

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LETTER A, p. 35.

Boece and the Story of the Bull's Head.

THE story of the bull's head being presented to the Douglasses at the banquet, as a signal for their death, appears, for the first time, in Hector Boece, p. 363 :—"Gubernator, assentiente Cancellario, * * amotis epulis, *taurinum caput apponi jubet*. Id enim est apud nostrates supplicii capitalis symbolum." Although this extraordinary circumstance is not found in the Auchinleck Chronicle, an almost contemporary authority, yet, had I discovered evidence of the truth of Boece's assertion, that the production of a bull's head was amongst our countrymen a well-known signal for the infliction of a capital punishment, I should have hesitated before I rejected the appearance of this horrid emblem immediately previous to the seizure of the Douglasses. The truth is, however, that the production of such a dish as a bull's head, or, according to the version of the tale given by a great writer,¹ a black bull's head, as an emblem of death, is not to be found in any former period of our history, or in any Celtic tradition of which I am aware. For this last assertion, the non-existence of any Celtic or Highland tradition of date prior to Boece's history, where this emblem is said to have been used, I rest not on my own judgment, for I regret much I am little read in Gaelic antiquities, but on the information of my friends, Mr Gregory, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries,

¹ Sir Walter Scott's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 281.

and the Reverend Mr Macgregor Stirling, who are, perhaps, amongst the ablest of our Celtic antiquaries.¹ After the time of Boece, whose work was extremely popular in Scotland, it is by no means improbable that the tale of the bull's head should have been transplanted into Highland traditions. Accordingly I understand, from Mr Stirling, that Sir Duncan Campbell, the seventh laird of Glenurquhay, on an occasion somewhat similar to the murder of the Douglasses, is said to have produced a bull's head at table, which caused his victims to start from the board and escape. Sir Duncan lived in the interval between 1560 and 1631.

LETTER B, p. 36.

George, Earl of Angus.

It is to be regretted that Godscroft, in his History of the House of Douglas and Angus, vol. i. p. 287, instead of his own interminable remarks and digressions, had not given us the whole of the ancient ballad in which some indignant minstrel expressed his abhorrence of the deed. One stanza only is preserved:—

Edinburgh Castle, Town and Tower,
 God grant thou sink for sin,
 And that even for the black dinner
 Earl Douglas gat therein.

The late Lord Hailes, in his Remarks on the History of Scotland, chap. 7, satisfactorily demonstrated “that Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, could not, according to the common opinion, have been a brother of James, second Earl of Douglas, slain at Otterburn, and that he did not succeed to the earldom in right of

¹ Mr Gregory, I am happy to see, is about to publish “A History of the Western Highlands and the Hebrides during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” Hitherto, all that we know of the history of this most interesting portion of the kingdom, is perplexing, vague, and traditionary. But, from the mass of authentic materials which the industry of the secretary of the antiquaries has collected, a valuable work may at last be expected.

blood." He added,—“By what means, or under what pretext, George, Earl of Angus, the undoubted younger brother of Earl James, was excluded from the succession, it is impossible at this distance of time to determine. During the course of almost a century the descendants of Archibald, third Earl Douglas, continued too powerful for the peace of the crown, or for their own safety. At length, in 1488, the male line ended by the death of James, ninth Earl of Douglas, and the honours of Douglas returned into the right channel of Angus.” A learned and, as it appears, conclusive solution of this difficulty, appeared in a paper in the Scots Magazine for September, 1814, where it is shown that George, Earl of Angus, considered by Lord Hailes, by Douglas, and all our genealogical writers, as the legitimate brother of James, Earl of Douglas, was an illegitimate son of William, Earl of Douglas, and as such had no title to succeed to the earldom. It is to be wished that the same acute antiquary, who has successfully solved this and many other genealogical difficulties, would bring his researches to bear upon some of those obscurer points in the history of the country, which are intimately connected with genealogy, and would derive from it important illustration. The hypothesis, for instance, upon which I have ventured as to the causes which may have led to the trial and execution of William, Sixth Earl of Douglas, and his brother David, in 1440, is an example of one of the subjects upon which an intimate knowledge of genealogy might enable its possessor to do much for history.

LETTER C, p. 37.

Execution of the Douglasses.

The Douglasses, along with their unfortunate friend and adherent Malcolm Fleming, were beheaded, according to Gray's MS., “in vigilio Sancte Katerine Virginis, viz. xxiiii. die mensis Novembris anno Domini I^m iiiic XL.” The date in the Extracta Ex Veteribus Chronicis Scotiæ agrees with this, but it appears from the following curious Instrument, that Malcolm Fleming was exe-

cuted, not at the same time as the Douglasses, but on the fourth day thereafter:—In Dei nomine Amen. Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter quod anno ab incarnatione Domini, secundum computacionem Regni Scocie M^{mo} cccc^{mo} xl^{mo} mensis Januarii die vii. Indictione quarta Pontificatus Sanctissime in Xpo patris et Domini nostri, Domini Eugenii divina providentia Papæ quarti Anno x^{mo}. In mei Notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presencia personaliter constitut. Nobiles viri Walterus de Buchqwhanane et Thomas de Murhede scutiferi, ac procuratores nobilis viri Roberti Flemyng scutiferi, filii et heredis Malcolmi Flemyng quondam Domini de Bigar, habentes ad infrascripta potestaten et sufficiens mandatum, ut meipso notario constabat per legitima documenta, accedentes ad Crucem fori Burgi de Lithgw, coram Willmo de Howstoun deputato Vicecomitis ejusdem, procuratorio nomine dicti Roberti, falsaverunt quoddam judicium datum seu prelatum super Malcolmum Flemyng, patrem dicti Roberti, super montem Castri de Edynburch, Secundum modum et formam, et propter racionem inferius scriptum, quarum tenor sequitur in vulgar.

We, Waltyr of Buchqwanane and Thomas of Murhede, speciale procurators and actournais, conjunctly and severally, to Robert Flemyng, son and ayr to Malcolm Flemyng, sumtyme Lord of Bigar, sayis to thee, John of Blayr Dempstar, that the Doyme gyffin out of thy mouth on Malcolm Flemyng in a said Courte haldyn befor our soverane Lord y^e King on the Castle-hill of Edynburch, on Mononday the acht and twenty day of the moneth of November the yere of our Lord M^{mo} cccc^{mo} and fourty zeris. Sayande “that he had forfat land, lyff, and gud as chete to the King, and that yow gave for doyme;” that doyme forsaid giffyn out of thy mouth is evyl, fals, and rotten in itself; and here We, the foresaid Walter and Thomas, procurators to the said Robert for hym, and in his name, fals it, adnull it, and again cancel it in thy hand William of Howston Deput to the Sherray of Lithgow, and tharto a borch in thy hand; and for this cause the Courte was unlachfull, the doyme unlachfull, unorderly gyffin, and agane our statut; for had he been a common thef takyn redhand, and haldyn twa Sonys, he sulde haff had his law dayis he askande them,

as he did before our Sovereane Lord the King, and be this resoune the doyme is evyll giffyn and weil agane said; and her we, the foresaid Walter and Thomas, procurators to the foresaid Robert, protests for ma resounys to be giffyn up be the said Robert, or be his procurators qwhar he acht, in lawfull tyme.

Dictum iudicium sic ut premittitur falsatum et adnullatum dicti procuratoris, nomine dicti Roberti, invenerunt plegium ad proseguendum dictas adnullaciones et falsaciones predicti iudicii, in manu Roberti Nicholson serjandi domini nostri regis qui dictum plegium recepit. Postmodo vero dicti procuratores offerebant falsacionem adnullacionem dicte iudicii sub sigillo præfati Roberti Flemyng dicto Willelmo de Howstoun deputato dicti vicecomitis, qui recipere recusavit, dicendo quod recepcio Ejusdem pertinebat ad Justiciarium, et non ad vicecomitum, et tunc ipsi procuratores continuo publice protestati sunt, quod dicta recusacio nullum prejudicium dicto Roberto Flemyng generaret in futurum. Super quibus omnibus et singulis præfati Walterus et Thomas procuratorio nomine ut supra a me notario publico infrascript sibi fieri pecierunt publicum instrumentum, seu publica instrumenta :

Acta fuerunt haec apud crucem ville de Lithgw hora quã decima ante meridiem Anno, die, mense, Indiccionem et Pontificatu quibus supra, presentibus ibidem providis viris, Willelmo de Houston Deputato ut supra, Domino Willmo llane, Domino Johanne person, Presbyteris, Jacobo Forrest et Jacobo Fowlys publico notario cum multis aliis testibus, ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

This instrument, which exhibits in a striking light the formal solemnity of feudal manners, is printed from a copy communicated to me by my friend Thomas Thomson, Esq. Depute Clerk Register, and taken from the original in the archives of the Earldom of Wigton, preserved in the charter-chest of Admiral Flemyng at Cumbernauld.

