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R. C. Hussey

LETTERS

OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH

AND

KING JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND;

SOME OF THEM PRINTED FROM ORIGINALS

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE REV. EDWARD RYDER,

AND OTHERS FROM A MS.

WHICH FORMERLY BELONGED TO SIR PETER THOMPSON, KT.

EDITED BY

JOHN BRUCE, ESQ. Treas. S.A.

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INTRODUCTION.

The letters printed in the present volume have been derived from two sources. Forty-three of them have been communicated to the Camden Society by the rev. Edward Ryder, rector of Oaksey, in the county of Wilts: and the remaining fifty-two have been printed from a volume of transcripts formerly in the library of sir Peter Thompson, and now the property of the Camden Society by purchase from James Orchard Halliwell, esq.

Of the letters for which we are indebted to Mr. Ryder, thirty-two are originals written wholly by the hand of queen Elizabeth; six are originals of an official character written by a secretary but signed by queen Elizabeth; two are contemporary copies of letters of king James, and two are drafts or copies in his majesty's handwriting.

In what manner so large a collection of royal letters found their way into the possession of Mr. Ryder is partly accounted for as follows:

At the period to which these letters relate it was the custom for royal secretaries, and also for many other public functionaries, to treat as their own all papers relating to that portion of the public business which they were officially called upon to transact. A royal servant who advised the sovereign respecting a reply to a written communication generally retained afterwards, in his own possession, the communication which had been answered and the draft or copy

of the reply. And when he retired from office, he took away those papers with him. He looked upon them as his vouchers and evidences, the proofs and justifications of his public conduct. He deemed them as much his own as the title deeds of his private estate. It is in this way that so many collections of what are now more properly considered to be public documents came to be scattered over the country in the muniment rooms of noble families. In this way, also, and in consequence of the changes to which all families are subject, numbers beyond number of such papers have been totally lost. As soon as the persons who were primarily interested in these papers had passed away, the necessity for their preservation became less apparent. Damp and vermin laid siege to them; fire destroyed masses incalculable; and when changes of fortune or of residence rendered it imperative that such collections should be got rid of, they were either consigned to most ignoble uses, or divided and scattered, here and there, in foreign countries, or in the most unlikely nooks and corners of our own, and were thus again subjected to a multiplication of the same chances as before. Antiquaries soon became alive to the evils which necessarily resulted from such a state of things; and it was by the purchase of such papers from careless or needy possessors that sir Robert Cotton, the earl of Oxford, lord Shelburne, and other eminent persons of similar tastes, were enabled to get together the vast collections of state papers which exist in their manuscript libraries.

Many of the letters now communicated by Mr. Ryder bear obvious marks of having passed through the hands of official persons. Written on the backs of some of them are memoranda of what may be supposed to be the day either of date or receipt (pp. 39, 41, 49, 51). On others the indorsement states not only the day but also the

mode of the receipt, as at p. 45, "Received 8th February, 1586, by a post;" at p. 67, "1591, 3 November. Delivered by Mr. Bowes;" at p. 70, "Delivered by Roger Ashton, 28th January, 1591;" at p. 75, "K. Scotland. 1592, presented by Mr. Bowes, 3 Junij.;" and p. 80, "Delivered by the lord Borough, the 16th of March, 1593." But the indorsements which are most to our purpose occur at p. 25, "Copy of the king his letter to [the] queen of England, 20 December, 1685," and at p. 93, "Sent to me to be presented to his majestie at Thirlestane, 19th October, 1593."

These indorsements may be taken to indicate, in the case of the letters of queen Elizabeth, that, after they had been presented to king James, and, in the case of the copies of James's letters, that, after their tenor had been determined upon with his majesty, they were retained by some official person, or by some succession of official persons, according to the custom to which I have referred; and the mention of "Thirlestane" directs our attention to a family in which such papers were very likely to be found.

The house that "stands on Leader side" needs no introduction to our Scottish readers; but it may not be superfluous to remind the English members of the Camden Society, that Thirlestane is a chief seat of the Maitlands, an ancient family eminently conspicuous in the history of Scotland during the period to which these papers relate, and not less so in the history of England as well as of Scotland, during the subsequent Stewart reigns.

Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington and Thirlestane, was appointed one of the extraordinary lords of session in 1554, and one of the ordinary lords in 1561. He also held the office of keeper of the privy seal from 1562 to 1567. In the latter year he became totally blind. In spite of that infirmity he continued to execute his office

of judge—the very representative of Justice herself—for many years, but the privy seal was handed over to the keeping of John Maitland, his second son.

Of that eminent man,—the Burghley of Scotland, as he has been not unaptly termed,—it is scarcely necessary to say a word. During a period of nearly thirty years, he devoted himself to the double duties of judge and statesman. In the successive appointments of keeper of the privy seal, lord of session, secretary of state, and ultimately of lord chancellor, much of the most important business of Scotland passed through his hands. In 1590, he was created baron Maitland of Thirlestane, and at that place he died on the 3rd October, 1595.

The chancellor's only son, John second lord Maitland, was created viscount Lauderdale in 1616, and earl in 1624. One striking anecdote will be a sufficient evidence of his character. During the civil wars the charter chest of the Maitlands was buried, for safety' sake, in the earth. On the return of more peaceful times, or on the happening of some necessity for a recurrence to the chest, it was brought forth from its place of concealment. But its contents were found to have been destroyed by the very means taken for their preservation. Damp had rendered them illegible and altogether useless. It chanced, that, long before, the earl had made a calendar of all his charters and writs—documents of peculiar importance in those days. Such was the universal estimation in which the integrity of the earl was held, that the parliament of Scotland directed, without scruple, that his calendar should be accepted as evidence in place of the documents destroyed, and ordered the clerk-register to authenticate it accordingly.*

The first earl's eldest son, another John Maitland, was born on the

* Crawford's Peerage of Scot. p. 253.

24th May, 1616. His reputation presents in many respects a decided contrast to that of his father. In early life he was a covenanter. At the battle of Worcester he was taken prisoner fighting on the side of Charles II. He was released from a nine years' imprisonment in the Tower by general Monk. The Restoration placed him in the foremost rank of public men. Pepys has registered that lord Lauderdale declared that he had rather hear a cat mew than listen to the best music in the world;* and others may feel inclined to attribute to him all the consequences which Shakspere predicates of such a disposition. He figured in the Cabal ministry. He was created duke of Lauderdale. He continued for many years in the supreme direction of the affairs of Scotland, which he governed upon principles which were universally unpopular. He died, out of favour and neglected, on the 24th August, 1682.

The many and long-continued public employments of this distinguished family render it extremely likely that such letters as those now published may have found a way into their possession. The memorandum which has been quoted respecting Thirlestane points directly to the chancellor. And the supposition that these have been Maitland papers is rendered almost conclusive by this circumstance, that the only other papers of the same kind which are in the possession of Mr. Ryder are a considerable collection of original letters addressed to John duke of Lauderdale, with many copies of letters written by him in his capacity of secretary for Scotland.

On the authority of these facts, I will take it for granted that the

* "Strange to hear my lord Lauderdale say himself that he had rather hear a cat mew than the best music in the world; and the better the music the more sick it makes him; and that of all instruments he hates the lute most, and next to that the bagpipe." Pepys's Diary, iii. 246.

Ryder MSS. now published have been handed down through the Maitlands of Thirlestane. It remains that I should indicate in what manner papers which once belonged to that family have turned up, after the lapse of nearly three hundred years, in a secluded parsonage in North Wilts.

With all his political faults—which the present writer would be the last person in the world to defend—the duke of Lauderdale proved himself to be a Maitland by his love and patronage of literature. In that respect this family is singularly eminent. Sir Richard Maitland, himself a poet, is now principally known as the great preserver of the ancient poetry of Scotland. The chancellor exhibited the family taste by poetical compositions of his own, not only in Latin but also in the vernacular language of his day. The first earl, as we have seen, had antiquarian knowledge enough to make calendars of ancient charters. Another Richard Maitland, to whom we shall allude hereafter, made a translation of Virgil which furnished many lines to Dryden, and collected a library which, in the judgment of Evelyn, was of exceeding value. And even the vindictive, furious duke, the reckless, unscrupulous politician, set great store upon a choice and splendid library of printed books, and added to that taste for ornamental decoration and the fine arts, of which the evidence still exists at Ham House and Helmingham, a love for old MSS., of which he possessed a most valuable collection, probably partly inherited and partly acquired. In such a family letters of queen Elizabeth and king James seemed safe.

The duke's brother Charles, who was his successor in his earldom, was probably in needy circumstances. Evelyn writes to Pepys in August, 1689, that the duke's collection of books and MSS. still remained entire, but was for sale in the hands of a person who had

advanced money upon it. In May, 1690, the printed books were sold by auction in London in two sales. The first sale consisted of the French, Italian, and Spanish books, and began on the 14th May. The second sale comprised the English books, and began on the 27th of the same month. The books are described, both by Evelyn and in the sale catalogue, as choice and curious copies, bound with true bibliomaniacal sumptuousness. The collection of MSS. remained unsold for some time longer.

In 1691 Charles earl of Lauderdale died. He was succeeded by his son Richard, who at the revolution of 1688 had taken the side of the exiled sovereign, and had followed him into France. Richard earl of Lauderdale was the translator of Virgil, and the collector of MSS. before mentioned; a man likely to estimate, even beyond its value, such a library of MSS. as that which belonged to the duke. But when he succeeded to the earldom he was living at St. Germains in great poverty. Although an exile for the cause of James II., he was out of favour with his stubborn master, who despised and resented his conciliatory advice. The whole fortunes of the family seemed to have suffered a total eclipse; and one learns without surprise, that, at length, the duke's collection of MSS. was sold by auction in London in January, 1691-2. A copy of the sale catalogue, purchased out of the Heber library by the right honourable J. G. Craig, was contributed by him to the Bannatyne Miscellany. It does not contain any notice of the letters now published, nor of the other MSS. in the possession of Mr. Ryder. They were of too recent interest to be made the subject of a sale; but the same storm which scattered the other MSS. of this family, no doubt drove those in which we have an interest from their resting-place. It is a wonder that any of them were preserved.

Mr. Ryder, formerly of the Charter House, father of the rev.

Edward Ryder, was a man of high eminence as a solicitor in London during the latter half of the last century. He died in the year 1839 at the age of 97. The papers now published, together with the others remaining in his son's possession, belonged to Mr. Ryder of the Charter House for a very long period. He set great store by them, and often exhibited to his friends the royal letters which are among them as very important and interesting curiosities. They were in his possession as long back as any person now living can remember. But how they came into his possession, or whether those which he acquired are all that were preserved, is not known. Mr. Ryder was professionally employed by many noble and eminent Scottish families, but whether he acquired these papers through any of his Scottish clients, or by purchase, or in what other manner, is utterly unknown. The high character which he is universally known to have maintained, during a life prolonged far beyond the ordinary average of mortality, is a sufficient guarantee for his having acquired them honourably. On the death of Mr. Ryder of the Charter House, they descended to his only son, the gentleman to whom the Camden Society is now indebted for the use of them.

Respecting the Thompson MS. a comparatively few words will suffice. It is a quarto volume of transcripts written in a modern hand, and entitled "State Papers in the Time of Queen Elizabeth and King James the 1st; in the collection of Sir Peter Thompson, F.R.S." The volume contains transcripts of many other letters besides those now published, all of them connected with king James, and also eight papers respecting the execution of Mary queen of Scots. The title page must not be understood to mean that the original papers from which these transcripts were made were in the possession of sir Peter Thompson. Certainly that was not the case.

The originals of several of the letters transcribed into this MS. are in the Cotton collection; others are in the State Paper Office; others, it is believed, are at Hatfield; and others are in the possession of Mr. Ryder. The volume was no doubt made up by some transcriber employed by sir Peter Thompson from MSS., whether copies or originals, which chanced to be accessible to him. Sir Peter Thompson was a Dorsetshire antiquary in the eighteenth century. He was born at Poole in 1698 and died there in 1770. He acquired a fortune in London as a Hamburgh merchant, and, chancing to be high-sheriff of Surrey on the occurrence of the rebellion in 1745, carried up a loyal address to king George II. and was knighted. Sir Peter was a fellow of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries, and was a collector of MSS. chiefly relating to Dorsetshire. But his valuable library and MSS. have all been scattered. He bequeathed them to his kinsman and heir, a captain Peter Thompson of the Surrey militia, by whom a portion was sold shortly after sir Peter's death. The remainder was dispersed by Evans of Pall Mall on the 29th April, 1815. The MS. from which we have printed was probably the second article in lot 953 in the sale at Evans's, described in the catalogue as "State Papers collected by Cole, manuscript; and State Papers in Elizabeth and James I. MSS."

The letters which have been brought together from these two sources extend from 1582 to 1603, and touch more or less upon every important public incident which occurred in Scotland during those twenty eventful years. Considerable difficulty has been found in arranging the letters in chronological order with any thing like absolute certainty, from two causes which apply to all queen Elizabeth's private letters; one, that she seldom or never dated a letter; the other, that she often wrote in a style so involved and intricate, and that her allusions to events and persons were covered with such

a cloud of words, that it is occasionally difficult to penetrate to the exact person or event alluded to. No letter has been placed in chronological order but for reasons which perfectly satisfied the editor. Those to which he was unable to assign a date which was satisfactory to himself, he determined to throw into an appendix. Farther consideration has enabled him to fix or approximate to the dates of two or three of the letters in the appendix, but this occurred too late for the letters to be inserted in their proper order. An accidental mistake, also, which happened after the book had gone to press, has thrown two or three letters into the appendix, which ought not to have been there. In order to obviate any inconvenience which may thus arise, and render the information in the book as accessible as possible to inquirers, it is thought good to give a sort of brief index to the historical subjects to which the letters relate.

Letters i. ii. and iii. (October 1582 to April 1583) relate to the government of Scotland, under the lords who were concerned in the Raid of Ruthven. That was an endeavour, it will be remembered, to free the country from the domination of the king's favourites Lennox and Arran. Queen Elizabeth had learnt from Robert Cary, that the heart of the young king was still set upon his minions, although upon his tongue there was nothing but a determination to be guided by the advice of Elizabeth. She at once hits the nail upon the head, and shows what accurate acquaintance she had with James's character and position, by advising him to take measures which would "show himself," as she says, "not to incline to make himself a party of any faction within his own realm,—an inconvenience most dangerous either for himself or for any other prince to fall into, but to have a care as prince and sovereign among his subjects, to minister justice indifferently unto them, and to punish those that

shall be found to have forgotten themselves in duty towards himself." (p. 3.)

Nos. iv. and v. (July 1583 and May 1584) were written after Arran had regained his ascendancy in the manner mentioned in p. 7. The points worthy of note are the profuseness of James's expressions of attachment to queen Elizabeth, and the title which he applies to her, "la bonne femme avec le chapeau rouge." (p. 9.) Elizabeth had a fancy for giving nicknames or familiar titles to those about her. Burghley was her "spirit;" Hatton her "eyelids;" Whitgift her "black husband;" Francis Bacon her "young lord chancellor;" Walsingham her "moon;" and there exist copies of two letters in which she addressed lord Mountjoy, then her deputy in Ireland, as "mistress kitchen-maid."* James probably adopted a designation which she had bestowed upon herself in some message sent to him through his ambassador.

In letters vi. and vii. (January or February 1584-5) the great queen makes her personal *debût*. Hitherto her letters had been formal official documents. Now a question occurs of personal interest, and she herself steps forth upon the scene. For the first time, as it would seem, she writes a private autograph letter to the Scottish king. The master of Gray had dropped hints when in London respecting his knowledge of some conspiracy against Elizabeth. She is informed of what he had said. She sees him, but makes no allusion to the subject. No sooner has he left London than she posts off a messenger to James, who is charged to outstrip the Scottish ambassador on his journey, and arrive in Edinburgh before him. Her letter to James combines timidity, curiosity, and cunning. She intreats him to question the master secretly, as if she were not the

* Cotton MS. Titus, C. VII. fo. 123.

prompter, and to let her know the truth. The insignificant result appears in letter vii.

Nos. viii. ix. and x. (June and July 1585) relate to the plot for the overthrow of Arran, carried on with the connivance of sir Edward Wotton. The first is a somewhat boyish letter of thanks from James for a gift of horses, and for the mission to him of such a pleasant companion as Wotton. In letter x. Elizabeth indicates her estimate of James's character by cautioning him, in her shrewd powerful way, against playing a double game with her. She reminds him of the proverb respecting two strings to a bow, and warns him that "princes' causes cannot be veiled so covertly that no intelligence may bewray them;" "we old foxes," she says, "can find shifts to save ourselves by others' malice, and come by knowledge of greatest secret, specially if it touch our freehold." (p. 17.)

Nos. xi. xii. and xiii. (August 1585) relate to the death of lord Russell in a border fray. This nobleman was the sir Francis Russell who is mentioned in the ballad of The Raid of the Reidswire. See sir Walter Scott's Border Minstrelsy. (Poetical Works, ii. 15.)

Nos. xiv. to xxi. and also lxxxiv. (August 1585 to July 1586) relate to the league concluded between England and Scotland, and to a separate "instrument," by which Elizabeth was to bind herself to make James a certain annual allowance. The treaty for the league was interrupted by the overthrow of Arran's power, effected by the sudden return of the protestant lords who had taken refuge in England. Elizabeth's vindication of herself (No. xv.) against the possible charge of having given them any encouragement will be read with interest. "Judge of me," she says, "as of a king that carries no abject nature, and think this of me, that rather than your danger, I will venture mine." (p. 23.) The discussion as to the "instrument" calls forth Elizabeth's scornful pleasantry: "Touch-

ing an "instrument," she says, "as your secretary terms it, that you desire to have me sign, I assure you though I can play of some, and have been brought up to know music, yet this discord would be so gross as were not fit for so well-tuned music." (p. 30.)

No. xxii. (April 1586) is an official letter relating to the return to Scotland of Archibald Douglas, one of Darnley's murderers.

Nos. xxiii. and xxiv. (October 1586) relate to Babington's conspiracy, and Nos. xxv. to xxix. (Jan. 1587 to July 1588) to queen Mary's execution. Elizabeth rose to her full height in every time of difficulty or danger, and these letters, written in the very torrent and tempest of excitement, contain fervent impetuous passages, which could have fallen from few pens but hers. Before Mary's death we find her arguing strongly for its necessity. "By saving of her life, they would have mine. Do I not, trow ye, make myself a goodly prey for every wretch to devour? Transfigure yourself into my state, and suppose what you ought to do, and thereafter weigh my life, and reject the care of murder, and shun all baits that may untie our amities, and let all men know that princes know best their own laws, and misjudge not that you know not." (p. 42.) "They will make," she writes in another letter, "that her life may be saved, and mine safe, which would God were true! for when you make view my long danger indured these four—well nigh five—months . . . . you will grant with me, that if need were not more than my malice, she should not have her merit." (p. 44.) After the execution, she exclaims with the earnestness of a dreadful self-deception, "God, the searcher of all hearts, ever so have misericorde of my soul, as my innocency in that matter deserveth, and no otherwise; which invocation were too dangerous for a guilty conscience." (p. 48.)

Nos. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. and lxxxv. (August to October 1588) relate

to the Armada. No. xxxi. is, perhaps, the noblest letter of the whole. It has been printed before, from a copy in the Cotton Library, but very imperfectly. Mr. Ryder has the original, and we have not scrupled therefore to print it again (as we trust) with more accuracy.

No. xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxv. and lxxxix. relate to James's marriage and journey to Denmark for his bride, on which occasion, it may be worth noting, he was accompanied by chancellor Maitland. These letters abound in stirring and emphatic passages. At p. 59, writing in reference to a proposal for a peace with Spain, queen Elizabeth thus makes mention of her quarrel with Philip II. "My wrongs be such as nature of a king ought rather, for their particular, die than not revenge, yet the top of my courage shall never overstretch my heart from care of christian blood, and for that alone—no fear of him—I protest before God from whom [proceed] both just quarrel [and] faithful subjects, and [who] valiant acts, I doubt not, will defend, yet, am I thus content that you shall follow the well-devised method; and, if he will give plain grant without a guileful meaning, I will make known that in me the lack of so good a work shall never be found."

With No. xxxvi. commences a series of letters relating to James's conduct towards the earl of Huntly and the other Roman Catholic lords who for many years were perpetually plotting to betray their country into the hands of Spain. The English ministers, more clear-sighted and more patriotic than James, watched these noble conspirators with the eyes of hawks, and by intercepting letters and messengers, from time to time, unravelled enough of their dealings to have convinced any one but James. For a long time he believed that the notion of any such design was merely an English device to sow discord between himself and his friends. And when, at length, the truth became too apparent to admit of denial, his childish fondness

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for some of the very persons who were striving to ruin him involved his country in troubles and bloodshed, and called down upon him many an indignant remonstrance from his neighbour queen, who, "Cassandra-like, was never credited till the mishap had chanced." (p. 70.) Letters xxxvi. xli. xlii. xlv. l. li. liii. lvii. lviii. lxxxvii. lxxxviii. xci. and xcv. (1589 to 1595), relate to this subject. Compelled, over and over again, to take the field against his "Spaniolised rebels," James did so ultimately with effect, to the great joy of the Scottish Protestants and of Elizabeth. Among these letters are some of the best both of Elizabeth and James. Nos. l. and liii., James's defences of his own feeble policy, are certainly clever plausible letters. But for Elizabeth's replies, especially the one which we have taken the liberty to print in a note at p. 98, from Tytler's History of Scotland, they might have passed muster. Her majesty unravels king James's fallacies, and sets before him his true policy, in a very powerful way.

Nos. xliv. xlix. liv. lv. and lvi. (1592 to 1594) relate partly to the subject last mentioned, but principally to Bothwell's mad freaks. The last three of them are enlivened by a little dispute between James and his awful correspondent, originating in his misappropriation of a passage in her letter printed in the note at p. 98, and his use of a quotation from Virgil which she construed into a threat. "That you may know," she tells him in her usual impressive way, "I am that prince that never can endure a menace at my enemy's hand—much less of one so dearly treated—I will give you this bond; that affection and kind treatment shall ever prevail, but fear or doubt shall never procure aught from me." (p. 104.)

Nos. lx. lxi. and lxii. (1596), transfer us from the region of history to that of romance. The story of Kinmont Willie (Scott's Border Minstrelsy, Poetical Works, ii. 32) stands before us in a

reality scarcely less interesting than the rude lines of the picturesque and exciting ballad. "Shall any castle or habitacle of mine," exclaims Elizabeth, "be assailed by a night-larcyn, and shall not my confederate send the offender to his due punisher? Shall a friend stick at that demand that he ought rather to prevent? The law of kingly love would have said 'nay.'" (p. 115.) "Commissioners I will never grant for an act that he cannot deny that made: for what so the cause be made no cause should have done that." (p. 116.) She professes that she will not believe that James will "weigh so the balances awry as that a mean man's taking—whether right or wrong —should weigh down the poise that our treacherous castle's-break should have no redress." (ibid.) James ultimately found out that he had mistaken her majesty's meaning, and consented to her demand.

Nos. lxiv. and lxv. (1598) relate to an appeal made by James to his parliament for money to enable him to send ambassadors to foreign countries in order to secure their friendship, and, if necessary, their support in his claim to the succession to the English throne. The subject was a peculiarly distasteful one to Elizabeth, and his speech was perhaps a little misreported. It called forth an angry letter, to which James made a successful because a temperate reply. Both will be found characteristic and interesting.

Nos. lxvi. to lxix. and part of lxxii. (1598 to 1600) relate to an accusation made against James by a miscreant named Valentine Thomas. He accused the Scottish king of being party to a design against the life of Elizabeth. James thought it of great moment to have from Elizabeth a formal public disclaimer of her giving any credit to the accusation. She charged James, "in God's name, to believe that she was not of so viperous a nature [as] to suppose, or have thereof a thought against him," but did not altogether satisfy him in reference to the formal instrument which he desired.

During the last year or two of Elizabeth's life, the chief intercourse between the courts of England and Scotland had reference to the succession. James sent messengers to England upon mere simulated pretexts, their real object being, to make their master secure with the English nobility. The jealous queen was too conscious of her own infirmities, and too quick-sighted, not to pierce through the alleged pretences, and every now and then the decaying embers of her glorious life blazed forth after their old fiery manner. At one time, James was called upon to defend himself against a charge of having prepared her funeral before the time (p. 132), and at another, he was shrewdly warned that a bird of the air would carry news of feigned practices to an honest king (p. 135). In February 1601-2, when James apprises her of a rumour that a fresh armada was fitting out in the ports of Spain, and offers her with eager zeal the services of his subjects, she writes in ill health more calmly and quietly than was usual to her, although the mere allusion to a meditated invasion calls up the spirit of 1588. "I nothing fear," she says, "though they came, as nothing doubting but their speed should be as shameful to them as the precedent hath been." (p. 143.) Another subject of correspondence at this time, was a scheme set on foot by James, for a league of England, France, and Scotland, against Spain, which was mixed up, oddly enough, with a proposal for friendship between James and the Pope, on condition that prince Henry were sent to Rome for education. Neither project was, probably, seriously intended, but both furnished pretences for constant communication with England, which was all that James desired. Letters lxxvii. to lxxxii. (1602) relate to these subjects, and they are appropriately followed, and the correspondence closed, by lxxxiii. which is, perhaps,

the last letter of importance that queen Elizabeth wrote. It has been printed by Mr. Tytler from a copy in the State Paper Office, but as it occurs in our Thompson MS. and is strictly connected with the subject of the previous letters, we have not thought it worth while to omit it merely on that account. It is full of the wonted fire. It would be difficult, indeed, to find more vigorous English.

Besides these larger subjects, there are letters which have reference to other not less important matters. No. xxxvii. relates to the puritan reformers of the church of England, and their treatment by Elizabeth; No. xxxviii. to the delivery of O'Rourke, an Irish rebel; Nos. xxxix. xliii. and lii. relate to the embassies of Bowes; xlvi. to that of lord Borough; xl. to border matters; xlvii. to James's answer to an application from Neville, earl of Westmoreland, "the first traitor," says Elizabeth, "that ever my reign had;" lxiii. is a friendly mediation between James and the Scottish kirk; and lxxxvi. a similar mediation on behalf of the Low Countries; lxxiii. and lxxiv. refer to Lodowick duke of Lennox and his visit paid to England in 1601; lxxv. and lxxvi. relate to offers of assistance in Ireland made by James in 1601; lxx. is James's reply to Elizabeth's congratulations on his escape from the Gowrie conspiracy; and xcii. is one of those foolish, amorous letters which Elizabeth was weak enough to permit her correspondents occasionally to address to her. Its composition was evidently a heavy tax upon James's pedantry.

Some notion may be formed of the historical value of these letters from our brief indication of the subjects to which they relate. But they contain a great deal that is valuable, which can be learnt only from themselves. Not more than eight or ten out of the ninety-five are what is properly called State Papers. The rest are private letters, genuine out-pourings from the minds of the writers, and

impressed with the stamp of the most unmistakeable individuality. Elizabeth is portrayed by herself in what she termed her own audacious words. It is easy to discover glaring faults in the rough energy of her style. Her precise thought is too frequently rather obscurely indicated, than exactly expressed, and her sentences are often left imperfect. When excited, a mass of meaning is condensed into a few words, and even then the writer seems in a hurry to get through, as if anxious that mind and pen might be free to rush onwards to some new portion of her subject. Her letters contain none of the pretty flowing elegances of sentiment and expression which now-a-days fall so gracefully from ladies' pens, but they are terse, emphatic, animated; they teem with a native vigour; they abound in homely, natural illustration; and are forcible, consistent utterances of an independent individual will.

James's letters are not less characteristic. Now obsequious and coaxing, now pedantic, now plausible, now pert; in one or two instances, aiming at something like courtly gallantry and refinement; but never rising either to dignity of feeling, or nobility of expression. On the one side, we have letters such as no one but Elizabeth ever wrote, and which every one who is acquainted with the subject will know to be Elizabeth's at a glance. On the other, we have compositions, which, save for a few peculiarities of expression, might have been judged to have proceeded each of them from a different person. I would except No. xxvii. which is James's acceptance of Elizabeth's apology for putting his mother to death; that I would fain hope nobody could have written but king James. Throughout these letters Elizabeth is, according to her own motto, *semper eadem;* unyielding even to obstinacy. What is James's state of mind or condition at any particular time, can never be foretold. In his reign the variableness

of Scottish affairs became proverbial. Elizabeth is perpetually alluding to it. "One while," she writes in 1593, "I receive a writ of oblivion and forgiveness, then a revocation with new additions of later consideration; sometimes, some you call traitors with proclaim, and, anon, there must be no proof allowed though never so apparent." Numbers of her letters contain similar expressions of astonishment at the rapidity with which change succeeded change in the kingdom unhappily subjected to her correspondent's sway.

And this distinction between the general character of their letters leads us to notice a point of considerable historical importance on which these letters directly bear, and with the mention of which we will bring our remarks to a close. The policy of Elizabeth and her ministers towards Scotland is ordinarily represented in a way which is almost incredible. We are desired to believe that the course of conduct adopted by those shrewd, far-seeing persons, towards their neighbour nation, was uncertain as the wind; that, heedless of consequences, and careless of principles, they upheld first one faction and then another, and were constant in nothing, save in a desire to profit by the strifes and embarrassments of the Scottish people. Elizabeth has been set forth in this respect as the very demon of discord, ever occupied maliciously in blowing coals of strife, which seldom needed encouragement in poor misguided Scotland. This view has been adopted by writers of both countries. By Scottish writers, partly, perhaps, because it tended to magnify the importance of their country. By English writers, because Scottish affairs have seldom been sought to be accurately understood. Upon this point we desire to see an entire revision of the historical evidence. All the evidence that we have examined, and certainly all that is contained in this book, points to two principles which consistently

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regulated the English policy towards Scotland during the time of Elizabeth. The one was, a determination that no continental power should interfere by force of arms in Scottish affairs; the other, a similar determination to uphold protestantism and the protestant party, in opposition to that party which befriended Mary, and to that religion which Elizabeth (smarting under the dangers to which she was exposed by the papal excommunication) termed "Christian treason" (p. 91). The variableness and uncertainty which have been attributed to Elizabeth's policy are to be found only in that of James. Political inconsistency was contrary to her character and to the genius of her reign. From the hour of her accession, she was the head of protestant Europe. Wherever protestantism needed succour, England under Elizabeth was ready to give aid. That aid was given in France and in the Low Countries. So was it in Scotland. James's fickleness might occasionally render it necessary to change the particular direction in which the assistance was bestowed; but, so far as regards the evidence in the book now sent forth, it is clear, and we believe it will be found equally clear in whatever other quarter the subject is investigated, that so long as Elizabeth was on the throne, the principles we have stated guided the English policy towards Scotland, and were ever consistently maintained.

One point in reference to Elizabeth's orthography ought to be borne in mind whilst perusing such of the following letters as are printed from her originals. Her majesty made no difference in spelling between "the," the article, and "they," the pronoun. As she wrote, both those words were "the." This peculiarity is not quite invariable, but it occurs so frequently that it may be termed her general rule. For example, "I doubt so much, that I wot not whether I dream, slumber, or hear amiss, when news was brought me *the* [they] were in your bosom whom I have heard from yourself your

heart abhorred. I thought [it] so strange, that I did suppose *the* lengths of miles betwixt us might make way to untrue leasings enough, and scarce could afford my belief *the* grant to trust it" (p. 85). Her majesty's orthography is often very strange, but we are not aware of any other peculiarity that will render her letters difficult to be read. We have endeavoured, in accordance with the rule of the Camden Society, to present her exact spelling, which in a first publication is, in our judgment, the best course. It promotes accuracy, by fixing the editor's attention upon his MS.; it renders the publication almost in the nature of a *fac-simile*, and therefore, a better substitute for the original in case it should happen to be lost; and it preserves personal peculiarities, which although minute are not altogether without interest. When Elizabeth writes "swarve," "desarve," "aduansing," "skars" (for scarse), "wacking" (for waking), and "vacabond;" or James "aither," "yow," "airt," and "uillaine;" or Charles I. "Agust," pronounced "āgust;" we can scarcely doubt that we are informed of the very way in which those words ordinarily fell from the royal lips.

The Camden Society is especially indebted to two gentlemen in connection with this publication: i. To sir Archer Denman Croft, baronet, a member of the Society, who, being on a visit to his relative Mr. Ryder at Oaksey rectory, made himself acquainted with the letters in Mr. Ryder's possession, and first suggested the idea of their publication; and ii. to Mr. Ryder himself, who has facilitated the publication in the kindest possible manner, by permitting the editor to have the freest access to the original MSS. It is to be hoped that at some future time he will allow the Society to make known to the world the contents of his collection of Lauderdale letters.

J. B.

LETTERS

OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH

AND

KING JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND.

LETTERS

OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND KING JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND.

No. I.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND.

18TH OCTOBER, 1582. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 1. ORIG.

Letter of advice to the Scottish king, written upon the return of sir George Cary, the special ambassador sent by Elizabeth into Scotland on the occurrence of the Raid of Ruthven.

"The late accident" or "alteration" happened in Scotland, which is alluded to in the following letter, was the celebrated Raid of Ruthven. Scotland was at that time divided into two great parties. One of them believed that the welfare of the country was to be promoted by close alliance with France, the partial restoration of queen Mary, and the reascendency of Roman catholicism. The other party was equally strenuous for friendship with England, the maintenance of the youthful monarch on the throne in opposition to his mother, and the depression, or if possible the extirpation, of the ancient faith. Each of these parties governed the country alternately through the medium of a succession of royal favourites. The king's present favourite was Esmé Stewart, duke of Lennox, who threw all his influence into the scale of Roman catholicism, and plotted to perpetuate his authority by the destruction of the earls of Gowrie, Mar, and other leaders of the protestants. Scorning to be tamely sacrificed, the protestant noblemen determined to save themselves, and to bring about the ruin of Lennox, and an alteration in the government, by obtaining possession of the person of the sovereign. An opportunity for effecting their purpose was afforded by James's acceptance of an invitation to visit Ruthven castle, the seat of the earl of Gowrie. When the visit had been paid, and James desired to quit the castle, his egress was refused. The master of Glammis interposed his burly person before the royal youth, and coarsely commented upon the tears which burst forth upon being treated with such indignity, in the well-known words, "Better bairns greet than bearded men." Of course Elizabeth favoured the party of the Ruthven conspirators,

as that which was most friendly to England. She sent sir George Cary and Robert Bowes into Scotland to communicate with them upon their success, and to endeavour to wean James from his fondness for the now banished Lennox. Cary had an audience with the Scottish sovereign on the 12th of September, 1582. But, so far as James was concerned, he was unable to execute his commission with much effect. With more firmness than might have been anticipated, either from his general character or his age, the boy-sovereign warmly repelled Cary's accusations against his favourite, and indignantly declared his disbelief of the charges preferred against him. Bowes remained at Edinburgh as Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, but Cary returned to London very shortly after his interview with James. The following letter was addressed by Elizabeth to James upon receiving Cary's report of his mission. The conclusion and signature are in Elizabeth's autograph.

The return to Scotland of the earl of Angus, which is alluded to in the last paragraph of this letter, was a result of the interference of Cary and the success of the Ruthven conspirators. He had lived in England in banishment since the death of his uncle the regent Morton in June, 1581. In illustration of the circumstances alluded to in this letter, reference may be made to Bowes's Correspondence, p. 179 ; Tytler's Scotland, viii. 128 ; Robertson's Scotland, book vi.

Right highe right excellent and mightie prince, and deerest brother and cosin, We have nowe, uppon the returne to our presence of our servaunt sir George Cary, understood particularlie by his reporte in howe good parte youe acceptid our late sending him and our servaunt Bowes unto youe, to use their best meanes and indevour in our name to staie that no dainger or preiudice might grow by the late alteraçon happenid in your realme, ether to your owne person or to your state, interpreting the same to procede (as indeede youe have iust cause so to thinck yt) of our synceare well meaning towards youe, which doth geue us iust cause to thinck our good will and care had of your safety well bestowed; and althoughe we haue already geuen expresse commandement unto our seruaunt Bowes, to signifie unto youe howe greatlie this your kind and frendlie requitall of our well wishing unto youe did lyke us, yet could we not rest satisfied unles we did also take knowledge therof, and yeld youe speciall thancks for the same by theis our letres.

And for that our said servaunt hath also declared unto us, that in toeken of the great confidence you repose in our professed frendship and good will towards youe, youe meane hereafter to depend much

uppon our good advice and counsell for the setling of your affaires and the ordering of such causes of importaunce as do neerest concerne youe, we cannot but most frendlie and willinglie accept to yeld unto you, in that sorte also, the best helpe and furtheraunce we can, to the satisfyeing of your expectaçon: wherein, for that the late accident happenid in your realme doth nowe minester unto us fitt occasion to delyuer unto youe our best advice and counsell, what we thinck meete to be don by youe for the present staie of such further inconveniences as maie hereafter ensue therof, we would not omitt to let youe understand, that we thinck yt wil be a very good and suer coorse for youe in this case, to haue the matter brought to his due triall and examinaçon in your intendid convençon, to th'end that that partye that shal be found faultye, maye ether receaue his deseruid punishment, or tast of your clemencye, as by youe shalbe thought meete, and that the other maie, for their better satisfaction, be cleerid from any blame that otherwies shall perhappes hereafter be undeseruedlie cast upon them, by thos that are unacquaintid with the state of the cause; which manner of proceeding, besides that yt will faule out greatlie to the generall satisfaction of the world, in a matter subiect to so many dyverse iudgementes and construccions, youe shall also therebie shewe yourselfe not to inclyne to make yourself a partye of any faction within your owne realme (an inconvenience most daungerous ether for yourself or for any other prince to faule into), but to have a care, as prince and soueraigne among your subiects, to minister iustice indifferentlye unto them, and to punishe thos that shal be found to have forgotten themselues in duty towardes you. In so doing, youe shall cleere and remove all daingers and inconveniences that maie hereafter followe by a kind of smothering of such daingerous sparks that of late have appeared within your realme, and maye in tyme breake out into a more daingerous flame, yf yt be not advisedlie preventid: wherein wee geue youe no other advice then we ourselves would put in execuçon, yf the state of our realme stood in lyke termes, of whos well doing we pray you to assure yourselfe we are no lesse carefull then of our owne.

We maye not here forget to yeld youe also our speciall thanckes for your most frendlie yelding to gratefye us in our request for our cousin th'earle of Angus, in whom yf we had not found such zeale and constant dutyfull affection towards youe as gave us iust cause to thinck the poore gentleman worthy to be restored agayne to your good opinion and favor, we would neuer have taken uppon us to haue recommendid him unto youe, but would rather, insteede of well weshing unto him, haue bent our selues to the uttermost against him.

And so, right high right excellent and mighty prince, we leave you to the protection of Almighty God. Geuen under our signet, at our castell of Wyndsor, the xviijth of October, in the xxiiijth yere of our reigne.

Your verey lovinge sistar and cousin,

[*Addressed,*] ELIZABETH R.

To the right highe right excellent and mightie prince, our deerest brother and cosin, the king of Scottes.

No. II.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

29TH MARCH, 1583. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 1.

William Davison is about to return to England—James professes sincere good will towards Elizabeth—is about to send colonel Stewart on an embassy to the English court.

The party of France was stunned by the daring suddenness with which the Raid of Ruthven was accomplished. The failure of a too-early attempt at a counter-movement completed their overthrow, and for several months the revolution was acquiesced in throughout Scotland. The kirk was triumphant, and James was compelled to act—and acted to admiration—the part of cordial concurrence in all the measures of the English and protestant party. About Christmas 1582 La Mothe Fénélon, so long the French ambassador in England, was sent by his sovereign into Scotland to lay the foundation of a new attempt for James's recovery of freedom. His instructions directed him, 1. To make inquiry into James's actual situation; and, 2. To endeavour to

bring about an arrangement for a junction of Mary and James in the government of the kingdom. Elizabeth could not with decency, as Robertson remarks, refuse La Mothe Fénélon liberty to execute his commission, but she sent Davison with him to watch and thwart his movements. The two ambassadors arrived together in Edinburgh in January 1582-3, and at the end of the same month, Fénélon was joined by De Menainville, a man of a bolder spirit. The watchfulness of Davison and the influence of the church prevented the French ambassadors from being able to effect any immediate change, and, after a residence of nearly three months in Edinburgh, Davison was recalled. The following letter was sent by James to Elizabeth on Davison's return.

Madam and dearest sister, The bearer heirof, your servand,* recommendit to us by youre letres brocht be him, hes scene the progres of materis heir sen his cumming, sa specially as we will forbear to repete thame, in all quhilkis we affirme he hes behaved himself very discreitlye, and to our gude lyking. For our self, in summe, we praye youe, dearest sister, to thinke and esteeme of us as of him that ye have assuretly power of in all thingis tending to youre honour, suirtie, and contentment aś of ony levand; and sa, leuing the further declaration of our mynde to the present bearar, and to oure nixt messenger, coronel Stewart, a man earnestly affected to the intertinement of our amytie, we commit you to God. At Halyrud house, the xxix. of March, 1583.

Your maist loving and affectionat brother and cousing,
JAMES R.

No. III.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

23RD APRIL, 1583. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 2.

The king has sent two ambassadors into England, but colonel Stewart, the bearer of this letter, is especially charged to communicate with Elizabeth in private on the king's behalf.

Colonel Stewart, the "next messenger," promised to be sent to England at the end of the

* Davison left Edinburgh, on his return to England, on the day following the date of this letter. Bowes Correspondence, p. 397.

last letter, was William Stewart, a son of "the good" lord Ochiltree, and brother to James Stewart the newly created earl of Arran. He was also brother-in-law to John Knox, whose second wife, Margaret Stewart, was colonel Stewart's sister. He was colonel of the king's body-guard, and was probably the only person with whom at this time the king communicated confidentially. His embassy to England, to which the following letter relates, was now the turning point of James's conduct and policy. In the circumstances of his kingdom he could not stand alone. Help from one or other of the powers who alternately swayed the fortunes of unhappy Scotland was absolutely necessary for him. Notwithstanding he had managed to drop into Fénélon's ear a secret assurance that, "although he had two eyes, two ears, and two hands, he had but one heart, and that was French" (Tytler, viii. 154); and, notwithstanding also his anxiety to take advantage of the scheme for his liberation, which, in spite of Davison, De Menainville had concocted, James felt the infinite danger to his throne and hopes if French assistance were to be followed by even a partial restoration of his mother or of his mother's faith. He determined, before he gave further encouragement to France, to endeavour to come to a thorough understanding with Elizabeth. With that view he despatched to Elizabeth colonel Stewart as his own ambassador, the Ruthven party joining with Stewart Mr. John Colville, who was an active partisan on their behalf. They are the "two gentlemen" mentioned in the following letter.

A madame ma sœur, la royne d'Angleterre.

