit to tak up payment therof fra the Laird of Fyfe,<sup>4</sup> forsamekill as

<sup>1</sup> *sychtit*: sighted, *i.e.* seen and examined.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> On 3rd March 1553-4 Sutherland had entered into a bond to pay £200 to James Henderson, servitor to the Queen. (*Acts and Decrets*, viii. f. 421.)

<sup>4</sup> George Meldrum of Fyvie. See following letter.

be that way I may be releisit at the foirsaid bankoureis handis be his credit amang merchandis of Abirdene, and he also keipit fra the fewing of his land, and seing we ar baith your graces auld servandis. And geif ye will preif oure service ony farder we sall agment the rentis of the quene youre dochteris croun this yeir cumand xxx<sup>m</sup> lib. moir than it wes this yeir bygane without ony sic danger grudge or murmour of the pepill as ther is now. This the Almychty God preserve youre hienes. Fra Edinburgh, the ix day of Julij the yeir of God i<sup>m</sup>v<sup>e</sup>lv yeiris

Be your hienes moist humill serwand

JAMES HENRISON.<sup>1</sup>

### CCLXIX

*Sir George Meldrum of Fyvie to the Queen Dowager*

Fyvie, 25th July [1555].

TO THE QWENES GRAS.

Madam, pleis yowr grais be adwertisit that I may nocht well trawall as yeit to haf com and gyfin yowr grace sic thankis as is in my power for the gret honor yowr grace has sawin in dweng for me yowr grace sober sarwand ;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to speculate on the identity of the writer. As he declares himself to have had old associations with Fyvie, it is probable that he also was of Protestant sympathies. He may therefore be the same person as the anglo-philie merchant of that name, who deplored the unhappy fate of Scotland in 1544. (No. LXXII.) These things considered, it is not impossible that this letter is by the pen of the James Henderson who wrote the 'Godly and Golden Book' for the settling of Great Britain under Edward VI. (*C.S.P.* i. 141-5.) It is therefore an interesting example of the way in which the Queen Regent saw fit, for political reasons, to court the Protestants at this period. As the writer here refers to his dealings with the bankers of Flanders, he is probably the James Henderson whom the Regent appointed Conservator of the Scots privileges in the Low Countries. (*R.S.S.* xxvii. f. 100, 12th May 1554; M. P. Rooseboom, *Scottish Staple in the Netherlands, ad indices.*)

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> He is presumably alluding to the matters of which Henrison wrote on 9th July. See preceding letter. On 5th April Sutherland had signed a bond for repayment of a debt of 700 merks due to Fyvie. (*Register of Deeds*, i. f. 113.) At this date also, his ward, Lord Saltoun, had raised an action against him. (*Acts and Decrees*, xii. f. 11, 20th June 1555.)

in the qwhilk your grace has gyfin occasion to all gentyll man to haf well and gwd hart to sarf saye nobyl ane prenses of honor, hafing saye gret faitht and descricion in all the deidis of wisdown. And as to my part, I thank the gret God that has maid me saye happe as to be ane of your grace sarwandis sowbeit [*sic*] I be lytyll worde therfor. Yeit I sall want no the gud well to the serwis of your grace to wair me and all myin in ane howr, the sawill onely to God the rest bot partt to your grace. Biseking your grace in mast hwmill and rewerant maner to exswis this my rwid wretteng qwhilk I haf wrettin, powtteng my swir trest in your grace hwmain gentyllnis, quhilk I knaw dwis exswis all thengis that ar dwin with gud hart. I haf sawin this berar sowme gwd materis to be declarit to your grace. And with mast hwmill hart I bes[e]ik the gret God to prissarf your grace in mast honor with lang lyf. Writtin from your gracis awin sober hows of Fywe, the xxv of July

be your gras hwmill and obedeant sarwand

FYWE.<sup>1</sup>

## CCLXX

### *Henry Balnaves to the Queen Regent*

Paris, 9th August 1555.

TO THE RYCHT EXCELLENT PRINCES MARIE, QUENE  
DOW[AG]ER AND REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

Maist nobill and gracious princes (my deutie remembrit), hering of the quenes grace my soverane ladyes generall revocatione maid laitly in parliament,<sup>2</sup> thought it my

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Meldrum of Fyvie was sent to England in 1543 with the ratification of the marriage treaty 'as the act of the whole realm.' (*H.* xviii. ii. 363, 486.) In 1544 he was an active agent in the English interests; but he fought in the national cause at Ancrum.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Revocation signed by Queen Mary at Fontainebleau on 25th April 1555 'and Registrat in the buikis of Parliament' on 20th June 1555. (*A.P.* ii. 500-1.)

boundyn deutie to put your heighnes in remembrance of sick thingis as ather mycht hurt, or proffeit, hir grace patrimonie and privileg of hir majesties crown, or the office quhilk your heighnes presently bearis in hir grace name and autorite. And howbeit I dout nocht bot your heighnes is mare fully all reddy instructit in thir thingis thane I can informe you, and also that your wysdome hes lang foreseyne the same: nochtwithstanding, to declare the gude mynd and will I have to do my soverane lady gude service according to the small knowlege I have in the affares of that realme,<sup>1</sup> and to schaw my self thankfull to your heighnes for that maist gentill clemencie I have ressavit and hopes to ressave at your grace handes, I have made certane instructiouns heir within closed to informe your heighnes privatlie be your self, and to be wsit at sick tymes as your grace sall think expedient, as the tyme servis. And gif it be your grace pleasour, best it war that na man knaw quhome of ye have this informatione, becaus your counsale and advocates (seing your heighnes fully instructit in thir materis, nocht knowing be quhome) sall with the greater feare and deligence study to bring thame fordward, persaving your grace can nocht be begylit tharin. Your heighnes maist gentill and gracious clemencie schawin to me<sup>2</sup> (undeservit) and to the pure woman my wiff<sup>3</sup> (quha hes na other help bot your grace) and the hope I have in your heighnes, compellis me to seik and preas fordward to your grace service, and to pretermit na thyng, quhane occasion is gevin me, that I can do to your contentatioun and pleasour. Refferring the rest to the forenemit instructiouns, beseiking God of his infinite gudnes to preserve that your maist precious

<sup>1</sup> He was a Senator of the College of Justice; appointed an Ordinary Lord in 1538. (*Senators of College of Justice*, 60.)

<sup>2</sup> After the capitulation of the castle of St. Andrews, the insurgents had been transported to prison or the galleys in France. They were liberated by an amnesty in July 1550 and 'restored to thare landis, in dyspite of thare ennemies.' This, adds Knox, 'was done in hatterent of the Duck, becaus that then France began to thrist to have the regiment of Scotland in thare awin handis.' (*History*, i. 233.)

<sup>3</sup> Christina Scheves. (*R.M.S.*, 10th August 1539.)

jewell my soverane lady lang to continew, and prosperously to regnne (quha is now in gude helth, thankis be to God): and grant your grace to see of hir maist precious body that thing quhilk your heighnes maist earnestly desyris to see: and assist you with his haly Spreit to govern and reule that realme and pepill committit to your charge, to the glore of God and your heighnes salvation, and to the rest and quietness of the trew and fathfull subjectis of the same.<sup>1</sup> At Pareis, the ix of August anno 1555.

Your heighness maist humble and obedient servant  
and subject

HENRY BALNAVIS.<sup>2</sup>

CCLXXI

*Argyle to the Queen's Grace*

Castle Campbell, 11th February [1555-6 ?].

Madame, efter humile commendatione of service, I rasavit your gracis writingis of the novellis of your gracis woyage and pilgramage, be the quhilk I onderstand your gracis companye of lordis and ladeis ar mair onabill to tak sic a woyage one hand thane your grace is. And quhar your grace writis that I haif mekill of the w[rang ?] of sic haist of your [grace] returnyng to Stirling,<sup>3</sup> as to that effek your grace knawis that my service and mynd salbe ever redy at your gracis command. As for the ladeis that ar treiblitt and wantis thar hyd of thar helis hanchis and uther partis, howsone I meit with your grace I sall do gudwill to

<sup>1</sup> This is an expression of the Calvinistic doctrine that princes rule as the vicegerents of God, for the welfare of their subjects. It enabled the Protestants to justify their rebellion against the Crown.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Balnaves of Halhill, in Fife. He afterwards returned to Scotland, and in 1559 joined the Congregation. His diplomatic experience was useful in negotiations with England. (*C.S.P. ad indices.*)

The letter is holograph.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning seems to be: And where your grace writes that I am wrong in urging your hasty return to Stirling.

be ane medicinar in helpin of thair faltis, and to gif regiment therfor efter your gracis awis. As to my syster,<sup>1</sup> I beleif scho sall get ane schort regiment fra hir husband<sup>2</sup> or her departing furth of Edinburcht. As to your gracis passage at this tyme throw mos and myr, throw the quhilk your grace is abill to trawell herefter throw the boundis of Ergyle,<sup>3</sup> your grace sall cum na sonare thar bot your grace salbe welcum; prayand God it be sone. As to your haste returnyng to Stirling I reffer that to your gracis awn discretione, becaus I schow your grace my mynd therintill at my departing fra your grace. And what service your grace plesis command me salbe redy to your grace, as knawis God, quha haif your grace in eternall keping. At Campbell,<sup>4</sup> the xi day of Februar instant<sup>5</sup>

be your gracis humile servitour

ARD. ERL OF ERGYLE.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is apparently Agnes Campbell. Elizabeth, Countess of Moray and Sutherland, the only other sister known to the *Scots Peerage*, was dead before this date.

<sup>2</sup> Agnes Campbell was the wife of James M'Connell of Dunniveg. He was in Edinburgh on 12th May 1556. (*Register of Deeds*, i. f. 347.) His immediate movements after this date are not known, but he is next found in Ireland. According to one account, in 1556 he was defeated by the English and forced to retreat to Scotland, while in 1557 he and his brothers, at the head of a Scoto-French force, are said to have defeated the English in Ireland. (*Clan Donald*, ii. 533; cf. *S.H.R.* xxii. 52, *Plantation of Ulster*.)

<sup>3</sup> This may refer to a projected judicial circuit in Argyle. It is noteworthy, however, that the Queen of England was suspicious of the Regent's ulterior motives in making continual progresses through her kingdom. She feared, in particular, that the Scots were stirring up trouble in Ireland. A letter written by D'Oysel from Banff, on 5th September 1556 to the French ambassador in London, is weighted with significance in this connection. He writes, 'Et qui voudroit favoriser les enterprinses d'Irlande, dont m'escripvez, il se faudroit approcher des isles d'West . . . si bien, Monsieur, qu'après avoir entendu ce que vous escripvez par vostre mémoire du xi<sup>e</sup> aoust touchant le milord Fouastre, je fis escrire par ceste dicte Royne a M<sup>r</sup> le comte d'Arguilz, qui estoit party d'avec elle pour s'en aller au West, de s'enquérir des nouvelles dudit pays d'Irland.' (Teulet, i. 275.)