LETTER D, p. 60.

Early Connexion between Scotland and the Hanse Towns.

The intercourse of Scotland with the Hanse towns and the commercial states of Flanders took place, as has been shown in another part of this history, at a very early period. When that portion of the work was written I was not aware of the existence of a most interesting document on the subject of early Scottish commerce, which had been included by Sartorius in his work on the origin of the league of the Hanse towns; for the publication of which, after the death of the author, the world is indebted to the learned Dr Lappenberg of Hamburgh; and to which my attention was first directed by Mr D. Carrick's *Life of Sir William Wallace*, published in Constable's Miscellany. The document is a letter from Wallace and Sir Andrew Moray, dated at Badsington in Scotland, evidently a misreading for Haddington, on the 11th of October, 1297. It is as follows:—

“ Andreas de Moravia et Willelmus Wallensis, duces exercitus regni Scotie et communitas eiusdem Regni, prouidis viris et discretis ac amicis dilectis, maioribus et communibus de Lubek et de Hamburg salutem et sincere dilectionis semper incrementum. Nobis per fide dignos mercatores dicti regni Scotie est intimatum, quod vos vestri gratia, in omnibus causis et negociis, nos et ipsos mercatores tangentibus consulentes, auxiliantes et favorabiles estis, licet, nostra non precesserent merita, et ideo magis vobis tenemur ad grates cum digna remuneratione, ad que vobis volumus obligari; rogantes vos, quatinus preconizari facere velitis inter mercatores vestros, quod securum accessum ad omnes portus regni Scotie possint habere cum mercandiis suis, quia regnum Scotie, Deo regratiato, ab Anglorum potestate bello est recuperatum. Valete. Datum apud Badsingtonam in Scotia, undecimo die Octobris, Anno gracie, millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo septimo. Rogamus vos insuper vt negocia Johannis Burnet, et Johannis Frere, mercatorum nostrorum promoueri dignemini, prout nos negocia mercatorum vestrorum promovere velitis. Valete dat: ut prius.”

The original letter, of which a transcript was communicated by Dr Lappenberg, the editor of Sartorius' work, to Mr Carrick, through Mr Repp, one of the assistant librarians of the Faculty of Advocates, still exists in the archives of the Hanseatic city of Lubeck. "It appears," says Dr L., "to be the oldest document existing relative to the intercourse of Hamburgh and Lubeck, or other Hanseatic cities, with Scotland." It is much to be wished that a correct fac-simile of it should be procured. The battle of Stirling, in which Wallace defeated Cressingham, was fought on the 3d of September, 1297. A great dearth and famine then raged in Scotland, and Wallace led his army into England.¹ The letter to the cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh was evidently written on the march into Northumberland, which corroborates the reading of Haddington, a town lying directly in the route of the army, for Badsington, a name unknown to Scottish topography. In Langtoft's Chronicle, a high authority, we meet with a corroboration of Wallace's mission to Flanders, immediately after the battle of Stirling:—

After this bataile, the Scottis sent over the se
A boye of ther rascaile, quaynt and doguise.²
To Flandres bad him fare, through burgh and cite,
Of Edward where he ware to bryng them certeynte.³

It is probable that this boy or page, who was sent to spy out the motions of Edward, was the bearer of the letter to the cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh. We possess now four original deeds granted by Wallace: The above letter to Lubeck and Hamburgh—the protection to the monks of Hexham, dated the 8th of November, 1297—the passport to the same monks—and the famous grant published by Anderson in his *Diplomata*, plate xlv, to Alexander Skirmishur, of the office of Constable of the Castle of Dundee, for his faithful service, in bearing the royal standard in the army of Scotland. It is curious to mark the progressive style used by Wallace in the enunciation of these deeds. In the first,

¹ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 171, 172.

² Disguised.

³ Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 298.

the Letter to the Hanse Towns, dated 11th October, 1297, it is simply, commander of the army of Scotland, "Dux exercitus regni Scotiæ:" In the second, dated 7th November, 1297, he is "Leader of the army of Scotland, in the name of an illustrious prince, Lord John, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, by the consent of the community of the same kingdom." In the third, which is dated at Torphichen, the 29th March, 1298, we no longer find Andrew Moray associated in the command of the army with Wallace; his style is simply William Wallace, Guardian of the kingdom of Scotland, and leader of the armies of the same, in the name of an excellent prince, Lord John, by the grace of God, the illustrious King of Scotland.

With the exception of this valuable document, I am not aware that there exist any additional letters or charters relative to the early commerce between Scotland and the Hanse towns, till we arrive at the first quarter of the fifteenth century, during which repeated complaints were made on the part of the associated cities, that the Scots had plundered their merchantmen. In consequence of this, they resorted to reprisals; the members of the league were prohibited from all intercourse with the Scots; and every possible method was adopted to persecute and oppress the merchants of this country, wherever the Hanseatic factories were established; for example, in Norway, and in Flanders, to which the Scots resorted. It is ordered by a Hanse statute of the year 1412, that no member of the league should purchase of Scotsmen, either at Bruges or any other place, cloth, either dressed or undressed, or manufactured from Scottish wool; whilst the merchants of the Hanse communities who did not belong to the league, were forbid to sell such wares in the markets of the leagued towns. It would appear that these quarrels continued for upwards of ten years, as in 1418 the Compter at Bruges was enjoined, under pain of confiscation, to renounce commercial intercourse with the Scots, till all differences were adjusted, from which we may fairly conclude, that the Bruges market was the principal emporium of trade on both sides. A few years after this, in 1426, the prohibition of all trade with the Scots

¹ Knighton, p. 2521. Apud Twysden x. scriptores.

was renewed, unless they consented to an indemnification for damages already sustained. At a still later period, in 1445, it appears that the Bremeners had captured, amongst other vessels, a ship coming from Edinburgh, laden with a cargo of cloth and leather; and in the course of the same year, a commission was issued by James the Second, to certain Scottish delegates, empowering them to enter into negotiations with the towns of Bremen, Lubeck, Hamburg, Wismar, Stralsund, and Rostock, regarding the termination of all such disputes. The original commission, which has never been printed in any English work, is preserved in the archives of the city of Bremen, and is to be found in a very rare German pamphlet, or Thesis, which was discovered and communicated by Sir William Hamilton to Mr Thomson, to whom I am indebted for the use of it. It is as follows:—

“*Jacobus Dei gratia Rex Scotorum. Universis ad quorum noticiam presentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod nos ex matura deliberatione nostri parliamenti, de fide et legalitate delectorum, et fidelium nostrorum, Thome de Preston, scutiferi et familiaris nostri, Johannis Jeffrason et Stephani Huntare, comburgensium burgi nostri de Edinburgh, ac Andree Ireland, burgensis burgi nostri de Perth, plurimum confidentes, ipsos, Thomam, Johannem, Stephanum, ac Andream, nostros commissarios, deputatos, et nuncios speciales fecimus, constituimus, et ordinavimus. Dantes et concedentes eisdem Thome, Johanni, Stephano, et Andree, et eorum, duobus, conjunctim, nostram plenariam potestatem et mandatum speciale ad comparendum coram nobilibus et circumspicte prudentie viris burgimastris, Scabinis et consulibus civitatum, villarum, et oppidorum de Lubec, Bremen, Hamburg, Wismere, Trailsond, et Rostock, seu ipsorum et aliorum, quorum interest commissariis et deputatis sufficientem potestatem habentibus, ad communicandum, tractandum, concordandum, componendum, apunctuandum, et finaliter concludendum, de et super spoliatione, bonorum restitutione, lesione et interfectione regni nostri Mercatorum per Bremenses anno revoluto in mare factorum, et perpetratorum, ac literas quittance pro nobis et dictis nostris mercatoribus dandi et concedendi, ac omnia alia, ac singula faciendi, gerendi et exercendi, que in premissis necessaria fuerint, seu opportuna. Ra-*

tum et gratum habentes, pro perpetuo habituri quicquid dicti nostri commissarii vel eorum duo conjunctim in premissis duxerint faciendum. Datum sub magno sigillo nostro apud Edynburgh, decimo quarto die mensis Augusti, anno domini millesimo quadragentesimo quadragesimo quinto, et regni nostri nono."

In consequence of this commission, the following treaty, included in the same rare tract, was entered into on the 16th October, 1445. It is drawn up in an ancient dialect of Low German, still spoken in those parts. For its translation—a work which I believe few scholars in this country could have performed, I am indebted to the kindness and learning of my friend Mr Leith.

LETTER OF THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADORS CONCERNING THE RECONCILIATION OF THE TOWN OF BREMEN WITH THE SUBJECTS OF THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND, AND THE TREATING OF THE DAMAGE WHICH THEY HAD OCCASIONED EACH OTHER.