Madam ma sœur, Ayant despeché par deuerse uous ces deux gentilz hommes, mes seruiteurs, pour traicter et negotier aueques vous une parfaicte et asseurée union et amitié entre nous et nos royaulmes, ie uous ay uoulu quant et quant adreser ce porteur en particulier, pour uous communiquer plus priuément mes bonnes et sinceres intentions en uostre endroit, uous priant de luy adiouster ferme foy comme feries a moy mesme, et d'y à porter de uostre part si bonne correspondence qui me puise rendre mutueellement asseuré de uotre amiable et sincere disposition enuers mon bien et contentement, sur quoy me reposant, prieray Dieu, madame ma treschere sœur, de uous maintenir en sa sainte et digne garde. De mon palais d' Halyrud hous, ce 23 d'Apuril, 1583.

Uostre tres affectionnée frere et cousin,

Jacques R.

No. IV.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

9TH JULY, 1583. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 5.

James thanks Elizabeth in terms of very ardent regard for her affectionate letters—he reciprocates her affection, and wishes there were a window in his breast that she might read his thoughts—thanks her for offered advice in his very important affairs, and wishes he may be able to follow it—he sent her a ring with the same intention with which she accepted it—she has promised that she will believe nothing of him who sent the ring until she knows the truth from himself—he assures her that he will do the same towards the good woman with the red bonnet.

Colonel Stewart's embassy to England was not fruitless. He and his companion returned home with proposals for a league between the two countries, to be accompanied by what James particularly stood in need of, a yearly pension of 10,000 crowns, to be paid to him by the English queen. They were also the bearers of a letter from Elizabeth to James, full of flaming affection and excellent advice. But the Scottish court was in no humour, on Stewart's return, to enter upon the consideration of the proposed league. The French intrigue for James's recovery of his liberty had so far ripened that nothing was wanting for its completion but Stewart's presence and assistance. He reached Leith from England on the 7th June, 1583, just after the arrival of tidings that Lennox had died suddenly in France; an event which left Arran (Stewart's brother) without a rival in the favour of the king, and conspired with many other circumstances to hurry on the execution of the plot. On the 26th June the king rode from Falkland to St. Andrew's, on a visit to his grand-uncle the earl of March. On the day following his majesty was suddenly inspired with a curiosity to view the castle, and took his way thither accompanied by some of his usual attendants. The king was no sooner within the castle walls than colonel Stewart shut the gates, and allowed no one to enter except those who were privy to the plot. The lords of the French party hastened to the assistance of the king; Gowrie's principal supporters found it prudent to take to flight; and the whole character of the government was at once altered without a blow being struck on either side. Bowes, the English ambassador, was as much taken by surprise as any one: he hurried to St. Andrew's, and found the king surrounded by the friends of his mother, and entirely governed by colonel Stewart. After a few days, the necessity for doing something to pacify Elizabeth was pressed upon the attention of the king's new advisers. The council replied with all courtesy to the English proposal for a national league, and James answered her majesty's affectionate letter, in terms equally affectionate, and no doubt equally sincere. The following is his letter. In a passage near the end there is a curious allusion to the queen by the title of *la bonne femme avec le chapeau rouge*.

Madame ma sœur, Jay receu uostre letre, par la quelle i' apercoy

que, parmy uoztre doites* et sages propos, une si ardente beneuolence, et non feinte affection, se manifeste, tellement que ie suis tout inhabile d' y faire responce par escript, beaucoupe moins le raquitter par mez faicts en effect; mais le plaisir que i'y prens me contraint, puis que ie n'y puiz plus faire, de m'efforcer de uous de le repeter encore, que ie ne le puis faire si parfaictement comme uous l'aues mez par escript, uous supleant, madame, de uous monster aussi effectuellment moen droit comme uous l'aues franchement promiz par escript; mais estant assuré qu'il n' y a person qui peult si amiablement metre para escript sans un ardent et interne affection qui y correspondast, beacoup moins un d'une si noble nature comme ie uous cognois d'estre, ie ne m'en ueux plus doubter; mais, pour suiuray mon propos, ores la ou uous souhaitters au commencement de vostre letre, que vostre pensée peust estre aussi aisiment ueue que uostre uisage, et quators† (sans plus enuoier des embassadeurs) nous ne faudries point deuenir uous mesmes la ou ie uoiroye une ardante afection sans macule, accompagnée demaint‡ autres signes de beneuolence et sincere amitié, tellement que ie suis du tout inhabile de uous raquitter tant; seulement ie souphaitteray, comme fit un philosophe, qu'il yeust une fenestre en ma poietrine, par ou vous puissies aussi uoir ma pensée; car la uous trouerries une acceptation entres bone part de uoz si gratieux et amiables ofres. Et quant a ce que uous ofrez de me donner uostre meilleur conseil en mes plus importantes afaires, en uous souhaittant d'estre plus sage, pour cest effect, madame, uous naues point besoing de tellement souphaitter, mais iay bien besoign de me souphaitter abill d'effectter le conseil que [uous] me doneris, uous asseurant que ie suiurray plus volontiers le uostre que d'autruy qui soit au monde, non seulement pour vostre sagesse, qui uous rend apt a ce faire, mais aussi pour la fiddile affection qui l'accompagnera. Et quant a ce que [vous] me mandez en si bone part, que uous recеues la bague que ie uous enuoyi, et subs quelles conditions, madame, la condition subs laquelle

* So in the MS. perhaps for *duites*, in the sense of apt or skilful.

† So in the MS perhaps for *qu'alors*.

‡ So in the MS. perhaps for *de tant*.

uous la prennet explique mieux mon intention que ie neuesse se en faire moy mesme, car ie uous l'enuoye sus ceste mesme intention aueque laquelle uous l'aues prise, uous supliant, aussi, madame, que quand quelques rapports uous uiendront de cesluy la qui uous a enuoyé la bague, uous resouuenies de la promese qu'il a faite par icelle, en ne les croyant point que uous n'en sachies la verite par luy mesme, en uous asseurant qu'il fera de mesme a la bone femme aueques le chapeau rouge. Ainsi, en priant Dieu de la conseruer en sa tressainte et digne garde, ie uous diz adieu. Du chasteau de Saint André ce neufieme de iullet, 1583.

Uostre tres affectionné frere et cousin,

JAQUES R.

No. V.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

18TH MAY, 1584. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 39. ORIG.

Elizabeth will send an answer by a servant of her own to a request made by James.

Within a few months after the Ruthven party were dispossessed of their ill-gotten authority, they entered into a conspiracy for its violent resumption. The new plot was discovered; Gowrie was beheaded for his share in it; the earls of Mar and Angus were compelled to seek refuge in England; and all the power of the state was confirmed more firmly than ever in the hands of the anti-English and anti-protestant earl of Arran. The defeat of the conspiracy was followed by a request from the king of Scotland to Elizabeth, that she would deliver into his hands the earls of Mar and Angus and the other rebel "lords of Scotland," who had found shelter in England. The following letter is Elizabeth's reply to that request. William Davison was "the servant" whom she sent to James in conformity with her promise in this letter, and Davison's verbal answer to the Scottish king, refusing on Elizabeth's behalf to deliver up "the Scottish lords," may be seen in Tytler's Scotland, viii. 206. The words at the conclusion of this letter, "Your loving sister and cousin, if so well your merits shall require," together with the signature, are in the queen's autograph.

Right excellent right highe and mightie prince, our deerest brother and cousin, In our hartiest manner we commend us unto you. Uppon view of your late letter sent unto us by the bearer, your servaunt, and uppon his reporte made unto us of the course of proceed-

ing there, we weare sorie to see the state of that realm reduced to so hard and perplexed termes; and as towching the request conteynid in your said letter, after due consideraçon had of the same, we meane to send a servaunt of our owne with our answer, which you shall fynd to be such as we in honnor maie give, and you in reason ought to be satisfyed withall; and so, right highe right excellent and mightie prince, our deerest brother and cousin, we commit you to the protection of Almightie God. Geven at our mannour of Grenwich the xviijth of Maie, in the xxvjth yere of our raigne.

Your lovinge sistar and cousin, if so wel your merites shal require,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

To the right highe and mightie prince our dearest brother and cousin the king of Scottes.

No. VI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

JANUARY 1584-5. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 23. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen wishes James privately to ask the master of Gray, upon his allegiance, whether he does not know the price of her blood to be paid to her intended murderer by some of the king's "near-a-kin," and to send her an answer within three or four days after the master of Gray's return to Scotland.

Arran's restoration to authority, confirmed as it was by the suppression of the Gowrie conspiracy, was followed by the most oppressive and palpable misgovernment. In opposition to the opinions of the people, presbyterianism was made to yield to episcopacy; the estates of the adverse party were confiscated and parcelled out among the earl's principal supporters; the king was kept immersed in the pleasures of the chase and of the table, and in other amusements in which his youthful majesty took delight; whilst the proud favourite carried himself with almost regal state, and with a haughtiness most contemptuous and offensive. It was easy to foresee that such a state of things could not endure long. The person who led the way towards putting an end to it, was a youthful hypocrite who for some years after this time played a conspicuous part in the history of Scotland,—the master of Gray. Trusted by Mary, he betrayed her, as a means of securing favour with her son; trusted by Arran, he treacherously proposed to the English court subtle schemes for his patron's overthrow

and the restoration of the banished lords. A mission to Elizabeth which was confided to Gray by Arran gave him a safe opportunity of secretly arranging his plot. His proposals were received favourably by the English ministers. The renewal of the league with England, which was one of the avowed objects of Gray's mission, but which in all probability was deceptively proposed by Arran, was eagerly caught at by the queen's government. It was determined that sir Edward Wotton, a man of varied talent, and especially likely to be acceptable to the king on account of his skill in all the sports of the field, should be sent into Scotland, publicly to settle the terms of the league, and privately to advance Gray's plot against Arran. To aid Wotton in the attainment of these double objects, many other means (some of which will appear hereafter) were devised for winning the heart of the king and undermining the power of his favourite. It would seem from the following letter, which was written after Gray had left the English court, and whilst he was on his way home to Scotland, that he mixed, when in London, in other plots than his own. Elizabeth was at this time exposed to many attempts upon her life, chiefly concocted amongst the persecuted Roman catholics. One had just come to light, in which the suggester was said to be Morgan, Mary's agent on the continent and a person deeply engaged in anti-protestant intrigues, and the agent was Thomas Parry, who had been formerly in Elizabeth's household. The following letter may either refer to that conspiracy, or to the general belief amongst protestants that the Roman catholic powers were ready to give a reward to any person who would rid the world of the great upholder of protestantism. The letter is wholly in the queen's handwriting, but was omitted to be signed; perhaps purposely, on account of its secret character.

I mynde not deale, my deare brother, as wise men commenly counsel, to try my trust with trifles first, and therby iuge of like event, but haue agried to make my first assay of your many promises and desires that you might knowe the way to please me most; and therfor do require, that a question may, upon allegeance, be demanded by yourselfe of the mastar Gray, whether he knoweth not the prise of my bloude, wiche shuld be spild by bloudy hande of a murtherar, wiche some of your nere-a-kin did graunt. A sore question, you may suppose, but no other act than suche as I am assured he knowes, and therfor I hope he wyl not dare deny you a truthe; but yet I beseche you let it not seme to come from me, to whom I made no semblance but ignorance. Let him suppose that you receaued it elzwhere. O most wicked treachere, to gusche the droppes of innocent bloud, yea, of suche as perhaps hath saued often thers! As this toucheth me nearest, so use it with best commodity, and let the answer be speded after a thre or foure dayes after his retourne. It

may please you, aske it no sonar, lest he suspect it come of me, from whom, according to trust, let it be kept.

Your most assured sistar and cousin,

[*Unsigned*].

God euer kepe you from al daungerous attempts, and graunt you many yeres to liue and raigne.

[*Addressed,*]

Au roy d'Escose, mon bon frere et cousin.

No. VII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

JANUARY OR FEBRUARY 1584-5. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 19. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen has received the master of Gray's limping answer—he does not say who bade him talk with Morgan, nor who was to have been the queen's murderer—Scottish persons should be forbidden to assemble in Ireland—the banished lords have been directed to quit the borders.

The nature of Gray's answer to Elizabeth's question suggested in the last letter may be seen from the following. It may be inferred from it, that Gray had unquestionably held a conversation with Morgan upon the subject of Elizabeth's assassination. As Morgan was not, I believe, in England at this time, I rather incline to think these letters do not relate to Parry's plot, but to a presumed general intention to assassinate Elizabeth whenever a proper agent could be found.

I haue, right deare brother, receaued your frendly and affectionat letters, in wiche I perceaue the mastar Grayes halfe, limping answer, wiche is lame in thes respectz: the one, for that I se not that he told you who bade him talke with Morgan of the price of my bloude, wiche he knowes, I am assured, right wel; nor yet hathe named the man that shuld be the murtherar of my life. You wel perceaue that nothing may nearelar touche me than this cause, and therfor, accordinge to the bond of nature and the promes of strikte frindeship, let me coniure you that this vilanye may be confest. I hope I may

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stand you in bettar sted than that you wyl shew you uncareful of suche a treason.

And because I desiar that no cause be giuen of your part to make me, or the lokers on, to slandar your good wyl, I heare, out of my realme of Ireland, that Skotz assemble in great troupes. Giue you charge immediatly, I most hartely require you, that, upon paine of treason, the desist from suche action, and so shal you bind me to recompence suche honorable traictment.

And wher I perceaue that you expected the erles departur from the bordars, it is true, vpon my honor, that I dispached furthewith a charge unto them, wiche the answered, after a wekes leasur, that the wer so indetted to my subiectz that the could not, but I am sure by this time the ar departed. As for ther not banisment out of my realme, I haue, by my secretary, signified to the mastar Gray what reasons necessary to be considered moues me therunto, specially sins the offar to submit themselues to suffar as if the wer my subiectz offending me, and to take condigne pain if, while the bid in my gouuernement, the disobay ther alegiance to you. And this, with the rest, I trust wyl content you, as one that I wyll take as great care of, for your honor and your surty, as whosoever may giue you more golden promes with leaden performance.

I beseche you let your answer be retournid me with your best spede and most commoditye. Thus, not willing to molest you, I, with my humblest deuotion, intreat the Almighty to protect you from al inconveniens, and grant you many happy yeares.

Your most assured sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

A monsieur mon bon frere et cousin le roy d'Escosse.

No. VIII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

27TH JUNE 1585. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 3.

The king thanks Elizabeth for her loving dispatch of his late ambassador the lord justice clerk, for sending to him so wise a gentleman as Edward Wotton and so discreet a gentleman as Robert Alexander, as also for a present of horses and for loving letters; in return for all which he offers his person, and all that is his, to be used by her as a loving mother would use her natural and devoted child.

We have seen that in pursuance of the determination of the English court to assist the master of Gray in his treacherous schemes for the overthrow of Arran, sir Edward Wotton was sent ambassador to James in April, 1585. The further to win the heart of the young monarch, Elizabeth wrote "loving letters" to him; treated sir Lewis Bellenden, the lord justice clerk, who visited England on a special embassy, with distinguished favour; and also forwarded to James, under the care of Robert Alexander, a present of eight couple of buckhounds and some horses of peculiar beauty and value. No game could have been better played or have been more successful. Wotton made an easy conquest of the king's heart, the negotiation of the treaty went on merrily, and James poured forth his gratitude to Elizabeth in fervent expressions of devotion to her service. The following is one of his letters of thankfulness.

Madame and dearest sister, I must most earnistly crave and beseiche you to appardone me for my long delay of wrytting, in respect I thocht youre ouin seruant Robert Alexander, the bearar heirof, fittest to be the carrier of it, for if I hadd als oft written thanks within this short space as ye furnishit subiect, than had I but importunatitt your eies with reading, and yit done nothing that had worthely requyted the great good will of such a prince as ye are; quhomto I am, within their fiue dayes, in so manyfold wayes beholden. By no deidis (much less wryttes) I can worthely requyte your using of me. For, sett asyde youre louing dispatche, to my full contentement, of my lait ambassadoure, justice clerk, as also the directing towardis me of so honourable and so wyse a gentleman, so well affected to the amitie and so well thocht of by you, as Eduard Uotten, youre ambassadoure, as also the directing since of so discreit a gentleman and so fitt

for his ofice as your forsaid seruant Alexander, with a number of so faire and good horses as he brocht (the most acceptable present that euer came to me), as also your louing letters sent als uell by justice clerk as by youre ambassadure and Alexander;—sett asyde, I say, thise forsaid tokinnis and proofes of youre inuard freindship,—your only memoriall tuching the horsis sent to me with youre forsaid ambassadure hath more bound me unto you then any letteris, presentis, or deidis of amitie, that euer ye haue or coulde haue bestoued upon me; for not only wayre the wordis thairof most louing, but also the purpois discouered such kinde cairfulness in you ouer me, as it seamid rather to haue proceidit from sum *alter ego* than from any strainge and forraine prince, quhich I can on no wayes requyte bot by ofring unto you my person, and all that is myne, to be used and imployed by you as a louing mother wold use hir naturall and deuoted chylde. Thus, praying you euer to use and imploy me so, I pray most humbly the creatoure, madame and dearest mother, to preserve you from all youre foes quhatsumeuir, to cast thaime in their ouin snayres, as he did Haman, and to increase your days in all honoure and happines, as they haue euer yet bene. From Dumfermling, the xx7. day of June, 1585.

Your most louing and deuoted brother and sonn,

James R.

Madame, I haue, according to my promeis in my last letter, bene trying out yone alledgit report of the lord Maxuellis concerning you, quhich, so farr as I can tray, uas indeid uanted of by him, as also that he had the lyke fauoure of me, both untreu, quhairof Houson on bouman, a servant of the lord Scroopis, gott moyen, by some that wayre about the sayd lord. He aduertissit Jonston of it.

No. IX.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

19TH JULY, 1585. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 8.

The king reiterates his professions of good will, and prays the queen not to give attention to rumours to the contrary.

This present shall serue, madame and mother, to assure you of the constancie of my professite good will in my letter with Alexander, and of the continuance of that promesit course in religion and league, as, also, it shall serue for a counterpoise to reportis maid, or to be maid, by any seditious fellows in the contrair of this preseding. Thus, praying you to contineu me in your good grace, and, notwithstanding of quhatsumeiur bruitis or reports, to keepe still one eare for me, I committ you, madame and dearest mother, to Goddis holie protection. From Faklande, the 19th of Julie, 1585.

Your most loving and affectionate brother and sonne,

JAMES R.

No. X.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

JUNE OR JULY, 1585. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 2. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen alludes to James's former "contrarious dealings," and cautions him against duplicity—who seeketh two strings to one bow may shoot strong, but not straight—princes' causes can never be conducted so covertly that they can be concealed, and "we old foxes" can find ways of taking advantage of others' malice—it becomes kings, therefore, to deal sincerely—promises to suspend her judgment of any hearsay until she receives James's own answer.

The following letter may be an answer to No. VIII. It was certainly written at the time I have assigned to it. It manifests very plainly Elizabeth's notion of James's character, and is, moreover, a good specimen of her customary dark but emphatic style. The allusion to Wotton and Alexander fixes the date to June or July, 1585. If not an answer to No. VIII. it may possibly have been written a few days before it. No. VIII., it will be remembered, was sent to the queen by James upon Alexander's return home.

Right deare brother, Your gladsome acceptance of my offred amitie, togither with the desiar you seem to have ingraven in your mynde to make merites correspondant, makes me in ful opinion that some ennemis to our good wyl shal loose muche travel, with making frustrat thar baiting stratagemes, whiche I knowe to be many and by sondry meanes to be explored. I cannot halt with you so muche as to denye that I haue seen suche euident shewes of your contrarious dealings, that if I mad not my rekening the bettar of the moneths, I might condemne you as unworthy of suche as I mynd to shewe myselfe toward you, and therfor I am wel pleased to take any coulor to defend your honor, and hope that you wyl remember, that who seaketh two stringes to one bowe, the may shute strong, but neuer strait; and if you suppose that princes causes be vailed so couvertly that no intelligence may bewraye them, deceave not yourselfe; we old foxes can find shiftes to saue ourselves by others malice, and come by knowledge of greattest secreat, spetiallye if it touche our freholde. It becometh, therfor, all our rencq to deale sincerely, lest, if we use it not, whan we do it, we be hardly beleaved. I write not this, my deare brother, for dout but for remembrances. My ambassador writes so muche of your honorable traitment of him and of Alexandar, that I belive the be convertid Scotes. You oblige me for them, for wiche I rendar you a milion of most intire thankes, as she that meaneth to desarue many a good thoght in your brest throwe good desart. And for that your request is so honorable, retaining so muche reason, I wer out of [my] sences if I shuld not suspend of any hiresay til the answer of your owne action, wiche the actor ought best to knowe, and so assure yourselfe I meane and vowe to do; with this request, that you wyl affourd me the reciproque. And thus, with my many petitions to the Almighty for your long life and preservation, I ende thes skribled lines.

Your verey assured lovinge sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

A mon bon frere
le roy d'Escose.

No. XI.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

3RD AUGUST, 1585. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 7.

James assures the queen of his innocency in a late mischief, and wishes to know what is her mind and desire for its reparation—he hopes she has kept one ear open for him in spite of malicious tongues.

In the midst of the complicated deception in which the diplomatic relations of the courts of England and Scotland were involved, as partly explained in the introduction to the letter No. VI., an unfortunate event occurred which added still farther to the complexity. On the 28th July, 1585, Francis lord Russell, third but eldest surviving son of Francis second earl of Bedford, was mortally wounded in a quarrel between the English and Scotch, which arose suddenly on the borders, during a truce-day agreed upon between sir John Forster (lord Russell's father-in-law) and sir Thomas Ker of Fernihurst, the English and Scottish wardens of the marches.

The quarrel was probably unpremeditated, but Ker was an intimate friend of the earl of Arran, and advantage was taken of that circumstance, by the English government, to pick a quarrel with the favourite of the Scottish king. It was alleged that lord Russell's death was a premeditated result, plotted between Arran and Ker. Sir Edward Wotton distinctly charged Arran with the guilt of a foul murder, and demanded satisfaction, on his mistress's behalf, for treachery practised against one of her most distinguished subjects. James was mortified beyond measure at this unlooked-for interruption of his pleasant intercourse with Wotton, as well as at the delay which it interposed in the conclusion of a treaty which was to be accompanied by a payment of ready money. He wept like a child; declared he wished all the lords of the border dead provided lord Russell were alive again; committed Arran to custody to await inquiry, and wrote off to Elizabeth the following hasty protestation of his own innocence. The letter is dated "3 day of Julie," which is an obvious mistake. Nothing occurred at the beginning of July to which it can possibly allude. After referring to the diplomatic correspondence of the time, I think the date should have been either the 31st July or the 3rd August; probably the latter.

Madame and mother, since haist anger and extraordinar sorrou will not permitt any long lettir, this present shall only serue to assure you of my honest innocence in this lait mischief, and of my constancie in that course mentionatt in my last letter unto you, not doubting bot youre ambassadoure hath written to you at large, both of the one and the other. I have also directid expreslie the bearer

heirof unto you, to know your mynd and desyre for the repairing of this forsaid mischief, quhom praying you firmlie to credit, and to steame * still of my treuth, I committ you, madame and mother, to Goddis holy protection. From Saint Andreuse, the 3 day of Julie, 1585.

Your most louing and devotid brother and sonne,

JAMES R.

I doubt not, madame, but ye have kept one eare for me, notwithstanding of many malicios tongues that nou do boldlie spicke.

No. XII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

AUGUST 1585. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 22. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen's astonishment that any Scot should have dared to violate his hands in any of the noble blood of England—her satisfaction that James has not spared his well-favoured Arran, to cause him to answer such a suspicion—wishes Ker of Fernihurst, the Scottish warden of the marches, to be delivered up to her.

Right deare brother, I find to true the Frenche adage, *Qu'un mal ne vint jamais seul;* for as the horrible and soudain murdar of my most faithful subiect and most vaillant baron was unto me a heartsore and grivous tidinges, so was it tenfold redoubled with knowelege that a Skot shuld dare violate his handes on any of our noble bloude, in a peacable concord, whan our frendship shuld haue sent out his hotest beames to the kindeling of the entier affection of bothe realmes; that any of that nation shuld ons dare haue had a thoght to maculate suche a contract of amitie. I perceive, by my ambassador, that your grief is litel les than suche a hap deserveth, and do perceaue that you haue not spared your wel-fauored, to cause him answer suche a suspicion. I thinke myselfe, therfor, greatly

* So in MS. *for* esteem.

obliged unto your care for my satisfaction, and therin I thanke you for being so considerast of your owne honor, wiche, I assure you, lieth a-bleding in the bowels of many an Inglas man, until ful rayson be made for suche a treacherye. God send us bettar luck after our league be finished than this bloudy beginninge may geue calendes of, elz many a red side wil folowe suche demerites. But I hope you wyl spare no man that may be douted of suche a meaning. I meane, not only of the murdar but of the breaking out upon our borderars, wiche commonly ar the beginnings of our quarelz. I dout nothinge of your curious care in this behalfe, and for that the warden of that marche hathe bine the open and commen fosterar and compagnion of the traitor Westmarland and his complices in France and Scotland, I hope you wil agrie to send him to my handes, wher he shal neuer receaue iniurie nor ivel measure. And thus, desiring [you] to credit my ambassador in certain particularites that he shal impart unto you as to myselfe, I recommend you to Gods safe tuition, who graunt you many gladsome yeres.

Your most affectionat sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed*]

A mon bon frere et cousin,
le roy d'Escose.

No. XIII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

13TH AUGUST, 1585. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 9.

The king protests his devotion to Elizabeth—promises to sift out the trial of the circumstances respecting the death of lord Russell —he has assented to the terms of the proposed league.

Madame and dearest sister, the recept of your thre fauorable lettres, quhairof two be of youre ouen hand, hath moued me to give you, by

this present, the most harty thankis thairfor of him quho is most deuoted to you of any prince in cristendom; but specially I thinke myself more beholden unto you then I can euer aquyte, for the promeis and uou ye make in one of your letteris, not to trust any euill of me quhill ye heir my ouin declaration of may part. Madame, since ye have so honorably delt with me in this case, I think it my pairt, as it was allways, to sifte out the tryall of this last mishapp, with all posible speed, and, on the other pairt, I will earnestly require you to suspend your judgement quhill ye heir from me quhat success my trauillis haue takin, quhairof ye shall be, with Goddis grace, aduertishit in very few dayes; so shall my honest pairt be clearit, the guiltie knouin and ponishit, ye resoluit quhat to craue for your satisfaction and reparations of the fact, and the conclusion of the amitie and league go forduart, quhairunto I do allready fully assent, quhairof, since youre ambassadoure doth more largely writt, I will end heir, with promeis of my utter diligence in the forsaid tryall, and committing [you] to the holy protection of the Allmichtie. From Striuiling, the 13 day of August, 1585.

Your most louing and deuotid brother and sonne,

JAMES R.

No. XIV.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

19TH AUGUST, 1585. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 10.

The king declares, that although it was proposed that the intended league between England and Scotland should only bind him to resist invasion of England on account of religion, his intention was, that it should be generally offensive and defensive, and he voluntarily binds himself to employ his crown and country to resist all invasions of England, upon whatsoever pretext.

Madame and mother, in great haist, ready to ryd. Your ambassadouris present dispatche hath mouitt me to wryt this few wordis,

to assure you that, althoch my articles that the ambassadoure sendis you desyris the league to concerne only religion, yit my plaine intention is, that the league shall be offensive and defensive for all inuasions upon quhatsumeuer pretexte. And theirfore I will pray you to keepe this present, in tokin and testimonil of my plaine assent thairunto, and that I will imploy my croune and cuntrie to resist to quhatsumeuer inuasionis uppon youris. Thus, praying [you] to apprdone this scribling in haist, and to continue still my loving mother as I shall be your deuoted sonne, I committ you, madame and mother, to Goddis holy protection. The xix. day of August, from Striuiling, 1585.

Your most louing and deuoted brother and sonn,

JAMES R.

No. XV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN NOVEMBER 1585. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 20. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Offers of help on the recovery of power by the banished lords —Elizabeth's ignorance of their intended return to Scotland—every mother's son of them shall smart if they do any personal violence to James.

Angus, Mar, Glammis, and the other banished lords of Scotland remained in England, centres of intrigue and conspiracy, until the end of October, 1585. By that time Arran's misconduct and the cabals of his enemies had filled the cup of his unpopularity. The lords secretly gathered together their friends; crossed the border; made their appearance at Kelso; marshalled their host at Falkirk to the number of 8,000 men; and finally occupied Stirling, were admitted to the presence of the king, proclaimed Arran and his friends traitors, and took upon themselves the functions of government. This proceeding was no doubt privately connived at by Elizabeth's government, and probably by Elizabeth herself. At any event she had undertaken for the peaceable conduct of the banished lords so long as they were in her dominions. The following letter is her own personal vindication, in anticipation of a charge of having broken that engagement. It is written with great boldness and appearance of truth, but it may be doubted whether it actually negatives connivance, and is not in fact more subtle than honest. It is wholly in the queen's handwriting, and contains many characteristic passages as well as an especially curious postscript.

Right deare brother, the strangenes of harde accidens that ar arrived here, of unloked for, or unsuspected, attemps in Skotland, euen by some suche as lately issued out of our lande, constraineth me, as wel for the care we have of your person as of the discharge of our owne honor and conscience, to send you immediatly this gentleman, one that appartaineth to us in bloud,* bothe to offer you all assistance of helpe as al good indeuor of counceil, and to make hit plaine that we delt plainly. Thes lordes makeng great outcryes that I wold not or coulde helpe them to be restored; I, by ther great importunitie, yelded, that if I might be fried of my assurance given unto you for ther safe kiping, I wold consent unto ther departure, and so, after your answer, as my thoght most honorable, that the might take ther way to Germany with your gracious graunt of some livelode, after a weekes space I gaue them my pasport and so dismissed them, without, I swere unto you, ons the sight of any one of them. Now, whan I way how suddenly, beyond my expectation, this suddan stur ariseth, and fering lest some ivel and wicked person might surmise that this was not without my forsight, I beseche you trust my actions accordinge the measure of my formar dealings for your safety, and ansuerable to the rule of reason, and you shal find, that few princes wyl agrye to constraint of ther equalz, muche les with compulsion of ther subiects. Juge of me, therfor, as of a kinge that caries no abiect nature, and thinke this of me, that, rather than your daungier, I wyl ventur myne; and albeit I must confesse that it is daungerous for a prince to irritast to muche, through iuel aduise, the generalitie of great subiectz, so might you or now haue folowed my aduise, that wold neuer betray you with unsound counceil; and now to conclude, making hast, I pray you be plain with this bearar, that I may knowe

* William Knolles, eldest son of sir Francis Knolles, K.G. who married Katharine, daughter of William Cary esquire, by Mary Boleyne, Elizabeth's maternal aunt. Before the actual invasion of Scotland by the banished lords, sir Edward Wotton had found it necessary to desert his post of ambassador at James's court. James having given orders to seize Wotton in his house and hold him as an hostage for Arran, Wotton mounted a fleet horse, and crossed the borders during the night.

what you wold that I should do, without excuse hireafter, that constrained you did hit, for I dare assure you of his secresye, and therof be you bold. For the lord Russelz dethe, and other thinges, I referre me to this gentilman, who I dare promis is of no faction beside my wyl. God blesse you in al safety as I wysche myself.

Your tru assured cousin and sistar,

ELIZABETH R.

Feare not, for your life must be thers, or els the shal smart wel, euery mothers son of them.

[*Addressed,*]
A mon trescher frere
le roy d'Escose.

No. XVI.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

20TH DECEMBER, 1585. RYDER MSS. JACOB. NO. 1. COPY OF THE TIME.

James desires to revive certain matters of business which have dropped asleep through occasions of time—has sent a messenger to inform the queen of his estate and intentions.

The success of the returned lords was followed by the calling of a parliament, in which the king united with his people in expressions of friendliness towards England and affection for protestantism. The parliament urged the immediate settlement of the long meditated league with Elizabeth, and as soon as it had risen, the king despatched sir William Keith to the English queen to invite her to come to a conclusion upon the subject. He was the bearer of the following letter.

You * madame and deirest sister, I have sent this gentilman bearar heirof, my familiar seruand (according to my promes in my last lettre), for thre speciall causes: first, to visit yow, in respect it is long ago since I visited yow with one of myne; secondlye, that all those matters that war in dealing before, and thorow occasions of tyme left as it war asleep this whyll past, may of-new be walkened up and perfyted, as I did wryt in my last lettre; thirdlye, I have directed him to informe

* So in the orig.

yow both amply and particularlye of the estate of all matters heir, for the which cause, to the end that ye myght the more fullye be informed, I stayed him until the parliament was past, and matters put to sum settlidnes, that he might carye the certaintye of those matters. Whom I have directed, not as in any public message but priuatlye, to informe yow of my secret intention in all thinges. Theirfore I pray yow to trust him firmlye, and to giue him a good and spedye dispetche. Thus praying yow euer to assure yourself that all my dedes shall correspond to my promises on your behalf, I commit you, madame and dairest sister, to God his holye protection. From Linlythquo the xx. day of December, 1585.

Your trewest and assured brother and cousin,

[*Indorsed,*] JAMES R.

Copye off the king his lettre
to quene of England, xx.
December, 1585.*

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* Among Mr. Ryder's papers are the following two copies of letters written by James to persons at the English court to further sir William Keith's embassy. They are not addressed, but the first was probably written to secretary Walsingham, and the second to the earl of Leycester. The latter had at that time just embarked for the low countries, but his departure had been long delayed and put off from time to time, and James, writing from Linlithgow on the 20th December, might well be ignorant that the earl actually sailed from Harwich on the 8th.

I.

[JAMES VI. TO SECRETARY WALSINGHAM.]

Richt trustie freind, I haue directed the bearer heirof, my familiar seruand, to the quene your souuerane, for dyuers caussis, bot especially that the former dealing which hath bene this tyme past left of may be of-new walkened up and perfyted, wherein I pray you to assist him by all the good meanes ye can ; as also to procure his good and spedy dispatche. I must also earnestly desyre you to give him your best advyse how he shall behaue himself in all his proceedinges, and to trust him firmely. Thus referring the whole particularis of his message and direction to his owne discours, I committ you, richt trustie freind, to Goddis holy protection. From my palais of Lynlyfqw, the xx. day of December, 1585.

Your most loving freind,

JAMES R.

No. XVII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN ABOUT JANUARY 1585-6. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 21. ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPH.

The queen is pleased at James's good liking of the returned lords and their action—she is about to send an ambassador to conclude the league with him—there must be reparation for lord Russell's death—since God made kings, the clergy ought not to be allowed to unmake their authority—professions of entire confidence in James's sincerity.

This letter was written in reply to the one immediately preceding. All difficulty in the way of the conclusion of a league being removed by the change in the Scottish government, Elizabeth determined to send the veteran diplomatist Randolph to Scotland to bring about a final settlement. He is the "gentleman," and sir William Keith the "acceptable messenger" here alluded to. It is evident from the latter part of this letter that James had already acquired the character of being a profound dissembler.

Right deare brother, I am not a litel satisfaict of many a carefull thoght that my mynde tossed up and downe, with doutes what care might do to a kings brest, invirunned of a seubdain with so vnlooked for an accident; my thankes, therfor, may sca[r]se be contained in this paper for your most acceptable messanger, whom it pleased you to commaund [for] my satisfaction of your good estat, togither with your good liking of the lordes and ther action, whom I

II.

[JAMES VI. TO THE EARL OF LEYCESTER.]

My lord and richt trusty cousing, Being latly aduertishit of your noudeparture as yet (quhairof I am most glaid), I haue thocht good to wryte this present unto you with the bearer heirof, my familiar seruant, to desyre yow to further his good and spedie dispatche by all good meanes, quhome I pray yow earnistly to direct and aduyse in all his proceedingis, since I haue geuin charge to behaue himself fully according to your direction and aduyse. As to the causes of his message and particuleris thairof, I remitt thame to his particular declaratioun, who will informe you amply therein. Thus praying you to giue him firme trust, I commit you, my lord and right trustie cousing, to Goddis holy protectioun. From my palais of Linlifqw, the xx. day of December, 1585.

Your most louing and assured freind,

JAMES R.

As ye wold do me any pleasure, remember uponn the sending of the bukkis with speid.

beseche God no longar preserue in life, than the be ready for your preservation to spend all thers; so far wer euer my intentz from any trechery towarde you. And wheras your desiar seameth great that the league in hand myght come to ende, I am addressing a gentilman vnto you for the same purpose, and wyl delay no time for so good a intent, trusting than, that no whispering treason shal haue credit in your eare to retarde or cut of so nideful an action. Suppose suche, I pray you, to resemble a golden houke that oft deceaues the vnwary fische, and makes him receaue his worst in lieu of bettar hope.

Amidz al thes kind dealings of yours, let me not forget how litel care the worlde shal thinke you prise me at, if in middest of greatest frindship, my los of honor be no whit repaired for the shamful murther of the baron Russell. Pondar it depely, I beseche you, for hit striketh nere me, so publik an iniurye to haue no redres, without we shewe the thoght, wiche God alone reserues his part. The like answer was neuer yet giuen, and [I] hope for bettar paiment.

For your churche matters, I do bothe admire and reioise to see your wise paraphrase, wiche far excedeth ther texte. Since God hathe made kinges, let them not unmake ther authorite, and let brokes and smal rivers acknowledge ther springes, and flowe no furdar than ther bankes. I praise God that you uphold euer a regal rule.

For all other matters wiche this gentilman hathe told me, I wil hope stil that your faithful profession of constantie in my behalfe shal far surmount the devellishe practises and suttel iniquitie of those wiche, undar pretence of your aduancement, wil skanten your best fortiune. And albeit I am aduertised, even from amonge themselves, that your assurance to them doth shewe, that al my faire offers from you be *ad Ephesios* and ridiculus, meaning wholy to folow them and temporise with me, yet I mynd to *peccare in meliorem* if I must nides be begiled, and mynd not to trust them til I see you faile me, and than *deceptis* ad decipientem digne vertitur*. Til than, I wyl trust your worde, and dare assure you shal neuer, on my behalfe, haue cause to

* This is the reading of the MS.

repent your wones, meaning you no les good than I pray God euer to afourde me, prayinge him longe to conserve you. And to ende this lettar, let me not forget to recommend this gentlemans good behavor in this his charge, hauing used it to your honor and his great praise. Thus I finische to troble you, but do rest,

Your most assuredzt louing sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]
To my deerest brother and
cousin the king of Scotts.

No. XVIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

FEBRUARY 1585-6. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 3. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen has sent as ambassador to James a gentleman who laboured for the king's preservation in his childish years even to the peril of his own life—she praises highly his long experience, his wit, discretion, and fidelity.

The present letter was sent, as I take to be clear from its contents, by Randolph, who was commissioned to conclude the league. He arrived in Edinburgh on the 26th February, 1585-6.

Right deare brother, Determining with myselfe to sende you some one of whose affection I had profe towarde your estat and parson, have resolved of this gentilman, who in your childesche yeres sought all menes of your preservation, and was the instrument to have you served by them that folowed no other rular than your raigne, and for that cause suffred hard assaultes, yea to the present peril of life, wiche was soght sondry wayes, and ons by bullet of pistol, as he had to shew. Suppose you that suche a one, so used, wold be hasty to go on this viage, wer it not my spetiall charge, wiche only I do for the longe experience that he hathe had of that country, and so the bettar able to serve us bothe, for I dare swere he hathe no other scope than to kipe us frendes, and increase that bond. And if he

find any opposite against so good a worke, he wyl obviat it if he may, and wyl serve you in any thing that may advance your honor and quiat, according to his commission; praying you to have regard unto him and his honorable traictment, that I may haue no cause to reuenge his wronge; not douting but if you knew his nature and honesty, as I do, you wold not estime him menely. I assure you he is of muche valeur bothe for wit and discretion; in whom ther was never found trechery. Thus I end, with my prayers to God for your long continuance.

Your assured sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]
A mon bon frere
le roy d'Escose.

No. XIX.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN MARCH 1585-6. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 30. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Caution against foreign intriguers—Elizabeth's care over James ab incunabulis—thinks scorn to be asked to sign an "instrument" for James's security—expects some persons to be delivered up to her on account of the death of lord Russell.

Randolph was received by James with the most treacherous courtesy; but the official servants of the Scottish sovereign—not less accomplished dissemblers than their master when it was their cue to play false—gave Randolph alarming information as to golden offers with which the court of France was then tempting the needy Scottish monarch. Upon his report of these circumstances to Elizabeth, she addressed James in the following letter of indirect advice and warning. Her heavy wit in reference to an "instrument" or guarantee for the payment of his annual pension or pecuniary allowance, which James desired her to sign, is amusing and characteristic.

The expertist seamen, my deare brother, makes vant of ther best shippes whan the pas the highest bellowes without yelding, and broke nimlest the roughest stormes. The like profe, I suppose, may best be made, and surest boste, of frindes, whan greatest persuasions and mightiest ennemis oppose themselues for parties. If than a con-

stant irremouable good wyll appere, thar is best triall made. And for that I knowe ther is no worse orator for truthe than malice, nor shwredar invahar than envye, and that I am sure you haue wanted nether, to assaile your mynde to win it from our frindeship; if not auailing all thes minars, you kipe the hold of your promised inward affection, as Randol at lengthe haue told me and your owne lettars assure me, I dare thus boldly affirme, that you shall haue the bettar part in this bargain. For when you way in equal balance, with no palsey hande, the very ground of ther desires that wold withdrawe you, it is but roote of mischif to peril your selfe, with hope to harme her who euer hathe preserued you; and sins you may be sure that Skotland, nor yourself, be so potent, as for your greatnes the seake you, nor neuer did, but to iniure a thirde; and if you rede the histories, ther is no great cause of bost for many conquests, thogh your contry sarued ther malice. This you see the beginning why euer Skotland hathe bine sought. Now, to come to my ground worke, only natural affection *ab incunabulis* sturrid me to saue you from the murderars of your father, and the peril that ther complices might brede you. Thus, as in no counterfait miroir, you may behold without maske the faces of bothe beginnars. It is for you to juge what ar like to be the best euent of bothe, and therafter I pray God you may use your best choise to your surest good, no semblant false to begile. And as I reioyse to haue had, iven in this hammering worlde, suche presant profe of your sincerite, so shal you be sure to imploye it upon no gileful person, nor suche as wil not take as muche regard of your good as of her owne.

Tochinge an "instrument," as your secretarye terme it, that you desiar to haue me signe, I assure you, thogh I can play of some, and haue bine broght up to know musike, yet this disscord wold be so grose as wer not fit for so wel-tuned musicke. Must so great dout be made of fre good wyl, and gift be so mistrusted, that our signe Emanuel* must assure? No, my deere brother. Teache your new rawe

* So in the original.

counselars bettar manner than to aduis you such a paringe of ample meninge. Who shuld doute performance of kinges offer? What dishonor may that be demed? Folowe next your owne nature, for this neuer came out of your shoppe. But, for your ful satisfaction, and to plucke from the wicked the weapon the wold use to brede your doubt of meanings, thes the be. First, I wil, as longe as you with iuel desart alter not your course, take care for your safety, helpe your nide, and shun al actes that may damnifie you in any sort, ether in present or future time; and for the portion of relife, I minde neuer to lessen, thogh, as I see cause, I wil rather augment. And this I hope may stand you in as muche assuranse as my name in parchement, and no les for bothe our honors.