<sup>4</sup> Castle Campbell is near Dollar, in Clackmannanshire. Here, Knox visited Argyle and 'taught certane dayis,' some time between May and July 1556. (*History*, i. 251-4.)

<sup>5</sup> The year is probably 1555-6. Owing to a strange lack of documentary sources, it is impossible to trace the details of the Queen's movements at this



## CCLXXII

*Archbishop Hamilton to the College of Justice*

St. Andrews, 2nd April 1557.

TO MY LORDIS PRESIDENT <sup>1</sup> AND REMANENT LORDIS OF OUR  
SOVERANE LADYIS COLLEGE OF JUSTICE IN EDINBURGH.

My lordis, eftir mast hartlye commendatioun, we re-  
savit your lordshipis wryttingis this last Furisday at  
evin,<sup>2</sup> advertessing ws anent the actioun and caus depend-  
ing effor your lordshipis betuix the lard of Cargyll<sup>3</sup> and  
the quenis grace advocatt for hir entres, aganis James  
Herring of Estir Leffinde<sup>4</sup> and Master Johne Spens of  
Maristoun, notar.<sup>5</sup> And als dessyryng ws for tryall to be had  
justlye therintill to mak our officiall<sup>6</sup> and scrybis to send  
your lordshipis the just trew and athtenkit [*sic*] copy of  
the haille proces deducit in the said caus, to gidder with  
the depositiones of the witnes productit and led in the said  
mater conform to your lettres of charges direct therupoun.  
And now, becaus your lordshipis allegis that our said officiall  
and scribys hes disobayit, wald meyne that your lordshipis  
had directit your lordshipis utheris lettres laityly to put tham  
to the horne. Howbeit, lang of befor, being advertessit be  
our cosing of Kylvyning,<sup>7</sup> incontinent maid the saidis bukis

time, but the general contents of the letter suggest the above date. The Regent's journey 'throw mos and myr' is probably a reference to her proposed circuit in the north. She was at Inverness in July with Argyle, Huntly, and a large retinue.

The signature is autograph. The document is much destroyed by damp.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney.

<sup>2</sup> Thursday, 1st April.

<sup>3</sup> David, second Lord Drummond, was superior of the barony of Cargill, in Perthshire.

<sup>4</sup> James Herring of Lethende is said to have married Isabel, youngest daughter of John, second Earl of Athol. (*S.P.* i. 443.) Lethende is in the barony of Tullibardine, in Perthshire.

<sup>5</sup> Maristoun is in the constabulary of Crail, in Fife. (*R.M.S.*, 6th July 1514.)

<sup>6</sup> William Cranston was official of St. Andrews in April 1553. (*Liber Officialis S. Andree*, 113.) The official was the lawyer who presided over the consistorial court of a diocese. 'He appears to have been a deputy judge, not an inferior judge; and from his decisions there was ordinarily no appeal to the bishop. (Dowden, *Medieval Church in Scotland*, 288.)

<sup>7</sup> Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, and Coadjutor of St. Andrews.

to be tane fra all the serybis be our official, quharby that na thyng suld be alterit, and caussit to extract the said proces tr[e]wlye and authtenkitlye as efferit and according to your lordshipis dissyris, lyk as we wraytt of befor to our said cosing of Kylvyning. And the samyn wes offerit to the officar executor of the saidis lettres and first chargis for the racionabill expensis to be refoundit to the clerkis conform to auld use and vont; and is yit reddy. Nocht the les, the rather for your lordshipis requestis, hes maid the proces to be send with this berar to your lordshipis nocht to mak ane preparative in tymes cuming with the clerkis expensis. And als sall caus ane of our serybis to be this nixt owlk, other Tuisday or Vodenisday, befor your lordshipis in Edinburgh with the originall bukis to satisfy your lordshipis plesouris, the reddear that we putt your lordshipis to daylye chargis, as knawis God, quha haff your lordshipis in evyrlesting keiping. Of our cete of Sanctandros, the secund day of Aprill instant, 1557.

Your lordshipis at power

J. SANCTANDROIS.<sup>1</sup>

### CCLXXIII

*Andrew Fernie to the Queen Regent*

Cupar, October [1557 ?]

TO THE QWENYS GRACE.

Madem, efter mayist hartle commendatyoune off service, ple[is your] grayce I hayiff rasawit your grace vrytyng.<sup>2</sup> And quhar [your] grace vrytis I swld convene the tenentis off the lord . . . Fyiff, I hayiff na power nor thai vyll nocht. . . . I beleyiff the capytane off Falkland<sup>3</sup> y[f?] . . . vrytine to, sall do his delygens to . . . vith hyme to your grace. And for me, th[at service I?] ma do at all tymys sall be rade w . . . rasone ther sall be na cawys

<sup>1</sup> A holograph letter. The seal remains.

<sup>2</sup> This presumably had reference to the summons to muster at Fala Moor in October 1557 for an intended invasion of England, in the interests of Henry II., who was then at war with Philip of Spain, King-consort of England. In view of the popular opposition the enterprise had to be abandoned. (Leslie, 260.)

<sup>3</sup> Robert Beaton of Creich. (*R.M.S.*, 22nd June 1554.)

off fal. . . . God hayiff your grace in kepyng. At Couper,  
the . . . day off October

be your grayce serwand

ANDRO FERNE.<sup>1</sup>

CCLXXIV

*James Hamilton of Kincavil to the Queen Regent*

Eccles, 18th October [1557 ?].

TO THE QUENIS GRACIS MAJ[E]STIE.

Mademe, I recommend my humylie service to your grace, quhome pleis your grace to wit that my lord cumtrollar hes gevin letters to the chalmarlain of Lyfqow to put my poyr tennentis of Bonetoun and Blaknes to the horne for xx ff at I rasavit fra thame of the Witsunday last bypast. And it is swa with me at this tyme at I am nocht abill to furnis mony to releif thame as this berrar will schaw your grace at this tyme, to quhome your gracis henes will pleis gif credit. Quharfoire I beseik your grace to haif swme consederatioun, for I haif bein wranguslie done to in tymes bypast, and that your grace henes wilbe sa gude to me as to writ to the comtrollar to swparseid the poyr men till yowill. And in the mentyme your grace sall knaw perfytlie quhat rycht I haif thairto ; and than your grace may do therin as ye think expediant. Nocht ellis, bot your gudlie answir heirinto : and the Lord of all Lordis mot ever haif your grace in his blessit keping. Of Eklis,<sup>2</sup> the xvij day of Octobar.<sup>3</sup>

Your gracis humlie and obaysand sa[r]witor at all  
commandementis

JAMES HAMMYLTOUN OF KINCAVILL.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Fernie of that Ilk, Chamberlain of Fife in 1543. (*E.R.* xviii. 14.) His name appears frequently in the *Treasurer's Accounts* of the period.

The letter is holograph. Part of the right-hand side of the page is completely worn away.

<sup>2</sup> Eccles is in Berwickshire, near Kelso.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that this letter was written in 1557, when the army was mustered on the Borders for the projected invasion of England. In the following March a 'decreit' was given against the Sheriff of Linlithgow. (*T.A.* x. 340.)

<sup>4</sup> James Hamilton of Kincavel was Sheriff of Linlithgow.

The letter is holograph, perhaps in the hand of a scribe.

## CCLXXV

*Bond by Margaret Erskine, Lady of Lochleven*

Edinburgh, 1st February 1557-8.

Be it kend to all men be thir present lettres, me Dame Margaret Erskine Lady Lochlevin<sup>1</sup> to be bundin and oblist, and be thir present letres the faith and treuth in my body lelelie and treulie bindis and oblistis me my airis and assignais to ane honorabill man, maister James McGill of Nethir Rankelour clerk of registre, James Adamson<sup>2</sup> and James Barroun<sup>3</sup> burgesis of Edinburcht, thair airis and assignais. Forsamekill as our derrest James commendatar of the priorie of Sanctandros<sup>4</sup> for the commoun wele of this realme with certane utheris of the prelatis and nobill men therof, conforme to the act of parliament maid therupoun,<sup>5</sup> ar to pas to the partis of France to the solempnizing and completing of the maist honorable band of matrimony betuix our soverane the quenis grace and the dolphing of France; and for furnessing of [our said son] in the saidis partis of France Timothe Cagniole, bankour,<sup>6</sup> hes gevin to him lettres of finance for furnessing of divers soumes of money to him in the saidis partis of France within the toun of Pareis; and thairfore of my speciale desier the said maister James is bundin with him, quha hes causit the saidis James and James

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Erskine, daughter of John, fifth Lord Erskine, was the wife of Sir George Douglas of Lochleven.

<sup>2</sup> James Adamson, a baillie of Edinburgh, 1554-5; Treasurer, 1557. (*Extracts from Records of Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1557-71, 300, 301.)

<sup>3</sup> James Barron, merchant burgess of Edinburgh; Dean of Guild, 1555, 1560. (*Ibid.* 300, 301; cf. *T.A.* ix. *ad indices.*) He joined the reformers and was a friend of Knox. (*History*, i. 268 n.)

<sup>4</sup> James Stewart, afterwards Regent Moray, the son of Margaret Erskine by James v.

<sup>5</sup> 14th December 1557. (*A.P.* ii. 501-2.) The commissioners were the Archbishop of Glasgow, Bishops of Ross and Orkney, the Earls of Rothes and Cassillis, Lord James, Fleming, Seton and Erskine of Dun. (Lahanoff, i. 46-50; *Diurnal*, 52, omits the Bishop of Ross.)