"We, John Jeffreson, Stephen Hunter, provost of Edinburgh, and Andrew Ireland, bailie of Perth, ambassadors and procurators plenipotentiary of our most gracious beloved master, the most illustrious prince and lord, James, King of Scots, of the noble city of Edinburgh, and others of his towns and subjects, acknowledge and make known openly in this letter, and give all to understand, who shall see it, or hear it read.

"Since those of Bremen, in years but lately past, took on the sea, from the subjects of the aforementioned most powerful prince and lord, the King of Scots, our gracious beloved lord, a certain ship, laden with Scottish cloth, and in order that all capture, attack, and damage, which have happened to ships, people, or goods, wherever they have taken place, and that all other damage which has happened to the kingdom of Scotland, and the subjects of the said kingdom, on the part of those of Bremen, or their people, up to the date of this letter, may be removed :

"And also, in order to compensate for, to diminish, and extinguish, any great and remarkable damage which they of Bremen have suffered and received in former years and times, from the subjects of the afore-mentioned lord the king :

“ Therefore have we, the above-mentioned John, Stephen, and Andrew, by the grace, full powers, and command of our afore-mentioned gracious and beloved lord the king, and others of his towns and subjects, procurators plenipotentiary, (according to the contents of all their procuratories, together with that of his royal gracious majesty, sealed with all their seals, which we have delivered over to the afore-mentioned people of Bremen, and received answer,) negotiated, effected, and made conditions of a friendly treaty, with the honourable burgermeister and counsellors of Bremen, in all power, and in the manner as hereafter is written.

“ Although the afore-mentioned people of Bremen, in strict right, as also on account of the delay which has taken place, and also on account of the great damage which they have suffered in former years from the said kingdom, could not be bound, and were not bound, yet on account of their affection to, and to please the afore-mentioned, our most gracious lord, and his royal grace, and for the sake of peace, and an equitable treaty, the same people of Bremen, to compensate for the expense, wear, and great inconvenience which then was occasioned, have given us, and do presently give a *Butse*,¹ called the *Rose*, with anchors, tackling, and ropes, as she came out of the sea, and thereunto forty *measures* of beer; and therewith shall all attack, damage, and hurt, which they of Bremen and their allies have done to the kingdom of Scotland, and the subjects of the said kingdom, up to the date of this letter, whether the damage may have been done to crews, goods, or ships, and wherever the damage may have been received, be declared to be compensated for, acquitted, and completely forgiven.

“ And, in like manner also, shall all attack, damage, and hurt, which they of Bremen, in these years, have suffered from the kingdom of Scotland, and the subjects of the said kingdom, and particularly that which happened to one of their *coggen*² which was lost in the Frith, and to a *kreyer* lost near Wytkopp, and to a *kreyger*

¹ *Butse*, a particular kind of ship. Herring busses is a term frequently used in the Acts of Parliament.

² *Coggen*, another kind of ship, of some particular build, used for warlike as well as for mercantile purposes. *Kreyer* and *kreyger* can only be explained in the same general way.

lost near the Abbey of Arbroath, and other ships, which damage those of Bremen estimated, and said they had suffered, to the amount of six thousand nobles, the same shall also be held acquitted and compensated for.

“ And we, the abovementioned John, Stephen, and Andrew, procurators plenipotentiary, by power and grace of our gracious lord the king, his towns, and subjects, and according to the contents of our procuratories, do acquit, and have acquitted all and each one of the afore-mentioned persons of Bremen, and their allies, by power and might of this letter, of all the afore-mentioned damage and attacks, let it have happened when and where it will, and wherever it may have been received, in all time afore this, and will never revive the same complaints, either in spiritual or secular courts.

“ Furthermore is agreed, negotiated, and settled, that if it should be that the subjects and merchants of the above-mentioned kingdom, should ship any of their goods in bottoms belonging to powers hostile to Bremen, and the privateers¹ of Bremen should come up to them on the sea, so shall the above-mentioned Scots and their goods be unmolested, with this difference—if it should be that enemy's goods were in the ship, such goods shall they, on their oaths, deliver over to those of Bremen; and the ship, crew, and freight, shall be held to ransom for a certain sum of gold, as they shall agree with the allies² of those of Bremen, and these shall allow the ship, with the crew and the goods of the Scots, to sail away to their destined market. And farther, shall all the subjects and merchants of the above-mentioned most mighty prince and lord, the King of Scots, our most gracious and beloved master, as also those of Bremen and their merchants, visit, touch at, and make use of the ports and territory of the said kingdom of Scotland, and of the said town and territory of Bremen, with their merchant vessels, velinquen,³ lifes, and merchandise, with security, and under good safe-conduct, and velichkeit,⁴ as they have been used to do in peace and love for long years before.

“ For the greater authenticity and truth of this document, have

¹ Redligger.

² Vrunden.

³ Unknown.

⁴ Unknown.

we John Jeffreson, Stephen Hunter, and Andrew Ireland, ambassadors and procurators plenipotentiary, affixed our true seals to this letter.

“ Given and written after the birth of Christ our Lord, fourteen hundred years, and thereafter in the fortieth and fifth, on the day of St Gall, the holy abbots, (d. 16. Oct.)”

LETTER E, p. 114.

James, ninth Earl of Douglas.

As this authentic and interesting document has never been published, it may properly be included amongst the Pieces Justicatives of this history. It is taken from the manuscript volume preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, entitled, Sir Lewis Stewart's Collections, a. 4. 7. p. 19.

Appoyntement betwixt James II., and James Earle Douglas.

Be it kend till all men be thyr present letters, me James, Earle of Douglas, to be halden and obleist, and be thir present letters, and the faith in my body lelie and truelie binds and obliges me till our sovereaene Lord James, be the grace of God, King of Scotland, that I shall fulfill, keep, and observe all and sundrie articles, and condeciones, and poyntis underwritin. That is to say—in the first, I bind and oblige me till our said soverayne lord, that I shall never follow nor persew, directly nor indirectly, be law, or any other maner of way, any entrie in the lands of the earledome of Wigton, with the pairtiments or any part of them, untill the tyme that I may obtaine speciall favour and leicence of oure soverayne Lady Mary, be the grace of God, Queen of Scotland, be letter and seal to be given and maid be hir to me thairupon. And in the samen wise, I bind and obliss me to our soverayne lord, that I shall never persew nor follow, directly nor indirectlie, the lands of the lordshipe of Stewartoun, with the pertinent, or any pairt of them, the whilk wer whilum the Dutches of Turinies, until the time that I may obtaine our soverayne lord's special licence, grace, and favour

of entrie in the said lands ; and alswa, I bind and oblidge me till our soverayne lord, to remitt and forgive, and be thir present letters fullie remitts and forgives for evermair, for me, my brother, and the Lord Hamiltoune, and our (enverdance,) all maner of rancour of heart, malice, fede, malgre, and invy the quhilk I or any of us had, hes, or may have in tyme to come, till any of our said soverane lord's lieges, for any actions, causes, or querrels by gane, and specialie till all them that had arte or parte of the slaughter or deid of whylum William, Earle of Douglas, my brother, and shall take thay personnes in heartlines and friendship at the ordinance and advyce of our said soverayne lord.

And outter, I bind and obliss me till our said soverayne lord, that all the tenants and maillers being within my lands quatsomever, sall remane with thair tacks and maling quhile Whitsonday come a year, except them that occupies the grangis and steids whilk war in the hand of the said Earle William, my brother, for his own proper goods the tyme of his decease, and yet thay personnes to remaine with thyr tacks, at our said soverayne lord's will, of the said granges and steids while Whitsonday next to come ; and alswa I bind and oblige me to our said soverayne lord to revock, and be thir present letters revocks, all leagues and bands, if any hes been made be me in any tyme by gane, contrare to our said soverayne lord ; and binds and obliss me, that I shall make na band, na ligg in tyme coming, quhilk sall be contrar til his hienes. Alsua I bind and obliss me till our said soverayne lord, to remitt and forgive, and be thir present letters remitts and forgives till his hienes all maner of maills, goods spendit, taken, sould, or analied be him or his intromitters, in any maner of wayes before the xxii day of the moneth of July last bypast, before the making of thir present letters. And if any thing be tane of the good of Gallaway, I put me thairof, to our said soveraigne lady, the Queen's will. Alsua I bind and oblige me to our said soveraigne lord, that I shall maintaine, supplie, and defend the borders and the bordarars, and keep the trewes taken, or to be taken, at all my guidly power, and in als far as I aught to do as wardane or liegeman till him. Alsua I bind and oblidge me to doe to our said soverane lord, honor and worschip in als far as lyes in my power, I havand sic sovertie as I can be

content of reasoun for safety of my life. Item, I oblige me that all harmes done, and guides taken under assurance be mandit and restored. In witness of the whilk thing, in fulfilling and keeping all and sundrie articles, poynts, and conditiones beforr written in all manier of forme, force, and effect, as is aforsaid, all fraud and guile away put, I the said James, for me, my brother, and the Lord Hamiltoune, and all our pairts, (averdance,) to ther present letters sett my seall, and for the mair sickerness the haly evangillis twichit, hes given our bodily oath, and subscryved with my own hand at Douglas, the xxviii day of the month of Agust, the year of our Lord jm. four hundreth and feftie-twa years.