I can not omit, also, to request you, of all amitie betwine us, to haue good regard of the longe-waiting expectation that all our subjectes lokes after, that some persons be deliuered in to my handes for some repaire of my honor thogh no redres for his dethe,* according as my ambassador Randol shal signifie, and that ther be no more delais, wiche haue bine ouer many already. And thus I end my trobling you. Comittinge you to the tuition of the living God, who graunt you many yeres of prosperous raigne.

Your most assured louinge sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

No. XX.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN ABOUT 1ST APRIL, 1586. RYDER MSS. JACOB. NO. 4. ORIG. DRAFT IN JAMES'S HANDWRITING.

Apologises for not writing pending the arrangement of the treaty—it is now signed—explanations as to the "instrument."

The following letter is a reply to the last. In spite of all opposition Randolph succeeded in procuring the king's signature to the terms of the treaty; but James could not

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* This alludes to the desired delivery to Elizabeth of Ker of Fernihurst, who was accused of having plotted the death of lord Russell.

be laughed out of his "instrument," one point in which, although the fact does not appear in this correspondence, was, that it was to bind Elizabeth not to permit any measures to be brought forward against James's title to the English crown. (Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, viii. 279.)

I doubt not, madame and dearest sister, but ye haue thir tymes past accused and condemned me in your ouen mynde of foryetfullness or great sleuth, in hauing bene so long unuisiting you with any letre, and yett I must most hartly craue your pardon in respect I did it upon goode intention, for, upon consideration of youre ambassadouris negotiating with me upon the accomplishing of the league, I thocht it much bettir, thoch I shulde have stayed the longer, to writt to you the performance then excuse the delay thairof, and, thairfore, I woulde not finish my letter quhill the same had also bene finished in lyke mainer: as indeed I haue nou at last (thoch not without crossing) subscryved and deliverit the same to your ambassadoure, quhom, according to youre recomendation, I haue louingly usid, as I will quhomsoeuer ye can send, for the sendaris saike. And as for the instrument, quhairunto I desyre youre seale to be affixit, think not, I pray you, that I desire it for any mistrust, for I protest before God that youre simple promeis uolde be more then sufficient to me, if it uaire not that I uoulde haue the quhole worlde to understand hou it pleacith you to honoure me aboue my demeritis, quhich fauoure and innumerable otheris, if my euill happ will not permitt [me] by action to acquyte, yett shall I contend by goode meaning to conteruayle the same at her handis, quhome, committing to the Almichties protection, I pray euer to esteeme me,

Hir most beholden and louinge freind and cousin,

JAMES R.

Madame, I must earnistly requeist you by youre fauorable and speadie dispetche of the treu seruande and faithfull subiect to you and to me James Hudsone, to lett him knau that my mediation hes auailid at youre handis.

No. XXI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

WRITTEN ABOUT THE END OF MAY, 1586. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 31. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Reply to James's objections to her last letter—she never promised more money—has sent a letter in the terms of the desired "instrument."

Elizabeth's reply to No. XX. was extremely unsatisfactory to James. It not only contained some very unpalatable admonition but still persisted in the rejection of the "instrument," and, above all things, made manifest a diminution in his promised pension from £5,000 *per annum* to £4,000. This letter was presented by Randolph, remarks Mr. Tytler, "in an interview which he had with James in the garden of the palace; and, as he read it, the young monarch, colouring with anger, swore 'by God' that had he known what little account the queen would make of him, she should have waited long enough before he had signed any league, or disobliged his nobles, to reap nothing but disappointment and contempt." (Hist. of Scotland, viii. 282.) James vented his dissatisfaction in a letter to which the following is Elizabeth's reply. It is tame for her, and, in reference to the alleged mistake in the amount of the pension, leaves little doubt that sir Edward Wotton mentioned "twenty thousand crowns," as James asserted.

I muse muche, right deare brother, how possiblie my wel-ment lettar, prociding from so fauteles a hart, could be ether misliked or misconstred; and first, for my promis made of reciproke usage in all amicable maner, I trust I nether haue, nor neuer shall, make fraction of in the lest scruple; and as for doute of your perfourmance of your vowe made me, I assure you, if I did not trust your wordes, I shuld estime but at smale valew your writings, and if you please to reade againe my last lettar, you shall perceaue how muche I prise your tried constancy for all the many assaultes that, I am sure, your eares haue bin assailled with, and therfor I am far from dout, whan suche profe is made, and you might worthely forthinke you to haue bestowed so muche faithful dealinge upon one that ether had smal iugement or muche ingratitude, and therof I may clerely purge me from suche crime, for I haue more iust cause to acknowelege thankefulnis manifold, than, in any part, to ouerrun my owne wit to leue it behind me.

And for the some that you suppose my many affaires made me forget, togither with the maner of the instrument, or lettar, *quocunque*

nomine datur. For the first, I assure you I never gaue commission for more. Some other might mistake, as Randol wil tel you. And for the lettar, some wordes and fourme was suche as fitted not our two frindeships, as Randol also can shewe you, but I haue sent you a lettar that I am sure containes all you desired in spetiall wordes. I trust it shal content you; although I must say for myselfe this muche, that the pithe and effect of all you receiued afore; and beseche you thinke, that I finde it my greatest fault that I remember but to well, yea, many times more than I wolde, but never aught that may be for your behoffe, ether in honor or contentation, shal euer slip out of my mind, but wil take so good regarde unto it as that it euer shal nerely touche myselfe; as knoweth God, who euer preserue you from deceitful counseil, and graunt you true knowlege of your assured, with longe and many yeres to raigne.

Your most affectionate and assured louing sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed*]
A mon bon frere et
cousin le roy d'Escosse.

No. XXII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

8TH APRIL, 1586. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 36. ORIG.

Elizabeth intercedes on behalf of Archibald Douglas, accused of a participation in the murder of James's father, Henry Darnley.

The following extract from Mr. Tytler's History of Scotland furnishes an admirable although rather over-drawn comment upon the present letter. "The happy conclusion of the league was a matter of sincere congratulation to the English queen; but she had intrusted to Randolph another somewhat difficult negotiation. This was to induce James to recall and pardon the noted Archibald Douglas, whom she had herself recently imprisoned, but who had purchased his freedom by betraying the secrets of the Scottish queen. This gentleman united the manners of a polished courtier to the knowledge of a scholar and a statesman. He was of an ancient and noble house; he had been for years the friend and correspondent of Burghley and Walsingham; and he was now in great credit with the

English queen. But Douglas had a dark as well as a bright side; and exhibited a contradiction or anomaly in character by no means unfrequent in those days; the ferocity of a feudal age gilded or lacquered over by a thin coating of civilization. Externally all was polish and amenity; truly and at heart the man was a sanguinary, fierce, crafty and unscrupulous villain. He had been personally present at Darnley's murder, although he only admitted the foreknowledge of it; he had been bred as a retainer of the infamous Bothwell; he had afterwards been employed by the Scottish queen, whom he sold to her enemies; and Elizabeth's great purpose in now interceding for his return from her court to his own country was, to use his influence with the young king against his mother and her faction. . . . A mock trial was got up; a sentence of acquittal pronounced; and Douglas was not only restored to his estates and rank but admitted into the highest confidence with the sovereign, whose father he had murdered." (Tytler's Hist. Scotland, viii. 285.)

This letter is not placed in strictly chronological order, it having been thought better to put all those letters relating to the league in regular succession.

Right high right excellent and mighty prince, our deerest brother and cousin, in our hartiest maner we recommende us unto you. Understanding that this bearer, Mr. Archibald Duglas, by the travell and mediation of his good freendes, hath obteyned fauour at your handes, that it pleaseth you noue both to conceave a good opinion of him, and to license hym to retourne home to your presence, we could not but accompany him with this our letter, to witnes unto you in his behalf, that, during the tyme of his abode here, he hath still caryed himself in such loyall and duetifull sort towarde you, as you haue just cause to think the restoring of him to your good opinion and fauour well bestowed; wherof we ar the rather moved to geve you knowledg, for that we understand that sum have don ill offices to work in you a hard conceit of the gentleman, whom for our part we woold by no meanes admitt to cum to our presence (although by our servant Randolph we were informed that he offered to abyde his triall according to the lawes of Scotland for any matter that could be layed to his chardge), vntil such tyme as, by his solemne othe, he had, in the presence of our priuie counsel, purged himself of any criminall matter that might be proved against him touching the detestable murder of your late father. And yet, notwithstanding this kind of purgation, we did withall, at the tyme

of his furst access unto us, let him plainly understand, that, if at any tyme therafter it shuld appere unto us that he could be any further touched in that matter, then with the only conjectured or reported knowledge of others that such an horrible fact was intended to be committed, we woold not only make present deliuery of him, but also craue earnestly that exemplary punishment might be extended upon him, as gilty of the murther of our so nere cousin and kinsman. But now, since yourself, as we are informed, do rest so far furth satisfied with his actiones and behavoure past, as that you can be content to revoke such decrees as haue ben made against him in the tyme of his absence, by graunting vnto him the benifit of the act of pacification, and to allowe him the triall of the lawes of Scotland for any actuall dealing in that horrible murder, with a free remittall of any his foreknowledg or concealing of the same, we ar glad of such your manner of proceeding towards him (wherin there appereth both clemencye and equitye), and so much the more bycause it is agreeable to a request which otherwise we ment ourself to have made vnto you in his behalf, if we had ben persuaded that the same woold not haue ben offensive vnto you, whom we cannot therfor but thank greatly for this your honnorable and indifferent course of proceeding with the gentleman, praying you, withall, that this triall may be had with all convenient expedition, which we do the rather desyre for that we ar almoost fully persuaded of his innocencie in the said murder, and moved [also] * with compassion, that the slaunder therof should so long hang upon him, in whom we have ever observed a loyall and constant disposition to do you acceptable and duetifull seruice: as, on the other syde, if by the said triall he should happen to be found gilty, we woold not only forbeare to make any intreatie or mediation for him, but also urge rather the inflicting of condigne punishement vpon him for the same, to the terrour and example of all others. And yet our request is, that if he be not found gilty of any criminal or actual medling in that detestable murder, it woold

* The paper torn.

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please you to fauour him with the ratifiing by parlement of the benifit that yourself have alredy graunted vnto him, of the general pacification for the taking awaye of all other offences committed in the tyme of your minoritie, wherin his case is common with many other your subiects that have obteyned a remittall of the same. And so, right high right excellent and mighty prince, our deerest brother and cousin, we pray God to haue you alwayes in his blessed keeping. Geuen at our castel of Grenewich the eight daye of Aprill, 1586, in the xxviijth yere of our reign.

Your very assurid sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed*]

To the right high right excellent and mighty prince, our deerest brother and cousin, the king of Scotland.

No. XXIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

4TH OCTOBER, 1586. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 4. ORIG. IN THE QUEEN'S AUTOGRAPH.

The queen returns thanks for "amicable offers," and for the joy expressed by the king at her escape from the jaws of death—Babington's conspiracy originated with the Jesuits, whom James is therefore urged not to suffer to remain in Scotland—Elizabeth's sorrow for those who were guilty, and her surprise that one accounted wise should have part in such a design.

The league between England and Scotland was scarcely concluded when both countries were startled by the discovery of the well-known Babington conspiracy. Its objects were, the assassination of Elizabeth, the release of Mary, and her establishment on the vacant throne of that country in which she had now passed so many years of exile and imprisonment. The conspiracy came to light about the 3rd August, 1586, and the chief conspirators were executed on the 20th and 21st of the following September. Within a few days afterwards it was determined to bring queen Mary to what was termed a trial for having had a guilty knowledge of this formidable plot. Without being acquainted with this last determination, James had written to Elizabeth, and had also sent a special ambassador

to her, to congratulate her on her escape. The following was her reply. The "one accounted wise" was, no doubt, queen Mary; and probably there is an allusion to her in the previons passage, in which there is mention of "some that are guilty of this murther." This letter is wholly in the queen's handwriting.

I hope, my deare brother, that my many waighty affayres in present may make my lawful excuse for the retardance of the answer to your ambassadeurs charge, but I doute not but you shal be honorably satisfaict in all the pointz of his commission, and next, after my owne errand done, I must rendar you my innumerable thankes for suche amicable offers as hit hathe pleased you make, making you assured that, with Gods grace, you shal neuer have cause to regrat your good thoghtz of my meaninge to deserue as muche good wil and affection as euer one prince owed another, wisching all meanes that may maintaine your faithful trust in me, that neuer wyl seake aught but the increase of your honor and safty. I was in mynd to haue sent you suche accidentz as this late monethe brought furthe,* but the sufficientie of mastar Archebal† made me retaine him, and do rendar you many loving thankes for the joy you take of my narow escape from the chawes of dethe, to wiche I might easely haue fallen but that the hand of the hiest saued me from that snare.

And for that the curse of that desaing rose up from the wicked suggestion of the Jesuites, wiche make hit an axceptable sacrifice to God, and meritorieus to themselfe, that a kinge not of ther profession shuld be murthered, therfor I could kipe my pen no longar from discharging my care of your person, that you suffer not suche vipars to inhabite your lande. The say you gaue leue undar your hand that the might safely come and go. For Gods loue regard your surety aboue all perswations, and account him no subiect that intertaines them. Make not edictz for skorne, but to be obserued. Let them be rebelles, and so pronunsed, that preserue them.

For my part, I am sorier that the cast away so many goodly gentilmen than that the soght my ruine. I thanke God I haue taken

* The discovery of Babington's conspiracy.

† Archibald Douglas was at this time the Scottish ambassador at Elizabeth's court.

more dolor for some that ar gilty of this murther than beare them malice that the soght my dethe. I protest hit before God. But suche iniquitie will not be hide, be hit neuer so craftely handeled; and yet, whan you shal here all, you wyl wondar that one accownted wise* wyl use suche matter so fondly. But no marvel, for whan the ar giuen to a reprobat sence the offen make suche slip.

I haue bine so tedious that I take pitie of your paine, and so wyl ende this skribling, praying you beliue that you could neuer haue chosen a more sure trust that wil neuer begile than myself, who dayly prayes to God for your longe prosperitie.

Your most assured louing sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed*]

A mounsieur mon bon frere et
cousin le roy d'Escose.

[*Contemporary memorandum indorsed*]

Of the 4 of October, 1586.

No. XXIV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

15TH OCTOBER, 1586. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 5. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Thanks for offers of service—desires the Kers may be sent to her—thanks God that James is alive to the dangerous practices of the Jesuits—what was confessed by all the conspirators without torture—Douglas tarries until matters of great importance are concluded upon.

If the date indorsed in a contemporary hand upon this letter is to be relied upon, and there can be no reasonable doubt that it is either the date of the letter or of its receipt, it was written just at the time of the proceedings against queen Mary at Fotheringay. Those proceedings took place on the 14th and 15th of October, and the court was then adjourned to the 25th of the same month at Westminster. The result of

* *i. e.* Mary queen of Scots.

proceedings, which ought to have been so deeply interesting to king James, both as a son and as a sovereign, was no doubt the "matter of weight" for the communication of which Archibald Douglas was detained in London. This letter is altogether in the queen's own hand.

My deare brother, Hit hathe sufficiently infourmed me of your singular care of my estat and brething * that you haue sent one, in suche diligence, to understand the circumstancis of the treasons wiche lately wer lewdly attempted and miraculously vttred. Of whiche I had made participant your embassador afor your lettars came. And now am I to shewe you, that, as I haue receaved many writings from you of great kindnis, yet this last was fraughted with so careful passion, and so effectuall utterance of all best wisches for my safety, and offer of as muche as I could haue desired, that I confes, if I shuld not seake to decerue it, and by merites tye you to continuance, I wer ivell-wordy suche a frind; and, as the thankes my hart yeldes my pen may skant rendar you, so shal the ownar euer decerue to shewe hit not ivel imploied, but on suche a prince as shall requite your good wyl, and kipe a wacheful yee to all doings that may conserne you.

And whereas you offer to send me any traitor of myne residing in your land, I shal not faille but expect th'accomplischement of the same in case any suche shal be, and require you, in the menetime, that spidy deliuerye may be maid of the Cars,† wiche toucheth bothe my conscience and honor.

I thanke God that you beware so sone of Jesuites, that haue bine the source of al thes trecheries in this realme, and wyl sprede, like an iuel, wide, if at the first the be not wided out. I wold I had had Prometheus for companion, for Epimetheus had like have bine myne to sone. What religion is this, that the say the way to saluation is to kil the prince for a merit meritorious? This is that the haue all confessed without tortur or menace.‡ I swere hit, on my worde.

* So in the orig.

† The Kers of Fernihurst, implicated in the death of lord Russell.

‡ This must not be understood to mean that they were none of them subjected to torture or menace, but that the confession in question was not made under torture or menace.

Far be hit from Skotland to harbor any suche, and therfor I wische your good providence may be duly executed, for elz lawes resemble cobwebbes, whens great bees get out by breaking, and small flies stiks fast for wekenis.

As concerning the retarding of your answers to al pointz of your ambassadors charge, you had receved them or now but that matters of that weight that I am sure you wold willingly knowe can not as yet receaue a * conclusion, and til that mastar Douglas doth tarye; and with his retourne I hope you shal receaue honorable requital of his amicable embassade, so as you shal have no cause to regret his arrival; as knoweth the Lord, whom ever I beseche to send † you many joiful dayes of raigne and life.

Your most assured louing and faithful sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

I must giue you many thankes for this poore subject of myne, for whom I wil not stik to do al pleasure for your request, and wold wische him undar the grond if he shuld not serue you with greatest faithe that any seruant may. I haue wylled him tel you some thinges from me; I beseche you heare them fauorablie.

[*Addressed*]

A mon bon frere e cousin le roy d'Escose.

[*Contemporary memorandum,*]

Of the 15 of October, 1586.

No. XXV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

JANUARY, 1586-7. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 6. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Since the arrival of the Scottish commissioners there has been discovered a fresh conspiracy against the queen's life—the danger to Elizabeth from keeping the serpent that poisons her—she appeals to James to weigh her life and reject the care of murder.

The Scottish sovereign saw his mother put upon what is called her trial, unde-

* *An* in the orig. † *Sene* in the orig.

fended, before a tribunal composed entirely of her enemies, without any very strenuous interference on her behalf. But his people had more feeling than himself. They were full of indignation that one who, with all her faults, was still remembered as their once beautiful queen, should be treated with such manifest injustice. They burned to vindicate in her behalf the honour of the nation and the claims of natural justice. The king could not stir abroad without being besieged by popular appeals for vengeance. Even in the innermost chambers of his palace his ears were assailed with the direst imprecations against the queen of England. Thus urged, he was obliged to act with more decision. He sent sir William Keith into England in November 1586, and the master of Gray and sir Robert Melvil in January 1586-7, all of them upon missions of intercession for the unhappy Mary. But his efforts were equally wanting in spirit and in dignity. His representations were hampered by being mixed up with questions respecting his own right of succession to the English throne, which he deemed of more importance than the life of his mother, and were deprived of all weight by the universal belief, founded upon a knowledge of his general character, that he merely simulated an interest which he did not feel, and that if the act were once done, "in time" he might be moved to digest it. Whilst the Scottish ambassadors were in London, a new conspiracy was discovered, or pretended to be discovered, in which Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, was implicated. The ambassador was summoned to lord Burghley's residence, and there confronted with the informer, William Stafford, brother of sir Edward Stafford, the queen's ambassador in France. Each flatly contradicted the other, and the truth or falsehood of the charge remains in doubt between them. The following letter was written by Elizabeth to James purposely to apprise him of this transaction, which, by its effect upon the minds of the people, could not but exercise a very important influence upon the fate of his mother.

I finde myselfe so trobled lest sinistar tales might delude you, my good brother, that I haue willingly found out this messanger, whom I knowe most sincere to you and a true subiect to me, to carry unto you my most sincere meaning toward you, and to request this iust desiar, that you neuer dout my intiere good wyll in your behalfe; and do protest, that, if you knewe, even sins the arrivall of your commissionars, (wiche if the list the may tell you,) the exstreme dangier my life was in, by an embassadors honest silence, if not invention, and suche good complices as haue themselues, by Godz permission, unfolded the hole conspiratie, and haue aduouched hit befor his face, thoght hit be the peril of ther owne lives, yet voluntaryly, one of them neuer beinge suspected brake hit with a councelar to make me acquanted therwith. You may see whither I kipe the serpent that poisons me, whan the confes to haue reward. By sauing of her life the wold haue had mine. Do I not make myself, trowe ye, a goodly

pray for euery wretche to deuour? Transfigure yourself into my state, and suppose what you aught to do, and therafter way my life, and reiect the care of murdar, and shun all baites that may untie our amities, and let all men knowe, that princes knowe best their owne lawes, and misiuge not that you knowe not. For my part, I wyl not liue to wronge the menest. And so I conclude you with your owne wordes, you wyl prosecute or mislike as muche thos that seake my ruine as yf the sought your hart bloud, and wold I had none in myne if I wold not do the like; as God knoweth, to whom I make my humble prayers to inspire you with best desiars.

Your most affectionated sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

I am sending you a gentilman fourwith, the other being fallen sick, who I trust shal yeld you good reason of my actions.

[*Addressed*]

To my verey good brother and cousin, the king of Skotz.

No. XXVI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

ABOUT 1ST FEBRUARY, 1586-7. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 7. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen offers various arguments for the necessity of putting Mary queen of Scots to death.

The Scottish commissioners proposed that Mary should be transferred into the custody of some neutral prince, her relations at the same time entering into an engagement on her behalf, that she would thenceforth abstain from all interference in the affairs of England. The following letter contains Elizabeth's reply. She ridicules the proposal, and vindicates her intention to sacrifice the life of her prisoner, upon the plea of necessity.

Be not caried away, my deare brother, with the lewd perswations of suche, as insteade of infowrming you of my to nideful and heipeles

cause of defending the brethe that God hath given me, to be better spent than spilt by the bloudy invention of traitors handz, may perhaps make you belive, that ether the offense was not so great, or if that cannot serue them, for the over-manifest triall wiche in publik and by the greatest and most in this land hathe bine manifestly proved, yet the wyl make that her life may be saved and myne safe, wiche wold God wer true, for whan you make vewe of my long danger indured thes fowre—wel ny fiue—moneths time to make a tast of, the greatest witz amongs my owne, and than of French, and last of you, wyl graunt with me, that if nide wer not mor than my malice she shuld not have her merite.

And now for a good conclusion of my long-taried-for answer. Your commissionars telz me, that I may trust her in the hande of some indifferent prince, and have all her cousins and allies promis she wil no more seake my ruine. Deare brother and cousin, way in true and equal balance wither the lak not muche good ground whan suche stuf serves for ther bilding. Suppose you I am so mad to truste my life in anothers hand and send hit out of my owne? If the young master of Gray, for curring faueur with you, might fortune say hit, yet old master Mylvin hath yeres ynough to teache him more wisdome than tel a prince of any jugement suche a contrarious frivolous maimed reason. Let your councelors, for your honour, discharge ther duty so muche to you as to declaire the absurditie of such an offer; and, for my part, I do assure myselfe to muche of your wisdome, as, thogh like a most naturall good son you charged them to seake all meanes the could deuis with wit or jugement to save her life, yet I can not, nor do not, allege any fault to you of thes persuations, for I take hit that you wil remember, that advis or desiars aught ever agree with the surtye of the party sent to and honor of the sendar, wiche whan bothe you way, I doute not but your wisdome wil excuse my nide, and waite my necessitie, and not accuse me ether of malice or of hate.

And now to conclude. Make account, I pray you, of my firme frindeship loue and care, of which you may make sure accownt, as one

that never mindz to faile from my worde, nor swarve from our league, but wyl increase, by all good meanes, any action that may make true shewe of my stable amitie; from wiche, my deare brother, let no sinistar whisperars, nor busy troblars of princis states, persuade to leave your surest, and stike to vnstable staies. Suppose them to be but the ecchos to suche whos stipendaries the be, and wyl do more for ther gaine than your good. And so, God hold you ever in his blessed kiping, and make you see your tru frinds. Excuse my not writing sonar, for paine in one of my yees was only the cause.

Your most assured lovinge sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed*]

To my deare brother and cousin,
the kinge of Skotz.

[*Indorsed*]

Resauit 8 Feb^{rij} 1586, be post.

No. XXVII.

DRAFT LETTER FROM JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

MARCH 1586-7. RYDER MSS. JACOB. NO. 5. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The king accepts the queen's purgation of herself "of yon unhappy fact,"—he hopes her honourable behaviour hereafter may persuade the whole world of her innocency,—and that she will give him such satisfaction as will unite the whole island and establish it in the true religion.

A passage in Robert Cary's memoirs is almost a sufficient illustration of this letter. "The next year," he writes, "which was 1586, was the queen of Scots' beheading. I lived in court. . . . At which time (few or none in the court being willing to undertake that journey) her majesty sent me to the king of Scots, to make known her innocence of her sister's death, with letters of credence from herself to assure all that I should affirm.

I was waylaid in Scotland, if I had gone in, to have been murdered; but the king's majesty, knowing the disposition of his people, and the fury they were in, sent to me to Berwick, to let me know that no power of his could warrant my life at that time; therefore, to prevent further mischief, he would send me no convoy, but would send two of his council to the bound road, to receive my letters, or what other message I had to deliver. . . . I was commanded to accept the king's offer. Sir George Hume and the master of Melven met me at the bound road, where I delivered my message in writing, and my letters from the queen to the king; and then came presently post to court, where I had thanks of her majesty for what I had done." (Memoirs, p. 12, edit. 1808.) The letter from Elizabeth to James, of which Cary was the bearer, and the contents of which are mentioned in the following letter, is stated to be in the possession of sir George Warrender. (Tytler's Hist. Scotland, ix. 5.) We are now to present James's answer, which is, in fact, his acceptance of Elizabeth's apology for having put his mother to death. It is printed from a fair draft or copy, altogether in James's handwriting. I know no reason to doubt that it was actually sent, but I am not aware of any evidence that it was so.

Madame and dearest sister, Quhairas by your lettir and bearare, Robert Carey youre seruand and ambassadoure, ye purge youre self of yone unhappy fact. As, on the one pairt, considdering your rank and sex, consanguinitie and longe professed good will to the defunct, together with youre many and solemne attestationis of youre innocentie, I darr not wronge you so farre as not to iudge honorablie of youre unspotted pairt thairin, so, on the other syde, I uishe that youre honorable behauioure in all tymes heirafter may fully persuaide the quhole uorlde of the same. And, as for my pairt, I looke that ye will geue me at this tyme suche a full satisfaction, in all respectis, as sall be a meane to strenthin and unite this yle, establish and maintaine the treu religion, and obleig me to be, as of befoire I war, youre most louing.

[*unsigned.*]

This bearare hath sumquhat to informe you of in my name, quhom I neid not desyre you to credit, for ye knou I loue him.

No. XXVIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

RECEIVED 15 MAY, 1588. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 8. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen is ready to drink of the river of Lethe and resume her friendship with James, to whom she makes a solemn imprecation in proof of her innocency as to the death of queen Mary—professes deep anxiety to serve him—thanks him for his communication to Cary of offers made to him by other powers—warns him of their designs, and begs him either to persecute her as his foe, or, if he will accept her friendship, to use her like a prince who fears none but God.

The kingdoms of England and Scotland continued partially estranged for some few months after the death of Mary, at first unwillingly so on the part of James, but he ultimately yielded to the indignation of his subjects, and, for a little while, felt as bitterly against Elizabeth as any one. In the meantime Elizabeth's difficulties increased. The probability was daily augmenting that the long threatened preparations of Spain would shortly issue in some attempt at an English invasion. The English queen knew that her enemies were endeavouring to secure the aid of Scotland, in which there was a large party ready to join them on the slightest summons, and she determined to thwart them. With that view she sent her relative, Henry Cary lord Hunsdon, to renew her old intimacy with James. Hunsdon accomplished his embassy with as much success as could be hoped. James explained to the English ambassador what tempting offers he had received from Spain, but assured Elizabeth (I use the words of Mr. Tytler) "that she could not detest more deeply than himself the plots of the papists; that none of the messengers of Antichrist, their common enemy, should be encouraged; and that his single reason for suspending their usual loving intelligence was a feeling that she had failed to vindicate herself from the guilt of his mother's blood." (Hist. Scotland, ix. 21.) The following letter was written by Elizabeth to James upon Hunsdon's return to England. It is entirely in the queen's hand.

My pen, my deare brother, hathe remained so long dry as I suppose hit hardly wold have taken ynke againe, but, mollefied by the good justice that with your owne person you have bine pleased to execute,* togither with the large assurance that your wordes have

* "To prove his sincerity against the catholics, he [James] summoned his forces, attacked the castle of Lochmaben, . . . and, reinforced by an English battering train, beat the castle about the ears of its captain, whom he hanged, with six of his men." Tytler's Scotland, ix. 21.

given to some of my ministars, wiche all dothe make me ready to drinke most willingly a large draught of the rivar of Lethe, never minding to thinke of unkindnes, but to turne my yees to the making vp of that sure amitie and stanche good wyll wiche may be presently concluded in ending our league, that so unhappyly, to my harts grife, was delaied and differd, assuring you, on the faith of a christian and worde of a king, that my hart cannot accuse my conscience of one thoght that might infringe our frindship, or let so good a worke. God the chersar of all harts euer so haue misericorde of my soule as my innocencye in that mattar deserveth, and no otherwise; wiche invocation wer to dangerous for a gilty conscience; as I have commanded this bearar more at large to tel you. And for your part, my deare brother, thinke, and that with most truith, that, if I find you willing to imbrase hit, you shal find of me the carefulst prince of your quiet gouuernment, ready to assist you with forse, with treasor, counsel, or any thing you shal haue nede of, as muche as in honor you can require, or upon cause you shal nede. You may the more soundly trust my vowes, for never yet wer the stained, nether wil I make you the first on whom I shal bestowe untruthe, wiche God wyl not suffer me live unto.

I have millions of thankes to rendar you, that so frankely told to Cary suche offers as wer made you, wiche I doute not but you shall euer haue cause to reioyse that you refuse; for wher the meane to weken your surest frind, so be you assured the intended to subiect you and yours. For you see how the deale euen with ther owne in al countries lessar than ther one, and therfor God, for your best, I assure myselfe, wil not let you faule into suche an aperte daunger, undar the cloke, for al that, of harming other and aduansing you; but I hope you wil take Ulisses wexe to saue you from suche sirenes. Hit wer most honorable for you, if so hit please you, to let them knowe that you neuer sent for ther horse, thogh some of your lords (to bold with you in many ther notions and over sawsy in this) made them beliue you consented to ther message, wiche the themselues desired your pardon for. This wyl make them feare you more hereafter, and make them

affraid to attempt you to weaken your assured frind. If I deserue not your amitie persecute me as your foe; but being yours, use me like a prince who feareth none but God.

Your most assured loving sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]
To our good brother and cousin,
the king of Scotland.
[*Indorsed in another hand,*]
15 Maij, 1588.

No. XXIX.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN ABOUT 1ST JULY, 1588. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 9. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen's satisfaction in James's belief that her truth in relation to queen Mary's death is so manifestly proved, and that he is determined to defend his own country against the Spaniards—duplicity attributed to him by their enemies—she has sent an ambassador to conclude a league with him—what does he mean by "satisfaction" for queen Mary's death?

Whatever might be Elizabeth's expressed confidence in the sincerity of James's enmity against the Spaniards, it is not to be supposed that she really felt anything of the kind. Hunsdon's impression of the Scottish sovereign was, that the queen need not "look for amity or kind dealing at his hand. . . . If there were any good inclination in him towards your highness," continued Hunsdon, "which I neither find nor believe to be, yet he hath such bad company about him, and so maliciously bent against your highness, they will not suffer him to remain in it two days together." (Murdin, p. 591.) Still, whatever might be James's dislike to Elizabeth, his interest in the succession to the English throne prevented his making any profession of friendliness to the crusading invaders of England. Elizabeth, as cunning as himself, played with him during the period of danger. Some further communication seems to have ensued after the return of Hunsdon, the result of which appears in the following letter. James professed himself determined to resist all foreign invasion either of England or Scotland, but left a door of quarrel open by harping upon "satisfaction" for the death of his mother. Elizabeth replied in the following autograph letter, which she sent by William Ashby as her ambassador.

I am greatly satisfied, my deare brother, that I find, by your owne graunt, that you bilive the trothe of my actions so manifestly openly proved, and thanke you infinitely that you profes so constant defence of your country, togither [with] myne, from all Spaniardz or strangers; a matter fur otherwise given out by bothe our enemies, withe blotting your fame with assurance of doble dealing, as thogh you assured them under-hand to betake you to ther course; wiche, what a stain hit wer in a princis honor, you yourselfe in jugement can wel deme. For my part, I wyl ever trust your word, til I be so sure of the contrary. Right wel am I persuaded that your greatest daunger shuld chanche you by crossing your strait pathes, for he that hathe two stringes to his bowe may shoute stronger, but never strait; and he that hathe no sure foundation cannot but ruine. God kipe you ever therfor in your wel-begone pathe.

I have sent you this gentleman, as wel to declare my good agrement to send some finischars of our leage, as other matters wiche he hathe to communicate unto you, if hit please you to heare him; as my desiar of answering your good frindeship and amitie in as ample sort as with honor I may, as one that never seakes more of you than that wiche shal be best for your selfe. Assure your selfe of me, therfor, and shewe by dides ever to mantaine hit, and never was ther in christendome betwine two princes surar amitie nor soundar dealing. I vowe hit, and wil performe hit.

And for that you speake oft of satisfaction, I haue much vrged, as now againe I do, to knowe what therby is ment, sins I bothe mynde, and also do, whatsoever may honorably be required of suche as I profes myselfe; and therfor, I require you therin to answer me. And so, trusting that all your protestations lately made me by Cary shalbe readely performed, togither with your constant resolute cours of late professed, I end to molest you longar, but, with my thankes to God that any your offendars be entred to your hands, and not the les not having bine done without some of our helpe, whiche glads me no les than [if it had] happened to our selfe, whose forse shal never faile you in all leaful causes; as knoweth God,

who euer bles you from all malignant spiritz, and increas your happy yeres.

Your most assurest sistar and cousin,
ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]
To our right deere brother,
the king of Scotland.

[*Indorsed,*]
9 July, 1588.

No. XXX.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

1ST AUGUST, 1588. RYDER MSS. JACOB. NO. 6. CONTEMPORARY COPY.

Profuse professions of anxiety on the part of the Scottish king to be employed in the defence of England, not as a stranger but a compatriot.

The history of the following letter may be gathered from the circumstances of the time and a paper printed in Murdin, p. 631. On the 17th July the armada was first descried off the Lizard. There immediately ensued that memorable succession of engagements which terminated in its entire defeat. On the 27th July, the very day on which the shattered fleet cast anchor "near to Calais road," the Scottish ambassador applied to secretary Walsingham to know "what course his master should be advised to take." Walsingham replied, that it would be agreeable alike to Elizabeth and the English people if he were to send "by some gentlemen of good sort to make offer to her majesty . . . to be ready with his person and forces to do what he may for the advancement of the general cause." Walsingham added, that if the ambassador would write "with expedition," and send his letters to him, he would cause them to be conveyed with all possible speed. Walsingham wrote at Richmond, at 11 o'clock in the night of the 27th July; the following letter is dated at Edinburgh on the 1st August, and is in the very terms which Walsingham suggested. Within a few days after it was written the miserable relics of the invincible armada were off the coast of Scotland, scudding northward; escaping in that way the patriotic fury of the English seamen, but only to encounter the equally deadly rage of the tempestuous elements.

Madame and dearest sister, In tymes of straitis trewe freindis are best tryit. Now meritis he thankis of yow and your countray quho kythis himselfe a freind to your countray and estate; and so this tyme must move me to utter my zele to the religioun, and how neir a kinsman and neighbour I finde myself to yow and your countrey.

For this effect then have I sent yow this present, hereby to offer unto yow my forces, my personn, and all that I may command, to be imployd againis yone strangearis in quhatsumever façon, and by quhatsumever meane, as may best serue for the defense of your countray. Wherein I promes to behave myselff, not as a strangear and foreyne prince, bot as your natural sonne and compatriot of your countrey in all respectis. Now, madame, to conclude, as, on the one pairt, I must hartlie thank you for your honorable begymning by your ambassadour in offres for my satisfaction, so, on the other pairt, I pray yow to send presentlie doun commissioneris for the perfyting of the same; quhilk I protest I desyre, not for that I wald have the rewaird to preceid the desertis, bot onelie that I with honour, and all my gude subiectis with a fervent guid will, may imbrace this your godlie and honest cause, quhaireby your adversaries may have ado not with England but with the whole ile of Bretayne. Thus, praying yow to dispeche all your materis with all possible speid, and wishing yow a successe convenient to those that are inuadit by Goddes professed enemies, I commit, madame and dearest sister, your persoun estate and countray to the blessed protection of the Almighty. From Edinburgh, the first of August, 1588.

Your most louing and affectionate brother and cousin,
as tyme sall now trye, JAMES R.

No. XXXI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN AUGUST, 1588. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 10. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The armada having been "well-beaten in our narrow seas," has been carried to the coast of Scotland, where the queen doubts not it will receive small succour, unless the traitors who have been plotting with Spain have been left at liberty—this tyrannical, proud, and brainsick attempt will be the beginning of the ruin of the king of Spain; he has procured Elizabeth's greatest glory.

This noble letter, written by Elizabeth in the very culminating moment of her "greatest glory," is full of that energy which more or less pervades every thing that fell from her

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pen. The persons whom she pretends to believe James cannot have left at liberty were, of course, Huntly and the other catholic earls who were continually intriguing with Spain through the jesuits. Her ambassador whom she so highly praises was Sir Robert Sidney. This letter is printed in Rymer's Fœdera, together with the one immediately preceding, (vol. xvi. 18, 19,) but with such blanks and mistakes as fully justify their being reprinted. Rymer printed from transcripts in the Cotton MS. Caligula, D. I. Mr. Ryder possesses a contemporary copy of James's letter, and the original of Elizabeth's striking reply.

Now may appeare, my deare brother, how malice conioined with might strivest* to make a shameful end to a vilanous beginning, for, by Godz singular fauor, having ther flete wel-beaten in our narow seas, and pressing, with all violence, to atcheue some watering place, to continue ther pretended invation, the windz have carried them to your costes, wher I dout not the shal receaue smal succor and les welcome; vnles thos lordz that, so traitors like, wold belie ther owne prince, and promis another king reliefe in your name, be suffred to live at libertye, to dishonor you, peril you, and aduance some other (wiche God forbid you suffer them live to do). Therfor I send you this gentilman, a rare younge man and a wise, to declare unto yov my ful opinion in this greate cause, as one that neuer wyl abuse you to serve my owne turne; nor wyl you do aught that myselfe wold not perfourme if I wer in your place. You may assure yourselfe that, for my part, I dout no whit but that all this tirannical prowd and brainsick attempt wil be the beginning, thogh not the end, of the ruine of that king, that, most unkingly, euen in midz of treating peace, begins this wrongful war. He hathe procured my greatest glory that ment my sorest wrack, and hathe so dimmed the light of his svnshine, that who hathe a wyl to obtaine shame let them kipe his forses companye. But for al this, for yourselfe sake, let not the frendz of Spain be suffred to yeld them forse; for thogh I feare not in the end the sequele, yet if, by leaving them unhelped, you may increase the Englisch hartz unto you, you shal not do the worst dede for your behalfe; for if aught shuld be done, your excuse wyl play the *boiteux;* if you make not sure worke with the likely men to do hit. Looke wel unto hit, I besiche you.

The necessity of this matter makes my skribling the more spidye,

* So in the orig.

hoping that you wyl mesure my good affection with the right balance of my actions, wiche to you shalbe euer suche as I haue professed, not douting of the reciproque of your behalfe, according as my last messengier unto you hathe at large signefied, for the wiche I rendar you a milion of grateful thankes togither, for the last general prohibition to your subiectz not to fostar nor ayde our general foe, of wiche I dout not the obseruation if the ringeleaders be safe in your handz; as knoweth God, who euer haue you in his blessed kiping, with many happy yeres of raigne.

Your most assured louing sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

To my verey good brother the king of Scottz.

No. XXXII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN IN SEPTEMBER, 1588. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 50.

The king writes on the sudden return of an English ambassador—thanks the queen for money, which he will repay with forces when required—the Spanish fleet never came within "a kenning" of the coasts of Scotland.

The ambassador who is referred to in the following letter was, as I suppose and have no doubt, sir Robert Sidney, brother of sir Philip, in which case, the uncle whose sudden death occasioned the ambassador's unexpected return to England was the celebrated Robert Dudley earl of Leycester. Camden mentions that sir Robert Sidney was in Scotland in 1588, and returned in time to augment the general joy at the defeat of the armada with tidings of the constant amity of the Scottish king, but he does not mention the payment of "the summes of money" which are alluded to in this letter, and which were, no doubt, among the causes of James's constant amity. It will perhaps be thought that James refers very slightingly to the death of a person so distinguished in the court of Elizabeth as her favourite Leycester.

Madame and dearest sister, The suddaine pairting of this honorable gentleman, youre ambassadoure, upon thaise unfortunatt and displeasant neuis of his onkle, hes mouit me with the more haist to trace theis feu lynes unto you; first, to thanke you, as uell for the sending so rare a gentleman unto me, to quhose brother I was so

farre beholden; as also, for the tayce * sending me such summes of money, quhiche, according to the league, I sall thankfullie repaye with forces of men, quhensoeuer youre estait sall so requyre, according as my last letter hath maid you certified; not doubting but, as ye haue honorable begunn, so ye uill follou foorth youre course touardis me, quhiche thairby † I shall so procure the concurrence of all my goode subjectis with me in this course as sall make my friendshippe the more steadable unto you. The next is to pray you most hairtly, that in any thing concerning this gentleman fallin out by the death of his onkle, ye will haue a fauorable consideration of him for my sayke, that he may not haue occasion to repent him of his absence at suche a tyme. All other things I remitt to his credite, praying you to thinke of me as of one quho constantlie shall contineu his professed course, and remaine,

Youre most louing and affectionat brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

Postcrip. I thocht goode, in kaice of sinistre reportis, madame, hereby to assure you that the Spanishe flete neuer entered uithin any roade or heauen within my dominion, nor neuer came uithin a kenning neere to any of my costis.

No. XXXIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

SEPTEMBER, 1589. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 24. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen sends an ambassador with "some tokens" in sign of her congratulation upon James's approaching marriage—but for her honour's sake, she would have hied post to be present at the marriage—the affection which she has borne from childhood to the parents of his bride.

This letter, and several subsequent ones, have relation to the period of the marriage of

* So in the orig. The word which the transcriber mistook was perhaps "layte."

† Perhaps this ought to be, "quhiche-whairby."

king James. The present one was written, as it seems to me, at the time when the espoused queen, having set sail from her native Denmark, was daily expected to arrive in Scotland. It is well known that she was obliged by long-continued contrary winds to take shelter in a port of Norway, and that James most chivalrously set sail from Scotland and fetched her from the obscure harbour in which she had found refuge.