<sup>6</sup> This Italian merchant did business for Mary of Lorraine. (See *B.P.* ii. 119-20.)

becum bundin and oblist conjunctlie and sever[allie with] thame for payment to the said Timothe of the soun of ane thousand sex hundreth foure skoire sevin pundis ten sc[hillingis] money of Scotland at the termes undirwrittin : that is to say the soun of aucht hundreth and twenty five pundis be[tuix this and] the feist of Pasche nixt tocum,<sup>1</sup> and the rest of the said hale soun, extending to the soun of aucht hundreth thr[e skoir twa pundis] ten schillingis, betuix that and the feist of Witsunday nixt thereftir,<sup>2</sup> togidder with all coistis skaithis and expensis [that the said Timothie] sall sustene throw wanting of payment of the saidis soumes at the termes foirsaidis, as the lettres obligatouris [maid therupoun mair] fullelie purportis. Heirfore I bind and oblistis me faithfullie, my airis and executouris, to warrand freith<sup>3</sup> [relyf and keip] the saidis maister James, James Adamsoun and James Barroun, ther airis and executouris, skathles at the handis [of the said Timothie] his airis executouris and factouris of the said soun of ane thousand sex hundreth foure skoire sevin pundis ten sch[illingis, and of] all coistis skaithis and dampnagis that thai may incur throw non payment therof and of all and sindry [uther heiddis] pointis passis and articulis contenit in the saidis lettres obligatouris, swa that thai may be harmles and skaithl[es therof] in tyme cuming. And heirto I bind and oblist me faithfullie my airis and executouris be ther presentis, and [am content] that this my obligatioun be actit and registrat in the bukis of counsale<sup>4</sup> and decernit to haif the strenth [of ane] act and decret of the lordis therof with lettres and executorialis to be gevin therupoun for compelling of [me, owthir] be poinding or horning, to releve thame therof as thai think maist expedient in forme as efferis. And for [acting therof] we haif maid constitute and ordinit and be the tennour heirof makis constitutis and ordinis maister

<sup>1</sup> 10th April was Easter Day in 1558.

<sup>2</sup> 29th May 1558.

<sup>3</sup> *freith*: free. A legal term.

<sup>4</sup> Entered in *Register of Deeds*, ii. f. 366. The gaps in this document have been supplied by reference to the *Register*.

[Jhone Spens].<sup>1</sup>

and ilkane of thame, conjunctlie and severa[llie, my] verray lauchfull and undoutit procuratouris to compeir befor the saidis lordis and thair desir thir present [is to be] actit and registrat in the saidis bukis with lettres and executorialis to be gevin therupoun for compelling of me to [fulfill] the samin in forme as efferis. In witnes of the quhilk thing, to thir my letres subscrivit with my hand my sele [is affixit]. At Edinburgh, the first day of Februar the yeir of God i<sup>m</sup>v<sup>cl</sup>vij yeris. [Befor thir] witnes

MARGRET ESKYNE LADY OF LOCHLEWYN.<sup>2</sup>

### CCLXXVI

*William Gordon, Bishop of Aberdeen, to the Queen Regent*

Aberdeen, 27th March 1558.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, this present is to advertis your grace that maister Johnne Elphinstoun, prior of Monimusk,<sup>3</sup> is departit unto God the xxvj of this instant monthe<sup>4</sup> on nycht, of quhilk I thocht guide to make your grace advertist. And it is nocht unknawin to your grace that my benefice is under grite pensione,<sup>5</sup> sua that I ma nochte avaite and serve your grace as I wald. Quharfor I will besaik your grace that I ma have the said priorie, quhilk is ane sobir benefice, the place and religion therof distroyit, for releif of my benefice;<sup>6</sup> and I sall cum and

<sup>1</sup> A blank space has been left for the insertion of the other names.

<sup>2</sup> The seal is greatly damaged; the document is torn on the right margin, and the writing faded. The signature is autograph.

<sup>3</sup> An Augustinian convent, about twenty miles from Aberdeen.

<sup>4</sup> According to the contraction, this word might possibly read 'Merche': the date remains the same by either reading.

<sup>5</sup> It was burdened with a pension of 1000 merks to James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and 500 merks to David Paniter. (*Bishops of Scotland*, 141.) Cf. No. XCII.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently his suit was unsuccessful, as the benefice was vacant on 13th August 1574 by the death of John Hay, 'Commendator of Balmerinloch, the last prior.' (*R.M.S. under date.*) Gordon died in August 1577. (*Bishops of Scotland*, 142.)

remane in your grace servis and seik na uthir revard and do sic gratitude to ony uthir your grace wald gratifie, as this berer will schaw unto your grace, to quhome it will ples your grace gif credence. And thus, eftir maist hwmyll commendatioun of my service and prayeris unto your grace, almythty God preserf your grace eternalie. Off Aberdeen, the xxvij of Merche 1558 be your grace hwmyll and obedient

\* oratouer and serviter

ABERDEN.\*

CCLXXVII

*John Stewart, Commendator of Coldingham, to the Queen Regent*

Coldingham, 4th April 1558.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit your grace, at my last cumin furth of Glasqw I schaw your grace of ane swdane debait that happynit betuix ane of my tenendis and twa of his nychtbouris, all thre beand tenendis of myne; quhar I trest thair is ane of thame inublat.<sup>1</sup> Upoun the quhilk, be fortificatioun of the lord Symple<sup>2</sup> thair is derekit letteris fra your graces Justice clerk to caus the said men to fynd souerte to underly your gravis lawis within sex dayis under the pane of hornyng, of the quhilk sex dayis Weddinsday the vj of this instant moneth of Aprile is the last day. Quharthrow the lord Symple intendis to pwt thame to your graces horne and to tak all thar gudis and distroy ther [wiffis?] and bairnis without your grace be gud and gracios unto the[m. . . A?]nd your grace to derect ane tikat or caus the Justice clerk to d[ereck] ane tikat to the officiar excecutoir of the letteris, Johne Symson, to superseid the horning to your graces fardar advertisement; or ellis to derect ane letter to the lord Symple, com-

\* \* Holograph.

<sup>1</sup> *inublat*: disabled.

<sup>2</sup> Robert, Lord Semple, was Sheriff of Renfrew.

mandand hym to undermett with nane of ther gudis nor geir to sic tyme that I may cum and compound with your grace, as it sall ples your grace to ordane. War nocht we dreid to haif sum besynes ado heir,<sup>1</sup> I suld haif cumin to your grace my self to haif schawin your grace the treuth of all. Fardar, I pray God to haif your grace in his keping. At Coldingham, the ferd day of Aprile 1558

\* Your grace humill and obeissant serviteur

JHON COMMENDATOUR OF COLDINGAM.\*

### CCLXXVIII

*William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, to the Court of Session*

Dunblane, 5th January 1558-9.

TO MY LORDIS PRESIDENT AND LORDIS OF OWR SOVERANIS  
LORD AND LADEIS SESSIOUN.

My lord president and remanent my lordis of our soveranis lord and ladeis Consale, I commend me to your lordshipis in my maist humill maner. This present salbe to informe your lordshipis that I ma nocht keip this approcheand first day of the Sessioun conforme to the statutis thairof<sup>2</sup> without greit hurt and dangeir of my bodie, be resone that I have bene sen my last departing fra your lordshipis evill at eis throcht alteratioun of my leg, quhairof the pane accrescis to me mair noysum nor

<sup>1</sup> The 'besynes' probably had reference to the war on the Border. Although the Regent was unable to effect an invasion of England, she continued to fortify Eyemouth, which D'Oysel used as headquarters for military operations. (*T.A.* x.; *Addenda, ad indices.*) In December Philip II. had sent an ambassador to the Queen Regent (*Addenda, 464*), but any overtures which may have been made for peace proved abortive. The loss of Calais, at the beginning of January, threw England 'en plus grande jalousie de la ville de Barwick que de coustume' (Teulet, i. 288). Summonses were issued for a muster at Duns and Langton on 18th April, and on the 5th a proclamation was sent 'chargeing all and sindrie our Soverane Ladeis liegis presentlie convenit at the bordouris that nane of thame tak upoun hand to returne fra the bordouris.' (*T.A.* x. 347.)

\*\* Holograph.

<sup>2</sup> Attendance was binding under pain of penalty.



it wes wont to do, quhairthrow I have bene maist pairt constrenit sen my said last departing furth of Edinburght to hald my bed. Praying heirfor your lordshipis to hald me excusit for the causs foirsaid, and sensone I may travel without hurt of my bodie I sal cum to Edinburght and await upon your lordshipis with sik service as lyis in my sober power. And so I commit your lordshipis to the evirlestand keping of almychtie God. Of Dunblane, quinto instantis Januarii 1558.

Be your lordshipis at command

W. BISCHOP OF DUNBLANE.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> William Chisholm. His nephew, another William Chisholm, was appointed coadjutor in 1561, when the Bishop was sixty-seven years of age and suffering from stone and gout. (*Bishops of Scotland*, 207. See also *Senators of College of Justice*.)

Only the signature is autograph.

Nos. CCLXXIX - CCLXXXVII :  
INTRODUCTORY

THE nine following letters deal with the Reformation crisis from September 1559 until the death of Mary of Lorraine on 10th June 1560. A gap of six eventful months breaks the continuity of the Correspondence between this and the previous section; but a certain connecting link is found in the Bishop of Dunblane's reference to his 'departing last fra your grace in Sanct Johnnestoun.' [No. CCLXXIX.] Events at Perth in the summer of 1559 had been more portentous than this casual allusion might suggest. The destructive work of the Reformation as a widespread popular movement had begun, and Scotland stood on the brink of civil war.

It is a symptom of the prevalent unrest and general dislocation that justice 'culd nocht be done at that tyme in default of ane sufficient number of the Sessioun.' [No. CCLXXIX.] The ordinary routine of daily life had indeed been violently disturbed: opposition to the Regent had swollen to manifest rebellion. Both sides looked for extraneous help—the Government to France, and the insurgents to the Queen of England. In the resulting round of the contest the conditions of 1547 were reversed. England anticipated the action of France: the Treaty of Edinburgh was a counter-stroke to the capitulation of the Castilians: and the first phase of the Scottish Reformation was accomplished. This achievement was again the outcome of the fusion of political and religious issues.

The Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, which had terminated the war between France and Spain, had also inaugurated a synchronous campaign of the Catholic princes against

the Reformation. Mary of Lorraine allowed herself to become identified with this widespread, if tacitly concerted movement,<sup>1</sup> and the result was fatal. Leslie and Melville maintain that in this matter she allowed herself to be over-ruled by her brothers against her own better judgment, but it did not escape less friendly contemporaries that, when the crown matrimonial had been promised to her son-in-law, she had gained her chief political end in cherishing the Protestants.<sup>2</sup> It was the worse for her that, while her broken troth provoked the reformers into open hostility, circumstances prevented timely and adequate support from being sent from France, whereas the insurgents were confident that the common menace of the House of Guise would secure to them the ultimate support of the English Queen. But Elizabeth was loth to compromise herself, and the Scots were left as far as possible to their own devices. The Correspondence reflects the resulting state of political uncertainty.

It is perhaps not surprising that men with much to lose were inclined to caution in their policy. Huntly was notoriously hedging, while his brother, Alexander Gordon, joined the ranks of the Congregation. [No. CCLXXXVI.] The Hamiltons provide a more notable example of a house divided against itself for safety's sake. 'No man could say what would be the results of the revolt of the reformers and of the rebellion of the patriots, or nationalists, against the Regent and her French policy. If the two brothers, the leaders of the Hamiltons, were in opposing factions, the safety of their house might be secured.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No clause in the actual Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis bound the contracting princes together in a Catholic alliance; but 'they were connected by . . . sympathy, and practical unity of feeling upon many points of politics.' (J. H. Pollen, *Papal Negotiations with Queen Mary*, xxxix.)