Sic subscribitur,

JAMES, EARLE DOUGLAS.

JAMES, LORD HAMILTONE.

Sir Lewis Stewart does not say where the original is preserved ; but his transcript is evidently much altered and modernized in the spelling.

LETTER F, p. 123.

“ EODEM anno Comes Moraviæ frater Comititis de Dowglas cum fratre suo Comite de Ormont, el Johannes Douglas eorundem fratre intraverunt Ananderdail et illam depredati sunt ; et spolia ad matrem in Karleil portarunt, presentantes. Quibus (dominus) de Johnston cum ducentis occurrit, et acriter inter illos pugnatum est. In quo conflictu dominus Comes Moraviæ occiditur, et caput ejus regi Jacobo presentabatur, sed rex animositatem viri commendabat, licet caput ignorabat. Occisus eciam fuit Comes de Ormont. Tunc convocato Parlamento annexæ erant illorum terræ, Coronæ regiæ, viz. Ettrick forest, tota Galvaia, Ballincreiff, Gifford, cum aliis multis dominiis Eorundem.”

The manuscript from which this extract is taken, and which has never been printed, is preserved in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. A. C. c. 26.

LETTER G, p. 204.

Rise of the power of the Boyds.

THE remarkable indenture quoted in the text is preserved amongst the archives of the earldom of Wigton, in the charter chest of Admiral Flemyng at Cumbernauld.

As only twenty copies of it, printed for private circulation, exist, I am happy to render it more accessible to the Scottish antiquary. It is as follows :

“ Yis indentour, mad at Striuelyn, the tend day of februar, the zer of God a thousand four hundreth sixty and fyf zeris, betwyx honourable and worschipful lordis, yat is to say, Robert, Lord Flemyng on ye ta pairt, and Gilbert, Lord Kennedy and Sir Alexander Boid of Duchol, knight, on the todir pairt, yat yai ar fullelie accordit and appointit in maner and form as eftir follouis : Yat is to say, yat ye said lordis ar bundyn and oblist yaim selfis, yair kyn, friendis, and men, to stand in afald kendnes, supple, and defencs, ilk an til odir, in all yair caussis and querrell leifull and honest, movit and to be movit, for all ye dais of yair liffis, in contrery and aganis al maner of persones yat leiff or dee may ; yair allegiance til our soueran lord alanerly outan, excepan to the lord flemyng, his bandis mad of befoir, to ye lord Levynston, and to yhe lord Hamilton, and, in lyk maner, excepan to the saidis lordis kennedy and Sir Alexander, yair bandis mad of befoir, til a reverend fadir in Crist, master patrik the graham, bischop of Sanctander, ye Erle af Crawford, ye lord mungumer, the lord maxvel, the lord boid, the lord levynston, the lord hamilton, and the lord Cathcart. Item, yat the said lord flemyng salbe of special service, and of cunsail to the kyng, als lang as the saidis lordis kenedy and Sir Alexander ar speciall seruandis and of cunsail to ye kyng ; the said lord flemyng kepan his band and kyndnes to the foirsaidis lord kennedy and Alexander, for al the foirsaid tym : And attour, the said lord flemyng is oblist yat he sal nodir wit, consent, nor assent, til (avas), nor tak away the kyngis person fra the saidis lord kenedy and Sir Alexander, nor fra na udyr yat yai leff, and

ordanis to be doaris to yaim, and keparis in yair abcens; and gif the said lord flemyng getis, or may get, ony bit of sic thyng to be done in ony tym, he sal warn the saidis lord kennedy and Sir Alexander, or yair doars in do tym, or let it to be done at all his power; and tak sic part as yai do, or on an of yaim for ye tymin, ye gaus-tandyng of yat mater, but fraud and gil; and the said lord flemyng sal adwis the kyng at al his pertly power wucht his gud cunsail, to be hertly and kyndly to the foirsaidis lord kenedy and Sir Alexander, to yair barnis and friendis, and yai at belang to yaim for ye tym. Item, giff yair happynis ony vakand to fall in the kyngis handis, at is a resonable and meit thyng for the said lord flemyngis seruice, yat he salbe furdirit yairto for his reward; and gif yair happynis a large thyng to fal, sic as vard, releiff, marriage, or offis, at is meit for hym, the said lord flemyng sal haff it for a resonable compocicion befoir udir. Item, the saidis lord kennedy and Sir Alexander sal haff thom of Sumerwel and wat of twedy, in special mantenans, supple, and defencs, in all yair accionis, causs, and querrel, leful and honest, for the said lord flemyngis sak, and for yair seruis don and to be don, next yair awyn mastiris, yat yai wer to of befoir. And, at all and sundry thyngis abovn writtyn salbe lelily kepit, bot fraud and gil; ather of yhe pairtis hes geffyn till udiris, yair bodily aithis, the hali evangelist tuychit, and enterchang-able, set to yair selis, at day, yheir, and place abovn written."

LETTER H, p. 273, and I, p. 287.

Revolt of his Nobility against James the Third, in 1482.

The history of this revolt of the nobles against James the Third, as it is found in the pages of Lesley and Buchanan, furnishes a striking example of the absolute necessity of having access to the contemporary muniments and state papers of the period, as the materials from which historical truth must be elicited. Lesley was a scholar and a man of talent—Buchanan a genius of the very first rank of intellect; yet both have failed in their attempt to estimate the causes which led to the struggle between James and

his barons; and it is not, perhaps, too much to say that the narrative of Buchanan, where he treats of this period, is little else than a classical romance. The extent of Albany's treasonable correspondence with Edward the Fourth, his consent to sacrifice the independence of the kingdom, his actual assumption of the title of king, and the powerful party of the nobles by whom he was supported, are all of them facts unknown to this historian, and which the publication of the *Fœdera Angliæ* first revealed to the world. Instead of these facts, which let us into the history of the proceedings of both parties in the state, and afford a pretty clear notion of the motives by which they were actuated, we are presented by Buchanan with a series of vague and scandalous reports, calculated to blacken the memory of the king, arising at first out of the falsehoods propagated by Albany and the nobles of his faction, against a monarch whom they had determined to dethrone, increased by the credulous additions of the common people, and invested by him with all the charms of style which his sweet and classic muse has so profusely scattered over his history. "Hæ quidem in acta publica causæ sunt redactæ. Verum odium regis ob causam privatam conceptum plus ei (i.e. Domino Crichtonio) nocuisse creditur. Erat Gulielmo uxor e nobile Dumbarorum familia nata, abque insigni pulchritudine. Eam cum a rege maritus corruptam comperisset, consilium temerarium quidem sed ab animo amore ægro et injuria irritato non alienum suscepit. Minorem enim e regis sororibus, et ipsam quoque forma egregia et consuetudine fratris infamem, compressit, et ex ea Margaritam Crichtonium quæ non adeo pridem decessit genuit." B. xii. cli. For this complicated tale, which throws the double guilt of adultery and incest upon the unfortunate monarch, there is no evidence whatever; and of the first part of it, the inaccuracy may be detected. William, third Lord Crichton, did not marry a daughter of the noble house of Dunbar. The Lady Janet Dunbar was his mother, not his wife. (Douglas's Peerage, vol. i. p. 609. Crawford's Officers of State, p. 311. Sutherland case, by Lord Hailes, c. vi. p. 81.) On the other hand, it seems almost certain that William, third Lord Crichton, the associate of Albany, of whom Buchanan is speaking, did marry Margaret, sister to James the Third; but the dark aspersion of her