As no tidinges, my most deare brother, can euer come out of season to me that may brede you honor or contentement, so this last newes, thogh soudaine, of the aproching neare of your coming quene, bids me so muche to bode you all the best blessings that the mighty God can send you, as in witnis therof to salute you bothe with an embassader, and some tokens, for signe of the happinis I wische that feast, and the gladnis my hart shuld haue receued if hit wer as lawfull to honor hit with my presence as hit is sure that I bles hit with my orasoms. And for that the spide of suche a bargen was far greatar than the expectation of her arrivall, you wyll, I trust, blame yourselfe, and impute no neglect to me, that my messangers come after the solempnites: for I assure you, but for my honor sake, my wyl wold haue hied ther post with smaller company than fitz my place. And in meane while, let hit content you to giue me so muche right as to assure yourselfe no witnis ther of so princely a pact shall wische hit more succes, nor greatar lasting joy, than myselfe, that wischeth sign king no longar while than to see the perfourmance of suche alliance, hauinge besides yourself, wiche is the principall, an inward zele, wiche, sins my childhold, I haue borne to the parentes of your honorable quene, to whome I desiar all felicitie, and neuer shal skrape from my memorye the intire loue the bare me; as knoweth God, who euer bles you and gide you.

Your most assured loving sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

To my deare brother the king of Skotes.

No. XXXIV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

1590. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 27. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen's thankfulness that James's untimely and evil-seasoned journey has so far prospered—warns him of dangerous intrigues which are in progress during his absence and which are to be attributed to his own past foolish levity—urges him to hie his return and to give needful directions in the mean time—returns her thanks for a proposal for peace with Spain, which she supposes came through him—her wrongs are such as a king ought rather to die than not avenge, but she will not oppose any proposal for stopping christian blood.

This letter was written to James during his absence in Denmark. The conspiracies alluded to were those of Huntly and his confederates, the great "catholic earls" of Scotland.

Althogh my faithe stands me, my deare brother, in so good stede, as, without assurance by any one [but] your owne hand-worke, I do beliue that God hathe, of his goodnes more than your hide, prosperd to good end your vntimely and, if I dare tel truthe, ivel-seasoned journey, yet I may no longar, thogh my courage could stay me til you first began, that best hathe cause to acknowelege thankfulnes, stay but let you knowe, what humble sacrifice of thankes I yeld to the Omnipotent for your safest stop for al your hard cours, and am so bold to chalenge some part of that seurty to my heartiest oraisons powred out of no fained lippes, wiche best is pleasing to his eares. And do beseche the same to send you, in this noble-raced linage, suche lasting joy as the continuance may yeld you bothe happy.

And now to talke with you frely as paper may vttar conceit. Eccept my howrely care for your broken countrey, to to muche infected with the maladie of strangers humors, and to receue no medecin so wel compounded as if the owner make the mixture appropriatted to the qualetye of the siknes. Knowe you, my deare brother, for certaine,

that thos ulcers that wer to muche skined with the doulcenes of your applications wer but falsly shaded, and wer within filled with suche venom as hathe burst out sins your departure with most lewd offers to another king to enter your land, with declaration of ther assured perfourmance of ther by-passed helpes, and numbars great to take ether part. If with my yees I had not vewed thes treasons, I would be aschamed to write them you. And shal I tel you my thoght herein? I assure you, you ar wel worthy of suche traitors, that, whan you knewe them, and had them, you betraied your owne seurty in fauoring ther liues. Good Lord! who but yourself wold haue left suche peple to be abel to do you wrong. Giue ordar with spide that suche skape not your correction, and hie your retourne, that is more your honor than a other mans land, without you mynde to make you seme innocent of your realmes ruine, whan absence wil sarue but for your bad excuse. Sild recouvers kings ther dominion whan greattar posses hit, yea, suche as ther owne skars may indure for ther tirany.

My deare brother, you see how fur my intire care drawes me out of the limites that anothers affaires shuld plucke me to, but all suche error I hope you wyl impute to affection, not my curiositie, and beare with ouerplaine imputation, sins hit springs of so good a roote. I craue of you, for your owne best, to authorize, yea, animate, your faithfulst and giltles of this conspiratie, that the feare not to apprehend in time (I pray God not to late), all suche as any way the may suspect or knowe to be pertakers of this faction. Beliue no more to dandel such babies, as may, or they come to honestie, shake your chaire, for you haue had to sowre experience what suche vane opinions hath bred you. I wyl not faile, from time to other, to warne suche as I may thinke most clere of this infection of all my knowelege in this dangerous season, daring so muche in your absence as to animat them not to lingar this great mattar til your retourne, for I knowe that wer to late; the dayes that the haue giuen ar shortar than to expect so longe. If my prayers wer not more than my good [writing], I shuld be sory to retaine your yees on so rude skribling, wherfor I

end, with my incessant prayers to God for your safe kiping and ioyful retourne.

Your most affectionat lovinge sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

To my deere brother and cousin the king of Scotland.

After the finisching of my lettar, ther came to my handz an overtur that makes me suppose hit could not, nor durst not, haue bine offerd me without your consent, albeit for hit I nether saw your commission nor receued from you one word therof, but for al that, hit makes me see that your sight serues you not alone for present vewe, but makes you to beholde the state of distant countries wiche do fele the smart of my vndeserued hate, and makes the innocent bloud cal for reuenge of euel-framed iniuries. And thogh my conscience cannot accuse my thoghts to haue by any cause procured suche an ennemy, and that he hathe to plainlye soght my life and kingdome, yet, I think myselfe obliged to you that wold make end of so uniust a war, and acknowelege the ded king of famous memorie * more happy in suche faithful councelars than I see many kings in ther liuing seruantz. And for that they offer me, I wyl euer cronicle them amonge the iust fulfillars of true trust. And albeit my wrongs be suche as nature of a king aught rather, for ther particular, dye than not reuenge, yet the top of my courage shal neuer ouerstreche my hart from care of christian bloud, and for that alone, no feare of him, I protest to God, from whom bothe iust quarel, faithful subjectz, and valiant acts I dout not wil defend: yet, am I thus content that you shal folowe the wel-deuised methode, and if he wyl giue playne grant without a gileful meaning, I wil make knowen that in me the lack of so good a worke shal neuer be found.

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* Frederick II. of Denmark died 4th April 1588. His ministers, then in the service of his son and successor, and James, during his stay in Denmark, set on foot a proposal for a peace between England and Spain, to which this postscript alludes.

No. XXXV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

MAY 1590. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. 26. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Congratulations upon James's return to Scotland with his queen—he is urged to punish those of his subjects who have been plotting in his absence, and is forewarned of danger in case he neglects—the queen knows that "some had the view of her letters"—if her admonitions vain she will counsel no more.

James having returned home, the queen reiterates the advice contained in her last letter. Neglect of her forewarning soon produced the results which she anticipated.

The strife is great, my deare brother, wiche shuld win, ether the care of your perilous journey or the joy of your safe retourne, but, leuing them in ther batail, I assure you I can scars giue a tru verdit who is the victorar, but only this I dare say, that no one that liveth thankes God more deuoutly for al your eskapes, nor is more joyful of your sure arrivall than myself, who could not stay but salute you, togither with your honorable espouse, and by this ambassade make you know how grateful suche newes wer to me, besichen God to bles you withe suche benedictions as he bestoith with largist giftes, and make your contentementz long and prosperous.

And now that you bied wher yourself, I doubt not, wyl haue an accownt of what in your absence hathe bine ordred, I hope you wyl not be careles of suche practisis as hathe passed from any of yours without your commission, spetially suche attemptz as might ruin your realme and danger you. If any respect whatever make you neglect so expedient a worke, I am affraid your careles hide wil worke your unlooked danger. Thinke not but I knowe how some had the vewe of my lettars, in wiche you did your selfe les honor than to me harme, and yet you see hit warnes me not ynough from againe to ventur the like hap. But as no hate to any of them (God I cal to witnis) procured me hireto, so only care of your sure gouuernement hathe made me deale this far, and, if I see al admonition so uaine, I wil hireafter wische al wel, but counsel no more at all. I can not

forget to reiterat my thankes for suche your offars as hit pleased you by justice-clarke to make me, and as I shal hire more therof from you I shal concur with you in so holy an action. And thus I end troubling you with my skribling, with my prayers to the Almighty for al prosperitie in your dayes.

Your most affectionat sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

To our deere and loving
brother the king of Scotland.

No. XXXVI.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

18TH MARCH 1588-9. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 11.

The king thanks Elizabeth for acquainting him with certain intercepted letters—he has sent the laird of Wemyss to establish a solid friendship between England and Scotland, and to solicit the queen's advice as to how the king may settle his state and person in such respects as may be required of one of his age and calling.

The following extract from Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, ix. 27, sufficiently illustrates this letter. "Letters were intercepted by Burghley which proved in the clearest manner an intended rebellion [in Scotland]. They were seized on the person of a Scotsman, who was detected carrying them to the prince of Parma, and expressed, on the part of Huntly, Morton, Errol, and the rest of the catholic noblemen and gentry of Scotland, their infinite regret at the discomfiture of the Armada . . they assured the Spanish king that six thousand Spaniards once landed there [in Scotland] would be joined by an infinite multitude of Scotsmen animated with the bitterest hatred to England, and who would serve him as faithfully as his own subjects . . Copies of these letters were instantly sent down to James." Mr. Tytler adds, what, but for our knowledge of James's habitual deceitfulness, would appear very strange to the reader of the following letter, that James "at first disbelieved the whole story, and dealt so leniently with the principal conspirators, that the plot, instead of being crushed in its first growth, spread its ramifications throughout the country, especially the northern counties, and grew more dangerous than before. Huntly was indeed imprisoned, but his confinement was a mere farce. The king visited him in

his chamber and dined there; permitted his wife and servants to communicate freely with him; wrote him an affectionate remonstrance, and even kissed and caressed him." An open rebellion, which was easily put down, was the result. This letter has been unfortunately misplaced. It should have been No. XXXIII.

Madame and dearest sister, I uaire to inexcusablie to blaime of inaqualitie, if I should prease by complements of wordis, to conteruail your actionis touardis me at this time, in the cairfull, kynde, and freindlie acquenting me with such intercepted letteris, as micht concerne my persone and estait. My thankfullness, then, must kythe in actionis, quhich ye may assure yourself shall at no tyme be spairid for the uellfair of your person, estait, and cuntrie. My diligence, in the mean tyme, for tryall of this practices, I remit to the daylie report of youre ambassadour heir,* and for the obuiating of those and the like assaultes of Sathan against this yle, I have heiruith directed unto you my trustie and familiare seruant the lairde of Ueimis, alsueill by establishing a solid freindship amongst us to strenthen this yle against all the aueiud inuaideris thair of, as to craue youre aduyce for my particulare behauioure in preparing myself and cuntrie as the necesitie of the time shall require; and speciallye, hou to settle my stait and person in suche respectis as may be requiyred of one of my age and calling. But, remitting the particulairis heirof to my ambassadoure, quhom I pray you firmlie to trust, I will, with my many and hairtiest thankes unto you for your so louing using of me at this tyme, committ you to the safe protection of the Allmichtie. From my palleys of Holirud house, the xviij. daye of March 1588.

Your most louing and affectionate brother and cousin,

James R.

I pray you, madame, to cause hasten hir the commissioneris of the Lou Contreys for the reparation of thaise debtis craved by some of my subjects.

* William Ashby was at this time resident English ambassador in Scotland.

No. XXXVII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

6TH JULY, 1590. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 29. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Elizabeth is well recompensed for all her trouble taken for James by the affection expressed on his behalf by the bearer—rise of a dangerous sect who would have no kings but a presbytery—James is requested to stop the mouths or make shorter the tongues of the ministers in Scotland who pray for those who are persecuted in England for the sake of the gospel—and not to harbour English traitors.

The following letter was sent to James by sir John Carmichael, whom the Scottish monarch had deputed to the English court upon a special embassy in relation to a proposal for a general peace. Mr. Tytler has printed it with a few variations (Hist. Scotland, ix. 54) from a copy preserved in the state paper office, which gives the date under which I have placed it. The bitter passages respecting the English presbyterians shew in what way Elizabeth regarded the proceedings of Travers, Cartwright, and their coadjutors.

Greatar promises, more affection, and grauntz of more acknowelegings of receued good turnes, my deare brother, none can bettar remember than this gentilman by your charge hathe made me understand; wherby I thinke all my endeuors wel recompensed, that see them so wel acknoweleged; and do trust that my counseles, if the so muche content you, wil serue for memorialz to turne your actions to serue the turne of your safe gouernement, and make the lookars-on honor your worthe, and reuerence suche a rular.

And lest fayre semblance, that easely may begile, do not brede your ignorance of suche persons as ether pretend religion or dissemble deuotion, let me warne you that ther is risen, bothe in your realme and myne, a secte of perilous consequence, suche as wold haue no kings but a presbitrye, and take our place while the inioy our privilege, with a shade of Godes word, wiche non is juged to folow right without by ther censure the be so demed. Yea, looke we wel unto them. Whan the haue made in our peoples hartz a doubt of our religion, and that we erre if the say so, what perilous

issue this may make I rather thinke than mynde to write. *Sapienti pauca.* I pray you stap the mouthes, or make shortar the toungz, of suche ministars as dare presume to make oraison in ther pulpitz for the persecuted in Ingland for the gospel.

Suppose you, my deare brother, that I can tollerat suche scandalz of my sincere gouuernement? No. I hope, howsoeuer you be pleased to beare with ther audacitie towards your selfe, yet you wil not suffar a strange king receaue that indignitie at suche caterpilars hand, that, instede of fruit, I am affraid wil stuf your realme with venom. Of this I haue particularisd more to this bearar, togither with other answers to his charge, besiching you to heare them, and not to giue more harbor-rome to vacabond traitors and seditious inventors, but to returne them to me, or banische them your land. And thus, with my many thankes for your honorable intertainementz of my late embassade,* I commit you to God, who euer preserue you from al iuel counsel, and send you grace to folow the best.

Your most assured loving sistar and cousin,

[*Addressed,*] ELIZABETH R.

To my deere brother,
the king of Scotland.

No. XXXVIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN APRIL 1591. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 11. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Letter of thanks to James for delivering up to the queen her "lewd rebel," with emphatic promises of similar conduct on her part, if the occasion should arise.

The "lewd rebel," to whom the following letter relates, was Brien O'Rourke, a native

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* The earl of Worcester was sent to Edinburgh in June 1590 to invest the Scottish monarch with the order of the garter.

Irish chieftain. He was arraigned at Westminster upon a charge of treason on the following 28th October. The indictment was explained to him by a sworn interpreter—for O'Rourke was ignorant of English. He refused to be tried by a jury unless he had counsel assigned to defend him, and unless the queen would be one of the jurors. Sentence of death was passed upon him, and he was executed at Tyburn, with all the customary horrors, on the 3rd November, 1591. A particular account of this terrible act of barbarity is given by Stowe and Camden. The case is not printed in the collections of state trials.

My deare brother, As ther is naught that bredes more for-thinking repentance and agrived thoughtes than good turnes to harme the giuers ayde,* so hathe no bonde euer tied more honorable mynds, than the shewes of any acquital by grateful acknowelegement in plain actions; for wordes be leues and dides the fruites. Wiche I may not forget to remember in your present fact, granted so frely, in deliuering up my lewde rebel, whose person and forse, thogh nether be aught worthe, as who, for his greatnes, being a base varlet, drawes few for sequel, nor his birthe so great as a meanar than a prince nides feare, yet I wold haue bine agrived that so lewde a mynd shuld haue found fauor in so deare a brothers dominion, and do assure you, that I wil lay this part in the safest cornar of my memorye, to serue me for example of a like acquital, if suche ivel accident shuld happen you. And in meane while, thanke myselfe, not you alone, that haue made so good a choise of so sounde an election upon whom to spend the chifest care of my endeuors, as I hope you haue hiretofore tried, and this may make increase.

The two gentilmen, I trust, shal receaue your thanke for perfourming so wel ther charge, wiche, I beseche you for my sake, the may receaue; not a litel wondring why your subiectz of Glasco shuld doute the stop of ther trafique for so poore a caytife, who was neuer of abilitie to make or giue trafique. The ar sorely misinfourmed of his greatnes. A few sort of outlawes fils up his traine, and of the meanest sort. I trust you wyl make them knowe your faithful ministars must not be niknamed "the English feade men."

* *i. e.* good turns made to conduce to the harm of the doer.

I protest I haue no suche in your realme, for, if the principal faile me, I shal neuer care for *adiacentia*.

I rendar for this my most loving and deare thankes, acknoweleging the kinnes more than the act, and bothe so honorable as shal neuer be blotted out of my thankefulst mynde, adding therto the sincere ordar giuen for our bordars matters; tokens sufficient to shewe your grateful hart and princely mynd, wiche I meane to requite and acknowlege, as knoweth the liuing God, who I am sure wyl make your subiectz the surar that you abhor anothers traitors. Among wiche, I must not forget your most kind vsage in the answer that my arche-rebel, Westmarland, shal receue from you, wiche shal serue him, and all suche, to knowe that ther neuer shal remane with you ether helpe or hap for suche wicked members of a kingly rule. This shal retourne to you with triple fold of good regard amonge your owne, if the see your justice to anothers traitor, yea to suche a one as made me knowe a traitor in my land.* I wyl end to troble your yees with my skribling, but neuer end to care for you and yours as for my owne. God euer bles you, and make you kipe your regal authoritie, and make yours knowe you.

Your most assured loving sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed*,]

To my verey good brother,
the king of Scotz.
d. d.

[*Indorsed*,]

Resaued from Mr. Bowes, *penult. April.* 1591.

* Westmerland is afterwards termed by Elizabeth "the first traitor that ever my reign had."

No. XXXIX.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

18TH OCTOBER, 1591. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 35. ORIG.

The queen requests the Scottish king to concur with her in assenting to the temporary absence of Robert Bowes, her ambassador, to attend to his private affairs in Yorkshire and Durham.

Right high right excellent and mighty prince, our deerest brother and cousin, we greete you well. Our servant, Robert Bowes, holding the place of our ambassadour with you, hath, upon vrgent cause concerning himself in his perticuler state, humbly signified his desier to haue som small tyme graunted vnto him for his repayre into Yorkshire and the bissoprike of Durham, the places where his landes and lyving doo laye, wherein he having receauid som hurt and detriment since the time of his absence, through the charge he hath from us with you, is in danger of furder losse if he may not in tyme prevent the same; we haue, therfore, bene pleased for our parte to condescend to his humble request herein, as a matter very reasonable to be graunted him, as we thinke yourself will also judge of it, and be pleased to gyve your good liking and assent thervnto, which we desier you to doo, not doubting but in six or eight weekes he shall settle and compound his causes in such good sorte as to return again well furnished to the place of his charge with you, to your good contentment. And so, right high right excellent and mighty prynce, and deerest brother and cousin, in our most affectionate manner we commend vs to you, and you to the protection of Almighty God. Given at our mannor of Richmond, the xviijth of October, 1591.

Your loving sistar and cousin,

[*Addressed,*] ELIZABETH R.

To the right high right excellent and
mighty prince, our deerest brother and
cousin, the king of Scotland.

[*Indorsed,*] 1591. 3 Nouemb. Delyvered be Mr. Bowes.

No. XL.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

24TH DECEMBER 1591. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 14.

The king has awaited letters from Elizabeth—has written thrice without reply—wishes to be informed, 1st, respecting Buccleuch's detention at Berwick for some border matter, and, 2nd, respecting the non-payment of the pension allowed by Elizabeth to James, respecting which he writes with considerable indignation.

Madame and derest sister, Your silence hathe bein so long, and I haue so long awaited upon your breaking thairof, that I am forced now at last to remember you again by this few lines. I haue written thrie letters unto you, and has never as yett recaued answer of any of them, aither by word or write, wich movis me to thinke that my lettres neuer came to youre hands, especially my last, quhairin I wrote als plainly, and als louingly, unto you as I could. Quhat can I thinke, except that aither ye haue bein by sume greatly abused, or els in other weghtie affaires greatly distracted? Howsomever it be, I am sure ye could not haue taken a greatar tryall of my patience; but presupposing that my lettres came neuer to youre hands, yet could you not be ignorant of the subject of thaime, alswell by Bukleuche his deteaining in Barwick, as by Robert Tousies endles deteaning thair. As for Bukleuche, I thought the greate care and pains that all this year I had takin in the bordor matters, togither with his delyuerie, had geuin als muche proofe of my good will as deserued at the least ane anser, if not thanks. For my part, I am ready to perfyte the entrie of the all pledges; but if that course lyke you not, as it appearis by your long delays, I wold lykwais know it. And as for Robert Tousies earand, it is turned from one honorable annuitie to a volantarie uncertaintie almost after long begging, and now, at last, to als muche worse than nothing, as there is tyme spent in the seeking of it. I pray you, madame, excuse my impatience in this; it is no wonder I wearie to be so long time sutire, as one who was not borne to be a beggar, but to be beggit at. A short refusall

had les displeasid me than any anserlesse and disdainfull delay. Remember, that as I ame your kinsman, so am I a true prince. The disdaining of me can be noe honor to you. The use of tempting your freinds so sore cane turne you to no advantage. If you thinke my frendshipe worthie that annuitie, remember, *qui cito dat bis dat.* Let not the circumstances of the giver disgrace the gifte, for I wearie to be a suter, and for your pleasure I will promeis neuer to chalenge that debt any more if ye will not be contente als frielie to pay it as freelie ye promusit it. I must, once again, pray you to excuse my impatience, for thaire cannot a greater greif cum to an honest hairt than to be slightied be thaime at quhose handis he hathe deseruid so well as my conscience bearis me upright recorde I have euer done at youris. My faulte is the lesse that I complaine of you to your selfe; and I will yet hope that ye will giue furth a just sentence in my favour, and applaud my free speaking in pleading my just cause. And thus, madame and dearest sister, I committ you to the tuition of the Almightie. From Holyrud house, the 24th December, 1591.

Your most louing and affectionat brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. XLI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY 1591-2. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 12. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen is grateful for James's escape from great danger which she foretold, although, Cassandra like, she was never credited—the rebellion of the catholic lords was the calends of this last attempt—she does not like to lose labour in giving advice which is of no avail—prays that God may unseal his eyes.

The danger alluded to in the following letter arose from one of those violent attempts upon the liberty of the sovereign to which James was so often exposed. On the present occasion the notorious Bothwell was the actor. Its history is thus given by Mr. Tytler: "Attacking the palace of Holyrood at the head of his desperate followers, he [Bothwell] had nearly surprised and made prisoners both the king and the chancellor . . An alarm was given: the king took refuge in one of the turrets; the chancellor barricaded his room,

and bravely beat off the assailants ; whilst the citizens of Edinburgh, headed by their provost, rushed into the outer court of the palace, and, cutting their way through the outer ranks of the borderers, compelled Bothwell to precipitate flight."—Scotland, ix. 64.

My deare brother, Thogh the heringe of your most daungerous peril be that thing that I most reuerently rendar my most lowly thankes to God that you, by his mighty hand, hath skaped, yet hathe hit bine no other hazard than suche as bothe hathe bine forsien and fortold; but Cassandra was neuer credited til the mishap had rather chanched than was prevented. The poore man who, against his wyl, was intercepted with all suche epistelz as traitors sent and receved, was for reward put to the bootes; so litel was any thing regarded that procided from your best frind, and yet the matter made to aparant, or many days after, throw the traiterous assembly of your euidant rebelz, that with banner displaied and again you in the fild. Thes wer the calendes of this late attempt. I knowe not what to write, so litel do I like to loose labor in vaine; for if I saw counsel auaill, or aught pursued in due time or season, I shuld thinke my time fortunatly spent to make you reape the due fruit of right oportunitie; but I see you haue no luk to helpe your state, nor to assure you from treasons leasur. You giue to muche respit to rid your harme and shorten others hast. Wel, I wyl pray for you, that God wyl unseal your yees, that to long haue bin shut, and do require you thinke that none shal more joy therat than myselfe, that most I am sure grives the contrary. Aston hathe told me some of your request, to wiche I haue made so reasonable answer as in reason may wel content. Praying God to defend you from all mishap or treason,

Your most assured loving sistar and cousin,

[*Addressed,*] ELIZABETH R.

To my right deare brother the king of Skotz.

d. d.

[*Indorsed,*] Delivered be Roger Ashton, xxviij. Jarij 1591.

No. XLII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY 1592-3. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 13. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Although James had not answered the queen's late letters she cannot withhold writing in the midst of the wonders that meet her ears—she reviews her past conduct towards the Scottish king from his childhood—reminds him of his having disbelieved the discovery of the treason of the catholic lords, and put her messenger into the boots—a lewd fellow has now been apprehended with letters and instructions—she intreats that he may be well handled—she has heard that James has granted a pardon to a person who conspired against her—she requires that the conspirators be intrapped before they are aware.

The following letter, which must take a high place among the most vigorous compositions of the queen, was written to James upon the discovery of that conspiracy which is familiarly known by the name of the Spanish Blanks. Upon the person of George Ker, brother of lord Newbottle, who was arrested in one of the small islands at the mouth of the Clyde whilst endeavouring to get away to Spain, were found various mysterious blank papers addressed to the king of Spain, and signed by Huntly, Errol, Angus, and the other chiefs of the catholic party. Being exposed to torture, the unfortunate messenger confessed that these blanks were a contrivance of certain Jesuits, and that they were to be filled up by him upon his arrival in Spain in certain forms agreed upon with the persons whose signatures they bore, and that they related to a meditated landing of thirty thousand Spanish troops in Scotland, who were to be joined by the subscribers with fifteen thousand of their own retainers. Upon the first discovery of this dangerous plot, but before its details were fully unravelled, Elizabeth addressed the following stimulating letter to the Scottish monarch, whose mode of treating the previous conspiracies of the same persons had very much displeased her majesty.

My most deare brother, Wondars and marvelles do so assaill my conceatz, as that the long expecting of your nideful answer to matters of suche waight as my late lettars caried nides not seame strange. Thogh I knowe the aught be more regardid, and spidely performed, yet suche I see the emminent danger and wel-ny ready approche of your states ruin, your liues peril, and naighbors wrong, as I may not (to kipe you company) neglect what I shuld, thogh you forget that you aught. I am sory I am driuen from warninge to heed, and from to muche trust to seake a tru way how your dides, not your wordz, may make me assurance that you be no way gilty

of your owne decay and other danger. Receue, therfor, in short, what cours I mynd to hold, and how you may make bold of my unfained loue and euer constant regard.

You knowe, my deare brother, that, sins you first brethed, I regarded alwais to conserue hit as my womb hit had bine you bare. Yea, I withstode the handz and helps of a mighty king to make you safe, iven gained by the bloud of many my deare subiectz liues. I made myself the bulwark bitwixt you and your harmes whan many a wyle was invented to stele you from your land, and making other posses your soile. Whan your best holdz wer in my handz, did I retaine them? Nay, I bothe conserved them and rendred them to you. Could I indure (thogh to my great expence) that forenmars shuld haue foteing in your kingdome, albeit ther was than some lawfull semblance to make other suppose (that cared not as I did) that ther was no danger ment? No. I neuer left til all the Frenche that kept ther life parted from your soile, and so hit pleased the Hiest to bles me in that action, as you haue euer sins raigned void of other nation than your owne. Now, to preserue this, you haue overslipt so many soundry and dangerous attemps, in nether uniting with them whan you knewe them, nor cutting them of whan you had them, that if you hast no bettar now than hiretofor, hit wyl be to late to helpe whan non shal avale you.

Let me remember you how wel I was thanked, or he rewarded, that ons broght all the lettars of all thos wicked conspirators of the Spanische faction, even the selfe same that yet stil you haue, to your eminent peril, conserued in ther estates. Was I not so muche douted as hit was thoght an Italian invention to make you holde me dearer, and contrived of malice, not don by cause; and, in that respect, the poore man, that knewe no other of his taking but as if thiues had assailed him, he most cruelly soufert so giltles a marterdome as his tormentors douted his life; so sore had he the bootes, whan the wer ivelworthy life that bade hit. See what good incouragement I receved for many wacheful cares for your best safty! Wel, did this so discomfort my good wyl as, for al this, did I not euer serue for your true espiall, iven whan you left your land and yours ready, wel-ny,

to receaue suche foraine forsis as the required and wer promised; wiche, if you had pleased to knowe, was and is to evident to be proved. But what of all this, if he who most aught, did naught to assure him, or to requite them?

Now, of late, by a fortunate good hap, a lewd felowe hathe bine apprehended with lettars and instructions. I pray God he be so wel handeled as he may confes all his knowlege in the Spanische conspiracie, and that you use not this man as slightly as you don the ringeleaders of this treason. I vowe, if you do not rake hit to the botome, you wyl verefie what many a wise man hathe (vewing your procidings) judged of your gilttines of your owne wrack; with a wining, that the wyl you no harme in inabling you with so riche a protector, that wyl prove, in the ende, a destroiar.

I haue beheld, of late, a strange, dishonorable, and dangerous pardon, wiche if hit be true, you haue not only neglected yourselfe but wronged me, that haue to muche procured your good to be so ivelguerdoned with suche a wrong, as to haue a fre forgiuenes of aught conspired against my person and estat. Suppose you, my deare brother, that thes be not rather enseignes of an enemy than the tast of a frinde? I require, therfor, to al this, a resolute answer, wiche I chalenge of right, that may be dides, bothe by spidy apprehension with bisy regard, and not in sort as publik rumor may precede present action, but rather that the be intrapped or the do looke therfor; for I may make deme you wold not haue [them] taken, and what wyl folowe than, you shal see whan lest you looke. Think me, I pray you, not ignorant what becometh a king to do, and that wyl I never omit; praying you to trust Bowes in the rest as myselfe. I am ashamed that so disordard coursis makes my pen excide a lettar, and so drives me to molest your yees with my to long skribling, and therfor end, with my ernest prayers to God that he wyl inspire you to do, in best time, al for your best.

Your loving affectionat sistar,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

For our deare brother the king of Scotland.

[*Indorsed,*] Deliuered be Mr. Bowes, ambassador, xxj. Januar. 1592.

No. XLIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

23RD MAY 1592. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 34. ORIG.

Credentials for Robert Bowes returning to Scotland as the queen's resident ambassador.

This letter has reference to letter XXXIX. Bowes appears to have been absent about five months.

Right high right excellent and right mightie prince, our dearest brother and cousin, in our hartiest manner we commend us unto you. Where we were contented, certain monthes paste, to license our servant Robert Bowes, then our ambassadour resident with you, to come to his countrye for expeditinge of certaine his priuate affaires which could not be conueniently ordered but by his own presence; and that, uppon signification thereof made to you by our letters, you were well contented therewith. Since whose comminge from thence we understand of many accidentes there happened to the troubling of your estate, and if wisdome and princely authority be not by you used to prevent perilles appearing, we have cause to doubt of greater danger to followe. Therefore, hauing care for your estate to continew as peaceable as our owne is, by Gods goodnes, and being desirous from tyme to tyme to heare of your direct proceadinges in overruling your disobedient subiectes, who are boldened, as we are well assured, by the faction and practises of such as are knowne sworne papists, both abroad and at home, and professed enemyes to the amitye betwixt vs and you and our countries, we doe therefore return our said seruant to reside with you as our ambassadour as heretofore he hath been, so as all former intelligences may continew betwixt you and us by his seruice there with you, both hoping and wishing, that now, in the intended parlement, which you, as we heare, have summoned, your nobillity and people that are most deuoted to your estate and to your honnour and person may fynde countenance and supportation, against others that shalbe found to

contemne your authoritye, and to lyue vnruly, against God and yourselfe and to the diminution of your royall and princely estate and reputation; whereof we shall take most singular comfort, as knoweth the Almighty God; who holde you in his protection. Gyuen under our signet, at our manor of Grenewich, the xxiijth of May in the xxxiiijth yeare of our raign, 1592.

Your most lovinge sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

To the right high right nighty and right excellent prince, our dearest brother and cousen, the king of Scotlande.

[*Indorsed,*]

K. Scotland 1592, presented be Mr. Bowes, 3 Junij.

No. XLIV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

11TH SEPTEMBER, 1592. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 88.

The queen vehemently urges James to punish those who disturb him with their reiterated traitorous attempts—expresses her astonishment that he should submit to be "a clerk to such lessons," and strongly advises him never to pardon his factious rebels.

The date given to this letter is added in the margin of our MS. It is not very clear that it is right, for the letter is one which might have been written at various periods of James's reign. During several months of the year 1592 the sovereign of Scotland was literally driven from place to place by the persevering, factious Bothwell; and, if the date assigned to this letter be correct, it is to that state of things that the indignant queen alludes. Whenever written, the letter is most characteristically Elizabethan.

The deare care, my deare brother, that ever I carried, from your infancye, of your prosperous estate and quiet, could not permite here of so manye, yea so traiterous, attemptes, without unspeakeable dolour and unexpressefull woe, of which to be [by] your owne messen-

ger assertened, breeds my infinite thankes, with many a gratefull thoughte for so kynde a part. Too redouble crymes so oft, I say with your pardone, most to your charge, wich never durst have bene renewed if the first had receaved the condigne rewarde; for slacking of due correction engenders the bolde mynds for newe crymes. And if my counseils had als well bene followed as they were truely meant, your subjects had nowe better knowen their king, and you no more neede of further justice. You finde by sowre experience what this neglect hath bredd you.

I heare of so uncouth a way taken by some of your conventions, yea agreed to by your selfe, that I must [wonder] howe you will be clarke to suche lessons. Must a king be prescribed what counsaylours he shall take, as if you were there ward? Shall you be obliged to tye or undoe what they lyst make or revoke? O Lord, what strange dreames here I, that would God they were so, for then at my wacking I should find them fables. If you meane, therefore, to raigne, I exhorte you to shewe you worthy the please, wich never can be surely setled without a steadye course held to make you loved and feared. I assure myself many have escaped your hands more for dreade of your remissnes than for love of the escaped; so ofte they see you cherishing some men for open crymes, and so they mistrust more their revenge than your assurance. My affection for your best lies on this, my playnesse; whose patience is to much moved with these lyke everlasting faults.

And since it so lykes you to demande my counsaile, I finde so many ways your state so unjoynted, that it needs a skilfuller bonesetter than I to joyne each part in his right place. But to fulfill your will, take, in shorte, theise few words: For all whoso you knowe the assaylers of your courts, the shamefull attempters of your sacred decree, if ever you pardon, I will never be the suter. Who to peril a king were inventores or actors, they should crake a halter if I were king. Such is my charitie. Who under pretence of bettering your estate, endangers the king, or needs wil be his schoolemasters, if I might appoint their universitie they should be assigned

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to learne first to obay; so should they better teach you next. I am not so unskylfull of a kinglye rule that I would wynke at noe faulte, yet would be open-eyed at publyke indignitie. Nether should all have the whippe though some were scourged. But if, lyke a toy, of a kinges liefe so oft indangered nought shall followe but a scorne, what sequele I may doubte of such contempt I dread to thinke and dare not name. The rest I bequeath to the trust of your faithfull sarvant, and pray the Almighty God to inspire you in time, afore to late, to cut their combes whose crest may danger you. I am void of malice, God is judge. I knowe them not. Forgive this to to long a writing.

No. XLV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

26TH NOVEMBER 1592. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 91.

The queen rejoices that the king has not been deceived by offers made by the Roman catholic earls—the injury Spain has received from attempting the queen's guiltless wrack—those who have designed to sell their country should never be trusted—one of the confederates has offered to make a disclosure of their names and how the king might entrap them—what would James have the queen do?

The date given to this letter is assigned to it in the Thompson MS. The general circumstances to which it relates are sufficiently obvious. Huntly and his friends, driven from court by the universal indignation excited by their brutal murder of the bonny earl of Murray, had been striving to make terms with James. The original of this letter is in the possession of Sir George Warrender. (Tytler's Scotland, ix. 423.) It was delivered to James by Bowes on the 4th December 1592.

My deare brother, If the misfortune of the messengers had not protracted to long the receipt of my letters, I had sooner receaved the knowledge of such matter as would have had my sooner aunsweare to causes of suche importance; but, at length, though long first, I perceave howe, to the privy snares of your seeming friends, you have so

warely cast youre eyes, as that your mynd hathe not bene trapped with the false shewes of such a kindnesse, but have well remembred that proved cares and assured love ought of meere justice take the upper hand of begiling deceipts and colloured treasons. You forgett not, I perceave, howe you should have served once for pray to enter the hands of forreners rule, even by the intisement of him that offers you that he cannot gett, wich if he should, [would] serve his trophe, not yours, whose land he seeks but to thrall bothe.

It gladds me muche that you have more larger sight than they supposed that would have lymed you so. And, for my part, I render my many thanks to yourselfe for your self, as she that scornes his malice, and envies not his intent. My enemye hathe never done himselfe more skare then to will my guiltless wrack, who ere now, himself knowes, hathe preserved hym his countryes who since hath sought myne. Such was his reward! God ever shield you from so crooked a will as to hazard your owne in hope of gaininge anothers. You knowe right well there is a way to gett that doth preced the attempt. When he hath wonne the entry, you shall have least part of the victory, who seeks to make, as oft hath been, your subjects theirs. Suppose, I beseach you, how easely he will present you the best, and keep the worst for himself. This matter is so plaine it needes small advice. Preserve yourself in such state as you have. For others, beguile not yourselfe, that injuriously you may gett. There is more to doe in that, then wiles and wishes. Looke about with fixed eyes, and sure suche to you as seicke not more yours then you. Avance not suche as hang their hopes on other strings than you may tune. Them that gold can corrupt, think not your guiftes can assure. Who once have made shippwrack of their contrie let them not injoy it. Weede out the weeds lest the best corne fester. Never arme with power suche whose betternes must follow after you, nor trust to their trust that under any cullour will thrall their owne soyle.

I may not, nor will I, conceale overtures that of late have amply bene made me, how you may playnely knowe all the combyners

against your state, and how you may intrapp them, and so assure your kingdome but to you, not permitting it a sport to strangers curtesye. One or more of their own companie is this actor, and therefore knows it best, in wiche he standeth to your honor. Whither, if this be so, he deserve suertie of lyef, not of land nor lyvelyhood, but suche as may preserve breath, to spend when best shall please you. My aunsweare was, when I see the way howe, I will impart it to whome it most appertaines. Now bethinke, my deare brother, what further you will have me do. In the meane while, beware to give the raygnes into the hands of any, lest it be to late to revoke such actions done. Let no one of the Spanishe faction in your absence, yea when you [are] neer present, receave strengthe or countenance. You knowe, but for you, all of them be alyke to me, for my particular, yet I may not denye but I abhorre such as sett their contry to sale. And thus, committing you to Gods tuition, I shall remain the faithfull holder of my vowed amytie without spott or wrinkle.

Your affectionat sister,
ELIZABETH R.

No. XLVI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

12TH FEBRUARY 1592-3. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 38. ORIG.

Letter of credence for the lord Borough sent on special embassy to the king of Scots.

The person to whose mission the following letter relates was Thomas lord Borough, who was afterwards successively governor of the Brill and lieutenant of Ireland. It was the object of his embassy to Scotland to give an answer to James respecting lord Bothwell, whom the Scottish sovereign accused Elizabeth of harbouring in England, and to incite the king against the Spanish conspirators. James was outwardly pursuing them with great severity; but it was universally believed that it was his real intention to screen them from adequate punishment.

Right high right excellent and mighty prince, our deerest brother and cousin; Whereas we haue at this present sent unto you in speciall ambassade this noble man, our right trusty and right welbeloud the lord Burgh, with charge of certain matteres to be delt in and communicated unto you from us, we earnestly pray you, that, as the same be of no small importance, and concerne the weale of both us and our realmes, so you will accordingly consider of them as proceeding from a princesse who having alwayes heertofore tendred your state, and bene desyrous of all good and prosperous succes in your affaires and gouuernement, doth still retayne the same ernest affection and care towardes you; and so we doubte not but in your owne good jugement you rest perswaded. Prayeng you, that in such thinges as the said lord Burgh shall imparte unto you in our name, you will give him full credit. Thus, we beseech Allmighty God, right high right excellent and mighty prince, our deerest cousin and brother, to assist and protecte you with his holy fauour in all your good actiones. Written at Westminster the tweluith of February 1592.

Your most affectionate sistar and cousin,
ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]
To the right high right
excellent and mighty prince,
our good brother and cousin,
the king of Scotland.

[*Indorsed,*]
Deliuered by the lord Borrough the xvj. of Marche 1593.

No. XLVII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN MAY 1593. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 14. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen returns a million of thanks to James for his answer sent to that wicked traitor Westmerland—she hears that some nobleman has been accused of a design against James's life, and entreats him not to make small regard of such a crime.

Charles Neville, the sixth and last Neville earl of Westmerland, to whom the following letter relates, dragged out a miserable life as an exile for 30 years after the discomfiture of his rebellion in 1569. He several times endeavoured to procure James to interest himself with Elizabeth on his behalf, but it was no part of her character to overlook such offences as his. The latter part of the letter probably relates to the incident mentioned in the following passage in Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, v. 250, Wodrow edition: "Upon Wednisday, the second of May, Clunie Crichtoun was apprehended, and sharply examined before the king and counseill, for intentioun to have taken the king by the horse brydle, and to convoy him to Bothwell."

No sample bettar triar of truthe, my deare beloued brother, than whan dides dothe give a right sequel to wordes precedant, the report of wiche profe sins your actions make me, iven in the last just handeling of that wicked traitor Westmerland, whom many benefitz of life and lande, besides all other kind and louinge traictmentz, could neuer let but he wold nides make his name the first traitor that euer my raigne had; to whom, nether cause, nor iniury, nor pouerty, nor il vsage, gaue euer shadowe of mene to moue suche a thoght, but wer hit not that he liueth by my meanes (whom many wold, for the horror of his fact, or now haue dispached), *securus propter contemptum*, els hit had not bine possible for him to haue liued to this howre; but I dout not but your answer to his treasonable lettar wyl make him, and suche like, knowe that you not only hate the treason, but do owe as muche to the traitor; and, I assure you, I wil neuer suffer that this fact of yours shal retourne void, but wil euer recompence you withe the like, with my million of thankes for suche kinglike part.

And, now, I heare that some nobleman hath bine accused of so

horrible a crime as my hart rues to remember. For Godz loue, look throw no spectacles to your owne safety. Your yees be younge, you nideth not haue a clere sight in your so nye a cause, and let your counseil see that you wyl not easely be begiled in making to smal regard of that wiche toucheth life—yea, of a king! For overgreat audacitie wyl brede, to a mynde that may be sone perswaded that all is wel, to do the boldlar a wicked act. Hard is the skul that may serue in place of suche a danger, nay hit may bride hit to neglect hit. You haue had many treasons wiche to tendarly you haue wrapt vp. I pray God the cindars of suche a fire bride not one day your ruine. God is witnes I malice none, but for your seurty is only the care of my writing. I desiar no bloude, but God saue yours. Only this my long experience teacheth me; whan a king neglectes himself, who wyl make them enemis for him? Let this serve you for a *caveat*. You wil beare with the fault that affection commiteth, and use the profit to your best good. For wiche I wyl euer pray to God, who long defend you from al treachery.