<sup>2</sup> Leslie, 289; Melville, *Memoirs*, 77; Knox, i. 293-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Archbishops of St. Andrews*, v. 114.

This was the situation at the end of September 1559, and it is interesting that again, as in the days of her opposition, the Queen had her sentinels in the camp of the enemy. Although Archbishop Hamilton complained that 'all secret materis is clene hyd fra me,' nevertheless he was able to send tidings that were not comforting. [No. CCLXXX.] It was ominous advice, hastily 'to provid for the vorst and to mak your selff stark in al sortis.' The trouble was that the insurgents could no longer trust her conciliatory promises, while by the very act of strengthening her military resources 'to provid for the vorst' she was thereby intensifying the bitterness of hostility. She was playing into the hands of the rebels in so far as she enabled them nominally to act on the defensive as guardians of the country's ancient liberties and constitutional independence.

To the Regent, doubtless, the 'tenor of the band betuix the Congregation and my lord duk' spelt patent revolution through 'the usurpyng of the autorite be my lord,' but the insurgents themselves represented their actions as devised 'for the defence and weill of the realm.' [No. CCLXXXI.] It was on this ground of conservatism that they sought, and obtained, the support of England. The call of patriotism was also the slogan addressed to men who, although 'nocht ressolut in . . . conscience towartis the religioun, yit nevertheles for the commoun wealth and libertie of [their] native cuntray' might 'tak resolutioun quhat remeid may be fundin in respect of' the nation's jeopardy. [No. CCLXXXII.]

The fact that Semple was impervious to this appeal hints at a source of weakness to the insurgents, and of corresponding strength to the Regent. The gold of patriotism and religious zeal was mixed with the dross of family rivalries and personal ambitions. Mary of Lorraine sought to play upon discordant elements, and so to drive

time until effective succours could arrive from France. It is not clear whether Bothwell hoped to expedite the coming of the expected army; but he was alive to his own advantage when he requested to 'have sum charg thairintill.' [No. CCLXXXVII.]

It was well for the cause of the Reformation that the disintegrating forces within the movement were counteracted by other influences. If on the one hand the Correspondence shows that many of the nobles, like Huntly, and prelates, like Archbishop Hamilton, were cautious and self-seeking, on the other hand it is equally evident that the lords spiritual and temporal have ceased to monopolise the stage of politics. It is significant that whereas, in the crisis of October 1544, Sir George Douglas had advised the Queen to 'wret to all the nobyll [men] of Skotland that wildo for yow, spretuall and [temporal]' [No. LXXXVI], at the more momentous juncture of September 1559, Archbishop Hamilton's counsel was to make a bid for popular support. 'This I beleiff suld caus mony remain and depart fra tham [the insurgents] that now cumis to tham and [remanis ?] with tham off inno- rance, and that will cum and serff your grace aganis tham and thai knew the verite and your grace gud part towart the realm and als thame.' [No. CCLXXXI.]

Here the Archbishop strikes a new note in the Correspondence. During the earlier diplomatic upheavals the appeal had been to the nobles and gentlemen with their followers: the commons for the most part had probably pursued the ordinary routine of their lives. When their interests were seriously threatened, as in the seizure of their ships, the diplomatists found that the third estate was neither silent nor negligible.

In her happier days Mary of Lorraine had been alive to the value of their support. It would have been well for her if she had pondered the significance of Fyvie's

reservation in the otherwise obsequious expression of his grateful service. 'The sawill onely to God,' he had declared, 'the rest bot partt to your grace.' [No. CCLXIX.] By underestimating the force of religion no less than the inborn love of independence, the Regent had, within four years, hopelessly alienated the commercial classes and mature statesmen of Protestant tendencies, like Balnaves. They were driven into rebellion when she ceased 'to govern and reule that realme and pepill committit to your charge, to the glore of God and your heighnes salvatioun, and to the rest and quietnes of the trew and fathfull subjectis of the same.' [No. CCLXX.]

Arran exalted 'the glore of God' above 'the libertie of this realme'; but for practical purposes they went hand in hand, both alike 'deir to all trew liges.' [No. CCLXXXII.] The lords were the leaders of the Congregation, but in themselves they would have been powerless against the entrenched authority of the Regent reinforced by the might of France, while Queen Elizabeth would scarcely have given open support to a hopeless cause. Their ultimate strength was, therefore, the power 'to raise the myndis of the common pepill agan your grace and your servitouris.' [No. CCLXXXI.]

When her days were numbered it was too late to recover the confidence which she had shattered by the policy of years, and she had not the means to bribe time-serving nobles. The appeal to chivalry, without the 'fortyficacioun' of material rewards, was spent in vain on Huntly and his like. [No. CCLXXXVI.] Her last hope was stayed on France, and before Bothwell could 'return agane vith the arme,' Mary of Lorraine was dead. [No. CCLXXXVII.] A few weeks later, on 6th July 1560, the Lords of the Congregation and their English allies compassed the Treaty of Edinburgh, which termi-

nated French domination in Scotland and left the nation free to work out its own salvation.

As a force of opposition, religious and political, the Reformation movement had proved irresistible. In a negative and undreamt-of way, Mary of Lorraine had wrought a service to her daughter's kingdom. Time, that alters perspective, enables posterity to be more tender than were contemporaries to the memory of the unhappy princess who, at midnight on 10th June 1560,<sup>1</sup> passed from sore sickness of mind and body 'in the keeping of almichti Gode.'

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<sup>1</sup> *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 59; Leslie, 289; Hay Fleming, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 216.

## CCLXXIX

*Bishop of Dunblane to the Queen Regent*

Dunblane, 20th September 1559.

TO THE QUENIS GRACE, REGENT OF SCOTLANDE.

Pleis your hienes I ressavit your grace writting in Dunblane the xviiij of September instant, datit at Edinburgh the xiii of the samyn, barand how your grace hes writtin to me of before to have cumin to Edinburgh at ane certane day bigane, that certane actionis of your graces and utheris mycht have bene procedit on and justice ministrat therein; quhilk culd nocht be done at that tyme in defalt of ane sufficient number of the Sessioun, bot wes continewit to the xxiiij day of this instant, biddand me be in Edinburgh the said xxiii day to the effect foirsaid. Madame, in verite I have bene verra evil at eis in my body sen my departing last fra your grace in Sanct Johnnestoun<sup>1</sup> throcht my sair leg, quhilk continewis sa sair upone me, that I ma na way travel without greit dangeir of my body, and sasone as I ma travel I salcum to your grace and sall remane and await upon your grace service at the utirmast of my sober power. Eftir my maist humill commendatioun of prayaris and service to your hienes, I commit your grace to the keping of almichtie God bayth in saule and body. Of Dunblane the xx<sup>th</sup> day of September 1559.

Be your grace maist humil and obedient oratour and  
servand

W. BISCHOP OF DUNBLANE.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Regent, Châtelherault, and D'Oysel entered Perth on 29th May 1559. An iconoclastic outbreak earlier in the month had almost precipitated civil war, but this was averted for the time by the 'appointment' of the 28th. The Congregation evacuated the town on condition that the Queen would grant an amnesty, allow free course to the Reformation and impose no French garrison. By breaking her pledged word at this time she drove Argyle and Lord James into the ranks of the insurgents. Within a few days she departed to Falkland, the more closely to watch the proceedings of the reformers in St. Andrews. (Knox's *History*.)

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Dunblane was a Lord of the Exchequer in this year. (*T.A.* x. 320; xi. 1.) Only the signature is autograph.



CCLXXX

*Archbishop Hamilton to the Queen Regent*

Hamilton, 28th [September 1559].

TO THE QUEN GRACE.

Ples your grace, sen my cumyng in thir partis I haiff ben doand diligence as I mycht best do to haiff had my lord to your grace effect and plesour, and to les thir vane purpos laityly tane.<sup>1</sup> Quham I fynd greitly subjeckit and subdewit to the new band that he hes laityly mellit with, and tharfor can nocht as yeit bryng ony gud purpos to effect of hyme. Albeit I thynk and fyndis his mynd that he hes our sein hym selff rycht far. Nocht theles he can nocht cum bakvard for na sayngis as yeit without the avis of the leiff, and tharfor presently I can nocht gyff your grace consell to mak ony delay to provid for the vorst and to mak your selff stark in al sortis.<sup>2</sup> Thay var and is<sup>3</sup> of purpos to haiff bein on the feldis at Stirlyng about the xv of the nyxt moneth or [als] sone tharefter as thai mycht gudly,<sup>4</sup> bot thai keip all thar secret purpos clois fra me. Albeit I will get word tharoff shortly efter my beyng in Paslay and sall advertis mair perfetly. Alway thai sa presently it sall nocht be fund that thai sall cum to invaid the autorite, bot alanerly to keip tham selffis that thai may mak thar articulis to the autorite

<sup>1</sup> About 11th September, the Earl of Arran had arrived at Hamilton in safety after his escape from France with the connivance of the English government. He 'remained but one day: long enough to convince his father that he must throw in his lot with the Lords of the Congregation. After despatching a message to summon Randolph—things were going aright—he hastened to Stirling, brought the insurgent lords to Hamilton, and obtained his father's signature. Then he was off to St. Andrews, and back again early in October to mobilise 700 or 800 horse, 300 of them Hamiltons.' (*Earl of Arran and Queen Mary, S.H.R.* xviii. 266.)

<sup>2</sup> The Queen Regent was fortifying Leith. This was a strong strategical position, but what she gained in military security she lost in popularity. (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, i. 1344, 1365. Cf. Knox's *History*.)

<sup>3</sup> and is: these words are inserted in the margin.