previous connexion with her brother, the king, is found, as far as I have yet seen, in no historian prior to Buchanan, not even in the credulous Boece, whose pages are sufficiently hostile to James the Third, to induce us to believe that the story would not have been neglected. That the treaty of Albany with Edward the Fourth, and his assumption of the royal title, should have been unknown to Buchanan and Lesley, to whom all access to the original records was probably impossible at the time they wrote, is not extraordinary; but it is singular that the circumstances illustrative of this period of our history should have escaped the notice of Mr Aikman, the latest translator of Buchanan. As to Lesley, the causes which he assigns for the hostility of the nobility to James and his favourites, (*Hist. of Scotland*, p. 48,) are his having suffered Cochrane to debase the current coin, by the issue of copper money, unmeet to have course in the realm—the consequent dearth and famine throughout the country—his living secluded from his queen and his nobles, and his entertaining, in place of his royal consort, a mistress, named the Daisy—the slaughter of the Earl of Mar, his brother—and the banishment of the Duke of Albany. With regard to the first of these subjects of complaint, the issue of a new copper coin, the fact is certain, and the discontent and distress which it occasioned cannot be doubted. In the short chronicle at the end of Winton's MS. Reg. 17, d xx., printed by Pinkerton, Appendix vol. i., p. 502, *Hist. of Scotland*, is the following passage:—“Thar was ane gret hungyr and deid in Scotland, for the boll of meill was for four pounds; for thair was black cunye in the realm strikin and ordynit be King James the Thred, half pennys, and three penny pennys innumerabill, of copper. And thai yeid twa yeir and mair: And als was gret weir betwix Scotland and England, and gret distruction thro the weiris was of corne and cattel. And thai twa thyngs causyt bayth hungar and derth, and mony puir folk deit of hunger. And that samyn yeir, in the moneth of July, the Kyng of Scotland purposyt till haif passit on gaitwart Lawdyr: and thar the Lords of Scotland held thair counsaill in the Kirk of Lawdyr, and cryit doune the black silver, and thai slew ane pairt of the Kyng's housald; and other part thai

banysyt; and thai tuke the Kyng himself, and thai put hym in the Castell of Edinburgh in firm kepyng. * * And he was haldyn in the Castell of Edynburgh fra the Magdalyne day quhill Michaelmas. And than the wictall grew better chaip, for the boll that was for four pounds was than for xxii. sh. of quhyt silver." The circumstance of crying down the black money is corroborated by the act passed in the parliament of 1473, c. 12, "and as touching the plakkis and the new pennys the lordis thinkis that the striking of thame be cessit. And they have the course that they now have unto the tyme that the fynance of them be knawin. And whether they halde five shillings fyne silver of the unce, as was ordainit by the King's hienes, and promittit by the cunzeour."¹ So far the narrative of Lesley is supported by authentic evidence, but that Cochrane was the adviser of this depreciation of the current coin does not appear in any contemporary record; and the assertion of James's attachment to a mistress, called the Daisy, who had withdrawn his affections from the queen, rests solely on the authority of the later and more popular historians.

LETTER K, p. 334.

Inventory of the Jewels and Money of James the Third.

As the inventory referred to in the text is extremely valuable, from the light which it throws upon the wealth and the manners of Scotland at the close of the fifteenth century, I am sure the antiquarian, and I trust even the general reader, will be gratified by its insertion. It is extracted from the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and a few copies have been already printed, although not published, by Mr Thomson, to whom this volume is under repeated obligations, and who will not be displeased by its curious details being made more generally accessible to the public.

¹ Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 105.

INVENTARE OF ANE PARTE OF THE GOLD AND SILVER, CUNYEIT AND UNCUNYEIT, JOWELLIS, AND UTHER STUFF, PERTENING TO VMQUHILE OURE SOVERANE LORDIS FADER, THAT HE HAD IN DEPOIS THE TYME OF HIS DECEIS, AND THAT COME TO THE HANDIS OF OUR SOVERANE LORD THAT NOW IS.

M.CCCC.LXXXVIII.

MEMORANDUM deliuerit be dene Robert hog channoune of hali-rudhouse to the thesaurar, tauld in presens of the cancellare, lord lile, the prior of sanctandros, in a pyne pig¹ of tynn.

In the fyrst of angellis twa hundreth foure score & v angellis

Item in Ridaris nyne score & aucht Ridaris

Item in Rialis of france fyfty & four

Item in vnicornis nyne hundrethe & four score

Item in demyis & scottis crovnis foure hundreth & tuentj

Item in Rose nobilis fyftj and foure

Item in harj nobilis & salutis fourtj & ane

Item fyftene flemis Ridaris

Item tuelf lewis

Item in franche crovnis thre score and thre

Item in vnkennyt² golde ——— threttj pundis

Memorandum, be the comand of the king, thare past to the castell to see the Jowalis, siluer money, & vther stuff, the xvij day of Junij, the yer of god one thousand foure hundreth & eighty-eight yeris, thir persouns vnder wrytin, that is to say

The erle of anguse

The erle of ergile

The bischope of glasgw

The lord halis

The lord home

The knycht of torfichane thesaurare

¹ Pyne Pig; perhaps our modern Scots "penny pig."

² Gold of unknown denomination.

- Memorandum, fund be the saidis personis in the blak kist, thre cofferis, a box, a cageat¹
- Item fund in the maist of the said cofferis, louse & put in na thing, bot liand within the said coffyr, fyve hundreth, thre score, ten Roise nobilis, and ane angell noble
- Item in a poik of canwess, beand within the said coffre, of angell nobilis, sevin hundreth and fyftj angelis
- Item in a litill purse, within the said coffre, of quarteris of Roise nobilis, sevin score nyne Roise nobilis, a quarter of a nobill
- Item in a litill coffre, beand within the said coffre, of Roise nobilis sevin hundreth fyftj & thre nobilis
- Item in a lytill payntit coffre, beand within the said blak kist, of henry nobilis a thousand thre hundreth and sevintene nobillis
- Item in ane vther coffre, beand within the said blak kist, a poik of canwess, with demyis contenand aucht hundreth, ane less
- Item in a box, beand within the said blak kist, the grete bedis of gold, contenand six score twa bedis, and a knop
- Item in the said box, a buke of gold like ane tabell, and on the glasp of it, foure perlis, and a fare Ruby
- Item in the said box the grete diamant, with the diamantis sett about it
- Item in the said box, a thing of gold with a top like a tunnele
- Item in the same box a stomok,² & on it set a hert, all of precieuse stanis, & perle
- Item in a trouch³ of cipre tre within the said box, a point maid of perle, contenand xxv perle with hornis of gold
- Item twa tuthpikis of gold with a chenye, a perle, & eirpike, a moist ball of gold, ane hert of gold, with vther small Japes⁴
- Item in a Round buste, within the said box, a corss of gold, with four stanis. Item a collar of gold, twa glasses with balme
- Item in a litill paper, within the said box, ane vche, with a diamant, twa hornis, four butonis horse nalis blak
- Item ane vche⁵ of gold, like a flour the lise, of diamantis & thre bedis of gold, a columbe of gold & twa Rubeis

¹ Cageat—casket. Jamieson, who quotes this inventory.

² Stomok—stomacher. Jamieson.

³ Trough—a deep long box.

⁴ Japes—playthings, trifles.

⁵ Uche—brooch. Not in Jamieson.

- Item in a cageat, beand within the said blak kist, a braid chenye, a ball of cristall
- Item a purse maid of perle, in it a moist ball,¹ a pyne² of gold, a litill chenye of gold, a Raggit staff, a serpent tounge sett
- Item in the said cageat, a litill coffre of siluer, ouer gilt, with a litil saltfat³ and a couer
- Item a mannach⁴ of siluer
- Item in a small coffre, a chenye of gold, a hert of gold, anamelit, a brassalet of gold, sett with precious stanis
- Item a collar of gold maid with elephantis and a grete hinger at it
- Item sanct michaell of gold with a perle on his spere
- Item a quhissill⁵ of gold
- Item a flour the lyse of gold
- Item a Ryng, with a turcase⁶
- Item a small corse with twa pecis of gold at it
- Item a grete precieuse stane
- Item a litil barrell maid of gold
- Item twa berialis, and a grete bene
- Item in a litill coffre, a grete serpent tounge, set with gold, perle, & precieuse stanis, and twa small serpent toungeis set in gold, & ane ymage of gold
- Item in ane vther coffre, beand within the blak kist, ane Roll with Ringis, ane with a grete saffer,⁷ ane enmorant,⁸ a stane of pillar, & ane vther Ring
- Item in the same coffre ane vther Roll with Ringis, ane with a grete Ruby, & vther iiij Ringis
- Item ane vther Roll with Ringis in it, of thame, thre grete enmorantis, a Ruby, a diamant
- Item a Roll of Ringis, ane enmorant, a topas, & a diamant
- Item ane vther Roll of Ringis, ane with a grete turcas, & ane vther Ring
- Item a Roll with seven small Ringis, diamantis, Rubeis, & perle
- Item a Roll with Ringis, a turcas, a stane of pillar, & a small Ring

¹ A moist ball—a musk ball.² Pyne—pin.³ Saltfat—saltiesellar.⁴ Unknown; perhaps a little man. Not in Jamieson.⁵ Quhissle—whistle.⁶ Turquois.⁷ Sapphire.⁸ Emerald.