Your most assured loving sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

While Bodewel is in this case, give ordar, I beseche you, that the ordars so wel begone may be perfourmed, and so continued, and that no man haue rule ther that taketh not to hart the quiet of bothe realmes.

[*Addressed*,]

To my deare brother the
king of Skotz.

[*Indorsed*,]

Delyuered be Roger Aston xiiij. May 1593.

No. XLVIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN JULY 1593. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 93.

The queen, having discussed the condition of Scotland with James's ambassador, the bearer of this letter, has sent her advice fully by him —an example must be made to insure the safety of the better part— Bothwell shall receive what he deserves—the queen has sent a small sum of money by the bearer.

"On the 7th of June," says Calderwood (vol. v. p. 252), "sir Robert Melvill went in ambassage to the queen of England, with an answer in writt to the last ambassador's articles, and to receave the king's annuitie; to crave Bothwell to be delivered, and aide to persue the rebells," that is, the Roman catholic earls. The following answer was sent by Elizabeth to James on sir Robert Melvill's return.

My deere brother, That my many preventions and your often warnynge have not served so farr fourth your towrne as my care and your neede would have requyred, I cannot but regreat, and you may make a patrone wherby such mischieves may hereafter be croste afore they creape to ripenes, for at the furst they are sooner shonned than after cured.

I yelde you many thanks for the dyverse parts of naturall kyndnes that by this gentleman I have understoode, and dare assure you, that no parte thereof shall fall to the ground without his just acquitall. At large I have discoursed for your estate, and have thereof adjoyned my advice and counsell, ever the very like as yf myne owen case that touched, without malice, voide of deceite, and clere from any faction, but only adheringe to your safetie, which being preserved, I have obtained the scope of my designes. A long roted malady, falling to many relapses, argues, by reason, that the body is so corrupt that yt may be patched but never sound. When great infections light on many yt almost poisoneth the whole countrey. Yt were better, therfore, that the greater parte were kept solide though some infected perish. Preserve the better part, and let axample fear the follower. The paraphrase of this text yt may please

yow here this gentleman to make, and after hearing, if this lecture please, yow could behold as in a glass the inside of my inward harte unto you, and there yow should view no hate to any, no bloody desyre, no revengefnl mynd, but all fraught with thought how safely to preserve yow from domestick and foraine guiles; and should perceive no drifte for others raignes or rule but yours alone, to whom I wish all yours so bound as for no ambition they danger or perturbe you, nor for private malice or singular affection they bend to band for Scotlands baine. Let no man murmurre at your favours employed as best you like. Your servants, let them voide first that so place away their duties. They should dislodge that so would rule. Yf a king will endure, he shall have indignities enough, but rarely will they venture ther losse yf they hooped not to boldly. You see how farr the trust you repose in me hath transported me, and made me over lavish in bablinge my conceils. I hope the cover of good will will quite me of *oultrecuidance.*

As for Bodwell, I besech yow way well what this bearer can justly tell yow of me herein. I suppose his owne conscience will never accuse me of any over greate partiality that way. He hath seen to much to beleve yt. Yf my mynde have, more for their particular than my charge, forgotten what they should, they shall receave what they deserve, but yeld yow me my right, or els you should wronge your self to iniure me.

The small token you shall receave from me I desire yt may serve to make you remember the tyme and my many weighty affaires, wich makes yt les than else I would, and I dowt nothing but when you heare all, yow will beare with this. And thus havinge to longe molested your eyes with my scrattinge, I beqneath yow to the safe protection of the Almighty, who longe and many yeres graunt you to live, with my best loving recommendations.

No. XLIX.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN AUGUST OR SEPTEMBER 1593. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 15. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen expresses her amazement at James's being reconciled to a person whom he had professed that his heart abhorred—he should make his subjects know his power, and not allow them to tell him what he ought, nor dare to presume upon what they may.

This letter refers to one of those sudden *coups d'etat* by which the government of Scotland so frequently changed hands. James was not only unwilling to punish the Roman catholic earls, he was clearly friendly to them and their party, in spite of their obvious treason. This fact was so extraordinary, that the people could only account for it by supposing that the king had some secret intention to proclaim himself a convert to Roman catholicism. The mere suspicion of such a thing gave power to Bothwell, who, with all his faults, was a protestant, and therefore popular. Assisted by his friends at court, Bothwell was enabled on the 24th July, 1593, to enter the palace unperceived, and make himself master of the royal person. Whilst in the power of the Bothwell party, James promised many things which he never dreamt of performing. These were the promises at which Elizabeth in the following letter professes her amazement.

My deare brother, I doute so muche that I wot not wither I dreame, slombar, or heare amis, whan newes was broght that the wer in your bosome whom I haue hard from yourselfe your hart aborred. I thought [it] so strange, that I did suppose the lenghs of miles betwixts vs might make way to untru leasings inough, and skars could afourd my belife the graunt to trust hit. But, after a few days, perceauing that suche blastz wer verefied by your hand-writ, with an addition of the fact pardoned, and al attoned: than, what I thoght I leaue you to ges, after the rule that my ever care for your best deserues other accidentz in sequele. What the wer, and how I could allowe, I refer to your iugement, according [to] the mesure of tru kingly ordar; but this, in somme, take at my hand, as greatest pawne of my sincerite. If you wyl, thogh you haue not, or had, as you did not, kingly and resolutly, make your unsound subiectz knowe your power, and not to overslip suche as by strangers helpe may danger you and yours, nether shuld your subiectz nede tel you what you aught, nor the dare to muche presume of what the may. I have delated to my em-

bassador sufficiently this, with more, to whom I pray you giue firme credit, as to myselfe. The long profe that his faithe hathe made you, may cause you trust him, without any addition. And wyl comit you to Godz tuition, who saue you euer from seaming true.

Your most affectionat sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

To our good brother the king of Scotts.

[*Indorsed,*]

Deliuered at Sterveling be Mr. Bowes,
19th September 1593.

No. L.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

19TH SEPT. 1593. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 17.

Thanks for kind treatment of ambassador, for payment of annuity, for offer of ships to repress rebels in the western isles, and for promise never to hurt James's title—explanation of James's conduct towards the Roman catholic earls—of the escape of two of the prisoners from custody—of the treatment of Bothwell—of a proposed agreement between him and Huntly—and of the king's choice of councillors.

The following letter was written in reply to the last communication of Elizabeth, and bears date on the very day when that last communication reached James's hand. It contains a plain statement of what James wished to be believed respecting his position, and of the circumstances upon which he himself relied, in defence of his conduct both towards the Roman catholic party and towards Bothwell. It is one of the clearest and least pedantic of the known letters of the Scottish sovereign, and will be found to be of great historical value as illustrating the important events which agitated Scotland during the eventful years 1592 and 1593.

Madame and dearest sister, It uas no negligent unthankefulnes that maid me, euer since my lait ambassadouris returne, keip silence

towardis you quhill nou, but only because that never quhill nou, I coulde, both with honour and suirtie, advertishe you of the treuth of my estait since the falling out of this lait accident heir. I cannot eneuch thanke you of youre so kyndlie accepting of my late ambassadoure, and for the loving and friendlie dispatche ye gaue him, especiallie for that prive and most familiare dealing ye hadd with him, euen without the priuitie of any of your owin counsall, but, most of all, for your honorable promeis neuer to hurt my title notwithstanding of the main assaulties geuin you thairin. I also thanke you for that ayde ye haue sent me of the annuitie, quhairin I consider the great charges ye are presentlie at, and doubtis not but quhen it shall please Godd to lessen thame, ye will be myndfull of your promeis in that matter. I am also obleist unto you for your promeis to assiste me with tuo schipps, quhensoeuer I shall take occasion to prosecute the rebellis of the yles, quho are also assistains of your rebellis in Yreland.

Nou, madame, as to the estaite of my effaires heir. I ressauid latelie a letter of youris, togither with sum doubtis deliuerid by your ambassadoure, quhairin ye desyre to be fullie satisfeid, quhairunto, for escheuing of tedious long summes, I ansoure summarillie, and to the substance, thoch not point by point as it is proponid. And, first, concerning the papist rebellis. According to my promeis made to the lorde Burghe, I was fulley resolued to haue procedit to thaire forfaltoure at the last parliament, if tuo lettis hadd not interueind; the one, that, taking the aduocatis oathe, quhither he thocht ue hadd sufficient lau for us, or not, to proceid against thame, ue found plainlie oure lau uolde not permitt it, quhairin if oure aduocate* hadd bene a flatterair, he had betrayed the cause, if that maitter, being putt to jugement, had gone against us, as suirlie it uolde haue done; the other was, the sayde rebellis hadd so trauelled by indirect meanes with euerie nobleman, as, quhen I felt thair myndis, first

* "Mr. David Makgill, the king's advocate, a man of extraordinary talent." (Tytler's Scotland, ix. 100.)

apairt and then being conueind together, thay plainlie, and all in one uoyce, refusid to yeild to any forfaltoure, quhairupon I uas forcit to continue that maitter to the next parliament, and thay to remane relaxit in the meane tyme, otherwayes thair summoundes behouit to haue deserted. And, althoch thair relaxation gaue full libertie to euerie man to intercommun and ressett thaime, yett thay neuer kythit thamselfis publictlie in any place, quhill this lait accident of Bothuellis surprysing of my person, and now of lait thay incessantlie make petitions unto me, not only offering but craving a trayall, promeising faithfullie, humblie to confess quhateuer thay haue comitted, but denying the cheif point, quhiche they remitt to tryell, and offering to giue quhat suirtie I please to deuyse, for goode ordoure in tymes cummyng, not only for this cuntrie but lykeuayes concerning your part, and the quhole yle. As for me, I haue euer yett refuisde to heare of thame, quhill first ye uaire maid acquainted thairuith, not onlie because that maitter concernis you als well as me, but also because of your secreate and freindlie message with sir Robert,* that if I coulde not finde the meanis presentlie hou to pursue thaime with rigoure, ye wolde then, for the respect ye hadd to my uell and sauetie, deale and giue youre aduyce, quhat conditions of suretie micht be takin of thaime thairfor. Madame, since I cast still a deafe eare to all thaire offers quhill I heare youre ansoure, I pray you hasten it als spedilie touardis me as goodlie ye may, and make me obleist in giuing me that aduyce quhiche ye haue obleist me in making so kindlie ane offer of allreaddie.

And as to maister George Herris escaype, or Angusis ather, if thay hadd bene in the toure of London, and hadd als false knaves to thair keiparis, (quhom thay bribbit and maid to flee with thaime,) thay hadd playid the lyke, for since that tyme souir experience hath taucht to my self that the thickness of no wallis can hold out treason.

And as for Bothuellis cumming about me, I cannot suirlie uonder eneuch that ye, being so wyse a prince, and of so great intelligence,

* Sir Robert Melvill, the ambassador before alluded to.

should have bene so euill and uncertainlie aduertishit thairof, for, as Bothuellis first in-cumming uas uiolent and alltogether without my preuitie or consent, so was his behauiour thairefter uiolent and irreuerent, not respecting nor remembring in the end quhat he promeisid at the beginning, gairding me as I hadd bene his laufull prisoner, and aprehending dyuers of my most speciall domestike seruantis, quhose custodie he comittid to the greatest of the bordure theuis, quhill at last I was forcit, not onlie for my ouin safetie, but also for the safetie of my quhole cuntrey in me, for the quhich I ame borne more then for my self, to graunt him almost quhateuer he required. And now of laite, since I came out of his handis, after conueining of my estaitis, althoch I coulde not by any law or reason be obleist to observe that quhich at so unlauchfull a tyme I had promeised, yett, partlie for that I uolde not incurr the shlander of the breaking of, it waire, but the shaddou of a promeis, and pairtlie at the humble suite of the saidis estaitis for quyeting of the cuntrey, that thair-throuch justice micht be aquallie ministrat hearafter upon all other enormities, I uas content to graunt him in substance, thoche in a more honorable forme, that quhiche of lait he hadd unlauchfully purchest of me. These uaire the causes, madame, of my pardoning him, and not any change of my opinion touardis him, quhom indeid, in most thingis, I persaue to be the same man he uont to be. If he behaue himself well hearafter, the better will it be for him; if otherwayes, ye and all the cristen princes in the world shall be uitnessis of my pairt.

And quhairas ye uas informed that he and his complices hadd crauid of me the prosequting of the papistis, alledging that for ane excuse of thaire irruerend behauioure. Upon my honoure, it was neither intendit nor alledgit; nor no other cause, but the bair seeking of his own releif and securitie. And by the contrarie, all his complices haue, euer sen his incumming, delt with me for agreing him and Huntlie, with promeis of conformitie on Bothuellis pairt, and Coluill has offerid himself to be the doare of it unto me, and uithin foure days before the wryting of this, Bothuell sent directlie to

Huntlie to craue speaking of him quyetlie. Quhatt I uritt in this I uritt not upon reportis but upon certaintie, and as I ame honest.

And as for the choice of my councellouris, I intended to make no other choice but of those same quhose names I sent to you, for I trust ye shall uith tyme knou I have not bene chaingabill to my seruaunts, suppose so many of them haue chaingid upon me. And thus, thanking you hairtelie for the honorable disallouing of the disturbairs of my estait, and for youre motherlie caire in all my adoes, I committ you, madame and dearest sister, to Goddis most holy protection. From my pallis of Falklande, the xix. of September, 1593.

Your most loving and affectionat brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN EARLY IN OCTOBER 1593. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 16. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

Astonishment at the variableness of James's conduct, and that he should be guided in the treatment of the catholic earls by one lewd advocate—strenuous arguments to induce him to proceed with severity against them—counsel also respecting the treatment of Bothwell and James's general conduct, especially in reference to offers of foreign aid.

This letter is Elizabeth's reply to James's letter of the 19th September. Her comments upon the advice of the advocate seem founded upon the mistaken supposition that he was a hired pleader for the Roman catholic earls; but even the mistake is valuable, as calling forth the expression of an indignation very characteristic of the writer. In the after part of the letter, her majesty, in her rough, vigorous way, completely strips James of the plausible defence which he had put forth for his treacherous leniency to the enemies of protestantism.

My deare brother, If the variablenis of Skottis affayres had not invred me with to olde a custom, I shuld neuer leue wondring at suche strange and vncought actions, but I haue so oft with careful yees foresine the ivel-comming harmes, and with my watche for-met

with chifest attemptz, and see them ether not belived or not redrest, that I wex faint vndar suche burdain, and wery of fruictles labour. One while, I receue a wright* of obliuion and forgiuenes, than a revocation, with new additions of latelar consideration; sometimes, some you cal traitors with proclame, and anone, ther must be no profe allowed, thogh neuer so apparent, against them. Yea, if one lewd aduocat, perchance hired for the nonest, dar pronounce a sentence for them, thogh one of like state denye the same, his word must not take place. Hit semes a paradoxe to me, that, if of two plaidars one be for the king, the equal number shal not serue for a king. I muse how any so lewd a man hathe bine chosen for suche a place, as durst come in open vew to pleade against his mastar. Ther office is, as to do right so do the soueraine no wronge. If he had douted, as no honest man could, he ought bine absent rather than ther to play so vnfitting a part, thogh secretly he had told hit you. He is happy he is no Englis man. You shuld haue hard other newes of him than.

Old Meluin,† I perceaue, hathe told you a pece of a tale and left out the principal. My wordes wer thes: "I heare say the offending lordz hopes by ther frindz to skape ther paine; I suppose your king to wise to be so unmindful of his peril to suffar vnprosecuted suche as wold tral ther country to strangers curtesy, hauing knowen hit so plain and so long, for this is not ther first offence. But if his powre serued not to apprehend, yet to condempne I douted not, for if euer he wold pardon them, wiche I could hardly counseil, yet I could not thinke without some obligation to some other prince, that, for ther request, he wold do hit."

Now to this great cause that toucheth us bothe so muche. First, considar of what profession the be; next, to whom the haue made vowe for religion, the wiche I call christian treason, under what cloke so neuer. I haue oft told you I was neuer horsleche for bloude, but rather than your ouer-trust shuld peril the creditor, I wold wische them ther worst desart. Than how to credit that so oft hathe deceued? My braines be to shalow to fadom that botome. How hardly

* writ. † Sir Robert Melvill.

remedies be aplied to helpe inveteratid maladies! I haue small skil of suche surgery. In fine, I see nether jugement, counseil, nor sure affection in so betrayinge advis as to giue your selfe suche a lasche that the shal be bothe vncondemned and saued. What thanke may the giue your marcy whan no crime is tried? What bond shal tye ther profert loyalty if no precedent offencis past be acknoweleged by confession? Shal the leue to adhere to that party wiche the neuer made? Or what othe shal be sure to suche as ther profession skars thinkes lawful for a trust? I vowe to the liuinge Lord, that no malice to any, nor turbulent spirit, but your tru seurty and realmes fredom, inforseth my so plain discours, wiche cannot omit that ther be left so great a blot to your honor as the receuing them uncondemned to your grace.

And for Bodwel, Jesus! did euer any muse more than I, that you could so quietly put up so temerous, indigne, a fact, and yet by your hand receving assurance that all was pardoned and finisched. I refer me to my owne lettar what dome I gaue therof. And now to heare al reuoked, and ether skanted or denied, and the wheele to turne to as il a spouke. I can say, bad is the best, but yet of iuelz the lest is [to] be taken. And if I wer in your place, I wold, or he departed, make him try himself no sutar for ther fauor whos persons let him persecute, so shal you best knowe him, for ther be liars if depely the have not sought him or now.

But that I way most is the smal regard that your sure party may make [of] you, whan the see you adhere to your owne foes, habandoning the others seruise. I feare me the fame blowes to fur that you wyl not pursue the side of wiche you be, what so your wordes do sound. And this conceat may brede, if not already, more unsound hartz than al the paching of thes bad matters can worke you pleasure. You ar supposed (I must be plain, for dissemble I wyl not,) to haue receued this heretical opinion, that foreign forse shal strengthen you, not indanger you, and that al thes lordes seake your greatnes not your decay. O, how wicked sirenes songes! wiche, in first shewe, pleas; in ende, ruines and destroies. Wax ynough of Godz raison befal

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you to resist so distroing aduis, and be so wel lightned as not so dark a clowde may dim you from the sight of your best good, wiche cannot be more shunned than by the not yelding to so betrainge deceat; from the wiche I wil incessantly pray for your deliuerance. Wisching you many days of raigne, and long.

Your most assured sistar,
ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]
To my good brother the king of Scotland.

[*Indorsed,*]
Sent to me to be pñted to his ma^tie at
Thirlestane xix. Octob. 1593.

No. LII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

29TH OCTOBER, 1593. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 37. ORIG.

Special letter of credence for Bowes, the queen's ambassador, she being hindered from writing herself.

The nature of Bowes's special message to which the following letter relates may be inferred from the allusions to it in the next letter from James.

Right high right excellent and mighty prince, our deerest brother and cousin, Whereas we have at this present written at good length to our servant Robert Bowes, our ambassadour resident with you, of some important materes meet for you to haue knowledge of, which ourselfe wolde by our own hand-wryting haue imparted unto you, rather then otherwise, if at this instant other waighty occasiones wold have given me leasure, we have therefore thought good hereby to mak this request unto you, that ye will heare and give credence to our said ambassadour as much as if we had with our own hand written unto you, in such materes as we haue at this tyme given him charge

to open and communicate unto you; which we doubte not but ye will please readily doo, both in respect of his honesty and good dealing well knowen vnto you, and whereof we assure ourself ye are well persuaded, and of this our request also, thus at this tyme made unto you. And so, right high right excellent and mighty prince, our dearest brother and cousin, we desire Allmighty God euer to haue you in his holy protection. Given at our castle of Windsor, the xxixth of October 1593, in the xxxvth yeare of our raigne.

Your most affectionat sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

Deare brother, Let this credit, I beseeche you, be so far belieued as whos answer may continue or breake our frindship. Thinke not wordes without effectz shall deceiue me. For your own best hit is that I demande, whoso shal otherwise thinke wyl bigile you.

[*Addressed,*]

To the right high right excellent and mighty prince, our deerest brother and cousin, the king of Scotland.

[*Indorsed,*]

Deliuered be Mr. Bowes viij Nouember 1593.
Edr. [probably Edinburgh.]

No. LIII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

7TH DECEMBER 1593. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 22.

James replies to Elizabeth's letters Nos. LI. and LII.—the earls have acknowledged certain offences, but all deny that the Spanish blanks had the meaning attributed to them—the estates of Scotland having been convened to consider the question had come to certain determinations which are submitted to the queen for her consideration and advice—in reference to that part of her last letter which related to a border fracas, James has directed the principal offender to be delivered to her warden.

James's lenient policy towards the catholic earls had now gone the length of procuring an arrangement by which they were to be pronounced free of the accusations brought against them respecting the Spanish blanks, provided they would renounce Roman catholicism and submit to the kirk. If they refused to profess themselves converts to presbyterianism, their estates and honours were to be forfeited, and they themselves were to be driven into exile. In the following letter, James announces this determination to Elizabeth. After her expressed opinions, there could be no doubt that such an arrangement would be extremely offensive to her. One is curious therefore to see in what way the subject is presented to her by the plausible Scottish sovereign. No one will deny that he got through his task skilfully. Mr. Tytler, without having seen this letter, which is now published for the first time, printed Elizabeth's answer to it from the original in the possession of sir George Warrender. (Hist. Scotland, ix. 141.) It is a remonstrance written in her boldest and most scornful manner. As it was the subject of a good deal of comment in subsequent letters, it shall be added, as printed by Mr. Tytler, in a note.

Madame and dearest sister, since youre ressait of my last letter I have receaiut tuo from you; one of your owne hand, another with a postscript onlie of your hande; * the former being an ansoure to my last, the other, a letter of creditt to youre ambassadour.

As to the letter of your owin hande, it containis, specially, ane aduyce concerning yone three noblemen † dilaitid and suspected of

* This refers to letter No. LII. "Your most affectionate sister and cousin, ELIZABETH R," with all that follows, is in the queen's handwriting.

† The earls of Huntly, Errol, and Angus.

practising with Spaine; and suirlie, madame, I cannot denye but youre counsall in that maitter is most wyse and honorable, and if I be richt rememberid, containis tuo speciall pointis; the one, that if they should ressaue any fauoure or benefit, thair confession of a faulte in sum sorte most preceide, otherwayes it can naither be sure nor honorable for me to bestou any benefit upon thaim; the other is, that suche a sure and substantiouse ordowre shoulde be takin with thaime, in kaice they should receaue any benefit, that not only I micht see a suretie for the estait and religion in this countrey, by thaire leauing and renouncing thair former profession and auouid seruice, but, also, that all other forraine princes professing this religion micht see a suretie for thaimselfis and thaire estaitis by thaire deutyfull bahauioure in all tymes cumming. Now, madame, I trust, if ye will consider quhat I haue done and ame to follou forth in this turne, ye shall finde it als conformable to your counsall as the state of this cace can permitt, for thay long since haue confessed tuo faultis. First, thay confesse all three hearing messe and ressaitt of jesuitts and seminarie preistis; next, two of thaime, to witt, Angus and Erroll, confessed thair blankis to haue bene directed to sundrie forraine princes for craiuing payment of suche debtis as thay alledge to haue advancit to sundrie of the jesuitis that uaire into this cuntrey and are gone bake againe, namelie, maister Williame Creichton, and that, sen thay are into thair dominions, they may make thayme to paye according to their promeis and deu debt. I speake of thaise tuo lordis only, in this point, because Huntlie constantlie denyis to haue hadd any practising or dealing with any forrain nation since the bridge of Die; * for, allthoch, as he sayes, he subscryuid thais blankis, yett nather waire thay directid to any suche end, as he alledgis, nor yett was any other subscription at thaim quhen he subscryued thaime, but that he ordained thaime to be directed to his oncle maister James † his superioures, to testifie that his said oncle ualde be compellid to depairt out of this cuntrey sooner than thay hadd

* A rebellious assembly at that spot in April 1589.

† James Gordon, a busy Scottish jesuit.

directid him to do, for fear of the straitness of my lauis, and that the minesteris hadd maide him so odious as he durst remaine no longer, and lykewayes recomending to them his said oncles pouertie, and hou he hadd bene at so great expensis heir; and sayes, that he hes his oncles bakebande to shau, subscribed before honest witnessis of barronis, that these blankis shoulde be employed to no other use; in the breake quhairof, he sayes, he was foullie abusid. But as to their practising for bring in of Spanyardis, ather in this cuntrey or in yours, that is the point quhiche thay all three utterlie deny, and for the quhiche thay offer thaimselfis to all kynde of tryall, so, as for that part of your counsall, thay offer to satisfie so farr furth as this thaire cõnfession may auyle.

The doubt, then, resting onlie upon their not confessing of the great cryme, I assemblit my estaitis to deliberat upon the suretie of the estait and religion, quhiche being at length reasoned upon, it was founde perrelouse to graunt thaim a tryall, in respect of thaire so constant denying, and that the last parliament uent so neir the clearing of thaim if it hadd bene putt to thaire votis, and thairfore, [I conformed] uento the next pairt of your counsall, to see a suretie for the estait and religion in tymes cumming, als uel by laying great and sure bondis upon thaime, as the acte bearis, as lykeuayes, dyuers strait conditiones, as, namelie, in kaice thay uiolat hearafter the least point that by that acte is inioined unto them, in that cace the penaltie of treason, and of that great cryme that they uaire delaitid of, shall with all rigoure be executed upon thaim; and in kaice thay accept and observe the said acte, this great cryme and memorye thairof to be abolishit, because of the uncertaintie and perrell to trye the same. And thus are both the pairtis of your counsall, als farre as the nature of that cace will permitt, in my opinion followid.

For thaire acceptance of this acte, they haue to aduyse thaimselfis betuixt [the present time] and the first of Januare, and quhill then, it remainis as *actum non actum*, and having no strenth to work, and thairfore haue I dispatchit this present unto you, that, before the said day, I may haue, als well your aduyce in this, quhiche is thocht meitest to be

done for the suirtie of my estait, as also quhat suirtie ye wolde haue prouydit for the pairt of you and your cuntrey, quhairin ye may assure youreself I shall be als cairfull as for myself; praying you not thinke that quhat I writt in this turne of thaire confession, I do it as a thing that I will affirme to be certaine, but onlie as they geue it out, and quhairof I am not able to proue the contraire by a lau.

And as to the contentis of your last letter of creditt, I haue harde the creditt, containing tuo points; the one this same purpose quhairof I haue bene wryting, the other concerning yone lait attemptat of Iddisdaille; for the further satisfaction quhairof to both oure honouris, because the attemptat was so haynouse, I haue causit deliuer to youre uarden the principall offender himself, called Will Ellot. Thus, fearing to offend you with too long a letter, in ueareing you reid the same, and committing all other particularis to youre ambassadouris letteris, I committ you, madame and dearest sister, to the protection of the Allmichtie. From my palleis of Holyrudd house, the vii. of December 1593.

Your most louing and affectionatt brother and cousin,

James R.

I must once againe pray you, madame, to haisten youre ansoure before the first of Januarie, for the causis aboue specifeit, and, in the mene tyme, not to trust any false reportis, but to thinke of me in the olde manner, as I shall euer deserue at your hands.*

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* The queen's answer is printed by Mr. Tytler as follows:—"My dear brother, To see so much, I rue my sight, that views the evident spectacle of a seduced king, abusing council, and wry-guided kingdom. My love to your good and hate of your ruin, breeds my heedful regard of your surest safety. If I neglected you, I could wink at your worst; and yet withstand my enemies' drifts. But be you persuaded by sisters[?]. I will advise you, void of all guile, and will not stick to tell you, that if you tread the path you chuse, I will pray for you, but leave you to your harms.

"I doubt whether shame or sorrow have had the upper hand when I read your last lines to me. Who, of judgment that deemed me not simple, could suppose that any answers you have writ me should satisfy, nay, enter into the opinion of any one not void of four senses, leaving out the first.

No. LIV.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

13TH APRIL, 1594. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 27.

Astonishment of James at the support given to his avowed traitor in England—strong appeal to the queen on the subject—dissatisfaction with lord Zouche's conduct on his embassy—has sent an answer by his own messengers.

In April 1594, in the midst of the troubles respecting the Roman catholic earls, the restless and unscrupulous Bothwell made another attempt to regain his authority. Having

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"Those of whom you have had so evident proof by their actual rebellion in the field, you preserve, whose offers you knew then so large to foreign princes. And now, at last, when, plainest of all, was taken the carrier himself, confessing all before many commissioners and divers councellors; because you slacked the time till he was escaped, and now must seem deny it (though all men knew it,) therefore, forsooth, no jury can be found for them. May this blind me, that knows what a king's office were to do? Abuse not yourself so far. Indeed, when a weak bowing and a slack seat in government shall appear, then bold spirits will stir the stern, and guide the ship to greatest wreck, and will take heart to supply the failure.

"Assure yourself no greater peril can ever befal you, nor any king else, than to take for payment evil accounts; for they deride such, and make their prey of their neglect. There is no prince alive, but if he show fear or yielding, but he shall have tutors enough, though he be out of minority. And when I remember what sore punishment those so lewd traitors should have, then I read again, lest at first I mistook your mind; but when the reviewing granted my lecture true, Lord! what wonder grew in me, that you should correct them with benefits, who deserve much severer correction. Could you please them more than save their lives and make them shun the place they hate, where they are sure that their just deserved haters dwell, and yet as much enjoy their honours and livelihoods as if for sporting travel they were licensed to visit other countries? Call you this a banishment —to be rid of whom they fear, and go to such they love? Now, when my eyes read more, then smiled I to see how childish, foolish, and witless an excuse the best of either three made you, turning their treasons' bills to artificers' reckonings with *items* for many expenses, and lacked but one billet which they best deserved, an *item* for so much for the cord whose office they best merited. Is it possible that you can swallow the taste of so bitter a drug, more meet to purge you of them, than worthy for your kingly acceptance? I never heard a more deriding scorn; and vow that, if but this alone, were I you, they should learn a short lesson.

received considerable support on the English borders,—not, as it is alleged, without the connivance of lord Zouche, the English ambassador in Scotland, and the sanction of the queen—he finally marched upon Edinburgh at the head of several hundred men. The king, having early intelligence of the rebellious movement, gathered together a considerable force, and advanced to meet his enemy. Some little skirmishing took place, but Bothwell, finding himself in the presence of a force too numerous to be withstood, despaired of success, dispersed his men, and retired within the English border. In the following letter the king indignantly calls upon the queen to account for the assistance and shelter which Bothwell had received from England; applying to her the epithet "seduced," which, in her last letter—that printed from Tytler's Scotland—she had used in reference to himself. He also reminds her of his conduct when O'Rourke, the Irish rebel, took refuge in Scotland, and hopes she will not reject his application and thus drive him to say with Virgil, "flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo." This letter was sent by Colvill laird of Wemyss and Edward Bruce the titular abbot of Kinloss.

So many unexpected wonders, madame and dearest sister, haue of lait so ouer-shaddouid my eyes and mynde, and dazilde so all my sensis, as in treuth I nather know quhat I shulde saye, nor quhair at first to beginne: but, thinking it best to take a paterne of youreself, since I deale uith you, I must, repeatting the first uordis of your last letter, only the sexe chaingid, saye, "I rew my sicht that veuis

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"The best that I commend in your letter is, that I see your judgment too good to affirm a truth of their speech, but that alone they so say. Howbeit, I muse how you can want a law to such, as whose denial, if it were ever, could serve to save their lives whose treasons are so plain; as the messenger who would for his own sake not devise it, if for truth's cause he had it not in his charge: for who should ever be tried false, if his own denial might save his life? In princes' causes many circumstances yield a sufficient plea for such a king as will have it known: and ministers they shall lack none, that will not themselves gainsay it. Leave off such cloaks, therefore, I pray you; they will be found too thin to save you from wetting. For your own sake play the king, and let your subjects see you respect yourself, and neither to hide or to suffer danger and dishonour. And that you may know my opinion, judgment, and advice, I have chosen this nobleman,[a] whom I know wise, religious, and honest; to whom I pray you give full credit, as if myself were with you: and bear with all my plainness, whose affection, if it were not more worthy than so oft not followed, I would not have gone so far. But blame my love if it exceed any [my ?] limits. Beseeching God to bless you from the advices of them that more prize themselves than care for you, to whom I wish many years of reign." (Tytler's Scotland, ix. 141.)

[a] Edward lord Zouche of Haryngworth.

the euident spectacle of a seducit quene."* For quhen I enter betuixt tuo extremitis in iudgin of you, I hadd farr rathest intterprett it to the least dishonoure on your part, quhich is ignorant erroure. Appardone me, madame, for so long approued freindship requyris a rounde plainness. For quhen, first, I consider quhat strange effectis haue [of] laite appearid in your cuntrey; hou my auouid traitour hath not only bene oppinlie resett in youre realme, but plainly maid his recidence in your proper houses, euer plainliest kythith himself quhaire greatest confluence of people uas; and, quhiche is most of all, hou he hath receaued Englishe monney in a reasonnable quantitie, uaged both Englishe and Skottishe men thairwith, proclaimed his paye at dyuerse parishe churches in England, conuenid his forcis uithin England, in the sicht of all that border, and thairfrome contemptouslie cummid and campit within a myle of my principall citie and present abode, all his trumpettouris, and dyuerse wagid men, being English; and being by myself in person repulsit from that place, returned bake in Englande with displayed banners, and since that tyme, with sound of trumpet, making his troupis to muster within Englishe ground: quhen, first, I saye, I consider this strainge effectis, and then again I call to mynd, upon the one part, quhat number of solemne promeises, not only by your ambassadouris but by many lettirs of your owin hand, ye haue both maid and reiterate unto me, that he sholde haue no harboure uithin your cuntrey, yea, rather stirring me further up against him then seaming to pittie him yourself, and, upon the other pairt, weying my desairtis [which] you knou, for being a freind to you, I haue euer ben an enemie to all youre ennemies, and the onlie point I can be challengid in, that I take not suche forme of order, and at suche tyme, with sum particulare men of my subjectis as paraduenture ye could do if ye uaire in my roume; quhen thus I enter in consideration with my self, I cannot suirlie satisfie my self with uondring aneuch upon these aboue mentionatt

* See p. 98.

effectis; for to affirm that these things are by your direction or priuitie, it is so farr against all princelie honoure, as I protest I abhorre the least thocht thairof. And againe, that so wyse and prouident a prince, hauing so long and happelie gouernid, shoulde be so sylid and contemnid by a great number of heir owin subjectis, it is hardly to be beleuid: if I kneu it not to be a maxime in the state of princes, that we see and heare all with the eyes and eares of others, and if thise be deceaueris, we cannot shunn deceat. Now, madame, I haue refuge to you at this tyme, as my only pilote to gyde me safelie betuixt thir Charibdis and Silla. Solue thir doubtis, and lett it be sene ye will not be abused by your owin subjectis, quho preferis the satisfeing of their base-myndit affections to youre princelie honoure.

That I wrote not the ansoure of youre last lettirs with your laite ambassadoure, and that I returnit not a letter with him, blame onlie, I praye you, his owin behauioure; quho, althocht it pleased you to terme him wyse, religiouse, and honest, had bene fitter, in my opinion, to carie the message [of] a heraut then any freindlie comission betuixt tuo neichboure princes; for, as no reason could satisfie him, so skarcelie could he haue patience euer to heare it offerid. But if ye gaue him a lairge comission, I darr ansoure for it he tooke it als well upon him, and thairfore haue I rather choosid to send you my ansoure by my owin messingeris. Suffer me not, I praye you, to be abusid with your abusairis, nor graunt no ouersicht to oursee your owin honoure. Remember quhat ye promeisid by youre letter of thankis for the deliuerie of O'Rorike. I trust ye will not putt me in balance with suche a traitrouse counterpois, nor willfully reject me, constraining me to saye with Uirgill, *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.*

And to giue you a proofe of the continouance of my honest affection, I haue directed these tuo gentlemen unto you, quhom I will hairtelie praye you to credit as myself, in all that thay haue in chairge to deliuer unto you; and, because the principall of thaime

goes to France, to returne the other bake with a good ansoure with all conuenient speede. And thus assuring you that friendship shall neuer faill upon my pairt, I committ you, madame and dearest sister, to the holy protection of the Allmichtie. From Edinburgh, the xiii. of Apryle, 1594.

Your most louing and affectionatt brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN MAY 1594. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 18. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen notices James's allusion to her previous letter in his last—replies to the imputation of having sheltered Bothwell—is indignant at James's use of threats to her—warns him against receiving aid from foreigners.

The taunts and accusations in James's last letter aroused the "lion port" of his majestic neighbour. Our historians, in ignorance of the following letter and its successor, have supposed that Elizabeth took James's indignant appeal in good part, and was all smiles to his ambassadors. The following must have convinced James that it was rather dangerous to bandy words with her English majesty, or to make ambiguous quotations to her from well known classics.

Thogh by the effectz, I sild see, my good brother, that euer my aduisis be folowed, yet you haue whitsafed to giue them the reding I wel understand, having made some of them the theme of your last, thogh, God knowes, applied fur awry from ther true sence or right desart; for if I bin in abuse, I claime you the author of my deceat, in beliving more good than the sequele hathe told me. For I haue great wronge if you suppose that any perswation from whomsoeuer can make me haue one iuel opinion of your actions, if themselues be not the cause. I confes that diuers be the affections of many men, some to one, some to another, but my rule of trust shal neuer faile me,

whan it is grounded, not on the sandes of euery mans humor, but on the stedy rock of approued fact. I shuld condemne my wicked disposition to founde any amytie promised upon so tikel ground that others hate might breake the boundz of my loue, and upon others jugementz to bild my confidence. For Bodwelz bold and unruly entrance into my bordars, I am so fur from gilt of suche a faulte, as I protest if I had receaued an answer, in seuentene wekes space, of my lettar that contained his offer to reveale unto you the treason of the lordz with forennars, I could sone haue banished him from thens; and next, he came with your owne hand to warant that no offence was imputed, wiche made the borderars readiar to receaue him; but after I had not left unpunist some of his receatars, I could not haue beliued the durst haue procurid the pane due for suche desart, and minde to make them affraid to ventur suche a crime agane; and if ordar giuen now to all the wardens do not suffice, I vowe ther bodies and pursis shal wel suffar therfor.

I wil not troble you with recital of what this gentilman hathe hard in all the other pointz, but this toucheth me so nere as I must answer, that my desartz to you haue bine so sincere as shal neuer nide a threte of hel to her that hathe euer procured your blis. And, that you may knowe I am that prince that neuer can indure a menace at my ennemys hand, muche les of one so dearly traictid, I wyl giue you this bond, that affection and kind traictement shal euer preuaile, but feare or doute shal neuer procure aught from me; and do advowe, that if you do aught by forainers, wiche I knowe in ende worst for yourselfe and country, hit shal be the worst aide that euer king had, and I feare may make me do more than you wyl cal back in haste. Deare brother, use suche a frende, therfor, as she is worthe and giue her euer cause to remaine suche a one, as her affection hathe euer merited, whos raschenes is no suche as neglect ther owne so nere if the wil not forgo ther best and shun ther owne mishaps, whom non can at my hand procure but your owne factz. Thus, hoping that this bearar wyl tel you my faithful mening and sincere

professions, with al the rest that I haue committed to him, I leue this skribling, besiching God euer more to preserue you.

Your most affectionate sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]
To our good brother
the king of Skotts.

[*Indorsed,*]
18 May, 1594.

No. LVI.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

5TH JUNE 1594. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 30.

Reply to the queen's last letter—James explains his meaning in the use of the words "seduced queen," and in his quotation from Virgil—if the queen still thinks him in fault he craves pardon—hopes she will hasten the money she has promised him, and is delighted with a conference she had with one of his ambassadors respecting him.

The following characteristic and amusing letter dispels all notion that Elizabeth was in any degree overcome in this controversy by her pedantic correspondent. His commentary upon the line of Virgil, and his supposition—"suppose I am Juno"—must have called up a smile upon the now thin and withered lips of the English queen. James had at last been driven into the determination to put down the Roman catholic earls by force, and the money to which he alludes was a sum which Elizabeth had promised him, provided he would rid the land of the leaders of the Spanish faction.

Because I persaue by youre last letter, and the report of my ambassadoure, madame and dearest sister, that ye haue farre mistaiken the meaning of my last letter, I am forcitt to lett this present serue for a short apologie thairof, for in two principall pointis I persaue ye haue mistakin me. And first, quhairas ye interprete my imitation of your uordes, in the beginning of my letter, to meane, that ye are seducid by trusting false reportis maid of me, if ye please to consider the followiug discourse of my letter, ye will finde I meanid, by sum of youre owin subiectis, quho in resetting and assisting my auouid

traitoure in dyuers pairts of your kingdome, without youre allouance or priuetie, seducit you, in abusing youre princelie honoure and will; quhiche appearis to be butt ouer trew, since by youre owin letter ye graunte and auowis to make thaime to be deulie punished for the same. And suirlie, madame, it appearis your subjectis do not yett uearie to abuse you, since, notwithstanding your laite proclamations, he is still resett within your owin cuntrey. But in this I trust I neide not to moue you, since the hurting of youre princelie honoure by the contempt of your lawis, will, I doubt not, stirr you up to take ordoure thairwith.

Nou the other point of mistaking is, of yone Latin uerse in the hinder end of my letter, quhich I perceaue ye interprett to be a threatning of you, but I doubt not ye uill conceaue farr otheruayes of my meaning thayrby, if ye will [be] pleased to wey first the meaning of the authore that first wrote it, and since consider quhat praceidis and followis in my letter that alledges it. For Virgill faineth that Juno, being in a raage that the rest of the Goddis, throuch Uenus persuacion, uolde not consent to the uraikke of Aneas, quhom againis she baire ainveterate haitred, as against all Troye, she not onlie pronounceth these uordis of my letter, but immediatly goes to Alecto, one of the hellishe furies, and persuaidis her to stirre up Turnus in Italie to uarre against Aneas, thairby to hinder his conquests thair. Nou to make the allusion then. Suppose *(omnis comparatio claudicat uno pede,)* I am Juno; ye are the rest of the Goddis; Bothuell is Aneas; and other forraine princes are Acheron. Junos seeking aide of Acheron, than, was only for the urakke of Aneas, and no uayes ather for the inuading or threatning of the rest of the Goddis. On the other pairt, quhire this uerse is sett downe in my letter, I say, not that I am of mynde so to do, butt, by the contraire, I saye I trust you will not constraine me so to doe, and the uerrie next uordis I subioine are, "and to giue you a proofe of my honest affection." And thus, madame, my intention uas, to complaine unto you, not to threattin you; thairby seeking youre ayde, and nather seeking, nor leaning to, the ayde of others. So, in a word, my prayer uas to you,

as ue all praye to Godd, Leade us not into temptation. But, as euer it be, suppose in this, I interprett my intention, yett I euer baire that reuerence to all uertuouse ladies, but aboue all to you, quhose bloode, long and trustie freindshipp, and manifolde uertues, requyres such louing and kynde reuerence of me, as I ame not so to stande in my defence, but, if ye thinke it a faulte, I will craue pardon for it, and onlie claime to my homelie rudeness, quhiche I hoape ye will accept in the better pairt, since quhat I wrote of you I wrote only to you. And thairfore, madame, I trust neuer to deserue the least thocht of youre suspicion of any dealing of myne with youre ennemies; for, I protest before Godd, I neuer, to this houre, had dealing, directlie or indirectlie, with any of thaime, ather to the preiudice of you, or your state, or the state of religion, and ame content, besydis my many by-past promesis, that this letter remaine a pledge of my faith heirin, als uell for tymes to com as by-past, aye and quhill (as Godd forbidd) I discharge my self honestlie unto you, quhich shall neuer be, except ye constraine me unto it, but *absit omen.*

I also trust, that, before this tyme, youre ambassadoure has informid you of sum of my proceidingis at this parliament, to your satisfaction. As to the dispatche geuen to my ambassadouris, quhairas ye are generall in tyme of payment and quantitie of the support craued by thaime, yett I doubt not ye will considder my present adoes, hauing nou begunn and entred in action; quhairin I craue an ansoure according to the proverbe *qui cito dat bis dat.* That of one thing I will hairtlie pray you, that quhat heis done to me in this turne ye do it onlie of youre selfe, that my thankis maye onlie be fore you, for I desyre neuer to be in the common of any subiectis in such cases.