<sup>4</sup> They could not assemble until after the harvest was gathered. (*C.S.P.* i. 549.)

for the commoun weill. As for the materis master David Borthik<sup>1</sup> com for, I will nocht dyp thairin becaus he vilbe at your grace the morne with the answer. And my lord hes writtin to his collegis and siclik. Master David sall declar your grace the tenor of the band betuix the Congregation and my lord duk and of the usurpyng of the authorite be my lord.<sup>2</sup> Master David hes hard part thair off, that he never menit it as he vill declair his sayngis, bot the deid will schortly declair the se[l]ff. Gyff my lord Erskyn and the castell<sup>3</sup> be sur to your grace service thai noder dar nor will cum to Edinburght; and that will brek all thar interpris, gyff the lord Erskyn service [*sic*] your grace trewly and the castell. Heirfor it var gud your grace maid hym to be your grace hartly and trewly, and noder to regard his freindis nor his bluid bot your grace service and honor,<sup>4</sup> and your grace to revard hym thairfor, for he may do gud service at sic tymis. I sall advertis mair surly in my nyxt letter, for presently all secret materis is clene hyd fra me in all sortis becaus I will nocht grant to ony of thair deseris that ar unresonabill or vrangis—as I never will do. And gyff thar be

<sup>1</sup> David Borthwick of Lochill, advocate. On 19th September the Lords at Hamilton had written a barely disguised ultimatum to the Regent to desist from the fortification of Leith on the ground that 'we esteme the same nocht onlie oppressioun of our pure brethern, indwellaris of the said town, bot allsua verray prejudiciall to the commun-wealth, and playne contrair to oure ancient lawis and libertieis.' Borthwick and Sir Robert Carnegie had been sent ostensibly with credit to deliver the Regent's answer, and secretly to corrupt 'the hartis of the sempill' with particular reference to the Duke. (Knox, *History*, 413-15.)

<sup>2</sup> On 24th September, Châtelherault commissioned Secretary Maitland 'to treat and conclude with the Queen of England and Council, under his instructions.' (C.S.P. i. 543.)

<sup>3</sup> Under the Queen's regency Erskine supplanted Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar as Governor of Edinburgh Castle. (*T.A.* x. 212; *Calendar of Foreign Papers*, ii. 45 (2).) John, formerly Commendator of Dryburgh, succeeded his father as sixth Lord Erskine in 1555. As Keeper of Edinburgh Castle he 'maintained a neutrality to both parties, while friendly to both. He received the Queen-Dowager into the castle in her last sickness, and she died there on 11 June 1560.' (S.P. v. 613.)

<sup>4</sup> The Protestant lords had addressed letters in a similar strain to Erskine on the same day as their threatening letter to the Regent. (Knox, *History*, 415-17; *Calendar of Foreign Papers*, i. 1344.)

ony speciall thyng your grace vald I did, advertis and I sall do my uter diligence to fulfill your grace will and mynd. Als thai haiff certen passand in all partis to drau and to caus all men of ony reputation to subscribe thar bandis with tham. And to that effect it is said commw[n]ly heir that my lord of Arran vayag in Fyff Angus and thai partis is to seik men to that effect.<sup>1</sup> And the prior to gydder and lord Ruthven and thai tak my lord off Arran about with tham for that effect. And tharfor lat your grace be als diligent on the uther syd and your servandis, and my cumyng in thir partis sall do your grace na skayth and inavantour sum gud and service in ane sort or uther. Referrand to my nyxt advertisyng. Besekand almychty God to preserff your grace in lang prosperite. Of Hamilton, this xxviiij<sup>2</sup>

Your grace humill oratour and servitour

SANCTANDROIS.

My stamp is absent and thairfor nocht sygnetit.<sup>3</sup>

### CCLXXXI

#### *Archbishop Hamilton to the Queen Regent*

Paisley, 29th September [1559].

TO THE QUEN GRACE.

Ples your grace, I wrait with maister David Borthik for the tyme of sic thyngis occurrit. And as for my lord Ergill,<sup>4</sup> he is bisse to appont with his folkis and frendis to cum furtht with hym at this tyme. And the rest of the Congregation depends on hym quhow sown or quhat

<sup>1</sup> Arran had gone from Stirling to Hamilton on the 19th, and was in St. Andrews before the 30th. (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, i. 1365, 1416. Cf. *H.P.* ii. 73; note 1, p. 424.)

<sup>2</sup> For the month of writing, cf. following letter. On 30th September, Randolph reported that Archbishop Hamilton and the Abbot of Kilwinning 'have left the Regent, but are very angry with the Duke.' (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, i. 1416.)

<sup>3</sup> The letter is holograph: the writing as well as the absence of the seal betray signs of haste or perturbation.

<sup>4</sup> Archibald Campbell succeeded his father as fifth Earl of Argyle, between 21st August and 2nd December 1558. (*S.P.* i. 339.)

tyme he may be redde, and thai to be redde at that tyme becaus thai ar befoir hym. And thai all hes varnnit thar folkis in quiet maner to be redde apon ane howr warnyng. And my lord Ergill sendis in the Illis and to James McConnall to cum forwart with hym at this tym and all thai folkis. And the vord is heir that he gyffis tham the persuasion that the France ar cumin in and sutin down in this realm to occupy it and to put furtht the inhabitantis tharoff, and siclik to occupy all uther menis rowmes pece and pece, and to put away the blud of the nobilite: and makis the exampill off Brytanny.<sup>1</sup> And all this is done to rais the myndis of the common pepill agan your grace and your servitouris, and to cloik thar auin insurrection and faltis that thai do dayly agan the autorite off our soveran and your grace. Item, thar is na man of the Congregation in thir inlandis will varne ony of thair folkis to the speciall day quhill thai fyrst be advertist be the erll Argill quhat day his folkis may keip and will keip. I beleiff the xv of the nyxt monetht salbe the fyrst trist. Thay ar heycht in thar vordis—as syndry hes schauin me that hes spokin with tham—and bostis and menasis to bryne and slay tham that will nocht ryd with thame, and now callis all that thai do the defence of the realm and furtht settin of the autorite: <sup>2</sup> to the effect that the pepill may haiff that op[in]jion of tham, that the thyngis that thai haiff interprisit be for the defence and weill of the realm. And becaus thar is rycht few personis to mak answer to thir thyngis and to caus the pepill and gentill men to knau the contrary and to oppin thair craft in this behalff, it caussis the gretter nombre to favor thaim and to assist to tham. And be the contrair gyff it var oppynit, and that the pepill kneu the verite, mony divers and

<sup>1</sup> This province had been absorbed into the French monarchy through the marriage of the heiress, Anne of Brittany, to Charles VIII. and Louis XII., successive kings of France. The Scots feared that Scotland might in like manner become an appanage of France. England had just been relieved from a similar dread, arising from the Spanish marriage of Mary Tudor.

<sup>2</sup> This aspect of the insurrection formed the basis of the negotiations of the Congregation with the English government. It enabled Elizabeth to reconcile her support of rebels with her legitimist theories.

syndry vald leiff tham. And tharfor gyff your grace with your consell thoct it gud to gar it be knauin, at the principallis partis quhar thair folkis convenis, of your grace rasonabill offeris that ye haiff caus offer tham be divers personis, and siclik of your gentill and resonabill answeris to thair unras[on]abill billis, and siclik of the securite your grace offerit to tham, and laying of plege for ony that vald cum and resson thar causis befor your grace or tham your grace vald apoint tharto: this I beleiff suld caus mony remain and depart fra tham that now cumis to tham and [remanis ?] with tham off inno-  
rance, and that will cum and serff your grace aganis tham and thai knew the verite and your grace gud part towart the realm and als thame.<sup>1</sup> Prayand your grace for your auin weill to remembir on the tway hedis that I spak to your grace at my departyng to remembir off, and nocht to forzeit thaim. I beseik your grace to apardon me of this lang ragment to cummer your grace, bot alway it is with gud will to your grace service that I do. And I will heir farder or I cum to your grace: <sup>2</sup> and the blessit Trinite preserff your grace. Of Paslay, this penult of September at nycht. Farder, quhat ples your grace haiff don, advertis.

Your grace humill oratour and servitour  
SANCTANDROIS.<sup>3</sup>

## CCLXXXII

*Earl of Arran to Lord Semple*

Hamilton, 6th October [1559].

TO MY LORD SYMPELL.<sup>4</sup>

My lord, eftir maist hartlie commendatioun, plesit it is nocht unknowin to your lordship how the Franchmen hes

<sup>1</sup> In the spirit of this advice the Regent did issue 'ane Proclamatioun, universallie to be proclameit,' but the Protestants had lost faith in her promises. On 4th November they 'refused the Queen's message for quiet . . . saying she was so false they would never trust her.' (Knox, *History*, 421-4; *C.S.P.* i. 566. Cf. *Calendar of Foreign Papers*, ii. 272.)

<sup>2</sup> He was with the Regent in Edinburgh on 10th November. (*C.S.P.* i. 566.)

<sup>3</sup> A holograph letter.

<sup>4</sup> Robert, third Lord Semple.

begun mair nor xx dayis to fortifie the toun of Leyth, tending thairthrow to expell the inhabitantis thair of and plant thame selffis, thair wyffis and bairnis thairintill suppressing the libertie of this realme<sup>1</sup> (quhilk, nixt the glore of God, is maist deir to all trew liges of the samyn). Quhairfoir I pray youre lordship werray hartlie in respect of the premisis (albeit peradventur ye be nocht ressolut in your conscience towartis the religioun) yit nevertheles for the commoun wealth and libertie of this youre native cuntray, that ye will mak your self kyne freindis and servandis bodin in feir of weir in youre best maner in reddines with xx dayis victuallis; and pas with me in cumpany to Lynlythqw the xiiii day of this instant,<sup>2</sup> quhair mony of the nobill men that ar faworaris of the liberte and lieges of this realme wilbe convenit at that tyme to tak resolutioun quhat remeid may be fundin in respect of thir forsaidis. And this I dout nocht bot ye will do,<sup>3</sup> and the rethair for my requeist and desyir as ane of thaim suld meantyne and defend the commoun wealth and liberte of this realme, lyk as I salbe glaid to do you ony steid or plesour lyis in my powar quhen ever pleis to charge me thairwith, as knawis God, quha mott preserf you in his blissit keping. At Hammyltoun, the saxt of October.

\* Yowr lordship lwffing freind

JAMES.\*

And youre answer agane in writt with the berair.

<sup>1</sup> The Queen Regent, on her side, represented that under the cloak of religion the Duke and Arran meant '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 until further aid from France.' (*C.S.P.* i. 549. Cf. preceding letters.)

<sup>2</sup> They proceeded to Edinburgh, where they appointed a Protestant council with authority 'unto the nexte Parlement,' summoned the Regent to disband her French soldiers and councillors, and suspended her Government. (*C.S.P.* i. pp. 254-5.) Knox gives the date of the suspension as 21st October. (See *History*, 441-9.) It is elsewhere stated to have been the 23rd. (*C.S.P.* i. 566.)

<sup>3</sup> Arran's hopes were disappointed: Semple did not come. His castle was accordingly besieged in December, and taken on 14th October 1560. (*C.S.P.* i. 596 (2), 916.)

\*\* Holograph.