- Item a Roll with Ringis, a Ruby, a diamant, twa vther Ringis, a beriall¹
- Item in ane vther small coffre, within the said black kyst, a chenyne with ane vche, in it a Ruby, a diamant, maid like a creill
- Item a brasselat of gold, with hede, & pendese² of gold
- Item sanct antonis corse, and in it a diamant, a Ruby, & a grete perle
- Item a grete Ring with a topas.
- Item a wodward³ of gold with a diamant
- Item ane vche of gold, maid like a Rose of diamantis
- Item a kist of siluer, in it a grete corse, with stanis, a Ryng, a berial hingand at it
- Item in it the grete corse of the chapell, sett with precious stanis

Memorandum, fundin in a bandit kist like a gardeviant,⁴ in the fyrst the grete chenyne of gold, contenand sevin score sex linkis]

- Item thre platis of siluer
- Item tuelf sulfatis
- Item fyftene discheis ouregilt
- Item a grete gilt plate
- Item twa grete bassingis ouregilt
- Item foure masaris,⁵ callit king Robert the brocis, with a couer
- Item a grete cok maid of siluer
- Item the hede, of siluer, of ane of the coueris of masar
- Item a fair diale
- Item twa kasis of knyffis
- Item a pair of auld knyffis

Item takin be the smyth that opinnit the lokkis, in gold, fourtj demyis

Item in Inglyse grotis ——— xxiiij poundis & the said siluer gevin agane to the takaris of hym

Item Ressaut in the cloissat of dauidis tour⁶ ane haly water fat

¹ Beryl. ² Pendants. ³ Unknown ⁴ Cabinet. Jamieson.

⁵ Drinking cups. An interesting item—four drinking cups of Robert the Bruce's.

⁶ David's Tower, in the Castle.

of siluer, twa boxis, a cageat tume, A glass with Roise water, a dosoune of torchis,¹ king Robert brucis serk²

Memorandum, gottin In the quenis kist, quhilk come fra striue-ling, in a litill coffre within the same, In the fyrst a belt of Cram-massy³ hernessit with gold & braid

Item a braid belt of blak danmask, hernessit with gold

Item a small belt of claith of gold, hernessit with gold

Item a belt of gold, vnhernessit

Item twa bedis of gold

Item a litill belt of gold, hernessit with gold

Item in a box beand within the said kist, a collare of cassedonis, with a grete hinger of moist, twa Rubeis, twa perlis contenand xxv small cassedonis set in gold

Item a chenye of gold maid in fassone of frere knottis,⁴ contenand fourtj foure knottis

Item a pare of bedis of gold contenand fyftj & sex bedis

Item a grete chenye of gold, contenand of linkis thre score and a lynk

Item ane vther chenye of gold gretare, contenand fiftj and aucht linkis

Item a frete⁵ of the quenis oure set with grete perle, settin fouris & fouris

Item viij vchis of gold sett with stanis & perle

Item tuentj hingeris of gold set with Rubeis

Item a collare of gold fassonit like Roisses anamelit

Item a serpent toung, & ane vnicorne horne, set in gold

Item a grete hinger of gold with a Ruby

Item a grete Ruby set in gold

Item a hinger with a diamant & a grete perle

Item a diamant set in gold

Item a smal chenye with ane hinger set with diamantis in maner of . m . and a grete perle

¹ Unknown ; perhaps turquoises.

² Perhaps his mail shirt.

³ Crimson.

⁴ Friar's beads.

⁵ A large hoop or ring.

- Item a grete saferes set in gold
 Item a hert of gold with a grete perle at it
 Item a smal chenye with ane hinger of Roise & diamant
 Item ane hinger of gold with twa perle without stanis
 Item In a clovt nyne precieuse stanis vnsett
- Item in a box in the said kist a collare of gold, with nynetene diamantis
 Item a collere of Rubeis, set with threis of perle contenand xxx perlis and xv Rubeis with ane hinger, a diamant, & a grete perle
 Item ane ege of gold with foure grete diamantis pointit and xxviij grete perlis about thame
 Item ane vther grete ege with viij Rubeis and xxxvj perlis grete
- Item in the said kist of the quenis ane string of grete perle contenand fyftj & a perle, and stringis of small perle
 Item twa lingattis¹ of gold
 Item sex pecis of the said chenye of gold of frere knottis
 Item twa grete Ringis with saferis
 Item twa Ringis with turcacis
 Item a Ring with a paddokstane with a charnale²
 Item a Ring with a face
 Item a signet & na thing in it
 Item thre small Ringis with Rubeis
 Item fyve Ringis with diamantis
 Item a cassit collere of gold, maid lik suannis, set in gold, with xvj Rubeis, and diamantis, and viij quhite suannis set with double perle
 Item a grete Round ball, in maner of a chalfer, of siluer ouregilt
 Item a leware³ of siluer ouregilt with a couer
 Item a cop with a couer ouregilt & punchit
 Item thre brokin gilt pecis of siluer
 Item thre quhite pecis, a fut & a couer of siluer, ouregilt
 Item a grete vice nail maid of siluer

¹ Ingot.² A hinge.³ Laver.

Item twa brokin platis of siluer and a dische

Item in a gardeuant in the fyrst a grete hostrage fedder¹

Item a poik of lauender

Item a buke with levis of golde with xiiij levis of gold fulye

Item a couering of variand purpir, tarter, browdin with thrissillis
& a vnicorne

Item a Ruf & pendiclis of the same

Item a pare of metingis² for hunting

Item the surpluss of the robe Riall

In ane vther gardeuant, in the fyrst a lamp of siluer, a corperale with
a caise. Item thre quhippis³ and twa bukis

Memorandum, gottin in a box quhilk was deliuerit be the countas
of athole, and tauld in presens of the cancellare, lord lile, the prior
of sanctandrois & the thesaurare. In the fyrst in a purse of ledder
within the said box thre hundreth Roise nobilis of the quhilkis
there is vii harj nobilis

Item in the same purse of half Roise nobilis . fyve hundreth hail
Roise nobilis, sextene Roise nobillis

Item gottin in ane vther box, fra the said countas, the xxj day of
Junij, in a canuess poik, within the said box, tuelf hundreth &
sevin angel nobilis⁴

Item in ane vther purse, of ledder, beand in the same box, ane
hundreth angelis

Item in the same purse, thre hundreth fyftj & sevin demyis

Memorandum, fund in a blak coffre quhilk was brocht be the
abbot of arbrothe, In the first the grete sarpe⁵ of gold contenand xxv
schaiffis with thre fedder betuix

Item a water pot of siluer

Item a pare of curale bedis, and a grete muste ball

Item a collare of cokkilschellis contenand xxiiij schellis of gold

¹ Ostrich feather.

² Hunting gloves.

³ Whips.

⁴ Thir boxis put in the thesaurhouse in the grete kist nerest the windo.

⁵ Belt.

Item a bane coffre, & in it a grete corse of gold, with foure precieuse stanis and a chenye of gold

Item a beid of a cassedonne

Item twa braid pecis of brynt siluer bullioun

Item in a leddering purse, beand in the said blak coffre, t uelf score & xvj salutis

Item in the same purse threttj & sex lewis and half nobilis

Item in the same purse foure score and thre franche crownis

Item in the same purse fourtene score of ducatis, and of thame gevin to the erle of anguse fyve score and six ducatis

Item in the said coffre, quhilk was brocht be the said abbot, a lital corse with precieuse stanis

Item in a blak box brocht be the said abbot to the toune of perth the xxvj day of Junij, in the first, lowse in the said box, foure thousand thre hundreth and fourtj demyis

Item in a purse of ledder in the said box foure hundreth tuentj & viij lewis of gold, and in the same purse of ledder, of franche crownis fyve hundreth thre score & sex. And of thame twa salutis . and foure lewis

Item in a quhite coffre of Irne deliuerit be the said abbot, thre thousand, nyne hundreth, foure score & viij angellis

Memorandum, Ressaut in scone, be the thesaurare, in presens of the bischop of glasgw, lord lile, the prior of sanctandros, patrik home, & lord drummond, the xxij day of Junij, in a vereis box, louse, without ony purse, a thousand and threttj harj nobilis

Item in a purse of ledder, within the said box, a thousand & twenti Rose nobilis, and in the said purse fyftj & foure harj nobilis in half harj nobilis

Item a grete gugeoun¹ of gold

Item thair was a writ fund in the said box sayand, in hac boxa xij hundreth harj nobilis . et in eadum boxa, xj hundreth Roise nobilis

¹ Unknown.