And nou to end, I cannot omitt to shau you, that the only comfort I receaued of your ansouris at the returne of the one of my ambassadouris, uas the prime conference ye hadd with Brus concerning me, quho hathe maid suche discourse thairof to me, as in my opinion he micht passe maister in the airt of chirurgie, for descryuing so well the anatomie of your kynde and constante affection touardis me; but,

assuring you that I shall neuer forgett to paye it with all thankefullnes on my pairt, I commit you, madame and dearest sister, to Goddis most holy protection. From my palleis of Hole rud house, the fyft of June 1594.

Your most louing and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LVII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN ABOUT THE END OF OCTOBER 1594. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 25. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen rejoices that James is at length about to resist the catholic earls in person—he may perceive what danger there is in glorifying too high and too suddenly a boy of years and conduct—hopes he will give his nobility an example never to combine with foreigners—praise of the laird of Wemyss—intercession on behalf of the master of Gray—sends money for "horse-meat."

Having raised an army against the Roman catholic earls, James committed it to the command of his youthful favourite, the earl of Argyll, then only nineteen years of age. The battle of Glenlivat ensued, in which Argyll was totally defeated, but with a loss which was fatal to the conquerors. When the following letter was written, James was at the head of a fresh army, marching northward to avenge the losses of Argyll—the "boy of years and conduct" who is alluded to by Elizabeth. The master of Gray, for whose pardon she intercedes, had passed the period which had elapsed since his disgrace in France.

My most deare brother, Thogh I wold haue wisched that your sound counsels oft-giuen you, and my many lettars intercepted wiche made to plain a shewe of that hye treason that to late you beliued, might haue prevented your ouer great peril and to muche hazarde, yet I rejoys with who is most gladlist, that at lengh (thogh I confes almost to late) hit pleseth you so kingly and valiantly to resist with your parson ther *oulter-cuidant* malignant attempt, in wiche you haue honord your selfe, reioysed your frends, and confound, I hope, your proud rebelz. You may see, my deare brother, what danger it bredes a king to glorifie to hie and to soudanly a boy of

yeres and counduict, whos untimely age for discretion bredes rasche consent to undesent actions. Suche speke or the way, and attempt or the considar. The waight of a kingly state is of more poix than the shalownis of a rasche yonge mans hed can waigh, therfor I trust that the causeles zele that you haue borne the hed of this presumption shal rather cary you to extirpe so ingratius a roote, in finding so sowre fruite to springe of your many fauors ivel-acquited, rather than to suffer your goodnis to be abused with his many skusis for coulors of his good menings. Though at the first your carire was not the best, yet I hope your stop will crowne all. If you now do not cut of clerely any future hope to your nobilitie, through this example, neuer to combine with forenars, or compact amonge themselues to your danger, I wowe to God you wyl neuer posses your dignitie long. Wedes in fildes, if the be suffred, wil quickly ouergrowe the corne, but subiectz, being dandeled, wil make ther owne raignes, and for-let an other raigne. My affection to your surty bredes my plannes, wiche I dout not but by your sower experience you wil fully beliue hireafter, hauing so lately proued the sincerite of my dealings. God so prosper me in my affaires as I maligne none of your subiectz, nor euer wold exaggerat any matter but for your seurty, whom I mind to take euer as great a care of as if only the interest of my life and person consisted theron.

This gentelman, the lord of Wemes, I find a most careful subiect of his prince, and one most curius to atcheue as muche as you committed to him, in wiche I dout not but I haue satisfied you in honor, as time and comoditie serue, with wiche I wil not molest you more than refer me to his declaration, with this only, that no one answer to al but procideth from a most parfaict good affection toward you, and so I desire, with most affection, that you interprete hit.

I must not omit, for concience sake, to speke a few wordz of the mastar of Gray, with whom I haue had long discours, in wiche I find him the most gridiest to do you acceptable seruise that I haue euer hard any, and dothe lay none of his disgracis, banismentz, nor los, in any part to you, but only to perswations of suche as ment his ruine,

and hopes, with his good indeuors, to merite your formar grace; and for my owne [part], I am nothing partiall to him for his particular, but this I must confes, being as honest as he is sufficient, I thinke your realme possesseth not his secound. I nowe speake upon my knowelege, therfor lose not so good an instrument for your affaires, if you knowe no more against him than I can lerne. You will pardon my audacious writing, as one whos yeres teacheth more than her wit, neuer ceasing to lift up my handes and hart with deuout [prayers] for your most prosperous safe and sure succes in this voiage, for which I haue sent you but to pay for hors-mete.

Your most affectionat louing sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]
To my deere brother
the king of Scotland.

No. LVIII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

8TH JULY 1595. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 34.

James, surprised at the queen's long silence, sends an ambassador to explain his situation to her—his Spaniolised rebels have only fled in order to return in greater strength—solicits her assistance against their common enemy.

James's success against the Roman catholic earls was complete. Their strongholds were destroyed, and themselves driven to seek safety in flight or in banishment. In the moment of his success, a coolness ensued between Elizabeth and the Scottish monarch, upon the subject of certain payments which he contended she had promised him. For nine months, during all which time James acted manfully upon the policy Elizabeth advised, she never wrote to him. James at length broke the long silence by the following application for assistance against a fresh attempt which it was rumoured was about to be made by the Spanish faction.

Since the returne of my secretarie from you, madame and dearest sister, I haue patientlie abiddin the tryall of tyme to serue for a proofe of my course by my actions, that thairby all cause of doubt-

ing being remouid, a commoun [danger] micht by a commoun assistance be preuented. But, upon the one pairt, fynding you slower herin then ather youre uill or your uowis do require of you, and, on the other, imputting it to no lake of youre goode-will but of treu information, I haue now, at last, maid choice of the bearare heirof, my seruant, to informe you treulie of all these things; as the fittest messenger to informe you of the quhole progresse of my actions in this great cause, since by him I did also aduertishe you of my first proceiding thairin by lau. Surelie, madame, if it shall please you to wey it, ye will finde that we both are but at a truce, and not at peax, with the Romishe and Spanishe practices. These Spaniolizde rebels of mine, that are fledd the cuntrey, are but retired to fetche a greatter fairde[?], if thay maye; and, beleue me, if any wolde persuade you otheruayes, thay but abuse you for thaire owin gaine, or at least thinking it sufficient gaine to thaime to anoye quhome thay haite. Hou can I uonder aneuch that ye, quho uas so uachfull for my uell at the first breeding of thir practises, as ye neuer uearied from tyme to tyme to foruairne me of my perrell, resenting it als uiuelie as if it had bene your owin, should nou, in the uerrie heicht of rypenesse thairof, be fallen in so lethargique a sleip, as ye are so farr from ather aduertishing or aiding, that ye do not so much as once [write] to enquyre quhat hath bene heir a-doing these nyne monethis past? But appardone me, I praye you, to complayne of you to yourself; for use me as ye list, ye shall neuer shake [me] of, by so many knottis ame I linkit unto you. Nather shall youre slownesse quhyle past be able to blott out of my thankfull memorie youre manyfolde proofes of kyndnesse shouin touardis me in all tymes past, onlie I craue that ye remember ue haue a commoun enemie, and that nou ue must ather concurre to holde thaime under our feet als long as we are treading upon thaime, or ellis, if they gett layser again, it will but learne thaime experience to wrestle the more cunninglie the next tyme. I trust my pairt be nou past *fieri*, I praye youe lett your assistance appeare nou in *esse*. But remitting the more large discourse of all things to the bearare, quhome I pray you

fauourablie to heare and firmlie to trust, I comitt you, madame and dearest sister, to the protection of the Allmichtie. From my pallais of Falkelande, the viii. of Julie, 1595.

Your most louing and affectionat brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LIX.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY OR FEBRUARY 1595-6. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 17. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen's continual care for the common safety of both countries—she does not mean to break her slumber on account of the malice of her enemies—praises James's efforts with pen and sword—recommendation of her ambassador.

The following letter alludes to preparations which were rumoured to be making in Spain, for a renewal of the attempt to invade England. It also contains a studied commendation of a charge to his subjects just published by king James. The charge thus alluded to was a proclamation calling upon the Scottish people to unite with England to resist the Spaniards—the common enemy of both nations. It was dated the 2nd January 1595. See it in Calderwood, v. 389.

My deare brother, If the wracked state, and wel-ny ruined, of this poore gentylman, through the faitheles trust of desceving servantz, in looking every wike of the ending of his troubles, [had not occasioned me to delay,] I could not haue left my pen so long dry, but wold haue fild hit to you with matter ful of truthe, and memorialz of my cares, wiche neuer ar at rest for your best avail, and ment to warne you of suche occurrance as other nations afourd me; spetially, suche as might touche the safty of our countryes, and honors of ourselves. Althogh I do not dout, as now I do perceaue, that you shuld think them now overstale for newes, being by good espialz not made ignorant of our ennemis driftz, whos skope haue ther boundz while ether liues in raigne, but the ever-guidar of best actions, and readiest ruinar of wicked actes, wyl, I doute not, coule ther heat, abate ther pride, and confounde ther forse. I am not suche a wekely, nor

of so base a courage, that euer I mene breake one slombar for ther malice, nor ons dreame of ther victoiri, whos ground-worke is of so slippar foundation that the hold of suche edefice wyl be overturnd with his owne gilt. I may not deny but Epimetheus is no companion for a king. With Prometheus, therfor, I mynd to folowe that after wische condemne not for iugement, and therafter prepare suche menes and power, that, I feare not, shal be so marshald as shal make us no skorne to the world, nor delite to our foes; in some suche sort as I here you haue begone; whos praise, if I shuld not lessene in praising, I could more delate, but this muche I must tel you, that I cannot imagin how you could by any more glorious menes set out your care for your land, your loue to your neigbors, your hate to suche wrongeful invadars, than with your pen and charge to your subiectz you haue utterd, in wordz of suche effect and matter, of suche waight, as, in honest dimars, hit may mar the façon of diuelische machines,* and crase the hartz of treason-mynding men. In me, hit hathe set a deape impression of a cousin-like zele, that myxith not his los with her decay, and joyeth not that she shuld perische first, in hope of bettar fare; wiche, as hit is euer unsure, so sild is hit not a winde-shaked blast. But your so spedy care for thretes, that the may not arive to dedes, doth assure me that the shal haue no just cause that shuld make suche a skruple. Receve, therfor, deare brother, bothe my censare and my thankes therfor, as she that wyl not suffar you to go one fote beyond her in busy inquiring and narow serching what fitteth best for my counsel, or my warning for that may conserne your safety or estate, as I haue charged this my embassador to tel you more at length, as time and cause shal invite me, not omitting to beseche you, that as I knowe him most obsequious in aught that may conserne you, so hit wyl please you to shadow him with your grace against the spiritz of suche as may fortune envie him but shal never mache him. Thus I end my tedious skribling, wiche you wil the rather pardon for to recompence the

* For "machinations."

long space that my writing hathe not spoken with you, praying the euer-liuing God euer to preserue you from sinistar counsel, and al good elz may euer befal you may prosper.

Your most affectionat sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Indorsed,*]
Receaued from Mr. Bowes
Feb. 1596.

No. LX.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

29TH JUNE 1596. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 100.

The queen expresses astonishment that any difficulty should be made about doing her right—shall a castle of hers be assailed by night and the offender not be delivered up to her?—she refuses to appoint commissioners in so clear a case.

This and the two following letters relate to an atchievement which has always been regarded as one of the most daring and best managed of its kind. A well-known borderer, named William Armstrong of Kinmont, or, as he was termed in song and amongst the people, "Kinmont Willie," was unfairly made prisoner by the deputy of the English warden, and was lodged in triumph in the castle of Carlisle. The Scottish warden, sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, enraged at this infringement of border law, took an oath that he would free the captive. With the aid of a few men as daring as himself, and under favour of a dark and stormy night, Buccleuch and his little band scaled the castle wall, surprised the sentries, forced their way with ploughshares and sledge hammers into the inner prison, and mounting the captive upon the broad shoulders of Red Rowan, "the starkest man in Teviotdale," bore him off in his irons. Elizabeth "stormed not a little," says Spottiswood, at such an outrage, and insisted that Buccleuch should be delivered into her hands. The Scotch people, mad with delight at an exploit which reminded them of the days and deeds of Wallace, would have defended Buccleuch and defied the queen,* but James after much ado procured the heroic culprit to be committed to custody, and after a while he was given up to Elizabeth. His distinguished modern

* Birch's Mem. Eliz. ii. 25, 43, 111.

namesake has informed us that the queen desired to see the gallant chieftain. He was taken to court, and Elizabeth, darting upon him one of her most awful looks, asked him, as he knelt at her feet, how he dared to storm one of her castles. Nothing daunted, the gallant borderer replied, "What is there, madam, that a brave man dare not do?" Ever ready to admire courage, even in her enemies, the queen instantly exclaimed to those who stood around her, "With a thousand such leaders, I could shake any throne in Christendom!"

My deare brother, I am to seake with what argument my letters should be fraught, since such themes be given me as I am loth to finde, and am slow to recite. Yet, since I needs must treate of, and unwillingly receave, I cannot omitte to sett before you a to rare example of a seduced king by a sinister councell. Was it ever seen that a prince from his cradle preserved from the slaughter, help up in royall dignitie, conserved from many treasons, maintained in all sortes of kindenes, should remunerate with so harde a measure such deare desarts? With doubt to yealde a just treaties responce to a lawfull frendes demaunde? Ought it be put to a question whither a king should doe another, his like, a right? Or shoulde a councell be demaunded their pleasure what he himselfe shoulde do? Were it in the nonage of the prince it might have some couler, but in a fathers age it seameth strange, and I dare say without example.

I am sorry for the cause that constraines the speach, especially in so apert a matter, whose note growes so farre, and is of that nature, that it, I feare me, will more harme the wronger than the wronged. For how little regard soever be healde of me, yet I should grieve to much to see you neglect your selfe, whose honnor is touched in suche degree as the English, whose regard I dought not but you have in some esteame for ther good thoughts of you, will measure your love by your deedes, not your wordes in your paper. Wherefore, for fine, lett this suffice you, that I am as evill treated by named frend as I could be by my knowen foe. Shall anie castle or habitacle of myne be assailed by a night-larcyn, and shall not my confederate send the offender to his due punisher? Shall a frend sticke at that demand that he ought rather to prevent? The law of kingely love would have sayde nay, and not, for perswation of suche

as never can nor will steed you, but dishonnor you, to keepe their owne rule. Lay behynde you the due regard of me, and in it of your selfe, who as long as you use this trade wil be thought not of your selfe ought, but with conventions what they will.

For commissioners I will never graunt for an act that he cannot deny that made; for what so the cause be made, no cause should have don that. And when you, with a better waighed judgement, shall consider, I am sure my aunsweare shall be more honorable and just, which I expect with most speede, as well for you as for my self. For other doubtfull and littigious causes in our borders I uill be ready to apointe comissioners, if I shall finde them needfull, but for this matter, of so vilanous an usage, assure you I will never be so aunswered as hearers shall need. In this and many other matters I require your trust in my ambassador, who faithfully will retorne them to me. Praying God for your safe keepinge,

Your loving sister and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

No. LXI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN JULY 1596. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 102.

The queen reiterates her refusal to appoint commissioners to try whether any subject of Scotland might take a prisoner out of her castle—she requires the delivery of the offender for the reparation of her honour.

My deere brother, The more I see your letters, reede your answeare, and weye your resolutions, I ever rather impose the fault on our ambassadors neglect, in not touching the materiall groundworke of this our unkindness, than can imagine that, for your owne honour, thoughe all respect of us were debard, you should not weye so the ballances awry as that a meane mans taking, whether right or wrong, shold weye downe the poyse, that our treacherous castells

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breake shold have no right redresse. Nether, if you understand it aright, can we beleeve, that if all the counsell of Scotland wold tell it you, they may cause you be persuaded, that commissioners should need or ought trye whether any subject of yours shold take out of any our holds a prisoner, however taken. And therefore, do not beguyle your selfe, nor let them make you believe, that ever I will put that to a tryall as a matter doubtfull. But for the truth to be knowen of the first taking of that silly man, and divers other pointes fallen out betuixt our wardens, I agree very willingly to such an order, but lett the matter of greatest moment, wich is the malefact of your Locrine, be first redrest. And if such a treachery had bene committed by a man that either ought for deere affection (won him by his demerites), nay if not by such as whose deeds in publick (whatsoever in private) hath well shewed his small regard of your commands, I might have borne with your partiality; but if you remember his former forgoing deeds, as well in your realme as without, I shall need lesse to solicite my honour and his right. Where you yeld that if such causes be not ever adjudged by such like manner of commissioners you'l yeld to what censure of yours I shold choose, I will lothely take such advantage. For yf you ever found that it were put to tryall whither such a violent entrye were laufull, or that the malefactor was not rendred, I will wage my credit of that wager. And uhen you playnely nowe do see my true meaning of repaire of honor, which so lately hath been blotted, and howe no desire of quarrelling for tryfles, nor backwardnes in faithfull affection, wich you never shall finde to quayle but your owne desart, I hope at length you will postpose your newe advisers, and remember her who never yet omitted any part that might concerne a most faithfull frendshippes love. And for such one hold me still, that whatever she hears, yea by your owne, will never trust but you, as God best knowes; whome I beseech inspyre you ever the best.

Your most affectionate sister,

E. R.

No. LXII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

17TH AUGUST, 1596. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 36.

The king understanding that the only thing the queen requires in reference to Buccleuch's attempt, is the reparation of her honour, wounded by the breach of her castle, has commanded Buccleuch into ward, and requests to be further informed of her mind herein.

Madame and dearest sister, I perceaue by youre last letter that the onlie thing ye stikke at concerning Bukleuchis attempt is, that your honoure maye onlie be repaired thairin, and for all other quastionable matteris, ye are content that with all expedition they may be handeled by comissioneris. Suirlie, madame, my mistaking your meaning quhill nou in that matter hath bene the cause of my so long delaye to satisfie you thairin, for, in respect of your ambassadouris first complainte in that matter, craving first fyling* and then deliuerie, I coulde not but thinke, that, according to the custome euer obserued in border causes, ane ordinarie forme of tryell behoued to preceide ane ordinarie punishement; but since I do nou finde it is only your honoure ye respect heirin, hurt by the breache of your castell, suirlie, as I ualde be loathe to graunte to any iniquitie in the forme [of] æquall justice or mutuall redresse betuixt oure tuo realmes, so uill I be als loath, on the other pairt, to giue you cause to thinke that any prince in Europe uolde be so cairfull to preserue your honoure from all blemishe as I, without regarde to the appetit of quhatsumeuer the best subiect in my lande. Both nearness of bloode and thankefulnese bindes me so to do, and since I haue neuer bene ather actoure or consentaire to your harme or dishonoure in any sorte, I wolde be sorie to beginne so badlie at this tyme, and to giue you sum proofe thairof, I haue without, yea rather aganes the aduyce of any, comandit in uairde the partie quhomwith ye are offendit, that it may be sene I will not allou of any thing that ye

* Accusation, indictment.

micht interprete to be ane offence unto you, quhill I maye be farther informed of your mynde herein; quhich I pray you to haiste, together with sum speedie and indelayed order for commissioneris, as I wrote to you in my last. For I doubt not it greuis your conscience to heare the smarte that the poor ones daylie receaues of all handis, and this insolence of borderaris can neuer be stayed but by commissioneris, quhairfore I once againe praye you to hasten thame, with als few ceremonies as maye be, that all delaye may be escheuid. And thus, praying you to excuse and take in good pairt my long delaye of satisfeing your honoure, quhiche I hartelie pray you to impute to my mistaking, as I haue allreaddie declairid, I comitt you, madame and dearest sister, to the protection of the Allmichtie, quho motte still continue to giue you a victorious successe ouer all youre enemies. From Dumfermling, the 17 of Auguste, 1596.

Your most louing and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LXIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

5TH JANUARY 1596-7. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 104.

The queen mediates between the king and the members of the kirk, who had over-audaciously made an attempt to remedy some injurious acts tending, as they believed, to the overthrow of presbyterianism.

This letter has reference to an uproar which took place in Edinburgh on the 17th December 1596. James had permitted the Roman catholic earls to return to Scotland, and was endeavouring to bring about an arrangement for their partial restoration to their estates and honours. The attempt excited the over-zealous leaders of the kirk beyond all bounds of reason. The people adopted the feelings of their ministers, and outran their indiscretion. The king was alarmed by a seditious tumult which threatened danger to his person. He quitted Edinburgh in indignation, removed the courts of justice, interdicted his nobles from resorting to the rebellious city, and assembled at Falkland an army of Highlanders and Borderers, with whom he threatened to take summary vengeance. The citizens, startled and terrified at the unwonted vigour of their offended sovereign, armed themselves and barricaded their houses, against the expected attack; and the last news

which Elizabeth could have received when she wrote the following letter was, that James had ordered the leading ministers to be arrested, and was himself advancing to take military possession of his capital. The additional rumour perhaps had reached her, that the ancient city was to be delivered up to the mercy of the southern thieves, under the command of that very Kinmont Willie whose capture had occasioned the storming of the castle of Carlisle by Scott of Buccleuch. James entered Edinburgh with his military guard on the 1st January, 1596-7. The provost and leading citizens made a submission on their knees. James inflicted a long harangue upon them, and made use of the advantage which he had gained over the too-impetuous kirk, to effect the introduction of various important alterations in ecclesiastical government.

My deare brother, Yf a rare accident and an ill welcome newes had not broken my long silence, I had not now used my penes-speach, being to carefull of your quiet, and myndfull of your safetie, to omitt the expressing of both, by letting you knowe howe untymely I take this new-begone frensie, that may urge you to take such a course as may bring into opinion the verefying of such sclaunder as you have vowed to me to be farre from your thought. In this sort I meane it. Some members of the church, with their companies, have over-audaciously imboldned themselves to redresse some injurious acts that they feared might overthrow their profession, wich though I graunt no king for the manner ought beare the same, yet at the instant, when the newe-come banished lords be returned, and they seen, wincked at, without restraint, and spring growing on, when promised succour was attended, together with many lettres from Rome and elsewhere sent abroad to tell the names of men authorised from you (as they say, though I hope falsely) to assure your conformitie, as tyme may serve you, to establish the dangerous partie and fayle your owne. I wayle in unfayned sort that any just cause should be given you to call in doubt so disguised an act, and hope that you will so trye out this cause as that it harme not to you, though it ruyne them. You may of this be sure, that if you make your strength of so sandy a foundation as to call to your ayd such ayders as be not of your flock, whenas the one syde be foolish, rash, headlong, and brainesick, yet such as most defend you for themselves, having no sure anchorage if you fayle them, and the other

who have other props to sustayne them though they lack you, yea such as thogh your private love to their persons may inveagle your eyes not to pierce to deep into their treason, yet it is well knowen what their many petitions for foreine ayd might have intended, to your perrill and countries wrack, for seldome comes a stronger to a weaker soyle that thralls not the possessor, or dangers at last. I trust you think no lesse, or else they must justify themselves to condemme you, for without your displeasure not feared for such a fact, no answere can sheild them from blame. Now to utter you my folly in being busy in others affayres, I suppose you will not mislike, since the source of all is care of your good, with desyre that nought be done that may imbolden the enemy, decrease your love, and endanger your surety. This is, in summe, the fyne whereto I tend, and God I beseech to direct your hart in such sort as you please not your worst subjects, but make all knowe in a measure what is fitt for them, and make difference betwene error and malice. So God blesse you with a true thought of

Your most affectionat sister, that means your best,

E. R.

No. LXIV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

4TH JANUARY 1597-8. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 106.

The queen calls James to account, in the angriest and most passionate manner, for some words said to be spoken by him in his parliament, respecting her. She has sent Bowes to him for an explanation.

The particular words which occasioned the following indignant letter have not been found. The parliament alluded to assembled at Edinburgh on the 13th December 1597. The Bowes who is mentioned as the bearer of this letter was sir William. Robert Bowes, who passed so many years of his life in Scotland as the English ambassador resident in that country, died at Berwick, and was buried there on the 16th December preceding the date of this letter.

When the first blast of a strange vnvsed and sild hard-of sounde

had pearsed my ears, I supposed that flyeing fame, who with swift quills ofte paseth with the worst, had brought report of some untrothe; but when to to many records in your open parliament were witnesses of such pronounced wordes, not more to my disgrace than to your dishonor, who did forgett that (above all other regarde) a princes word ought utter naught of any, much less of a king, than such as to which truthe might say, "Amen." But * your neglecting all care of yourself, (what danger of reproche, besydes somewhat els, might light uppon [you]), you have chosen so unseemly a theame to charge your only carefull friend withall, of such matter as (were yow not amased in all senses) could not have been expected at your hands; of such imagined vntruthes as never were once thought of in our tyme. I doe wonder what evyll spiritts have possest you, to set forthe so infamous devyses, void of any shewe of trothe. I am sorry that you have so wilfully falen from your best stay, and will needs throwe your self into the hurlpole of bottomles discreditt. Was the hast soe great to hye to such oprobry, as that you would pronounce a never-thought-of action afore you had but asked the question of her that best could tell it? I see well wee two be of very different natures, for I vowe to God I would not corrupt my tonge with an vnknowen report of the greatest foe I have, muche lesse could I detract my best-deserving freinde with a spott so fowle as scarsly may ever be outraised. Could you roote the desire of giftes of your subjects vppon no better grounde than this quagmire, wich to passe you scarcely may, without the slyppe of your own disgrace? Shall imbassage be sent to forayne princes laden with instruçons of your raishe advised charge? I assure you the travaile of your creased words shall passe the boundes of to many landes, with an imputation of suche levytie, as when the true somshine of my sincere dealing and extraordinary care ever for your safety and honor shall overshade to farr the dymme and mystie clowdes of false invectyves. I never yet loved you so little as not to moane your infamous

* In the sense of "besides."

dealynges wich you are in mynde. We see that my self shall possesse more princes wytness of my causeless injuries, which I could have wished had passed no seas, to testefy such memorials of your wronges. Beshink you of suche dealinges, and set your labour uppon such mends as best may. Though not right, yet salve some peece of this over-slypp. And be assured, that you deale with such a kinge as will beare no wronges and indure [no] infamy. The examples have ben so lately seen as they can hardly be forgotten, of a farr mightier and potenter prince than many Europe hathe. Looke you not therefore that without large amends I may or will slupper-up such indignities. We have sent this bearer, Bowes, whome you may safely credit, to signifie such particularities as fits not a leters talk. And so I recomend you to a better mynde and more advysed conclusions. Praying God to guide you for your best, and delyver you from synister advise, as descryeth*

Your more redyer sister than your self
hathe done, for that is fitt,

ELIZABETH R.

No. LXV.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN IN FEBRUARY, 1597-8. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 60.

James replies to Elizabeth's accusations against him contained in her last passionate letter, which he had already answered to sir William Bowes —he sends to her the abbot of Kinloss.

This letter is James's reply to No. LXIV. The following extract from Tytler's Scotland affords a partial illustration of the subject which had excited the anger of the queen; but the historian had not seen the letter we have just printed.—"On the arrival of sir W. Bowes at the Scottish court he found the king's mind entirely occupied by one great subject—his title to the English throne after the death of the queen. . . . From his observations the ambassador dreaded that the royal mind was beginning to be alienated from England; and in his first interview James certainly expressed himself with some bitterness

* This obscure conclusion is printed as it stands in our MS.

against Elizabeth. The expostulations addressed to him by his good sister, he said, were unnecessarily sharp. She accused him of diminished friendliness, of foreign predilections, of credulity and forwardness; but he must retort these epithets, for he had found her too ready to believe what was untrue, and to condemn him unheard. It was true that when he saw other competitors for the crown of England endeavouring, in every way, to advance their own titles, and even making personal applications to the queen, he had begun to think it time to look to his just claim, and to interest his friends in his behalf. It was with this view he had required assistance from his people to furnish ambassadors to various foreign powers. This surely he was entitled to do: but any thing which had been reported of him beyond this was false; and his desire to entertain all kindly offices with his good sister of England continued as strong as it had been during his whole life." (ix. 276-8.) Besides the verbal reply given to sir William Bowes, James sent Edward Bruce of Kinloss to Elizabeth with the following written answer.

Madame and dearest sister, Althoch I hadd sufficientlie purged to youre laite ambassadoure, sir William Bowis, the calumniouse and untreu reportis that came to youre eares of me, yett I coulde not satisfey myself without sending one of my owin unto you, als uell to informe you more amplie of the treuth thairof, as to turne ouer most justlie on youre selfe that ouer-hastie credulitie quhiche in your letter ye laye so sharpelie to my charge. No farther will I ansoure particularlie to your letter, since it becommes me not to stryue with a ladie, especiallie in that airt quhairin thaire sexe moste excellis; but, beleue me, I take not unkyndelie your passionate letter, both because it uas but preuelie written to my self, as lykeuayes because I perceaue sparkis of loue to shyne throuch the middest of the thiccest clouddis of passion that ar thaire sett doun. And, indeede, I must confesse, if I had any wayes bene guiltie of that quhairuith ye charged me, I hadd deserued uorse at your hande then so kynde and homelie a reproofe as it uas, althoch it was bitter; but *amantium iræ amoris redintegratio*, quhiche makes me to truste that the fruitis of our contesting shall be sweet, althoch the buddis thairof wairre soure. And, for my pairt, I am onlie to continue with you in that olde contention of honest amitie, for quhiche effect I haue sent unto you my ambassadour, the abbot of Kinlosse, quhom I hairtelie pray you fauourabli to heare and truste, as one for quhose honestie and plainnes I will be ansourable. And thus, with my earnest prayeris

to the Allmichtie for your prosperitie, I hairtelie praye you, madame and dearest sister, euer to make full accompte of me, as of

Youre most louing and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LXVI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

1ST JULY 1598. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 128.

The queen assures James that she is not of so viperous a nature as to suppose, or have a thought, that he is guilty of an offence charged against him.

This and the three following letters relate to an accusation brought against James by a person named Valentine Thomas. Being in custody for theft, this miscreant took upon him to charge James with a design against the life of Elizabeth. Very jealous of his fame in a matter in which he was clearly guiltless, and apprehensive lest political malice might revive the false charge against him during some future possible struggle for the throne of England, James was anxious that his innocency should be made apparent by some producible documentary evidence. Elizabeth on her part seems to have thought that James was rather unnecessarily sensitive upon the subject. The date of the present letter is derived from Tytler's Scotland, ix. 440. A copy of it exists in the State Paper Office.

My deere brother, Suppose not that my silence hathe any other roote then hatinge to make an argument of my writing to you that should molest you or trouble me, being most desirous that no mention might once be made of so villanous an act, especially that might but in word touche a sacred persone. But nowe I see that so lavishly it hath ben used [by the] aucthor thereof, that I can refraine no longer to make you partaker thereof sincerely, from the beginning to this hower, of all that hath proceded. And for more speed have sent charge with Bowes, to utter all without fraud or guile, assuring you that fewe things have displeased me more since our first amities. And charge you in Gods name to belyve, that I am not of so viperous a nature to suppose or have thereof a thought

against you, but shall make the deviser have his desert, more for that then ought els. Referring my self to the true trust of this gentleman, to whome I beseeche you giue full affiance in all he shall assure you on my behalf. And so God I beseech to prosper you with all his graces, as dothe desire,

Your most affectionat syster.

No. LXVII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN IN JULY OR AUGUST 1598. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 48.

The king has sent an ambassador to inform the queen what he wishes to be done for the clearing of his honour in reference to the slanders raised by a base villain—wishes all his dealings respecting her were written in a book laid open before her.

Madame and dearest sister, I haue nou, according to my promeise in my other letter, directted unto you the bearer heirof, my seruande, quhomby ye shall be informed, quhat I craue for clearing my honoure anent these sklanders quhiche that base uillaine hath raised upon me; quhairin I doubte not but youre honoure and loue towardis me will moue you not to see me innocentlie wronged. The particulars heirof I will not trouble you with by longsume letter, but remittis thaime to his declaration, together with sindrie other things quhairwith I ame falselie charged, as God shall juge me. For, on my honoure, I wolde wishe that all the direct or indirect dealings that ever I hadde, that micht concerne your persone or state, waire in a booke laid oppen before you, and then you woulde see, that no subject of Englande hath kept himself cleerer of any guilty [thought] against you then I haue done, euer since I was borne.

I haue lykewayes commandit him to dealle with you in dyuerse other things, quhairin I also praye you to giue him a fauorable eare and truste. As for this foule attempt upon the bordouris, quhairof

I latelie wrote unto you, I doubte nothing of the equitie of your judgement in kaice ye be treulie informed, but I knou youre officers on that bordure will make the faulte to seeme unto you als small and licht as they can; but consider thaye are pairties, and determine according to richt. And thus, madame and dearest sister, I recommende you to the tuition of the Allmichtie.

Your most louing and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LXVIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

26TH DECEMBER 1598. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 109.

The queen has signed a patent respecting James's innocency of the accusation of Valentine Thomas, which he might have asked of many kings in vain—she sends him a new-year's gift of good advice.

The argument of my letter, my deare brother, if it should have the theame that your messengers late embassade did cheeflye treate of, would yeld suche a terror to my hand that my pen should scarce afford a right ortographie to the words it wrote. Unnaming therefore what it was, it may suffice that you nor other king ever mett with a better mynde nor a rarer intent, wich hath bene well as fulle uttered, by my signature to such a graunt as I suppose you might have asked of manie kings and lackt such a furniture. But I forthinke it not, with a trust that in all other matters that may concerne my self or state we shall be rightlye aunswered with equall care and unfayned kindness. In this you shall strengthen yourself and render me my dewe. The best newe years guifte that I can geve you for this cominge year shall be, that in your greatest causes you heede well from what spirits the counsells that you will followe do come, and God send you his grace to make a trewe scantlin betwix what is pretended and ment. And judge a-rightly twixt what seems may be your best, and that must needs be in deede. So shall

you never do ought that may indanger yourself with thought to do you good, nor wrong your best friend that means you but good and yet will not abyde a wronge. And for your own dominions, I wish you guide them so as no innovators mar the fasshion of your old governmente. Diseases there be in showe not dangerous, but in continuance perillous. Thus will I end, with this request, that you [consider] the mind of the giver, not the meanesse of the guifte, which proceedeth from her that desireth of God a good grant to these my wishes.

Your most affectionate sister and cousin,

E.

This gentleman, I assure you, hathe acquitted himself very faithfully [and] discreetlye in his charge.

No. LXIX.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN PROBABLY EARLY IN 1599. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 40.

The king states a variety of objections to a patent sent him by queen Elizabeth in vindication of his honour from the foul accusation of Valentine Thomas, and craves a further declaration of his innocence.

Madame and dearest sister, Since the returne of my seruante Foulis, I faunde my self uncessantlie prikked by the lawe of that honest freindshippe quhiche I beare unto you, to haisten unto you, hou soone my laiser micht any wayes permitte me, the treu pourtraite of my thochtis upon that ansoure to my most juste petitiones quhiche it pleased you, by the handis of [my] saide seruante, to returne unto me.

The ground of my requeste was, to be freed of that, as untreu as uyle, imputation and calumnie, layd against me by so infamouse a uillaine, seduced thairto ather by his owin self-loue, seeking thairby the farthest-of thoch most detestable death, or ellis by my malicious

thoch undeseruid haitteres. Not that I ment, or neid it, to craue to be made clear of any suche treacherouse attempts, quhairof indeed I euer was most cleare, but that my effectual innocencie micht be maid knouin, quhiche nou maye in sum measure be obscurid by murmuring surmyses flouing from this filthie spring. But, as for the meanis for attaining to the same, I remitte you to youre owin memorie quhat choice and diuersitie of thaime I maid to be proponed unto you, and in ende relayed my cheifest suretie thairin upon youre owin deuyce, quhiche out of youre owin uisdome, tempered with youre kyndest loue touardis me, I looked ye woulde fynde out. But nou, quhen I haue rypelie considerit and weyed, in the iuste ballances of a reasonable and unpassionate judgement, the true force and pith of youre ansoure, I must plainly confesse, except I wolde faine with you, quhiche is the foulest erroure that in a mutual freindship can be comitted, that I cannot finde, in any pointe thairof, any thing neir to my iuste satisfaction. For, first, in your patent, the narration thairin declaires it to be onlie obtained by importunitie, and the conclusion thairof to be rather ane allouance of your owin goode conceipte that it hath pleased you to take of me, then any acknouledgement of my many good and honorable deserts at youre hande. And quhairas ye declare thairin, that ye oucht to giue accounte of any of your actiones to no mortall creature, I knou very well that it becummis none that enjoies suche places as we both doe, ather to giue accompte or be judgit by any, and thairfore, as I neuer thocht to craue the one, so think I neuer to submitte myself in the other. So that, quhairas my expectation uas, that by your patent ye sholde haue declairid, that, as by the lawis of all nations, the bare and single alledgeance of so infamouse and base a uillaine, cold bring foorthe no bleamishe to the honoure and fame of one of my ranke and calling, so had youre experience of my kynde and honest behauioure touardis you at all tymes, justlie preserued you from harbouring in youre hairte the least iotte of suspicion of me, in such a cace; quhairwith, as ye restit fullie persuadit within youreself, so wished ye all to quhose knouledge that patent uolde cum, to rest in

that full assurance of my honourable innocence quhiche the goode lawis of all nations, and the proofe of my by-paste behauioure, wolde in all reason obtaine of thaime. I can, by the contrarie, collecte nothing of your patent, but, as the graunte theirof seemis to be thrauin out by importunitie, and not uillinglie obteained by good uill, so by the delaiting of the uertuouse merites of your owin inclination, and of youre manifolde benefites bestowid upon me, the substance thairof seeming rather to tende to the agrauating of my ingratitud, in kace I uaire guiltie, then to the clearing of my innocence, since nather your uertuouse inclination in judging others by the measure of youre owin qualities, nor yet youre owin knouledge of your good deserts touardis me, can carie any forther proofe then quhat of reason I should doe, but not quhat indeid I haue done; otheruayes all uertuouse and innocent personnis uolde euer be as free from the perrill of ressauing as deserving any causeles iniuries.

And next, quhairas I craued, that by some acte or statute, order micht be geuin for the cancelling and razing of any thing in his indytement or deposition that micht concerne me, that, as I assure myself, ye putt no doubt in your owin hairte of my innocence, so ye micht thairby remoue all occasions quhairby I micht be calumniated at any time hearafter, I haue onlie ressaued a coppie of his indytement and a generall summe of his depositions; a fauour quhiche by no law coulde be refused to [the] caitife himself at his leding out to the execution. And as for the omission of my name out of the indytement, quiche notuithstanding containes the specialities of the alleadgit practises, and place quhaire the same was deuysed, quhiche is fullie relatiue to his depositions quhairin my name is plainelie mentionated, I can thinke it no greater grace then that my name is (for the façon) skraiped out of the texte but well retained in the glosse or comentarie. He is indyted for practising according to his owin confesion, and in the same confession, by quhiche means only this practise is reuealed, I ame plainlie named and accusid.

And for ansoure to my last petition, quhairin I craued, that if my satisfaction could not presentlie be agreed upon, the persone of the

catife micht at least be detained unexecuted quhill sum more sure and honorable waye of his tryall and my clearing micht be found out, ye haue only, into the middest of a priui letter written to your agent, maid him a generall promeise thairin, as long as ye shall finde me contineu in my goode behauioure touardis you.

Thus farr haue I thocht goode treulie and honestlie to communicate my mynde unto you concerning your laite ansoure, quhiche I proteste is no uayes done for building up groundis of miscontentement thairby, but only least ye should deceaue yourself, in thinking me, if I had remained sylent, satisfeid with your ansoure; for as a prince, it becummis me not to faine, and as youre freind, I uaire faultie if I should dissemble. My requeste, then, is onlie that ye wolde patiently and grauelie consider upon the pramissis, and lete me by youre directt ansoure be resolued, if, in your judgement, you thinke my petitions reasonable; and since the grounde of my requeste is only that ye uolde help, not to cleare me of this false and filthie calumnie, but only to declaire me to be the thing I ame indeid, vouchsafe then, by some honorable meanis, to giue me onlie that quhiche of myself I fullie doe possesse, persuading to the worlde to beleue that quhich in your owin concience and knouledge ye are surelie persuadit of. Considder, it is craued by him quho hath euer bene your most constant freinde, quho neuer at any time did so much as once conceale anithing that micht import the harme of your persone or state, and that the graunting my requeste will tende as well to the honoure of the graunter as the crauer. And thus, craving pardon for my faschouse long samnes, and rude plainnes, as proceiding from a honeste and frindlie hairt, I comitt you, madame and dearest sister, to [the] tuition of the Allmichtie.

Your most louing and affectionate brother and cousin,

James R.

No. LXX.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN EARLY IN SEPTEMBER 1600. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 51.

Thanks to the queen for congratulations upon James's escape from a late treacherous practise—answer to the charge of having prepared the queen's funeral—also to the accusation of intending to sell his son to the pope.

On the 5th August 1600, occurred that memorable incident in the life of James and in the history of Scotland, the outbreak of the Gowrie conspiracy. Elizabeth sent sir Henry Brunckcr to congratulate James upon his escape, but she was excited against the Scottish monarch at the time, by the discovery that he had been in correspondence with Essex, and united with her congratulation an accusation that he had been accessory to the preparation of her funeral, "long," she continued, "ere, I suppose, their laboure shall be needful." In the same letter, or in the instructions to her ambassador, she also taunted the Scottish sovereign with his reported intention to "sell his son to the pope"—a strange accusation, which had its origin in a proposal, certainly made by an agent of James, that prince Henry should be brought up in the Roman catholic faith. (Tytler's Scotland, ix. 394.) The following letter contains James's answer to these manifold accusations.