## CCLXXXIII

*Huntly, Marischal and Lord Forbes to the Queen Regent*

Huntly, 19th October [1559].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

It pleis your grace, we ressavit your grace writingis severale fra this berar<sup>1</sup> and hes hard his cridet at lynth, and ar werray glaid of the guid mynd your grace beris to the weill and quyet of this realme. And as to the ansuer of his desiris, the guid will and mynd we beir to your grace service, our consell and opinione in the grit besines presente in hand, we have instrukit him at lynth, to quhome we dout nocht bot your grace will gif cridence. It will pleis your grace mak ws knaw your grace mynd and plesour with diligence in syk thingis as the berar will schaw your grace. And this, eftir commendatioun of our maist humyll service, prayis almychty God preserve your grace eternaly. At Huntlie, the xix day of October be

Your grace maist humyll and obedient servitouris

HWNTLY.

MERSCHEALL.

LORD FORBES.<sup>2</sup>

## CCLXXXIV

*Master of Semple to the Queen Regent*

Paisley, 26th October [1559].

TO THE QUENEIS GRACE.

Efter hartelly commendatioune of my servyce, ples your grace I haf [na tidingis ?] bot sec as I haf schauin to this berar wyt my mynd at lyntht, q[uhom] I belefe your

<sup>1</sup> The year of writing may be 1559, and according to the Archbishop's advice the bearer may have carried the Regent's 'rasonabill offeris' to the northland magnates. (Cf. No. CCLXXXI.) The writers had not definitely committed themselves to either side, and the Protestants suspected Huntly of 'doubling.' (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, ii. 167; *C.S.P.* i. 480.) Cf. No. CCLXXXV.

<sup>2</sup> The three signatures are autograph.

grace well ples to gyf crade[n]s to. And quhat servy[ce]  
 I may do to your grace to your onour, it sall be at your  
 graceis comma[nd, as] knauis God, quha haf your grace  
 in hys keping. At Pasl[ey, the] xxviiij of Octobar  
 be youris

MASTER OF SYMPYLL.<sup>1</sup>

CCLXXXV

*Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Kinloss, 26th December [1559].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, plesitt youre grace I resavit youre grace  
 vretting fra the berer heirof wyth the answer of the last  
 vretting I vrett to your grace,<sup>2</sup> quhairby I persave that  
 youre grace is nocht villing that we that ar cuntray men  
 heir conveyn our selves togidder be your grace charges  
 and autoritie to cum to your grace, bot every man to  
 provyde for his awin securitie as thai wilbe servit. Quhilk  
 apperis, safing your grace favour, thatt we salbe in danger  
 of thaim quhay ar nocht obedient to your grace at this  
 present, or ellis to byde at haim with your grace miscon-  
 tentment. And as for my awin part, quhair as your  
 grace wrettis that the erlis of Huntly hes cumin to thair  
 princes in greitar dangeris nor now occurris, treu it is  
 the sober hous that I am cumin off hes bein ay trew  
 and obedient servitouris to ther soveranis lyke as I haif  
 bein and salbe for my pairt, bot nocht that evir thay

<sup>1</sup> Robert Semple predeceased his father. The loyalty of the Semples to the Queen Regent was doubtless intensified by their hostility to the Protestant Glencairn: there was a deadly feud between their houses. Domestic considerations, moreover, may have reacted upon their politics. Grisel Semple, the writer's sister, was the mistress of Archbishop Hamilton. On 12th October, Randolph reported that 'the Lord Semple's daughter, whom he has loved so long, seeks to marry him; her father will not promise what part he will take.' (*Calendar of Foreign Papers*, ii. 76 (3).)

The letter is holograph. The seal remains.

<sup>2</sup> It was reported in England, at the beginning of December 1559, that 'Huntly and the northern lords refuse to come to the Queen who sent for them.' (*C.S.P.* i. 596 (4).)



haif bein off power of thaim selves to do sic actis as thai haif done in ther princes service, bot be the favour and assistance and autority of ther princes. And I haif bein and salbe alsweill villit to do your grace and our souveraine als gud service as my predecessouris hes done, or wair my lyiff in the perell. I will nocht cummer your grace to declair quhatt hurt and dampnage I haif incurrit be your grace service, nor the guidwill I beir to continew in the samyn at the utermaist of my power, nor quhat recompance I resavitt therby, bot remittis the samyn first wnto God and nixt wnto your grace wysdome, quhome I doutt nocht bot at sum tyme will remember the samyn. And gif I wer nocht of mynd to serve your grace trewly I wald nocht haif socht your grace help nor fortyficacioun to the samyn lyke as I haif wrettin at mair lentht to your grace servitour and my guid freind, officiell of Lauthean,<sup>1</sup> quhay will declair the rest wnto your grace. Thus eftir maist humyll commendatioun of my maist hartlye service unto your grace committis your grace in the keiping of allmychty God. At Kynlos, the xxvj day of December<sup>2</sup> be

\* Your grace mast humyll and obedyent serwytour  
HUNTLY.\*

### CCLXXXVI

#### *Huntly to the Queen Dowager*

Perth, 7th March [1559-60 ?].

TO THE QUHEYINGIS GRACE.

Madame, eftir mast humyll and hartly recommen[d]atione off serwyce, it plaiset your grace I hayff rassawyt

<sup>1</sup> The official of Lothian was not so staunch to the Regent as Huntly apparently wished to represent. According to Knox, 'some of our awin company war vehementlie suspected [in October 1559] to be the verray betrayouris of all our secreattis; for a boy of the Officialis of Lowthiane, Maister James Balfour, was tackin caryng a writting, whiche did open the maist secreat thing was devised in the Counsall.' (*History*, i. 542).

<sup>2</sup> The year is 1559. During the critical months of this winter Huntly remained in his own country, chief of the 'bye-lyeris' in the north. (Knox, ii. 55.) He held out assurances to the Lords of the Congregation, but he was obviously hedging, and could be trusted by neither party. (Knox, ii. 6, 55; *C.S.P. i. ad indices.*)

\*\* Holograph.

your wrytyn fray your grace comtroller and sall, wyll God, at the grettest off my power fulfyll the sayme, nocht dowtand bot your grace wyll remembir the sayme bettir nor affor. And hes scawyne your grace serwand forder off my mynd, to quhom it wyll plais your grace gyff creidens : and Jesw hayff your grace ewir in his keypyng. Off Part[h], this vij day of Marce<sup>1</sup> be the hand off

Your grace mast humyll servand

ERLL OFF HUNTLY.

### CCLXXXVII

*James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, to the Queen Regent*

Crichton, 15th May 1560.

FOR THE QUENIS GRACE.

Plesit your hines be remembert I vrait onto your grace of bifoir consarning my deperting touirt our soverans in Frans, quhilk your grace thoct gud.<sup>2</sup> Quhairfor I have sensyn preparit me for the samin and hes bein in redines thir four or fyf dais paist, lyk as I am yit, avatand on your grace depech alennerlie ; for I have maid the griter

<sup>1</sup> Huntly was at Perth on 7th March 1559-60. If this is the date of the present letter it provides an interesting example of the Earl's trimming policy at this crisis. Overtures had just been made to him, and Lord James hoped that 'Huntly and great part of the north' would join the Congregation. On this very 7th March he sent a messenger to Queen Elizabeth and assured Cecil of his services, although, he adds, '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.' (*C.S.P.* i. 677, 678, 681.) In April his brother, Alexander Gordon, who had joined the Congregation, excused Huntly's procrastination on the ground that the Regent had been doing her 'uter diligence to brek the hail nobilitie of his cuntre againis him.' (*Ibid.* 744 (4).) It was part of the Regent's policy to sow discord among her adversaries.

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> On 17th May, the Queen Regent wrote to D'Oysel that Bothwell had asked permission to go to France, and that she had sent a despatch by him. On 8th June, it was 'very certain that Bothwell has his "dyscaphe" to France, and is at present in the North to "serche" passage.' (*C.S.P.* i. 797, 812.) He went by way of Denmark.

haist to theffec I may return agane with the arme<sup>1</sup> and have sum charg thairintill be your grace vrytings, sic as our said soverans and your hines thinkis me maist abill for, that I may be at all tyims in the roume quhair service occuris. Sen I have nocht the commoditi thairto at this present, nor hasti apirans thair of vithout the samin, desyrand your grace maist humilie thairfor to forthir the said vrytings for the causs forsaid. And gyif thair be ony uthir thing it will pleis your grace to command I sall do my deligens to parfurm the samin. My maist humill commendatioun of service being maid onto your hines, committis your grace in the keiping of almichti Gode. At Crichtoun, the xv day of May 1560.

Your grace maist humile and obedient servitour

BOTHUILLE.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The army never came, but in April Francis II. had promised that succours would '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.' (*C.S.P.* i. 726; cf. Teulet, i. 510, 548.) The political and religious opposition to the Guises in France prevented them from sending greater support to the Queen Regent, who was carrying out their policy in Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> James Hepburn, fourth Earl, had succeeded his father in September 1556. He had proved himself one of the most active and enterprising of the supporters of the Queen Regent in the crisis of October 1559. The consequences were far-reaching. (See *The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary*, *S.H.R.* xviii. 266-7ff.). The signature is autograph, but almost illegible through the fading of the ink. The whole letter is much faded.

## Nos. CCLXXXVIII-CCCII: INTRODUCTORY

OF the following letters, some are undated, some imperfectly dated, and four do not belong to the Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, although included in the collection. The last is an isolated manuscript. The documents are miscellaneous and general in their interest.

## CCLXXXVIII

*Patrick, Master of Ruthven, to [Durham of Grange ?]*

[c. 1543-4 ?].

TO HIS BRODER, THE LARD OF GRANCE <sup>1</sup> IN ANGUS

Efter maist hartly commendationis, ples yow to wit that I resavit ane wryting fra your servand this Fryday efter noun the quhylk requeryt ansuer bot I dar nocht be so bauld to wryt becaus I have sustenit greyt skayth throw wrytingis as ye have hard of. Bot wauld ye be sa gud as to cum to me with the utheris mynd ye selbe als weyll tratyt as I may mak yow and sell knaw my mynd at lenthe in all behaulffis; and gyf I be nocht in this toun I will be in Drummen; <sup>2</sup> and ye man mak haist or ellis ye will nocht find me, for I am to pas quhayr I cam fra. I pray yow have me hartly recommendit to my gud frend unknawin as zyt to the takin I schaw the fyrst wryting he send to his gretest of the attemptettis done aganis him [*sic*]. Your broder hes him recommendyt unto yow for he is at ane gud punt. Referrand all uther thingis to our meting, Chryst preserf yow to his gloyr. Of the place ye wayt quhayr

be youris at powar

PATRICK M. RUTHWEN.<sup>3</sup>

Gyff the uther man thinkis neceser be at me on Sunday at ewin in Drummen for I dar nocht remane heyr for causis as ye sell ken at your cummyng.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently William Durham of Grange. He had taken part in obstructing the Governor and his party on their way from Dundee to Perth 'for the pacification of the kingdom' and had to underlie the law at Edinburgh on 30th January 1543-4. (*R.M.S.*, 1513-45, 30,009.) Probably Master Henry Durham who surrendered Broughty to the English, and Doctor Michael Durham, the Protestant physician of James v., were members of his family.