Thir ar the names of thame, that wist of the said box quhen it was in the myre

James auerj

William patonsone

William Wallace

Item Ressaut fra lang patric hume, & george of touris, xvj skor of hare nobelis, quhilkis tha had of a part of the money takin be the Countass of atholl and Johne steward

Item of the same Some & money gevin to the said patric for his Reward - - - - fourtj hare nobelis

THE COMPT of sir William knolles, lorde saint Johnis of Jerusalem, &c. thesaurare till our soueraine lorde maide at Edinburghe the xxiiij day of februar, the yeir of god &c. Nynte ane yeris . . .

of all his ressait & expense fra the ferde day of the monethe of Junij in the yeir of god &c. aughty and aucht yeris vnto the day of this present Compt

In the first he chargis him with vij^m v^c lxxxxvij ti iiij ã in golde of sex thousande thre hundreth thretty a pece of Angell nobillis ressait be the Comptare as Is contenit in the beginning of this buke writtin with Johnne tyrijs hande, And with ij^c xvj ti iiij ã in golde of ane hundrethe fourescore aucht scottis Ridaris, as Is contenit in this samyn buke

And with liij ti be fifty foure fraunce Riallis of golde

And withe viij^c lxxxij ti be nyne hundrethe fourescore vnicornis

And withe vj^c lxxvj ti xiiij ã iiij d in ane thousand scottis crownis

Ande withe J^m iij^c xxxij ti vj ã viij d in tua thousand demyis ressait and gevin for a merke the pece

Ande withe ij^m lxix ti iiij ã in tua thousand nyne hundrethe fifty sex demyis gevin the pece for fourtene schillingis

Ande withe vj^m xix ti ix ã in thre thousand thre hundrethe fifty five rose nobillis and ane quarter, the quhilk war gevin for thretty

sex schillingis the pece, except foure hundrethe that war gevin
for thretty five schillingis the pece

And with $\text{iiij}^m \text{iiij}^c \text{lxvj} \text{fi} \text{viij} \text{š}$ in tua thousand sevin hundrethe
twenty nyne hary nobillis gevin for thretty tua schillingis the
pece

Ande with $\text{xj} \text{fi} \text{v} \text{š}$ in fiftene flemis Ridaris fiftene schilling the
pece

Ande with $\text{iiij}^c \text{xxxij} \text{fi}$ in foure hundrethe foure score lewis and
halue rose nobillis gevin for aughtene schilling the pece

And withe $\text{iiij}^c \text{lxxxiiij} \text{fi} \text{iiij} \text{š}$ in sevin hundreth sex fraunce
crovnis gevin for fouretene schillingis the pece

And with $\text{xxx} \text{fi}$ in duch golde

And with $\text{ij}^c \text{vj} \text{fi} \text{viij} \text{š}$ in tua hundrethe fifty aucht salutis gevin
for sextene schillingis the pece

And with $\text{j}^c \text{xxxix} \text{fi} \text{iiij} \text{š}$ in ane hundrethe sevinty foure ducatis
gevin for sextene schillingis the pece

Summa of this charge $\text{xxiiij}^m \text{v}^c \text{xvij} \text{fi} \text{x} \text{š}$

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LETTER L, p. 336.

Margaret Drummond, Mistress to James IV.

From a note of the Rev. Mr Macgregor Stirling's, in his valuable manuscript collections on the chronology of the reign of James the Fourth, I am enabled to give some curious particulars regarding this unfortunate favourite of James the Fourth. She was daughter of John, first Lord Drummond, and the king seems to have become attached to her at a very early period. In his first Parliament, 3d October, 1488, she had an allowance for dresses (mentioned in the text, p. 363.) She bore a daughter to the king in 1495, as it may be presumed from an entry in the Lord High Treasurer's Books, which states, that twenty-one pounds seven shillings, had been expended on the "Lady Mergetis dochter." In Douglas's Peerage, vol. i. p. 51, and vol. ii. p. 361, she is mention-

ed as having been poisoned in 1501. But she was certainly alive on 24th June, 1502, as in the Treasurer's Books under that date, is the following entry :—" Item, the xxiiii day of Junii, the kyng wes in Drummonde giffin to Mergrett Drummonde be the kingis commande, twenty-one pounds. Item, to her nuriss forty-one pounds." Great mystery hangs over the death of this royal favourite, and the most minute account is to be found in a celebrated work where one would certainly little expect to meet an obscure portion of Scottish history—Moreri's Dictionary. It is taken from a MS. history of the family of Drummond, composed in 1689. Speaking of the first Lord Drummond—" He had," says this author, " four daughters, one of whom, named Margaret, was so much beloved by James the Fourth, that he wished to marry her ; but as they were connected by blood, and a dispensation from the pope was required, the impatient monarch concluded a private marriage, from which clandestine union sprung a daughter, who became the wife of the Earl of Huntley. The dispensation having arrived, the king determined to celebrate his nuptials publicly ; but the jealousy of some of the nobles against the house of Drummond, suggested to them the cruel project of taking off Margaret by poison, in order that her family might not enjoy the glory of giving two queens to Scotland." (Moreri sub voce Drummond.) It is certain that Margaret Drummond, with Euphemia Lady Fleming, and the Lady Sybilla, her sisters, died suddenly at the same time, with symptoms exciting the strongest suspicion of poison, which it was thought had been administered to them at breakfast. So far the story substantially agrees with Moreri ; but that the unfortunate lady fell a victim to the jealousy of the Scottish nobles, rests on no authentic evidence ; nor does this explain why her two sisters, Lady Fleming and Lady Sybilla, should have shared her fate. The story tells more like some dreadful domestic tragedy, than a conspiracy of the aristocracy to prevent the king's marriage to a commoner. Besides this, it is shown by a deed preserved in the *Fœdera*, vol. xii. p. 787, that James, previous to the catastrophe of Margaret Drummond, had entered into an indenture, binding himself to marry the Princess Margaret of England ; a circumstance certainly not wholly disproving the story of her having fallen a victim to aristocratic

jealousy, but rendering it more improbable. If the dispensation for James's marriage with Margaret Drummond had been procured, it is probable that it would have been discovered by Andrew Stewart during those investigations into the papal records which he instituted at Rome on the subject of the great Douglas case, when he accidentally fell upon the documents which settled for ever the long agitated question regarding the marriage of Robert the Second to Elizabeth More. The three ladies thus united in death, were interred together in the centre of the choir of the cathedral church at Dumblane. Their grave was marked by three plain blue marble flags, which remained untouched till 1817, when they were removed to make way for some repairs on the parochial church into which the choir of the ancient cathedral had been transformed. Sir Walter Drummond, lord clerk register, their paternal uncle, was, at the time of their death, Dean of Dumblane, a circumstance, says Mr Stirling, which seems to have led to their interment there, the family having lately removed from Stobhall, their original seat on the banks of the Tay, to Drummond castle, where they probably had no place of interment. An entry in the treasurer's books, June 18, 1503, shows that the king's daughter, by Margaret Drummond, had some time before been removed from Drummond castle to the palace at Stirling:—"Item to the nuriss that brocht the king's dochter fra Drummyne to Strivilin, 3 lbs. 10 sh." The child was brought up in Edinburgh castle under the name of the Lady Margaret;—she married John, Lord Gordon, son and heir apparent of Alexander, Earl of Huntley (Mag. Sig. xv. 193. 26th April, 1510). In the treasurer's books, under the 1st February, 1502, is this entry:—"Item to the priests of Edinburgh for to do dirge and saule messe for Mergratt Drummond v lb." Again, February 10, 1502. "Item to the priests that sing in Dumblane for Margaret Drummond their quarters fee v lbs." Entries similar to this are to be found in the treasurer's books as far as they are extant down to the end of the reign, from which it appears that two priests were employed regularly to sing masses for her soul in Dumblane.

LETTER M, p. 350.

Sir Andrew Wood of Largo.

The connexion of this eminent person with James the Third is illustrated by a charter under the great seal x. 87, dated 8th March, 1482, which states that this monarch had taken into consideration “*Gratuita et fidelia servicia sibi per familiarem servitorem suum Andream Wod commorante in Leith, tam per terram, quam per mare, in pace et in guerra, gratuite impensà, in Regno Scotiæ et extra idem, et signanter contra inimicos suos Angliæ, et dampnum per ipsum Andream inde sustenta, suam personam gravibus vitæ exponendo periculis.*” On this ground it proceeds to state that James granted to him and his heirs, hereditarily and in fee, the lands and village of Largo in the Sherifdom of Fife. It is probable that Wood was originally a merchant trader of Leith, and that a genius for naval enterprise was drawn out and cherished by casual encounters with pirates in defence of his property;—after which, his talents, as a brave and successful commander, becoming known to James the Third, this monarch gave him employment, not only in war and against his enemies of England, but in diplomatic negotiations. It has been stated in the text, that the brilliant successes of Wood during the reign of James the Fourth were against English pirates. This fact seems established by a charter under the great seal xii. 304, 18th May, 1491, in which James the Fourth grants to Andrew Wood a license to build a castle at Largo with iron gates, on account of the great services done and losses sustained by the said Andrew, and for the services which it was confidently hoped he would yet render; and because the said Andrew had, at great personal expense, built certain houses, and a fortalice, on the lands of Largo, by the hands of Englishmen captured by him, with the object of resisting and expelling pirates who had often invaded the kingdom, and attacked the lieges. The existence of a truce between the two kingdoms at the time when these actions of Wood are described as having taken place,

neither throws any suspicion on the truth of this assertion, nor proves that Henry may not have privately encouraged the expedition of Stephen Bull against Wood. A truce existed between the kingdoms, and proposals for bringing about a final peace on the basis of a marriage between James and an English princess were actually under consideration, when Henry had bribed the Lord Bothwell and Sir Thomas Tod to seize the Scottish king and deliver him into his hands (Rymer, vol. xii. p. 440.) Some of the items of this date, 1491, in the treasurer's accounts, prove, in a very convincing manner, that James, in all probability in consequence of the advice and instructions of Andrew Wood, had begun personally to pay great attention to every thing calculated to increase the naval strength of the kingdom. He built ships at his own expense, made experiments in sailing, studied the principles of navigation and gunnery, and attached to his service, by ample presents, such foreign captains and mariners as visited his dominions for the purposes of trade and commerce.