Madame and dearest sister, As by youre cairfull and most suddaine dispatche of this honorable gentleman, youre familiare and trustie seruand, for congratuling with me for my laite unexpected escape from so treacherouse a practise, ye haue geuen a most euident and honorable proofe of the continuance of your cairfull and sinceare loue towardis me, so can I do no more but by penn to assure you of my thankefulnes, quhill it please God to offer sum occasion that by effectis I maye more uifely expresse it unto you. In this I can saye no more, but, as in this office of kyndnes touardis me, ye haue farre praueined all other kings my confederatis, so haue ye justlie aquyred the first place of loue in my hairt before thaime all. And that ye may haue the more maitter to praise God for my saiftie, I haue particularlie, out of my owin mouth, acquainted youre ambassadoure with the quhole circumstances of that odiouse facte.

And quhairas ye appeare to charge me with the prepairing un-

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tymouslie of your funerallis, I cannot aneuch uonder, that, notwithstanding both of the uprichtnes of my meaning, and that long since I haue oftentymes geuen you full satisfaction in that point, youre earis shoulde yett be so oppen to such as goes about, by all the meanis they can, to burie and abolishe, by the force of lyes and calumnies, that happie amitie standing betuixt us; as appearis well by suche uyle and false reportis quhairwith I perseaue they doe daylie fill your earis. But as for purging me of all these surmyses, I will onlie repeate my former attestations of my euer upricht and honest course in all that concernid your person or state, meriting more faith then all thair knauishe pratling; so wold I, on the other pairt, wishe you to be that farr acquainted with my disposition, that I neuer harboured suche base thochtis as, for any respectis that can be imagined, to sell the smallest pairt of my cuntrey, muche lesse my sonne, to any pope or prince in the worlde. No! I neuer thocht so baselie, as that ather myself, or my sonnis person, or education, shoulde be in the reuerence of any pope, king, or queen liuing. For, althoch I thanke God I be in friendship with all the christiane princes in Europe, yett my dealing with any of thaime shall, uith Goddis grace, be so honorable, as I shall neuer neid to be ashamed thairof. But, hauing particularlie made ansoure to youre ambassadour upon euerie particulaire heade of this false imputations, I remitte me to his report thairin, wishing at God that ye waire as farre upon all the secreate counsayles of my hairt towardis you as myself is. And thus, fearing to uearie you with my raggit scribling, I comitte you, madame and dearest sister, to the tuition of the Almichtie.

Your most louing brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LXXI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN APRIL 1601. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 110.

The queen's anxiety to know what were the griefs which occasioned him to send the bearers to her as ambassadors- they have all been answered two years ago—warns him against underhand dealing with her subjects—a bird of the air will utter the matter to an honest king.

James's anxiety in reference to the succession to the English throne increased with every year's increase of Elizabeth's age and infirmities. He omitted no opportunity of sending some of his principal servants to the English court rather as spies than ambassadors, and when excuses for embassies were long in coming he invented or imagined them rather than lose the advantages to be derived from the maturing of his prospective plans. The present embassy was one of the latter kind. The earl of Mar and the abbot of Kinloss were the messengers—the "well-chosen couple," as they are termed by Elizabeth in the following letter. The avowed objects of their mission may be gathered from the next succeeding letter; their private instructions may be read in Hailes's Secret Correspondence of Cecil, p. 9. Mr. Tytler has also fully detailed the whole circumstances in his History of Scotland, ix. 373.

My good brother, At the first readinge of your letter, albeit I wondred muche what springs your grieves might have of any of my actions, who knowes my self most clear of any just cause to breed you any annoy, yet I was well lightned of my marvayle when you dealt so kinglye with me, not to let them harbour in your brest, but were contented to send me so well a chosen couple, that might utter and receave what you meane, and what I should relate. And when my greedy will to knowe dyd sturre me, at first accesse, to requyre an ease with speed of such matters, I found by them, that the pryncypall causes were the self same in part that the lord of Kynlosse had two yeares past and more imparted to me, to whome, and to others your mynisters, I am sure I have given so good satisfaction in honor and reasone, as, if your other greater matters have not made them forgotten, yow your selfe will not deny them.

But not willing in my letters to molest you with that wich they will not but tell you (as I hope), together with such true and

guylelesse profession of my sincere affection to you as you shall never have just reason to dobt my clearnesse in your behalfe, yet this I must tell you, that as I marvayle much to haue suche a subject that wolde impart so great a cause to yow afore ever making me pryvy thereof, so doth my affectionat amytie to you clayme at your hands that my ignorance of subjects boldness be not augmented by your silence; by whom you may be sure you shall never obtaine so muche good as my good dealing can aford you.

Let not shades deceave you, wich may take away best substance from you, when they can turne but to dust or smoake. An upright demeanor beares ever more poyse than all disguysed shewes of good can doe. Remember, that a byrd of the ayre, if no other instrument, to an honest king shall stand in stead of many fayned practyses, to utter aught may any wyse touche hym. And so I leave my scrybles, with my best wyshes that you skane what works becometh best a king, and what in end will best avayle him.

Your most loving sister, that longs to see
you deale as kyndly as I meane,

ELIZABETH R.

No. LXXII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

30TH APRIL 1601. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 112.

Official answer to the matters treated of by the Scottish ambassadors—Essex's rebellion—Valentine Thomas—Eure's case—Ashfield—lands claimed by James.

This is the official answer sent to James on the return of the earl of Mar and the abbot of Kinloss. Of the matters mentioned in it, the first is the rebellion *unius diei*, that of the earl of Essex. Some historians have been of opinion that James was deeply implicated in Essex's foolish scheme, and was to have been raised to the throne by its success. Mr. Tytler supposes that the mission of these gentlemen to Elizabeth was one of intercession for Essex. If so they defeated their object by their tardiness. They left Scotland with a suite of nearly forty persons about the middle of February, 1600-1. They reached London on the 6th March. They were admitted to their first interview with the

queen on the 22nd March. Essex was executed on the 25th February. Sir William Eure and sir Edmund Ashfield were both imprisoned for holding secret communication with the king of Scotland upon the subject of the succession. The lands alluded to were those of Margaret countess of Lennox, James's paternal grandmother, who died on the 10th March, 1577-8.

Right highe, &c. Being it hath ben at all tymes a great contentment to us to receave from you demonstration of the contynuance or increase of your good will, you need not doubt but your kind letters presented by this personages of honour and integryty are so much the more gratefull.

And where they have congratulated us from you [on] our happy prevention of the late treasonable attemptats, the suppressyon whereof, praised be God, fell out to be only *opus unius diei*, wee do accept in very good part that kind office from you, and requytt you with this good wyshe, that the lyke may either never befall you or at least be as easely past over; that being utterly extinguished in twelve hours wich was in hatching dyverse years.

It is also very wellcome to us, and at [all] tymes shalbe, that you, invyted as you wryte by our example and by the obligation of true kindnesse, do use playnesse in opening unto us any thing that lyeth in your hart. But why at this tyme the same is used as a meane to obtaine the curing of some wound (as your letter doth insynuat), wee do not well understande. For, in the examination of all our actions towards yow, wee do not find that any thing hath passed from us that may be construed for a wounde, except the same language of playnesse, which yourself do well affirme to be an undisseverable companyon of true freindshippe, do change habytt when it cometh from us and not from others; with which contradiction if we may knowe your mind to be posessed, and that our franke and reall dealling hath (out of your owne apprehencyon) strooken deeper than we entended, or bredd any other conceipt in your mynde then in his own nature the syncere and mutuall expressing of each others thoughts should doe betwene true freinds, wee will from henceforth be more reserved; as being one who, nether in deed nor in worde, either have or meane to vyolate our former just and affectionate

profession. But now to come to other particulars of your embassadors negotiations. We have gyven them an attentyve and pacyent hearing, not only because all persons recommended to us from you shall styll receave such measure, but also because we knowe them to be of more constant affection towards the common freindshippe of our kingdomes then others, who have not spared often for pryvat respect to runn many courses, whereby they haue adventured your honour and given advantage to our common adversaries. And yet we must thus playnly tell you, that they have not fayled to use playne and seryous dealings with us and with our counsell, in things wich, in their owne nature, wee thinke doth not well sort with the outward parte of their embassay; having been so often and so justly answered, as were it not to confirme that they have not omited any part of their charge, we would not have troubled either you or ourselfs at this tyme with any repeticyon.

For first, to the matter of Valentine Thomas. We have often sayed the same wich we have nowe againe made playne to them, that whatsoever hath ben forborne to be done against him hath ben meerely done by us in your favour, because wee would not styre anewe that matter wich nowe lyeth deadd, and cannot be revyved without some scandall howe unjust soever. Next, we must styll say, that what your owne ministers wyshe nowe to be done therein, for your further satisfaction, hath ben done in effect allready to your servant Fowles at his last departure.

For Euers case, for whome your embassadors have also dealt, wee fynd that you are as subject as others are to wry reports; for when he was sent for—his owne governor knowes it—wee had other cause that moved us; though true it is when he was but accidentally demaunded howe he found you dysposed in the matter of the pledges (for which he sayd he went to speake with the lord of Roxburoughe) he made such an impudent denyall, or rather an abjuration, of his ever seeing or speaking with you, as theruppon we deny not but we grewe jalous that he might have had some ill designe in his goeing, thoughe no way incoraged by you whatsoever. So as in

this case wee apeale to your self, howe you wold have proceded yf the case had ben your owne, as nowe it is meerly ours.

And thirdly, touching Ayshfeld. As we have don nothing in his case but what the soveraigne authorytie of all princes doth justefye, and the lawes of our border specyally provyde, that there be no passing or repassing of the subjects of either realme without lycence of the wardens, so doe wee think it strange that you do not better dycern of the merytt of persons who seecke accesse to you, then to esteme yourselfe in that respect interested in their good or evyll usage, who, out of their owne humour and busy natures, going beyond the duty of subjects, seeke to shelter themselves against the danger of their owne crimes by making you a cause, and so a party to their disgraces; wich, for example sake, though for no other respect, all prynces-soveraigne ought to be wary to take uppon them, least in favouring the undutyfull doings of others subjects they open evyll wayes to their owne. As for his taking out of your contry, it was utterly without our pryvity, and done only by our governor of Barwycke to redeeme his owne eror; but being don, and the partie fallen into our hands, wee hadd no reason to omytt the occasion to chastyse so lewd a caytyffe.

Lastly, touching your desire to have some lands where the title remaines yet undecided, we will speak shortly to you, that wee found that of all things most strange, consyddering howe well ye have dycerned our disposition therein heretofore, that any such demaund shoulde be renewed, since your selfe cannot be ignorant that some consequences wich depende therupon hath made us forbare to dispose of it one way or other. All which considered, seeing you professe so clear a desyre to remove all scruples, wee hope to heare no more of any of this matters, which are so unworthy of our disputte, who have and do resolve to nourishe and performe all princely correspondency, which can be by nothing more desgraced then when our comon adversaryes shall see, that when newe causes rise not, old and by-passed scruples are revyved.

No. LXXIII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN IN NOVEMBER 1601. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 56.

Letter of recommendation of the duke of Lennox, who was visiting the court of England on his return from France to Scotland.

The bearer of the following letter was Lodowick Stewart, duke of Lennox, son of Esmé Stewart duke of Lennox, first cousin of the king and one of his early favourites. His present visit to England, at the moment of a meeting of the parliament in which it was thought some steps would be taken respecting the succession, was in that respect not at all agreeable to Elizabeth. The principal object of his mission was no doubt to watch over James's interests, and especially to communicate with the Roman catholics, and endeavour to predispose them in favour of his master's succession.

My dearest sister, I must by these few lynes presume, rather in a homelie than princelie maner and uithout all ceremonis, to recommende the bearare heirof unto you, and as I haue allreadie great cause to thanke you for your so louing and readie graunt of a most fauourable pasport unto him, so doe I most hartelie praye you to lett him finde youre goode countenance, since the greatest earands he hath to cum that uaye, is to haue the honoure to kise youre hande. And althouch I did not doubte of your owin curtesie in this pointe, yett I doe assure myself it will not be the less gratiouse for my requeste. And since ye haue nou occasion to speake with him, being upon his returne from the dischargin of his comission in France, I shall be uerrie well contentid that ye examine him, in a secreate and familiar forme, of his proceadings thair, and quhat uas his direction, that ye maye finde by proofe, according to my promeise, that I shall neuer haue dealing in any pairte of the worlde quhiche maye in any sorte tende to youre prejudice; but, by the contraire, shall euer be cairfull to procure the prosperous continuance of your suretie, and will, as farre as shall lye in my poueir, as I hoape shortly to giue youe some proofe, in some particulaires that my cousin, the bearare heirof, uill informe you in, quhairby my honestie, I hoape, shall the

better appeare. And thus, with my hairtelie prayeris to the Allmichtie for your tuition, I uill put an ende to these my raggit lynes scribledd in haste.

Your most louing and affectionate brother,

JAMES R.

No. LXXIV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

2ND DECEMBER 1601. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 116.

Thanks for letters received by Foulis and the duke of Lennox, and for offers of service against the Spaniards in Ireland—great praise of the duke of Lennox.

My dear brother, Never were there yet prince nor meaner wight to whose gratefull turnes I did not correspond, in keeping them in memory to their avayle and my owne honor. So trust I that you will not doupt but that your last letters by Fowles and the duke are so acceptably taken as my thanks cannot be lacking for the same, but yelds them you in thankfull sort. And albeit I suppose I shall not neede to trouble any of your subjects in my service, yet, according to your request, I shall use the liberty of your noble offer, if it shall be requisite.

And whereas your faithfull and deare duke hath at large dyscoursed with me, as of his owne knowledge, what faithfull affection you beare me, and hath aded the leave he hath receaved from you to proffer himself for the performer of my service in Ireland, with any such as may best please me under his charge, I thinke my selfe greatly indebted unto you for your so tender care of my prosperitie, and have told him that I wold be lothe to venture his person into perillous service, since I see he is such one that you make so great a reckoning of, but that some of meaner quality, of whom there were lesse losse, might in that case be ventured. And sure, dere brother, in my judgment, for this short acquaintance that I have had of him,

you do not prise with better cause any nere unto you, for I protest, without fayning or doubling, I never give eares to greater lawde then such as I have heard him pronounce of you, with humble desyre that I wold banishe from mynde any evill opinion or doupt of your sincerity to me. And because, thoughe I knowe it was but duty, yet wher such shewe appeares in myndfull place I hold it worthy regard, and am not so wycked to conceale it from you, that you may thanke your self for such a choyse. And thus much shall suffice, for feare to molest your eyes with my scrybling, committing you to the enjoying of best thoughts and good consideration of your carefull frend, wich I suppose to be

Your most affectionate sister,

ELIZABETH R.

No. LXXV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

WRITTEN IN DECEMBER 1601. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 118.

Thanks for offers of men for the service of the queen in Ireland, and also for punishing persons who supplied the rebels in that country with provisions—tidings of the destruction of the invaders hourly expected.

The following letter relates to the great rebellion of Tyrone, who, aided by a body of Spanish auxiliaries, was able for a time to set at defiance the power of Elizabeth and the military skill of her deputy lord Mountjoy. James offered to send to Elizabeth's aid a body of his Highlanders; but it was reserved for a more glorious occasion, and a more worthy cause, to give England, for the first time, the benefit and the protection which she has since so often derived from the daring valour of those hardy mountaineers.

That it pleased you, my deer brother, to sturr up my memory to consyder howe needfull speed is in so greate a cause as requyres a present service of your subjectts if any wee will have, and that you already make choice of some captains and hedds of such troupes as if I like I may use, surely I fynd myselfe greatly indebted unto you for such heedfull care of what might concerne my service, and thinke

many thankes very shorte to aunswere such desert. But that paper cannot includde, that my thankfull hart shall ever acnowledge to you; not omytting the readynes that now you shewe to the fynding and punishing of such, as, contrary to your often promyses and their often commands, have furnished our traytours with their foode and all such things as might fortify their rebellion. And although nowe, when it is very late, for having done their worst already, yet never can it be out of season to have them smart that so dishonored you and wronged us, for which we will not omitt our thankfullness, and takes it in kynd manner. And thoughe wee doe howerly expect some favorable wynde that will blowe to our ears some such tydings of their ruyne, that contrary to honor, conscience, or cause, hath thus outragiously assayled us, yet in meane while we have communicatted to your good sarvant Mr. Fowles particularly our mynde herein, tyll we can send you more, which with all speed wee meane to doe, when wee shall heare from thence. And tyll then, wee leave to trouble you with more lynes, but do remayne

Your very affectionate sister,

E. R.

No. LXXVI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

3RD FEBRUARY 1601-2. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 119.

Further thanks for offers of assistance in Ireland—rumours of a Spanish army destined for England—"I nothing fear though they came."

My very good brother, Though matter I have longe to lengthen my letter, yet you must beare with fewe lynes, dryven thereto by an evill accydent of my arme, and yet my memorie shall never be short to kepe in mynde your ready kindnesse, which the offer of your subjects servyce made me knowe, together with the care and spede that [you shewed] therein, as also the good warning you gave me

of a supposed army from Spaine for England; wich though I nothing feare though they came, as nothing doupting but their speede should be as shamefull to them as the precedent hath been; yet my thanks for your care, together with your good counsell, not to neglect such a malice, bynding me to conceave that you wold be loathe that any disaster should arryve to her that yet (God be praysed) never tasted of any. And thus I end to trouble you longer, with mynde to byde

Your affectionate sister,
ELIZABETH R.

No. LXXVII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN AFTER JULY 1602. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 64.

Particulars of James's communication with the ambassador and king of France respecting a proposed league of France, England and Scotland against Spain, with request for the advice of Elizabeth.

I am a little doubtful as to the order in which this and the following letter should be placed. Calderwood says that the French ambassador alluded to arrived in Scotland about the end of July 1602. (vi. 158, Wodrow edition.)

Madame, my dearest sister, I hadde not so long delayed my hande-wryte to haue witnessit my thankfullnes, as well for your louing and kynde letter, as for youre fauorable and speedie dispatche of my seruant Ashton, if I had not stayed till I had first soundit the Frenshe ambassadouris mynde in that purpose quhairof I urote to you in my last. Quhomby I haue in deid receaued a letter of his maisteris owin hande, affirming and ratifying thairby all these particulaire promeises, and offers of freindshippe, quhiche he had mouit my ambassadoure to acquainte me with before; and to this effecte his ambassadoure had freely promeised his maisteris assistance, ather unto me in speciall against the Spaniarde, in case Spaine shall happen to make inuasion upon my kingdome, or otheruayes to assiste you, quhairin he nothing doubtis of my concurrance, in case the said

Spaniarde shall follow forthe his inuasion upon Yrelande, or any other of youre dominions; using these wordis in conclusion, that all-thoch the king his maister uolde not directlie querrell with the king of Spaine, upon the discovery of these laite practises, but use him in the lyke fashion as he did him, yett uolde he not spaire to giue him a grounde to querrell with him, for assisting any of his freinds and confaderatis against him.

As yett I haue done nothing, but harde all, and ame to beginne nou to uork heirin, pracysely according to your most graue and uyse aduyce geuin in youre last letter, and, as it shall succede, ye shall from tyme to tyme be aduertished; praying you to richte me so farre in your reposing upon my confidence unto you, that, as in this, so uill I deale with no frende of youris in any other matter that can concerne you, without your aduyce; and as for youre ennemies, I shall neuer haue any dealing with thaim at all, quhairin ye shall not be acquainted with the least iotte thairof. For I trust God hath not so skaircely bestowid his graces upon me, as that I shoulde not be able to discerne betuixt the only waye that leads to my uell-doing and safetie, and the ineuitable gulfe of my shippeurakke; as I haue uerrie lately geuen you some proofe, by that aduertishement of Spanishe intentions quhiche I informed youre agent to make you acquainted with; quhiche I durst not reserue to be inserted in this letter since *modica mora* maye be daingerouse in maitters of suche moment, and thairfore my earnist desyre is, that quheneuir ye shall heare reportis of any dealing of myne, in quhatsumeuer sorte, with any of youre ennemies, ye shall judge thaime to be falsely and maliciously contrayued, excepte ye heare thaime uarrandit from my self, quho shall constantly remaine

Your most louing and assurit brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LXXVIII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN AFTER JULY 1602. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 46.

Gratification received from the queen's last letter—excuses of the French ambassador for delay of his master's answer—communication made to James by Francis Mowbray from the archduke and the king of Spain—the queen is James's only oracle—his gratitude because she will not have any dealing with the sister of persons who are regarded by him with indignation.

The letter from Elizabeth alluded to in the beginning of the following is clearly that which is mentioned by Tytler, ix. 396, and there said to have been dated on the 4th July 1602. The lady alluded to in the postscript was probably Beatrice Ruthven, sister of the earl of Gowrie and of Alexander Ruthven. She was one of queen Anne's maids of honour, but was banished on the occurrence of the Gowrie conspiracy.

Madame, my dearest sister, Immediatlie after the wrytting of my laste unto you, I ressaued your letter, quhiche hath so pauchtid * my hairte with contentment, as nather my tongue nor my penne is able to expresse. That ye accepte in so goode pairt my honest intention I thinke myself more happie than if I hadde wonne the golden flece. I doe not wonder that the Frenche resident thaire hath nothing touchid that string that I wrote of unto you, since he that is heir hes neuer as yett ressaued, as he sayes, any ansoure from his maister to my proposition; excussing himself that it was long before he coulde gett his pacquette transported by sea, for laike of pansinger shippes. Alluayes he puttis me still in full hoape that my aduyce will be uillinglie embraced by his maister. As euer it be, the ansoure shall no sooner cum to me, but it shall rinne post unto you; and as for your seacretie, your long happie gouuerment hath given tuo great a proofe thairof to the worlde that I shoulde neide to make any doubte thairof, and for your prayer in the end of your letter, it is indeid the greatest proofe ye can giue me of the integritie of your affection to-

* exhilarated.

uardis me. I pray God that I maye haue no occasion to studdie upon the paraphrase of that texte.

And nou I must not conceale from you, that presently before the wrytting of this letter, Francie Moubraye, for quhose sending with his pairtie unto me I render you most ynfinite and hartie thankis,* he did seacreatly send me wurde, the Archduike comandit him, in most priuat mainer, to giue me full assurance both of the king of Spaines freindshippe and of his; and for proofe thairof, it uas by thaime put in my choice, quhither I wolde haue a direct ambassadoure, or a priuate man indirectlie, presentlie to repaire unto me, quho shoulde more particularlie confirme this message of his unto me, and bring me full assurance of thaire affection. To this I will make no ansoure quhill I heare from you, quho, I proteste to God, shall euer be my only oracle in all such caces. And thairfore, since it is my good fortune to be tyed in straite freindshippe with so uyse a prince and trustie a freinde, I will hearafter, at all occasions, wryte in this sorte, pryuatelie, unto you, without the knouledge of any of my counsaill; no, not my owin secretarie. The ansoure quhairof maye euer be safelie and seacreatlie conuoyed by youre owin agent, in quhose paquette I will also sende my letters, as I doe this. For if euer I runne a course with any prince liuing, quhairin ye shall not be my only oracle, I pray God to punishe me as a parjuride parricide. But noue I doe infinitlie comfort myselfe that ye haue the contrarie proofe and assurance of

Your most louing brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

Youre honorable integritie and princely disposion in trew loue touardis me, hath shyned so brichtly in making your agent aquente me with youre resolution, not to haue any dealing with her quhose brothers are justlie noted with infamie and with my indignation, as, I

* Francis Mowbray, a son of the laird of Barniebougle, was accused of a design to assassinate the king of Scotland. He was arrested in London and sent into Scotland by order of Elizabeth. He died of a fall in attempting to make his escape out of Edinburgh castle.

protest in Goddis presents, the admirable recorde thairof shall neuer weare out of my graitfull hairte. And as I shall euer accounte it the trew patterne of a princelie and heroicall mynde, as lykewayes of a most faithfull freinde, so shall I neuer spaire to straine all the faculties of my soule to giue you profe at eurie occasion of a faithfull correspondence.

No. LXXIX.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

12TH OCTOBER, 1602. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 38.

The king requests that a Scotsman, an offender against the border laws, seized by the English warden within the Scottish territories, may be delivered up to him, in order that he may be duly tried and punished if found guilty by due process of border law.

Richt excellent richt heich and mightie princesse, our dearest sister and cousine, In oure hartyest maner we recommend us unto you. We shoulde be sorrie to importune at this tyme your wechtye occupations with a subject so unworthye, both of your care and of our pen, wer it not that such small begynings do bread eftsoons no small enormities betuixt the marches, and that your wardone, the lord Scroope, quho hes already acquented you with the circumstances of the fact, hath put that matter in your hands. It is, of treuth, the fellowe apprehendit is oure borne subject, tain be your officiaris direction within the ground of Scotland, albeit his opposite* did alwayes offer to make him answerable, at quhatsumeuer day of trew† he should appoint to that effect. His failzie, both in this and in the other two befoir, as it hath bene more in the forme nor in the substance, (and thairin his zeale to the repeasing of fugitiues and lymmeries ouer-reuled his regard of the guide ordure prescrivit in sae casis by the treaties,) so hes it left sum sparkis of grudge and clashis

* That is, the opposite warden of the Scottish marches.

† Day of truce, in which border complaints were determined by the wardens.

betuixt him and his opposite, to the encouragement of theves and male factors at that hand, to quhom thair former guide intelligence wes no small terrour. For the remouing quhairof we do requeist you most effectuusly, that be your warrand to your said officiare, the criminale deteanit be him may be put in our handis, to underly his tryell and dew punisment, as he prouis giltye; quilk as it is, in treuth, oure ferme intention to do with him, so will we pray you to be persuadit that his delyuerie is craued be us for no releiff nor benefite to such a villane, bott only that justice may be ministrate upon him be our auctoritie, and thareby your said officiares intention may be effected, and he relevit of the grudge and rankor quhilk micht remaine in the hartis of his opposites affected to the partie, gif, being taiken in such a forme, he should be forcit to undergo the judgement of his lyfe before the author of his taking, and be execute by his auctoritie; quilk we haue wellit your seruand, George Nicolsoun, to schaw you more amplie by his lettre. And for the eschewing of the lyke ocasion in tyme cuming, it will please you to giue command to your said warden, quhen any such cace shall ocure, to conforme him thairin to the ordour prescriuit be the treate, in sending his complaint to his opposite, quhom we haue willet to giue him upricht correspondence in all gude offices, to the furtherance of justice and redresse. Quhairin, gif thare be any failzie on his pairt, lett your warden be assuritt so soone as we shall know it be his letters, oure present officiar shall ayther do him reasson, or shall giue owir his charge to another that will more willinglie performe it. And thus, expecting heirin your fauorable resolution, richt excellent richt heich and michtie princesse, our dearest sister and cousine, we comit you in the protection of the Almightie God. From Dumfreis, the 12. of October, 1602.

Your most louing and affectionatte brother and cousin,

James R.

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No. LXXX.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN PROBABLY ON 12TH OCTOBER, 1602. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 53.

The queen is informed of proposals made by James to the French ambassador in reference to the suggested league of France, England, and Scotland against Spain—and, also, of underhand proposals made to him by Spain for a marriage between prince Henry and the infanta.

I presume the allusion in the postscript of this letter is to the one just printed, and therefore assign it the place in which it is inserted. There is no doubt that it was written about the autumn of 1602. James, in anticipation of the speedy close of Elizabeth's reign, was endeavouring to strengthen himself by foreign alliances, the nature of which has been a little mistaken by our best historians. They are fully explained in the present and some subsequent letters. The French ambassador who is here alluded to was the baron de Tours.

Madame my dearest sister, Hauing laitely enterid more deeply with the Frenche ambassadoure, in that porpose quhairof I wrote unto you in my last, I haue thocht goode, according to my promeise, to make you acquainted with the particulars thairof. Taking occasion of the franke offers of freindshippe, quhiche, in his maisteris name, at his first audience, he maid unto me, I prayed him to represente to the king his maisters judgement, the boundles and insatiable ambition of Spaine, and hou it appeared that God, in his deuyne prouidence, had ordained us three—I meane the princes of this yle joined with his maister—to be a brasen wall, or bullwork, for resisting to his præsumption. I wished him to consider, hou the Spanniarde did alyke greedily gaape for your dominions and the king his maisters; and if so it came to passe, God knowis hou well I wolde be fitted with suche a neichboure. Finally, I did remember him of his owin wordis allreadye utterid in his maisteris name unto me, quhiche was, that althoch his maistter wolde not breake peace with Spaine for his owin particulaire, notwithstanding of his laite discouerie of the Spanishe practises, yett he wolde not spaire to doe it for assistance of his freindlie neibouris against his injuste inuasions; and

thairfore, I wished him to laye these things before his maisteris uyse consideration, showing him planly that I thocht the onlie sure remedie for preuenting of these euills uolde be, that, as of olde thaire was a ligue offensiue and defensiue betuixt France and my croune against Englande, that so thaire shoulde one nou be maid betuixt us three against Spaine. And if the king his maister did lyke of this course, my opinion was, that by his ambassadoure it shoulde be proponed unto you, mouing you to take me in for a thridde marrow in that gham;* otherwayes, for my part, I wolde no waye medle thairin. He faithfully promeised to aduertishe the king his maister fully heirof, and did generally assure me, that his maister wold willinglye embrace that aduyce. And thairfore, if the Frenche ambassadour thaire breake any thing of that purpose unto you, I haue sufficiently foruarned you. I remitte it to youre wisdome hou to ansoure him, and to make me acquainted withe your mynde in quhat sorte you will haue me to proceede further herin.

And now, hauing this occasion of uryting, I uill not also omitte to informe you, that I ame uerrie lately aduertished of great offers that are to be sent unto me from the king of Spaine, and in speciall, the marriage of his dauhter with my oldest sonn, and dyuerse other greate conditions; joyned with this threatning, that, if I shall not accepte thaime, he is allreaddie sure of a peace with Englande, quhiche, upon my refusall, he will prosecute, hauing allready all the counsall of Englande at his deuotion. But, as I deeplie mistruste his sirene songs, so maye ye be sure that hou soone that message shall be brocht unto me, ye shall with all dilligence be faithfully aduertished thairof, praying you euer so to assure youreself of me, as of him quho, in all his actions, shall constantlie remaine,

Youre most louing and assurit brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

I wolde be loathe to troubbill your earis with so unworthye a

* That is, a third companion, or partner, in that game.

subject as my other leter dois containe, if it uaire not for the disquyetness that I know it will breede upon the borders; my intention not being any wayes for spairing of suche villains, but only that euery goode turne maye be richtlie done, and by thaime quhome to it doth properlie belong.

No. LXXXI.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN IN THE AUTUMN OF 1602. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 62.

Substance of a communication received from the king of France, upon which James wished to have the queen's advice—account also of sir James Lindsay's mission from the pope to James to warn him of an English conspiracy against his life, and to request him to send prince Henry to Rome to be educated—James's reception of Lindsay.

Madame and dearest sister, Upon the returne of the ansoure to the Frenche ambassadoure from the king his maister, I haue taken occasion, for the performance of my promeises in my letter by Aston, to poste this present unto you. The substance of the said kings ansoure is, that he doth so uillingly embrace, and so fully lyke, that ouuerture quhiche I maid to his ambassadoure, as he is onlie sorrie that he was not the first propounder thairof to me; that he shall presentlie employe his ambassadoure resident with you to propounde that maitter unto you; that he also thinkes it expedient that the states of the Low Cuntreys be joyned with us three in this league; and that, as I haue so prouidently putte the maitter it self in heade, so wolde he be glaidde to haue, as quicklie as micht be, my aduice, quhat particular articles and groundis shoulde be contained in the saide league. I am nou thairfore to expecte your ansoure, in quhat sorte I shall further proceide heirin, accounting myself infinitelie happie to haue so noble, so uyse, and so faithfull a freinde, by quhose counsail I maye and euer shall be directed in all my most importante adoes.

I haue, lykeuayes, thocht goode heirby to informe you, that sir James Lindesaye is lately arriued heir, uith directions, as he sayeth, from the pope unto me. His quhole message consisteth of tuo pointes. The first is, to foreuarne me of a practise against my life intendit by England, these are his uerrie termes, quhiche he said he wolde not conceale from me, in regairde of the honorable report he hath made * of my goode inclination to pietie and justice, thoch I be not of his profession in religion. The other point is, a requeste, that I wolde sende my oldest sonne ather to Rome, or any other pairt beyonde seas, quhaire he micht be catholikilie noorished, and that he uolde furnishe him a sufficient guarde to attende upon his person. He also told me, that he hade a letter from the pope unto me to the same effect, but, by the occasion of ane aduertishement that before his arryuall uas sent unto me by one of my owin subjectis out of Italy, discouering me the quhole contentis of his directions, I thocht goode to . . . . . him, by calling him privelie unto me, and laying to his chairge, hou he durst prasume to carrie a letre and message from suche a persone unto me, that uas his souueraine, excepte that he had first acquainted me thairwith, and obtained my permission; since I coulde not, without the manifest uounding both of my conscience and honoure, ather ressaue or ansoure his lettirs quhose tyttels and dignitie was directlie contrarie to my professions and resoluid knouledge. His ansoure uas, that he perceaued suche affection in the pope touardis me, and that the purpose was of suche things as concerned my safetie, as he was thairby mouid to accepte this message, and thairupon he told me all the praceiding purpose. My ansoure uas, that I uolde receaue no message nor letre from him, since he was my subject, and had undertaken it without my permission. And thus haue I left him, farre short of his expectation; praying you hairtelie to excuse my being thus trubbilsum unto you, quhairunto I ame forced, for performance of my promeise that I wolde neuer conceale from you any message that should come to me from any of

* ? he hath made to him.

your ennemies, but shall euer so behaue myself, in any thing that maye concerne you, as becummis

Your most louing and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

No. LXXXII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

WRITTEN NEAR THE END OF 1602. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 57.

James sends the bearer for his pension—what communication he had received from the king of France—the pope intends to send an ambassador to James with an offer of friendship upon certain conditions.

Madame, my dearest sister, Hauing the occasion to sende this bearare my seruant unto you, for that ordinarie receipte quhiche, out of your kyndest loue, it hath pleased you to bestowe upon me, I haue thocht goode not to omitt to continew in my happelie begunne course, by aduertishing you quhat is farther proceidit betuixt me and the Frenche ambassadoure, since the wryting of my last unto you. Within a shorte space after my returne from the bordouries, the said ambassadoure repaired unto me with new directions from the king his maister; the effecte of all consisting in two pointes. First, the sayde king did sende me his hartiest and kindest thankes for that louing message of congratulation that I sent him by the lorde Hoome, with full assurance of the continuance of his constant freindshipp unto me; and next, for a proofe of his unfained loue unto me, he thocht goode to foruarne me that the pope uas of intention to send a commission unto me by the handis of the bishop of [Vaison],* thairby to make offer unto me of his goode will upon tuo conditions; first, that I wolde graunt libertie of conscience to all the catholiques in my kingdome, and next, that I wolde sende my oldest sonne to Rome, thaire to be brocht up and instructed; but the ambassadoure said, that, since his maister knew so well quhat it was to be a king,

* "Drummond, a Scotsman by birth," Tytler's Scotland, ix. 393.

he nothing doubtid of my refusall to suche propositions, and that thairfore his maister did aduyce me to giue as genttill refusall as micht be to that comission, and that he shoulde so worke as, notwithstanding my refusall, I shoulde incurre no prejudice. My ansoure was, that I most hartelie thanked his maister for his louing and plain dealing, and that I thocht myself most happie that had so greate a monarcke to be both a counselloure and ane agent for me. I haue also since the hearing of this messsage ressaued aduertishement from one of my subjectis in France, of the same comission intendit by the pope, and withall, he sent me the arguments quhiche in that comission wolde be usid unto me, for persuading me to graunte the said libertie of concience, quhiche I doe lykewayes heirwithall send unto you. But, as I doe greatlie wonder of thaire uanitie that can thinke that I carrie so corrupted eares as can patientlie heare of so unreasonable demandis, so doe I fullie comitte me in all this to youre wisdome, for upon youre aduyce only will I ground my behauioure, in kaice any suche message come unto me. And thus, not doubting but ye will fauourablie heare, and with conuenient speede dispatch, this bearare, I end with renewing the assurance of the unfained loue of

Youre most louing and obleished brother and cousin,

James R.

No. LXXXIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

6th January 1602-3. copy in thompson ms. p. 120.

My very good brother, Hit pleaseth me not a little that my true intents without gloses or guiles are by you so gratefully taken, for I am nothing of the vile disposition of such as while their neighbours house is likely to be a-fyre, will not only not help but not affoord them water to quench the same. Yf any such you have hard of toward me, God grant he remember it not to well for them. For the arch-

duke, alas! poore man he wisheth every body lyke himself except his bonds, wich, without his brothers help, he will soone repent his signory.

I suppose that considering whose apert enemy the king of Spaine is, you will not neglect so much your own honor to the world (though you had no particular love to me) as to permitt his embassador in your land that so causelesly persecutes such a princess as never harmed him. Yea, such a one as, if his deceassid father had bene rightly informed, did better merite at his hand than any prince on erth ever did to other. For where hath there bene an example that any one king hath ever denyed so fair a present as the whole seventene provinces of the Lowe Countries? Yea, who not only wold have denyed them, but sent a douzen gentlemen to warne him of their slyding from him, with offer of keeping them from the neere neighbors hands, and sent treasure to paye the shaking townes from laps. Deserved I such a recompence as many a complot both for my lyfe and kingdom? Ought I not to defend and bereve him of such weapon as might innaye myselfe? He will say, I help Zeland and Holand from his hands. No. Yf eyther his father or himself wold observe such oth as the emperour Charles obliged himself, and so in sequele his sonne, I wold not [have] delt with others territoryes. But they holde those by such covenants, as not observing, by their owne grauntes they are no longer bound unto them. But though all this were not unknowen to me, yet I cast such right reasons over my shoulder, and regarded their good, and have never defended them in a wicked quarrell. And had he not mixt that goverment, contrary to his owne laws, with the rule of Spannyards, all this had not needed.

Now for the warning the French sent you of Vesons ambasade to you. Methinks the king, your good brother, hath given you a good *caveat* that, being a king, he supposeth by that measure that you wold deny such offers; and, since needes you will have my councell, I can hardly beleeve that, being warned, your owne subjects shall be suffered to com into your relme from such a place to such intent. Such a prelate, if he came, should be taught a better lesson than

playe so presumptious and bolde a part afore he knew your good lyking thereof, wich, as I hope, is farr from your intent; so will his coming verify to much good Mr. Simples asseverations at Rome, of wich you have ere now bene warned ynough. Thus you see how to fulfill your trust imposed in me (wich to infringe I never mynde), I have sincerely made patent my sinceritie, and, though not fraught with much wisdome, yet stuffed with greate good will. I hope yow will beare with my molestyng you to long with my skratching hand, as proceding from a hart that shall be ever filled with the sure affection of

Your loving and frendly sistar,
ELIZABETH R.

APPENDIX.

No. LXXXIV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

21st JULY 1586. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 69.

Congratulations and thanks on the conclusion of a league between England and Scotland.

The league to which this letter refers bears date 5th July 1586, and is printed in Rymer's Fœdera, xv. 803.

My triall of your syncere affection, my dear brother, in the concluding of our league, hath ben both pleasing to my expectacion and necessary for your government; for both you have linked such a one to you as but your self canne ever separate, and you have made a quintessence of sum humours, which, if they had lyen lurking, you woold parchance have nourished them as mete instruments to sever your kingdoms quiet and your good frends love. But since you have made so good a tast how sower liquor they hold, and how grosly they woold handle so fine a peice a work as kings amitye, and how they woold have wrested every string to their owne note, remembring sum other tune more, paraventure, than any song of yours, I trust it shall serve for a memorial that such do no harme if they help not.

I have no woords to expres the many thanks my brest yeldeth you, for your redy parforming of our covenant, wich by Gods grace shall ever remayn inviolated for my part, and doubt not of your just

requitall. Also I must not forget the last kynd letter you writt me, putting to my choice of tyme and persons for our bordars mattars, of which I cannot presently make aunswer untill the return of my commissioners, after whose arryvall I shall not faile to signifie my further request and determination therein, thinking my self infinitely beholding to your frank dealing in this behalf, and do promise that my chief contention with you shall be, hearafter, who may convince other in all honorable kyndnes, as knoweth the Lord God, whome ever I besech preserve you with long reign and healthfull life.

Your most assured and
affectionate sister and cousin,
ELIZABETH R.

No. LXXXV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

8TH OCTOBER 1588. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 71.

Defeat of the armada—reliance the Spaniards placed in Scottish help—the queen's thankfulness to James for his intention to have resisted their landing—she cautions him against being misled into making unreasonable demands upon her.

Elizabeth's letters during the armada period partook of the universal excitement. In the following, as in all her other letters written at that time, she is more plain-spoken and direct than usual. The Roman catholic earls who had invited the Spaniards to land in Scotland were at this time admitted more and more to James's confidence. The master of Glammis was dismissed from his charge of captain of the king's guard, and the office was bestowed upon the earl of Huntly. These circumstances naturally excited in the mind of Elizabeth the suspicion which is obvious in the latter part of the following letter.

Albeit, my deer brother, the mighty malice and huge armyes of my hatefull enemyes and causeless foes hath apparently spitt out their venimous poison and mortall hate, yet, throgh Gods goodnes, our power so weakned their pride [and] cut of their nombers at the first, that they ran away to their further overthrowe. And so mightly hath our God wrought for our innocency, that places of their greatest

trust hath turnid to prosecute them most, yea, every place hath servid the turne to ruine their hope, destroy themselves, and take them in the snare they laide for our feet. His blessid name be ever magnified therefore, and graunt me to be humbly thankfull, though never hable to requite the lest part of such unmeasurable goodness!

Among the rest of their succours, I suppose your realme to have bene supposid not to have bene least willing, nor the most unready, to aunswer their trust, wich I doubte not had answeryd their expectation, if your naturall affection towarde me and regarde of our strayte amitie had not impeached their landing; wich though they never profered, yet I have cause, by your promise, vow, and assurance, to acknowledge your full intent to have resisted such attempt, and doe take your readines in no less kinde parte than if the acte had bene put in execution; and if (wich God forbyd) any dangerous course should be attempted against your quyet estate, I will shew myself most ready, by all meanes and force, to resist and overthrow the same, so as my requitall shall ever acquite your kingly overtures.

And if any shall (to increase your good favor towards them) instill in your eares to demand such unfitt and unseasonable demands at my hands as may not be fittly graunted, for som waighty reasons, and yet suppose, that for feare you fall to other course, I may be induced to yeld therto, lett me use you in this as right amitie requireth, wich consisteth chiefly in plaine and sincer dealing. Right deer brother, be assured, that you cannot, nor ever will, more speadily demand things honorable and secure than my entire good affection shall ever be most ready to corresponde you; but, if any shall be required that my present estate shall not permitt as sure for me, than abuse not your judgment with so contrarious thoughts, for never shall dread of any mans behaviour cause me doo ought that may esbrandill * the seat that so wel is settled. Thereof judge not, that I will not ever deserve your amitie as that you need seeke your owne ruine by following others wills, who seek your wrak if you leave your surest friend.