<sup>2</sup> The residence of Lord Drummond, who married the writer's sister, Lilius Ruthven. (*R.M.S.*, 7th December 1543.)

<sup>3</sup> He succeeded as third Lord Ruthven in December 1552. The communication is holograph, written on a strip of paper a third of the usual length of sheet. Part of the seal remains.

<sup>4</sup> The postscript is written on the back of the page.

## CCLXXXIX

*Hew, Master of Eglinton, to the Queen Dowager*

Irvine, 28th May [1545 or earlier].

Eglinton thanks the Queen for allowing her 'medecinar' to come to him, and begs that she will again 'gif him licence to cum to me for the space of twenty dayis. And gif ther be ony service or plesour in thir partis your grace will command me with it salbe done efter my power.'<sup>1</sup>

## CCXC

*Countess of Montrose to the Queen Dowager*

Kincardine, 6th April [1547 or earlier].

The writer begs the Queen to repay 'the twa hundretht crounis I lent your graice, that I may heff tham now agane in my mistir. . . . And it vill pleis your graice deliver tham to the berar.' Written at Kincardine on 6th March, 'be your grace humille servitric at hir wter powar  
'COMITACE OF MONTROS.'<sup>2</sup>

## CCXCI

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*<sup>3</sup>

[Before 1550 ?].

The writer had intended to have spoken with the Queen 'concernyng the mater I maid informatioun of unto your

<sup>1</sup> The writer succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Eglinton in September or October 1545, and died on 3rd September 1546. (*S.P.* iii. 439.)

Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> Janet Keith, daughter of William, third Earl Marischal; died between 27th August 1546 and 27th August 1547. She married William Graham, second Earl of Montrose. (*S.P.* vi. 228.)

The letter is holograph, but probably not in the hand of the Countess.

<sup>3</sup> Henry, Lord Methven, appears to have died soon after 10th October 1551. (*S.P.* vi. 167.) It is therefore likely that the letter was written before the Dowager's departure for France.

grace at my last departing of Steriviling' but a fall had prevented him from riding. He begs the Queen to remember the poverty of his estate, and to give ear to the representations of his brother, Alexander, on this subject.

[The letter is signed and addressed, but the date and place of writing are omitted].

## CCXCII

*Methven to the Queen Dowager*

Perth, 10th July [Before 1550].

The writer, who has been ill, has detained his cousin, Master William Stewart, since his departure from the Queen. He begs that his action may be excused, because his cousin has always been with him in sickness, and on this occasion his life was in great danger.

[A holograph letter.]

## CCXCIII

*Lady Home to the Queen's Grace*

Thorntoun, 5th July [after 1550].

TO THE QUEENEIS GRACE.

Madam, efter maist hertlie and hummill commandatioun of service I haif resavit ane writting fra yowr grace the thrid day of this instant moneyth of July, makeand mensioun that Johne Otterburne of the Ryd hall hes said that he hes the landis of Monynettis in herytege.<sup>1</sup> His father and he hes had thame in lang possessioun. Trowth it is my lord my husband set that steiding to his father to haif doun him sertane profiteis and plesur, quhilk wes

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<sup>1</sup> John Otterburn had a charter from his father, Adam Otterburn, of the lands of Monynettis in the lordship of Thornton, in Haddingtonshire. (*R.M.S.*, 14th May 1532). He in his turn granted a charter of these lands to his wife in life-rent, and to Thomas Otterburn, his son and heir. (*R.M.S.*, 23rd February 1559-60).

nocht yit doun as your grace sall knaw at mair lenth. Quhair he sayis that I alege that his tennandis hes rewint<sup>1</sup> the cowmoun of Thornetoun, it is na alegeance bot in werray deid that he hes tane in in sewerall<sup>2</sup> to him self in corne and gyrs neir twa myle off eird, and this said cowmoun partenis to the lard of Innerweik<sup>3</sup> and the lordschip of Feirstoun<sup>4</sup> and me. And I desyrit the tennandis thir twa zeir by past to desyst fra brekin of the ground and thai promise that thai sould proseid na forther. Nochtwithstanding thai haif menurit, quhilk is contrare ressoun and gud quentence. And quhair he sayis that I intend to mak convocatioun of our soverane ladyis legis with thair catell and hors to eit and destroy the corneis, trewlie I never intendit sic ane thing, howbeit that it mycht be doun of rason. I traist in your grace that ye will caus me haif justyce quensumever that I will complene of him or of ony wtheris, and I sall never make occacioun of ony inobedyence to your graceis awthorate, bot sall be glaid to set it furth als far as is in my possabelyte. The tennandis of Johne Otterburneis tuke in this land in the tyme of the Inglismen quhen thai war assurit, and did me mekill mair skayth he and his frendis in that tyme, as your grace sall knaw at mair lenth. \* Thai haif bayth maid me the falt and the fyrst plent.\* I never maid failt to na creature nor never sall, with the grace of God, quha mot preserve your grace in saule and body. Writtin of Thornetoun, the fyft day of July,<sup>5</sup> be

your graceis hummill obedyent servitor

MARYON LADY HOM.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *rewint*: ploughed; *rive*: to plough.

<sup>2</sup> *in sewerall*: in distinct possession. This is a reflection of the grievance against enclosures, which were the cause of so much economic unrest in England in this period.

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick. (*R.M.S.*, 4th September 1550).

<sup>4</sup> Thurston. For the superiority, see *R.M.S. ad indices*.

\*\* They have represented both that I was in fault, and that I made the first complaint.

<sup>5</sup> The letter was apparently written after the conclusion of the English wars, during which Otterburn's tenants 'war assurit.' Lady Home was alive in May 1562. (*S.P.* iv. 460.)

<sup>6</sup> Only the signature is autograph.



## CCXCIV

*Bothwell to the Queen Dowager*

Crichton, Saturday [Before 1556].

TO THE QUENIS GRACE.

Madame, plesit unto your grace I resavit your grace letteris reporting that I have writin sumpart scharpe unto your grace. Madame, I wrait all anerly the tym requirit and displesand deid followit thereafter. Your grace twychis me sumpart scharpe, remembring me upoun my honour and promes maid unto your grace. Madame, I traist surly that your grace weill kennis that I have mair regard to my honour thane to all erdly riches or landis, and sall faythfully serve your grace unto the end of my lyff as the process off tym, how evir-it cum, sall mak wele knawin unto your grace. And quhat skayth and displesour I have sustenit presently this berar will schaw unto your grace at lentht, quhomto plesit your grace gyff credens. Almythe God have your grace in evirlesting keping. Off Crechtoun this Saterdag efter nowin be

Yowr grace hwmill and subjett servitour

PATRIK ERLE BOTHULE.<sup>1</sup>

## CCXCV

*John Wallace to the Queen's Grace*

The writer begs to remind the Queen 'of my lange tary labouris and service done to your grace the yere last bipast; quharethrou I nocht alanerly tynt grate proffett, bot als hes reportit divers displesouris therthrow.' His request, therefore, is 'that I may have your graces taikyn

<sup>1</sup> Bothwell died at Dumfries in September 1556, 'Lieutenant in the honourable service of the realm.' (*S.P.* ii. 159).

Only the signature is autograph.

in remembrance of my sobir service done at that tyme and to be done in all tymes cuming.

Your graces humyl and dailie servitour

JOHNE WALLACE.'<sup>1</sup>

## CCXCVI

*Thomas Logan to the Queen's Grace*

[Undated.]

REGINA,

Madame, on to your gracous henes rycht humlie menis and schawis I your grace servitour Thomas Logane<sup>2</sup> that, quhar I haif ay maid your grace service<sup>3</sup> sen your grace com in Scotland and to na uder, and now I am seik and I can nocht meyn nor schaw my mister bot to your grace, and I want vij monethis wage of your grace. Beseking your grace for the luf of God to caus your grace comp-trollar to pay me my said vij monethis wage, quhill the tym God send me my hale to mak your grace service as I dyd of befor, and your gracious answer humlie besekis. And atour, gyf God takis me at your grace wald be helplyk to my wyf and my bernis.

## CCXCVII

*John Scrimgeour to the Queen's Grace*

Edinburgh, 25th January. [Undated.]

TO OURE SOVERANE LADY, THE QUENIS GUD GRACE.

Pleis your grace to wit that eftir the ressait of your grace writting I past with glasinwrychtis<sup>4</sup> and sklaitaris

<sup>1</sup> John Wallace, Writer and Scribe to the Signet. (See *T.A. ad indices; Senators of College of Justice.*)

The letter is holograph.

<sup>2</sup> The identity of the writer is not disclosed, and there is no indication whether his prayer was granted. Letters of legitimation were issued to the son of a certain Thomas Logan in Dalry, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. (*R.M.S.*, 4th December 1557.)

<sup>3</sup> *service*: this word has been added in the margin.

<sup>4</sup> *glasinwrychtis*: glaziers.

and vesity completely throuch your grace louging,<sup>1</sup> the quhilk is ewill brokin and hurt bayth in sklait werk and glasinwerk and siclyk in tymmer werk as schottis<sup>2</sup> windois and utheris. I have conduit<sup>3</sup> with ane honest substantialious sklaitar that sall beit the hail louging, furneis sklait lyme and utheris materialis of all costis, payand to him therfoir iij li, x<sup>d</sup> : and siclyk with the glasinwrychtis for glas leid and werkmanship of all costis and for certan glas bandis necessar thairto, payand to thame therfoir four pundis. And I have causit thir craftismen entir heirto, and ar lauborand the samin to be done at your grace heir-cuming, and hes promiseit thame to caus your grace comptrollar answer thame heirfoir at his cuming. Attoure, it sall pleis your grace to wit that lang befoir ywle I send our your grace leid cassin for beiting of the leidin rwfis and gwtaris<sup>4</sup> of your grace werk<sup>5</sup> in Falkland, the quhilk can nocht be surely wrocht quhill the grit frostis be by. I am past oure to vesity your grace werk in Falkland and will remane thair for viij dayis and put ordour to your grace werk. I wald your grace send me eist thair incontinent ane precept commandand the keparis of your grace hors and cartis to lend stanis for redding of the gravellis, and to leid your grace tymmer furtht of Lewin<sup>6</sup> to Falkland; for I sall ordour ane part thair quhair it salbe surely kept. Your grace man nocht failze this, for I beleif thai will nocht obey my charg without your grace command. Forder, my sone is remanand heir in

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Queen's house on the Castle Hill at Edinburgh. The ceilings were blazoned with the bearings of Châtelherault, Henry II., and the Queen Regent. Mary of Lorraine may therefore have chosen such a residence within the city walls, and near the Castle, during the years of her Regency. In her days of opposition, when the Castle was held for the Hamiltons, it would be no less useful to have a 'louging' in such a strong strategic position as the Castle Hill. (D. Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh*, 151.)