LETTER N, p. 384.

Mons Meg.

Popular as Mons Meg has been amongst the Scottish antiquaries of the nineteenth century, her celebrity, when she was carried by James the Fourth, July 10, 1489, to the siege of Dumbarton, if we may judge from some of the items in the treasurer's books, was of no inferior description. Thus under that date we have this entry:—"Item given to the gunners to drink-silver when they cartit Monss, by the King's command, 18 shillings." Mons, however, from her enormous size and weight, proved exceedingly unmanageable; and, after having been brought back from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, she enjoyed an interval of eight years inglorious repose. When James, however, in 1497, sat down before Northham, the great gun was, with infinite labour and expense, conveyed to the siege, and some of the items regarding her transport are amusing. The construction of a new cradle or carriage for her

seems to have been a work of great labour. Thus, on July 24, 1497, we have, "Item to pynouris to bere ye trees to be Mons new cradill to her at St Leonards quhare scho lay, iii sh. vi^d;" and again, July 28, "Item for xiii stane of irne to mak graith to Monsis new cradill, and gaviokkis to ga with her, xxxs. iiii^d." "Item to vii wrightis for twa dayis and a half ya maid Monsis cradill, xxiii sh. iiii^d." "Item for xyiii fi of talloun [tallow] to Mons." "Item for viii elne of canwas to be Mons claiths to cover her." "Item for mare talloun to Mons." "Item to Sir Thomas Galbraith for paynting of Monsis claiths, xiiii sh." "Item to the Minstralis that playit before Mons doune the gait, xiiii sh." The name of this celebrated gun, as stated in the treasurer's accounts, is simply Mons. Drummond of Hawthornden is the first author who calls her Mons Meg. For these curious particulars I am indebted to the manuscript notes of the Rev. Mr Macgregor Stirling.

LETTER O, p. 385.

Perkin Warbeck.

It is difficult to solve the problem whether James was a sincere believer in the reality of Warbeck's pretensions. I am inclined to think that, from political motives, he first entered into the intrigues with the Duchess of Burgundy, which commenced very soon after Lambert Simnel's defeat and capture—though without any steady conviction of the truth of Warbeck's story—but that he became afterwards, on the arrival of this extraordinary person in Scotland, a convert to his being a son of the Duke of York; and that he entertained the same opinion, even when he found it necessary to advise his departure from Scotland. Of the residence of Warbeck in this country, the Treasurer's Accounts furnish some curious illustrations. It appears that Jamie Doig, a person whose name occurs frequently in the treasurer's books, and who is embalmed in Dunbar's Poems, "tursed the arrass work," or arranged the hanging and tapestry at Stirling, on the 20th November,

1495, in contemplation of Prince Richard's arrival.—(Treasurer's Books under that date.) A person named David Caldwell, received eighteen shillings for the "graithing" or furnishing of his chamber in the town; and couriers were sent with letters to the Lords of Stratherne and Athole, and to the Earl Marshal and the Barons of Angus, requiring them to attend upon the meeting of the King and Prince Richard in Saint Johnston. (Treasurer's Book, sub anno, 1495.) It is mentioned in the text that a tournament was held in honour of his arrival, and many entries in the treasurer's books relate to it and to the preparations at the same time for the war against England. Thus, on the 9th September, 1496. "Item, for an elne, half a quarter, and a nail of double red taffety to the Duke of Zorkis banare—for the elne, xviii sh.—xxi sh. iiii d. Item, given for ii^o of gold party for the Duke of Zorkis banere, xxvii sh. vii d. Item, for iii quaris of a silver buke to the same banare, vi sh. Item, for half a book of gold party to ye Duke of Zorkis standart, xx sh. Item, for a book of fine gold for the king's coat armour, iiii lb. x sh. Item, to the Duke of York in his purse by the king's command, xxxvi lb." In the following entry we find mention of an "indenture," drawn up between James and the Duke of York, which is now unfortunately lost. "Item, given to Roland Robison (he was a French gunner or engineer, who had probably been in Warbeck's service when at the court of Charles the Eighth), "for the red" (settlement) "of the Inglismen to the sea, like as is contenit in an indenture made betwixt the kings gude grace and the Duke of Zork, ii^o lb."

It is probable that one of the conditions entered into by James in this indenture was to pay to Warbeck a monthly pension of one hundred and twelve pounds. Thus, in the treasurer's Books, May 6, 1497, we find this entry. "Item, to Roland Robison, for his Maisteris" ("Zork" on the margin) "monethis pensioun, ic xii lb." Again, June 7, 1497. "Item, to Roland Robison and the Dean of Zork, for their Maisteris monethis pension, ic xii lb." And again, June 27. "Giffin to the Dean of Zork and Boland Robison for the Dukis (of Zorkis) monethlie pensioun to come in, ic xii lb." This very large allowance, which amounted to one thousand three hundred and forty-four pounds yearly was pro-

bably one great cause for James' anxiety to see Warbeck fairly out of the kingdom; for, besides the monthly allowance to the Duke of York, it must be recollected that the king supported the whole body of his English attendants; and the entries of payments to Roland Robison for "redding," or settling, the Englishmen's costs, are very numerous. Warbeck, too, appears to have been extravagant; for even with his ample allowance, he had got into debt, and had pledged his brown horse, which he was forced to leave in the innkeeper's hands, although thirteen shillings would have set him free. "Item, giffin to the prothonotare to quit out the Duke of Zorkis brown horse that lay in wed in the toune, xiii sh." The same Books contain a minute detail of the victualling of the ship in which Warbeck, accompanied by his wife, Lady Catherine Gordon, quitted Scotland. The vessel was not only under the command, but was the property of Robert Bertoune, one of the three brothers, who became afterwards so celebrated in the naval history of the country. Amongst the stores were "twa tun and four pipes of wine, eight bolls of ait mele" (oatmeal), "eighteen marts of beef, twenty-three muttons, and a hoghead of herring." Andrew Bertoune, the brother of the captain, is mentioned as having furnished biscuit, cider, and beer for the voyage. The Duchess of York, by the king's command, received three elns and a half of "rowane cannee," to make her "ane see gounne," with two elneand a half of ryssilis black, to make her cloaks. It is well known, that after the execution of Warbeck in 1498, the extraordinary beauty and misfortunes of this lady induced Henry the Seventh, whose disposition, although cautious, does not appear to have been either cold or unamiable, to treat her with great kindness and humanity. The populace applied to her the epithet of the White Rose of Scotland. She was placed under the charge of the Queen—received a pension—and afterwards married Sir Mathew Cradock of North Wales, ancestor of the Earls of Pembroke.—(Stewart's Genealogy, p. 65.) From an entry in the privy purse expenses of Henry the Seventh, published by Mr Nicholas, (p. 115, part ii. of his *Excerpta Historica*,) she seems to have been taken on 15th October, 1497.

Sir Mathew and the White Rose had an only daughter, Mar-

garet, who married Sir Richard Herbert of Ewyas, natural son of William, first Earl of Pembroke. (Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 255.) Their son, William, on the extinction of the legitimate male line of the Earls of Pembroke, was created Earl of Pembroke by Edward the Sixth. (Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 258.)

Sir Mathew Cradock and the Lady Catherine, his wife, are interred in the old church at Swansea, in Glamorganshire, under a monument of the altar kind, richly decorated, but now much mutilated and defaced—beneath which is this inscription:

HERE LYETH SIR MATHU CRADOCK, KNIGHT, SOME TIME DEPUTIE UNTO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES GRIE OF WORCET * * IN THE COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN * * MOR * CHANCELLOR OF THE SAME, STEWARD OF GOWER AND KILVEI, AND MY LADY CATHERINE HIS WIF.¹

“Sir Edward Herbert of Ewyas is buried,” says Dugdale, Baronage, vol. ii. p. 258, “under a noble tomb at Bargavenny, beside Margaret his wife.”

¹ Rees's Beauties of England and Wales, vol. xviii. p. 725.

END OF VOLUME FOURTH.