* Shake or disquiet, *ebranler*.

And thus, with trust that my true good will shall be rightly skanned, I end to trouble you with this long skrybling, with my million of thanks for your most frendly and kynde offers, wich never shall out of my memory; as knowith the Lord, who bless you with all felicity and many years of raigne.

No. LXXXVI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

SAID TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN IN DECEMBER 1588. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 73.

The queen intercedes with James on behalf of the Low Countries, whom he had threatened with letters of mark for the recovery of debts due to his subjects.

My deere care of your honor and good estate, my deer brother, permitts me not to overslip any cause wherein I supose any deminution to befall to eyther, and, driven by so good a ground, it will not dislike you (I make me sure) if I write you my mynd in such [a] case. And this it is. The states of the Lowe Countreys, whome you are not ignorant I have and doo ayde, to keep them in breth from the extreame ruine that is ment them, finde themselves sorely aggrevid, that, at this tyme of their greate neede, to releeve their own danger, their countryes loss, and their continuall well-ny importable charges, you, that profess the true religion, and protest such inward affection to advance that cause, can find in your hart so great neglect of them and their wants, as at this season, so out of season for them, to make a clayme for debts owed to your subjects; wich when I hard, I could no less doo than to make it knowen unto you, my dear brother, how sorry I was to heare of such a proposition, togither with the manace of letters of mart if the spedelyer it were not answeryd. Consider, I beseech you, of your dealings in this sorte; how you shall wound your frend, glad your foes, and wrong yourself. Who will belive that you pass of [that] religion, that suffers the professors

to perish? Yea, who will suppose that your amitie is sownde to me, whan you affect my party? Nay, I pray God the enemy, who carith for neyther of us, make not a skorne of our frendship, as thinking it full faynte and feeble. I meane not herby that it is not reason for a king to right his subjects of wrong, and to procure, in tyme convenyent, such seemly remedies as may fit his place and help his vassals loss. But the most* of this consiste in the tyme, and for the parsons. For, as you shall perceave, a great somme of this great value is not the debt but of other countryes and captains, whome they rule not, according as at length my servant hath charge to tell you, with my most effectuous desyre and earnest request that you more regarde the cause and tyme than any private subjects suite, and that it might please you, all these things well wayed, to surcease any preparation that might make shew to annoye them. Albeit I doubte no whitt but they might defend themselves against a greater force; yett, let no man saye that by your hand they be afflicted that have miserie ynough. And thus I end, with my most affectionate petition that these lynes be considered according to the hart that wrytes them, who never ceasith to pray for your best, as God is witness.

No. LXXXVII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

16TH MARCH 1588-9. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 75.

The queen remonstrates with James for his conduct towards the Roman catholic earls.

This letter will be found to be sufficiently illustrated by the remarks introductory to No. XXXVI.

My deere brother, I am dryvin, through the greatness of my care

* So in the MS. The sense seems to require "worst." The word "for" in the latter part of the sentence is probably an interpolation.

for your sure estate, to complaine to your self of your self, wondering not a little what injurious planet against my neerest neighbours raignith with such blindness as suffrith them not to forsee their hanging perill and most imminent danger. Shall I excuse them, [that] they know it not? I am to true a witness that ignorance cannot excuse, as having bene a most neer spy to finde out those trecheryes. Must I say they dare not? Far be it from kingly magnanimity to harbrough in their breast so unseemely a gest. Have I no excuse to serve them for payment? Well, than, most I wayle that I cannot mend, and if ther befall them mishap, I am not guilty of such disastre. Yet can I not desist, though I might be discouraged, to beseech you in Gods name not to overslip such happy occasions as it hath pleased God to revele unto you. For if, whan they be at your side, you will not make yourself a proffit of their wrack, how will you catch them whan they are aloose from you? Let to late examples serve you for patern, how dishonourable it is to prolong to doo by right, that [which] after they are driven to doo by extremity. Yea, and perchance, as being taught to take heede, they will shunn the place of danger, and so your danger worse than the others. It had bene for [your] honor and surety neuer to have touched, than so slightly to keep them, in a skorne, in durance; to be honored with your presence, with all kyndnes, and soone after to be extolid to your deerest chamber. Good Lord! What uncouth and never-hard[-of] trade is this? You must pardon my plaine dealing, for if my love ware not greater than my cause, as you treate it, I should content my self to see them wrackt with dishonor that contemns all loving warnings and sister-lyke counsell. I pray God there be left you time (you have delt so untimely) to be able to apprehend and touche such as dares boldly, throwgh your suffrance, attempte any thing they list, to bring you and your land to the slavery of such as neuer yet spared their own. I know not how gracious they will be to you and your realme. When they get footing they will suffer few feete but their owne. Awake, therfore, deer brother, out of your long slomber, and deall like a king who will ever raigne

alone in his owne. If they found you stoute, you should not lack that wold followe you, and leave rotten posts.

I marvell at the store you make of the Spanyards, being the spoyles of my wrack. You writt me word not one should byde with you, and now they must attend for more company. I am sorry to see how small regard you have of so great a cause. I may clayme by treaty that should not be; but I hope, without such claime, seeing your home practises, you will quickly ryd your relme of them with speede, wich I doe expect for your owne sake, not the least for myne, of whome you may make sur reckening, if you abandon not yourself to be protected by [me] for ever. And thus I end by axing a right interpretation of my plaine and sincere meaning, and wish ever to you as to my self, as knowith the Lord, who ever I beseech to preserve you with long and happie days. 16 Mar. 1588.

No. LXXXVIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

19TH MAY 1589. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 80.

The king, having been successful over the rebellious Roman catholic nobles, is warned not to trust them again, but to finish their treason with justice.

This letter is assigned in the margin of our MS. to the 19th May 1589, and perhaps that is the correct date, although it seems equally applicable to the circumstances of 1594. In both years there was a rebellion of the Roman catholic earls. In the former year they mustered in great force at "the brig of Dee," but fled without striking a blow, on the approach of the king. In the latter, they defeated the king's forces in the battle of Glenlivat, but were suppressed by the king himself, their strongholds destroyed, and many of their followers executed. The king's immediate reconciliation with the leaders of the rebellion, which is to be inferred from the following letter, points to 1589; but other passages, which dwell upon the repetition of the offence, the king's personal danger, and his valour, seem more properly applicable to 1594.

Since your late to true experyence, my deer brother, hath, evin

with the victoryes of your rebbels, made sufficient acquittance of the slaunder fowlly made of my most true and unfayned advertisments, so am I replenished with joy, that my deer eares have accomplished my behooffull desires for your most needfull warnings, and give my lowliest thanks to the hygh God, for his glorious goodness shynid upon you with his favorable eyes; hoping that you will shunne now, having this advantage, the future perrill that such attempts may breede you, and that you will feare, through such negligence, to tempt to farr the wrath of Him that gave you this upper hand. For if pitie of the parties that never remembred you, whose former offences were not so old that the memorie thereof needes be forgotten, nether yet the new falling, evin, to the same offence, wich promesith small hope of ever amends, may serve, I will not persuade myself that a meaner than a king will ever tollerate so oft, so dangerous, and opprobrius contempts. Small honor, wisdome, or forsight will the world throughout supose in that prince that will for fond lyking or armfull remors perill his owne bayne. God forbid you should lose the reputation of a king-like rule, that, so unlike a king, would work your own reproche. For they be actions, not words, wich paynts out kings truly in their coulours. And there be so many vewars of their facts that their disorders permitts no shades, nor will abide excuses. I beseech you, therefore, despise not the work that God hath fraimd, nor yet contemne the counsell that your assured geve you, and neglect not the many warnings that those mens own demerites have layde before you, nor forgett the danger that your own parson hath narrowly escaped, but finish this treason with justice, wich no man may reproch, but every creature laude.

Take me, my deere brother, aright, as that creature that ever shunneth to take bloud, but of those that might and shold have betrayed the innocent, and, in such cases, the less evill is to be chosen. Of malice I speake nothing, God is witness, but for your best is all my care, and so I hope you will rightly interprete all my textes, wich all shall ever tende to your most safety and true honor. Let

me figurate afore your eyes what should be the danger if this principalls should be skantid of their right. They are the same men. They live and love you not, with whom they have practised. What should rule you to trust their curtesy so farr as to leave it ready in their hands to take you, as they ment, make you another princes prisoner and captive, subiect your realme, and translate it to the owner of another country? If the hope of all these dangers might not lye upon the trust of so often and so late offenders, you might perhaps be seduced by dangerouse advice to more * them and ruine yourself. But when you behold this table, I feare not so perrillous an act. And thus I send my foolish but loving discourse, receaving much contentment that your valour amiddes most danger incouraged your faithfull, daunted your traytors, and joyed your frends.

No. LXXXIX.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

16TH APRIL 1590. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 85.

The queen urges James to give attention to the affairs of his kingdom—reliance of the Spaniards upon Scottish help.

The date assigned above to this letter is that given to it in the margin of our MS. If it be accurate, the letter was written to James before his return from Denmark. He and his queen sailed from Cronenburgh on the 21st April and landed at Leith on the 1st May 1590.

My deere brother, I finde an old English proverb truly veryfied, that "a feast long looked is good when it comith," by your late reporte that this gentleman hath brought me. For, after many monithes no knowledge of your good estate, I perceave the finishing of your late nupciall feaste, and of your safe escape from eminent dangers, for wich I have bene so carefull, as a great burden of heavy thoughts are thereby unladen from my brest, and yelde to

* Perhaps a mistake of the transcriber for "spare."

God the thanks, and not to any your indevour, who tempted (I think) to much His goodness in adventuring his mercy. I cannot but render you a million of thanks, that, though it were long first, yet at length you right me so much as to suppose of my content to heare of your safety. And as to touching your home causes, I assure you they neede much a kings eye, and are to greate slenderly to be governid. Yf you wold trust true warnings, you would have kept your subjects, yea your greatest, in better awe and more feare than they be. For Gods sake, and your own surety, looke better to your kingdom than you have don. Boldnes will make to many rulars, if no kings; *nimia familiaritas generat contemptum.* You may belive me, for experience, though not to trust me for my witt. And judge rightly of me, that as I bare none of yours malice, so can I not endure that their bold attempts shall shake your state, or trouble your neighbours. Ther are not yet three days past, since I intercepted a note that was sent concerning the surety that the Spaniard had of frendes in your contry, and that your out iles were assured to have succour from your inlande lords, and both to joyne with the foreners ayde. Yf you suppose that these advertisments are inventions and no truthe, I vowe unto you, on my knowledge, you are in an extreme error, and am afrayd, if you shorten not such woork, they will spyne you such a thred as will marr the fashon of your dominion. I have imparted something of this matter to this gentleman, as allso aunswere to those twoo points that concerne both lege * and unity, and, as you see I have remembred more your affaires than myne owne, so I trust you will think that I yeld my self obliged unto you that have such a care for such things as doo concern us both. So I comitt you, my deere brother, to Gods sefe tuition, who ever guide you to doo that is best for your surety.

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* League.

No. XC.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

DATE NOT ASCERTAINED. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 126.

The queen explains to James what has passed between her and an ambassador resident in London respecting a baron who is with James—although of the feminine sex, the queen can never endure affronts—if aught be in her of value, it is that she can keep her own counsel and that of her friends.

Baron Borough was "with James," as we have seen, in 1593, and baron Zouche in 1594, but I cannot fix this letter as having reference to either of them.

My deer brother, I suppose you will not conceave an evill impression of my judgment, nor my affection to you so small, as that I shold so long have refrayned my hand from such gratefull acceptance of so kind a letter as your last did shewe me, were it not that I shold disfornish myne of answere of that wich you required to knowe. For, though I have well noted the sondry tymes that this resident ambassador hath had my audience, in wich many kindness[es] have pased in wonted sort, yet nothing more was said but that the baron with you hath not, nor ever shall, have other commission than to remember you, for your owne wele, to committ nothing that might displease me, but warne you to beleeve that it is your only surety to relye of mee; and, of the other matter, not one word I heard. Nowe, for your good advice you gave him, I never heard more necessarie counsell for him, if he have grace to followe it; but he hath to much about him to be capable of such advice. But, as I told his ambassador, I sawe he wold make me to vaine glorious to have the fame alone of resisting his bold attempts. For I did vowe, that, though I were of the feminyne sexe, I cold never endure such affronts as of late he hath done many. For my shallow braine wold not fadome so deep as to consider so much of my people that I left my selfe out of the reckoning, but I shold thinke that I shold make both them and me contemned if my ennemyes should see I cold beare so much. The king is so used with my fond speeches that he will looke of the

experience of my love, and lett my follyes go. Thus you see, my good brother, that I am of this religion, *qui vadit plane, vadit sane.* For your part, you have played it in this matter so wisely, and with such good caution, that not I alone, who findes my selfe indebted to you for your kindenes, but your selfe might by good reason can * your selfe thanke for using so good a methode with your well beloved. And remember that, for silence, you made not your worst choyce of mee, that never yet uttered worde that you desired might be reserved, and of that assure you, for, if ought be in mee of value, that is not the lest, that I can bothe keep mine owne counsell and my frends, and in recompence, if ought best worth, that I can paye you with, accompt this prayer in cheefest degree, that I desyr that all yours that best ought do carry a sound and unspotted faith unto you, not seeking more their owne than yours.

This is my text, as for paraphrases I can make none, and ende this scribling with my hartie thankes and best wishes to you, from

Your most affectionat sister and cousin.

No. XCI.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

DATE NOT ASCERTAINED. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 130.

The queen defends her conduct towards James, and complains bitterly of his lethargic inattention to his kingdom—also of his misrepresentations of her conduct made to foreign princes.

I believe this letter to have been written in 1595, on the occasion of the coolness between Elizabeth and James alluded to in the introduction to letter No. LVIII., but not being quite certain I have preferred placing it in the appendix. The letter is a noble vendication of the queen's general line of policy towards James, and will be found well worthy of attention.

My deer brother, May it agree with my deserts that what hath bene should either be so forgotten as hit be not acknowledged, or so neglected as if ought were forslowen that meete were for the season?

* So in the MS. The sense seems to require "claim" or "challenge," or some synonymous word.

Was it my guilt, or your error, that your rebells, when I knewe they were such, had so stronge hold in your favoure as manie a monneth past yow were pleased to counte them but yours [in dearest] sort. Yea, when they were full neere you, they must not bee seen, but so dandle[d] as best merite could scarce crave more. What needed an armie to pursue such as might so soone be had? Whie put you your person to suche a laborious voiage when many a day afore you might with less paynes and more honour have had them? But who was then in deepe lethargie, that gave so long a breath to so ivell a cause, and brede a caused doubt, no suspected lack, but to plaine an oversight? And must I, for all my warnings, for all my presents, for all my watchfull howerlie care, be so well rewarded as one that either brake vowe or overslipt matter? For the first, I never knew you at other neede then that your will made you, and so that turne might easelie be borne with lesse then that I sent you. I neglect your causes! would God you cured as well your disseased state as I have narrowlie watched to see it preserved. That manie monneth hath past since my letters visited you not, lay not the burden on the shoulders that deserved it not, but remember what courage was given to proceed further, when yet the thanks are to be given for that was last bestowed.

And well it were if that were all. I irke that my pen should write the rest. Suppose you that so long a raigne as mine hath so fewe frends, or want so narrowe intelligence, as that complaints and moans made to forraine estates, of straight dealings made by such as ought most have helped you, could be kept secret from my knowledge? But if you should be asked, what you would have done more then pursue them to their confines, I think you would have aunswered them at leasure, to make them suppose more than could be sayd. Nowe, deare brother, thinke with yourself. What meaneth this? To get a newe, or keepe the olde? I am more sorrie that by my example they may have cause to doubt your trewe measure to them, when better and firmer have had so evell requitall. There is no kinge, nor potentate, to whom, I thanke God, I neede

yeld account of my actions, and yet so sincere they shall ever be as they shall ever passe current with honour amids all there censures, and will disdaine that any have the precedence of both my woords and actions, of wich even themselves have geven me so good testimonie, that I beleave your perswations came too late to make them believe the contrarie.

Judge nowe, with me, whether my silence have had just ground, and whether any of my ranke, if I had used them so, would have forgotten so unseeming a part. And yet, for all this, if I may perceave you to regreat such a traitment, and to assure to binde such one to me as you affirme you shall, be sure that if any your traitors with their combined faction shall any way assaile you, you shall finde me awake, as having no drowsie humor when your affairs neede speede assisstance. And wold not have you doubt, that I trust more at your ennemies hands but the worst they can, and most they may. If you had beleeved it as well, your lords had not bene in place for ayde, nor out of your hands to treate as you liste. With my assured affection to your person and for your good, I end, commiting you to God's safest tuition.

Your affectionate sister,

ELIZABETH R.

No. XCII.

JAMES TO ELIZABETH.

DATE NOT ASCERTAINED. COPY IN THOMPSON MS. P. 59.

An anxious and amorous letter, expressing anxiety for an acknowledgement of a poem sent by James to the queen, as "ab incerto authore," and sending a sonnet inclosed—begging also that the queen will trust the present messenger.

I am unable to fix the date of this curious letter, nor have I been able to find a copy of the sonnet alluded to. I should conjecture the letter to have been written very late in the reign of Elizabeth.

Madame and dearest sister, Notwithstanding of my instant writting

ane letter unto you, yet could I not satisfie my unrestfull and longing spreit, except be writting of this feu lynes, quhilk, albeit thay do not satisfie it, yet thay do stay the unrest thairof, quhill the ansour is returning of this present. Madame, I did send you befoire* . Sensine, dame Cinthia hes oft reneuid hir hornis, and innumerable tymes soupit with hir sister Thetis, and the berare thairof returnit, and yet uoyde of ansoure. I doubt not ye haue red, hou Cupidis dart is fyry callid because of the suddaine insnairing and restles burning thairafter. Quhat can I ellis judge, but that ather ye had not receaued it, except the bearare returned with the contrary report, or ellis that ye judge it not to be of me, because it is *incerto authore;* for quhilk cause I haue insert my name to the end of this sonnet heir inclosit. Yet, one uay am I glaid of the ansouris keiping up, because I hoipe nou for ane maire full, after the reeding also of thir presentis, and heiring this bearar dilaite this purpose mair at large, according to my secreit thochtis; for ye knau deid lettiris cannot ansoure na questionis; thairfore, I most pray you, hou unappeirant so euer the purpois be, to trust him in it, as ueill as yif I myself spak it unto you, face be face, quhilk I uald wish I micht, sen it is specially in any maner only for that purpose that I haue send him. Thus, not doubting of your courtesie in this farr, I committ you, madame and dearest sister, to Goddis holy protection, the day and dait as in the uther letter.

Your mair louing and affectionatt
brother and cousin then (I feir) yet ye beleue,
JAMES R.

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* A blank in the MS.

No. XCIII.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

DATE NOT ASCERTAINED. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 28. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen is grieved that James has no one about him through whom he can sound to the bottom the recent conspiracy against his life—she holds no man so dear that he should not make his last gasp for such an intent—the accused shall be attached if he return into England—she cannot think the lords guilty of any treasonable design—the wickedness of the time makes kings mad—the queen's cholerick humour—she has sent a gentleman to the king who is very wise and faithful honest—has never beguiled the poorest vassal with a broken word, and hopes she shall not live to use such iniquity with one of James's estate.

I am unable to fix the date of this letter to my own satisfaction. The French address was not used by Elizabeth in any of the previous letters after 1586. If written before that year, it may relate to circumstances connected with the Raid of Ruthven, or with some of the plots of the banished lords during the ascendancy of Arran. If written after 1586, it probably relates to one of Bothwell's mad attempts.

My deare brother, It grives not a little my careful mynde of your safety, that you shuld want any one person wherby you might sound to the botome so great a peril as aperes by your ambassador was practised against your owne life. For this assure yourselfe, that I hold no man so deare as he shuld not make his last gaspe that I knewe had euer suche intent, if it wer but that you appartaine [unto] me so nerely in bloud, besides the lieu of king you hold; and of this doubt not, but al the menes shal be found that possible may attache him if he make his retourne into this land. And for the lords, I cannot see that the shal be found coulpable of so inorme a crime yf ether othes or reason may gouverne my iugement, sins more bound to any other succedar the cannot be; and some of them, if the had had so treasoble thoght, might or now haue executed it, hauinge than in ther handes your person; but al I leue to furder trial, as she that mynds to kipe them under garde to answer furdar profe.

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I hope you wol lay to my charge no forgetfulnes that I haue retarded a spetial gentleman to visite you on my behalfe, but rather impute it to the wickednes of this time, that makes kinges this yere mad, some in hauinge to muche pacience, and myselfe, possessinge a cholerique humor, in expecting what might be the but of thes dessains; and if I coulde haue found a sphinx to haue expounded ther ridel, I had not failed to send you this bearar long agone, for I haue not so smal a parspectiue in my neighbors actions, but I haue foresene some wicked euent to folowe a careles gouvernement. And now that thos bodings haue not begiled me, I haue thoght expedient that youe shuld not be ignorant of my sincere and plain mening in thes causes; bothe how I take them, and how I mynde to kipe my owne dores from my ennemis malice; and so do wische that our solide amitie may overthawrt thes develische machines.* This gentilman is very wise and faithful honest. I beseche you fauor him with the hiring† of suche charge as from me he hathe receaved, and make as sure accompt of me, as of whom you recken your surest trust. I never yet begiled the powrest vassal with a broken worde. I shal not liue, I hope, to use suche iniquitie with one of your estat. And thus I leue to molest you longar, with my infinite prayers for your longe prosperitie to many a yere untold; and so, right deare brother, I commit you to the living God.

Your most assured loving sistar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

A mounsieur mon bon frere et cousin
le roy d'Escosse.

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* So in MS. for *machinations*.

† *i. e.* hearing.

No. XCIV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

DATE NOT ASCERTAINED. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. No. 33. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The general faithlessness of the times causes the queen to rejoice the more at James's last dispatch—these latter days of the world are too weak to retain bodies sound enough to carry good minds—caution against the false advisers by whom James was surrounded—praise of his ambassador.

This letter was written at a time when James was exposed to the false counsels of the Spanish party, but I have not been able to fix its date with any certainty. The original is very much defaced by time and rough usage.

Right deare brother, I had thoght that this wreached faitheles time, in wiche the subiects haue license to depriue bothe life and land from princis rule, had yelded no cornar for my delyght, but by your last despeche, I find that therein my wimning * hathe somewhat begiled my thoghtes, and makes me see that God meneth not to make you blind amonge some of your felowes, who willingly let slip the raines of ther reason to the wyl of ther sedicious rebelz; but I perceiue that his grace, who I trust wyl neuer leaue you, hathe inclined your hart to hate the ground-work of suche mischifs, and bent you to take the better part, and so, that you be sure of my fast and firme good wyl, that haue made good profe thereof not many dayes past, and mind so to continue, with more increase than any litel diminution. My pen may not with equal balance countervaile the thankes that my heart yeldes you, for your g[reat] and large offers of al the seruice you have to help me withal, as also, in particular, not regarding spotted bloud, in respect of myne untainted, wiche shal neuer haue any impurenis in your behalf. These lattar dayes of the world are to weke to retaine so sound bodies as may cary good minds, but rather al inclined to what may be worst thoght and wickedlest done. It is more than time that we that mean not to folowe a false banner, nor to make one in a wicked crowd, shuld so strengthen ourselfis and fast joining the knot of our frendeship, as they that haue wil may

* whining.

haue no might to harm, and that the face of our enemies may turne the backe of ther attemps, and leaue to them no hope to receiue aught els than shame, as ther malice is witnes. You shall find in me al readenes to do al that may serue this tourn, and thogh I knowe ther lacketh no *zizania* amonge your corne, nor lurking intelligencers of your actions, nor wants no fine perswaders undar coulor of your greatnis to wrest you to imbrace the serpentz that shal sting you, yet I beleave your worde, a[nd] feare no others hate, with the opinion that being wise, and used to many humours, you wyl haue skil not to look what the be but what the say, and not to suppose that wicked folkes can be made true counselars, nor that they shal euer prospier that lean to rotten aides, whos marischals haue more mynding of hors-hokes than of company. The firmist ground, therefor, is fittest for your trust, and, in frindeship Ciceroes rule, that the have traitted and be assured measure.

This is all for the present I meane to troble you with, saving to request you accept my most affectionat thankes for the zeal your embassador shewed me, by your offers by captain Brewes that you would make me. I assure you this shal never fal to ground but be imploied upon a grateful prince. I mus[t not] leave out the praises that I think deue to your ambassadors merite. If you had bin present you could have wisched him to use your affayres in no earnestar, no more faithful sort. I assure you he hath desarued your fauor for the traic in your great trust the lords as mu hate as of yours his negotiating I of his spetiall a . I beseech you let him [have your] fauor therefore. [I commend] you, my dere [brother], to the fruition of the [Almyghty], who [ever have you in his keeping.

Your assured loving systar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.]

[*Addressed,*]

A mon tres bon frere et cousin
le roy d'Escose.

No. XCV.

ELIZABETH TO JAMES.

DATE NOT ASCERTAINED. RYDER MSS. ELIZ. NO. 32. ORIG. AUTOGRAPH.

The queen has heard that some Scottish lords set up Roman catholicism, and pretend that they have the king's leave—it is said that James feigns with others, and lets these people proceed until they acquire such power that he may allege that they compel him to tolerate them.

This letter refers to a period of James's reign when he was winking at the proceedings of the catholic lords, but I have not been able to determine its exact date. The conjunction of Rome and Rheims seems to point to about the year 1580. The mention of the latter place limits the date between 1578, when the seminary priests were expelled from Douay, and 1593, when they returned thither.

I here, even now, suche newes as for your sake, more than my none, I rue. Shal the enuious of our frendeship at Rome, Remes, and elz wher, vant of the veritie of ther long profesie so far furthe as at ani instant the audacitie of some of your lordz be so far advansed to infringe your late edictz with ther bold example, to set up an other religion than your owne in your realme, and say the haue your leue therfor? I pray God you looke not through your fingars at suche attemps, or eles litel hold may be taken to your profession. Therfor I pray you let your correction with spede be sufficient aduocat for your clernis in this action, and stop the tongues of suche as say you ar surely thers, and do but fain with others, and letz al run to that scope that you might aleage that compelled you did it. Right deare brother, you see how [I] am sturred, whan ought I see that might appaule your honor, or bringe in question your constancy. I pray God assist you with his spirit, that no false perswations, undar coular of your good, do not take hold to peril your estat by suche as care more for others than you. Thus the Lord euer kepe you from al insouerentie.

Your assured loving systar and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

[*Addressed,*]

To my deerest brother and cousin the king of Scotts.

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Wotton, sir Edward, xi. 11, 14, 16, 18, 23, 33.
Zouche, Edward lord, of Haryngworth, 100, 167.

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THE

CAMDEN SOCIETY,

FOR THE PUBLICATION OF

EARLY HISTORICAL AND LITERARY REMAINS.

At a General Meeting of the Camden Society held at the Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Wednesday the 2nd of May, 1849,

The Right Hon. Lord BRAYBROOKE in the chair,

His Lordship having opened the business of the Meeting,

The Secretary read the Report of the Council agreed upon at their meeting of the 18th April last, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the said Report be received and adopted, and that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Director and Council for their services.

The Thanks of the Society were also voted to the Editors of the Society's publications for the past year; to Sir Charles Young, Garter King of Arms, to the Reverend Lambert B. Larking; and to the Local Secretaries.

The Secretary then read the Report of the Auditors agreed upon at their Meeting of the 28th April last, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the said Report be received and adopted, and that the Thanks of the Society be given to the Auditors for their trouble.

The Thanks of the Society having then been voted to the Treasurer,

The Meeting proceeded to the election of Officers, when

The Right Hon. Lord Braybrooke, F.S.A.

was elected President of the Society; and

Thomas Amyot, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
William Henry Blaauw, Esq. M.A.
John Bruce, Esq. Treas. S.A.
John Payne Collier, Esq. V.P. S.A.
Charles Purton Cooper, Esq. Q.C., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.
William Durrant Cooper, Esq. F.S.A.
Bolton Corney, Esq. M.R.S.L.
Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., Sec. S.A.
The Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A.
John Mitchell Kemble, Esq. M.A.
Peter Levesque, Esq. F.S.A.
Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.
Frederic Ouvry, Esq. F.S.A.
Henry Crabb Robinson, Esq. F.S.A. and
William John Thoms, Esq. F.S.A.

were elected as the Council; and

John Yonge Akerman, Esq. Sec. S.A.
George L. Craik, Esq. and
Edward Foss, Esq. F.S.A.

were elected Auditors of the Society for the ensuing year.

Thanks were then voted to the Secretary; and to Lord Braybrooke, for the interest he had always taken in the welfare of the Society, and for his able conduct in the Chair.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS, 1849.

At a Meeting of the Council of the Camden Society held at No. 25, Parliament Street, Westminster, on Wednesday the 9th May, 1849,

The Rt. Hon. Lord Braybrooke, the President, in the Chair;

Thomas Amyot, Esq. was elected Director; John Payne Collier, Esq. Treasurer; and William J. Thoms, Esq. Secretary, for the Year next ensuing.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OF

THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

ELECTED 2nd MAY, 1848.

The Council of the Camden Society, elected on the 2nd of May, 1848, feel it necessary to repeat the announcement of their predecessors, that, "like every similar Institution, the Camden Society has suffered some diminution in its ranks from the operation of public causes." But they would express their confidence that those causes are now passing over, and that it will not be long before the Society shall have regained its early number of Members. Several Societies have been obliged to yield to the circumstances of the times, and others will probably follow, but the number of Members of the Camden Society is still (again to use the words of the last Report) "amply sufficient to maintain the Society in its course of usefulness, and to prove the wide interest still felt in the objects for which the Society was instituted."

In full confidence of the stability of the Society the Treasurer has followed the precedent of former years, and invested a sum paid in lieu of annual payments, which has raised the Society's Stock from £900 14*s.* 9*d.* to £911 11*s.*

The Council have added to the List of Local Secretaries the name of John Bailey Langhorne, Esq. who has kindly undertaken to discharge the duties of that office for Richmond, Yorkshire, and its neighbourhood; and they avail themselves of this opportunity of again pressing upon Members resident in the country the great service they may render to the Society, by taking upon themselves that not very troublesome office, or at all events by enlisting as Members such of their friends and neighbours as are known to take an interest in the objects for which it has been instituted. The Society's sphere of usefulness, the benefits it may be

able to confer on Historical Literature, must mainly depend on the amount of funds which may be at the disposal of the Council.

The Council have to regret the deaths, during the past year, of—

Joseph Ablett, Esq.
Alexander Annand, Esq.
Charles Frederick Barnwell, Esq., F.S.A.
Benjamin Barnard, Esq.
Peter S. Benwell, Esq.
Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.
The Lord Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross.
John Comport, Esq., F.S.A.
Very Rev. John Anthony Cramer, D.D.
George Duke, Esq.
Enoch Durant, Esq., F.S.A.
Charles Filica, Esq.
Charles Gambier, Esq.
Mr. D. Haig.
John Hills, Esq. M.A.
Rev. G. Kennard.
W. Horton Lloyd, Esq., F.S.A.
William Henry Miller, Esq., F.S.A.
John Pitcairn, Esq.
Rev. Thomas B. Pooley, M.A.
William Robinson, Esq., LL.D, F.S.A.
Thomas Field Savory, Esq., F.S.A.
Rev. Thomas Streatfeild, F.S.A.
William Vines, Esq., F.S.A.
Anthony White, Esq.
Sir Giffin Wilson, F.R.S.
Rev. Robert Wintle, B.D.

The Council have, during the past year, added the following works to the List of those to be published by the Society:—

I. The Chronicle of Queen Jane and of Two Years of Queen Mary. To be edited by John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A.

II. A Selection from the Porkington MS. in the possession of W. Ormsby Gore, Esq. M.P. To be edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S.

III. Household Roll of John of Brabant, Son in Law of King Edward the First. To be edited from the original in the Chapter House, Westminster, with a Translation and Notes by T. Hudson Turner, Esq.

The books issued during the past year have been

I. The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, extending from the year 1550 to 1563, now the Cottonian MS. Vitellius F. v. Edited by John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A.

which belongs to the Subscription of the preceding year.

The Society is much indebted to Mr. John Gough Nichols, for the ability and pains with which he has edited this Diary, one of the most valuable records of the interesting period to which it relates, and which has been hitherto scarcely known except by the frequent references which showed how much Strype was indebted to it in his various publications.

II. Camden's Visitation of Huntingdonshire, made by Nicholas Charles, his Deputy. Edited from the Original Visitation preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts, by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., Sec. S.A.; and illustrated with numerous Wood Engravings of Arms, Seals, &c.

This work, the editorship of which was kindly undertaken by Sir Henry Ellis, removes the objection frequently made that the Society had done nothing for the memory of Camden as a Herald. It is the first in which Illustrations have been introduced to any extent; and the Council feel assured that the satisfaction which they have felt at the manner in which the artist, Mr. Cleghorn, has executed the task entrusted to him, will be participated in by the Members generally, and justify the Council for the expense they incurred for that purpose.

III. Smith's Obituary, from 1628 to 1674. Edited by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S., Sec. S.A.

This volume, edited by the same zealous Member to whom the Society is indebted for the preceding work, was undertaken by the Council at the suggestion of one well able to judge of its value, Sir Charles Young, Garter King of Arms, who, having had a transcript of the Sloane MS. made for his own use, kindly placed the same at the service of the Council, for the purpose of publication. The Council have expressed their acknowledgments to Sir Charles Young for this kindness; and the Meeting will probably think fit to mark by a vote of thanks their sense of the good feeling which he has, on this as on many former occasions, exhibited towards the Society.

IV. Certaine Considerations upon the Government of England. By Sir Roger Twysden, Kt. and Bart. Edited from the unpublished Manuscript by JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq. M.A. &c.

This work was pointed out to the Council by Mr. Kemble as one of the most valuable treatises existing on the subject to which it relates.

As the book is at present in the hands of but few of the Members, in consequence of its delivery having only just commenced, the Council trust they may be permitted to express their conviction that the volume—highly important in itself, for its illustration of the history of the Constitution—will derive additional value from the masterly Introduction, in which Mr. Kemble has furnished an outline of the life of the author, Roger Twysden, "one of the most laborious and judicious Antiquaries that the seventeenth century produced;" and in which will be found an animated sketch of that distinguished and powerful class, the Country Gentlemen of England of 1640, the class that produced Cotton, Spelman, Twysden, and others.

The Council cannot conclude this Report without alluding to a change which has gradually come over the character of the Society's publications, a change which, while it has been the result of causes over which they have had comparatively little control, is one they believe to be generally agreeable to the Members; it is the purely historical nature of the later Camden Publications.

Since the establishment of the Camden Society, similar Societies have been instituted for the publication of works more immediately connected with our early national Poetry and Drama. Their success has been at once a matter of congratulation to the Council, who regard such success as evidence of the soundness of the principles on which the Camden Society was founded, and a warning to them to devote the means at their disposal to illustrate, not so much the Poetical and Literary, as the Political and Social History of the Empire.

By Order of the Council,

THOMAS AMYOT, Director.

WILLIAM J. THOMS, Secretary.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS,

Dated April 28, 1849.

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, report to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us an account of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society, from the 29th of April, 1848, to the 28th of April, 1849, and that we have examined the said accounts, with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report that the following is an Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society during the period we have mentioned.

	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last year's account	185	18	3
Received on account of Members whose Subscriptions were in arrear at the last Audit	103	0	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due 1st May, 1848	671	0	0
One year's dividend on £900 14*s.* 9*d.* 3 per Cent. Consols, invested in the names of the Trustees of the Society, deducting property-tax	26	4	6
Total receipts for the year	£986	2	9

	£.	s.	d.
Paid for the purchase of £10 16*s.* 3*d.* 3 per Cent. Consols, invested for the benefit of the Society	10	0	0
Paid for printing and paper of 1,250 copies of "Machyn's Diary"	334	9	8
The like for 1,000 copies of "Huntingdon Visitation"	115	4	0
The like for 1,000 copies of "Smith's Obituary"	77	2	6
Paid for Woodcuts for "Huntingdon Visitation"	80	0	0
Paid for binding 1,000 copies of "Yonge's Diary"....	42	0	0
The like for 1,000 copies of "Machyn's Diary".....	52	0	0
Paid for delivery and transmission of "Machyn's Diary" and "Visitation of the County of Huntingdon," with paper for wrappers, &c.	27	18	1
Paid for Miscellaneous Printing, Lists of Members, Reports, &c.....	17	5	6
Paid for Transcripts connected with works published or in progress	35	19	6
Paid for Account Books, Lithograph Circulars, &c. ..	5	5	0
One year's payment for keeping Accounts and General Correspondence of the Society	52	10	0
Paid for the expenses of last General Meeting	2	7	0
Paid for postages, carriage of parcels, stationery, and other petty cash expenses	13	0	8
Balance of Subscriptions and other receipts.....	121	0	10
	£986	2	9

And we, the Auditors, further state, that the Treasurer has reported to us, that over and above the present balance of £121 0*s.* 10*d.* there are outstanding various subscriptions of Foreign Members, of Members resident in places distant from London, and of Members recently elected, which the Treasurer sees no reason to doubt will shortly be received.

Given under our hands this 28th day of April, 1849,

J. Y. Akerman
Frederic Ouvry } Auditors.

WORKS OF THE CAMDEN SOCIETY,

AND ORDER OF THEIR PUBLICATION.

For the Year 1838-9.

1. Restoration of King Edward IV.
2. Kyng Johan, by Bishop Bale.
3. Deposition of Richard II.
4. Plumpton Correspondence.
5. Anecdotes and Traditions.

For 1839-40.

6. Political Songs.
7. Hayward's Annals of Elizabeth.
8. Ecclesiastical Documents.
9. Norden's Description of Essex.
10. Warkworth's Chronicle.
11. Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder.

For 1840-41.

12. The Egerton Papers.
13. Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda.
14. Irish Narratives, 1641 and 1690.
15. Rishanger's Chronicle.

For 1841-42.

16. Poems of Walter Mapes.
17. Travels of Nicander Nucius.
18. Three Metrical Romances.
19. Diary of Dr. John Dee.

For 1842-3.

20. Apology for the Lollards.
21. Rutland Papers.
22. Diary of Bishop Cartwright.
23. Letters of Eminent Literary Men.
24. Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler.

For 1843-44.

25. Promptorium Parvulorum: Tom. I.
26. Suppression of the Monasteries.
27. Leycester Correspondence.

For 1844-45.

28. French Chronicle of London.
29. Polydore Vergil.
30. The Thornton Romances.
31. Verney's Notes of the Long Parliament.

For 1845-46.

32. Autobiography of Sir John Bramston.
33. Correspondence of James Duke of Perth.
34. Liber de Antiquis Legibus.
35. The Chronicle of Calais.

For 1846-47.

36. Polydore Vergil's History, Vol. I.
37. Italian Relation of England.
38. Church of Middleham.
39. The Camden Miscellany, Vol. I.

For 1847-48.

40. Life of Lord Grey of Wilton.
41. Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.
42. Diary of Henry Machyn.

For 1848-49.

43. Visitation of Huntingdonshire.
44. Obituary of Richard Smyth.
45. Twysden on the Government of England.

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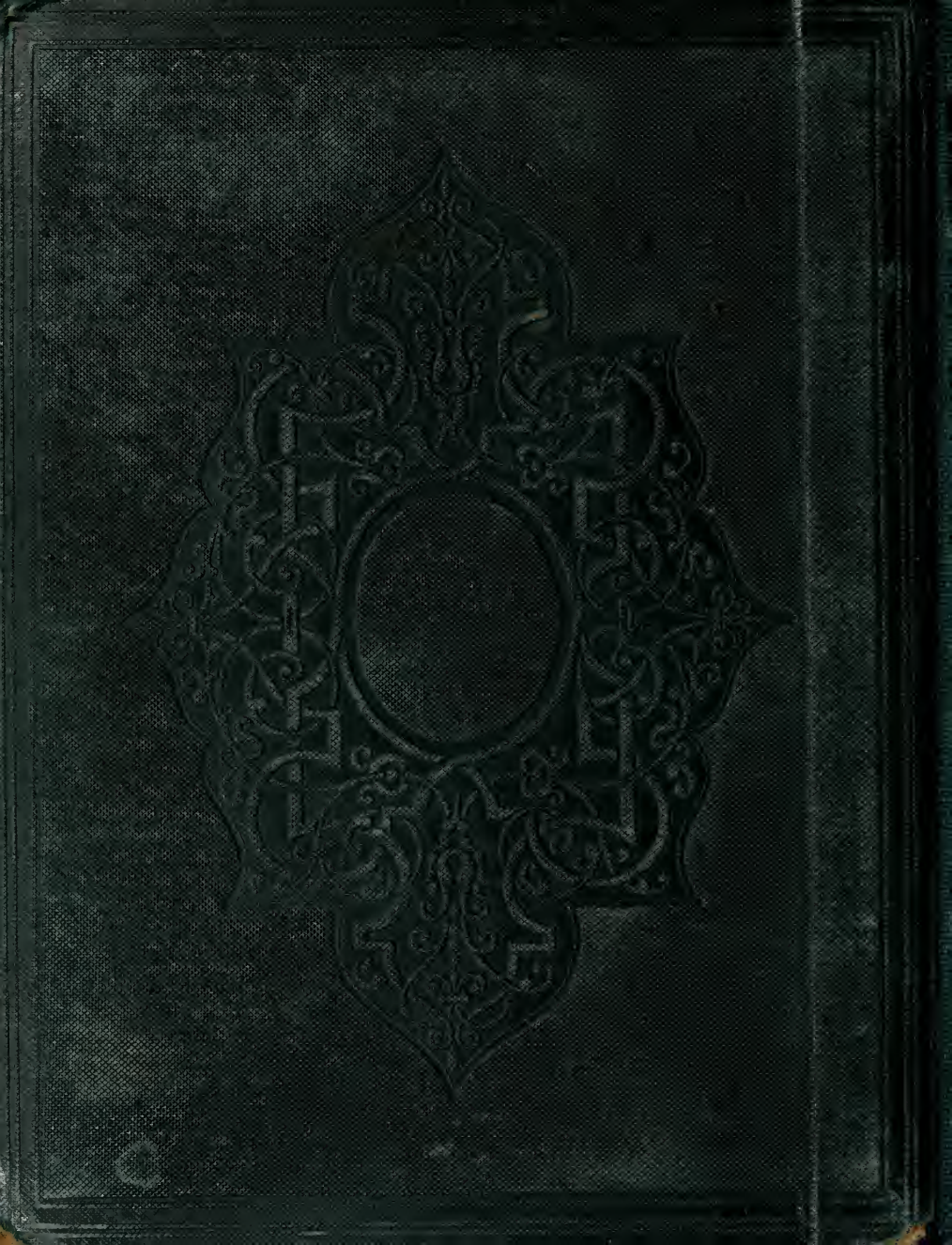
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