<sup>2</sup> *schottis*: projected windows.

<sup>3</sup> *conduit*: *conduce*, hire.

<sup>4</sup> *rwfis and gwtaris*: roofs and gutters.

<sup>5</sup> *werk*: building; a common word of the period. Cf. Mar's Work, at Stirling.

<sup>6</sup> Lewin, Leven.

my absence and will se your grace werk beiting be sufficiently done. Nocht ellis, bot almychty God conserwe your grace. At Edinburgh, the xxv day of Januar at my departing

\* be your grace obedient servitour

MASTER JOHN SCRIMGEOUR.<sup>1</sup>\*

### CCXCVIII

*Jane Ruthven, Lady Methven, to Lord Methven*

Arbroath, Saturday [c. March 1570-1 ?].

Deir hart, eftir maist hartly commendation, I marvell gretly of your lordship<sup>2</sup> unkyndnes, that sen your departing nodir send nor yit com your self to advertys me of your lordship weilfair, the quhilk gifis me evill harting considdering sick stait as I stand in at this present. Farder, your lordship sall wit that my lord regentis grace<sup>3</sup> hes send for my lord Arbroyth<sup>4</sup> to be in Leith this Thursday nixt cummis, and ther beis nane left heir in Arbroyth bot men of weir. The bruit is in this coyntray that Adame Gordoun<sup>5</sup> hes maid his vow that he will hold his Fasternnis evin<sup>6</sup> in Arbroyth. [She therefore begs her husband, for love of her and her unborn child, 'that ye lat me nocht ramayn heir,' and upbraids him for allowing his 'guid

\* \* Holograph.

<sup>1</sup> John Scrimgeour, of the Myres, in Fife, Hereditary Macer and Master of Works to James v. (*R.M.S.*, 8th January 1541-2.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably Henry Stewart, second Lord Methven, the husband of the writer. He was killed on 21st March 1571-2.

<sup>3</sup> Regent Lennox was killed on 4th September 1571 (*S.P.* v. 353). Methven and Ruthven supported Lennox against Queen Mary.

<sup>4</sup> Probably George Douglas, natural son of the sixth Earl of Angus. He claimed Arbroath in opposition to John Hamilton, second son of Châtelherault, and forcibly possessed himself of the abbey at some date before 29th March 1570. (*S.P.* iv. 371; *Hist. MSS. Commission, Hamilton Report*, 44.)

<sup>5</sup> Adam Gordon of Auchindoune, 'Edom o' Gordon,' sixth son of the fourth Earl of Huntly. As principal supporters of the Marian party, the houses of Huntly, Hamilton and Argyle were in the opposite camp from the kinsfolk of the writer.

<sup>6</sup> Shrove Tuesday, which fell on 27th March in 1571.

counsellouris,' to poison his mind against her.] And gyve your lordship purpos is to cum heir to Arbroyth, I wa[ld ?] cum or my lord raid. And gyve ye will nocht, advertys [me ?] with this beirar, for I intend to cum with my lord Arbroyth. The bruit is with thame quha is in his company that your lordship regairdis me nocht. [She complains that this should be so, 'for I howp in God thay sall na man nor woman hawe na reproche to my honour.' She would 'fane wit gyve my brodir dois sielyk to your lordship sister as ye do to me.'<sup>1</sup>] Writtin at Arbroyth, this Sattirday

be your spous only

JANE RUTHVEN.<sup>2</sup>

[*Endorsed*: The copis of the asedationis of Southoupe.<sup>3</sup>]

## CCXCIX

*Earl of Morton to the Laird of Craigmillar*

Stirling Castle, 6th August 1578.

TO MY TREST FREIND, THE LAIRD OF CRAIGMILLAR.<sup>4</sup>

Richt trest freind, efter my hertlie commendatioun, I understand ye have ressavit the kingis Maje[s]ties lettre besides his proclamatioun to be heir at his hienes for caussis as the letter and proclamatioun beris. I had writtin unto yow at that tyme bot I thoct it not seming to accompany his majesties lettre with myne. But hering now sum untrew reportes maid, geving to understand that

<sup>1</sup> William, fourth Lord Ruthven, married Dorothea Stewart, the daughter of his stepmother by her marriage to Henry, first Lord Methven. (*S.P.* iv. 261, 263.)

<sup>2</sup> Jean Ruthven, elder daughter of Patrick, third Lord Ruthven. She was the wife of Henry, second Lord Methven, the son of her stepmother.

Only the signature is autograph. The letter is worn into holes along the margins and folds.

<sup>3</sup> This letter was probably used as a cover to a legal document: hence the endorsement. The name of the lawyer, 'J. Gibson,' is added in a much blacker ink.

<sup>4</sup> Simon Preston of Craigmillar.

his Majestie is not at libertie, bot that maters ar done bye his advice, therefore I have thocht gude to write this lettre unto yow as my special frend, to desire yow tobe heir with all diligence with your folkis to await upoun the kingis majestie and to knaw his hienes awin mynd of the brutes and reportes that pass be the lordis in Edinburgh. This I hertlie desire yow to do, alsweill to ressave benevolence and thankes of the kingis self, as to eschew the inconvenient that may fall upoun your absence. And in sa doing ye sall do me verie gude pleasour. Sa I commit yow to God. At the castell of Striveling, this sext of August 1578.

Your assurit frend

MORTOUN.<sup>1</sup>

CCC

*Earl of Morton to the Laird of Pittencreiff*

Stirling Castle, 11th September 1578.

TO OURE TRAISTE FREIND, THE LARD OF PETTINCREF,<sup>2</sup> ANE OF OUR DEPUTES OF THE ADMIRALITIE.

Traist freind, we understand that Johnne Hammyltoun of Kilbowy, pyrat, hes sauld his schip and past to Flanders to serve in the weris.<sup>3</sup> Ane of Edinburgh and sum of the coist syde, as I am surelie informit, hes bocht the schip and brocht hir in to the Standand Stane. In respect she is a pyrattis schip bocht fra a pyrat, na doubt she is lauchfull prise and aucht to appertene unto ws as admirall. Quhairfore ye sall, upoun the ressett heirof, pas to the Standand Stane or uther place quhair she sal happin to be arrivit, and thair arrest hir, caus tak hir sailles fra hir rais,<sup>4</sup> and thairefter lett a court be fensit that thairin she may be decernit to pertene to ws as lauchfull prise. As

<sup>1</sup> James, fourth Earl of Morton, second son of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, and Regent of Scotland from 1572 to 8th March 1577-8.

Only the signature is autograph.

<sup>2</sup> Wemyss, of the barony of Pittencreiff, in Fife. (*Fife Returns*.)

<sup>3</sup> The revolt of the Netherlands against Philip of Spain.

<sup>4</sup> *rais*: sail-yards.

ye proceid heiranent, lett ws be adverteist that we may caus tak farther order with hir. Sa we commit yow to God. At the castell of Striveling, the xj of September 1578.

Your gude freind

MORTOUN.<sup>1</sup>

CCCI

*Earl of Morton to the Laird of Pittencreiff*

Stirling Castle, 29th September 1578.

Since the date of the Admiral's previous letter 'the Britones schip bocht fra Johnne Hammyltoun of Kilbowy, pirat' has been taken to 'Pettinweme Raid, and is tobe quietlie transportit without triall and order taken with hir.' The Admiral Depute must hasten to Pittenweem to secure the safe-keeping of the ship 'quhill we caus tak order with hir.'

[Signed with the autograph signature 'Mortoun.']

CCCII

*Copy of an Original Letter from the Cardinal and the Earl of Argyle to the Queen Dowager*

14th January 1543-4.

Madame,

Eftir maist humle commendatioun of our service to your grace : it will pleise the samyn that the lords beand met at Leith ar agreant with my lord Governour ; and was contentit to summit thame to the ordinance and decrete of my lordis of Argile, Murray, Bishop of Orknay, my lord of Sainet Johnn, the Knycht of Caldour, and Hew Campbell of Lowden . . . quha have devisit the mater, and gevin in thair deliverance, as followis, that is to say ; that all thir lordis of the Westland beand in Leith, and thair followeris sall have fre remissioun of all faltis and crymes bygane : and all thingis quhair in at thai ar hurt

<sup>1</sup> Only the signature is autograph.

or skaithit sall be dressit at the sycht of the lordis forsaid, and thai to remaine in tyme cumming faithfull and trew subjectis to the quenis grace, and obedient to my lord Governour and the autorite, and to have na mair ado with Ingland. And for the securite thair of, George Dowglace entres in ward for the Erll of Anguss and himself; the Erll of Glencarn enteris his sone and air plege for him; the Erll of Cassilis enteris his bruthir; and my lord of Levenox beis oblist to abide at the deliverance of the saidis lordis in all thingis at he has failzeit in . . . in Edinburgh, and remanys thair, quhill he fulfill the thingis at beis . . . be the saidis lordis; quhair the money and munitiounis sall nocht be forzit. . . . A part thair of quhilk is spendit sall nevir be recoverit.<sup>1</sup> Or the . . . lordis wald consent to thir thingis thai desirit ane meting at [Greenside] chaple of ws twa, and of my lord of Murray, and the Bishop of Orknay; quhair we have resonit with thame at lentht; and finally we agreit sa weil, that thai ar contentit to fulfill all thingis at was devisit be the saidis lordis. And finaly we past all togedder to Edinburgh, to my lord Governour. And swa, Madame, this mater standis presently; quhat followis heireftir, your grace sall be advisit: and we sall do, will God, the best we can, at your grace sal be contentit in all sortis. My lord Governour writtis presentlie to cause my lord Maxwell cum heir, with ane charge to my lord Erskin to deliver him:<sup>2</sup> and at his cumming heir we sall ordour all thingis the best we may . . .

[The letter here reproduced is transcribed from an isolated document preserved in the Register House. It is a late copy of the original, which has disappeared. The copyist has added the following foot-note: 'The rest of this curious letter is either torn or so spoiled that it cannot be read. The seal is entire.' It throws additional illumination upon the transactions at Greenside. Cf. Nos. XLVI, XLVII.]

<sup>1</sup> Probably the French supplies which Lennox had intercepted.

<sup>2</sup> Maxwell was in Stirling Castle on the eve of the Convention of Greenside. (*H.* xix. i. 33.) Cf. Nos. XLI, XLIII.





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